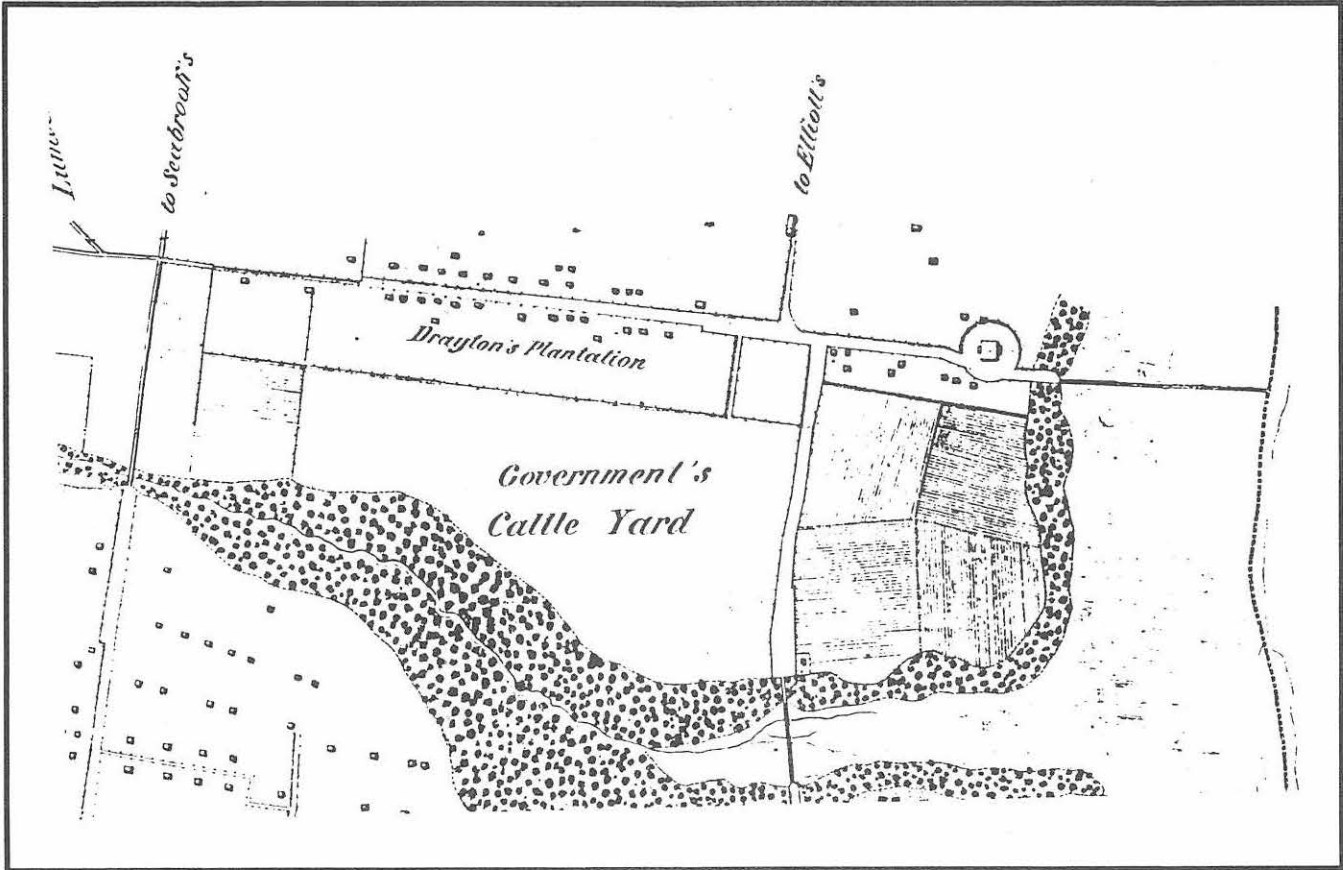


**AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE BAKER FIELD EXPANSION
PROJECT, HILTON HEAD ISLAND, BEAUFORT COUNTY,
SOUTH CAROLINA**



AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE BARKER FIELD EXPANSION
PROJECT, HILTON HEAD ISLAND, BEAUFORT COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

RESEARCH SERIES 17

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August 1989

ISSN 0882-2042

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA

An Archaeological survey of the Barker Field Expansion Project, Hilton Head Island, Beaufort County, South Carolina / Michael Trinkley, editor ; contributors, Colin Brooker, Debi Hacker.

p. cm. -- (Research series, ISSN 0882-2042 ; 17)

"August 1989."

Includes bibliographical references.

