# TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures .................................................. ii
List of Tables .................................................. ii

Introduction ..................................................... 1
  Previous Archaeological Investigations ............... 1
  Historic Synthesis for the Colonial Period ........... 2
  Memorandum of Agreement ................................. 7

Field Methods .................................................. 9
  Introduction ................................................. 9
  Auger Testing .............................................. 9
  Excavations ............................................... 11

Findings ....................................................... 13
  Auger Testing ............................................. 13
  Excavation Units ......................................... 17
  Artifacts .................................................. 21
  Status ..................................................... 24
  Dating ..................................................... 25
  Ethnobotanical Remains ................................. 26

Assessment ..................................................... 29
  Data Sets .................................................. 29
  Historic Context .......................................... 29
  Research Questions ....................................... 29
  Integrity ................................................... 30
  Recommendations ......................................... 31

Sources Cited ................................................ 33
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure
1. Sketch plan of 38CH1543 from 2008 1
2. Undated plat of Thomas Mullet’s Johns Island property and modern topographic map 4
3. Comparison of 1957 and 1989 aerial images for the vicinity of 38CH1543 5
4. Archaeological site 38CH1543 6
5. Excavating and screening auger tests at 38CH1543 10
6. Excavation in 300R560 11
7. Artifact density at 38CH1543 16
8. Excavations 18
9. Excavations 19
10. Plan of site 38CH1543 20
11. Artifacts 23
12. Ceramic Probability Contributions for 38CH1543 26

LIST OF TABLES

Table
1. Brick and shell weights 12
2. Artifacts recovered from auger tests 14
3. Artifact Pattern comparison 15
4. Mean Ceramic Date for auger test artifacts 15
5. Artifacts recovered from 38CH1543 excavations 22
6. Comparison of Artifact Patterns 25
7. Mean Ceramic Date for excavated ceramics 26
8. Tobacco stem dating 27
9. Hand-picked ethnobotanical remains 27
Introduction

Previous Archaeological Investigations

Initial investigations, consisting of a reconnaissance level study, were conducted in 1994 (Adams and Trinkley 1994:31). Site 38CH1543 was reported as a small scatter of primarily eighteenth century remains situated south of an agricultural pond. Surface visibility in the fields was excellent and 15 shovel tests were excavated at 25-foot intervals in a cruciform across the site. Only five of these tests, however, yielded artifacts. The site core measured about 75 feet north by 100 feet east-west. However, the surface scatter was larger, measuring approximately 225 feet north-south by 250 feet east-west. A shovel cut into the bank of the agricultural pond yielded a colono sherd and some brick fragments, suggesting that the pond impacted the site and the settlement may have been larger than found in the reconnaissance study.

During the subsequent intensive survey in 2008, the site was revisited and tested using 50-foot shovel tests on a grid pattern. Of the 65 shovel tests, 18 were positive (28%). Most of these tests were found east of the pond, helping to define a site core more precisely.

The artifacts included four artifact groups: Kitchen (58.5%), Architecture (7.3%), Tobacco (14.6%), and Activities (19.5%) (Trinkley et al. 2008:Table 34).

In the Kitchen Group, ceramics made up the bulk of the collection (88% of the group total). Colono, an eighteenth century slave-made pottery, accounted for almost half of these ceramics. The MCD for the site, using only nine ceramics, was estimated to be 1775.9 (Trinkley et al. 2008:Table 35).

With very limited data, interpretation of the site was difficult and the authors stated, “we do not have adequate data to suggest a clear site function” (Trinkley et al. 2008:136). The assemblage pattern could represent an eighteenth century slave settlement, an eighteenth century...
overseer, or an eighteenth to nineteenth century main settlement (or perhaps summer home). Both expensive (porcelains) and inexpensive (annular) ceramics were present, although colono pottery was dominant.

It was the inability to determine a site function on which our recommendation for additional work was based. It seemed imprudent to dismiss a site for which we were unable to ascertain a function. Doing so would effectively discard a portion of the Mullet Hall puzzle and present a sound interpretation of the plantation landscape.

Historical Synthesis for the Colonial Period

Mullet Hall did not produce an abundance of early historic documentation. Further complicating explanations, the original study tract was historically made up of four plantations: Mullet Hall, “Home Place,” Rosebank, and The Oaks. Site 38CH1543, however, was situated on Mullet Hall.

We believe that the 600± acre tract was acquired by Anthony Mathews (also Mathewes, Matthews), possibly in 1727 from Richard Floyd (DB O, pg. 72, Dower Bk A53, pg. 18, Charleston County RMC; Jordan and Stringfellow 1998:58). Relatively little is known of his life, although his obituary reported that he was born in London and arrived in Carolina in 1680. He was described as “an eminent Merchant & Settler” who “acquired one of the greatest Estates in the Country” (South Carolina Gazette, September 6, 1735).

His will reveals his considerable wealth, including his residence “on the Bay of Charlestown,” as well as four tenements on Tradd Street, a lot on Church Street, and 780 acres at “Winyau.” His “plantation or tract of six hundred acres of land or thereabouts situated on John’s Island” was devised to his son Anthony (1697-1756).

While the plantation remained in the Mathews family, its ownership becomes less clear. In late 1769, there is an advertisement that “household furniture, a good boat, with sails, about thirty head of black cattle, some horses, mares, &c. &c.” were to be sold on the “plantation of the late Mr. Anthony Mathews, deceased, on Johns Island” (South Carolina Gazette, September 26, 1769). This suggests that the plantation passed from Anthony Mathews (1667-1735) to his son Anthony (1697-1756) and then to his son Anthony (1722-1768). From there it appears to pass laterally to Anthony’s cousin, Benjamin Mathews (-1801). Benjamin was the son of Benjamin (1723-1754) and Ann Holmes. He married first Sarah, who died in 1723 and subsequently Mary, who died in 1769. It was this Benjamin and Mary Mathews who sold the property in 1791.

Prior to this, however, Benjamin advertised the sale of a 1,000 bushels of rough rice in 1771 (South Carolina Gazette, December 17, 1771) documenting that rice was being grown in rather large quantities. Jordan and Stringfellow (1998:236-237) identify Captain Benjamin Mathews in the project area on an unspecified Revolutionary War era map. Benjamin is found on Johns Island in 1780 when he appears on the Grand Jury and Petit Jury lists (Jury Lists, Acts 1078, pg. 1, 3, SC Department of Archives and History). In 1790, he appears in the first Federal Census with three males under 16 years, one male over 16, two white females, and 93 African American slaves.

By 1791, Benjamin appears to have hit hard times. A newspaper advertisement reveals that 26 enslaved African Americans had been seized in execution of a judgement against him and were being sold. The sale, however, was made difficult since the slaves were to be delivered to his wife should he predecease her (which he did) (State Gazette, July 28, 1791, pg. 4).

The conveyance of the parcel is clouded by conflicting evidence. A deed reveals that Benjamin Mathews and Mary his wife sold the property to Thomas Mullet in 1791(Charleston County RMC DB D7, pg. 49; recorded December 1800). Nevertheless, there is an advertisement in early
1791 indicating that the plantation was being sold at auction,

To be Sold at Public Auction,
Before our office on Tuesday the 14th of February next, at 12 o’clock in the forenoon. That Valuable Plantation on John’s Island, containing 648 acres, late the property of Benjamin Mathews, Esq. On the premises are a good dwelling house, and all necessary plantation buildings. Conditions – one half of the purchase money cash, the remainder on 1st January 1793, giving bond and approved security. William Holmes & Co. (City Gazette, February 10, 1792, pg. 1).

