REVISITING ROSEMONT PLANTATION, LAURENS COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

CHICORA RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION 489

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Chicora Research Contribution 489

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ABSTRACT

The initial research at Rosemont was conducted in 1991 and was reported in 1992. At the time the work was one of the earliest investigations of a piedmont plantation. It provided significant historical research, testing of the main plantation complex, and a very detailed reconstruction of the Rosemont garden. In 2007 Mr. Richard Lorenz, one of the property owners, allowed Chicora to conduct additional research. This research focused on an adjacent tract to the west of the previously investigated main settlement that is in the process of being sold for development by the Clark family.

On this tract are two large mounds, found to represent the remains of structures. Structure 3, to the south of an east-west access road, was identified through investigations as a probable antebellum dwelling. It has a mean ceramic date of 1850. Structure 8, to the north of the access road, was found to be a probable postbellum structure. Further work by Mr. Lorenz revealed a dry laid rock foundation for a chimney.

Also identified during these investigations are two barns, situated along the access road. One measures 40 by 22 feet (Structure 9), the other 30 by 18 feet (Structure 10).

Artifact assemblages, while meager, supplement the data previously collected from Rosemont and provide additional clues regarding both antebellum and postbellum life in the piedmont. The Rosemont main house (and its gardens) is certainly comparable to most low country plantations. The single posited slave structure investigated, although poorly preserved, seems to be more similar than different from low country examples.

A major goal for the citizens of Laurens County remains the preservation of Rosemont Plantation. Although a non-profit organization has been created for this purpose, much more needs to be done. We made initial recommendations regarding site preservation in 1991, but regrettably the site has continued to deteriorate since that time. Talk today of parking lots and paths is premature. Far more important is the stabilization and development of a preservation plan for the site.

A critical aspect of that preservation plan is additional archaeological investigation. There are many resources that are being gradually diminished and will be eventually lost if there is not a dedicated effort to their examination.

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INTRODUCTION

Background

The Rosemont property is situated in southeastern Laurens County, east of the confluence of the Saluda and Reedy rivers. A portion of these rivers was flooded by the Buzzards Roost rural electrification project in the 1930s, creating Lake Greenwood. Rosemont is about 16 miles southwest of Laurens and 4½ miles south of Waterloo. Although the original plantation was over 2000 acres, this study concentrated on the vicinity of the main house, encompassing about 3 acres circumscribed by S-221 (Shrine Club Road to the southwest and Slough or Cunningham Slough Road to the northeast) (Figure 1).

Although the area around the plantation has been intensively cultivated in the past, it was found in second growth hardwood forest, being managed primarily as a hunting preserve at the time of our first investigations.

Research in 1991-1992

Chicora's first archaeological invest-

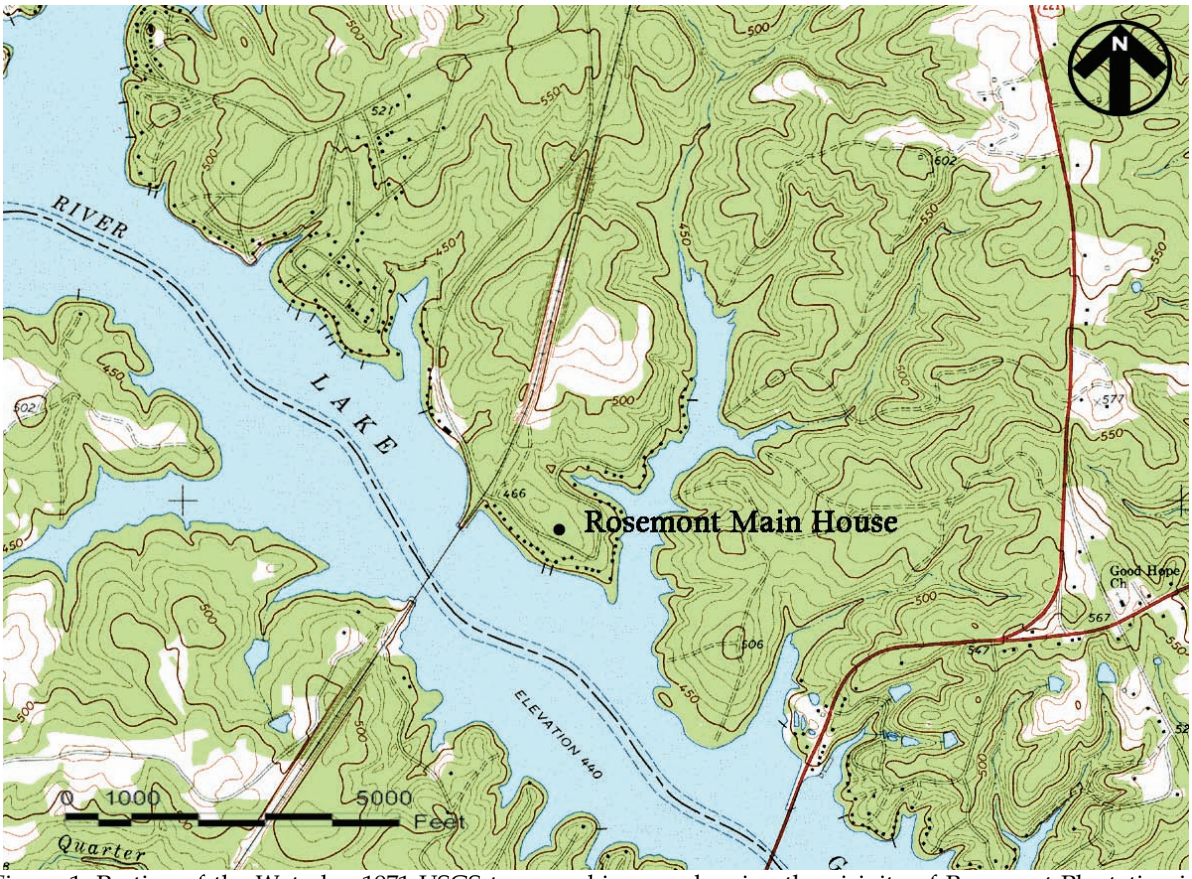


Figure 1. Portion of the Waterloo 1971 USGS topographic map showing the vicinity of Rosemont Plantation in Laurens County.

Figure 2. Rosemont Plantation in 1991 looking north toward the main house ruins and the large granite monument erected by the DAR in 1959.

igation of the Rosemont Plantation site (38LU323) was conducted in December 1991 under the auspices of the Laurens County Historical Society through a SC Department of Archives and History (SCDAH) Survey and Planning Grant (Trinkley et al. 1992). A crew of four and the principal investigator conducted a total of 143.5 person hours of field investigations, including a reconnaissance level survey of approximately 23 acres of the main plantation complex, an intensive survey of the 3 acres comprising the main settlement area, and the mapping of the gardens and main settlement.

The project scope initially included mapping of "boxwoods" and "magnolias" which form the major pattern of the Rosemont gardens. As work continued at the site it became clear that the gardens were more complex than originally anticipated by the historical society and SCDAH. As a result the mapping by Chicora incorporated a larger area, as well as a greater number and variety of plants. This represents not only the first such research at an upland plantation in South Carolina, but also the first time that the garden of any South Carolina plantation has been intensively studied.

Several other modifications of the initial research design were made as work progressed in 1991. Initially Chicora anticipated integrating the efforts of an architectural historian at the site. We discovered, however, that the building remains were virtually all below ground and that little architectural research could be accomplished during this early phase of research. Consequently, this effort was shifted to the transcription and review of the voluminous historical documentation and to the additional needs of archaeological conservation of recovered remains. The historical documents, while collected from a variety of repositories, were not synthesized and thus could not be readily used to support the archaeological research without this intervention.

In addition, Chicora Foundation undertook the excavation of four 5-foot units in the main site area to better document site preservation and integrity, and artifact quantity and variety. While not required by the initial scope of work, these test excavations provided essential support to justify the integrity of the plantation site.

In addition to the technical report on the excavations, Chicora was also responsible for preparing and submitting a National Register nomination to the SCDAH, which was accepted, forwarded to the Keeper of the National Register, and entered onto the National Register on June 11, 1993. The report also provided the Laurens County Historical Society with recommendations concerning the long-term preservation of the site.

Beyond these "preservation" oriented goals, we recognized that the research at Rosemont provided an exceptional opportunity

to explore a piedmont plantation. In 1991 research at up country plantations was even more scarce than today, of variable quality, and typically associated with compliance projects where the site ceased to exist after the archaeological investigations. Further, plantation garden research, uncommon in the coastal zone, was totally absent in the up country (and the Rosemont work continues to be the exception to the rule).

Consequently, the Rosemont research provided several unique opportunities to explore the heritage of South Carolina's up country plantations. This research was guided by relatively simple, but fundamental, explanatory objectives and questions integrating the history and archaeology of Rosemont: who lived at the plantation, when was the site occupied, what activities were performed at the site, what types of structures were present, what were the construction techniques employed at the plantation, how were the gardens laid out, what evidence remains of the garden orientation and form, what can be determined regarding the lifestyles and economies of the various owners at Rosemont, and what differences and similarities can be detected in up country and low country plantations.

Research in 2007-2008

In 1991 no development activities were planned for Rosemont, in spite of the construction of a major planned community in Greenwood County, opposite Rosemont Plantation. The tract remained largely untouched between 1991 and 2007, although second growth vegetation quickly overtook areas cleared for our studies. In fact, some areas were no longer clearly recognizable in 2007, the vegetation had become so dense.

Another significant change is that the owners of Rosemont, the Niles Clark family of Waterloo, South Carolina, have decided to divide much of the remaining plantation for a subdivision, hoping to take advantage of the desire for lake property. A newly formed organization, the Rosemont Preservation Society, has agreed to purchase 4.5 acres surrounding the main house, including the bulk of the gardens, for $45,000 in the hopes of preserving it (Duvall 2007).

In August 2007 we were contacted by Mr. Richard Lorenz, a member of the Clark family. He explained that the area to be subdivided is to the west of the main settlement and gardens – in an area where at least one rock pile was observed in 1991 and where he had documented several others. Mr. Lorenz was hopeful that Chicora would be interested in examining the portion that would be developed – and we very much were.

Arrangements were made for a team of two to visit the site the week of December 16. Involved in the project were Nicole Southerland, Debi Hacker, and the principal investigator, Dr. Michael Trinkley. A total of 72 person hours were spent at the site. The work involved mapping all of the identifiable rock piles and foundations, as well as tying the new grid into the original 1991 grid, which was still recoverable. Shovel testing was conducted in the area at intervals of 100 feet, followed by close interval testing at 20 feet around identified rock piles and features. An intensive metal detector survey was conducted by Mr. Lorenz, with all of the finds excavated and mapped during this work. Additional work conducted by Mr. Lorenz after the completion of our site investigations is included as Appendix 1. Finally, two 5-foot units were excavated at two of the rock piles to examine the stratigraphy and collect a larger sample of artifacts for study.

This study reports on the findings during the current study, but it also provides a synopsis of the earlier work, allowing the reader to understand the site in more inclusive context. However, Trinkley et al. (1992) should continue to be consulted for detailed information regarding the archaeological findings of that original work.

Figure 3. View of the old plantation road west of the main settlement, looking east. Running along the central ridge, this was the area examined in 2007.

After the completion of the field investigations, Mr. Lorenz provided us with additional historical research contracted for by the Laurens Historical Society, but not available to us during our initial study. This has been incorporated in our historic overview as appropriate. A significant item in this previous study is a ca. 1947 sketch by local historian Marion Wilkes that purports to show the location of a slave cemetery. This, too, is briefly discussed in our current analysis.

Curation

The field notes, photographic materials, and artifacts resulting from Chicora Foundation's 1991-1992 investigations were curated at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (SCIAA), University of South Carolina. All original records and duplicate copies were provided to the curatorial facility on pH neutral, alkaline buffered paper and the photographic materials were processed to archival permanence.

The artifacts from the current investigations have been retained by Mr. Lorenz. We have used a simple lot provenience cataloging system. The specimens have been cleaned and/or conserved as necessary. They have been provided with all original field records, with copies forwarded to SCIAA. Both institutions have received copies of our digital photographs, although these cannot be considered archival.

NATURAL SETTING

Physiography, Geology, and Soils

Rosemont Plantation is situated on the southwestern edge of Laurens County, overlooking the Saluda River, now Lake Greenwood. The county is bordered to the southwest by the Saluda, to the north and northeast by the Enoree River, to the northwest by Greenville County, and to the southeast by Newberry County (previously the boundary was the Old Ninety-Six Road). Laurens falls within the Piedmont Physiographic Province. The general slope of the terrain is eastward, which is the general direction of the major drainages within the county (Camp et al. 1975). The land ranges from level to steep, but most areas are gently sloping to moderately steep.

The drainages form a dendritic pattern and throughout the Piedmont the terrain has been extensively dissected and degraded. Elevations range from about 870 feet at Big Knob, in north central Laurens County to about 350 feet, at the junction of the Tyger and Broad rivers in the southeastern part of the county. In the vicinity of Rosemont Plantation the elevations range from about 470 to 490 feet MSL.

The plantation settlement is found on an east-west ridge that drops off to the northeast, east, and south to Lake Greenwood. The now flooded drainage to east and northeast was historically referred to as Golman's or Goldman's Branch. To the south would have been the original flow of the Saluda River.

Most of the rocks of the Piedmont are gneiss and schist, with some marble and quartzite (Haselton 1974). Some less intensively metamorphosed rocks, such as slate, occur along the eastern part of the province from southern Virginia to Georgia. This area, called the Slate Belt, is characterized by slightly lower ground with wider river valleys. Consequently, the slate belt had been favored for reservoir sites (Johnson 1972). In Laurens County the underlying geology consists primarily of granite, gneiss, schist, and gabbro, and the soils of the region are derived from the weathering of these rocks.

Within about 1,000 feet of the Rosemont house ruins are four soil series: Cecil, Enon, Hiwassee, and Mecklenburg. The most common soil is Cecil sandy loam, with slopes from 6 to 15%. These soils are found on the slopes off the ridge crest. It is the Hiwassee sandy clay loams with 2-6% slopes that are found at the crest, in the vicinity of the gardens and main house (Figure 4).

The Hiwassee soils have an Ap horizon up to 0.4 foot in depth that consists of a dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/4) sandy loam. Below is the BA horizon to a depth of about 1.2 foot. This consists of a reddish brown (5YR 4/4) sandy clay loam.

On the side slopes the Cecil soils have an Ap horizon that can vary from 0.1 to 0.7 foot consisting of a dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/4) sandy loam. Below is the Bt1 horizon to about 2.2 feet that consists of red (10R 4/8) clay (Camp et al. 1975).

These soils have lost 4½ to 7 inches of soil from erosion during the cotton growing efforts of the Antebellum and Postbellum periods (Trimble 1974). This area of Laurens County has been classified as suffering from moderate sheet erosion and occasional gullying

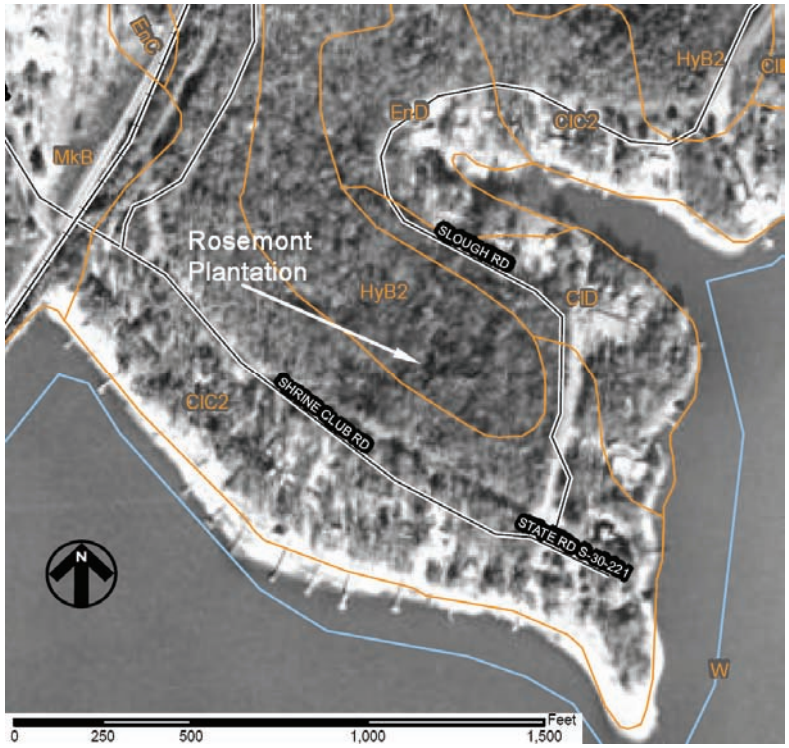


Figure 4. Soils immediately surrounding the Rosemont Plantation settlement. CIC2 and CID are Cecil sandy loams, eroded; EnC and EnD are Enon sandy loams; HyB2 are Hiwassee sandy clay loams, eroded; an MkB are Mecklenburg sandy loams.

(Lowry 1934). Gullies are, in fact, common on the side slopes, especially to the southwest.

In 1820 Robert Mills remarked that the soils in Laurens District were primarily "clay and gravel," and were "well adapted to the culture of cotton, corn, wheat, tobacco, &c. . . . Some little attention is paid to agriculture in the management of land; but while cotton commands so good a price, we may despair of much progress in this valuable system" (Mills 1972:605). This is reflected in the comments of Fairfield planter William Ellison, who remarked in 1828, that "the successful cotton planter sits down in the choicest of his lands, slaughters the forest, and murders the soil" (quoted in Ford 1988:38). In 1842 agricultural reformer Edmund Ruffin warned of impending disaster from the reliance on cotton and observed that little effort was made to protect the land (Ruffin 1843:73). In spite of these early warnings, the South Carolina Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Immigration, as late as 1907, found no reason to remark on the threat of erosion, noting only that "the second best cotton lands are found in Anderson and Laurens Counties" (State Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Immigration 1907: 255).

Today the soils are largely stable and there is evidence that a new A horizon is developing over those portions of the Rosemont tract that are generally level. The side slopes, however, are generally found to be denuded of A horizon soil, leaving red clay frequently exposed. The central plantation area was saved from the most damaging erosion since it has never been under cultivation and episodes of logging appear to have avoided the main plantation complex.

Barry remarks that the original Piedmont soils were highly fertile and very productive. However, "mismanagement, overcropping, erosion, and a multitude of other factors have reduced the once fertile lands to eroded ridges that require high applications of fertilizers" (Berry 1980:57).

Climate

Elevation, latitude, and distance from the coast work together to affect the climate of South Carolina, including the Piedmont. In addition, the more westerly mountains block or moderate many of the cold air masses that flow across the state from west to east. Even the very cold air masses which cross the mountains are warmed somewhat by compression before they descend on the Piedmont.

Consequently, the climate of Laurens County is temperate. The winters are relatively mild and the summers warm and humid. Rainfall in the amount of 44 to 48 inches is adequate, although less than in neighboring counties. About 24 to 28 inches of rain occur during the growing season, with periods of drought not uncommon during the summer months. Figure 5 documents intervals of drought since 1900. As Hilliard illustrates, these droughts tended to be localized and tended to occur several years in a row, increasing the hardship on those attempting to recover from the previous year's crop failure (Hilliard 1984:16). Perhaps the best wide-scale example of this was the drought of 1845 which caused a series of very serious grain and food shortages throughout the state. The Rosemont historical records chronicle a drought in 1838 and another that extended over two years – 1865 and 1866.

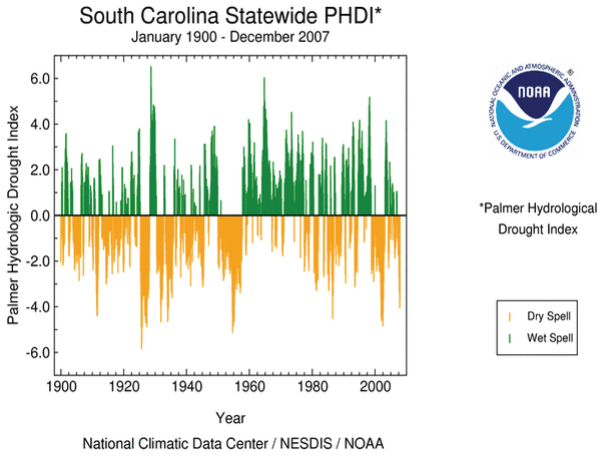


Figure 5. Chart of wet and dry years from 1900 forward.

The average growing season is 192 days, although early freezes in the fall and late frosts in the spring can reduce this period by as much as 20 or more days (Landers 1975:63). Today Laurens County is placed in Plant Hardiness Zone 7b, indicating average annual minimum temperatures of 5-10°F.

Consequently, most cotton planting, for example, did not take place until early May, avoiding the possibility that a late frost would damage the young seedlings. The growing season would also have affected efforts to establish the Rosemont garden, although with such plants a greenhouse can effectively extend the growing season.

Mills described the climate of Laurens as:

> a temperature of air most favorable for health. The sky is generally clear and serene, and seldom obscured by moist, misty weather; rains come on suddenly, fall hastily, and terminate at once; leaving a clear and settled sky. The air is pure and temperate, and, although variable, is seldom subject to sudden and great changes.
>
> Agues and fevers are more rare than formerly; they seem to have merged in the more violent forms bilious fevers. Though the first effects of clearing the land, particularly along the water-courses, were unfavorable to health, there is ground to hope, that, when it is better cultivated it will be more healthy than even at present (Mills 1972:606-607 [1826]).

Floristics

Piedmont forests generally belong to the Oak-Hickory Formation as established by Braun (1950). The potential natural vegetation of the Laurens area is the Oak-Hickory-Pine Forest, composed of medium tall to tall forests of broadleaf deciduous and needleleaf evergreen

trees (Küchler 1964). The major components of this ecosystem include hickory, shortleaf pine, loblolly pine, white oak, and post oak. In actuality, the Piedmont is composed of a patchwork of open fields, pine woodlots, hardwood stands, mixed stands, and second growth fields. Shelford (1963) includes the Carolina Piedmont in the Oak-Hickory zone of the Southern Temperate Deciduous Forest Biome. The floodplain forests include sweetgum, tulip poplar, ash, elm, and red maple. Beyond the floodplains are small sections of mixed mesophytic woodlands, which are typified by tulip poplar, beech, red oak, white oak, and hickories. The forest is open, allowing the development of a shrub layer with numerous herbaceous species.

Mills observed that in the early nineteenth century Laurens was "well timbered" with pine, oak, poplar, chestnut, beech, dogwood, hickory, linden, and locust. Fruits included apple, peach, grapes, plums, and a variety of berries (Mills 1972:606). Many of these are, in fact, documented from Rosemont.

Of considerable interest to the reconstruction of the environment of the Historic Period are the descriptions of the early explorers and surveyors. In the uplands the principal trees were pine, oak, hickory, and chestnuts. The denser virgin forests were clear with little undergrowth and widely spaced trees. These open woods were interspersed with areas of "prairie." Concerning the North Carolina Piedmont, Byrd speaks of "thickets . . . hereabouts so impenetrable" and soils so good that "large Trees of Poplar, Hiccory, and Oak . . . and wild Angelica grew plentifully upon it" (Byrd 1929:188).

The loamy, humus filled soils of the upland were held in place by the roots of plants and covered by a protective layer of organic material. As soon as this protective covering was breached, however, there was a rapid and devastating cycle of erosion (see Trimble 1974:20). The early settlers selected their land according to the abundance or height of the cane on the bottomlands, as this was considered indicative of fertile land. According to Byrd, cane:

> . . . grows commonly 12 to 16 feet high, and some of them as thick as a Man's wrist . . . . Ours continue green thro' all the Seasons during the Space of Six years, and the Seventh shed their seed, wither away and die. The spring following they begin the shoot again, and reach their former Stature the Second or Third year after (Byrd 1929:192).

An analysis of the early historic plat records is another approach to vegetation studies of the Georgia-South Carolina Piedmont area. DeVorsey (1971) compared tree species noted on the 1700s plats of the Ogeechee River in Greene County, Georgia to modern coverage and found a 50% loss of hardwoods and a 300% gain of pine. It appears that the original forest, with more hardwoods, would have provided significantly greater numbers of edible fruits and nuts, as well as a more attractive setting for various animals, than the present forest cover. Today none of the original forests remain in Laurens County and the area has been cut over several times. Considerable land has been cultivated and abandoned, and is now covered by inferior second-growth forest. The historic records at Rosemont document that the tract was extensively cut over at some point in the 1930s.

Although the Cunninghams left considerable historic documentation, the twentieth century is the least well documented. We have been able to supplement this using aerial photography. Years readily available included 1941, 1949, 1964, and 1970, which are shown below in Figures 6 and 7.

The 1941 photo, taken 11 years after the destruction of the main house and cessation of

Figure 6. 1939 (left; 2-137) and 1941 (right; 4B-130) aerial images of the Rosemont area. North is to the top; scale not calculated. The 1939 image likely shows the location of the family cemetery, although the area has already been cleared.This photo was taken only nine years after the main house was burned.

Figure 7. 1949 (left; 5F-55) and 1964 (right; 3FF-121) aerial images of the Rosemont area. North is to the top; scale not calculated.

most farming activities, shows the access road from US 221. The road vaguely follows modern S-221, although it diverts to provide a direct route to the settlement coming from the north and then turning to follow the ridge, approaching the main house from the west. It also shows the original location of the C. & W.C. Railroad, prior to the track alignment being straightened.

Figure 8. 1970 (2LL-278) aerial image of the Rosemont area. North is to the top; scale not calculated.

The access road passes through a very large cleared field immediately south of the railroad. Another, albeit much smaller, field is found to the south of the access road on the ridge. A third open area is found to the northeast of what we believe are likely the gardens. Each of these fields appears to be in pasture. Otherwise the forest vegetation is dense and there is no clear indication of the logging a decade earlier.

The 1949 imagery shows few changes, except that the field south of the access road on the ridge and the field to the northeast of the settlement both appear to have grown over. The railroad route has not changed and there is no evidence of any cottages along Lake Greenwood.

Many changes are seen in the 1964 image. The railroad alignment has changed, with the original corridor being reused for the primary access road. The lake shore is covered with houses. The large field is half the size it was in 1949, but the remaining portion is still being cultivated. The area of the Rosemont settlement, however, is no longer recognizable and the access road, if still present, is entirely shielded by dense trees.

The 1970 image shows little change from 1964, except that the Rosemont area is even more densely covered.

The historic land use of the Rosemont area has greatly affected the extant vegetation of the property. The surrounding tracts offer clear evidence of previous cultivation, second growth stands, and logging. In contrast, the main plantation complex is more clearly affected by nearly 150 years of intensive human interaction producing an artificial biome of garden plants. It has only been in the last 60 to 75 years that the property has begun to revert to a natural ecological system as the increasingly dense overstory

shaded out the historic garden plants. Today the Rosemont Plantation is characterized by a diverse range of hardwoods, such as the Japanese varnish tree, willow oak, hackberry, scarlet oak, post oak, southern red cedar, red oak, black oak, ironwood, tulip poplar, shagbark hickory, black walnut, and dogwood.

HISTORIC SYNOPSIS OF ROSEMONT

Historical Overview of the Upcountry

Previous Archaeological Research

The Piedmont of South Carolina generally has been ignored by historical archaeology. This is perhaps best evidenced by Orser's (1988:10-20) discussions of "Southern Plantation Archaeology" in his Millwood monograph, which relied exclusively on coastal archaeological sites. The work which is available is concentrated on either military sites, such as Fort Independence in Abbeville County (Bastian 1982) and Ninety Six in Greenwood County, or individual house sites, such as the Bratton House in York County (Carrillo 1975), the Howser House in Cherokee County (Carrillo 1976), and the Gillebeau House in McCormick County (Lewis 1979).

Orser's archaeological and historical research at Millwood Plantation in Abbeville County, the home of James E. Calhoun, cousin of John C. Calhoun, represents the only detailed investigation of an antebellum plantation (Orser 1988; Orser et al. 1987). The only research from the up country which deals even generally with garden related items is the work by Carrillo (1979) at the Kilgore-Lewis Spring in Greenville County.

More recently Messick et al. (2001) note the same concern for Georgia. They observe that while the Georgia Piedmont witnessed much agricultural activity, plantation and farm sites identified are often recommended not eligible. It appears that disturbances, such as plowing, timbering, and erosion, have taken a significant toll on the Georgia (and South Carolina) uplands.

They recommend a series of research topics, including the spatial dynamics of agrarian sites, adaptation to local environmental conditions, refuse disposal patterns, agricultural technology, variations in ethnic identies, and status (Messick et al. 2001:109-111).

Joseph and his colleagues have taken an even more recent look at the upland of Georgia (Joseph et al. 2004). They note that "upland plantation settlement systems are more variable than those of the coastal plantation," possibly because of the variations in the scale of Piedmont plantations (Joseph 2004:80). They also note the surprising absence of slave settlement investigations (Joseph 2004:82), attributing their absence to the sites often being overlooked as "small, of low density, and eroded."

In fact their comments on the dearth of upland plantation research is worth noting at length:

> First, upland plantations were less intensively developed than coastal plantations and as a result left less of a material footprint and are more difficult to identify archaeologically. Second, plantation agriculture in the Piedmont would lead to a significant amount of erosion (Trimble 1974), and this, coupled with the shifting settlement system employed in the uplands, has resulted in the loss or degradation of many of the earlier plantation sites that were subsequently reused as agricultural fields. Another factor that has limited research into upland plantations is their setting and geography. Upland

> plantations were rural and quite often extensive. As a result, their locations are not ones that are likely to be impacted by projects requiring archaeological survey (Joseph et al. 2004:83).

While their analysis can be critiqued, there is no question that Piedmont archaeology is not nearly as well developed as that in the lowcountry.

Like Messick et al. (2001) before them, Joseph and his colleagues also offer their views on appropriate upland research. They suggest that an emphasis should be placed on understanding plantation systems and settlement, rather than just looking at artifact density. In particular they urge a renewed effort to identify slave settlements – critical to the study of African American culture in the upcountry.

Research should also be directed toward the role of domestic and wild foodstuffs in the diets of upcountry planters, overseers, and slaves. They point out that the upland tendency for slaves to work in the gang system, rather than the task system, may have reduced the time available to slaves to engage in hunting, fishing and trapping.

Joseph and his colleagues also point out that while coastal African American slave cemeteries are often identified, almost none have been found in the Piedmont.

Consequently, the original 1991-1992 research at Rosemont (Trinkley et al. 1992) takes on considerable significance to an understanding of South Carolina upcountry history and archaeology. Not only does this research represent the first investigation of an upcountry garden, but it also represents only the second historical and archaeological examination of a Piedmont plantation. The current additional research furthers the goal of more intensive examination of upland plantation systems.