1. Fish Hall Plantation Site (S.C.) 2. Hilton Head Island (S.C.)--Antiquities. 3. Excavations (Archaeology)--South Carolina--Hilton Head Island. 4. Barker Field (S.C.) 5. Plantations--South Carolina--Hilton Head Island--History. I. Trinkley, Michael. II. Brooker, Colin. III. Hacker, Debi. IV. Series: Research series (Chicora Foundation) ; 17.

F279.F56A73 1989

975.7'99--dc20

89-22298

CIP

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences--Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

Truth is a demure lady, much too ladylike to knock you on the head and drag you to her cave. She is there, but the people must want her, and seek her out.

--William F. Buckley

ABSTRACT

This study represents the results of a brief archaeological survey of the Beaufort County Recreation Commission Barker Field Expansion on Hilton Head Island in Beaufort County, South Carolina. The work, already underway at the initiation of the archaeological investigations, includes the clearing of additional land for new athletic fields, the renovation of existing fields, and the construction of new support facilities. The tract, which encompasses 10.3 acres, is situated on the north end of Hilton Head Island, adjacent to Beach City Road.

Known to exist on the site is a portion of the Drayton's Fish Hall Plantation slave row (38BU806). As a result of subsurface testing and surface surveys, the boundaries of this site on the project tract were delimited. Test excavations conducted at the site were intended to provide information on site integrity, content, and potential significance. An architectural assessment of standing tabby chimneys was also undertaken. No additional archaeological or historical sites were identified during the survey.

The portion of the Fish Hall Plantation slave row (38BU806) contained within the boundaries of the Barker Field Expansion is judged to be one of the most significant archaeological sites on Hilton Head Island. The archaeological remains evidence a high degree of site integrity and the architectural remains are in an excellent state of preservation. The site is recommended as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Sites. Information from this site could make a significant contribution to our understanding of slave lifeways on Hilton Head Island in the late antebellum period.

While modifications in the Barker Field Expansion plans will provide increased site protection for the short-term, it is likely that the site will suffer irreparable secondary impacts from the project. Of particular concern is the increased exposure of the architectural features to the natural elements and the threat that site vandals pose to the long-term preservation of the site.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work by Chicora Foundation was funded by \$4000 from the Town of Hilton Head Island and \$965 from the Beaufort County Recreation Commission. I wish to thank the individuals involved in this project at the Town of Hilton Head Island, especially Ms. Jill Foster and Mr. Tom Breckho, and at the Beaufort County Recreational Commission, especially Mr. Roger Shedlock, for their interest in the archaeological resources of Hilton Head Island. Mr. Michael Taylor, Director of The Environmental and Historical Museum of Hilton Head Island, is to be thanked for his long interest in the property and efforts to ensure that cultural resources be considered in the planning process. In addition, Mr. Jerry Fowler, President of B & F Contractors, responsible for the clearing and grubbing of the project area, is thanked for his interest in our work, sensitivity to the archaeological remains at Barker Field, and cooperative spirit.

I wish to thank my co-authors for their interest in this project and willingness to meet very short deadlines. Mr. Colin Brooker once again braved the field in order to record the architectural features and to be present during sensitive test excavations. Ms. Debi Hacker worked diligently to ensure the analysis and conservation of the collection was completed professionally and on schedule. As with past Chicora projects, much of the credit for the work is owed to the field crew. Ms. Mona Grunden and Ms. Liz Pinckney again demonstrated their professionalism and dedication. I greatly appreciate their efforts. Both of these individuals assisted in the historical research of Drayton's plantation.

This project received insightful press coverage from the Beaufort ETV station, WJWJ, and from the Hilton Head newspaper, The Island Packet. I appreciate the time of these news people and their interest to ensure that the work was accurately and interestingly reported to the public.

Both Jill Foster and Mike Taylor visited the site on several occasions and I greatly appreciate their interest in and dedication to the project.

This project received peer review comments from Dr. Patricia Cridlebaugh. I appreciate her professionalism and willingness to take time to review this study and offer comments.

INTRODUCTION

Michael Trinkley

Background

This investigation was conducted by Dr. Michael Trinkley of Chicora Foundation, Inc. for the Beaufort County Recreation Commission (Mr. Roger Shedlock, Executive Director), developer of the 10.3 acre Barker Field project on Hilton Head Island, Beaufort County, South Carolina. This property is situated on the north end of Hilton Head Island adjacent to Mitchelville Road and about 2000 feet southwest of Port Royal Sound. To the south of the tract about 500 feet there is a freshwater slough. The tract is bounded to the northwest and northeast by Mitchelville Road (Road S-335) and on all other sides by individual property owners (Figure 1).