Yet additional questions are raised by the notice of Benjamin’s death “at his plantation on John’s Island” (City Gazette, February 21, 1801, pg. 3). Additional research will be necessary to help resolve these differences, although the most convenience explanation is that Benjamin held several tracts.

In any event, the next documented owner is Thomas Mullet, born about 1745 in Devon, England. He began his mercantile career as a paper-maker and stationer in Bristol, England. He was apparently in England during the Revolution, but is reported to have supported the American cause. In 1783, he visited the United States, including New York and Charleston. Mullet was a business partner with Henry Cruger, first through the firm of Henry Cruger & Co. (dissolved in 1785) and later through the firm Cruger, Lediard & Mullet of London (dissolved in 1788). In South Carolina, Cruger, Lediard, and Mullet were involved in court actions against Anne and Moses Glover (1789-1798) and John Maitland (1789), likely the result of commercial dealings (Charleston District Judgement Rolls, 1791, item 613A; 1794, item 104A; 1798, item 412A; Court of Common Pleas, Judgement Rolls, 1789, Box 146A, item 372A; Box 149A, item 655A, SC Department of Archives and History).

By 1789, Mullet was listed as a merchant in New York, but by 1791, he left New York for Bristol (New York Daily Gazette, July 4, 1791, pg. 2) and formed an association with Joseph Jeffries Evans, his nephew by marriage to his daughter Mary Anne.

In March 1793, Thomas Mullet of the City of London, merchant, had given his power of attorney to Thomas Morris, Joshua Ward, and John Ward, Esquires, of Charleston, authorizing them to sell his property on Johns Island and in 1794 the plantation was sold to James Legare. The deed (Charleston County RMC DB D7, pg. 49; recorded December 1800) described a parcel that had been conveyed to Mullet by Benjamin Mathews and Mary his wife in 1791, and was bounded west on Paul Fripp and on George Rivers, south on James Witter, and east on Micah Jenkins. Paul Fripp’s tract became Rosebank; the Witter tract was later acquired by Solomon Legare as part of his “Home Place”; and the Micah Jenkins tract became known as The Oaks.

In 1802, Mullet and Evans were known as Thomas Mullet & Co. in London and operated a major mercantile business. Mullet died in 1814, leaving his son, Frederick, as the junior and sole surviving partner of the firm. At the time the company was described as “the most extensive and valuable American business (particularly with New-York) at that time enjoyed by any commercial house in London” (Newbern [North Carolina] Sentinel, August 24, 1822, pg. 1). In spite of the fortune, the business went into receivership in 1815 as the result of his son’s reckless investments.

Thus, although his name is attached to the parcel, Mullet held the property for only four years, likely as an absentee owner looking to make speculative profits off the tract.

When James Legare wrote his will in June 1828, he bequeathed Mullet Hall to two of his children. At his death in 1830, James C. W. Legare
Figure 2. Undated plat of Thomas Mullet’s Johns Island property conveyed to James Legare (McCray Plat 4608) at the top; below is a modern topographic map (Wadmalaw Island, Legareville, Rockville, and Kiawah Island) showing the Mullet Hall property in blue. Red shows the current development tract.
(1806-1850) inherited the west half of Mullet Hall Plantation, just over 600 acres including his parents’ “Settlement and Mansion House”. Whether he occupied the residence immediately is not certain, but after his 1833 marriage to his cousin Lydia Ball Bryan (1816-1868), they settled at Mullet Hall.

This overview of eighteenth century activities reveals that the property was initially owned and developed by the Mathews family. With a relatively large number of enslaved African Americans the property likely focused on rice production, gradually shifting to cotton during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Absentee ownership by Mullet suggests a speculative venture. Figure 2 shows the only plat we have been able to identify for Mullet Hall and it does little more than reveal that a structure (likely the main house) was present at time the property was sold by Thomas Mullet to James Legare.

The historic plat (Figure 2) shows that the Mullet settlement was situated at the west edge of the tract, adjacent to a large wetland area, at the head of a creek. While the topography has changed over the intervening 200 plus years, the wetland area is still present and the remnants of this creek can still be traced. The structure shown on the Mullet plat is archaeological site 38CH1541 (Trinkley 2017).

This plat also gives us a clue regarding activities on the tract, showing the upper reaches of what is today known as Mullet Hall Creek, being divided by banks into rice fields. Thus, prior to the Revolution, Mullet Hall was minimally producing rice for export. Water control structures would have been used to allow the tidal flow to contribute fresh water and regulate flooding; Chaplin (2003:228) notes that midcentury most rice production had shifted to tidal cultivation.

Mullet, however, was one of those owners who may never have visited his plantation, reaping its benefits while safely secured in New York or perhaps London. There is at least some indication that such planters were viewed with disdain by those actively improving their properties. Henry Laurens, for example, complained in 1787, "You ask if any of my Neighbors tread in my Steps of Land improvements,
I don’t know, I hear them applaud those steps but in the End they call upon me for supplies of provisions. [T]he misfortune is they don’t live upon their plantations, or are very lazy” (quoted in Chaplin 1993:113). Yet another period observer commented, “There are many who call themselves planters who know little about the process and art of planting . . . They owe their wealth neither to art, genius, invention, or industry – but it seems to be showered upon them in the copious productions of a fertile soil and a prolific climate” (quoted in Chaplin 2003:82). While this is an issue that has received little scholarly attention, it seems reasonable that there should be significant differences between plantations with absentee owners and those whose owners were present, even if for only part of the year.

Chaplin also explores the issue of how planters chose to deal with the issue of slavery during this formative period, noting.

Rather than propose any real solution to the problem of slavery, whites in the Lower South instead wanted to improve the institution, to polish its rough edges and make it resemble systems of labor in other parts of the world. Some of this talk about humanizing slavery was pitched at an external audience that might not realize how some improvements were easy to make (Chaplin 2003:59).

Those few plats and plans from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reveal that while the Mullet Hall settlement continued
through the antebellum and perhaps into the early postbellum, no other settlements are shown except for the remnant slave row overlooking Mullet Hall Creek (38CH1542). There is no evidence of a continuing settlement in the area of 38CH1543. Aerial photographs from the early twentieth century on show the area was cultivated since at least 1939, with the pond being excavated sometime between 1977 and 1989. It appears the pond was excavated in an area of wet soils that previously had a drainage site bisecting it north-south (Figure 3).

**Memorandum of Agreement**

A Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) was approved by the State Historic Preservation Office (signed August 17, 2015), the Corps of Engineers (signed September 3, 2015), and Kiawah River Plantation Holdings (signed August 6, 2015) in partial fulfillment of Permit Number SAC-2008-01605-2IG. The MOA specified that additional work would be conducted at 38CH1543 prior to any ground disturbing activities. The goal of this work was to allow the site to be assessed for its National Register eligibility.