Up Country Historical Synopsis

Historical accounts of the territory encompassing the Piedmont began with the DeSoto expedition in 1540 (Swanton 1946). This area, referred to as the "Up Country" or "Back Country" interchangeably, was recognized by the Indians and the early settlers to be the hunting grounds of the Lower Cherokee (Logan 1859:6). In these early years the principal source of interaction between the European settlers and the Cherokee involved a loosely organized trading network.

After the establishment of South Carolina as a British province in 1670, organization and delineation into more manageable territorial units began. In 1685, the Proprietors sectioned the new province into four counties. Present Laurens County was included in the largest of these, Craven County, which remained as Indian land until 1755 (Kennedy 1940:34). A further refinement of boundaries in 1769 saw the creation of the Ninety Six District. It was not until 1785 that Laurens County was created by an act of the South Carolina legislature that divided the district into six units of approximately 45 square miles each.

The 1755 treaty between the Cherokee and Governor James Glen ceded nearly half of the territory of present South Carolina to the whites (Mills 1972:604). An early and sparse influx of settlers from the north was composed mainly of cattlemen and Indian traders. These semi-permanent settlements were concentrated along the streams and rivers where land was both productive and easily cleared. Cattlemen constructed temporary "cowpens" and planted small sections of corn, grains, and produce for home consumption.

After the initial settlements of the 1750s the white population of the Up Country did not increase significantly until 1761, with the

expulsion of the Native American population at the end of the Cherokee War. This created a second wave of immigration and settlement, spearheaded by farmers from the northern colonies of North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. These settlers developed a self-sufficient economy based on planting flax, tobacco, corn, wheat, and oats, and raising cattle and hogs for their own use. Slaves were relatively uncommon until the early 1800s.

In this early period of European settlement there was little connection with the legal authorities on the coast (i.e., Charleston), leaving the Up County largely autonomous. This led to the emergence of the Regulator Movement of the 1760s, a vigilante organization which attempted to maintain order and provide security through a system of courts and offices (Racine 1980:13). By the eve of the Revolution, two-thirds of the South Carolina population lived in the Up Country (Racine 1980:14).

By the onset of the American Revolution, the population of the Carolina Up Country was quite diverse in its ethnic, religious, and political backgrounds. These differences seemed to localize the hostilities between Whigs and Tories who lived side by side.

Though the end of the Revolutionary War brought few changes to the life of the Up Country farmers, a solid framework of social and political organization was beginning to emerge. In 1785, an act of the State Legislature formed Laurens County and provided that a court be held at the county seat every three months. The town of Laurensville was established the same year, solely as the county seat, and the first court was held in June 1785. The town was laid out as a rectangle surrounding the square, with five radiating streets (Laurens County Historical Society 1982:60).

In 1790 the Piedmont, with 81,533 inhabitants, accounted for 32.7% of South Carolina's population. By 1800 the population of this area had increased to 120,805, an increase of 48.2% over the previous decade. One obvious reason, clearly, was the promise of good agricultural lands, by this time a rare commodity in the coastal region.

Tobacco remained the economic mainstay of the Up Country until the early 1800s (Ford 1988:6). The dogged persistence of tobacco, in spite of low yields, poor quality, and strong competition, was to foreshadow the impact of cotton on South Carolina.

Interspersed with subsistence crops was indigo, a crop best known from the coastal region, but produced on a number of up country plantations as well. In fact, Henry Laurens and John Lewis Gervais planned to establish a 13,200 acre indigo plantation in the Ninety Six District, but the Revolution diverted them from this plan. Other planters, however, found quick wealth in indigo, planting as much as 40 to 100 acres. Others favored smaller acreage, ranging from 10 to 25 acres, which required fewer slaves but still allowed profits during the period from 1740 to 1770 (Huneycutt 1949; Rembert 1990).

The importance of South Carolina indigo waned after the Revolutionary War. Never considered of high quality, the indigo from South Carolina could not compete on the open market after its favored status ended with independence from Britain. Coupled with this political development was the development of improved processing techniques in India which drastically reduced the profitability of South Carolina indigo. The final blow was the 1793 invention of the cotton gin, which opened a new economic era in the State. Indigo continued to be grown into the nineteenth century, and in 1830 nearly 200,000 pounds were exported from South Carolina. Yet, this represented little profit and the bulk of the crop which continued to be grown in South Carolina is best considered a cottage industry.

James Henry Hammond's 1858 defense of the South before the United States Senate declared, "No, you dare not make war on cotton. No power on earth dares to make war upon it. Cotton is King." This sentiment was the culmination of nearly fifty years of agricultural and economic practices that led the South to the brink of destruction. The Up Country's participation in this economic roller coaster has been described in some detail by Ford (1988) and only a brief synopsis will be presented here.

Lacking a consistently profitable staple crop, the Up Country concentrated on the production of subsistence crops until the early 1800s with the introduction of the cotton gin and the rise of English textile mills, the out-growth of the industrial revolution. This early emphasis on food stuffs, while retarding upward mobility, had a lasting influence on the region, its economy, and its world view.

Cotton spread quickly during the first decade of the 1800s and by 1811 the Up Country was exporting over 30 million pounds of short-staple cotton (Ford 1988:7). This cotton boom promoted tremendous growth in the region, a growth that even the yeomen farmers could participate in since it required little capital outlay and was subject to no particular economies of scale.

As in the coastal area, the history of cotton in the Up Country is also the history of slavery. Laurens County had only 1,120 slaves in 1790, with one household in four owning one or more slaves. In addition, over 77% of the families owning slaves had four or less. There were only two slaveholders in Laurens with 20 or more slaves.

By 1860 the number of slaves had grown to 13,200 and 51.1% of the families in Laurens were slave owners. Those owning four or fewer slaves had declined to 35.8%, with the average slaves per slaveholder over 12. One slaveholder in the county held over 200 African Americans in bondage. At the eve of the Civil War slaves outnumbered the white inhabitants of Laurens by over 2,500 persons. The boom in cotton radically changed the face of the Up Country, adding hundreds of slaveholders (Ford 1988:45).

Slave holding became, in Ford's terms "a widely recognized symbol of social respectability" (Ford 1988:14). And this respectability was purchased by the profits of cotton. Flush, but fragile, cotton produced an economic system not unlike rice -- bound to the world economy over which the planter had no control. Consequently, the Napoleonic Wars caused a downturn in prices, with a revitalization of the boom in 1815 at the end of the war. By 1818 the prices were up to 30¢ a pound, from a low of 10¢ a pound during the war. By 1819 the prices began to drop as the world experienced a serious depression or deflation, with no real recovery until the 1830s. Even this recovery was short lived, with the Panic of 1837 drastically reducing cotton prices into the 1840s.

In 1850 there were 11,953 slaves in Laurens County, working on 1,603 farms totaling 182,525 improved acres (or about 40% of the total acreage in the county). The total value of Laurens County farms was $4,060,899, ranking fifth in the state, behind only Charleston, Edgefield, Beaufort, and Abbeville. Laurens ranked fourth in number of horses (n=7,286), fourth in swine (n=55,288), 10th in cattle (n=22,848), and 11th in sheep (n=11,583). Agricultural production was high, with the county producing more wheat and oats than any other in the state (129,694 and 66,337 bushels respectively). It produced the third largest corn crop (895,291 bushels). The cotton crop, composed of 15,842 bales, was the seventh largest in the state (surpassed only by Abbeville, Edgefield, Newberry, Sumter, Fairfield, and Chester counties). Laurens also ranked fourth in the total value of slaughtered livestock (n=$174,336). Even in manufacturing the County was prospering. It ranked eighth in total capital (n=$184,475) and third in production (n=$419,715) (DeBow 1854:304-307).

At least part of this agricultural diversification was the result of the reform movement of Edmund Ruffin (1843), who argued for increased food crops, decreased cotton, and greater industrial development. While having some short-term impact during the period of depressed cotton prices, as soon as cotton prices recovered, it was again planted in mass. In 1849 Up Country farmers produced 75% more cotton than they had a decade earlier (Ford 1988:43). In spite of this the Up Country remained largely self-sufficient, with this self-sufficiency being more pronounced in the Upper Piedmont counties of Anderson, Lancaster, Greenville, Pickens, Spartanburg, and York, than in the Lower Piedmont counties, such as Laurens.

Ford remarks that while the agricultural reform movement didn't wean the Piedmont from cotton:

> it did force many Upcountry whites to confront the possible tension between the ideological devotion to personal independence and their economic interest in commercial agriculture. At least in theory, production for the market encouraged specialization rather than self-sufficiency and involved the producer in an increasingly complex network of economic relationships which threatened to undermine his independence. Unless properly leveraged, participation in the market economy portended an end to the splendid isolation of self-sufficiency which did so much to preserve personal independence (Ford 1988:52).

Even in Laurens County the Milton Agricultural Society reported, "we raise among ourselves nearly all the hogs, and all the cattle, that we need for consumption" and that "every farmer raises all the grain which he consumes, and usually markets a surplus of wheat and flour" (quoted in Ford 1988:54).

Ford also cautions against the easy trap of accepting the "dual-economy" hypothesis that views the Up Country as divided into planters raising cotton and yeoman farmers raising food stuffs. Ford notes:

> by and large, Upcountry yeomen were not forced to make an all-or-nothing choice between commercial agriculture and subsistence farming, or between traditional mores and market values. Instead Upcountry yeomen made a set of crop-mix decisions each year, balancing their need for a sure and steady food supply with their desire for cotton profits, a cash income, and a higher standard of living (Ford 1988:72).

There remained an uneasy peace between yeoman and plantation owner in the Up Country. In order to maintain the political support of the yeoman majority, planters were forced to moderate their economic and legal power, molding themselves to the community mores and opinion.

Ford argues that the Up Country actively participated in Secession because of the:

> "country-republican" ideal of personal independence, given particular fortification by the use of black slaves as a mud-sill class. Yeoman rose with planter to defend this ideal because it was not merely the planters' ideal, but his as well (Ford 1988:372).

The Civil War had little military impact on Laurens and no battles were fought in the County. It did, however, change Laurens' history, destroying the basis of its wealth and creating in its place a system of tenancy – the hiring of farm laborers for a portion of the crop, a fixed amount of money, or both.

Immediately after the Civil War cotton prices peaked, causing many Southerners to plant cotton again, in the hope of recouping losses from the War. The single largest problem across the South, however, was labor. While some freedmen stayed on to work, others, apparently many others, left. An Englishman traveling through the South immediately after the war remarked that, "thirty-seven thousand negroes, according to newspaper estimates, have left South Carolina already, traveling west" (quoted in Orser 1988:49).

The hiring of freedmen began immediately after the war, with variable results. The Freedmen's Bureau attempted to establish a system of wage labor, but the effort was largely tempered by the enactment of the Black Codes by the South Carolina Legislature in September 1865. These Codes allowed nominal freedom, while establishing a new kind of slavery, severely restricting the rights and freedoms of the black majority (see Orser 1988:50). Added to the Codes were oppressive contracts which reinforced the power of the plantation owner and degraded the freedom of the Blacks. The freedmen found power, however, in their ability to break their contracts and move to a new plantation, beginning a new contract. With the high price of cotton and the scarcity of labor, this mechanism caused tremendous agitation to the plantation owners.

Gradually owners turned away from wage labor contracts to two kinds of tenancy – sharecropping and renting. While very different, both succeeded in making land ownership very difficult, if not impossible, for the vast majority of Blacks. Sharecropping required the tenant to pay his landlord part of the crop produced, while renting required that he pay a fixed rent in either crops or money. In sharecropping the tenant supplied the labor and one-half of the fertilizer, the landlord supplied everything else – land, house, tools, work animals, animal feed, wood for fuel, and the other half of the needed fertilizer. In return the landlord received half of the crop at harvest. This system became known as "working on halves," and the tenants as "half hands," or "half tenants."

In share-renting, the landlord supplied the land, housing, and either one-quarter or one-third of the fertilizer costs. The tenant supplied the labor, animals, animal feed, tools, seed, and the remainder of the fertilizer. At harvest the crop was divided in proportion to the amount of fertilizer that each party supplied. A number of variations on this occurred, one of the most common being "third and fourth," where the landlord received one-fourth of the cotton crop and one-third of all other crops. In cash-renting the landlord provided the land and housing, with the renter providing everything else and paying a fixed per-acre rent in cash.

Between 1880 and 1925 the number of owner-operated farms in the Piedmont increased by 35.3%, while the number of cash renters increased by 375.4% and the number of sharecroppers increased by 155.8%. Moreover, 1880 was the only year between 1880 and 1925 during which a majority of Piedmont farmers were owners, and this occurred in only three counties. One of these was Laurens, where 58.6% of the farmers were listed as owners in 1880. Afterwards the population of owner-operators in the Piedmont remained at about 30% (Orser 1988:60).

In 1884 the labor system of Laurens County was described:

> land is usually furnished for services rendered. One-third of crop is paid for rent. Wages do not prevail such. When they do, the laborer gives the whole time

> [a 10-hour day] and is paid as above [board and $8 to $10 a month for men and $4 to $6 a month for women] (The News and Courier 1884:n.p.).

The account continued by noting that the cost of cotton production was about $40 per 500 pound bale. There were about 200 gins operating in Laurens County and the distance cotton would be hauled to a gin never exceeded 3 miles. The report indicated that freedmen "never succeed [as farm owners] unless under advice and using the judgment of white farmers of experience" (The News and Courier 1884:n.p.).

Orser notes that the period from 1880 to 1920 is one of consistent agricultural expansion, with a concomitant increase in cotton production. This trend, however, changed between 1920 and 1925, when both the number of farms and the cotton production dramatically decreased (Orser 1988:69). The causes of this reversal are at least two-fold: increasing Piedmont erosion and the introduction of the boll weevil (cf. Orser 1988:77).

History of Rosemont Plantation

Colonial History of Rosemont

The first documented owner of the Rosemont (also variously spelled Rosemonte and Rose Monte in family correspondence) Plantation was Patrick Cunningham. A land grant is dated September 29, 1769 for 100 acres "on the North East side of the Saludy River" (SC Department of Archives and History, Colonial Land Grants (copy series), vol. 18, pg. 525; the memorial for this property is dated November 13, 1769).

Although Patrick Cunningham is mentioned as a bordering land owner on a host of grants and memorials, primarily for Berkeley and Craven counties, we have identified only three other grants in his name. Two are dated April 2, 1773 and are for 150 acres each in Berkeley County (SC Department of Archives and History, Colonial Land Grants (copy series), vol. 28, pg. 591, 599). The third is dated April 21, 1775 and is for 100 acres on Duncans Creek (whose headwaters are north of Laurens; SC Department of Archives and History, Colonial Land Grants (copy series), vol. 36, pg. 80).

A family history written by Ann Pamela Cunningham in the 1840s mentions that:

> an old Lady now alive distinctly remembers the small framed building put up by Patrick as a temporary residence, used for several years until he built the house at present occupied by his Descendants. This House was commenced before the "War," is built in the massy heavy style of those days & entirely of Lightwood (Pine) most of which was seasoning for 7 or 8 years. The family have always been under the impression that it was the first of the kind built in the upper country and have religiously preserved it as first constructed, except where absolute comfort (according to present ideas) required some slight alteration. Patrick's household establishment for the 1st year consisted of 9 servants (an unusual number in that region). As he was exclusively devoted to his profession, and there is an entry of overseer Salary in 1772, we presume he did not commence "planting" til then - "Lands" not "Negroes" seemed the principal object with him, and I meet with entries of tracts after tracts "taken up," & often rented out. But there is at this day, no clue to enable us to ascertain the

> amount of the immense body (for those days) said to be in his possession at the breaking out of the Revolution (MS. 21904, Alabama Department of Archives and History).

The reference to a temporary framed structure later replaced by the residence "at present occupied by his Descendants" is confusing when another comment by Ann Pamela Cunningham in the same account is considered, "the first framed dwelling house erected in the upper country was the one he commenced before the war in which we now live" (MS. 21904, Alabama Department of Archives and History). Thus, we cannot know for certain if there is an earlier Cunningham structure.

A Loyalist, Patrick played a relatively minor role in the Revolutionary War, raising a militia company in which he was a Captain. Captured, he was held in Charleston for several months in early 1776. Upon his release he offered his services to the patriots in their expedition against his former allies, the Cherokees, but was refused (Chestnutt et al. 1985, n387). He was commissioned a Colonel with the fall of Charleston to the British and lead the Little River Regiment until the end of hostilities. Henry Laurens did characterize the Cunninghams as having "much venom" (Chestnutt et al. 1985:345).

His role as an officer was sufficient to cause his eventual banishment from South Carolina and the sequestering of his property under the Confiscation Act of 1782. His elder brother, Robert Cunningham, was a General in the British Army and took an active part in the war, eventually residing in Charleston until that city was evacuated by the British in late 1782. Both Robert and Patrick moved to Florida where they established plantations and cut live oak timber (O'Neall 1859:395).

Between 1783 and 1790 General Robert Cunningham requested reimbursement from England for the losses he sustained in the American Revolution. His petition noted that his deeds for property in the Ninety Six District had been looted from his house, although he claimed ownership of 750 acres (100 acres cleared) on Saluda River with a good frame house and outhouses, an apple and peach orchard. An additional plantation was held on Beaver Dam Creek in Georgia, including 250 acres (10 acres cleared) with dwelling and out houses. Other losses included 20 head of horses, 100 head of cattle, 300 hogs, 40 sheep, one wagon, three plows, tools and implements, 100 bushels of wheat, 500 bushels of corn, 500 bushels of oats, and money due on bonds and notes. A witness, commenting on an unspecified plantation, stated that in 1783 there was a "house of logs, logs squared; rather small, but good one for that country; seemed more than one story high; floored and shingled; could not have been made for less that £20." His total losses were placed at £2355 (Abstract of Ms. Books and Papers of the Commission of Inquiry into the Losses and Services of the American Loyalists, South Carolina Historical Society, 30-04).

Although no such detailed document has been found for Patrick Cunningham, he apparently did submit an account of claimed losses to the government (SC Department of Archives and History, Accounts Audited of Claims Growing Out of the Revolution, vol. 29, pg. 546).

Patrick returned to South Carolina in January 1785 and on March 13, 1785 petitioned the legislature to remain in the state. He was allowed to resettle, presumably at Rosemont, but his property was amerced at 12% and his political rights were suspended for seven years (Chestnutt et al. 1985:139).

Patrick served in General Assembly for two terms, beginning in 1790, but O'Neall remarked that, "believing that he was overlooked in the duties of the House by the

malignity of those who governed, he refused to serve any longer" (O'Neall 1859:396). He was appointed a Deputy Surveyor in 1793, a position he held until his death three years later in 1796.

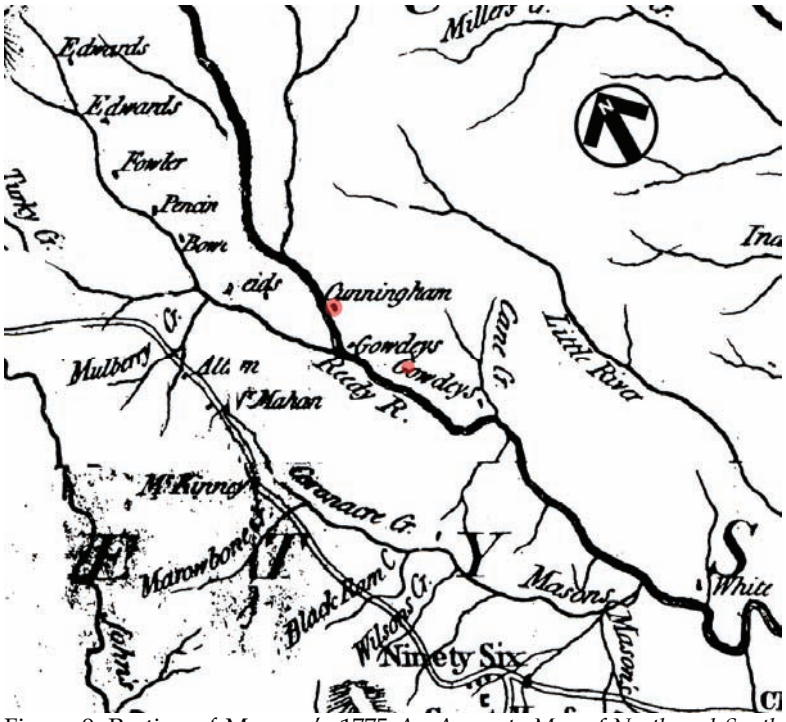


Figure 9. Portion of Mouzon's 1775 *An Accurate Map of North and South Carolina* showing the Cunningham settlement. Its plotted location, if that of Rosemont, is several miles too far north. The correct location is shown between the two Gowdeys settlements.

Ann Pamela's family history also reveals that:

> in the spring [of 1785], he proceeded to his old residence on Saluda, to finish the house commenced so long before - much of the "timber" for which was of the richest lightwood & had been seasoning during the whole war. In the fall, he carried his family up. With his usual activity & energy, he set to work to repair losses & relieve himself of the many embarrassments which surrounded him. In order to get rid of the "fine" at once I find his house in town & 9 tracts of land sold for that purpose! Which, in a few years would have been worth quadruple the sum. Indigo was the staple of the "Upper County" then, & he cultivated it most successfully - tho the sickness its cultivation generates, added to that of living on a very unhealthful place, made it in the end, a losing business. I will mention one instance to give an idea of his energy & perseverance. Indigo required a great deal of moisture and if the season proved dry the planter sustained a much greater loss from it than in cotton (which has supplanted it under the same circumstances). He was want to say, he could never fear an entire loss of "crop" so long as Goldman (a creek emptying in Saluda near his house) & Saluda had water in them. It was his custom, when the season was very unpropitious, to haul the water in casks & have each plant watered late in the evening . . . & then a piece of "bark" placed over each during the day, to prevent ill effects from the "Sun." Tedious as was this operation, he found it profitable (MS. 21904, Alabama Department of Archives and History).

A diary by Abner Pyles recounts that he boarded at Cunningham's where his father,

Reuben Pyles, "was working on a fine new house"(Abner Pyles Papers, Special Collections, Duke University, Durham). This suggests that the house was still under construction about 1790.

The 1790 federal census reveals that Pyles had a Laurens household of 12 whites and 10 African American slaves. We also know that in 1786, Pyles had a plat for 1,000 acres on Cain Creek in the Ninety Six District prepared (SC Department of Archives and History State Plat Books (Charleston Series), vol. 12, pg. 252).

In contrast, Patrick Cunningham's household consisted of six whites and 46 African American slaves. Cunningham's slave holdings were unprecedented for Laurens, with the next largest slave holding owning only 19.

Patrick died on October 25, 1796. At that time he owned about 7,724 acres, having already disposed of 1,280 additional acres – all on Raeburns and Beaverdam creeks and the Little, Saluda, and Reedy rivers (Bailey 1984:139).

His will, dated October 2, 1796, stipulated that:

> To my said Wife and Son Robert the plantation and house where I now Live to be Equally posefsed During her life, and after her Defseas I give the same to the above Robert Cuningham, to hold to him & his heirs forever. . . . it is also my Desire that my Tract lying on Saluda and Reedy River be Divided by a Line beginning at a plant patch on Saluda and Running to a branch Called The Middle fork and Continue up to the head of the said branch and from thence a direct Course to my back Line beyond the Dry ford Leaving the old Race ground One hundred Yards to the left hand the upper tract joining Reedy River I give to my son William Cunningham and his heirs forever and the Lower tract whereon my house is I give to my son Robert Cunningham and his heirs forever (South Carolina Will Transcripts 1782-1868, Laurens County, volume 1, 1766-1825, South Carolina Historical Society SC-AR-M/9-16).

He also left a Beaverdam Creek tract to his son John Cunningham and a provision that any other lands he might have be divided between his three sons, John, William, and Robert. His stock, slaves, plantation furniture, and associated items were also to be equally divided between his three sons and wife. His wife was to have a life interest in the plantation house tract with Robert.

The inventory of Patrick Cunningham's estate reveals land holdings of approximately 10,216 acres, including three main plantation holdings. The first, situated on Little River and Beaverdam Creek, contained 1,190½ acres and appears to have been assembled between 1790 and 1794. The second, on the north side of the Reedy River, contained 1,540 acres and was assembled around 1790. The third major tract, appears to be Rosemont, and contained 1,646 acres. At least a part of this tract was granted as early as September 2, 1769. The remaining tracts were found on Reyburn or Reaburn's Creek, Saluda River, Cane Creek, and Walnut Creek. This inventory suggests that while Patrick Cunningham may have been amassing his landed estate prior to the American Revolution, most of it dates from after his amercement, indicating that he was able to complete his reintegration in economic society.

In addition to the lands, his inventory reveals 53 slaves, a watch, surveying instruments, two wagons, plantation equipment and tools, 29 horses, 100 cattle, 200 hogs, and 40

sheep. The 1796 crop included tobacco, indigo, cotton, and several grains (Laurens County Probate Court, Inventory Book --, pp. 187-189).

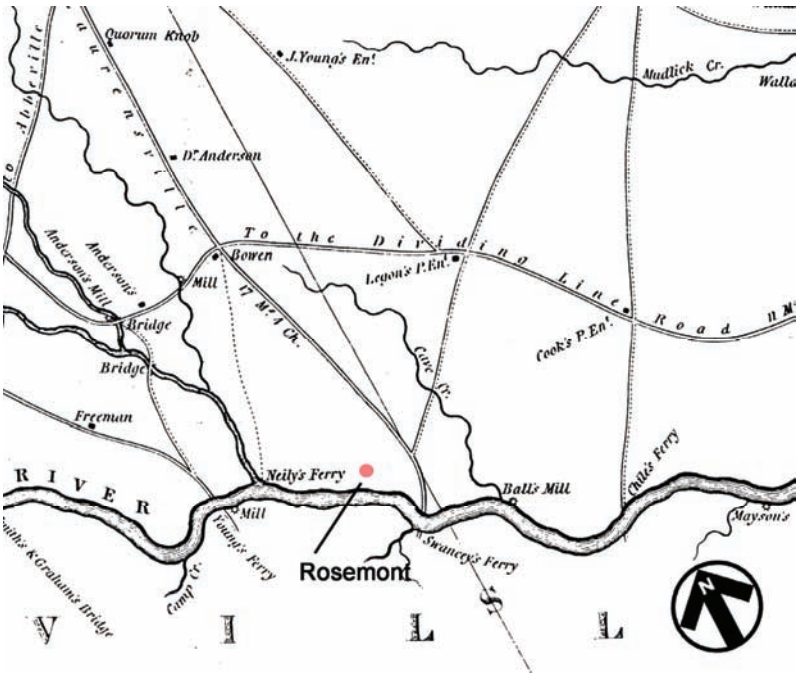


Figure 10. Although a subscriber to Mills' 1826 *Atlas*, the Cunningham settlement is not shown. The map, however, does provide a view of surrounding period roads.

William Cunningham died in December 1798 and his mother died shortly thereafter, on September 17, 1799 on Sullivans Island in Charleston. Thus, at the end of the eighteenth century only two sons of Patrick Cunningham remained alive: John, about 27 years old, and Robert, almost 13.

Antebellum Developments

John Cunningham is listed in the 1800 and 1810 federal census, presumably at Rosemont. In 1800 he is shown as having 63 slaves. By 1810 he is reported as owning 86 African Americans. In both years the Cunninghams continued to be the largest slave holders in Laurens District.

His wealth, however, offered no protection against influenza and, in 1817, he died at Rosemont. Robert Cunningham inherited Rosemont as a result, having married Louisa Bird in 1814. She and Robert had been living at Rosemont since that time.

Our knowledge of Rosemont under the ownership of Robert Cunningham from 1796 to his death in 1859 is spotty. It was, however, under the ownership of Robert Cunningham, and the oversight of his wife, Louisa, that the gardens of Rosemont were established and flourished. Much has been made of the possible influence of Mount Vernon's landscape on the gardens at Rosemont. While understanding of the desire to forge some early connection, this does a disservice to the long history and tradition of gardens in South Carolina (see, for example, the discussion of eighteenth century garden design on South Carolina plantations by Trinkley and Hacker 2008). In fact, the effect of local influences is well documented by the interaction between Louisa Cunningham and "Mrs. [William] Seabrook" of Oak Island Plantation. The Oak Island plantation gardens on Edisto are documented by a series of Civil War photographs from 1862 (see Fick 2005:377, 441-444).

By 1830 the slave population at Cunningham's Laurens plantations had grown to 101, although by this time the plantation was eclipsed by Dr. M. Rice's 111 slaves.

An August 1838 letter from Louisa Cunningham reveals that fences (described as a "running of . . . palings") were being erected and when complete would "save my poor garden from the fowls, which for years past has so infested it." She goes on to describe "a delightful

fruit year" at Rosemont, yielding strawberries, apricots, nectarines, figs, peaches, raspberries, and grapes. Flowers did not do so well, "there is no show at all, of summer flowers – everything of a tender nature have perished – I have not even where-with to gather seed." She also mentions moving shrubbery, although no details are given (letter from Louisa Cunningham to B.C. Yancey, dated August 30, 1838, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

In February 1839, John Cunningham wrote his cousin, Ben Yancey, that "Mother was out laying off her grounds, planting & executing old & inventing new schemes of improvement. The place looks very different from what it was when you last saw it" (February 24, 1839 letter from John Cunningham to Ben Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

The laying out of new gardens and even the August 1838 fence construction appears to have been an ongoing process at Rosemont. An April 1839 letter from Louisa to her ward, Benjamin Yancey, remarks that new fences were being made and the garden expanded and revitalized with the assistance of two slave gardeners, Sam and Austin:

> my altering the plan of my flower garden - those little tiny beds which were literally all box wood I have enlarged by taking up the box and throwing them together only having a center bed and corner beds . . . . all the Roses that were in the yard I have taken up and planted in a hedge each side of the avenue next the fence . . . I have enlarged the garden as far out as the Lower end of the school house which is now designated the Library - and back of it I have laid out in a handsome flower parterre . . . being divided from the old part by a long bed of 8 feet wide with a walk ea [ ] the bottom of the garden - only dividing by the cross walks - when it's planted up it will shew well, as you enter the house - there is no paling running across dividing the yard from the avenues the fences extending just beyond the bridge with a gate, at the end of the bridge-joining (Southern Historical Collection, April 8, 1839 letter from Louisa Cunningham to Benjamin Yancey).

Louisa went on to mention that the buildings and fences at Rosemont were all whitewashed and that "across the river it looks like a village."

The expansion of Rosemont's slave population continued, with the 1840 census reporting 143 slaves. The lifestyle of the plantation is described, in almost envious terms, by Benjamin Perry in an 1841 letter to his wife:

> The grounds, gardens, fences and general appearance of Mr. Cunningham's residence are very much improved, and are indeed very handsome. I have never seen any more beautiful. Their drawing room is truly magnificent; very much improved since you saw it by a beautiful and costly carpet, four immense mirrors, chairs, ottomans, etc. (Perry 1889:128).