Barker Field, which is a county owned and operated athletic field, originally consisted of 7.4 acres of land. All of this property, except for a narrow strip paralleling Mitchelville Road to the northwest, had been extensively graded for the construction of playing fields and support facilities (such as bleachers, press booths, concession stands, and so forth). The strip adjacent to the road was known to contain two tabby chimneys associated with Drayton's Fish Hall Plantation slave row and had been left undeveloped. This area, however, has been a favorite spot for metal detector enthusiasts and other collectors.

The proposed expansion work at Barker Field will add several additional playing fields and a variety of new support structures. In addition, a picnic area is planned for the southern and southeastern edges of the tract. To accommodate these additional facilities, the county recently purchased an additional 2.9 acres, to create the 10.3 acre tract.

The Beaufort County Recreation Commission submitted an Application for Development Plan Review to the Town of Hilton Head on May 8, 1989. Review of the project by the Town's Planning Staff revealed the presence of the Fish Hall slave row and resulted in the recommendation that the project be tabled until this, and other, concerns could be resolved (Memorandum from Hugh Talcott, Current Planner to Town Planning Commission, dated May 31, 1989). A compromise measure was developed which provided that the Beaufort County Recreation Commission would work with the Town to protect the archaeological resources and the project was approved by the Planning Commission on June 7,