A testing plan for 38CH1543 was prepared by Chicora Foundation and was submitted to the signatory parties on October 3, 2016. The plan was approved by the State Historic Preservation Office on December 13, 2016 and the Corps by the end of December. This report provides the information required to fulfill this plan and allow 38CH1543 to be further evaluated for its archaeological and historical contributions.
Field Methods

Introduction

The field crew for this project consisted of Andrew Hyder, Kyndra Beatty, Lincoln Caldwell, Rachael Hutchison, Katrina Newburn, and Marly Richison. Debi Hacker is conducting laboratory processing. The principal investigator and field director, Michael Trinkley, was on-site throughout the project. The field investigations began on April 13 and continued through April 26, 2017. A total of 411 person hours were devoted to the investigations that opened 550 square feet and excavated 750 cubic feet.

Our initial investigations at 38CH1543 used shovel testing excavated by natural strata (although not all shovel tests penetrated the B-horizon because of depth), but we identified no stratigraphy not associated with plowing.

Although the site was shovel tested at 50-foot intervals during the previous survey, during the intervening years it became impossible to reconstruct the original grid. This made it difficult, if not impossible, to cost-effectively conduct block excavations.

As a result, we determined the best approach would be to further explore the site area, not only ensuring that we incorporated the entire site, especially to the north and south, but also that we used a method that obtained the best information possible to guide block excavations.

The client’s surveyors, Thomas and Hutton, established a skeleton site grid at 50-foot intervals for horizontal control. We used a modified Chicago grid system. Such a system assumes an off-site 0R0 point and the southeast corner of each unit designates the feet north and right (or east) of this arbitrary 0R0 point. Hence, the southeast corner of unit 10R50 would be 10 feet north and 50 feet right, or east, of the 0R0 point.

The surveyors’ grid is tied into the South Carolina State Plane Coordinate system so it can be easily reconstructed and so excavations at different sites could be correlated, if necessary. Thus, our point 150R600 at 38CH1543 is also N292,300 E2,268,650.

Vertical control at the site uses a datum at -48R578 established by Thomas and Hutton. This datum has an elevation of 8.96 feet and is tied into the North American Vertical Datum of 1988 (NAVD 88). All elevations were taken in relation to these points, allowing widely separated areas of the site to be precisely compared (as well as comparing one site to another).

Using the 50-foot interval, we further gridded the site into 20-foot blocks for the first phase of investigation at the site.

Auger Testing

For the next phase of investigations, we chose to conduct auger testing to determine the close interval spatial distribution of key artifacts in order to indicate possible structural locations. We have decades of experience using this technique with numerous reports demonstrating that it can successfully indicate structural or occupational areas. In addition to Chicora’s work, the same technique has been used by the National Park Service, with its outstanding record of archaeological protection and investigation.

In 1999 at Magnolia Plantation, archaeologist Dr. Bennie Keel excavated 1,206
auger tests over the 18-acre plantation and was able to ascertain a variety of structures. Keel commented, “the comprehensive auger testing program provides an understanding of the distribution of archaeological remains at the park.” He goes on to specify the use of 25-foot intervals, based not only on this project, but also on his work at the Charles Pinckney site in Charleston County (Keel 1999).

In 2000, National Park Service Archaeologists Christina E. Miller and Susan E. Wood again used auger testing, this time at the 42-acre Oakland Plantation. A total of 1,660 auger tests were excavated. A significant conclusion in their report was that, “the auger testing program has proved to be an efficient and comprehensive method for recovering archaeological baseline data.”

An interval of 20 feet was used based on Chicora’s own work at various plantation sites, as well as the work by NPS. A total of 219 auger tests were opened, with all screened through ¼-inch mesh. The tests yielded 263 historic artifacts (Table 1). Materials were transferred to Chicora’s Columbia lab where they were cleaned and analyzed, allowing the data to be incorporated into a Surfer map using a natural neighbor gridding method. This method does not generate data in areas where no data exists, ignoring for example the pond to the west of the site.

Figure 5 shows the resulting historic artifact density map. It clearly reveals the absence of artifacts beyond the grid to the north, east, and south, although the density map may be truncated to the west where the pond is today situated.

The most pronounced concentration is to the east-northeast of the pond, stretching north-south about 140 feet (from 340R560 south to 200R560). There is a second small concentration to the southeast at 160R660. The remaining concentrations are dismissed since they represent a single auger test. As a consequence, the site appears to measure about 200 feet north-south by about 150 feet east-west, although it may have extended west into the area excavated for the pond.

The distribution does not clearly reveal multiple structures, although it is possible that
several structures were present and blurred together by intensive north-south plowing (which is confirmed in aerials as early as 1939).

Because of the low artifact density, we chose not to plot architectural artifacts or colono pottery as separate maps. Suffice it to say that both are consistent with the overall historic artifact density map.

**Excavations**

The minimal excavation unit was a 5 by 10 foot unit, although typically 10 by 10 foot units were used for horizontal control. Chicora has adopted engineering measurements (feet and tenths of feet) for consistency in its work, especially on European sites where structural measurements are most often in feet.

The testing plan specified that at least 200 square feet would be manually excavated, with all fill screened through ¼-inch mesh. We were able to excavate 550 square feet (seven units including three 5x10-foot units and four 10-foot units) – more than doubling the original estimate.

These units examined the defined concentration from 340R560 south to 200R560 and the small concentration at 160R660. Individual units were placed at 160R660, 240R560, 260R620, and 300R560. A small block excavation was formed by the excavation of 320R550, 320R560, and 330R560 (see Figure 6).

The excavations were by natural soil zones, although we found that all of the site was extensively plowed, resulting in a plowzone overlying a sterile subsoil. There were plow scars and plow ridges, although generally these were partially removed with the upper plowzone level. Flat shoveling was occasionally necessary to better reveal features, given the density of plowing. The plowzone was a consistent brown (10YR4/3) sand. It varied from about 0.8 foot to nearly 1.8 feet in depth. The subsoil varied from a yellowish brown (10YR5/4) to brownish yellow (10YR6/8) sand.

One unit, 240R560, produced an unusual profile. The plowzone, about 0.8 foot in depth, overlay a black (10YR2/1) soil removed as Level 2. This level was 0.65 to 0.4 foot in depth. It had larger artifacts present than the overlying plowzone, but they were infrequent. We interpret Level 2 as spoil from the pond excavation; the dark color is the result of the soils being hydric. Below Level 2 was a brown (10YR5/3) sand which is sterile. Other anomalies include spoil piles with shells and fossils; we assume these were also the result of the pond excavation since there is no reason to transport these materials into the field.

Excavation was by hand with all fill dry-screened through ¼-inch mesh using mechanical sifters.

---

Figure 6. Excavation in 300R560 looking northwest.
A one-quart soil sample was collected from each provenience for soil chemistry needs.

Munsell soil color notations were made during the course of excavations, typically on moist soils freshly exposed. All materials except brick, mortar, and shell were retained by provenience. The brick, mortar, and shell from the screens were collected, weighed, and discarded in the field (Table 2).