Ann Pamela Cunningham was born in 1816 and although suffering a back injury as an adolescent, she appears to have been an active participant in the affairs of Rosemont by at least the early 1840s. Moltke-Hansen reviews the affect of this injury on Ann Pamela, remarking that she was a "semi-invalid" for the remainder

of her life. "Kept at home, away from the society and pleasures of her peers and the solicitous eyes of her parents, she found that time hung heavy on her hands" (Moltke-Hansen 1980:38).

In January 1840 Ann Pamela wrote to Mrs. Benjamin Perry that she had converted the Library into a house for herself, since it was both more quiet and "the house is so low to the ground that in mild weather I can step out myself - then again from each window I see a cheering prospect of evergreens etc.; before [when she was confined to her second story bedroom in the main house] there was nothing but the 'clouds'"(January 13, 1840 letter from Ann Pamela Cunningham to Mrs. B. Perry, Alabama Department of Archives and History). She also mentioned in the letter that she has divided the one room library into two rooms, creating a bedroom and sitting room.

In 1842 there is additional information concerning the gardening activities of Louisa. At that time she was sent "rare French roses" in exchange for "yellow rose trees," and was planting oleanders, live oaks, palmettos, and sour oranges (December 10, 1842 letter to Louisa Cunningham from Margaret Crawford, Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Collection). Besides the beauty of the garden, the Rosemont estate apparently produced more "useful" articles. In an 1842 letter peaches were again mentioned, as was fig preserves, tomato catsup, peach marmalade, and cabbage pickle, as well as corn and "fat" (December 13, 1842 letter from Ann Pamela Cunningham to Laura Hines [wife of Ben Yancey], Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

In 1846 a loom house "with all of its contents" at the plantation burned (February 25, 1846 letter from Louisa Cunningham to Ben Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill). This suggests that Rosemont produced cotton goods, at least for home consumption. While the letter fails to provide any clear location for the structure, it was apparently in the immediate vicinity of other structures since Louisa mentions their luck that the "wind carried in the direction of the Bridge" and nothing else caught on fire, even the adjacent "Ash hopes" or hoptree was untouched.

Ann Pamela continued to be as interested in her family history as in her mother's gardening. She was corresponding with Benjamin Perry about her meeting with Hugh O'Neall, remarking in an 1843 letter that she:

> ransacked an old trunk covered with the dust of half a century . . . and brought to light documents . . . confirming what I had heard from Mr. O'Neal, but of which we were ignorant. We were not aware before of the enormous fine my grandfather had to pay to be allowed to return to his home (March 25, 1843 letter from Ann Pamela Cunningham to B.F. Perry, Alabama Department of Archives and History).

This interest resulted in Ann Pamela publishing a family history or apologia concerning the Loyalist attitudes of her grandfather in 1843. She argued that Patrick and his brother, Robert, were defending their rights against Whig abuses of power. This view was immediately rebuked by William Gilmore Simms, which both angered and deeply depressed Ann Pamela (see Moltke-Hansen 1980).

In spite of her ill-fated efforts to defend her Tory ancestors, Ann Pamela continued to evidence a tremendous interest in the history surrounding her family. A recurring possessiveness of Rosemont is indicated in an 1847 letter by Ann Pamela, as well as the brewing family dissention:

Table 1.
Comparison of Rosemont's agricultural production with the average for Laurens County in 1850

	Slaves	Value	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Horse, Asses & Mules	Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Value Livestock Slaughtered	Cotton, bales	Wheat, bu	Corn, bu	Oats, bu	Peas & Beans, bu	Butter, lbs	Wool, lbs	Value Home-Made Manufacures
Rosemont	93	$25,000	1,000	1,500	31	45	100	150	$1,200	100	300	5,000	1,000	50	2,000	150	$250
Laurens	9	$2,533	114	176	4	14	7	34	$109	10	81	558	121	7	103	12	$34

> Father has talked much about selling out everything & investing his property, but I shall go to the death against it - The home of my Fathers shall never belong to strangers while I am alive, if I can help it - & I hope & believe I can. John has long advised Father to sell a portion of useless land & unprofitable negroes, now while we could without perfect sacrifice (March 31, 1847 letter from Ann Pamela Cunningham to Mrs. Perry, Alabama Department of Archives and History).

There is remarkable little information on Rosemont during the 1840s. Ann Pamela mentions "sick negroes" in 1844, the record drought in 1845, and rains injuring the rye and wheat in 1846. It appears that these years were typical and few of the plantation activities interested Ann Pamela (November 9, 1844 letter from Ann Pamela Cunningham to B. Perry, July 2, 1845 letter from Ann Pamela Cunningham to B. Perry, June 27, 1846 letter from Ann Pamela Cunningham to B. Perry, Alabama Department of Archives and History).

We learn that Louisa was intent upon building a "Green House" by the parlor using plans provided by Joel Poinsett. Poinsett, in a letter to Robert Cunningham, explains:

> I saw one just completed for Gray the Gardener and will endeavour to give you such a description of it as will aid Mrs. Cunningham and her aide Dr. Baker in erecting one at RoseMount. The glass used is 6x8 inches something thicker than common window glass. Its costs in Philadelphia $4 a hundred feet, and I would advise that your agent should consult Buist the Gardener in that city where it is to be procured and I am sure he will cheerfully give the required information (Southern Historical Collection, January 6, 1847 letter from Joel Poinsett to Robert Cunningham).

In 1848 Robert Cunningham of Rosemont sold 45 slaves to his son, John, for one dollar (March 31, 1848 bill of sale, Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers). This appears to be the earliest record of Robert beginning to divide his estate prior to his death.

With the sale of slaves to John, the 1850 census identified 48 African Americans at Rosemont. However, prior to the sale, the plantation produced 100 bales of cotton, 5,000 bushels of corn, 1,000 bushels of oats, and 300 bushels of wheat. Only a very modest 30 bushels of rye are reported, along with 15 pounds of rice, 50 bushels of potatoes, and 60 bushels of barley.

The 25 milk cows on the plantation allowed the slaves to produce 2,000 pounds of butter. There were, in addition, 45 cattle, 100 sheep (which produced 150 pounds of wool), and 150 pigs. Combined with the 27 horses and four mules, the plantation's livestock was valued at $1,000. A total of $1,200 was reported as the value of animals slaughtered over the year.

The 2,500 acres of plantation included 1,000 acres of improved lands. The farm listed $800 of implements and machinery; its total value was listed at $25,000.

Table 1 compares the production of Rosemont with the average production for Laurens County. Clearly Rosemont's production was exceptional. Yet, its production seems essentially in line with its very large slave force. With nearly 10 times the average slave labor force as the county average, Rosemont had roughly 10 times the value, 10 times the improved acreage, and produced 10 times the cotton and about 10 times the corn, oats, and wool.

John wrote Ben Yancey in 1850 that:

> Father & I do not agree very well as to a place in Laurens for me. He refuses to convey to me or give me any valid legal claim to the land, and I refuse to put labor, expense and improvements on a tract, of which I may be deprived at any time by himself, or after his death by the contest of others (December 1850 letter from John Cunningham to Ben Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

Apparently this continuing family dispute was at least temporarily settled. In 1851 Robert sold 1013 acres, representing part of Rosemont, to John (Laurens County Deed Book P, page 196).

In May 1854 John mortgaged the 1018 acres to the Bank of the State of South Carolina, along with 22 slaves, to cover his note for $10,000. A second mortgage was recorded in September 1855 (Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers). Both mortgages were apparently paid in full.

Louisa continued to escape from the surrounding political and family turmoil by working in her garden. A January 1852 letter remarks on the success of her peas and lettuce, indicating that vegetables were as large a concern as the flowers and shrubbery (January 30, 1852 letter from Louisa Cunningham to Ben Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill). A visitor to Rosemont in April 1852 found Louisa "busy setting out plants," and remarked that "the garden is beginning to look as 'Rose Monte' always looks to my eye" (April 14, 1852 letter from Charlotte Perceval to Mrs. Benjamin Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

Robert Cunningham, after several years of declining health, died at Rosemont on July 7, 1859. His will, dated May 24, 1854, proved and filed on July 12, 1859, was to be the source of considerable family infighting and bitterness. It stipulated that Robert had previously provided his son, John, with 1000 acres of land and 45 slaves. To his wife he gave a life estate of 1000 acres "to be laid off so as to include my homestead" and 45 slaves, as well as half of his stock, household and kitchen furniture, wagons, and plantation tools. At her death the property would be equally divided between John and Ann Pamela.

To Ann Pamela Robert Cunningham gave the 1000 acre "Dry Fork" tract, 45 slaves, and the remaining one-half of his stock, household and kitchen furniture, wagons, and plantation tools, but that if Ann Pamela did not have children at her death that the property would go to John or his heirs.

Finally, Robert also provided in the fifth clause of his will that the balance of his land and slaves should be divided between Louisa, John, and Ann Pamela. However, the property given to Louisa was to be a life estate and that given to Ann Pamela would revert to John (or his heirs) if she failed to have children (Laurens County Probate Office, Will Book, page 324).

The Inventory and Appraisement of Robert Cunningham's personal estate was made on July 14 and 15, 1859. It included 155 slaves, divided into the categories of "household servants," "mechanics," "men," "women," "boys and children," and "girls and children." Household servants include a coachman, house servants, seamstresses, maid, cooks and weavers, washer, milker, and unspecified. Also included in this category was Sam, listed as the gardener. The mechanics included three blacksmiths, a carpenter, two tanners and shoemakers, and a miller. The total value of the slaves was listed as $108,900 (Inventory and Appraisement of Robert Cunningham, Laurens County Probate Court, Book B, pages 140-149).

While this inventory provides no information on the African American families converted into slavery and little information on their lives, it does provide a clear indication of the size and complexity of the Rosemont Plantation. The range of mechanics clearly indicates that Rosemont was largely self-sufficient, providing its own metal work, probably including architectural hardware (such as hinges and nails), as well as horse shoes, plows, and hoes. The presence of a miller suggests that the Cunningham's Cane Creek mill was still active. Given the frequent mention of corn, the mill was probably largely devoted to this commodity, although the occasional mentions of wheat and rye suggest that other grains may have been milled as well. All of the mechanics are males and their ages range from 42 to 75, with two of the six being described as infirm. George the blacksmith, 43 years old, was listed as the son of Jess, aged 75 and also a blacksmith.

The household servants include 15 individuals, 10 of whom were females, ranging in age from 11 to "over 80." Only one of these females, Maria the "washer," was listed as infirm, while three of the five males had some form of disability. Sam the gardener is listed as being 63 years old. Curiously, the cook is listed as Harry, 45 years old and infirm. Harriet, 40 years old, is listed as a cook and weaver. The other weaver, Ephraim, is listed as 60 years old. The presence of two weavers confirms the 1842 letter mentioning the plantation's loom.

These two categories of African American slaves are dominated by middle aged to elderly individuals. The mean age is 46 years and 41% are cluster between the age of 43 and 55 years. The total value assigned by the appraisers to these individuals was $15,000. Thus, 14% of the slave population at Rosemont was assigned approximately 13.9% of the total slave value. This suggests that contrary to popular belief, slaves serving as household servants or mechanics did not necessarily carry a higher value than field servants (although they may have been treated differently). The average value of these specialized workers was $682, with this increasing to an average value of $747 if the unsound slaves are removed from consideration. Yet, those slaves under 25 years of age had an average value of $1140. This suggests that while the wisdom and experience of age might be valued on a daily basis, the hard reality of the slave trade considered age a detriment.

This is more clearly shown by the field slaves, 36 of whom were listed as men by the appraisers (apparently the division between men and boys was not constant but occurred around the age of 16). The average age of these slaves was 35 years, considerably younger than the household servants and mechanics. The average value of these slaves was $988, about one-third more than the household servants and mechanics. The average value increased to $1,074 if the "unsound" individuals were excluded and it increased to $1,217 if only those 30 or less years old were included. One male, listed as over 90 years old, was identified as "cotton man," suggesting that he had some special expertise in cotton planting or grading. In spite of this, he was valued at only $100.

Looking at the female slaves a similar pattern emerges. The 28 females (all over the age

of 12 years) had an average value of $760, or about 76% the value of the males. Excluding those listed as unsound, the average value increases to $784, although this represents only 73% of the sound male average value. The average value of females 30 years old or younger was $1,056, or 87% of the male value. Silvy was identified as both a spinner and nurse, although she was listed with the field hands. In spite of these attributes, she was valued at only $100.

It appears that African American field hands were more highly valued for their physical labor potential than for any special expertise they might possess. This interpretation, of course, is based on data from only one plantation. Yet, it does appear that while some prestige might be associated with a special position, the plantation owner was more concerned with acreage plowed and planted. In many respects it appears that cotton was, indeed, “King.”

While the sex ratio of adult male and females is very similar, males were slightly more common (female to male ratio of 1:1.2). Given the differences in values placed on African American males and females, this difference may simply represent Robert Cunningham's preference to have male workers. The ratio of female to male children is essentially the same (1:1.3).

The appraisal also provides an inventory of furnishings in the Drawing Room, Dining Room and Hall, Bed Room No. 1 (downstairs), Bed Room No. 2 (upstairs), Bed Room No. 3 (upstairs), Bed Room No. 4 (upstairs), Bed Room No. 5 (upstairs), Bed Room No. 6 (upstairs), Library (separate building), Kitchen and Cellar. This document reveals that if the house was ever enlarged (discussed below), this process had been completed by 1859. The contents of these rooms and separate buildings was valued at $1,963, including $500 for approximately 1,000 volumes of books in the Library. The house also contained a variety of small items, with an estimated value of $1,154. These items included two bed room gilt china sets, six bed room crockery sets, a set of painted tin water vessels, a lot of knives and forks, china, glass, silver plated wares, and Britannia ware. Silver in the house, including two pitchers, tea set, spoons, and so forth, was valued at $723. A large quantity of wines, brandy, sugar, tea, coffee, cordials, salt, molasses, preserves, hams, shoulders, sides, meats, and so forth were present, but not valued.

Items associated with the plantation included two looms and spinning wheels, washing and ironing utensils, carpenter's tools, and blacksmith tools, valued at $95. Other plantation tools, including 70 hoes, 34 plow stocks, and six wagons, were valued at $875.50. The plantation had 40 head of oxen, 21 milk cows, 15 calves, 15 "dry" cattle, and two bulls, for a value of $737.50. Also inventoried were 190 head of hogs, 120 head of sheep, 21 head of horses, and 23 mules, for a total value of $4,190. Corn, wheat, oats, peas, and fodder were found "on-hand," as well as a wheat crop in the fields which had not yet been thrashed.

The items associated with the plantation suggest that agricultural activities at Rosemont were intensive. The quantity of slaves, plantation tools, horses, and mules suggest that a considerable amount of acreage was being cultivated and the cattle, hogs, and sheep add yet another dimension to the plantation operation. Yet the inventory provides no indication of cotton production at Rosemont. The associated returns on the estate of Robert Cunningham, however, reveal that T. Grange Simons & Sons were cotton factors for Rosemont and that in 1859 they paid the estate $350 on account. In April of 1860 the estate was credited with $1,410.20, "proceeds of cotton sold in Hamburg." These records also reveal that Rosemont had been under the direction of an overseer, J.J. Gennings in 1858 and 1859 (Laurens County Probate Court, Estate of Robert Cunningham, page 240).

Table 2.
Comparison of Rosemont's agricultural production with the average for Laurens County in 1860

	Slaves	Value	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Horse, Asses & Mules	Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Value Livestock Slaughtered	Cotton, bales	Wheat, bu	Corn, bu	Oats, bu	Peas & Beans, bu	Butter, lbs	Wool, lbs	Value Home-Made Manufacures
Rosemont	138	$74,000	2,200	1,500	35	21	116	116	$0	125	215	4,500	400	500	950	240	$500
Laurens	10	$4,572	235	115	5	9	8	24	$234	12	88	482	60	51	152	12	$30

Although John's share of the estate was sizeable, Ann Pamela learned through a November 1859 letter from John's attorney that John was in such debt, "it will require the whole of his share of the Estate to pay off" (November 24, 1859 letter from J.L. Petigru to Ann Pamela Cunningham, Duke University, Special Collections). John quickly received his apportionment of the estate, likely selling off the slaves immediately to begin ridding himself of debt.

In January 1860 Louisa wrote to William Yancey that she had been "all alone" at Rosemont since November 2, 1859 and found a "miserable crop." She also mentions that she has some better prospects in another overseer in 1860, suggesting that J.J. Gennings was found to be less than ideal. Louisa also mentions that she is "much engaged in improving this place in my economical way - and I never throw away a root," apparently a reference to her frugal gardening activities (January 18, 1860 letter from Louisa Cunningham to William Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill). We find her ordering from Pomaria Nurseries during this period, adding plants such as orange trees, exotics, thrift, peach trees, roses, and other plants.

It was also in January 1860 that Louisa, John, and Ann Pamela filed a deed to partition the estate of Robert Cunningham. The matter, seemingly straight forward in Robert's will, was made complicated by his having sold off the Dry Fork tract, bequeathed to Ann Pamela, prior to his death. In the January 1860 deed, John agrees to sell a portion of his property, previously given him by his father and agrees that his allotment need not be adjacent to his other property. The lands of the estate amounted to 2,915.4 acres. Once the 1,000 acre home site was deducted for Louisa, there remained 1,915.4 acres to be divided between the three parties. Ann Pamela and Louisa agree that John's share should be 638.5 acres, to be taken from north half of the tract, between the Reedy River and the public road from Waterloo to the ferry at the mouth of the Reedy River (Laurens County Deed Book Q, page 289).

The actual sale of 785 acres of John's land to Louisa and Ann Pamela, however, was not recorded until December 4, 1862, almost two years after the original partition. This tract was also situated in the northern part of the plantation on the Reedy River and bounded to the northeast by Puckett's Ferry Road (Laurens County Deed Book Q, page 305).

Ann Pamela, however, appears far more concerned with her efforts to save Mount Vernon than with Rosemont. Her mother wrote in April 1860:

> I wish you would come home and divide what can be divided and give some attention to your concerns – it would relieve me of that care which so presses me down. I can not and will not take upon me all its responsibilities (April 10/11, 1860 letter from Louisa Cunningham to Ann Pamela Cunning, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina).

The 1860 census was taken at a time when Rosemont had not yet been divided, so we continue to see its operation as a unit (Table 2). There are changes from the previous decade,

with declines in a number of areas, such as value of livestock, oats, corn, and butter. While rice, potatoes, barley, and rye were produced in 1850, all were abandoned by 1860. Although additional study is warranted, it appears that we may be seeing a decline in self-sufficiency with efforts increasingly being devoted to the region's cash crop – cotton. Overall, the plantation appears to be holding its own, producing most crops in proportion to its size. It doesn't appear to have yet been affected by death of Robert Cunningham.

Nevertheless, it was during this period that Ann Pamela wrote an undated note apparently relating to her share of the estate:

> the land is the thinnest, & most valueless of the whole Estate injured from working & ought not to be appraised higher - 355 acres only were in cultivation this year - Of negroes 9 (not 7 as formerly stated) are unsound - 1 with broken leg - 1 disjointed hip, girl of 14 useless, so far, from spinal affliction. There is one aged 70 - 3 over 60 - 5 from 50 to 60. Of house servants there are only two - a woman & child not 12 - in February. The woman is a seamstress, & was valued at 1200 in 1859 - but I am told the "appraisement" of the negroes of the "Estate" was higher than the market price justified (Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Collection).

While this may have been written for tax purposes, Ann Pamela was clearly bitter over her inheritance. She wrote to Dr. Dickson in 1865:

> I was greatly distressed at my father's will for two reasons: entailing the property, and disposing of two-thirds of the land he had willed to me, after he had made his will. . . Negroes are an expense under the most energetic and economical management. I had neither friend, relative nor capable neighbor to look to; and overseers are proverbially unreliable even under the constant surveillance of a potent master. From ill health and old age my father had been, for years before his death, incapable of managing his plantation; his overseer proved faithless, his negroes careless and wasteful; consequently at death, the plantation had gone to rack and ruin, and needed more than it produced to support the negroes and make a living. I received nothing for a year after his death, and was compelled to incur debts. When I returned home I found my affairs and my prospects depressing indeed. Additional debts had to be incurred to carry on farming at all (quoted in King 1929:125).

In spite of the economic disruptions caused by the Civil War, Louisa continued to spend on Rosemont's gardens. In 1863 she ordered from Pomaria Nursery peaches, apples, cherries, pomegranate, pears, plums, and grapes, as well as spirea and an exotic (Pomaria Nursery Account Book, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina). Cotton production, however, appears to have declined precipitously since in 1863 Ann Pamela paid taxes on only 58 bales of cotton, less than half the production two years earlier (Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers; it is, however, unclear if this was only her portion or all of the production of Rosemont).

In August 1864 Louisa wrote Sarah Yancey that she had taken "refuge" in Cross Hill. Ann Pamela, however, refused to come with her and stayed instead at Rosemont. Louisa also mentions that she was unable to obtain an overseer and that John's increasing blindness and presence in Columbia prevented him from taking on the responsibility. Consequently, she was obliged to get along with "black Dave" and "yellow Jake." She also mentions that her wheat crop was largely lost by a "faithless overseer" (August 27, 1864 letter from Louisa Cunningham to Sarah Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

The correspondence of both Louisa and Ann Pamela is peppered with complaints of the dire circumstances, the lack of provisions, and the absence of faithful servants or overseers. By the end of the Civil War, Ann Pamela remarks:

> but poverty is to be my master for the remainder of my life & will compel me to make this [Rosemont] my home. You know that I own but little land – this is of poor quality my dependence was upon negroes & my countrymen . . . when it is too late I see the folly of disregarding the advice of Dr. H- Mr. Petigru & Mr. Eve "to sell out land & negroes" at the time I came here (July 10/11, 1865 letter from Ann Pamela Cunningham to Sarah Tracy, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union).

Of course it may have been not so much the failure of Rosemont to produce as it was Ann Pamela's poor investment of $34,000 in Confederate bonds that cause her impoverished state.

The Postbellum

Ann Pamela's initial letters at the fall of the Confederacy talk of faithful servants and their devotion to her brother, John (July 24, 1865 letter from Ann Pamela Cunningham to Ben Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill). Her comments suggest Ann Pamela had little concept of the changes taking place and how radically different the "new order" would be from that of slavery.

The misery of Rosemont increased in December 1865 when the, up to that point obedient, freedmen began making demands on Ann Pamela. She complained, "I had no idea of retaining those who had behaved ill but they compose all the young and able-bodied men and most of the women" (Than 1966:294).

With the threat of the Court of Equity making the partition of Robert's estate, Louisa was finally, in late 1866, willing to give Ann Pamela title to the land that was bought with the money from the sale of her Dry Fork inheritance. She said in one letter that the title would allow her to mortgage the property for a loan in order to ease her "miserable situation."

The letters during the late 1860s and 1870s provide some indication of the social and economic upheaval. In 1867 she attempted to plant 80 to 90 acres in cotton to obtain 25 bales, but achieved only 8. Again she complained that the Freedmen, "would not work, they would not contract, and they would not go off the plantation when ordered. One day not a servant came to the house" (quoted in King 1929:127).

The partition of the property in the 1860s continued to haunt the operation of Rosemont. Louisa wrote a long letter to her friend, Benjamin Perry, in 1867. She complained that she had no friends who could counsel her in business matters and that she is being driven to ruin by her son John. She wrote:

> My husband left me by his will . . . a third part of all his landed property and negroes possessed at his death - together with half of all other property then in possession at his death, during my natural life - in trust, descending to his children after my death -For 6 years I engaged the privilege of managing it, unmolested to the best of my ability, through the critical & direful times of the disastrous war - As successfully as could be expected - After the close of the war - better than 2 years ago - John returned, broken up entirely in fortune - as he was some years previous, his family being almost exclusively on me - I have bowed under the weight. He now, virtually assumes almost every power - without being successful in any thing - This year, I endeavored to make my interest separate - I gave him land to work - more than I assumed myself - having rented (a portion out exclusive). I furnished him with as many horses and more than I kept myself (November 18, 1867 letter from Louisa Cunningham to Benjamin Perry, Alabama Department of Archives and History).

She goes on to ask Perry if he can direct her to an overseer to carry on the plantation in manner than will provide her an income and allow her to leave Rosemont in order to avoid her son. She also notes with bitterness typical of unreconstructed Southerners that, "we are ruined almost beyond redemption, by the elevation of the negro race - there can be no hope left for us."

The following year Louisa again writes Perry advising him that her "tenant" has "taken great advantage" of her - failing to fulfill his part of the contract, failing to get the cotton crop in, and refusing to use the Rosemont gin (January 8, 1868 letter from Louisa Cunningham to Benjamin Perry, Alabama Department of Archives and History).

Figure 11. Ann Pamela Cunningham later in life (courtesy of the SC Department of Archives and History).

By 1870 Ann Pamela writes of a worthless overseer who is sending her into ruin, a brother who is incapable of supporting his family, and a mother who is helpless in all matters (Thane 1966:383). It is clear from these letters that the beauty of Rosemont diminished during the war years. The only letter describing the postbellum garden was written by Ann Pamela in 1871. She recounts touring the garden with her mother prior to Louisa going to a nursing home in Washington, D.C.:

> Our home no home for us any more - oh, how I felt it when on that last Sabbath at Rosemonte I went round the grounds, my

> mother by my side, supported by her walking-stick, and a little girl bearing a chair for me, to rest every few steps. I took a long look at each turn in walks and shrubbery, a farewell - for I felt that I could never again fear to go over these spots to be given up to desolation, till some one more fortunate than our family claimed them as their own (quoted in Thane 1966:404-405).

Louisa Cunningham died on October 6, 1873 at Rosemont. Louisa was eulogized by long-time friend and ex-governor of South Carolina, B.F. Perry. He recalled that her husband, Robert:

> lived in baronial style, surrounded by all the luxuries which fortune can give. His house was ever the resort of friends and acquaintances, from the lower and upper country (Perry 1874:1).

Speaking of Louisa's gardening, Perry remarked:

> her passion for flowers was unsurpassed; she collected them from all parts of the world. Her flowers and shrubbery covered acres of ground around "Rose Monte," which she watched over and cultivated with the care of a mother for her infant children. She has the honor of being the pioneer florist of the up country. . . . great pleasure of receiving a collection of rare flowers from Mount Vernon, sent her by Judge Bushrod Washington. Years afterwards, when I saw her flower garden and shrubbery, they were surpassingly beautiful, and laid off with great taste and artistic skill. She was most generous, too, in the distribution of her rare and beautiful flowers and plants amongst her friends and acquaintances (Perry 1874:4-5).

It seemed, however that the glory of Rosemont was entirely in the memories of a few aged individuals.

According to the will of Louisa's husband, Robert, the 1000 acre tract on which the Rosemont home site was situated was to pass from Louisa to John and Ann Pamela. This partition took place in two deeds dated January 25, 1875. Ann Pamela sold to John 867 acres, including an 8 acre tract on the east side of the Neely Ferry Road which contain three log cabins, as well as an 859 acre tract between the Reedy and Saluda rivers (Laurens County Deed Book U, page 231). In turn, John sold to Ann Pamela a life estate including a 760 acre tract containing the "homestead of the late Robert and Louisa," a 318 acre tract, and a 356 acre tract between Neely and Puckett Ferry roads (Laurens County Deed Book U, page 235).

Finally the outright owner of the Rosemont Plantation, Ann Pamela was able to little enjoy the home of her ancestors. She died only three months later, on May 1, 1875. Ann Pamela's will, dated April 13, 1871, provided that what property she held in her own right would be given to her favorite nephew, Clarence Cunningham (youngest son of her brother, John) (Laurens County Probate Court, Box 418).

The appraisement of her property reveals the depth of her poverty. A total value of $1720.75 is listed, including one silver spoon and fork, one set of knives and forks, three teacups, a lot of crockery, two pieces of furniture, a few books, and a small quantity of jewelry. Plantation equipment was sparse, including only three wagons, blacksmithing equipment, carpentry tools, hoes, six mules, a carriage, 50

bushels of corn, oats, one sheep, and 10 bags of cotton lint (Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers).

The period between 1875 and 1882 is silent except for two letters. Both concern the continuing infighting over Rosemont and its legal ownership. Although John proved time and time again incapable of operating the plantation, he suddenly made a bid for control. A legal opinion, apparently prepared for John Cunningham by the law office of Simpson & Simpson on December 4, 1875, opines that John is the sole, legal owner of 2,300 acres of Rosemont property. It goes on to note:

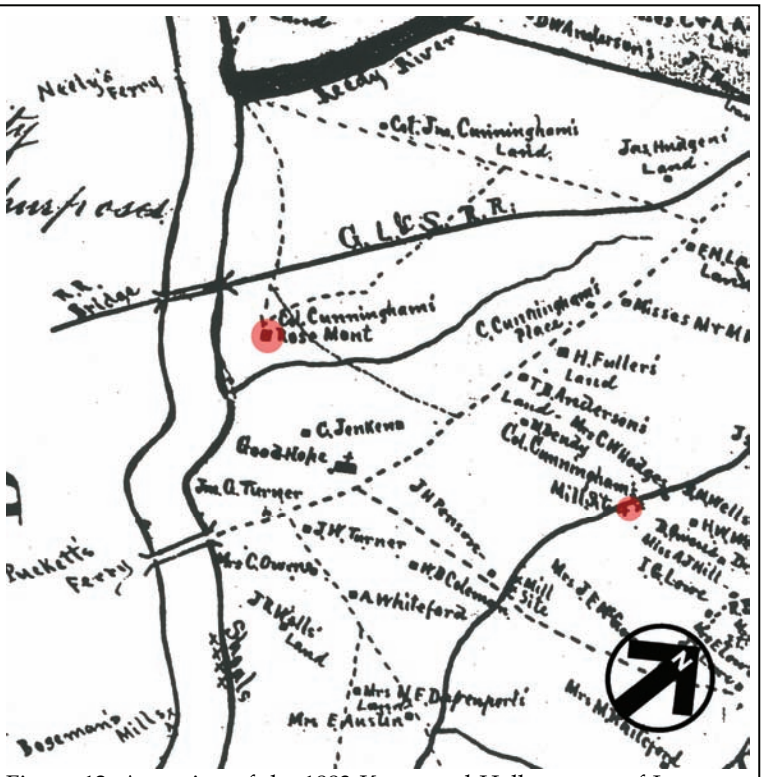


Figure 12. A portion of the 1883 Kyzer and Hellans map of Laurens County showing both Rosemont and the Cunningham mill on Cane Creek, probably about 2 miles distant.

> These lands are among the most valuable in this County. They are situated on Saluda River, within easy access to the Greenville and Columbia Rail Road and are considered to be the very best Cotton lands. They are valued on the tax Books of the County by the Tax assessor at ten Dollars per acre, and could not have been purchased before the war at Twenty dollars per acre (Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers).