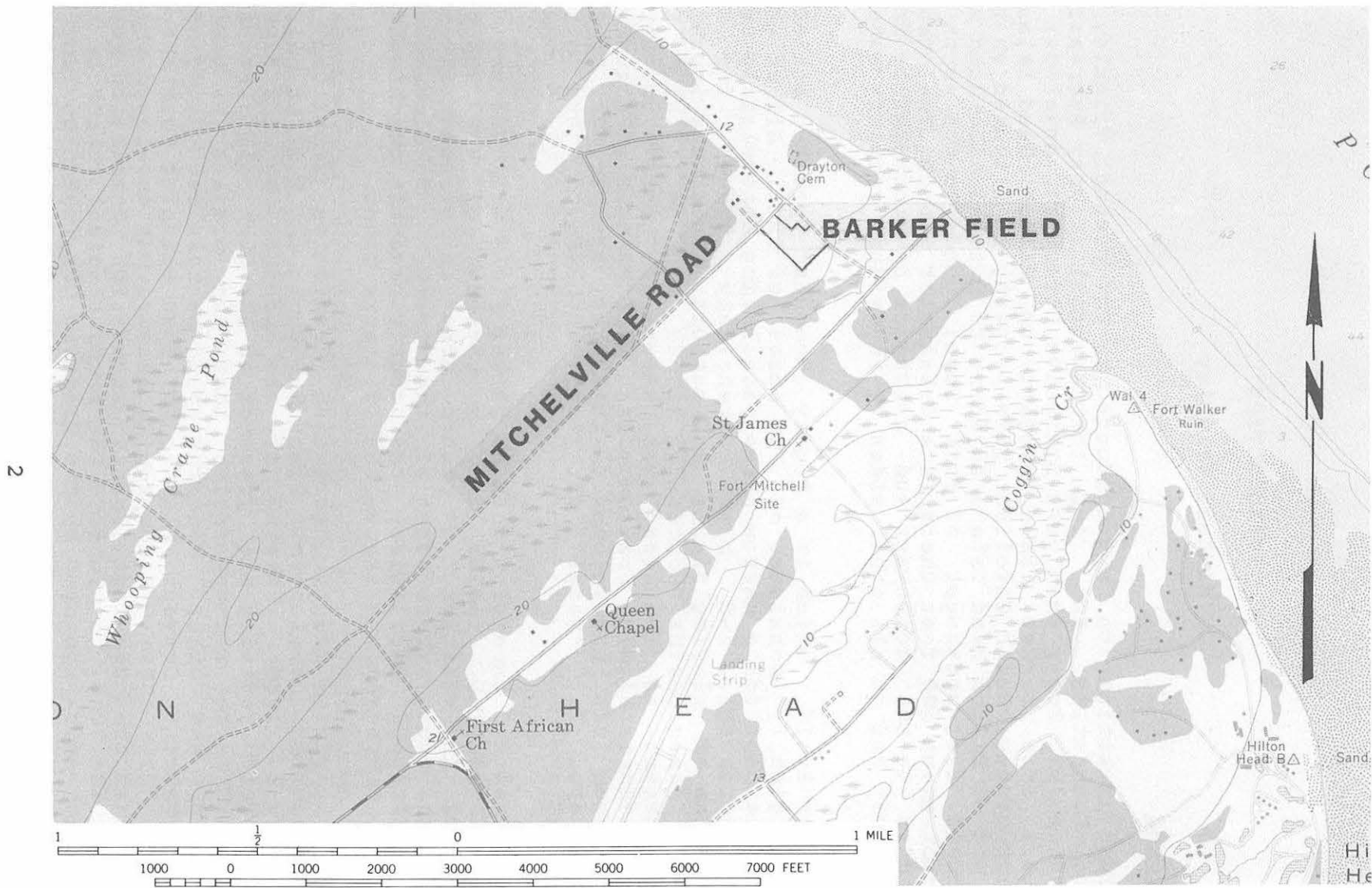


Figure 1. Barker Field vicinity on Hilton Head Island.

1989 (Letter from Jill Foster to Michael Trinkley, dated June 15, 1989).

Since the project by the Beaufort County Recreation Commission required no State or Federal permits, the proposed development activities were subject only to review by the Town of Hilton Head Island. The Beaufort County Recreation Commission was willing to budget \$965.00 toward archaeological investigations. The Town was able to budget an additional \$4000.00 and determined that with the money available the most practical approach was to conduct an archaeological survey of the Barker Field tract. Chicora Foundation was contacted on June 15, 1989 and after a series of telephone conferences, a letter proposal was submitted by Chicora to the Town of Hilton Head on July 12. This work was accepted by both the Town and the Beaufort County Recreation Commission on July 14, 1989. Work was begun on Monday, July 17 and continued through Thursday, July 20. The Principal Investigator and Field Director for this project was Dr. Michael Trinkley; the crew consisted on Ms. Mona Grunden and Ms. Liz Pinckney. Artifact analysis was conducted in the Chicora facilities in Columbia on July 25 through July 27, 1989 by Ms. Debi Hacker and artifact conservation treatments (discussed in detail in the Methodology section) are ongoing.

Scope and Goals

During the review by the Town Planning Staff, it was discovered that the Barker Field Expansion would involve work in the immediate vicinity of the Fish Hall Plantation slave row, first recorded by Chicora Foundation in May 1986. Based on this original survey the site was evaluated as potentially eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places and was assigned site number 38BU806.

The initial contacts with the Town revealed that the level of funding available for work at this site was unknown. In addition, there were understandable concerns that the proposed construction at Barker Field might destroy additional, but as yet unrecorded, archaeological sites. Absent a Scope of Work, or a clear budgetary allotment, Chicora Foundation originally proposed a program of intensive testing coupled with limited survey and monitoring during construction. This work would provide limited, but detailed, information on the known slave row (38BU806); limited survey data; and complete analysis and publication of the findings. This proposal was based on an equal match of funds by the Beaufort County Recreational Commission and the Town of Hilton Head Island. Unfortunately, the proposed work could not be accomplished by the funds which eventually become available.

A modified proposal was submitted by Chicora, based on a funding level slightly less than \$5000. The work was to encompass a more intensive survey of the tract (which was

requested by the Town), eliminate monitoring during construction, provide for only limited testing of the known slave row site (38BU806), and restrict time and costs associated with analysis of the collections and publication of the results. The revised proposal, however, retained the provision for a detailed architectural assessment of the standing tabby chimneys known to exist at 38BU806. This proposal was accepted by both the Beaufort County Recreation Commission and the Town of Hilton Head Island.

The archaeological investigations at Barker Field were divided into two phases. The first was to involve a program of shoveling testing and surface survey to identify any unrecorded archaeological sites on the tract. Areas of special attention were to include the access road, the portion of the proposed drainage field adjacent to the slave row, and the newly acquired tract of 2.9 acres. Shovel tests were proposed on 50 foot transects at 50 foot intervals. All soil was to be screened through 1/4-inch mesh and cultural materials were to be retained (excluding brick, shell, and mortar, which were to be evaluated in the field and discarded).

This first phase was implemented with several minor changes. A single row of shovel tests, at 50 foot intervals, were placed in the estimated centerline of the access road. Since the road had not been surveyed on the ground prior to our investigations, it was not possible to precisely determine its location. The single line of tests was felt to be satisfactory based on the extensive disturbance found in the road area and the sparsity of cultural remains. The edge of 38BU806, adjacent to the drainage field, was examined using shovel tests at 25 foot, rather than 50 foot, intervals. This closer spacing was necessary to define site boundaries and assess the potential impact of the drainage field on the site. When we arrived in the field the 2.9 acre tract had already been cleared and grubbed, offering excellent surface visibility. As a result, a surface survey, rather than shovel testing, was used in this area. The surface survey involved walking northwest-southeast transects at 25 foot intervals.