These data provide some interesting clues to the occupation at 38CH1543. With only 8 pounds of shell recovered, it is unlikely that the site occupants were spending much effort exploiting the local tidal marsh. The 37 pounds of brick represents a very low brick density for the site. While it is possible that brick was salvaged or removed prior to plowing, we would expect the density of brickbats or rubble to be greater. We believe that brick did not play a significant role in the architecture of the site, either as foundation footings or chimneys.

| Table 1. Brick and Shell Weights (in lbs., t=trace) |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| Unit                | Shell   | Brick |
| 160R660, pz         | t       | t     |
| 240R560, lv 2        | t       | t     |
| 240R560, lv 3        | 0       | 0     |
| 240R560, pz          | t       | 10    |
| 260R620, pz          | 1       | 4     |
| 300R560, pz          | 1       | 4     |
| 320R560, pz          | 4       | 11    |
| 320R565, pz          | 2       | 5     |
| 330R565, pz          | t       | 3     |
| Totals              | 8       | 37    |

Features were designated by consecutive numbers (beginning with Feature 1).

Only one feature was found in the excavations.

Features, or samples of redundant features, were bisected to provide profiles. All feature fill was screened through ¼-inch mesh, with samples, typically about 5 gallons in volume, also screened through ⅛-inch mesh. Samples retained minimally included a soil sample and flotation samples.

Post holes were consecutively numbered by unit, Chicora’s typical method.

Each unit was troweled at the top of subsoil and digitally photographed. Units were drawn at a scale of 1-inch to 2-feet. Profiles were drawn at an exaggerated vertical scale of 1-inch to 1-foot, with a horizontal scale of 1-inch to 2-feet.

Features encountered during the excavations were plotted and photographed.
Findings

Auger Testing

Of the 219 auger tests, 113 or 52% produced artifacts (Table 2). The most common historic artifacts are colono ware pottery (n=75, found in 45 of the tests) and black glass, typically wine or ale bottle fragments (n=48, found in 41 of the tests). These were followed by lead glazed slipware (n=15) and undecorated creamware (n=14). A variety of other eighteenth century wares were also found, although generally as single specimens (such as Westerwald and Chinese porcelains).

A very small quantity of nineteenth century wares, including pearlware and whiteware, were also recovered, although these seem far less securely associated with the site given their sparsity. Prehistoric sherds were present, but all were very fragmented by plowing (n=23).

Architectural items were rare, consisting of only five unidentifiable nail fragments and six fragments of window glass. Other artifacts included a few pipe stems and pipe bowls, several fragments of unidentifiable iron, and a small collection of primarily nineteenth century glass container fragments.

If the auger tests are assumed to be generally representative of the entire site, and we see no good reason to conclude they don't, then they are only vaguely similar to what has been identified in the past as the Carolina Artifact Pattern – a pattern thought to represent eighteenth century enslaved African Americans (Table 3).

This pattern analysis, probably because of the larger sample, is different from that examined in 2008, when the Kitchen Group was much smaller and the total was more suggestive of an overseer or perhaps summer house. The current assemblage helps to avoid such conclusions and is more convincingly slave-related.

The resulting mean ceramic date for these auger test artifacts is 1765. This places the site during the ownership of the Mathews family, likely during a period of rice cultivation. The presence of the pearlwares and whitewares does not appreciably change the date of the settlement and their presence may be a result of the site’s proximity to 38CH1542 (only a few hundred yards to the south).

The results of the mean date are not inconsistent with the results from a much smaller sample in 2008. The current mean ceramic date is earlier, but this is likely the result of a larger sample size.

Observations regarding the prehistoric assemblage include only that the remains are heavily impacted by plowing. All of the sherds are under 1-inch and considered unidentifiable. The only other prehistoric artifact was a single secondary flake of chert. No diagnostic tools were recovered from the auger testing.

Of course, the primary goal of the auger tests was to identify areas worthy of more intensive investigation. Because of the relatively low density of specific types of artifacts (such as architectural remains), we opted to produce only one map, showing all historic remains. Because of the pond to the west and agricultural fields to the east, we also chose to use a natural neighbor algorithm. The resulting density map is shown as Figure 7.
Table 2
Artifacts Recovered from Auger Tests at 38CH1543

### Table 3.
**Artifact Pattern Comparison for 38CH1543**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artifcat Pattern</th>
<th>38CH1543</th>
<th>Revised Carolina</th>
<th>Carolina Elite</th>
<th>38BK1900 Area B</th>
<th>38CH1278 18th Cen. Overseer</th>
<th>Carolina Slave</th>
<th>Georgia Slave</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>86.2</td>
<td>51.8-65.0</td>
<td>42.1-64.2</td>
<td>65.2</td>
<td>78.1</td>
<td>70.9-84.2</td>
<td>20.0-25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecture</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>25.2-31.4</td>
<td>26.3-55.8</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>11.8-24.8</td>
<td>67.9-73.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.2-0.6</td>
<td>0.1-0.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.0-0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arms</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.1-0.3</td>
<td>0.1-1.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1-0.3</td>
<td>0.0-0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>1.9-13.9</td>
<td>0.2-4.7</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>2.4-5.4</td>
<td>0.3-9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.6-5.4</td>
<td>0.1-0.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.3-0.8</td>
<td>0.3-1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.0-0.5</td>
<td>0.1-1.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1-0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.9-1.7</td>
<td>0.2-1.6</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.2-0.9</td>
<td>0.2-0.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Garrow 1982
2Beaman 2001
3Trinkley et al. 2003
4Trinkley et al. 2005
5Singleton 1980

### Table 4.
**Mean Ceramic Date for Auger Test Artifacts at 38CH1543**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ceramic</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Mean Date (xi)</th>
<th>(fi)</th>
<th>fi x xi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overglazed enameled porc</td>
<td>1660-1800</td>
<td>1730</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Underglazed blue porc</td>
<td>1660-1800</td>
<td>1730</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English brown stoneware</td>
<td>1690-1775</td>
<td>1732</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nottingham stoneware</td>
<td>1700-1810</td>
<td>1755</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westerwald</td>
<td>1700-1775</td>
<td>1738</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White salt glazed stoneware</td>
<td>1740-1775</td>
<td>1758</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eler's ware</td>
<td>1690-1775</td>
<td>1733</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead glazed slipware</td>
<td>1670-1795</td>
<td>1733</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refined agate ware</td>
<td>1740-1775</td>
<td>1757</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clouded wares/Tortoiseshell</td>
<td>1740-1770</td>
<td>1755</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delft, decorated</td>
<td>1600-1802</td>
<td>1750</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delft, plain</td>
<td>1640-1800</td>
<td>1720</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creamware, undecorated</td>
<td>1762-1820</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>25074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlware, annular/cable</td>
<td>1790-1820</td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlware, blue trans printed</td>
<td>1795-1840</td>
<td>1818</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiteware, poly hand painted</td>
<td>1826-1870</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiteware, blue trans printed</td>
<td>1831-1865</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiteware, annular</td>
<td>1831-1900</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiteware, undecorated</td>
<td>1813-1900</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yellow ware</td>
<td>1830-1940</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>63</td>
<td>111172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Ceramic Date</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1764.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 7. Artifact density at 38CH1543.
The density map reveals a north-south line of relatively dense remains about 75 feet east of the artificial pond. The near absence of artifacts to the north, south, and east indicates that the site boundaries have been well established by the various surveys and the auger testing efforts. It is more difficult to ascertain what might have been lost by the creation of the pond. There is a small concentration to the north, but otherwise, it seems that the pond may have had only a minor effect on the site. This is good, since it would indicate that the site is largely intact.