The other letter is from Clarence Cunningham to Ben Yancey, making inquires on how the Rosemont property had been divided up since Robert Cunningham's death in 1859. Clarence notes that he is in litigation with his father and wants to obtain clear title to the tract of the Rosemont house. He observes that his family is largely destitute and he wants to obtain the property to put himself at "the head of my own home & throw open my door to my mother's daughters" (August 22, 1882 letter from Clarence Cunningham to Ben Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

Clarence wrote the following month that progress continued around them while fighting over the land, "the Railroad, building from Spartanburg to Greenwood and connecting with the A.K. passes through the full length of Rosemont - over where the old stables were" (September 4, 1882 letter from Clarence Cunningham to Ben Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill). Later that same month Clarence mentioned that his brother, Robert, was planting at Rosemont and mentioned that he is a "good planter, but tells me every year he cannot make ends meet," yet he has been able to pay off some of his father's debts and is able to provide the rest of the family with money (September 27, 1882 letter from Clarence Cunningham to B.C. Yancey, Southern Historical Society, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

The suit by Clarence against his father, John, was referred to a Master in Equity on September 26, 1882 and eventually to the Circuit Court on May 28, 1883. As previously mentioned, Clarence contended that a portion of the lands deeded to Ann Pamela by John as a life estate were actually intended to be deeded in fee simple. John contended that, in fact, no mistake had been made and that his father's will was clear than Ann Pamela was to have the lands only until her death (assuming she left no children). Without detailing the court proceedings, the Circuit Court held that Ann Pamela and John held the 760 acre (that portion of Louisa's land given to Ann Pamela by the partition of her estate) tract as tenants in common, fee simple, while the remainder of the land belonged to John.

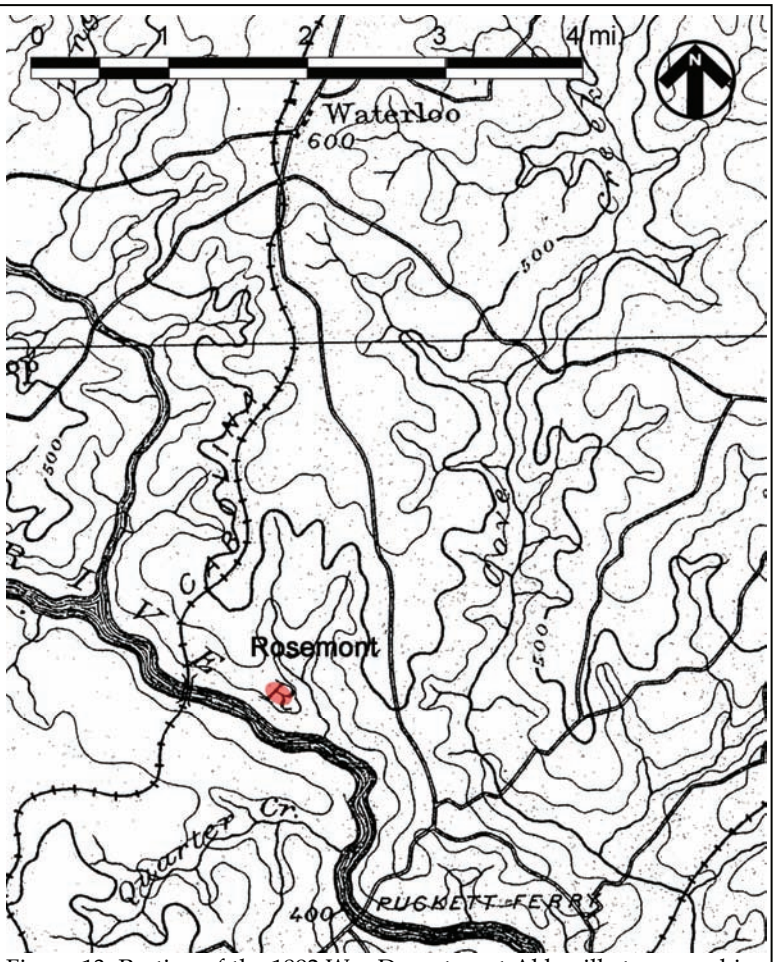


Figure 13. Portion of the 1892 War Department Abbeville topographic map showing the vicinity of Rosemont and period roads. The road northward from Puckett Ferry is today's US 221.

The case was appealed by Clarence to the State Supreme Court, which affirmed to lower court's judgment. Clarence and John entered into an agreement to partition the lands, with Clarence to receive 385.75 acres and John to receive the remainder of the property in dispute (Laurens County Court of Common Pleas, Judgment Roll 1723). The initial division, however, was unsatisfactory to both parties and a second round of division was undertaken (Mrs. Thomas Smith Papers). Eventually a division was completed which gave the Rosemont Plantation home to John Cunningham (Mrs. Thomas Smith Papers), although Clarence continued to live at Craigends, a house located on his portion of the Cunningham property.

The condition of the plantation, during this period of extended family litigation and no clear owner, rapidly deteriorated. Emma Floride remarks that she was:

> shocked and grieved at the gloom and desolation of the place. The piazza outside of Grandma's room and the parlor and the one above it, have to be pulled down. In its present condition it is dangerous to life and limb and there is some plastering and other things to be done before we can be comfortable or settled. . . . the beautiful grounds are a thing of the past and where roses and tulips bloomed vegetables and cotton flourish. Unfortunately, Grandma crowded things too much and the shrubbery and undergrowth became so

> dense that it killed each other and had to be cut away (February 28, 1887 letter from Emma Floride Cunningham to Ben Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

John Cunningham died in 1893, leaving a will and codicil, in which he directed that his lands be divided into five equal parts for his five children (including Emma Floride, Elizabeth, Robert N., Benjamin, and John, excluding Clarence and Louisa Bird). He indicated that Clarence had already been provided for by Ann Pamela and the court settlement and that Louisa Bird was married to Charles H. Banks of Charleston who adequately supported her. The codicil also directed that:

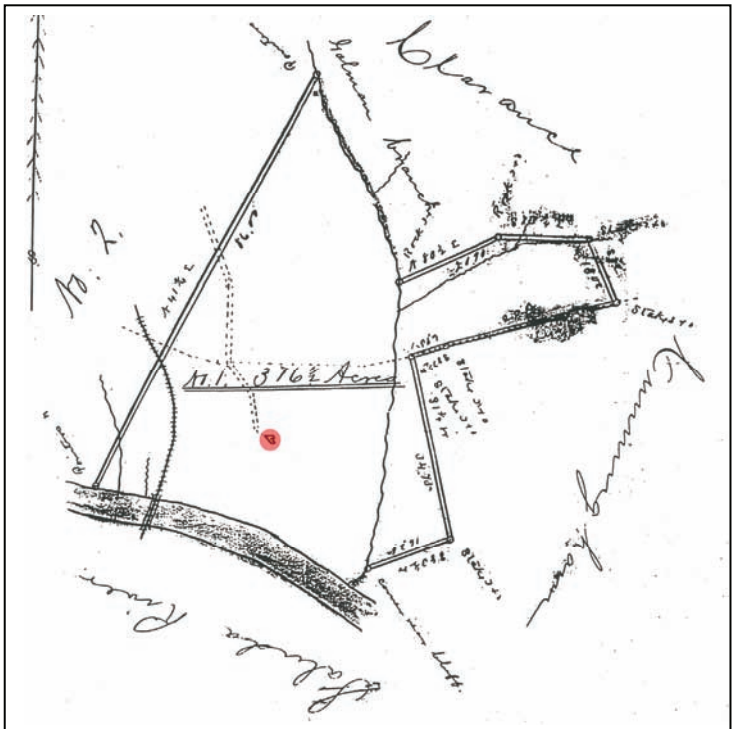


Figure 14. 1894 plat of Tract 1 deeded to Robert Noble Cunningham showing the location of the Rosemont house and the same road network found on the 1883 Kyzer and Hellans map.

> It is my will, my and Roberts home and Mansion, but not under it the land on which it stands for me and my other heirs to leave said Mansion to the said Robert N. to be included in said one fifth going to him (Laurens County Probate Court Will Book 418, page 133).

The original will allotted only 33 acres to his son Benjamin. Initially only the original will was admitted to probate, whereon Benjamin contested the document and demanded that the codicil be produced. Robert Noble Cunningham, the Executor of the Estate produced the codicil, stating to the Court that he felt that his father was not in sound mind when the codicil was made and had been later directed by his father to burn the document. Eventually the Court directed that the Codicil was legal and Commissioners were appointed to partition the Rosemont estate. Tract No. 1 of this division contained 376.5 acres, including the Rosemont house, and was conveyed to Robert Noble Cunningham about 1894 (Mrs. Thomas Smith Papers). Clarence Cunningham continued to live at the Craigends cottage on the Rosemont property. The house and its grounds continue to deteriorate.

Rosemont During the Twentieth Century

Little is known of Robert Noble Cunningham's ownership of Rosemont. Although a variety of newspaper articles recount visits to the plantation house, all are heavily dosed with nostalgia and legend. One article briefly mentions the "quarters for the slaves scattered over the plantation . . . the remains . . . in the mammoth oaks and raised mounds where the chimneys of their humble cabins stood ("Visit to 'Rosemont,' the Ancestral Home of the Cunningham Family," *Piedmont Headlight*, nd, Clarence Cunningham Scrapbook, Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers).

Robert Noble Cunningham died in 1911 leaving a will directing that 100 acres of his property be set aside for Wade Hampton Culbertson (his son), along with two mules or two horses. The remainder of his real property was conveyed to his nephew, Charles Henry Banks. To his brothers and sisters (John, Clarence, Emma Floride, and Louisa Bird) he conveyed the sum of $1.00 each, suggesting that the dissention in the Cunningham family ran deep.

Apparently Charles, who lived in Denver, Colorado, requested that his brother, Hugh Cunningham Banks (who lived in San Francisco) take possession of the plantation and manage its operations. Hugh moved his family to Rosemont in early 1912 and immediately set about appraising Rosemont and attempting to "set right" the years of neglect the plantation had suffered (Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers).

A letter written in early 1912 outlined that he was preparing to replace the roof, having purchased wood shingles, and that the work would also require the replacement of 7/8 inch by 12 inch planking on which the shingles were attached. He states:

> as you know the large two story porch is rotted away and the roof for this porch comes on top of the main roof of the house. To replace this roof would require the replacing of certain brick foundations under the porch. It will also be necessary to fix up one chimney and a foundation of Uncle Robert's [Robert Noble Cunningham] Room. . . . I also proposed to plumb the chimney adjacent to the drawing room and see whether the chimney or the house is out of plumb. Whichever is out of plumb should be brought back (Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers).

Hugh also remarked that:

> Pinson has planted about 15 acres and Whit Campbell about 5 acres at Rosemont. Long, who had proposed to plant about 15 or 20 acres may not do so as he says he is overcropped. In the meantime I have supplied the guano, the seed and use of a mule to a man named Hollingsworth and gone in on halves with him for myself on a piece of land at Rosemont. . . . I am also going to plant a little more land for myself over there. There is still a possibility of Longs taking up more land. . . . I have planted about 30 acres in cotton and 12 acres in corn. . . . I have built a large chicken house. Agnes [his wife] . . . immediately spotted the remains of the Alfalfa (Lucerne) patch planted by our great grandmother [Louisa Cunningham]. The patch is adjacent to the smokehouse, the four large oaks at the rear of the house and around the fence of the vegetable garden (Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers).

Also in 1912 Clarence Cunningham agreed to make Hugh Banks his legal heir for his section of Rosemont, if Hugh would agree to change his name to Hugh Banks Cunningham. An agreement stipulating Hugh as Clarence's legal heir was signed on June 1, 1912. Nineteen days later, Hugh's name was legally changed (Laurens County Clerk of Court, Judgment Roll 8715).

By 1920 Hugh was undertaking additional renovations and repair at the Rosemont house, although various letters indicate that he was living both at Rosemont

and at nearby Craigends or Craigends Plantation. He stated:

> I am farming some patches around the house here and some remnants of land. I have one wage hand and have cleared about two acres to add to thin patches I am planting - that is will plant - long staples, hoping to help out the small acreage with this more valuable staple. . . . I have cleared much of the underbrush between the house and the spring, all of the underbrush near the house, dug my well, built a garage, revived the garden, cut off many sprouts in my patches and taken up and burned dozens of the miserable wild (Cherokee) Rose bushes. These are as bad as a barbed wire entanglement to attack. I have put hog wire around the barn making a lot or corral of about an acre, built a chicken house and partly ploughed my lands. In the house I have bought wire screening for all windows, together with the strips for making up the screens and have screened one bed room and part of the dining room (old miss' room). The dining room is now hoisted up on screw jacks as the foundations are in very bad repair and one pier firmly footed on concrete started. . . . Under the main hall at the edge of the cellar was a large brick pier very much damaged and decayed. I dug a deep trench alongside this pier and filled this trench with concrete and on this rebuilt the damaged portion with brick and cement mortar. Very substantial and the concreted trench cutting off much water that formerly found its way into the cellar. The stone steps on the back hall entrance - the one we used when you and CC & I used were coming down. I jacked these up reset them with cement mortar and they are now in good condition. The small colonial porch they led to has been painted one coat of white paint and is to receive the second. The doors leading from this porch have been painted black! The large front porch also has had one coat white paint and the front doors painted black. Agnes has done much of the painting herself. She has also had the wainscoting and walls of the main hall washed and scraped - preparatory to painting. The white porches against the weathered gray of the house and the black doors against the white of the porches is very pleasing. . . . clearing is of underbrush and that the rare trees, the boxwood, the flowering apples, the Japanese quince, the Wisteria, are all preserved and being trimmed.
>
> You recollect that the drawing room chimney leaned far off from the house. My transit showed that the house was plumb and that the chimney leaned. I tore down the foundations under the hearth excavated under the inner (under the house) side of the chimney, saturated this excavation with water, put poles against the outer side of the chimney, and a rope twisted at the attic line and managed to

put the chimney back perfectly plumb. Then I excavated under the outer edge and put in concrete foundation so that it now remains in its correct position.

While I was working from the attic windows I noticed a brick at the lurl of the attic window (one of the bricks of the chimney you understand) with 1786 very neatly graven in it. The weatherboarding at this side of this chimney had some short lengths (one foot long) abutting against the lower part of the chimney indicating to my mind that this chimney was a later chimney than the one on the library side of the house. And that this chimney when it was rebuilt in 1786 was made narrower than its mate on the library side and then short pieces of weatherboarding was put in to fill up the gap. Again these short pieces of weatherboarding were nailed on with bought nails whereas the other weatherboarding was put on with the older hand made nails. Where the chimney was pushed back into place I found it projected well into the room above the drawing room. I took down the mantle attacked the plastering above the mantle and found this plastering had been put on a curtain made of half bricks laid up against the chimney. I ripped off all these half bricks and will now lath and plaster even with the adjacent walls. In the drawing room was real camouflage. The large gold frame mirror being taken down showed an inch gaping depression which it had covered. Attacking this plastering and ripping it off I found slats nailed against an under plaster wall which in turn was plastered against the chimney. This bottom layer of plaster carried the original wall paper matching the wall paper in the balance of the room.

The story of this chimney being: - that as it leaned out further and further from the house the brick veneer was placed on its inside in the bedroom, then as it continued to go the slats were nailed on the plastering in the drawing room and new plastering put on then the mirror to hide the absence of paper then in time the mirror hiding a gaping depression under it. The old darkies say that never was a fire lit in this chimney for 50 years as it was regarded as unsafe.

I bought 2" x 6" dressed to 1-5/8" x 5-5/8" and have made a very good job of replacing the floor ripped out with axes by the soldiers. Brought back some laths with me today, have the plaster and hope to have this bedroom ready for occupancy at the end of this next rainy spell. After the bedroom will come this drawing room with its hearth & plastering - I have already replaced the hearth in the bedroom. The finding of the date on this chimney induced us to hunt on the other (our library the old dining room). Agnes discovered figures on the very topmost bricks. I brought my transit telescope to bear and

Figure 15. Ca. 1920 photograph of Rosemont taken from the southwest.

sure enough we read A U, ?, 17. The portion of the question mark is indistinct but I think it is A U, 6, 1 7 which may mean August 6th 1817. The top of this chimney has also been rebuilt but as I argued it seems the older. Even if struck by lightning (as one of them was) it was struck later than 1817. There is a possibility that the date is August 1777 as the one (1) has a little tail on it. I will find out further and let you know.

I have gotten rid of the bees and have bought and placed on the house new weather boarding where it had been torn and damaged by many a [?] winter. There again as an Engineer I found conclusive proof of this house having been framed at some Where than its building site. When a house is built at the site the lumber is hauled & cut to fit as you go along but when you frame or build a bridge or building in wood or iron for some distant point you mark the pieces (April 13, 1920 letter from Hugh Banks Cunningham to Charles Henry Banks, Jr., Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers).

Hugh continued his work at Rosemont and noted that he received periodic visitors who came to see the house and gardens. On one occasion he mentioned that he was visited by Mr. and Mrs. Baily "of Clinton (Laurens Co.) Millionaire Bankers and Cotton Mill people . . . . the Bailys live in the handsomest house in the County and poor Rosemont was rather shabby." He also mentioned that Clarence had removed:

> all of the glass, china, & much of the furniture sometime before we decided to move into Rosemont. Remaining are two davenports, marble table, console table, three large mirrors, the small sofa, chairs, old sideboard, bookcase, the mahogany table we had on the Savannah River place, the large Carpet (remarkably fine yet tho about 150 years old), a chest of Drawers and some four posters (in the attic). . . . Our attic is to me a treasure house of interest which I explore at odd moments. Packed tight with trunks, boxes, books, letters, furniture, household ornaments, etc. (September 9, 1920 letter from Hugh Banks Cunningham to Charles Henry Banks, Jr., Mrs. Thomas Smith Papers).

Hugh's letter of October 1920 provides the only detailed information about agricultural undertakings at Rosemont during this period:

> Your rent is all in - Eight bales plus 100#. We are all in consternation however about the price now a little up 22¢ against the low of 18¢. George Mills will pay out easily, and just like a darkey when he gets on his feet, is going to leave. Lucius Cuningham was backed by an outsider so does not affect me. Ward may pay out. I am quite sure I can rent George's farm but I must go slow. The boll weevil is here, all over this section, and did me some damage this year. Agnes' brothers and sister have had a disastrous year from its ravages. . . . I must say I do not like to hear our people squeal but it tickles me to see them fight. Of course every one says they are in the same boat and that we must all take our loss. But the textile mills here - a great many of them declared dividends of 100% equal to their entire capitalization last year. Food, clothing, rents are cut 10% to 20% but cotton is cut 50%. . . . Am in hopes that my long staple will carry me over all right but one cannot figure on a cotton crop until he has collected his check for it.
>
> The visitors who come to Rosemont are always sincerely interested and polite, from the rough old farmer who sees hidden witches in the uncleared labyrinth between the house and spring, picturing to himself what cotton it could grow to the more educated person interested in the history of the place (October 27, 1920 letter from Hugh Banks Cunningham to Charles Henry Banks, Jr., Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers).

A 1924 news article explains that the gardens were weedy, but that "evidences of the once beautiful garden and shady lanes are visible," with an occasional rose bush, magnolia, Japanese magnolia, and boxwood hedge giving clues to its previous glory (Granger 1924). A subsequent article again describes the gradual progression of the cultivated gardens into a forest of pine, with "magnolias and Japanese magnolias, boxwood and boxwood trees, crepe myrtle, cedars and mimosas – all struggling to retain their supremacy." The description continues:

Figure 16. Ca. 1920 photo the north façade of Rosemont.

> Where once there were seven acres of flowers cut by two broad avenues that formed a gargantuan cross, there is now a rosebush or two, a lily here and there, and a few other flowers vieing [sic] vainly with

Figure 17. Rosemont about 1926 showing the north and west elevations (courtesy South Caroliniana Library).

> Bermuda grass, beggar's lice and other weeds of every description (Anderson 1926).

On April 2, 1929 Charles Henry Banks, Jr. conveyed his interest in Rosemont (as well as other tracts) to Hugh Banks Cunningham. Thus Hugh became the sole owner of the plantation and the lands.

It is ironic that Hugh, who changed his name to be accepted as the Rosemont heir of Clarence Cunningham, died on August 19, 1930, two years prior to both Clarence and Charles. The death was originally reported as an accident – a fire caused by an oil stove likely suffocated Hugh, found at the foot of the stairs with the door locked ("Rosemont, Noted Colonial Estate, And Owner Burn," *The Greenville News*, August 20, 1930; also "Many Priceless Relics Destroyed When Mansion Burned," *The State*, August 24, 1930). The lurid accounts of his death included references to his "charred body is found in ruins," and "the skull and bones were found at a spot near the place where the front door stood."

An investigation ensued and a suspect was identified and arrested for Hugh's murder and the arson of the mansion. The resulting trial, however, resulted in a verdict of not guilty ("Probes Burning of Old Mansion, Cuningham's Death to be Investigated by Governor's Men," *The State*, August 24, 1930; Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers).

Hugh Banks Cunningham's will devising Rosemont to his son, Hugh Ross Cunningham, with the stipulation that Hugh Ross pay his sister, Kathleen, an annuity. Upon Clarence's death in 1932 the remainder of Rosemont was also devised to Hugh Ross Cunningham (Laurens County Probate Court, Will Book --, page --; Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers). For the first time since Robert

Cunningham's death in 1859 the larger portion of Rosemont was consolidated under one owner.

In lieu of the yearly annuity a December 1932 agreement to partition the lands was developed by Hugh Ross Cunningham and Kathleen Cunningham Riley, with Hugh obtaining the main Rosemont settlement situated on 1,087 acres and Kathleen obtaining a second tract of 882 acres. Kathleen, however, was "entitled to one half of the box wood on the portion of the lands . . . known as Rosemont, and may remove or sell the same at anytime she sees fit and proper" (Laurens County Deed Book 64, page 34; Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers). In 1936 Hugh Ross sold the timber on the Rosemont tract to J.T. Hollingsworth, perhaps representing the first time that the Rosemont estate was clear cut (Laurens County Deed Book 70, page 34).

However, the Cunningham family history of litigation continued to haunt Rosemont and in May 1936 Kathleen Cunningham Riley brought suit against her brother for his failure to repay a promissory note for $4,500. She obtained a judgment against Hugh Ross Cunningham (Laurens County Court of Common Pleas, Judgment Roll 2706).

Hugh Ross eventually formed the Ross Real Estate and Investment Corporation and deeded his lands to the corporation (Laurens County Deed Book 69, page 552). Apparently this move was at least partially anticipated to reduce the taxes on the Rosemont property, which by this time was no longer being farmed and was producing no income (Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers).

Greenwood County planned the Buzzard's Roost project and in 1933 applied for monies from the Public Works Administration to build it. Opposition from private power companies delayed construction until 1938 when the U.S. Supreme Court declared the project constitutional, opening the way for a number of federally funded hydroelectric projects, including the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). The Buzzard's Roost project involved the creation of 2,400 foot long earthfill dam to create a reservoir of 11,400 acres. Flooding the Saluda, this reservoir would impact Greenwood, Laurens, and Newberry counties – including lands of Rosemont. This necessitated the removal of the Cunningham family cemetery in 1939 to a location off US 221.

E.H. Shaffer visited Rosemont in the mid-1930s for his 1937 book, *Carolina Gardens*. Hugh Ross was there to greet Shaffer, just as previous generations of Cunninghams were ever ready to greet earlier visitors. But now Hugh Ross was forced to ask one of the African American tenants, Bob Grant, to show Shaffer the way to the house and gardens, since "the long avenue has been replaced by rough timber cart trails forming a bewildering and difficult maze through miles of cutover forest." Shaffer, arriving at the gardens, observes:

> Briars, vines and weeds are fast invading the garden but many lovely shrubs remains under the great magnolias, the exotic yews and lindens and other trees of far away and long ago while in their midst towers the one remaining brick chimney. The lines of the garden are still distinct, being marked by brick walks and long lines of English box. White roses have survived, gone native, and are spreading beyond the garden close defying for a time the advancing forest growth (Shaffer 1937:257).

A 1941 aerial photograph (Figure 18) shows us the settlement about a decade after it was abandoned. The logging roads are visible, although they don't seem especially bewildering or maze-like. In fact, the main access road appears in very good condition, with the house

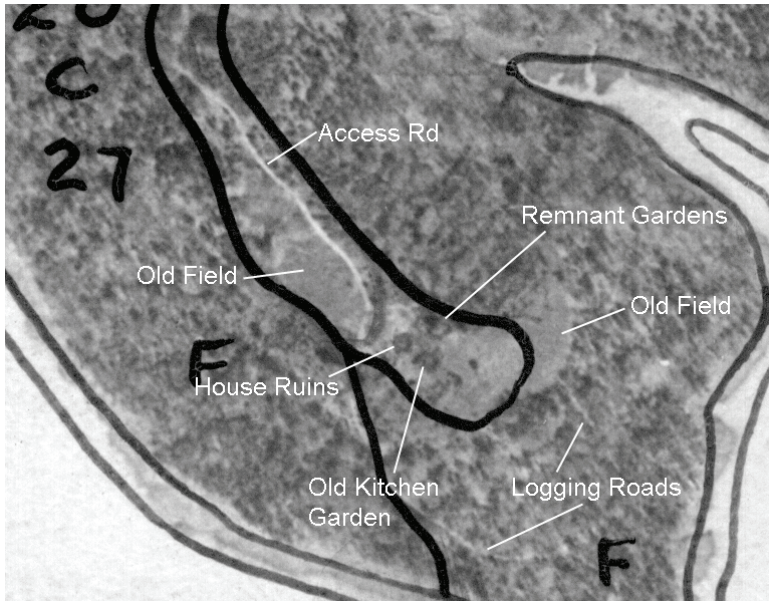


Figure 18. 1941 aerial showing Rosemont and its surrounding area.

ruins only a few hundred yards straight ahead of its terminus. Also visible is what appears to be the remnants of the old kitchen garden. Old fields are still clearly visible.

By 1943 Hugh Ross gave up on attempting to farm the worn out, boll weevil infested lands. He offered to sell off the last vestiges of the Cunningham family, offering oil portraits of "Grandmother and Grandfather Banks, Grandmother and Grandfather John Cunningham, Ann Pamela" and "one four poster mahogany bed, handcarved" which Clarence Cunningham had removed from Rosemont prior to its occupancy by Hugh Banks Cunningham (Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers). Hugh Ross's mansion lands were eventually sold to Niles Clark, while Kathleen Cunningham Riley sold her adjoining Rosemont land in 1947 to Dillard Tribble and Pierce Seago of Greenwood.

Local historian Marion Wilkes (1947) visited Rosemont in May 1947. He found the property in similar condition to Shaffer a decade earlier. Wilkes, however, wished to establish Rosemont as a memorial to Ann Pamela Cunningham and her efforts to save Mount Vernon. He developed a small sketch of the proposed grounds, including parking, an administrative building, a caretaker's house, and a fountain. But of special interest was the notation on the drawing of the "Slave Cemetery," a feature which appears to have been otherwise overlooked (Figure 19).

The slave cemetery seems somewhat close to the main house, especially since the family cemetery would have been slightly more distant. Efforts to transpose Wilkes' sketch to modern plans suggest that the cemetery may be on the parcel obtained by the Rosemont Preservation Society, however, the sketch is not sufficiently accurate to allow the location to be definitively placed. *Consequently, we do not recommend any development – by either the Clark family or the Rosemont Preservation Society – until this issue is clearly resolved.*

A Retrospective Examination of Rosemont History

The history of Rosemont Plantation closely parallels the history and development of the upcountry of South Carolina. When there were economic booms, they are reflected in the writings of Rosemont and actions of its owners. When there were hard times, the impacts were quickly felt at Rosemont. Through all of the social and economic turmoil, the owners of Rosemont continued to fight not only the lost cause of slavery, but also themselves.

Built sometime between 1750 and 1790 by Patrick Cunningham, Rosemont Plantation was quickly embroiled in the American Revolution. Patrick lost a large part of his fortune and was forced to abandon Rosemont for several years because of his Tory sympathies. When able to return to the plantation about 1784

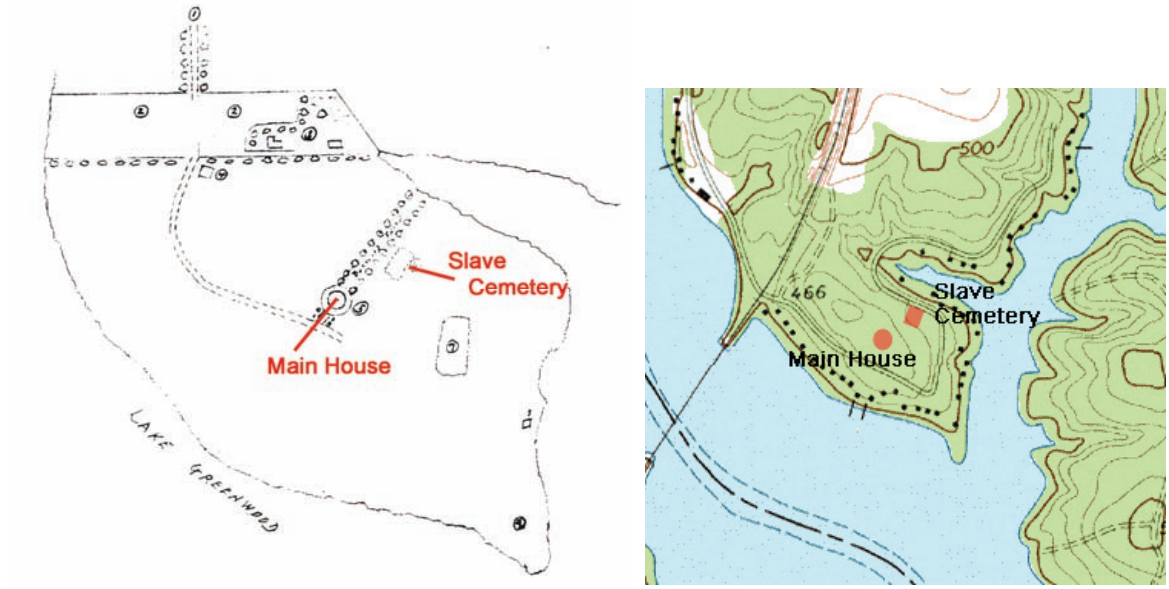


Figure 19. Sketch by Wilkes (ca. 1947) showing the proposed Rosemont monument and park, including his drawing of the slave cemetery. These approximate locations are shown on the modern topographic map

additional work was conducted to the house, most clearly documented in the Abner Pyles diary and the repair work undertaken in the early twentieth century.

Both Patrick Cunningham and later his son Robert served in the South Carolina legislature. Both felt slighted by their contemporaries and, in turn, retired to the seclusion of their upland plantation. The third generation Ann Pamela Cunningham carried the burden of her Tory ancestors.

It was not until the early nineteenth century that Rosemont became known for its grand gardens and imposing house. Louisa, the wife of Robert Cunningham, appears to be the moving force behind the modifications of the Rosemont landscape and the gardens reached their zenith between 1820 and 1850. With Robert Cunningham's death in 1859 and the ensuing Civil War, the plantation, as well as the Cunningham family, fell on hard times. This is reflected both in the gradual deterioration of the plantation and the increased in-fighting among the family. There is no real evidence that the gardens continued in any formal sense after the Civil War and it is likely that the house received only minimal maintenance.