**Excavation Units**

We laid out seven units to examine areas where the artifact density appeared densest. Our goal was to obtain a large, representative collection of artifacts from the site to better assessment pattern and dating, as well as to expose features that might assist in site interpretation.

The first unit, **160R660**, a 5 by 10, was laid in to examine the isolated materials in this area. This unit revealed a brown (10YR4/3) plowzone about 1.76 feet in depth overlying a brownish yellow (10YR6/8) sand subsoil with abundant concretions, especially in the southern half of the unit. Only plowscars were revealed, although they were found going both NW-SE and SW-NE, probably since plows tended to turn around on the field edge. This also explained the very deep plowzone. It was this depth that likely produced the apparent density.

A 10 foot square was set in at **240R560**, revealing a complex stratigraphy. The uppermost level was a brown (10YR4/3) plowzone about 0.77 foot in depth. The overlaid a black (10YR2/1) fine sand zone, removed as Level 2) that was about 0.5 foot in depth. The black soil was nearly sterile, but did produce a few large artifacts that likely originated in the plowzone. Below the black soil was a brown (10YR5/4) zone, identified as Level 3, which was excavated to a depth of about 0.1 foot and found to be sterile. This lowest zone graded into a brown (10YR5/4) fine silty sand. While we are convinced the black zone is related to the pond or pre-existing drainage, we are unable to provide a more detailed explanation. Several plowscars were found at the base of the plowzone, oriented NW-SE. Also found at the base of the plowzone were the probable remains of one or more wall trench structures, represented by two, possibly three, NW-SE trenches with black fill (although they are oriented differently than the plowscars).

Unit **260R620**, a 10-foot square, was set in at a small concentration at the eastern edge of the site. The brown (10YR4/3) plowzone was 1.0 foot in depth and laid on a brownish yellow (10YR6/8) sand subsoil. There was no evidence of the black zone found to the west. Plowscars were abundant and the only anomaly identified was a tree smear in the northwest corner of the unit.

A single 10-foot unit was excavated at **300R560**. The plowzone, a brown (10YR4/3) sand, was 0.8 foot in depth and laid on a yellowish brown (10YR5/4) sand subsoil. Plowscars were so abundant it was difficult seeing the floor of the unit. Nevertheless, like several other units, this square produced abundant colonial remains.

The final excavation incorporated three units: a 10-foot square, **320R560**, and two 5 by 10 foot units, **320R565** and **330R565**. All of these units produced a brown (10YR4/3) sand plowzone about 1.05 foot in depth overlying a yellowish brown (10YR5/4) sand subsoil. The initial 10-foot square was expanded because it produced a large feature of mottled very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) sand in its southeast corner. During excavation this feature was found to contain several intact animals, including a horse or mule and at least one pig. Since the remains were intact, we presume they were diseased and buried for disposal and were not food remains. As a result, no additional excavation took place and only a portion of the feature was exposed.

These units sampled all of the various concentrations and we did not feel that the excavation of additional units would produce different results. The MOA specified that we would open at least 200 square feet – our work actually opened 550 square feet, exceeding the MOA.
Figure 8. Excavations. Upper photo shows 240R560 at the base of the plowzone. Visible are plowscars and several stains which are likely wall trench structures. The lower photo 260R620 with a tree stain the NW corner and abundant plowscars. Both views are to the north.
Figure 9. Excavations. The upper photo shows units 320R560, 320R565, and 330R565, looking to the north-northeast. The lower photo shows the south profile of 320R560. Clearly visible is the shoveling of backfill into the feature, below the plowzone.
Figure 10. Plan of site 38CH1543, showing excavations.
Artifacts

Formal excavations produced 2,365 artifacts. The most abundant of these were colono wares – low fired, slave-made earthenwares. The colono pottery (n=724) accounts for 30.6% of the assemblage. The most abundant European ware was lead glazed slipware, which accounts for only 7.3% of the total collection (n=175). If only ceramics are considered, the colono accounts for nearly 56% of the collection and the lead glazed slipware contributes an additional 13.3%.

We have previously reviewed the different typologies being applied to colono pottery (Trinkley and Hacker 2016:265-269). Even a cursory review will suggest that there is considerable overlap between the various types, and defining features are often not present in relatively small plowzone collections. Nevertheless, the assemblage from 38CH1543 is most similar to what Anthony (1986, 2002, 2009) has called Lesesne Lustered. Bulbous lips appear as a variant of rounded lips (found on 51% of the rims; the remainder are flattened). The paste is a fairly consistent fine, almost micaceous sand. Sherds are well fired, primarily reduced. Surfaces are lustrous, well-smoothed, but lack the tooling facets found on River Burnished pottery. A sample of non-rim sherds have an average thickness of 6.22mm (with a range of 3.15 to 13.31mm; n=137). When only rims are considered and measures are uniformly taken 15mm below the lip, the average is 6.52mm. (n=19). These are both within the range attributed to Lesesne Lustered, although there is considerable overlap. Some notched rims are found and one sherd was observed with two parallel lines encircling the rim. In another case, wear suggestive of a lid was found on a rim. Only one sherd exhibited exterior charring and none evidenced burned material on the interior.

Two sherds were handles, suggesting the replication of European styles. Another fragment is a foot from a pot. The final object is a fragment of a clay pipe.

The handles and foot are suggestive of European ware imitations. Similar items have been found in other colono collections and are, at least in theory, not unexpected.

The pipe is thin red clay, well made and fired, and decorated with incising. It is most reminiscent of the Chesapeake pipes discussed by authors such as Emerson (1999), Mouer and his colleagues (1999), and more recently by Luckenbach and Kiser (2006) (although their pipes are generally decorated with roulette designs). While Emerson believes that, “the decorative styles, designs, and motifs of Chesapeake tobacco pipe art are clear evidence that Africans made pipes in seventeenth-century Virginia and Maryland” (Emerson 1999:60), Mouer et al (1999) argue that these pipes are the result of creolization and Native Americans can’t be eliminated as significant contributors. Taking the discussions a step further, Luckenbach and Kiser attempt to assign makers to a variety of the more common styles. For example, they suggest that many of the roulette decorated pipes should be attributed to “The Nomini Maker” from the Virginia plantation by the same name, a creolized Algonquin.

The presence of this style in the Charleston area, while curious, likely has precedents that we are simply unaware of at present.

Kitchen Group artifacts account for three-quarters of the assemblage, with colono, black glass, and lead glazed slipware together comprising over 71%.

While relatively utilitarian wares (such as the colono, lead glazed slipware, and North Devon gravel tempered wares) are the most common ceramics in the assemblage, there are a few fine ceramics, such as hand painted overglazed Chinese porcelains, hand painted overglaze slip dip white salt glazed stonewares, black basalt, and Eler’s ware. One explanation is that discards from the planter’s table were making their way to the occupants of 38CH1543.