There seems to be some evidence that the rather diversified agricultural base of Rosemont in the early antebellum had shifted almost entirely to cash cropping in the postbellum, a trend seen throughout much of the South Carolina Piedmont. The history of the plantation through this period is poorly known, although there is some evidence that it continued to be marginally profitable through Hugh Banks Cunningham's lifetime. By the mid-twentieth century the Rosemont tract, like others in the area, had been converted to timber and held value only for that timber, coupled with nostalgia for the "old days."

Three issues are of particular concern to this historic overview of Rosemont. The first is the location of the various plantation buildings and activity areas, especially as their locations may have changed through time. The second is the development of the garden and its implications to the changing landscape at Rosemont. And the third is the development of the Rosemont mansion and the archaeological

footprint the house (and associated structures) have left.

The Rosemont Structures

Through time at least 17 buildings and areas are referenced in the various historical documents, including the main house, the kitchen, the Library, a smoke house, barn, mill, a family grave yard, a cemetery for the African American slaves, race grounds, a bridge, a loom house, a green house, various walks, the garden (discussed below), a well, a spring, stables, several barns, a chicken house, and a garage. Of these, the house, kitchen, library, smoke house, barn, mill, race grounds, bridge, loom house, green house, garden, spring, and stables date from the colonial or antebellum periods. The chicken house was built by Hugh Banks Cunningham about 1912 and the well and garage were added about 1920. Prior to the excavation of the well it is likely that the spring served not only as a source of water, but may also have been used for cooling plantation goods. Consequently, a spring house may also have been present.

It is extremely difficult to use the historic documents to reconstruct the location of various structures on the Rosemont landscape. Unfortunately, no detailed plats of the property have been identified, and it is likely that they were either distributed to various parts of the Cunningham family or were among the documents lost when Rosemont burned in 1930.

The main house is the central element around which the other plantation buildings and areas were constructed. Apparently the main house was oriented approximately northeast-southwest, with the north entrance overlooking an inland road and the south entrance overlooking the Saluda River. To the southwest of the house was the grave yard, now under the waters of Lake Greenwood, as well as a large field which was previously the race ground. Also in this area was the smokehouse and the vegetable garden, which appears to have been fenced from about 1838 on. The building reported to have been situated to the southwest of the main house may have been the smokehouse (Figure 20).

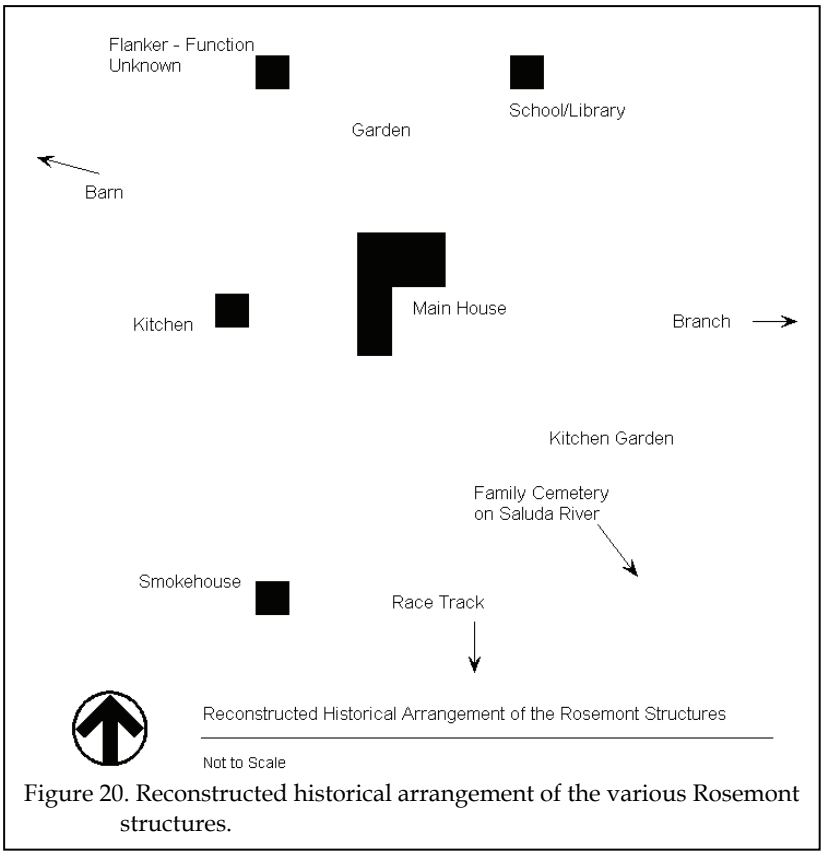


Figure 20. Reconstructed historical arrangement of the various Rosemont structures.

The barn was situated west of the main house, but within sight of the house, according to Mrs. Mary Pruitt, who saw the structure during her 1928 visit. It is likely to have been situated in what is recognized today as a plowed area.

To the north of the house stood two buildings or dependencies. One of which (apparently the eastern) served

initially as a school house. By the 1830s it was a library and by 1840 Ann Pamela had converted it into her bedroom. The other building is not referenced in the papers and may have served as an office, wash room, or any number of similar support functions. The library is seen in a ca. 1926 photograph as a one story, frame building with a gable roof, immediately north of a large magnolia. The structure's long axis is oriented northeast-southwest and the west facade is punctated by a central doorway with windows to either side. By the time of this photograph the other dependency was no longer standing (Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Collection).

The location of the kitchen (burnt sometime after 1859) appears to have been on the west side of the structure, at the end of a brick path, probably only 30 or 40 feet from the main house. The location of the loom house, like that of the spring, is unknown, although there is some evidence, based on a handwritten notation on the back of a photograph, that the spring was situated to the north of the house. The green house mentioned in 1846 was situated very close to the west of the main house.

The location of the garage and chicken house cannot be determined from the historical documents. The well constructed by Hugh Banks Cunningham appears to have been situated within a short distance of the rear entrance.

The mill site was about 2¾ miles to the southeast on Cane Creek. The stables were also located at some distance from the main house, apparently in the vicinity of the 1882 railroad, between a quarter and a half a mile to the north.

The 1860 slave schedule reports that the 138 African American slaves were housed in 17 structures. With eight per structure it remains unclear whether these were double, or more likely, single structures. A letter by Louisa Cunningham refers to a complex, known as the "shop," removed from the main house. It contained the overseer's house, outbuildings for the blacksmith and other trades, and slave houses. It's location, however, remains a mystery.

Twentieth century accounts are vague, but all are similar, mentioning "the remains of these black villages can be seen today in the raised mounds at intervals in the great forest around" ("The Story of Rosemont, *The State*, Columbia, SC, June 12, 1904). We wonder if these accounts are describing the antebellum slave structures or, more likely, misidentifying the abandoned postbellum tenant houses as the scattered slave settlement.

The Rosemont Garden

At least three gardens are known to have existed at Rosemont: a vegetable or kitchen garden, a fruit garden or orchard, and an ornamental (flower and tree) garden. Unfortunately, the documentary sources fail to provide the quality of information that would be forthcoming from a detailed plat of the property.

The vegetable garden was apparently located to the southwest of the house, perhaps in the area still evidencing fence posts today. Specific mention is made of grapes (1838), raspberries (1838), strawberries (1838), tomatoes (1842), cabbage (1842), peas (1852), and lettuce (1852). Nearby was also a patch of alfalfa (also known as lucerne). All of these are recognized today, with the possible exception of alfalfa, which is a hardy perennial leguminous forage plant. The historical account suggests that it had been planted in the 1830s by Louisa Cunningham. Different varieties have purple or yellow flowers and it may have been planted for this purpose, although it was more likely planted as a source of fodder. Why it would be in the garden area is, however, difficult to answer.

The location of the fruit orchard is impossible to determine from the accounts. Through time, however, mentions are also made

of apricots (1838), nectarines (1838), figs (1838 and 1842), and sour oranges (1842). Peaches are mentioned, after 1783, again in 1838 and 1842. Peaches are common fruits at plantation sites throughout the Carolinas and tend to grow successfully in the area. Apples are somewhat more difficult to grow, since they require a period of over wintering after each harvest, and hence do best in cold climates (Root 1980:7). Apricots are even more difficult than apples, requiring the cold weather, but having very fragile blooms easily killed by a late frost (Root 1980:12). It is likely that such plants would have been placed in the Rosemont greenhouse. The nectarine is a smooth-skinned variety of the peach and has identical requirements for cultivation. Figs are fairly easy to propagate and can survive the climate of Laurens County, although they prefer warmer areas. It is significant that the orange specified by the 1842 account was the sour orange, also known as the bigarade. This species is the hardiest and is the only type of orange which grows true to form from a seed. It is most often used in cooking (Root 1980:306).

Based on the historic accounts the Rosemont flower garden was constantly changing, going through forced metamorphosis on a regular basis. A series of at least 13 plants are mentioned in the historic accounts, including box woods, thrift, flowering apple (almost certainly crab apple), Japanese quince, live oak, wisteria, evergreens (possible box wood or live oak), oleander, and palmetto, as well as roses, wild Cherokee roses, rare French roses, and yellow rose trees. The presence of the quince suggest that the fruit trees may have been scattered throughout the garden, rather than being contained in a separate fruit orchard. The only other tree mentioned in historic accounts is the mulberry. It is interesting that during the era of "silk mania" from 1826 through 1841, more of these were probably sold than any other tree (Favretti and Favretti 1978:149).

The historical accounts are sadly lacking in the detail necessary to reconstruct the garden arrangement and organization. One of the most specific accounts comes from Louisa Cunningham in 1839, where she explained that there was a center and two side beds of boxwood, apparently in the front (north) yard of the house. The roses formed a hedge on each side of the avenue. The garden was expanded from the house toward the library and behind the library (meaning probably to the east), Louisa laid out flower beds in a complex pattern. The garden area also was interspersed with walkways, although no mention is made of their construction.

Mrs. Mary Pruitt, who visited the house and gardens about 1928, remembered the large quantity of boxwoods and roses "around the house," as well as wisteria vines and "watermelon red crepe myrtle." She also remembers a plant not previously reported from the historic documents, china-berry. A path led from the house down to the graveyard on the edge of the Saluda River. At the time of her visit the property was becoming overgrown and only remnants of the garden could still be seen.

A secondary account of the garden is provided by Shaffer, who described the area from the house southward as, "a long stretch of park-like forest." The garden included:

> a double avenue winding through the flower garden encircled the house and led on to the park and the river shore; this can be traced today by magnolias that tower above the forest. In front of the house the flower garden was laid in formal arrangement with borders and circles of English box, while English roses formed the chief floral accent (Shaffer 1937:255).

Another account is offered by Marion Wilkes, who visited the site in 1947:

> The rich, heavy scent of blooming honeysuckle filled the air as we walked to the garden, now a mass of weeds and vines. English ivy and the dainty violet-blue flowered periwinkle . . . ran riot and made thick spots of green carpeting. Occasionally we saw a perennial struggling bravely to survive. Great plants of American box and some of the smaller English species, were scattered among the trees and undergrowth . . . . Here and there were many bushes of Cherokee roses, grown large through years of inattention and lack of pruning . . . . White roses spread their branches over nearby shrubs and trees. . . . Round about were giant magnolias . . . . There were also trees of several non-indigenous varieties and of holly, as well as numerous shrubs and plants, all easily recognizable as ornaments of the once lovely garden and park (Wilkes 1947:12-13).

A 1904 newspaper account provides somewhat more detail about the design of the garden, stating:

> seven acres of flowers and 30 acres in a park surrounding the flowers! Beautiful avenues, making a cross, lead from the front of the house into the park [to the south]. Remains of this great park are seen today in a few gigantic magnolias, rare trees and a wilderness of shrubbery. The flowers have all gone. Where they once grew and developed their beauty and fragrance now lies cultivated ground ("The Story of Rosemont," *The State*, June 12, 1904).

A somewhat later account describes the avenue leading from the house to the Saluda River as formed by cedars, with the garden also containing magnolias, Japanese magnolias, crepe myrtle, box woods, mimosas, and lilies ("Rosemont, Built in 1787, Is In Excellent State of Repair, A Shrine of Cuninghams," *Index Journal*, August 19, 1928).

From these vague descriptions it can be discerned that the garden consisted of essentially three sections: the informal park-like area between the house and the Saluda River, the more formal flower and thicket gardens immediately north of the house and extending around the library to the northeast of the main house, and the kitchen garden to the southwest of the main house. There was an avenue leading from the north to the south, apparently consisting of hedge rows of rose and boxwood, while a winding avenue of cedars and/or magnolias (depending on whose account you accept) lead down to the river. While some secondary accounts call also for an east-west axis, this is less clear from the historic accounts.

This generalized reconstruction is certainly appropriate for the time. The picturesque landscape movement evolved in the eighteenth century in reaction to the strict, formalized gardens typical in Europe. While the Age of Reason demanded that order be imposed on nature, the succeeding period strove to work with natural elements and create a pastoral view (Cooper 1982; Favretti and Favretti 1977).

The Rosemont plan seems to incorporate features of both Sir Humphrey Reston, who emphasized the use of a variety of trees and flowers, and J.C. Loudon who also used trees, shrubs, and flowers as the most important part of the landscape. Regardless of the exact influence, Rosemont's use of winding paths, the park or natural area to the south of

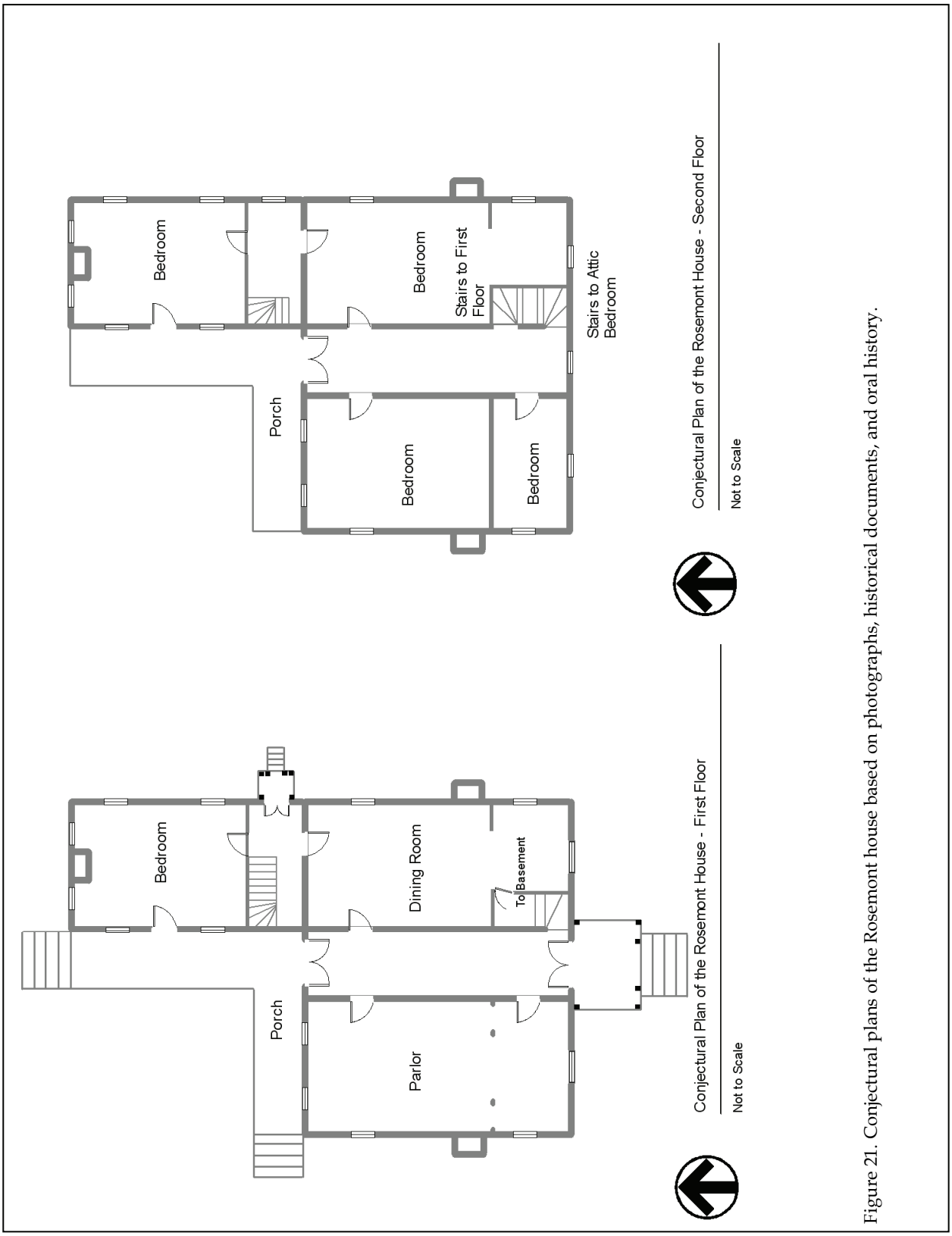


Figure 21. Conjectural plans of the Rosemont house based on photographs, historical documents, and oral history.

the house, and "thickets" all are typical of the broad theme of the picturesque movement. Even the presence of the kitchen garden, in close proximity to the house, but shielded from immediate view, is typical of the period. Coupled with these, however, are also the formal gardens to the front of the house, incorporating the box avenue and circles, and the flower parterre. These areas seem to emphasize order and control, clearly distinguishing them from the more picturesque areas. Consequently, the Rosemont gardens reflect a combination of ideas and themes.

The Rosemont House

An incredible wealth of material is available on the Rosemont mansion, including numerous photographs of both the interior and exterior taken in the late 1920s, family drawings of the floor plans, and verbal descriptions of the rooms and their contents. In spite of this plethora of documentation there are still numerous questions concerning the house and its construction.

In simple terms, the historic core of the Rosemont structure was a 2½ story L-shaped frame weather boarded frame structure. According to the account of Mrs. Mary Pruitt the weatherboards were not painted in 1928 and did not appear to have ever been painted. The roof was cross side-gabled (Figure 17). The north porch was one story in height and was found over one bay, centered on a single door. A balustrade was found along the sides of the porch. This porch roof was half-hipped and was supported by classical Tuscan columns and simple arches.

The south porch was a two storied tiered style, and was found over one bay, centered on double doors with a fanlight and sidelights at its lower level. The elaborate treatment of this entrance, particularly when compared to the simplicity of the north doorway, suggests that, at least when initially constructed, the main approach for Rosemont was intended to be from the river, to the south. The entrance was eventually masked by the addition of the rear ell. The entrance way to the second story of the porch is not visible in the photographs. This porch roof is not visible in the photographs of the house, but the lower columns were supported on pedestals and are square. Those of the second floor were also square. A balustrade was found only around the perimeter of the second story porch, and was identical to that of the front porch.

The side (i.e., west) porch was one story in height with a front gable roof. The porch was centered on the entrance bay only and the door was of a single, six-panel style. The support columns were squared and the balustrade was found on the sides. Unlike those of the front and rear, the side balustrade consisted of a simple spindle-style.

The structure had three chimneys, one exterior end double-shouldered chimney on the west side of the main core, one exterior end chimney on the east side of the main core, and one end chimney on the ell. The western end chimney was laid in Flemish bond. Windows on the north elevation formed a three-bay facade. Those on the first floor, on either side of the entryway, were tripartite double hung with nine-over-nine glazing. Those on the second floor were also double hung, but with six-over-six glazing. The gable ends of the core structure had two windows on each floor, one on each side of the chimney. The windows, excepting those on the first story of the north elevation, all appear to have had louvered shutters. One photograph shows a hand-forged shutter dog. The attic level had a shuttered window to the north of the chimney, which off-set from the center-line of the gable roof. The ell also had a three bay facade.

Roof materials, based on the photographs, appear to have been wood shingles. The ell was supported on brick piers of American bond. The main core of the structure appears to have been supported on a continuous

brick foundation laid up in Flemish bond. It is under this portion of the house that newspaper accounts report a vaulted basement. This use of two different bonds supports an interpretation that the ell was a later addition on the structure. This may also be supported by the suggestion in some photographs that the weatherboarding on the west elevation of the ell had been patched into the core of the structure. It seems likely that when the ell was added, the main emphasis was no longer on the south facade and the river entrance, but had switched to the north.

Based on the photographs, newspaper accounts, and a sketched floor plan drawing of the house made from memory by a member of the Cunningham family, the core structure consisted of a simple through-hall plan with a two rooms off either side on both the first and second floors (Figure 21). The stairs were found immediately to the right (i.e., west) of the north entrance way. On this first floor was the dining room (the eastern room of the original core), the parlor or drawing room (the western room of the core), and a bedroom (in the ell). The central hall of the I-house was paneled in wide boards, while the remaining rooms appear to have been plastered (although one account remarks that all were originally paneled, with the plaster added later). A hall also separated the dining room from the ell bedroom, and here was a second set of stairs to the upper floor. The first floor plan was essentially repeated on the second floor, where four bedrooms were located (the eastern room of the I-house divided into rooms). Based on the 1859 appraisement of Robert Cunningham's estate there must also have been a bedroom in the attic, probably situated in the northwestern corner, which was paneled rather than plastered. Newspaper accounts mention that the house had "wide cellars underneath . . . . The famous old wine cellar used today . . . to store lime in" ("The Story of Rosemont," *The State*, June 12, 1904).

The flooring was apparently heart pine and all of the door hardware seen in photographs suggests eighteenth century rim locks, described in one newspaper account as "large solid brass locks" ("Visit to Rosemont," *Piedmont Headlight*, May 28, n.d.).

At least one mantle seen in photographs ("Rosemont," The Greenville News, July 20, 1924) is consistent with a construction date of 1780 to 1790 and appears to be original to the structure. Other interior detailing, such as the molding around door and the use of six-panel doors, is also consistent with a late eighteenth century construction date, although dating based on stylistic grounds must be viewed with extraordinary caution. The use of truss numbering and peg construction reported by Hugh Banks Cunningham also represents common craft practice up to the early nineteenth century. The practice, contrary to his explanation, is however not related to the fabrication of the structural members at a location different from that of the erection. The use of rim locks, rather than mortise locks also suggests an early date.

Consequently, there is considerable circumstantial evidence to place the construction of the house prior to 1800, although it is not possible, based on the available evidence, to determine whether the house was built prior to, or after, the American Revolution. Considered within a historic context, it seems more reasonable to suggest a construction period of 1780 to 1790 than between 1760 and 1770. Likewise, there is architectural evidence (and historical documentation) that the ell was not part of the original structure, but was added to the house prior to 1830. It is not uncommon to see structures go through this process of renovation, modification, and expansion during the early nineteenth century.

NOTABLE ROSEMONT GARDEN PLANTS

Although there have been several discussions of the Rosemont plants, none have devoted any effort to placing these plants in a historic context or offering any discussion of the plants. This section provides a brief introduction to at least some of the better documented Rosemont plants. These are broken into several categories (although at times the plants may cross these somewhat artificial boundaries), including trees, shrubs, fruits, and other plantings. Some of these plants are still present (as shown by the garden mapping), although most are not.

Trees

Generally defined as a perennial woody plant having a main trunk and usually a distinct crown.

Cryptomeria (*Cryptomeria japonica*)

Synonyms: Japanese cedar; Sugi;

Description: Evergreen that reaches a height of about 50 feet with a spread of 20 feet. Old specimens may develop trunks to 3-feet in diameter. The reddish-brown bark is ornamental, peeling off in long strips, one of the most pronounced features of an old specimen. The foliage turns bronze in the winter, but greens again in the spring.

Culture: Tree grows in full sun; tolerates a wide range of soils; and has a high drought tolerance. Zones 6-9.

Introduction and Cultivation: Native to Japan, cryptomeria was introduced to China and, from there, to North America in 1844 (an earlier introduction to Britain in 1842 was unsuccessful). *C japonica* 'Elegans Viridis" is one variety.

Chinese Parasol (*Firmiana simplex)*

Synonyms: Varnish tree; *F. platanifolia; Sterculia platanifolia; Sterculia mariesii, Hibiscus simplex*

Description: Deciduous tree with an oval canopy. The tree reaches 35 to 50 feet in height, spreading 15 to 20 feet. The tree is characterized by its extremely large, three to five-lobed bright green leaves (up to 12 inches across) that cast as much shade as an actual parasol. The foliage turns brilliant yellow before dropping in the fall to reveal an interesting branching structure of tree stems. The tree also produces peculiar seed pods that split into four petal-like sections. Zones 7-9.

Culture: The tree grows in partial shade to partial sun, but does best in full sun; tolerates a wide range of soils; and has high drought tolerance once established.

Introduction and Cultivation: Native to China and Japan. Introduced ca. 1757, but it does not seem to have ever been popular, perhaps because of its litter and weak branches. Known to occur in Aiken by 1884.

American Holly (*Ilex opaca)*

Synonyms: none

Description: A broad-leafed deciduous tree with heights from 35 to 50 feet and spreads from 15 to 25 feet. Bright red berries appearing September or October and often persisting until the next season.

Culture: The holly will grow in areas that range from full sun to partial shade, with best berry production in full sun; it tolerates a wide range of soils, but prefers moist although well drained acidic soils. It exhibits a high drought tolerance. Zones 5-9.

Introduction and Cultivation: Native, introduced to cultivation in 1744, with the earliest citation by Bartram in 1783. George Washington cultivated the English holly (*I. aquifolium*) ca. 1786 as well as the deciduous holly (*I. verticillata*).

Crepe Myrtle (*Lagerstroemia indica*)

Synonyms: Chinese myrtle; pride of India (a name applied to several species); *L. vulgaris*

Description: Deciduous shrub or small tree ranging up to 30 feet in height, with a spread of 25 feet. The summer blooming flowers are the principal feature. Pink is the species color; white and light purple were introduced by 1825, crimson by the 1870s. Glossy dark green leaves turn vibrant orange-red in the fall. Zones 7-9a.

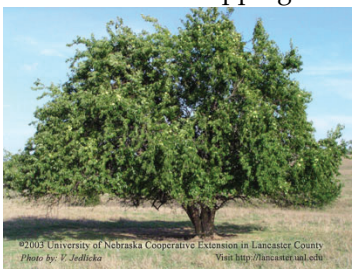
Culture: The crepe myrtle prefers full sun; exhibits a wide range of soil tolerance, preferring well-drained locations; has a high drought tolerance.

Introduction and Cultivation: Native to a large region spanning the South Pacific from China to Australia. It arrived at Kew in 1759, reaching America soon after; Charleston botanist Andre Michaux successfully cultivated the trees around 1786. Also cited by George Washington, ca. 1786.

Osage Orange (*Maclura pomifera*)

Synonyms: yellow wood; hedge apple; Bois D'Arc; Bodac; *M. aurantiaca; Toxylon pomiferum.*

Description: deciduous tree that rapidly grows 30 to 40 feet tall with a spread of 20 to 40 feet, creating a dense canopy. Its large, 3-6 inch long by 3-inch wide, shiny, dark green leaves turn bright yellow in the fall before dropping. The tree flowers in late April to May, producing a 3-6 inch diameter yellow to green, showy fruit in October.



Culture: Tree grows in full sun; tolerates a very wide range of soils; and has high drought tolerance. Zones 4-9.

Introduction and Cultivation: The osage orange is a native, being introduced by the expedition of Lewis and Clark, ca. 1805. The earliest documented cultivations was by Thomas Jefferson in 1807. It was valued as a hedge plant and in 1857 *The Horticulturist* reported that, "One of the most extradordinary things in these grounds [Edmondson residence near Baltimore] and one of the most beautiful we ever saw, was an Osage Orange-tree, about twenty-four years old. . . . We recommend experiments with this tree where a large space (say a circular drive) is to be filled." Porcher (1863:101-102) mentions

the great value of the plant as a hedge (see also Sumner 2004:305).

Southern Magnolia (*Magnolia grandiflora*)

Synonyms: Laurel-leaved magnolia; evergreen laurel; big bull bay; bull bay; big laurel; Carolina laurel

Description: Deciduous tree that grows 60 to 80 feet in height, with a spread of 30 to 40 feet. The tree produces showy, fragrant, white flowers in May and June. The foliage is large, glossy, and deep green. Medium growth rate; birds move the tree throughout cultivated areas. Zones 7-10.

Culture: The magnolia can grow in partial shade to partial sun; tolerating full sun if it is on moist, peaty soil. It exhibits a wide range of soil tolerances, but prefers slightly acidic. It has moderate drought tolerance; high drought tolerance if grown in areas with plenty of soil for root expansion.

Introduction and Cultivation: Native tree introduced to cultivation ca. 1734. The earliest American citation is John Bartram, ca. 1760. Heirloom varieties, such as 'Gloriosa' had been introduced by 1856.

Crabapple (*Malus angustifolia*)

Synonyms: *Pyrus angustifolia*; Prairie crabapple; also *P. coronaria*.

Description: The crabapple has a symmetrical canopy with a smooth, rounded outline. It is upright and spreading, taking on a vase shape. Colors, growth, and even size, however, depends on the cultivar. Most grow to about 20 feet in height with a similar spread. Some are alternate bearers, blooming heavily only every other year. A few provide good fall color and doubleflowered types hold blossoms longer than singleflowered types.

Culture: This tree has no particular soil preferences except that it must be well drained. It prefers full sun and has moderate drought tolerance. Zones 4-8a.

Introduction and Cultivation: Native. Introduced into cultivation by 1840, being cited by the Cleveland (Ohio) Nursery in 1845. Porcher (1863:149) notes that while the crabapple wasn't used medicinally, its bitter fruit was made into preserves and the bark (with hickory and alum) may be used to dye fabric yellow.

Chinaberry (*Melia azedarach*)

Synonyms: Pride of India (a name applied to several species); Persian lilac; pride of China; bead tree.

Description: The chinaberry is a round, deciduous, shade tree that reaches 30 to 40 feet in height and a spread of 15 to 20 feet at maturity. An 1859 account described the "beautiful deep green hue" of the leaves, the "pretty lilac or pink flowers" with a "delicate odour," and the "green berries, which in autumn turn of a bright yellow" (quoted in Adams 2004:87).

Culture: While desirous of well drained soil, the chinaberry otherwise grows in a wide range of situations, including full sun to partial shade. It exhibits a high drought tolerance. As evidence of its superior survival skills, the plant has naturalized over much of the South, becoming an "urban survivor." Zones 7-10.

Introduction and Cultivation: Exotic, introduced as early as the sixteenth century, with Jefferson first commenting on it in 1778. Porcher (1863:106-107) notes a number of the medicinal uses of the plant, including as a vermifuge and febrifuge.

Common White Mulberry (*Morus alba*)

Synonyms: *M. macrophylla; M. morettiana.*

Description: A fast growing (and short-lived), deciduous tree that grows 30 to 50 feet in height, with an equal spread. The tree flowers from March through May, producing a messy fruit from May through June. Mulberry leaves provide the natural food for silkworms. Can be used as shade trees and the fruits are edible. Zones 4b-9a.

Culture: The plant prefers full sun. While tolerant of drought and a wide range of soil conditions, it prefers moist, well-drained fertile soil.

Introduction and Cultivation: Native to China, introduced during colonial period with silkworms. Considered an invasive; readily naturalizes. Also readily hybridizes with the locally native red mulberry (*M. rubra*). Dirr comments that the tree is of value only to the birds and silkworms, having no other landscape value. Variety of medicinal uses; edible; fruit may be fermented.

Princess Tree (*Paulownia tomentosa*)

Synonyms: Empress-Tree, Paulownia, Foxglove tree; *P. imperialis.*

Description: Deciduous tree that may have a height of 40 to 50 feet with an equal spread. It has a dramatic, coarse texture, with large heart-shaped leaves and large clusters of lavender flowers in the spring. Zones 5b-9.

Culture: The tree grows in full sun to partial shade; tolerates a wide variety of soils, including occasional wet soils. It exhibits moderate drought tolerance. Princess Tree is an aggressive ornamental that grows rapidly in disturbed natural areas, including forests, streambanks, and steep rocky slopes.

Introduction and Cultivation: The Princess Tree was first imported to Europe in the 1830's by the Dutch East India Company and brought to North America a few years later. Can quickly naturalize and is considered invasive.

Sweet Mock Orange (*Philadelphus coronarius)*

Synonyms: Syringa; garland syringe; jasmine.

Description: The sweet mock orange is a multistemmed deciduous shrub that grows 10 to 12 feet tall and has a rounded shape with a spread of 8

to 10 feet. It produces fragrant, white, four petaled flowers in late May to June that are reminiscent of orange blossoms. Zones 4-8.

Culture: This plant tolerates light shade, but prefers full sun. It is tolerant of a wide variety of soils, but prefers moist, well drained soils high in organic matter.

Introduction and Cultivation: Native to Europe, introduced to North America by 1560. The earliest American citation is from New York in 1771. *P. coronarius* has been used as a parent in many hybrids with other *Philadelphus* species and numerous cultivars have been named. It is known to escape into the landscape.

Black Oak (*Quercus velutina*)

Synonyms: yellow oak; quercitron; yellowbark oak; smoothbark oak; *Q. leiodermis*; *Q. tinctoria*.

Description: The black oak grows 60-80 feet in height, with a variable spread since the crown is typically rounded but irregular. The bark is nearly black on older trees (the species may live up to 200 years), with the inner bark bright orange or yellow. Zones 3-9.

Culture: The black oak grows best on moist, rich, well-drained soils, but is adaptable to a variety of conditions and is considered moderately drought tolerant.

Introduction and Cultivation: Native, introduced to commerce ca. 1800. The bark of this species is rich in tannins and was once an important source of these chemicals for use in tanning leather. The yellow dye obtained from the bark is also called quercitron.

Live Oak (Quercus virgianus)

Synonyms: *Q. virens*

Description: The live oak is a large, sprawling, picturesque tree that is one the broadest spreading of the oaks. Reaching 40 to 60 feet in height with a spread of 60 to 100 feet, it is typically reserved for very large landscape spaces.

Culture: Exhibits a wide range of soil tolerance from clays to sands and from occasionally wet to dry locations. Thrives in full sun to part shade and is drought tolerant. Zones 7b-10b.

Introduction and Cultivation: Native. Cultivated by 1739 and found at Middleton Place in the South Carolina low country by at least 1742. The wood was best known for its use in manufacturing (Porcher 1863:263), although the tree was commonly used for avenues.

Slippery Elm (*Ulmus rubra*)

Synonyms: Red elm; sweet elm; *Ulmus fulva*.

Description: Deciduous tree that ranges from 30 to 100 feet tall with a spread of about 45 feet. Its silhouette is not as graceful as that of the American elm (*Ulmus americana*), but it is still an attractive tree, with a branching trunk and wide, flat crown.

Culture: Exhibits a wide range of soil tolerance from rich, loamy soils to dry upland soils, including occasionally flooded locations.

Shade tolerant; moderate drought tolerance. Tree may become a weed, infesting fence lines and hedges. Zones 3-9.

Introduction and Cultivation: Native. Cultivated in 1903. Medicinal uses are attached to the dried inner rind separated from the outer bark. Used internally in the treatment of gastritis and gastric or duodenal ulcers. Used externally in the treatment of wounds, burns, and skin conditions.

Shrubs

The term is used here to refer to a woody plant of relatively low height, having several stems arising from the base and lacking a single trunk.

Boxwood (*Buxus sempervirens)*

Synonyms: Common boxwood, tree box

Description: Dense and multibranched evergreen shrub that can grow to heights of 20 feet with an equal spread. The foliage has a distinctly malodorous fragrance. In 1868, "the tree box . . . forms a pretty dwarf ornamental tree for decorating small lawns or grass plots, or for rounded points of pathways, etc." Zone 5 to 6 depending on cultivar to Zone 8.

Culture: Prefers moist soil in partial shade; shallow rooted, so cultivation beneath plants must be avoided. It prefers to avoid extremes and in the lower south root rot and nematodes, especially in clay soils, are particularly troubling.

Introduction and Cultivation: Exotic, earliest American reference is Cornelia Horsford, 1652. Jefferson does not mention boxwood; Adams (2004:110) suggests this may call into question exactly how extensive boxwood cultivation was in the early years. In the South a distinction is sometimes made between English and American box; both are *B. sempervirens*, although the American box is the cultivar, 'Arborescens,' a larger-leaved form. *B. sempervirens* 'Suffruticosa' is the dwarf English box. 'Variegata' is a catchall term, applied to *B. sempervirens* edged with cream, ivory, gold, irregular yellow blotches, etc. Medicinal use is attached to the leaves, which contain steroid alkaloids. There were formerly used as a blood purifier and in the treatment of rheumatic conditions.

Sweet Shrub (*Calycanthus floridus*)

Synonyms: Carolina allspice; spice bush; bubby flower; sweet Betsy; strawberry bush; *Butneria floridus*.

Description: Deciduous shrub with a rounded form to 10 feet tall, 5 to 8 feet wide. Zones 4-9. The maroon to brown flowers appear in April-May and have a delightful, strawberry-like fragrance. The blooms are followed by brownish, pear-shaped pods in August and September that are fragrant when crushed.

Culture: Thrives in either full sun or shade, but tends to grow taller in shady locations. Occurs naturally in deciduous forests and low woods, chiefly in the piedmont. Tolerant of a wide range of soils, but prefers rich loams and well drained soils. Zones 4-9.

Introduction and Cultivation: Native to the South, named by 1726. Thomas Jefferson was growing the plant by 1778.

Japanese Quince (*Chaenomeles* spp.)

Synonyms: Flowering quince; burning bush; fine bush; japonica (applied to a number of species); *Pyrus japonica; Cydonia japonica; C. maulei; Cidonia japonica*

Description: A deciduous or semievergreen, spiny shrub with shiny green leaves tinged with red. The shrub has many early blooming, large, deep rose to pink flowers. It grows to about 6 feet in height, with a spread of about 15 feet. In the autumn the plant produces apple-like, edible, aromatic yellow to green or purplish green fruits.

Culture: The plant is well adapted to a range in soil conditions. It will tolerate shade, but requires full sun for best fruit production. Zones 4-8.

Introduction and Cultivation: Exotic. *C. japonica* introduced by 1784, *C. speciosa* by 1815. The two are hopelessly confused in old gardening literature although some believe that the latter was cultivated more frequently(Adams 2004:112). The first documented mention in American literature is from Boston in 1832. Although planted as individual specimens, it was also used in hedges.

Oleander (*Nerium oleander)*

Synonyms: Nerium odoratum; N. carneum; N. floridum; rose bay; rose laurel;

Description: Upright, rounded evergreen sub-tropical to tropical shrub typically 10-12 feet in height, with a spread of up to 10 feet. It produces showy summer flowers in white and pink that are typically fragrant.

Culture: The plant prefers bright sun, although some shade is tolerated. Adaptable to both wet and dry soils, with only moderate tolerance to drought. Zones 8-10, although some can withstand colder weather with damage to the foliage.

Introduction and Cultivation: Exotic, with origins in the Mediterranean and Asia. Introduced by 1596, with the first American citation from Pennsylvania in 1760. Its Virginia mentions appear to be from indoor gardening. Fleming (1998:992) notes that the plant's leaves have medicinal uses, primarily for functional disorders of the heart and skin diseases.

Wisteria (Wisteria spp.)

Synonyms: The two principal historic plantings are American wisteria, American glycine, *Wisteria frutescens*, *Glycine frutescens*; and Chinese wisteria, *W. sinensis*. It is uncertain which might be referred to at Rosemont.

Description: Wisteria is a climbing vine that can grow as high as 60 feet, with a spread of at least 30 feet. Although it can be grown as an unsupported mound, it is best when allowed to climb. American wisteria produces dense clusters of blue-purple flowers on racemes typically up to 6 inches long in late spring to early summer. These are the smallest racemes produced by any member of the Wisteria family. The Chinese wisteria produces flowers that are white, violet, or blue, on racemes twice the size of the American wisteria. They appear in the spring, usually reaching their peak in mid-May.

The flowers on each raceme open simultaneously before the foliage has expanded, and have a distinctive fragrance similar to that of grapes.

Culture: Although adaptable, wisteria prefers moist, moderately fertile soils. It is considered shade tolerant, but will flower only when exposed to partial or full sun. The Chinese wisteria will flower only after passing from its juvenal to adult stage, a process which can take decades. Zones 5-9.

Introduction and Cultivation: American wisteria is a native, introduced in 1724. The first American citation is from New York in 1790. Chinese wisteria is an exotic, introduced in 1816, with the first citation coming from Boston in 1832. The Chinese wisteria is considered invasive in some locations.

Fruits

A number of fruits might be cultivated as much for their flowers or scents, as for their food. Adams (2004:94), for example, includes peach and plum under trees, noting that they were often selected for the "beauty of their flowers."

Sour Orange (*Citrus aurantium*)

Synonyms: bitter orange; bigarade; Seville orange; *C. vulgaris*; *C. bigaradia.*

Description: Small tree, typically 8-10 feet in height and much branched, spreading to 15 feet with bright, glossy leaves. White or pinkish strongly scented flowers appear in the summer months, with the fruit ripening the following spring. Thus flowers, green, and mature fruit will often be found on the plant at the same time. The trees require regular and careful pruning to a spherical form. The fruit has a rough, fairly thick skin that is darker in color than sweet oranges (*C. sinensis*).

Culture: Subtropical to near tropical, although it can stand several degrees of frost for short periods. Requires full sun. It prefers low, rick soils, although the sour orange adapts to a wide range of soil conditions. It does tend to be sensitive to wind and extremes of drought or moisture. Zones 8a- 11.

Introduction and Cultivation: Exotic. Introduced to South America in the sixteenth century and by the Spanish to St. Augustine in 1565. Bartram reports extensive production along the Carolina coast by 1790. Porcher (1863:107) notes that the sour organge "is cultivated in Charleston, and grows abundantly in Beaufort district, on the sea-coast." A considerable portion of this cultivation took place in greenhouses, where the fruit would be protected from frost (Sumner 2004:156). Although the fruits are too acidic to be consumed for dessert, the juice has been used as a culinary and confectionery constituent.

Strawberry (*Fragaria* x *ananassa*)

Synonyms: *F. vesca* (Alpine strawberry)

Description:

An herbaceous perennial in cooler climates or an annual in warmer areas. The strawberry has a low colonizing growth habit and rich lustrous dark glossy green leaves. The plants spread by means of stoloniferous runners that root where the tips contact the soil, eventually forming a mat-like groundcover of variable density, with plants ranging 6 to 8 inches in height. White to pink

flowers appear in the spring, with strawberries formed about a month later, typically in May.

Culture: Full sun is best, although afternoon sun is tolerated. Sandy loam, well drained soils are preferred, although the plant is adaptable. Clay soils require the addition of humus to promote drainage. Water management is critical for good production. Zones 3-9.

Introduction and Cultivation: The cultivated strawberry was developed in France about 1750 as a hybrid between two American species, *F. virginiana* a woodland species from the eastern US introduced after 1600, and a South American species, *F. chiloensis*. A 1790 catalog offered several varieties, including both *F. virginiana* and *F. chiloensis*. The cultivars "Townton" and "Elton" were developed in England in 1821 and 1828 respectively. The fruit was used for dessert, jams, jellies, dried, or preserved in syrup (Sumner 2004:119-120). Porcher (1863:144) proffered a variety of medicinal uses, including as a vermifuge and astringent. He also reported their use in bowel complaints and as a diuretic.

Fig (*Ficus carica*)

Synonyms: *Ficus caprificus*

Description: Warm temperate or sub-tropical small trees or shrubs growing to a height of 30 feet with large, dark green leaves. Its purplish-red flowers are present from spring to mid-summer. There may be two crops of figs, the first maturing in July and August, with the second (and often more prolific) in September and October.

Culture: Prefers full sun and a moist, well drained soil although it can adapt to less than ideal conditions. Zone 7-10.

Introduction and Cultivation: Exotic. Introduced to the US in 1669. Jefferson cultivated figs from France that "thrived in the radiated warmth of beds cultivated along the stone walls (Sumner 2004:71). Porcher (1863:308-309) describes the production of vinegar from the fig, although he notes that the fruit may be preserved "in a most palatable shape for winder use, dried in the sun, after being boiled in a syrup."

Apple (*Malus domestica*)

Synonyms: *Pyrus malus*

Description: A deciduous tree that grows to about 30 feet with a broad, often twiggy, crown. Flowers are produced in the spring, simultaneously with budding. The flowers are white with a pink tinge; fruits mature in the autumn.

Culture: The apple prefers moist, well-drained, loamy and fertile soils. It can grow in clay with adequate drainage. Full sun is preferred, with part shade reducing the fruit. Other growth requirements are warm summer temperatures, relative freedom from spring frosts, and reasonable protection from the wind (especially north and east winds. Most cultivars will grow well against a sunny south or west facing wall. Zones 4-9.

Introduction and Cultivation: Apples were brought to North America with colonists in the 1600s, and the first apple orchard on this continent was said to be near Boston in 1625. Vaughn and Geissler (1997:54) list dozens of

cultivars available to gardeners from the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries. For example, "Newton Pippin" was known prior to 1760 and widely grown in the United States. It is a crisp juicy dessert apple that is yellow or greenish yellow. Although apples could be used for a variety of purposes – cooking, eating fresh, and for desserts – Porcher (1863:149-157) focused on the manufacture of cider.

Apricot (Prunus armeniaca)

Synonyms: *Armrniaca vulgaris*; apricock

Description: The apricot, closely related to the peach, is a large deciduous tree that can grow to 45 feet, although it is typically reduced in height by pruning to about 12 feet. The tree can spread to about 15 feet. The flowers are white to light pink, blooming in mid-spring and producing fruit between May and mid-July.

Culture: The tree requires full sun for good fruiting. It is slightly more cold hardy than the peach. The limiting factor are spring frosts which can kill the blooms or early fruits. The tree, however, tends to be particular regarding soils, requiring well drained light sand or loamy soil. It is reported to dislike clay soils.Often grown against south or west facing walls. Zones 5-8.

Introduction and Cultivation: Exotic. Original native range obscure, but introduced to the US by early Spanish settlers.

Peach and Nectarine
(*Prunus persica*; *P. persica* var. *nectarine*)

Synonyms: *Persica vulgaris*

Description: When growing naturally, the peach tree is medium-sized deciduous tree, with spreading branches of quick growth. While today's trees are not long-lived, the original plantings, prior to extensive hybridization, were capable of very long lives with minimal care. The resulting fruit was typically "freestone," ripening soft and having a seed or stone that easily separates from the edible portion. The tree has a height of about 12-15 feet and a spread of 10 to 15 feet. The plant flowers on shoots of the previous year's growth, with the blossoms arriving before the leaves are fully expanded. Flowers are a delicate, pink color, but with very little odor. Peach trees require a certain number of chilling hours (i.e., temperatures under 45°F) in order to break dormancy properly and set a good crop of fruit, which typically appears from mid-spring to late summer.

Culture: Full sun. The tree prefers light loamy soil, excellent drainage, and moderate water. Zones 5-9.

Introduction and Cultivation: Exotic. First introduced into the US by the French in 1562 along the Gulf coastal region, then by the Spaniards at Saint Augustine, Florida in 1565. Known in Jamestown by 1629. First offered by a New York nursery in 1774. Peach "orchards," however, were found throughout South Carolina, left by Native Americans who obtained the fruit from early colonists. Peach trees were originally grown for their edible fruit. Although peach trees were grown primarily for their fruit, there was interest in the non-fruiting, flowering peaches, especially the double flowering varieties (see Adams 2004:94). Nectarines have a smooth, plum-like peel and apparently originated from peaches by mutation (although some believe that the nectarine is the

ancestor of the peach). Regardless, the trees of the two kinds are indistinguishable.

Raspberry (*Rubus idaeus*)

Synonyms: *R. strigosus* (American wild raspberry)

Description: This is a deciduous perennial shrub that grows up to 4 feet high with biennial stems or canes. The flowers are white to greenish-white and the fruit ripens between July and September. The plant forms thickets or brambles, escaping from cultivation.

Culture: This species grows best in well-drained loamy soil and requires adequate soil moisture for good production (the plant itself, however, is drought tolerant). It is often found in bogs and swampy areas. Prefers sun, but can adapt to partial shade. Zone 3-9.

Introduction and Cultivation: Native. Hybridized with European varieties. By 1790 at least four varieties were available commercially. Historically regarded as an antispasmodic and was used to prevent vomiting. Also identified as a useful remedy for heart disease. A purple to dull blue dye was obtained from the fruit. In general, however, the fruit was valued as a food, being used for preserves, cordials, and sweet vinegars that were diluted to use as a beverage (Sumner 2004:121).

Grapes (*Vitis* spp.)

Synonyms: V. labrusca: fox grape, skunk grape; V. rotundifola: Southern fox grape, muscadine, scuppernong.

Description: Perennial deciduous vine or shrub that can grow to heights of 60 feet if not pruned. *V. rotundifola* is typically a multiple stemmed vine with vigorous, dense growth and a maximum height of 30 feet (90 feet if prostrate). It produces a white to yellow flower in the late spring, with moderate amounts of purple fruit in the summer.

Culture: Sun, although they can tolerate limited shade. Most prefer rich, moist but well drained soils, with native species often found in open woods. Zone 5-7 (*V. vinifera*), Zone 5-9 (*V. rotundifolia*), Zone 3-9 (*V. labrusca*).

Introduction and Cultivation: *V. vinifera* is the domesticated grape; both *V. rotundifolia* (the muscadine) and *V. labrusca* (slip skin grape or fox grape) are native species that have a peculiar, musky flavor, astringency, and lack of sweetness. *V. vinifera* was introduced to America in 1616, but they were ill-suited to the climate. By the mid-nineteenth century there were a few varieties that could reliably survive the mild southern winters, but imported grapes typically required cultivation in greenhouses ("grapehouses"), while native grapes and their various cultivars were suitable for outdoor culture on a larger scale (Sumner 2004:143). Another species widely known was *V. palmata* (catbird grape, *V. virginiana*) (Porcher 1863:213). Porcher (1863:212-233) provides extensive detail on the making of wine from grapes, although the fruit was also widely used as a dried fruit and for desserts, including jellies.

Roses

A final category of plantings known from Rosemont are roses (*Rosa*). The *Rosa* genus belongs to the family Rosaceae and is closely related to apple, pear, quince, plum, cherry, blackberry, and strawberry. Examining the taxonomy of the rose can be a daunting and confusing task. The species are very variable

and hybridize freely, making species delimitation difficult.

Three more-or-less specific types are mentioned in the historic accounts: yellow rose trees (1842) , rare French roses (1842) , and wild Cherokee roses (1920s), although given the plantation's name it seems likely that there were a wide variety at one time.

Today the American Rose Society identifies essentially nine types:

- hybrid teas – large flowers that commonly grow one to a long stem and bloom continually throughout the growing season,
- grandifloras – upright plants with hybrid tea-type flowers,
- polyanthas – compact, hardy, large plants covered with small flowers; a forerunner of the modern floridundas,
- floribundas – flowers that are smaller than hybrid teas and which grow in clusters on short stems,
- miniatures – small plants between 6 and 36 inches in height,
- climbers – not true climbers, but the plants produce long canes – with flowers on the entire length – that need to be anchored,
- shrubs – large, hardy plants that bloom throughout the year,
- old garden roses or antique roses – discovered or hybridized before 1867, with many subclasses of roses, including alba, bourbon, China, hybrid perpetual, damask, and the species roses,
- tree roses – not truly a basic category since many roses are grafted onto a tall trunk – becoming a tree rose.

While useful for context, as early as 1709 John Lawson reported Carolina gardeners cultivated only two types of roses, without further explanation (Lefler 1967:84). By the eighteenth century five broad classes of roses had emerged (although we can't be certain which two Lawson was observing): Gallica (*R. gallica*), Alba (*R. alba*), Damask (*R. damasenca*), Centrifolia (*R. centrifolia*), and Moss (*R. centrifolia moscosa*). All five shared a number of features, such as double flower, fragrance, muted flower colors, frost hardiness, and spring flowering. As a group, they are often referred to as "Old European roses."

During the later part of the eighteenth century, these Old European roses were crossed with four roses from the China group that had features which appealed to rose breeders, such as bright colors, glossy foliage, and constant flowering. This began several new series, established by the nineteenth century, including the Hybrid Perpetuals and Tea roses.

By the mid-nineteenth century there was even more confusion. Rivers (1843) produced his *Rose Amateur's Guide* that promised to sort out the confusion. He divided his book into summer and autumn blooming roses. The French rose is a summer example, identified as *R. gallica* (Rivers 1843:21). He comments on their upright, compact growth, often with variegated flowers. Rivers also notes that many of the French roses, while highly valued in France, performed poorly in England, "the change of climate seems to have affected them" (Rivers 1843:23). His abridged list of roses lists 204 named varieties, "Adapted for Amateurs possessing small Gardens or for those beginning to form a Collection." Thus, Rosemont might well have had dozens of different roses.

By 1851 Jospeh Beck offered a tripartite classification (Adams 2004:269-270):

I. Those that make distinct and separate periods of bloom throughout the season, as the Remontant Roses . . . . Includes only the present Damask and Hybrid Perpetuals . . . .

II. Those that bloom continually, without any temporary cessation. These roses are divided into five classes.
    1. The Bourbon, which are easily known by their luxuriant growth and thick, leathery leaves. These are, moreover, perfectly hardy.
    2. The China, which includes the present China, Tea, and Noisette Roses, which are now much confused, as there are many among the Teas which are not tea-scented, and among the Noisettes which do not bloom in clusters.
    3. Musk, known by its rather rougher foliage.
    4. Macartney, known by its very rich, glossy foliage, almost evergreen.
    5. Microphylla, easily distinguishable by its peculiar foliage and straggling habit.

III. Those that bloom only once in the season, as the French and others.
    1. Garden Roses. This includes all the present French, Rovence, Hybrid Provence, Hybrid China, Hybrid Bourbon, White, and Damask Roses.
    2. Moss Roses.
    3. Brier Roses, which will include the Sweet Brier, Hybrid Sweet Brier, and Austrian Brier.
    4. The Scotch Rose.
    5. Climbing Rose.

Most of these had been described by Rivers, although the organization is clearly different.

Absent more detailed information concerning the roses present at Rosemont, we can say little more. It would be worthwhile to conduct a more detailed search of the various nursery records to determine if more specific information might be available.

INVESTIGATIONS

This discussion combines the methods and results of both the 1991 and 2007 fieldwork at Rosemont in order to present a unified picture of the site and its complexity.

Strategy and Methods

There is oral history of the main house being "picked through" by local authorities and the next-of-kin after the August 1930 fire. In addition, it appears that Rosemont has been a favorite spot for those with metal detectors looking for nineteenth century "relics." Thus, an initial question was whether the main house would contain intact archaeological deposits.

The 1991 research by Chicora Foundation represented the first professional archaeological investigation of Rosemont Plantation. Given that a primary goal was the investigation of the approximately 3 acres surrounding the main plantation complex, a program of intensive shovel testing was developed for the site. The testing interval in the main complex was 25 feet, with two areas (in the vicinity of the library and the kitchen) using a 10-foot interval. The 2007 investigations of the area west of the main settlement (and the 1991 work) began with both a pedestrian survey and also shovel testing at 100 foot intervals. This was supplemented by shovel testing at 20 foot intervals around the various rock piles identified in the initial pedestrian survey.

The original (1991) site grid was aligned on the apparent orientation of the house and garden layout, N42°E, with two permanent datums established along the centerline passing through the boxwood and cedar avenues. One datum is situated about eight feet grid south of the Ann Pamela Cunningham marker and the other is situated 75 feet grid south. The entire grid was established using a transit and tapes. A datum for vertical control was established at the southeast corner of the Ann Pamela Cunningham marker and was assigned an assumed elevation of 100.00 feet (Figure 22).

Shovel test points were laid out on this grid at 25 foot intervals, with the tests numbered from west to east and south to north for a total of 90 tests. Additional tests, at 10-foot intervals, were established in the vicinity of the eastern dependency (or library) and where the kitchen was thought to be located (Figure 22). An additional 22 tests were excavated in the vicinity of the library and 25 tests were excavated in the kitchen area, for a total of 137 tests.

The 2007 work was distant enough and the vegetation thick enough that we did not attempt to extend the main site grid to the west. Instead, a new grid was laid off the bisecting road running N30°E, although it was tied into the original grid and the original elevation datum was also reused.

Initially the 2007 work excavated a series of shovel tests running grid north and south off the road extending to the gullied terraced area. This incorporated a total of 22 shovel tests. Then two rock piles, one possible rock pile, and one barn area were examined using shovel tests at 20 foot intervals. These four areas accounted for an additional 92 shovel tests. Thus a total of 114 shovel tests were excavated over the course of this work.

Shovel tests were excavated to red clay subsoil, which typically ranged from 0.5 to 0.8 foot below the current ground surface in the vicinity of the house and gardens, but only 0.1 to

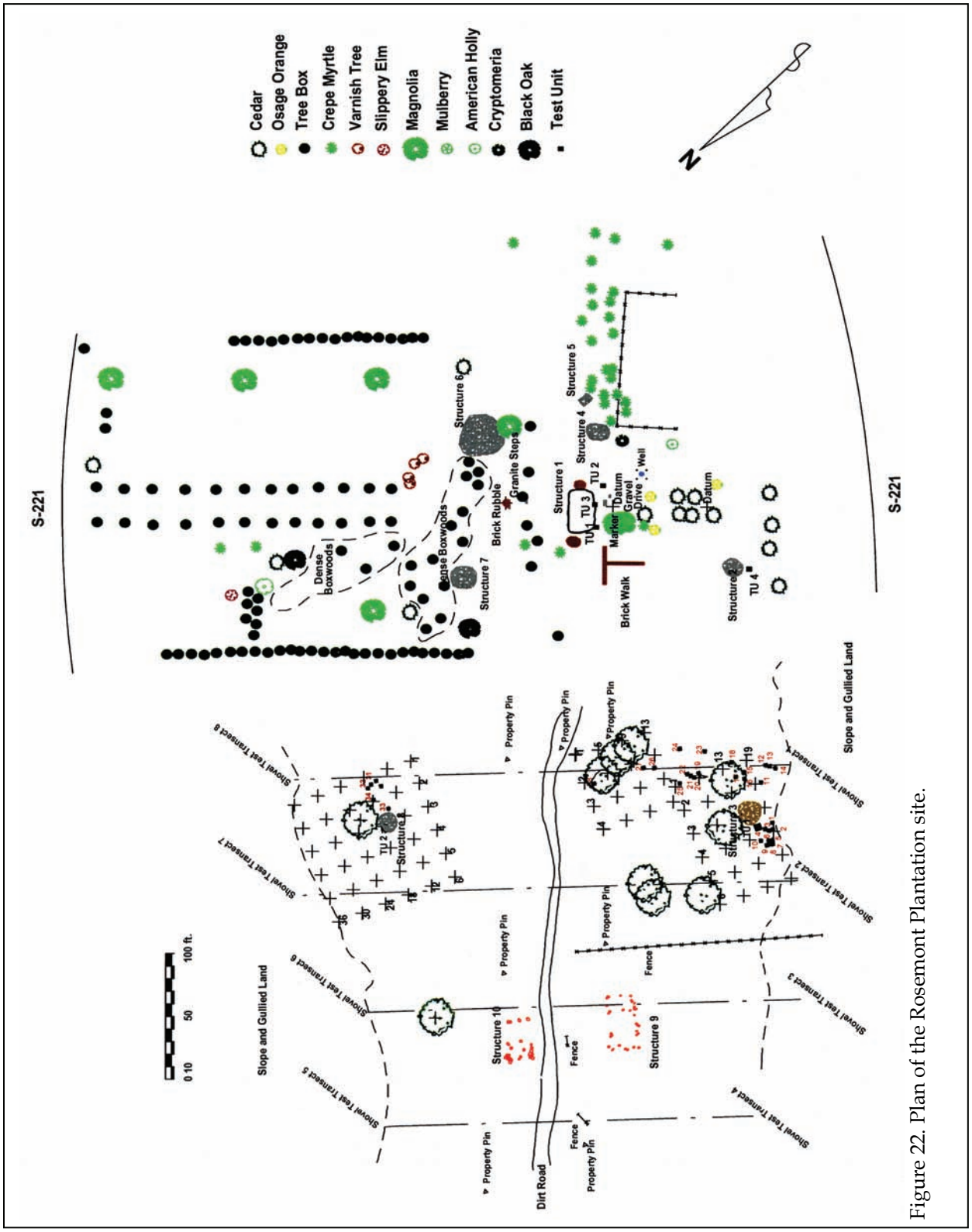


Figure 22. Plan of the Rosemont Plantation site.

0.4 foot in the western area investigated in 2007. All soil was screened through ¼-inch mesh and all remains were retained, except brick which was noted and discarded. Individual shovel tests were flagged in the field and backfilled.

Artifact density was generally light across the yard areas of the main house, although seven areas of dense remains were identified. Four of these concentrations can be associated with identifiable structures – the main house (Structure 1), the two northern flankers (Structures 6 and 7), and the probable smokehouse (Structure 2). Structures 4 and 5 are represented by small clusters subsumed into the larger main house scatter. The remaining three concentrations of artifacts appear to represent yard trash, although inadequate research was conducted to rule out other structures (for example, this research did not identify the kitchen).

Artifact density to the west was significantly lower than found in and around the main house. This may be the result of extensive cultivation and/or the erosion present in this site area. Regardless, although structural areas were clearly defined by rubble, there were few associated artifacts.

The investigated areas include Structure 3, a large rock pile representing structural remains; Structure 8, a second small domestic structure; and Structures 9 and 10, both barns.