The pearlwares, whitewares, and yellow wares account for only 4.5% of the ceramics (n=60).
### Table 5.
Artifacts Recovered from 38CH1543 Excavations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kitchen Group</th>
<th>Artifacts Recovered</th>
<th>Number of Artifacts</th>
<th>Percentage of Artifacts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese porcelain, undecorated</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese porcelain, blue hand painted</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese porcelain, poly HPOG</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White SG SW, slip dipped</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White SG SW, slip dipped, HPOG</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delft, undecorated</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delft, polyhose hand painted</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delft, blue hand painted</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead glazed slipware</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenware, undecorated</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenware, molded</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenware, HPOG</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenware, chamber</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlware, undecorated</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlware, blue hand painted</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlware, mold</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlware, annular</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlware, blue hand painted</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlware, blue transfer painted</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiteware, undecorated</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiteware, poly hand painted</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiteware, annular</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiteware, cable</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiteware, blue transfer painted</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yellow ware, undecorated</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yellow ware, mocha</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black hazel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antique ware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jade</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claystone</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terracotta</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gray SG SW</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gray SG SW</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alumina slip</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glaize Red earthenware</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Devon green tempered</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South European Ware</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red earthenware</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earthenware</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grace, black</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grace, green</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grace, clear</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grace, manganese</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grace, melted</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utensil</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tableware, glass</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glaize ware</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecture Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windows glass</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nails, wrought</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nails, machine cut</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nails, UID</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass nails</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decorative iron</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candle snuffer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tools</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead shot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grease</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pipe stems, 1/4-inch</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pipe stems, 5/16-inch</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pipe stems, fragments</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glaize pipe frag</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buttons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing gear</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc. hardware</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FINDINGS
Figure 11. Artifacts. A. pewter spoon; B-C. lead glazed slipwares; D. Westerwald; E. blue hand-painted delft; hand-painted overglazed creamware; G. cauliflower creamware; H-J. colono rim sherds; K. colono handle; L. brass finial; M-N, black flint gun flints; O-P, lead shot with sprue; Q. silver Spanish 8-reale coin; R. green bead; S. incised colono pipe fragment.
and appear to be an anomaly. We believe these artifacts are smear from nearby 38CH1542 to the south.

Architectural items are very scarce, consisting of a few fragments of window glass and a small collection of nails. Machine cut nails are nearly as common as hand wrought nails. Although machine cut nails were being produced by 1780, they were not common in the South until the early nineteenth century. Thus, the machine cut nails may, like some of the ceramics, be associated with 38CH1542 to the south. Regardless, the vast majority of nails were too fragmented and too corroded for their type to be identified.

Furniture related artifacts consist of only two brass furniture tacks, a brass finial, and a wrought iron candle snuffer fragment. The candle snuffer is a form typical of the early eighteenth century (Lindsay 1964:Figure 342; see also Woodhead et al. 1964:14-15).

Arms related artifacts consist of two black gunflints, both likely English; two lead shot, both 0.27", the equivalent of today’s No. 2 buckshot; and a single 0.58 caliber Minié ball, likely dropped during Civil War activities on Johns Island. The lead shot both evidence remnant sprue and were likely produced on-site.

The gun flints and lead shot suggest that the enslaved African Americans at 38CH1543 possessed fowling pieces either for their own use or to procure meat for the master’s table. As early as 1690 a law was passed requiring owners to monthly search their slave’s quarters for “clubs, guns, swords, and mischievous weapons” and searches were required every two weeks by 1712 (McCord 1840:345, 353). In 1704 and 1708, provisions were made to allow the arming of slaves in time of war (McCord 1840:348, 349). It wasn’t until 1722 that the first law was enacted requiring slaves to have a written permit “to hunt and kill game, cattle or vermin” (McCord 1840:372-373). These permits were required to be renewed monthly, but did not apply when the slave was accompanied by their owner or other white person.

The law also required that guns be locked up in the master’s house at night. This law was periodically amended, but not radically changed until 1715 when no slave was allowed to carry a gun beyond his master’s cleared lands (McCord 1840:422). Thus, for all of the colonial period and well into the antebellum, enslaved African Americans likely had relatively easy access to weapons. Nevertheless, as early as 1765, petitioners complained of the “too frequent liberty given to negroes in the country to make use of fire arms” Cooper 1837:755).

Tobacco artifacts are primarily pipe stems, with about 30% have 4/64-inch bores, and the remaining 70% having 5/64-inch bores. Pipe bowls were primarily plain. We recovered one specimen that appears to represent a colono tobacco pipe bowl fragment.

Clothing related items include one brass button fragment (South’s Type 25 or 26) and a brass thimble fragment.

The bead recovered from the site is green translucent glass and is Kidd and Kidd (1970) Type 11a. While not blue, it was almost certainly associated with the enslaved at 38CH1543.

One of the more unusual artifacts was a portion of a Charles II Silver Cob 8 Reales, minted in Potosi, Bolivia in 1670. This new world design is typically referred to as “pillars-and-waves” and is unique to New World coinage. While very early, the obverse is worn flat, so clearly the item was in circulation for a number of years before it was lost at 38CH1543.

In the activities group are two lead weights, providing evidence of fishing among the site’s occupants.

**Status**

With the larger collection obtained through excavation, the artifact pattern at 38CH1543 begins to be refined and is not nearly as ambiguous as suggested by the much smaller collection from auger testing. Table 6 compares the pattern to several other published patterns,
revealing a very good match for the eighteenth century Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern.

The assessment of 38CH1543 is further supported by the abundance of colono ware pottery and the dearth of European wares. The most abundant European wares are lead glazed slipware, de lifi, and coarse red earthenware – all utilitarian ceramics associated with those of lower status.

**Dating**

If we exclude the pearlwares, whitewares, and yellow wares, all ceramics thought to have likely originated south in 38CH1542, then the mean ceramic date for 38CH1543 is 1746 (Table 7). Even if these few later wares are added, the mean date is increased by only about a decade to 1757.

Of course, there are a variety of other dating methods. For example, again ignoring the pearlwares, whitewares, and yellow wares, South's Bracketing Dates are 1700 to 1770, pretty consistent with the mean date.

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. 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:

\[
\frac{P_j}{yr} = \frac{f_j}{F \times D_j}
\]

where

- \(P_j\) = partial probability contribution,
- \(f_j\) = number of sherds in type \(j\),
- \(F\) = number of sherds in sample, and
- \(D_j\) = duration in range of years.

Thus, the Bartovic date range is 1682 to 1805, while the Salwen and Bridges Ceramic Probability Contributions suggest a range from 1670 through 1795.

Tobacco stem bore diameter is yet another dating technique, although it is applicable only to those sites pre-dating 1780. Its application to 38CH1543 is therefore somewhat questionable. Nevertheless, there are essentially three different dating formulas: Binford's (1962) linear formula, Hanson's formulas (Hanson 1968, recanted in 1971; see also Binford 1971), and the Heighton and Deagan (1971) formula. The three formulas have been tested by McMillan (2010) at 26 sites from Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. She found that the Heighton and Deagan method proved to be the most accurate, producing formula mean dates closest to the dates assigned using other techniques. She also found all of the techniques worked better in Maryland and Virginia than in North or South Carolina.

The resulting dates, shown in Table 8, are close to one another – 1752 and 1754. These are also close to the Mean Ceramic Date of 1746.