In addition to the shovel tests, work at the site included the excavation of three 5-foot units in the main settlement area (at Structures 1 and 2) and two additional tests to the west (at Structures 3 and 8). These tests were tied into the site.

Each unit was excavated by natural stratigraphy with all remains screened through ¼-inch mesh. All materials, except brick which was weighed and discarded, were retained. These tests were arbitrarily numbered 1 through 6.

Units were troweled at the top of the subsoil and plotted. The 1991 units were photographed in black and white and color; the 2007 units were recorded with a digital camera. Vertical control was maintained through reference to the assumed elevation site datum of 100 feet.

The mapping of the Rosemont garden was conducted by triangulation from the various known shovel test points. In several areas of dense box woods the larger plants were individually identified and plotted, with the extent of associated smaller plants noted (rather than plotting each plant). This was done because it was expected that many of the smaller plants represented propagation of the older plants through seeding or suckers.

The 2007 mapping was conducted using a Topcon Total Station. The original map was digitized, allowing the two field investigations to be combined on one map, presenting a more comprehensive view of the site.

Surface Remains

Structure 1

The main house area was recognized by a large quantity of brick rubble representing the three chimney falls. Two are found on either side of a depression, recognized as the basement that was present under the core of the house. The third brick pile is situated about 20 feet to the southwest of the depression, representing the end chimney of the ell.

Structure 2

About 120 feet southwest of the main house basement is a brick rubble pile suspected to represent the smokehouse. This structure was described, in 1912, as being in the rear of the house and near four large oaks.

Figure 23. Structure 3 mound situated southwest of the main house, view to the northeast.

Structure 3

This rubble pile was initially observed during the 1991 investigations, but was not explored. It has, however, received additional investigations during the current study. It is situated about 200 feet to the west in an area that was at one time cultivated. The pile is about 20 feet in diameter and rises about 3 feet above grade (Figure 23).

Structures 4 and 5

Both were identified as relatively low, but distinct, brick piles 60 and 100 feet east of the main house respectively, in the vicinity of the crepe myrtle avenue. Structure 4 is somewhat amorphous, while Structure 5 has a relatively clear rectangular shape. Neither structure was investigated in 1991 and their functions are unknown.

Structure 6

This is the eastern flanker, thought to be the library, schoolhouse, and temporary residence of Ann Pamela Cunningham. It is situated about 110 feet northeast of the main house. We found no brick rubble in this area, but structural remains were encountered during the 1991 shovel testing. A photograph of Rosemont from the first third of the twentieth century shows a portion of this building. From what can be seen, it was frame, with a door facing the west and at least one window to the right of this entrance. No chimney is evident on the right side of the structure. If no chimney was present, this would certainly account for the dearth of brick rubble in this area.

Structure 7

This is the western flanker, situated about 110 feet northwest of the main house. Brick rubble is present here, indicating the presence of a chimney. The function of the structure, however, is unknown and it has not been investigated.

Structure 8

This structure is evidenced by a brick

Figure 24. Mound at Structure 8, view to the southwest. Test Unit 6 is in the foreground.

and rock pile found about 400 feet northwest of the main house. Like Structure 3, it is situated in an area that was cultivated at least by the early twentieth century. The mound here is about 15 feet in diameter and rises about 2 feet above grade (Figure 24). Further investigation conducted by Mr. Lorenz after the completion of our investigations revealed a chimney footing at the base of the mound. This work is included as Appendix 1.

Figure 25. Structure 9 was identified on the basis of the alignment of large rocks that served as piers for the barn.

Structure 9

This structure is thought to be a barn about 600 feet northwest of the main house. It was built on stone piers and measured about 40 by 22 feet. It evidences at least one division and it was oriented with the access road approaching Rosemont from the northwest (Figure 25).

Structure 10

This appears to be a second barn or utility building, measuring about 30 by 18 feet and situated nearly directly across the road from Structure 9.

Structure 11

This represents the twentieth century well (probably the one dug by Hugh Banks Cunningham in 1920), situated about 50 feet southwest of the main house. It is evidenced by a shallow depression and four brick piers to support the roof enclosure.

The Kitchen

A structure of considerable interest is the Kitchen, thought to have been west of the main house. Although assumed to be a free standing building, it is worth noting that the 1859 appraisal of Robert Cunningham's estate lists the kitchen and cellar together. Thus, it may have been within the main house and not found as a free standing structure. In any event, none of the archaeological studies have identified this structure. Future research should pay special attention to any locations where there are concentrations of bone and ceramics. Another structural indicator would be at least one large brick firebox.

Loom House

A structure known to have been in the Rosemont "yard" is the loom house that burned in 1846. Its location, however, is unknown. Its archaeological footprint is uncertain and this building may already have been identified, but not recognized.

Loom houses are poorly studied and it is likely that they would not appear distinctive, although they may possibly be somewhat larger than a typical slave cabin (Foster 1997:105-110). The examples offered by Vlach (1993:83-84) also

suggest a rather simple barn-like building, some with fireplaces, others without.

There are relatively few distinctive artifacts, but they are worth mentioning to alert future archaeological investigators. Cards, or their metal wires, might be found archaeologically, with individual, broken wires possibly misidentified as fragmentary nails. Spinning wheels would leave few recognizable remains. Drawlooms, which came into common use by the seventeenth century, were constructed almost entirely of wood and they would be difficult to recognize archaeologically. Associated artifacts, however, might provide clues. For example, drawlooms used lead weights, called *lingoes*. These are elongated, solid lead cylinders, about five to six inches in length. They were widened and flattened at the top, where a hole was punched to allow the thread to pass through (Beaudry 2006:146). Iron weights were also used to create friction brakes.

Archaeological Remains

Test Pits 1-4 were all 5-foot units excavated during the initial work in 1991 (Trinkley et al. 1992). Test Pits 5 and 6 were also 5-foot units, although they were excavated during the more recent 2007 work.

Stratigraphy

Stratigraphy at the site was relatively uniform, although distinctly different in the main settlement and further west. Typically only one zone, consisting of a very dark gray (10YR3/1) sandy clay loam, overlaid the red (2.5YR4/6) clay subsoil. In the area of the main settlement, where there had been no cultivation, this upper A horizon varied from 0.4 to 0.8 foot in depth. Evidence of plowing is found in the more western portion of the site, outside the area of the main house complex. There plow ridges and troughs can still be seen in forest floor and our excavations revealed only 0.1 to perhaps 0.4 foot of A horizon over the red clay subsoil.

In the area of the main house shovel testing and test units revealed a slightly different stratigraphy. Zone 1 consisted on the very dark gray sandy clay loam, although often brick rubble was very dense. Below this, especially in the cellar area, was a zone of pale brown (10YR6/3) ash and sand, representing the burnt remains of the Rosemont house. Termed Zone 2, this level may be from 0.2 to 1.0 foot in depth. Below, at least in the cellar area, is a compacted clay floor, burnt to a reddish yellow (7.5YR7/6) color.

Test Pit 1

This unit was placed at the western edge of the main house core and identified the western foundation wall and the southern cellar wall (Figure 26). The unit produced 436 pounds of brick rubble, representing collapsed wall sections. Excavation revealed that cellar wall had been whitewashed and that both the exterior (i.e., western) and cellar walls were laid up in Flemish Bond and were both about 13 inches in width. This bonding pattern is created by alternately laying headers and stretchers. The next course is laid so that a header lies in the middle of the stretcher in the course below. Although first used in the seventeenth century, this bonding pattern continued until about 1840 (Lounsbury 1994:38). The mortar tended to be very sandy and varied from a reddish color to a pure white. It is clear from the bonding that the cellar was an integral component of the original house.

The cellar area was filled with brick rubble and ash, while the exterior of the structure evidenced little burning, although one burnt timber was found in situ. The exterior subsoil was at a level of 99.26 feet AE. The subsoil under the house (in the "crawl space") was at a level of 98.04 feet AE, indicating that the entire area under the house had been excavated slightly, although only the cellar excavations were extensive.

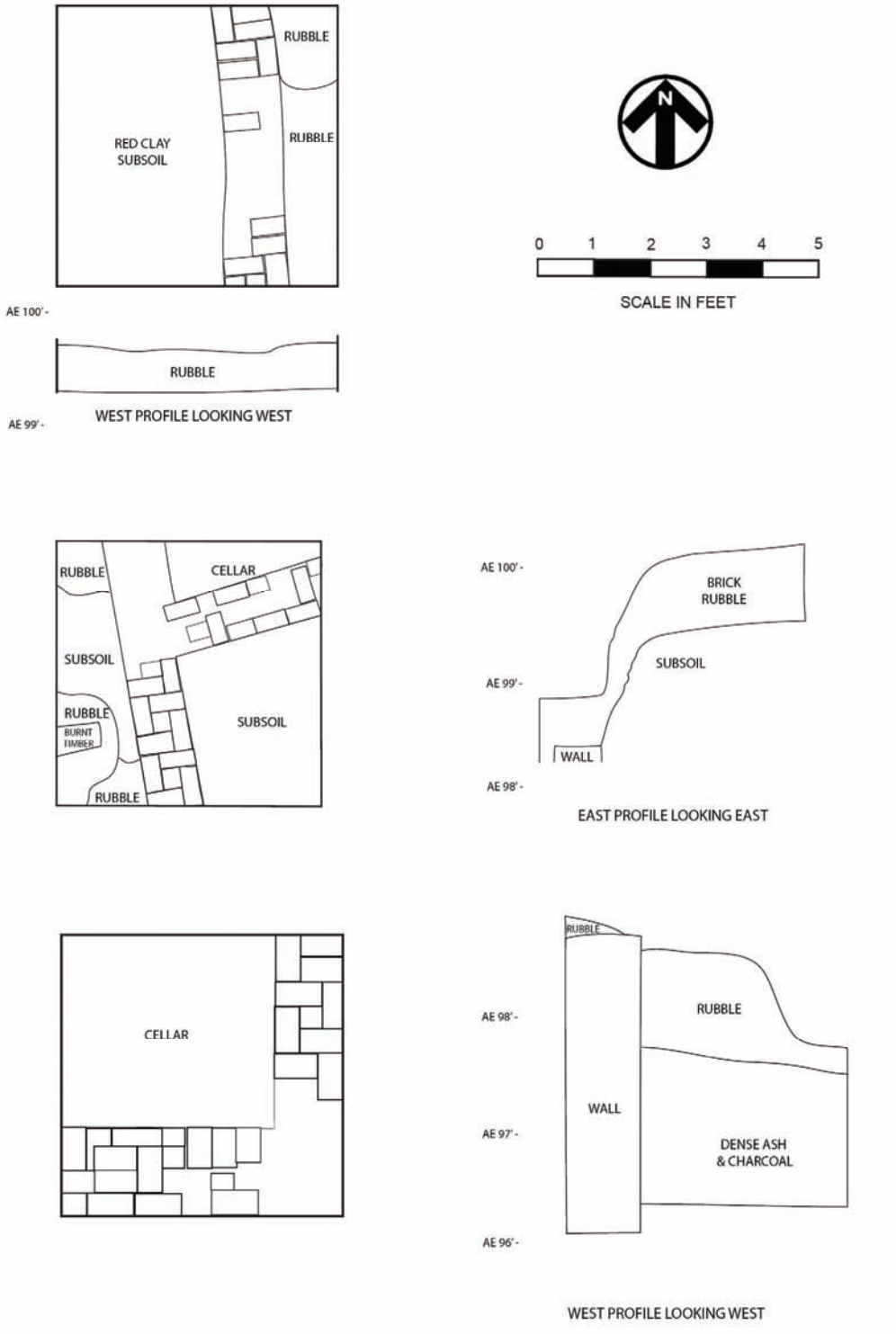


Figure 26. Plans and profiles of Test Pits 1-3 at Rosemont.

Test Pit 2

This unit was placed on the eastern wall of the house, opposite Test Pit 1 and revealed that the main core of the Rosemont house was 40 feet east-west. Unlike the western wall, this wall, also 13 inches in width, was laid up in English bond (alternating courses of stretchers and headers). No evidence of the cellar was found tying into the eastern wall, indicating that the cellar did not extend the entire 40 foot distance (Figure 26).

Lounsbury (1994:38) indicates that Flemish and English bonds coexisted, although typically the less decorative English bond was used in the foundation and below grade, with Flemish bond replacing it where the brickwork would be visible. This seems to be the case at Rosemont and suggests a builder well-versed in current fashion.

The unit varied from about 0.3 to 0.6 foot in depth and produced 286 pounds of brick rubble, primarily associated with the collapsed foundation wall. Some evidence of burnt timbers was found on the outside of the foundation wall, in the northeastern corner of the unit.

Test Pit 3

This unit was placed between Test Pits 1 and 2 in order to identify the eastern cellar wall, which was found along the eastern wall of the unit (Figure 26). Flemish Bond was found in both walls and the walls were each 13 inches in width. The east-west internal distance of the cellar was determined to be 21 feet, only slightly more than half the structure's length.

The unit was excavated in two zones. Zone 1 consisted of very dark gray sandy clay loam and rubble about a foot in depth, overlying a foot of pale brown ash on the basement floor (designated Zone 2). Zone 1 produced 466 pounds of brick rubble, while Zone 2 yielded 158 pounds of rubble. Several carbonized timber fragments (identified as pine, *Pinus* sp.) were found in Zone 2. Zone 1 represents a rubble layer which incorporates some material from the original 1930 fire, as well as debris added since that time. Zone 2 represents the rubble resulting solely from the fire. At the base of Zone 2 was the original basement floor, a hard packed (and burnt) sandy clay.

The basement floor was found at an elevation of about 96.33 feet AE and the base of the foundation wall was found at 95.94 feet AE. No footer was identified on either the back or side wall.

Test Pit 4

This unit was placed just south of the large rubble pile identified as Structure 2. Zone 1, about 0.4 foot in depth, overlaid the red clay subsoil. A possible feature was identified in the southwest corner of the unit on the basis of a slightly darker soil color, a coarser soil texture, and a greater density of artifacts. This feature, while plotted, was not excavated.

Figure 27. Test Pit 5 looking north.

Test Pit 5

This unit was excavated just north of the mound at Structure 3. Artifact density was very low and no features were encountered at the

base of the excavations. The unit varied in depth from 0.3 to 0.5 foot in depth, providing evidence of erosion in this site area (Figure 27).

Figure 28. Test Pit 6, looking west.

Test Pit 6

This unit was east of the mound at Structure 8, on the downslope side of the mounded brick rubble. As with Test Pit 5, artifact density was low and the area appears to have been significantly impacted by erosion. The maximum depth of excavations was 0.6 foot on the upslope side of the unit (Figure 28).

Walkways

Two segments of brick walkways were identified west of the main structure, each about 0.2 to 0.3 foot below the existing ground surface. One consists of 4.3 foot wide path running east-west with a 3.75 foot wide path leading off to the south. The second segment of the path, south of the first, represents the continuation of the southern arm and was also 3.75 feet in width.

The southward path follows the natural slope of the ground, being at an elevation of 98.77 feet AE toward the north and 98.19 feet AE at the south. The east-west path also follows the general slope of the ground, from 98.95 feet AE at its eastern edge to 98.65 feet at its western edge.

Both paths were originally dry laid in a basket weave pattern with the bricks laid flat. Bricks were laid on edge at the sides to retain the walkway. Overtime the original pattern has been lost in areas, probably because of frost heaving and the associated repair.

About 25 feet south of the southern walkway shovel tests identified an area of small (¼ to ½ inch in size), smooth gravel about 0.2 foot below the existing ground surface. This gravel probably formed a drive area or associated walks, perhaps to the well.

Garden

Plotting of the extant garden revealed evidence of plantings north and south of the main house, the kitchen garden to the southeast of the house, and a few plantings around the

Figure 29. Brick walkway exposed in 1991.

main house (Figure 22). While the results may seem modest, given nearly 100 years of neglect and the documented removal of plants by local

individuals, the patterns remaining are impressive.

Leading north from the posited entrance to the house is a central avenue of tree box about 25 feet in width. This central pathway is adequate for a carriage path and it may have formed the central avenue to Rosemont. Asymmetrically centered on this avenue are tree box planted as borders. The western row is found about 120 feet from the central pathway, while the eastern row is found about 140 feet. Magnolias are also found bordering the central tree box avenue, 85 feet to the west and 100 feet to the east. These features form two park-like areas on either side of the central avenue.

On the western edge an east-west row of smaller tree box form a partial, irregular partition between the outermost row of box and the central avenue about 250 feet from the main house. No similar feature is found on the eastern side, although further north, about 350 feet, several tree box are found in the center of the side open area. These box woods may have formed a similar partition, breaking up the large open area into smaller garden compartments.

The only remaining evidence of box wood lined paths may be found in the southwestern garden partition, where a small number of box woods are found that do not form any clear pattern. They tend to blur into another, larger area of box to the northwest of the main house area, immediately north of the western dependency and west of the eastern dependency.

Immediately in front of the main house are four small box woods and two tree box which form an arc, accentuating the main entrance. Also in this area are the remains of several crepe myrtles.

Leading east from the main house complex are the remains of a crepe myrtle avenue about 15 feet in width and 150 feet in length. At the end there are additional crepe myrtles which may have formed an enclosure. Also east of the house is what may have been the kitchen or vegetable garden, enclosed by cedar posts. The east-west dimension is about 112 feet although the north-south dimension was not determined.

Leading south from the main house to the river are the remains of the cedar avenue. Initially only 15 feet in width, the path widens to 25 feet. Shovel tests in this path reveal no evidence of gravel or other surface preparation. The soil is very thin, suggesting extensive erosion. It is not known if the path continued to widen since it has been destroyed by the road and adjacent housing on the side of Lake Greenwood. Most of the cedar are today visible only as stumps.

Nothing remains of the park and race track south of the house.

ARTIFACTS

These discussions are divided between a brief summary of the 1991 investigations and a more detailed discussion of the specimens recovered from the most recent work. While the current work is significant, especially in providing a better understanding of activities to the west of the main house and a clearer vision of twentieth century settlement at Rosemont, it is the initial work that provides the best overview of eighteenth and nineteenth century settlement at the plantation.

1991 Investigations

Considerable detail is provided by Trinkley et al. (1992:51-64) and this discussion will only provide a synthesis of this earlier work. The original report should be examined for more detailed observations.

Table 3.
Pottery at Rosemont Plantation

Ceramic	No.	Percent
Creamware	3	
Pearlware	17	
Whiteware	46	
Yellow ware	2	
Total Earthenware	68	32.2%
Burned Stoneware	54	
Salt-glazed stoneware	40	
Alkaline-glazed stoneware	11	
Total Stonewares	105	49.8%
Underglazed blue porcelain	16	
Overglazed porcelain	1	
White porcelain	21	
Total Porcelains	38	18.0%

The work produced 2,552 artifacts from shovel testing and the four test units. Table 3 reveals that the 211 identifiable ceramics present are dominated by stonewares, primarily salt-glazed specimens. Refined earthenwares account for slightly less than a third of the collection and while early creamware and pearlware specimens are present, the bulk of the collection consists of early to mid-nineteenth century whitewares.

Noticeably absent from the collection are ceramics such as slipware (1670-1795), delft (1600-1802), or white salt-glazed stoneware (1740-1775). The earliest are the creamwares (1762-1820) and Chinese porcelains (1660-1800). These early wares account for 9.5% of the total assemblage. If we add the pearlwares (1780-1830), we increase the proportion of possible late eighteenth century ceramics to 17.5%.

Although a small collection, this certainly is consistent with a small and intermittent settlement during the late eighteenth century (as evidenced by the 1786 date on the main house chimneys and the Abner Pyles ca. 1790 account of house construction).

On the other hand, mid-nineteenth century wares, such as the whiteware (1813-1900) and yellow ware (1826-1880) account for 22.7% of the assemblage, clearly documenting the continued settlement at Rosemont through the postbellum.

When South's Mean Ceramic Dates are calculated for the shovel tests, main house (Structure 1), and smoke house (Structure 2) collections we find that all of the dates are very close, ranging from about 1831 to 1838 (Table 4). When all are combined, the site's mean date is about 1836 – perhaps around the height of the plantation under Louisa Cunningham's guidance.

Table 4.
Mean Ceramic Dates for Rosemont

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	Shovel Tests (fi)	Shovel Tests fi x xi	Structure 1 (fi)	Structure 1 fi x xi	Structure 2 (fi)	Structure 2 fi x xi
Overglazed enamelled porc	1660-1800	1730	0	0	1	1730	0	0
Underglazed blue porc	1660-1800	1730	2	3460	7	12110	1	1730
English porc	1745-1795	1770	0	0	6	10620	0	0
NA salt glazed stoneware	1826-1905	1866	2	3732	33	61578	5	9330
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	1	1791	1	1791	1	1791
Pearlware, blue trans printed	1795-1840	1818	3	5454	0	0	5	9090
Pearlware, edged	1780-1830	1805	1	1805	0	0	1	1805
Pearlware, molded	1800-1820	1810	0	0	0	0	1	1810
Pearlware, undecorated	1780-1830	1805	1	1805	0	0	5	9025
Whiteware, green edged	1826-1830	1828	1	1828	0	0	2	3656
Whiteware, poly hand painted	1826-1870	1848	0	0	1	1848	1	1848
Whiteware, blue trans printed	1831-1865	1848	0	0	0	0	3	5544
Whiteware, non-blue trans printed	1826-1875	1851	2	3702	0	0	9	16659
Whiteware, undecorated	1813-1900	1860	7	13020	16	29760	3	5580
Yellow ware	1826-1880	1853	1	1853	1	1853	0	0
Total			21	38450	66	121290	37	67868
Mean Ceramic Date				1830.95		1837.73		1834.27
Mean Ceramic Date		1835.55						

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.

Using this technique, we find that while deposition at the site began in the eighteenth century, there was a significant peak of activity beginning about 1826 and terminating at least by 1905.

We know that the number of slaves at Rosemont increased from 63 to 101 between 1800 and 1830, probably indicative of rising economic fortunes and increased agricultural production. This may have resulted in the increase in ceramics from this time period.

John Cunningham died in 1893 and this event seems to have marked the end of any significant effort to cultivate the tract and may correlate with the terminal ceramic date. While efforts to resume planting and restore the grandeur of Rosemont continued, this terminal date is closely matched by the presence of other easily datable objects identified during the 1991 work (Table 4) – all of which suggest a very late nineteenth or very early twentieth century date of deposition. The archaeological record suggests that activity – the work of Hugh Banks Cunningham not withstanding – essentially ceased about 1905.

Turning to specific artifact types, the main house produced a substantial collection of architectural remains, primarily nails and window glass, although small quantities of hardware and several fragments of decorative plaster were recovered.

The nails reveal that the main house is dominated by nails 2d to 5d in size, typically used for small timbers (such as plaster lathe) and shingles. This supports the size and ornate construction of the Rosemont structure. While cut nails were used, most were wrought. Next most common are sheathing or siding nails (6d to 8d), followed by framing and heavy framing

nails (9d to 30d). The low proportion of framing nails (20.1% of the collection) is consistent with a structure built using craft techniques such as mortise and tendon joints. A very large proportion of the siding nails were cut, perhaps suggesting an earlier episode of structural repair.

Finally, the Personal Artifact Group included a stamped brass escutcheon for a purse or handbag and a silver plated jewelry item. Although they are of a quality that would be expected at Rosemont, both came from Structure 2, thought to be the smokehouse. It is, however, possible that they simply represent yard trash.

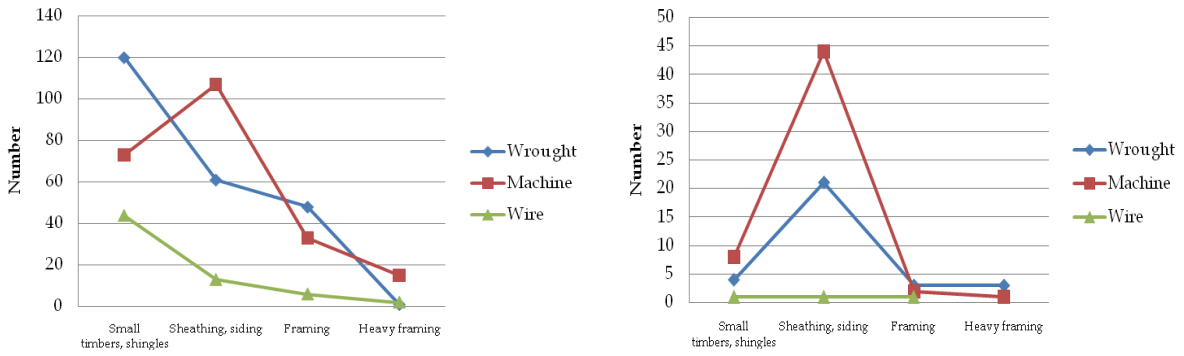


Figure 30. Function and type of nails at Structure 1 (left) and Structure 2 (right).

When Structure 2 is examined a somewhat different data set is present. The small size and absence of plaster lathe reduces the quantity of small timber and shingle nails, leaving the siding nails the single greatest contributor to the archaeological record. It appears as though this structure received few repairs, so the contribution of wire nails is very low.

Several other artifact classes are worthy of a brief mention. The Furniture Artifact Group included 18 items, all suggestive of interior furnishings. This is consistent with the house burning while occupied.

Although many of the clothing items appear to be relatively recent (probably late nineteenth century), two buttons are of interest. Both are brass US Navy buttons of a style post-dating 1852 and prior to 1941. It would be interesting to know if any of the Cunninghams served in the Navy since it seems unlikely that African American freedmen this far inland would have access to Naval uniforms.

The archaeological collections can also be used to examine the "artifact pattern analysis" that may reflect cultural processes (South 1977). A number of patterns have been developed by archaeologists, shown in Table 5, along with the patterns obtained from the 1991 data. Given the limited collections, we have combined the shovel test, Structure 1 (main house), and Structure 2 (smoke house) data.

We would expect the pattern from Rosemont to closely resemble the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern – an indicator of British colonial sites. Although Rosemont is very late colonial, this pattern appears consistent into the antebellum in the South Carolina lowcountry.

Yet at Rosemont, the identified pattern is clearly distinct – kitchen items account for too little of the collection, architectural remains represent too high a proportion, tobacco items are almost nonexistent, and the activity items appear significantly inflated. The architectural items are certainly inflated by the destruction of the main house and our extensive excavations within the footprint of that house. Nevertheless,

Table 5.
Comparison of Artifact Patterns

	38LU323 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	31.19	51.8 - 65.0	58.4	63.1	20.0 - 25.8	70.9 - 84.2	40.0 - 61.2
Architectural Group	63.75	25.2 - 31.4	36.0	25.0	67.9 - 73.2	11.8 - 24.8	35.8 - 56.3
Furniture Group	0.71	0.2 - 0.6	0.2	0.1	0.0 - 0.1	0.1	0.4
Arms Group	0.08	0.1 - 0.3	0.3	0.2	0.0 - 0.2	0.1 - 0.3	-
Tobacco Group	0.08	1.9 - 13.9	2.8	6.0	0.3 - 9.7	2.4 - 5.4	-
Clothing Group	1.02	0.6 - 5.4	0.9	1.2	0.3 - 1.7	0.3 - 0.8	1.8
Personal Group	0.08	0.2 - 0.5	0.2	0.1	0.1 - 0.2	0.1	0.4
Activities Group	3.10	0.9 - 1.7	1.1	4.1	0.2 - 0.4	0.2 - 0.9	1.8

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

the artifact patterns offer little in the way of clear definition.

A potentially suitable comparison might be the Millwood Plantation of James Edward Calhoun in Abbeville County (Orser 1988). Begun in 1832, it focused on short staple cotton, continuing until Calhoun's death in 1889. So while it doesn't have the longevity of Rosemont, it does seem to be a reasonable comparison. Orser chose to ignore architectural items because of their potential bias. With those items excluded, he found that foodways (kitchen items) were dominant. Examination, however, reveals that the distinctions between owner and manager are almost imperceptible, while differences between owner and tenant are in most cases minor (Orser 1988:235). One of the most noticeable differences is the contribution of labor items (activities) to the tenant compared with the owner.

These results are shown in Table 6, which also includes the data from Rosemont, adjusted to exclude architectural items. This analysis also seems to suggest that the Rosemont collection is anomalous. Alternatively it may be that we don't have an adequate sample from either the Rosemont site, or Piedmont plantations, on which to make sound judgments. Regardless, the data do not clearly and convincingly fall into a well defined category suggestive of an upcounty antebellum planter.

One last area of research examined in 1991 are the decorative motifs found on ceramics and their indication of wealth and status. Typically edged and annular wares are indicative of inexpensive motifs, while hand painted and especially transfer printed motifs were expensive and hence often associated with owners, rather than their slaves. Plain ceramics are more difficult to evaluate. Early in the introduction of a particular ware, plain vessels tended to be expensive, becoming increasingly affordable through time.

Table 6.
Comparison of Rosemont with Millwood Plantation Data

	38LU323 Pattern	Owner[1]	Manager[1]	Tenant[1]
Foodways	86.0	93.9	92.3	88.6
Clothing	2.8	1.8	1.7	3.7
Household	2.0	2.1	1.1	2.8
Personal	0.4	2.1	4.5	3.6
Labor	8.8	0.1	0.4	1.3

[1] Orser 1988

Table 7 reveals that the combined Rosemont collection is heavily weighted toward expensive motifs, which account for 27.1%, while the inexpensive motifs comprise a rather small percentage – only 8.5%. Thus, the motif analysis is far more suggestive of an owner's site than the previously examined pattern studies.

Of course, it is critical that the Rosemont data be examined in its totality. Thus, in addition to the ceramics, the 1991 work produced items such as bud vases, detailed molded plaster, jewelry, intricately decorated brass furniture escutcheons, and ceramic door knobs. Looking at the collection in context, it

provides a glimpse of a large piedmont land holding in the late antebellum, going into the early twentieth century.

Table 7.
Decorative Motifs on
Earthenwares at Rosemont

Decoration	#	%
Undecorated	38	64.4
Edged	4	6.8
Annular	1	1.7
Hand Painted	2	3.4
Transfer Printed	14	23.7

2007 Investigations

The most recent investigations did not produce the relatively large quantity of remains found in the main complex and, because of that, may be viewed as somewhat disappointing. That conclusion, however, would be mistaken as this brief discussion will show.

The bulk of the work was devoted to the two apparent structural remains found as rubble mounds. Structure 3 is found south of the access road, Structure 8 is found to the north. The piles, themselves, are somewhat different, with Structure 3 being larger, but largely composed of stone with relatively little brick. Structure 8 is represented by a smaller mound that appears largely to consist of brick. The differences extend into the artifact collection themselves.

Structure 3

The Structure 3 collection, while dominated by architectural items (primarily nails), still contains a small collection of ceramics. Moreover, these ceramics represent an interesting mix – including one pearlware and one English porcelain. The mean date for the collection (Table 8) is 1850. This date is supported by other items in the collection, including four wrought nails, early wrought "H" hinge, several fragments of "black" glass, and a round shot.

The resulting artifact pattern (Table 9), while heavily weighted toward architectural remains because of the extensive metal detection collection in this area, is most reminiscent of the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern – typical of antebellum slavery. Although some high status ceramics are found (such as the transfer printed wares), these were likely passed down from the master's table. Other kitchen items are typical, including a number of kettle fragments and an iron utensil handle.

Although the collection is small, the materials are strongly suggestive of a dwelling for an enslaved African American during the late antebellum. Situated in near proximity to the main settlement, the occupants might have been artisans or house servants.

Table 8.
Mean Ceramic Date for Structure 3

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
English porc	1745-1795	1770	3	5310
NA salt glazed stoneware	1826-1905	1866	3	5598
Pearlware, blue trans printed	1795-1840	1818	1	1818
Whiteware, blue edged	1826-1880	1853	1	1853
Whiteware, blue trans printed	1831-1865	1848	3	5544
Whiteware, undecorated	1813-1900	1860	22	40920
Total			33	61043
Mean Ceramic Date	1849.8			

Although only 69 measurable nails were recovered, this assemblage consists primarily of sheathing and siding nails (n=31), followed by small timber and shingle nails (n=25). Thus, we see a structure with wood shingles and wood siding – a typical late antebellum slave structure. A small collection of framing nails are present, suggesting that while some craft techniques may still have been practices, nails were beginning to replace more labor intensive building practices.

Table 9.
Artifacts and Pattern from the Structure 3 Collections

	Shovel Tests	Test Unit	Metal Detector	Group Total	Percent of Total
Kitchen				19	8.76
Ceramics	8	1	28		
Glass	2	2	1		
Tableware			1		
Kitchenware			9		
Architectural				187	86.18
Window glass	1				
Construction hardware			3		
Cut nails	3	18	44		
Cut nail frags	21	22	48		
Hand wrought nails			4		
UID nail frags	3	18	2		
Furniture				1	0.46
Arms				1	0.46
Musket balls, shot		1			
Tobacco				0	0.00
Clothing				2	0.92
Personal				0	0.00
Activities				7	3.23
Tools			2		
Stable and barn items			4		
Misc. hardware			4		
Other			9		
Total Artifacts				217	

The structure may have been occupied into the postbellum, weakly suggested by the presence of a single fragment of aqua glass. The Activities Group, however, is relatively low. This tends not to support a heavy postbellum tenant occupation. It appears, however, that the structure was eventually pushed up in a pile, probably to allow cultivation in the area. The demolition dramatically affected integrity, and the subsequent cultivation with associated erosion, scattered yard trash and spread materials over a wide area.

Structure 8

Situated north of the access road, this structure presents a very different artifact collection when compared to Structure 3. Table 10 reveals an artifact pattern that is still dominated by architectural items; however, the Activities Group is far greater. This may, however, be the result of the abundant metal fragments recovered by metal detecting.

More interesting is the large proportion of Household/Structural remains compared to Foodways. Recent work by Trinkley et al. (2006:81-83, 129-130) identified two defined clusters of tenant patterns, along with one anomalous study that produced data very similar to Rosemont. In that study the Household/Structural remains accounted for nearly 60% of the collection, while Foodways contributed only about 20%. We attributed this to the possible data collection strategy that seemed to favor the collection of architectural remains while possibly overlooking trash deposits. The same bias may be at work in this study, since our excavations (including metal detecting) tended to focus on the debris pile – and we obtained a very similar pattern.

In general the artifacts tend to support a relatively late date for this collection, although two architectural hardware items almost certainly reflect salvage from elsewhere (a wrought pintle and strap hinge). Structure 8 produced noticeable quantities of coal and slag, while Structure 3 yielded only charcoal. This, too, suggests a postbellum date for the occupation. Finally, the ceramics from Structure 8 are exclusively stonewares, primarily alkaline glazed specimens. While Greer (1981:264) gives this stoneware a date range from the 1820 through the 1890s, its use continued into the twentieth century. The presence of storage containers to the exclusion of tablewares may be an accident of sampling; otherwise its meaning is uncertain.

We have considered the possibility that the structure is not a dwelling, but a shed of some sort. The quantity of brick, however, suggests the presence of a chimney. Subsequent to our study, Mr. Lorenz conducted additional metal detecting in this area and further exposed the chimney in the rubble mound. This information is presented in Appendix 1. In brief, the chimney footing measures 4.75 feet in width,

Table 10.
Artifacts and Pattern from the Structure 8 Collections

	Shovel Tests	Test Unit	Metal Detector	Group Total	Percent of Total
Kitchen				9	14.52
Ceramics		1	7		
Glass			1		
Architectural				37	59.68
Construction hardware	2				
Cut nails	2	2	21		
Cut nail frags		3	5		
UID nail frags		1	1		
Furniture				0	0.00
Arms				0	0.00
Tobacco				0	0.00
Clothing				0	0.00
Personal				0	0.00
Activities				16	25.81
Tools			1		
Stable and barn items	1	1	8		
Misc. hardware			1		
Other	2	2			
Total Artifacts				62	

with a throat opening of about 3.1 feet. The arms were originally about 4.8 feet in length. The construction used dry laid stone. This feature is a reasonable size for the fire box of a small dwelling and is consistent with other site observations.

Structure 9

Testing at the barn to the south of the road produced only nine artifacts – seven nails and one staple. Six of the seven nails were cut, one was a wire nail. Dating this structure with such a small collection is not possible and the nails could represent a mid to late nineteenth century through early twentieth century date range. Metal detecting by Mr. Lorenz in this area produced buggy parts.

Although uncertain, it seems likely that this structure was the barn mentioned by Mrs. Mary Pruitt during her 1928 visit to Rosemont.

Shovel testing to the south of the barn produced several fragments of barbed wire, likely representing the remains of the 1920 "hog wire" enclosure around the barn described by Hugh Banks Cunningham.

Other Remains

A small shovel test and metal detector collection was made south of the road, north of Structure 3. Consisting of a white porcelain, two nails, a horseshoe fragment, and a fragment of unidentifiable metal, the assemblage appears to represent scatter – trash that would have been widely distributed through plowing and cultural practices. There was no evidence of another occupation or specific feature in this area.

SUMMARY

Piedmont plantations have attracted periodic historical attention. Some historians, like Rosser Taylor (1942), present a somewhat stereotypic view of the upcountry as a rough area with few major "seats" or plantation dwellings. Others, such as Ford (1988) have sought to unravel the social dichotomy of the region (see also Megginson 2006 for the upper piedmont in South Carolina and Reidy 1992 for a discussion of plantations in central Georgia). Unfortunately, the archaeological contribution to our understanding of piedmont plantations is paltry. After nearly three decades of archaeological research in other areas of South Carolina, much emphasizing plantation archaeology, the piedmont is still poorly studied.

Questions comparing the wealth of piedmont short staple cotton plantations with Sea Island cotton plantations, or comparing the wide range of piedmont social fabric, or examining the nature of piedmont slavery, have not been examined – and in most cases have not even been formulated. Moreover landscape archaeology, whether on the Sea Islands or in the piedmont, has not attracted the attention it deserves.

Just a few years after the initial Rosemont work, Stine looked at the state of Piedmont historical archaeology, using York County as an example. She complained that, "not one plantation site has been recorded . . . no slave quarters have been recognized" (Stine 1993:227). She wonders if this may be the result of "the simplistic assumptions of some researchers; that the piedmont region was solely settled by farmers, the lowcountry by plantation owners." Of course, had she examined Laurens County instead, there would have been at least one plantation in the assemblage.

To her concerns, we add the seeming absence of African American graveyards in the piedmont. At plantations such as Rosemont there surely were burial grounds for the enslaved. While such sites are found throughout the low country, almost none are typically located in the piedmont.

By 2004 Joseph and his colleagues were attempting to address at least some of these concerns. They observed,

> Because short-staple cotton rapidly exhausted soil nutrients, the settlement plan of upland cotton plantations differed from that of coastal plantation. Upland plantations featured less substantial main house complexes than found on the coast, and slave villages in particular were of impermanent construction. A main house complex and slave village would usually be established near the first fields that were cleared for cultivation. Crop rotation and the expansion of these fields into adjoining woodlands might provide for 10 to 15 years of productive agriculture, but eventually soils in the area would be exhausted. A second area would be established on other lands, with fields cleared by a smaller slave work force. Eventually, the main slave village and

> agricultural support buildings would be relocated and rebuilt as well. . . . Slave housing was predominantly of log construction with dirt floors and shuttered windows (Joseph et al. 2004:79).

In spite of this synthesis, however, even Joseph acknowledges that "relatively little archaeological work has been directed toward short-staple cotton plantations" and that there was a lack of slave settlement research (Joseph et al. 2004:82).

The Rosemont research offers a clear indication that the investigation of piedmont plantations can bear fruit. Further, it is essential if archaeologists wish to make substantive contributions to the public's understanding of their heritage – not everyone lived on the coastal plain. The research also suggests there may be more diversity than previously recognized. The Rosemont main house (and its gardens) is certainly comparable to most low country plantations. And while the slave village may have been moved at Rosemont, the single posited slave structure found, although poorly preserved, seems to be more similar than different from low country examples. What of course is different, is the extent of erosion in the piedmont and the affect it may have on these slave settlements.

Rosemont may represent a "typical" piedmont plantation. While land acquisition by Patrick Cunningham may have begun before the American Revolution, it was only after the war that the property was integrated into the plantation economy in a meaningful way. The construction of the Rosemont house, singled out by Taylor (1942:11) as an example of the rare elegance of the Piedmont, was completed at least by the 1790s. The production of tobacco, indigo, a variety of grain crops, hogs, sheep, and cattle reveals that Rosemont was participating in the diversified economy of many Piedmont plantations. It was only in the first quarter of the nineteenth century that cotton began to rule the Rosemont economy, and even then its monarchy was tenuous, constantly sharing power with subsistence crops.

The antebellum at Rosemont is marked by the design and elaboration of the gardens, making the plantation a showcase and entrenching the plantation in local history. Yet, like many other plantations, relatively little is known of the economic decisions which faced the owners. As cotton prices fluctuated, the Cunninghams, like other plantation owners, found themselves not in control of the market economy. Striving to maintain a way of life against forces they could not manage, there is evidence that Rosemont continued the delicate balance between food and fortune – producing both subsistence crops and cotton. The lives of the owners are known only from scattered letters. There are no plantation account books which might reveal the prosperity or the hardships of the various years. And while little is known of the Cunninghams, virtually nothing is known of their slaves.

There are enough letters from the postbellum to reveal that Rosemont, like other plantations, went through tremendous upheaval and that the residents were both unprepared and generally unwilling to accept the changes brought by the collapse of slavery. Cotton continued to be king, because it was only through cotton that plantation owners had any hope of recouping their war-time loses, much less rebuilding their grandeur. During this period it is likely that Rosemont fell into decay. The gardens began to go untended and the house no longer received constant attention. The luxuries of a slave-holding society were no longer readily available.

By the late postbellum Rosemont had settled into a system of tenancy. And by the early twentieth century some improvements were again being made on the property. While the garden was not restored, there were at least efforts to reclaim it from the encroaching

wilderness. Newspaper articles during this period kept alive the past glory of Rosemont, almost making it a shrine of the lost cause. During this period a number of legends grew up about Rosemont, such as the wood for the house being sent from England and the vast acreage of the Cunningham estate.

As Taylor remarks, "the four pillars of the social order in South Carolina were ancestors, possessions, occupations and education" (Taylor 1942:7). This can be seen no better than at Rosemont, beginning with Ann Pamela Cunningham's efforts to memorialize the Cunningham name, the efforts to maintain the Rosemont estate as family lands, the effort to restore the house, and the continuing effort by Louisa Cunningham to maintain the family's status as planters.

When the house was destroyed in August 1930, the history of Rosemont ended. In a last vain effort to maintain the social order, the descendants of Rosemont sifted through the ashes of the house, scavenging locks, keys, and bits of the house. Other family possessions had long since been sold off or carried away by various family members. Even garden plants were dug up and carried away.

The archaeological research conducted at Rosemont Plantation in 1991 revealed clearly that the main settlement site was eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. In spite of scavenging and the aggressive Piedmont erosion, the remains at the site exhibit clear integrity, with the presence of features and intact architectural remains. The artifacts recovered from the site yield a mean ceramic date almost exactly the same as the mean historic date for the plantation. And while twentieth century artifacts may seem to overwhelm the colonial and early antebellum specimens, this is only an appearance based on the natural increase in material items during the twentieth century. As a result, Chicora Foundation nominated the site to the National Register in February 1992. It was approved by the SC Department of Archives and History in April 1993, and subsequently entered on the National Register by the Keeper in June 1993.

This does not mean, however, that there are no unresolved questions. This review of the 1991 research clearly shows that the archaeological artifact pattern is dissimilar to the Carolina Artifact Pattern that is found to represent British colonial sites, at least in the low country. While the collection does more closely resemble the pattern observed at Calhoun's Abbeville Millwood Plantation, there remain anomalous aspects. These may be the result of small collections, or even the failure to examine adequate diversity among piedmont planters.

The artifacts from the Rosemont main settlement, while perhaps not fitting into a pattern easily recognized at this stage of investigations, do suggest the wealth and prosperity of the Cunningham family over much of its existence. Creamware is found, rather than lead glazed wares, and transfer printed patterns are common during the later periods. Other artifacts, such as personal items, architectural detailing, and clothing objects, provide some sense of the piedmont planter elite during the antebellum.

The garden area, while certainly damaged by the loss of plants and years of neglect, still remains a recognizable form. And this garden is the only one still associated with a major Up Country plantation setting. This rare and unique feature should be especially valued.

Likewise, the convergence of archaeological data and oral history provide a rare understanding of piedmont late colonial architecture – a topic that has received far too little attention.

Turning from the main settlement to the area to the west – the topic of this most recent study – we see that other aspects of the plantation remain intact. Undisturbed by time, there are foundations of two barns or utility

buildings – one 40 by 22 feet (Structure 9), another 30 by 18 feet (Structure 10).

Two additional structures are found to the east of the barns. One (Structure 3) was identified during the 1991 work, but not investigated. The other (Structure 8) was not found at that time. Both have been heavily impacted by erosion. They appear to have been demolished and no intact foundation can be discerned.

Structure 3 is of special interest since its artifact assemblage is suggestive of a late antebellum slave dwelling. The mean ceramic date is about 1850. The artifact assemblage does not suggest a rude log cabin, but rather a "typical" frame cabin, similar to those more intensively examined in the low country. The frame structure was likely set on stone piers and the chimney was almost certainly not mud and sticks, but rather stone. The identified artifact pattern is most similar to the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern – suggesting that the material culture of piedmont slavery was not too distinct from that of the low country. The proximity of the structure to the main settlement (and the failure to identify other, similar dwellings), suggests that this may have been the dwelling for a house servant.

Structure 8 seems to represent a postbellum structure. The only ceramics present are stonewares – representative of utilitarian storage containers (and unable to provide a meaningful date). The architectural remains suggest a frame building with a wood shingle roof set on piers, probably with a brick chimney. The function of the structure is uncertain, although like Structure 3 it appears to have been razed.

Finally, there is some suggestion of a "slave cemetery" located on the west edge of the main settlement or perhaps in the area proposed for sale. This cemetery is seen on a rough sketch map made by local historian Marion Wilkes about 1947. What he saw, what he knew, or what he was told, is today uncertain. It seems unlikely that the family cemetery would be located so distant from the main house, while a graveyard for enslaved African Americans was virtually in the settlement's rear yard. Nevertheless, the possibility of human remains must be taken seriously until such time that adequate work is conducted to dismiss the claim.

A major goal for the citizens of Laurens County remains the preservation of Rosemont Plantation. Although a non-profit organization has been created for this purpose, much more needs to be done. We have previously made recommendations concerning site management (Trinkley et al. 1992:67).

Talk of parking lots and paths is premature. The site continues to be a risk of loss – through looting of artifacts and plant materials, as well as through natural losses such as erosion. Between 1991 and 2007 the site has continued to deteriorate. The intact garden vegetation is far less evident today than it was 17 years ago. The site is far more overgrown. There is new evidence of erosion. Nearly two decades later, the site has not been adequately stabilized.

The combined archaeological, architectural, and landscape resources of Rosemont represent a unique opportunity. But that opportunity must be carefully guided by slow planning and forward thinking.

Archaeological research is critical on the main settlement. There are many resources that are being gradually diminished and will be eventually lost if there is not a dedicated effort to their examination:

> The Main House - additional archaeological work can be used to document the architectural detailing of the main house, its precise location, and the artifacts associated with its

occupants. The loss of the house in the early twentieth century froze the architectural remains in time. This work can begin to resolve issues such as the construction date, construction methods, possible enlargement, and the nature of lost elements. This is a unique opportunity to examine piedmont architectural features. While the artifacts may represent many twentieth century items, there were apparently some items in the house going back to the late antebellum – some evidence of these early specimens may still be present.

Associated Structures - future work should be conducted on the other six structures currently identified around the main house. These yard structures are a critical component of the plantation landscape. The work would identify the function of structures such as those to the east of the main house, and explore the construction and artifact pattern associated with the dependencies. Of particular interest may be the library, once the home of Ann Pamela Cunningham. The "smoke house" is also worthy of additional attention, especially given the large quantity of animal bone associated with the area. This would allow one of the first dietary reconstructions of a piedmont planter.

Yard Area - archaeological work should continue the exploration of the various artifact scatters identified in the yard of the Rosemont structure and examining refuse disposal practices. In addition, this work should continue the search for the Rosemont kitchen.

Landscape Archaeology - further work should continue to explore the pathways currently identified for the site, and seek to find additional paths associated with the main area and the gardens. Such paths may be brick, as is the one to the west of the main house, although they may also be packed earth, gravel/stone, or even cinders. Archaeological research (i.e., excavations) may also be used to identify or verify the location of at least some plantings. For example, excavations should be able to verify the location of "missing" trees in the avenues. Appropriate feature contexts can contribute pollen and phytolith data to the landscape reconstruction.

African American Archaeology - currently little is known of the African American slaves who lived on Rosemont beyond the sketchy data from Structure 3. While we may obtain little more evidence from the main settlement area, an effort should be made to identify the plantation boundaries and begin a systematic survey of the property not flooded by the Buzzard's Roost project in 1940. This may result in the identification of slave settlements associated with the plantation.

Broad research questions include the economics of the piedmont Rosemont Plantation as compared to low country plantations, the development of the plantation in the colonial period, and the lifestyles of the African American slaves on Rosemont.

It is essential that all future efforts at Rosemont proceed from a broadly defined base of heritage preservation which integrates research, public education, heritage marketing, and heritage tourism. No one component can be successful, in the long-term, without the involvement of the others. And through this multifaceted approach Rosemont can be preserved for future generations of South Carolinians.

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APPENDIX 1.
LORENZ COLLECTIONS

As briefly mentioned in the body of the report, Mr. Richard Lorenz, an owner of the property, conducted metal detecting around several structures during our investigations. Additional detecting was done following our study and he also exposed the chimney base underlying the rubble mound at Structure 8.

This brief appendix provides maps of the finds (both during and after our study), as well as brief descriptions of the materials recovered after our work for the record. Those materials recovered during our study have been added to the preceding discussions of dating and pattern studies.

The additional materials do not significantly alter our preceding discussions or findings. For example, coal and slag continue to be found only in association with Structure 8 and Structure 3 continues to appear to be the earlier of the two. Both structures continue to give all indications of domestic sites, probably of either African American slaves or tenants.

Structure 3

A total of 13 metal detector tests have been cataloged in the immediate vicinity of Structure 3 (two additional tests contained no material retained for cataloging). These are itemized in Table 1 and a map of their approximate locations (as well as the location of the metal detector tests conducted during our study) is provided by Figure 1.

Table 1.
Metal Detector Artifacts Catalogued from Structure 3

Metal Detector #	stoneware	kettle frag	glass, blk	pintle	nails	plow frag.	horse shoe	vise box screw	chain links	nut/ bolt	UID metal
47					1						
48			1								
49							1				
50											1
51								1			
52	1									1	
53	2			1	1						
54					1		1				
55	1				1						
56	1				1						
57									3		
58						1					
59		1									

Structure 8

The additional work at Structure 8 produced 51 metal detector points, 11 with catalogued finds (the remaining finds were not analyzed or cataloged by us during this study, but results as reported to us are included). These locations (as well as the locations of tests recovered during our work) are shown in Figure 2 and the artifacts from the most recent work are tabulated in Table 2.

Mr. Lorenz also removed the overlying rubble deposits at the Structure 8 mound, exposing a dry laid stone chimney support situated nearly in the middle of the mound (Figure 3). Whether this mound reflected chimney fall or a push pile is not, however, certain.

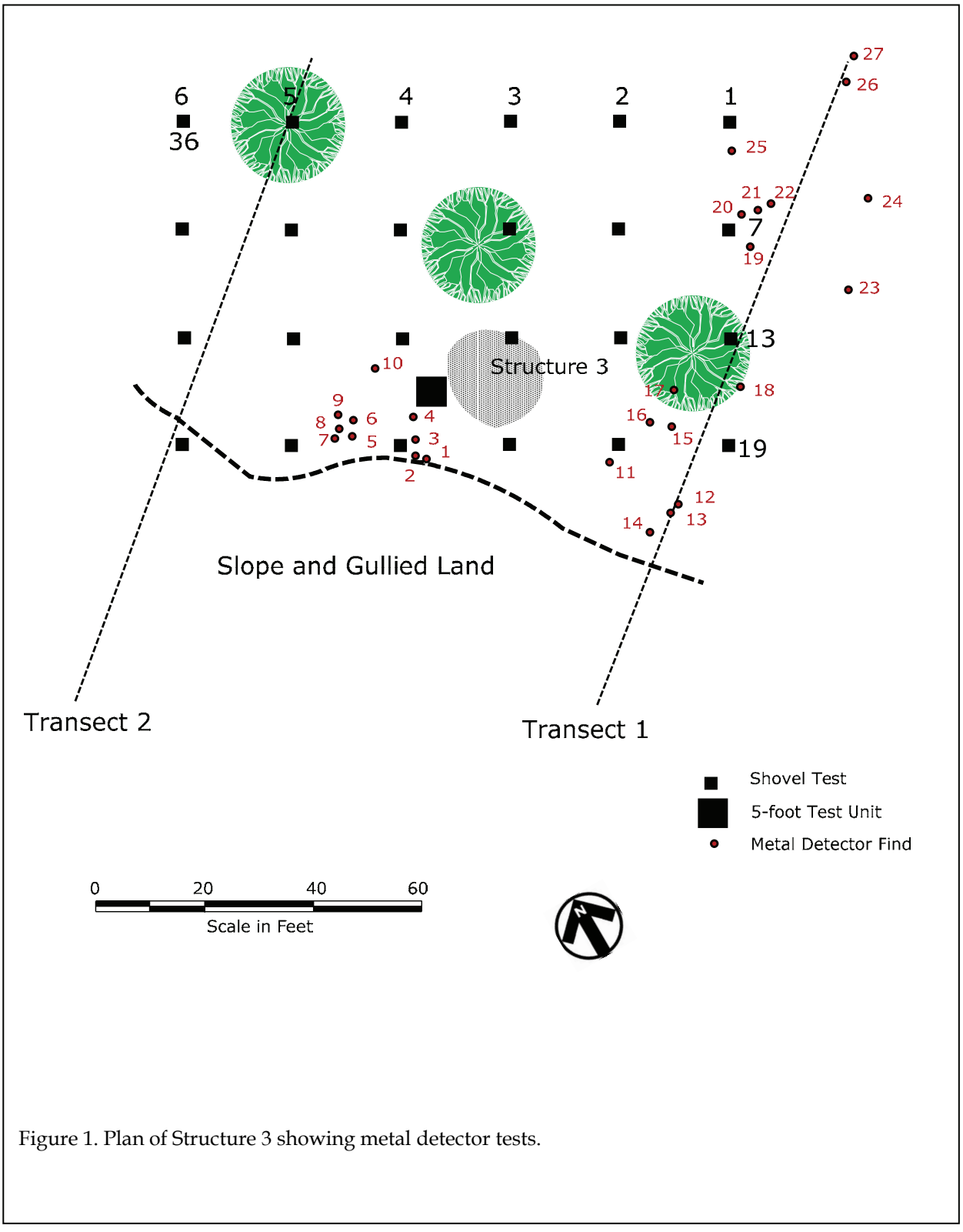

Figure 1. Plan of Structure 3 showing metal detector tests.

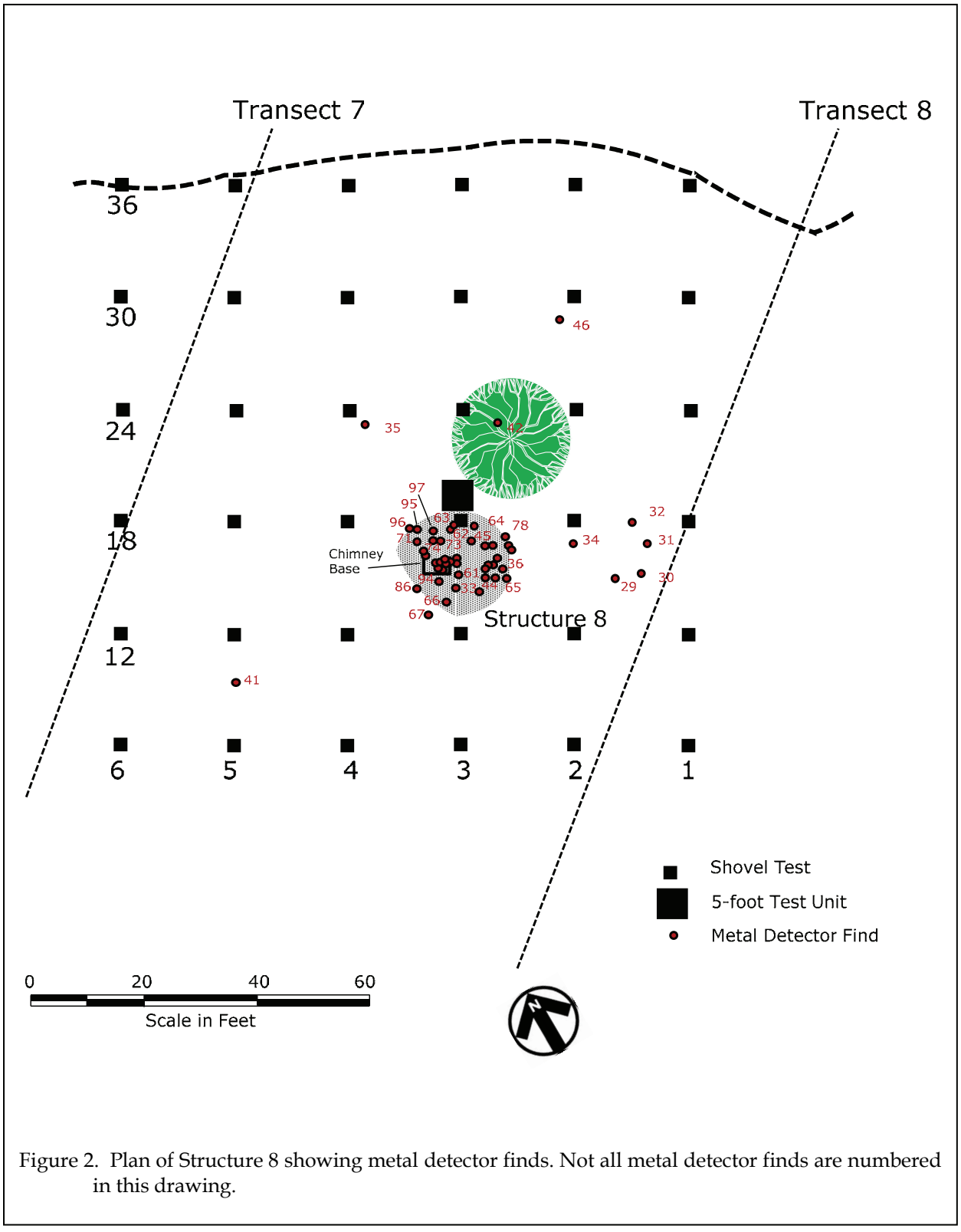

Figure 2. Plan of Structure 8 showing metal detector finds. Not all metal detector finds are numbered in this drawing.

Table 2.
Metal Detector Artifacts Catalogued and Reported from Structure 8

Metal Detector #	stoneware	ceramic/ glass	kettle frag	glass, blk	pintle	nails	whiffle tree hook	rattail file	plow frag.	horse shoe	vise box screw	chain links	nut/ bolt	UID metal	coal/ slag
36						3									4
37	1					3		1						5	5
38	1					3								8	11
39						2									
40						3									
41						2									
42							1								
43						3									4
44						2	1							3	8
45	1			1		3			1					1	13
46	1								1						
60														1	
61						6									
62						2									
63						6									
64						5									
65						1								3	
66						1								3	
67															
68															
69															
70						1									
71						11									
72						2									
73						13									
74						5									
75						1								3	
76															
77						3								1	
78						3								1	
79						9									
80						1								1	
81														1	
82															
83															
84															
85														5	
86															
87														1	
88						4								1	
89		2				4								2	
90						2								1	
91		3				1								2	
92						4								1	
93		1				7								1	
94						1								3	
95						4									
96						3									
97						2									
98															
99						4									

The chimney footing measured about 4.75 by 4.8 feet, with an interior width of 3.1 feet. This is a size consistent with those identified from similar one-family structures. The base appears to exhibit at least three intact courses, at least on one side. The interior of the support was filled with a dark, friable soil, likely debris from the collapse of the structure.

Other Finds

A number of years ago Mr. Lorenz reports finding iron rings used for coupling wooden pipes. Unfortunately the location of this original find can no longer be identified with certainty.

A variety of sources (Armstrong 1976:217-219; Carter 2006:106-108) discuss the use of these wooden pipes. Although most common prior to the mid-nineteenth century, they continued to be found well into the late nineteenth century. It seems likely that their use survived even longer in rural locations.

Figure 3. Exposed chimney footing at Structure 8.

The wooden pipes, with documented interior diameters of 6-9 inches, consisted of logs (elm and white pipe are two species mentioned in the literature) that had been bored. They were fitted together using iron bands that were then sealed with asphalt. In spite of this complex system, every source consulted noted that they tended to leak. They were eventually abandoned as pressurized systems became the norm. No matter how re-engineered, the logs simply could not maintain pressures of 100 psi and higher.

Thus, it is certainly possible that a plumbing system at Rosemont used wooden pipes. It remains unclear, however, where the water originated and to where it was distributed. Also unanswered is whether the system was pumped or gravity feed.

Sources Cited

Armstrong, Ellis L., editor
1976 *History of Public Works in the United States 1776-1976*. American Public Works Association, Chicago.

Carter, W. Hodding
2006 *Flushed: How the Plumber Saved Civilization*. Atria, New York.

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