---

**Table 6. Comparison of Artifact Patterns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>38CH1543</th>
<th>38BK100 Area B</th>
<th>38CH1278 18th Cen. Overseer</th>
<th>Carolina Slave</th>
<th>Georgia Slave</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern</td>
<td>Carolina Elite Pattern</td>
<td>18th Cen. Carolina Elite Pattern</td>
<td>18th Cen. Overseer</td>
<td>Articfact Pattern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>75.3</td>
<td>51.8-65.0</td>
<td>42.1-46.2</td>
<td>68.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecture</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>25.2-31.4</td>
<td>26.5-35.8</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2-0.6</td>
<td>0.1-0.8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arms</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1-0.3</td>
<td>0.1-1.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.9-13.9</td>
<td>0.2-4.7</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.6-5.4</td>
<td>0.1-0.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2-0.5</td>
<td>0.1-1.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.9-1.7</td>
<td>0.2-1.6</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---
Thus, all the dating approaches support 38CH1543 being occupied during the middle of the eighteenth century. When the historic research is consulted, it appears that the site was most intensively used during the Mathews’ occupation, and was essentially abandoned during the acquisition of the site by Thomas Mullet.

Ethnobotanical Remains

Ethnobotanical remains were recovered from unit excavations and a single feature by handpicking during excavation.

Hand-picked (or even waterscreened samples in some cases) may produce little information on subsistence since they often represent primarily wood charcoal large enough to be readily collected during either excavation or screening. Such hand-picked samples are perhaps most useful for providing ecological information through examination of the wood species present.

Such studies assume that charcoal from different species tends to burn, fragment, and be preserved similarly so that no species naturally produce smaller, or less common, pieces of charcoal and is less likely than others to be represented – an assumption that is dangerous at best. Such studies also assume that the wood was being collected in the same proportions by the site occupants as the charcoal found in the archaeological record—likely, but very difficult to examine in any detail. And finally, an examination of wood species may also assume that the species present represent woods intentionally selected by the site occupants for use as fuel or other purposes — probably the easiest assumption to accept if due care is used to exclude the results of natural fires.

While this method probably gives a fair indication of the trees in the site area at the time of occupation, there are several factors that may bias any environmental reconstruction based solely on charcoal evidence, including selective gathering by site occupants (perhaps selecting better burning woods, while excluding others) and differential self-pruning of the trees (providing greater availability of some species over others). Smart and Hoffman (1988) provide an excellent review of environment interpretation using charcoal that should be consulted by those
The hand-picked samples were bagged in the field directly from either the ¼-inch screen or actual feature excavation and were therefore clean and easily sorted. The samples were examined under low magnification with the larger pieces of wood charcoal identified, where possible, to the genus level using comparative samples, Edlin (1969), Hoadley (1990), Koehler (1917), and Panshin and de Zeeuw (1970). Wood charcoal samples were broken in half to expose a fresh transverse surface. Seed identification relied on comparative samples, Martin and Barkley (1961), Montgomery (1977), Schopmeyer (1974), and Martin (1972). The results of this analysis are shown in Table 9.

Table 9.
Hand Picked Ethnobotanical Remains at 38CH1543

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provenience</th>
<th>Pinus sp.</th>
<th>Quercus sp.</th>
<th>UID</th>
<th>Peach Pit</th>
<th>Acorn Shell</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>160R660</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>240R560, Lv. 2</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300R560</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>++</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>320R560, Lv. 2</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature 1</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wood counts, rather than weights, are used to quantify the significance of the various taxa since different woods will have dramatically different properties that affect overall preservation (see, for example, Bonhage-Freund 2005).

The most abundant wood was pine (*Pinus* sp.). This is typical of most southeastern sites. Many of these specimens appear to be in the subclass of Southern Yellow Pines, which includes loblolly, shortleaf, longleaf, slash, and pitch pine (Hoadley 1990:147). This may reflect the density of the species, or it may only reflect that pine is a good self-pruner, making its wood readily accessible.

By the antebellum, pines were common in the Carolina low country. Commenting on the prevalence of pines, found usually with “only a very few back-jack oaks,” Edmund Ruffin observed that they were found on “the dryest [sic] land” whose surface is “sandy & dry” (Mathew 1992:74).

Well known for their naval stores and often used for building materials, pines might be found in a variety of settings. Although the function of the recovered wood is uncertain, its presence as widely dispersed and carbonized suggests that for the most part we are looking at remnants of building construction and fuel wood.

There are a number of oaks in the Johns Island area and they occur in areas that range from low sandy soils to high dry woods (Radford et al. 1968). Red and white oaks were the most common varieties used in lumber, with the timber well known for its strength (Anonymous 1909:19-26). Oak is also a favored firewood, with heat indices of 82 to 92 depending on the species (Graves 1919:29).

The peach is well known in the Southeast, being introduced by the Spanish and quickly adapted by Native American groups. The trees became so widespread that by the mid-eighteenth century Bartram regarded the fruit as a native plant (Hedrick 1972).

Hilliard (1972:180) comments that it was
a favorite food, found fresh, dried, or preserved. Where there were sufficient quantities it was converted into a wine and distilled into a brandy. They were even fed to the hogs. Nevertheless, orchard production was spotty and often poorly tended (Hilliard 1972:181). Its popularity is attested to by the number of named species. In 1629 there were 21, by 1768 there were at least 31, and by 1850 there were over 250 named peach varieties (Leighton 1976:237). All belonged to one of two groups, generally described as freestones or melting-peaches in which the pulp or flesh separates easily from the stone and the clingstone in which the flesh clings or adhere to the stone.

Peach pits have been found in a wide variety of historic contexts, including Yaughan and Curriboo plantations in Berkeley County, South Carolina (Gardner 1983), the Lesesne and Fairbank plantations, also in Berkeley County (Gardner 1986) and even from McCrady's Longroom in downtown Charleston, South Carolina (Trinkley 1982).

The presence of acorn (Quercus sp.) shell is unusual as this is most commonly found associated with Native American occupations. We suspect that it represents an accidental inclusion.
Assessment

Data Sets

Colono wares are the largest data set at 38CH1543, although they are compromised by extensive plowing and fragmentation. Nevertheless, they were sufficient to be typed as Lesesne and data were obtained regarding rim form. European ceramics were also present, although they, too, were heavily fragmented. Other artifacts are less common, although that is attributed to the site’s probable function as an eighteenth century slave settlement.

Some specimens, such as the silver coin, are uncommon and their recovery is an interesting addition to the site and its interpretation.

Plowing was deep and only two features were identified in the 550 square feet of excavation. One feature was an animal burial of a horse and several pigs. Since these were likely not food remains, this feature offers little in the way of interpretative assistance. The other feature, not investigated during this work, appears to be a portion of a wall trench structure. Such structures are assumed, given the age of the site and the scarcity of architectural artifacts. The one feature is an important data set, although we can’t be sure, given the plowing, that additional features will be present.

Faunal remains are not abundant and it is unlikely, given the plowing, that significant numbers will be found unless they are recovered in features.

Other specialized remains, such as pollen, phytoliths, mortar, or even brick are not common and their recovery seems unlikely.

Therefore, the data sets at 38CH1543 appear to be limited to artifacts such as ceramics.

Historic Context

We have provided a brief synopsis of the historic context, focusing on eighteenth century owners such as the Mathews family and Thomas Mullet. The site appears to have dated primarily to the Mathews ownership, about which we have very little supporting documentation. We have been unable to identify plantation accounts, wills or inventories, letters, or other documents that would help reconstruct the daily activities of owner or enslaved on the plantation. The limited information we have suggests rice cultivation.

In that sense, 38CH1543 assumes a significant role, helping to explore the lifeways of Mathews’ enslaved African Americans. History, however, does not provide us with much in the way of useful anecdotes.

It is interesting, however, that other historic, and archaeological, accounts seem to suggest that slaves were amassed at one or more slave settlements. Sites such as Yaughan and Curriboo exhibit a number of slave structures in a village-like setting (Wheaton et al. 1983).

38CH1543 appears to be a relatively small settlement, supplemented by sites 38CH1542 and 38CH1544.

Research Questions

Given the dearth of historic records and accounts, there are abundant research questions, many focusing on the lifeways of the enslaved: In what type of structures did they live? How many structures were present at 38CH1543? Can it be
determined how many of these structures are rebuilds? Can the length of the occupation be estimated? How many enslaved African Americans may have lived there? What were the foodways of these African Americans? Left to their own devices, did they subsist primarily on game or fish they captured? What evidence of plant foods may be present? Is there any evidence – artifactual or ecofactual – for rice cultivation? How were lifeways in this small village different from those in the nineteenth century? Why were there multiple small hamlets rather than a single village? Were these hamlets based on family connections or proximity to work?

The vast majority of these questions, we believe, are significant. Archaeologists have focused on easy answers, taking one or two slave settlements and stretching the data to fit virtually every other slave settlement of that general time period. Thus, when we think of eighteenth century slave settlements, we think of the large villages of Vaughan and Curriboo; we do not think of a small hamlet.

**Integrity**

Regardless of how important the questions may be, it is essential that we have some likelihood of addressing those questions with the data at hand. This makes the assessment process more difficult since good questions are easy to come by, while good data are far more difficult to find.

At 38CH1543, the extent of plowing has affected a broad range of data sources. Artifacts are both fragmented and dispersed. All artifacts, but ethnobotanical and zooarchaeological remains in particular, are likely to be damaged and made more difficult to recover. The creation of the adjacent pond may have damaged at least a part of the site, although it appears much of the pond was created in already wet, hydric soils that were probably not settled.

The depth of plowing has affected the potential for feature recovery. It is likely that only the lowest 0.2 or 0.3 foot of many features will be preserved.

Nevertheless, it seems reasonable that at least some of the questions can be addressed at 38CH1543. For example,

**In what types of structures did the enslaved live?** There is already some evidence for wall trench structures, common at eighteenth century sites. Additional excavations or mechanical stripping may reveal intact structures and additional structures.

**How many structures are present at 38CH1543?** Excavations or mechanical stripping should be able to address this concern as well.

**Can it be determined how many of these structures are rebuilds?** This question is more difficult and it relies on good recovery, showing clearly intrusive structures.

**Can the length of occupation be estimated?** Other researchers have sought to arrive at estimates for the longevity of both Native American and African American ground-fast architecture. Knowing how many structures are present and how many rebuilds may be present, may give us some clues as to the longevity of this settlement. It seems likely that this work will be more viable than any of the ceramic dating approaches we have – which currently suggest a span of 100+ years.

**How many enslaved African Americans lived at 38CH1543?** Knowing the size and number of structures at the site should provide some clues regarding the size of the population at this one site, especially with the historic record telling us that in 1790 there were 93 slaves on the plantation.

We have far less confidence that additional work at 38CH1543 can address the remainder of the questions. We fear site integrity is simply not sufficient to permit research in foodways, or the more intimate features of life in this village. The above outlined questions, however, are nevertheless well worth further, limited investigation since they will help us better
understand a different type of eighteenth century
slave settlement.

**Recommendations**

After this careful consideration, we believe that 38CH1543 is eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. We know that, minimally, a road is designed to run through the site. Thus, green spacing may be impractical.

As significant as the questions outlined are, we are sensitive to the issue of data redundancy. Will several thousand more colono sherds be a significant addition to our understanding of this site? Probably not, although we admit that the loss of colono pipe fragments, additional silver coins, beads, and similar low-density artifacts is more than a little troubling.

We realize, however, that we have a good sample of the artifacts associated with 38CH1543 and the most cost-effective approach to additional study is to use mechanical stripping to expose sufficient area to determine if other structures are present and to allow them to be plotted and sampled. We are fortunate that the site is cultivated, so the proposed stripping will not damage trees or increase the expense of restoration after the work is over.

Therefore, in terms of data recovery we recommend that an area measuring about 200 feet north-south by 100 feet east-west be opened in the heart of the site. This will require a track hoe with a toothless bucket and a water truck to allow the excavated areas to be misted (since the soil dries out so quickly). The work will likely require about two weeks for exposure and plotting, and one week for feature excavation.
Sources Cited

Adams, Natalie and Michael Trinkley

Anonymous

Bartovics, Albert

Beaman, Thomas E., Jr.

Bonhage-Freund, Mary Theresa

Chaplin, Joyce E.

Cushion, John P.

Edlin, Herbert L.

Emerson, Matthew C.

Gardner, Paul S.

1986 Appendix F: Analysis of Plant
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Location/Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Godden, Geoffrey A.  
| Grimes, Kimberly M. and Martha Zierden  
| Heidtke, K.P.  
| Hoadley, R. Bruce  
1998 A Place Called St. John's. Reprint Company, Spartanburg, South Carolina. |                                                                                   |
| Jones, Olive R.  
| Keel, Bennie C.  
1999 A Comprehensive Subsurface Investigation at Magnolia Plantation. Southeast Archaeological Center, National Park Service, Tallahassee. | 1999 |                                                                                   |
Kidd, Kenneth A. and Martha A. Kidd  

Koehler, Arthur  

Leighton, Ann  
1976  *American Gardens in the Eighteenth Century: "For Use or For Delight."* University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst.

Lindsay, J. Seymour  

Luckenbach, Al and Taft Kiser  

Martin, Alexander C.  

Martin, Alexander C. and William D. Barkley  

Mathew, William M., editor  

McCord, David J.  
1840  *Statutes at Large of South Carolina.* Vol. 7. A.S. Johnson, Columbia.

McKearin, George L. and Helen McKearin  

McNally, Paul  
1982  *Table Glass in Canada, 1700-1850.* Parks Canada History and Archaeology 60.

Miller, Christina E. and Susan E. Wood  

Miller, George  


1991c  Thoughts Towards a User’s Guide to Ceramic Assemblages, Part II: What Does This Assemblage
SOURCES CITED


Montgomery, F.H.  


Noël Hume, Ivor  

Norman-Wilcox, Gregor  

Panshin, A.J. and Carl de Zeeuw  

Peirce, Donald C.  

Polhemus, Richard  

Price, Cynthia  

Radford, Albert E., Harry E. Ahles, and C. Ritchie Bell  

Salwen, Bert and Sarah T. Bridges  

Schopmeyer, C.S., editor  

Smart, Tristine Lee and Ellen S. Hoffman  

Smith, E. Ann  
1981 Glassware from a Reputed 1745 Siege Debris Context at the Fortress of Louisbourg. Parks Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.


Wheaton, Thomas R., Amy Friedlander, and Patrick Garrow 1983 Yaughan and Curriboo Plantations: Studies in Afro-

Archaeological Investigations

Historical Research

Preservation

Education

Interpretation

Heritage Marketing

Museum Support Programs