The second phase of the work was to involve the excavation of one or more 5-foot units to investigate site 38BU806. The excavations were to be tied into permanent horizontal and vertical datums, and all excavations were to be excavated in natural zones with the fill screened through 1/4-inch mesh. Each unit was to be completely documented, using photographs, drawings, and notes. A total of three 5-foot units were excavated during this phase of the work.

A third phase of the work was to involve a detailed architectural evaluation of the tabby chimneys present on the Barker Field property by Mr. Colin Brooker, an architectural

historian. Involved in these evaluations were to be architectural drawings, documentary photographs, and consultation on the integration of archaeological and architectural features. This work was accomplished in its entirety. In addition, Mr. Brooker was able to obtain architectural data on two additional chimney bases just outside the Barker Field property for comparative purposes.

The final phase of the research was to involve limited artifact analysis, completion of South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology site forms, site evaluation, and the preparation of a limited distribution management summary for the use of the Town and the Beaufort County Recreation Commission. No funds were budgeted for additional historical research. As the field work progressed it became apparent that the Fish Hall slave row was unique on Hilton Head Island and represented a significant research contribution. As a result, Chicora has undertaken to fund a more detailed artifact study, complete some limited additional historical research, and to ensure the wider distribution of the survey results through this publication. Approximately \$800 in additional funds have been devoted to this project to ensure that the detailed information is readily available to professional researchers and the public.

The primary goals of the Barker Field survey included, first, the identification of any archaeological sites on the tract other than the previously recorded slave row (38BU806); second, the evaluation of National Register significance for all identified sites; third, the collection of a representative sample of cultural remains from the Fish Hall slave row; fourth, the completion of a detailed architectural evaluation for the standing ruins present at the Fish Hall slave row; and fifth, the recommendation of site preservation programs. All of these goals were met by this investigation.

Curation

An updated archaeological site form for 38BU806 has been filed with the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology and the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office. In addition, archival copies have been provided to The Environmental and Historical Museum of Hilton Head Island.

The field notes, photographic materials, and artifacts resulting from these investigations have been curated at The Environmental and Historical Museum of Hilton Head Island as Accession Number 1989.6. The artifacts are cataloged as ARCH-1408 through Arch-1471 (using a lot provenance system). The artifacts have been cleaned and/or conserved as necessary or are in the process of conservation. Further information on conservation practices may be found in a later section of this report. All original records and duplicate copies were provided to the Museum

on pH neutral and alkaline buffered paper and will be maintained by that institution in perpetuity.

Natural Setting

Hilton Head Island is a sea island located in Beaufort County between Port Royal Sound to the north and Daufuskie Island to the south. Hilton Head is separated from Daufuskie by Calibogue Sound, and from the mainland by a narrow band of marsh and Skull Creek. The island, which has a length of 11.5 miles and a width of 6.8 miles, encompasses a total of 19,460 acres.

The island includes a Pleistocene core with a Holocene beach ridge fringe. Elevations on the island range from sea level to about 21 feet. A maritime forest community modified by development is present on the island, along with many small freshwater depressions, sloughs, and bays situated between remnant beach or dune ridges. The maritime forest consists largely of live oak, pines, wax myrtle, palmettos, and cedar. The wetter, and generally lower elevations, are dominated by red maple, swamp tupelo, and sweet gum (Mathews 1980:155).

The Barker Field area is situated in an area dominated by Port Royal Sound to the east and relatively high, flat terrain averaging 15 to 18 feet above mean sea level (MSL). The nearest water source is the freshwater slough about 500 feet to the southeast, although historically shallow wells provided potable water (see Trinkley 1986:18-19 for additional discussions). The soils in the project area include the Wando series to the east and the Ridgeland series to the west. While the Wando soils are deep, excessively well drained sands, the Ridgeland soils are somewhat poorly drained fine sandy loams (Stuck 1980:Map 94). It is interesting that while Drayton's plantation house and a number of support structures were located on the Wando soils, the slave row itself is situated on the less well drained Ridgeland series soil.

The vegetation in the immediate vicinity of Barker Field has been heavily impacted by agriculture and more recent development. A large portion of the playing fields were plowed fields prior their conversion into a ball park in the early-1970s. It is likely that this agricultural activity dates back at least to the late postbellum period. Remnants of the original maritime forest are still found, although a dense second growth of pine was logged from this area of Hilton Head in the mid-twentieth century (see Beaufort County RMC, Plat Book 8, page 15). Today evidence of the maritime forest is largely limited to the a wooded tract to the southwest of Barker Field and the few remaining trees in the vicinity of the slave row.

Archaeological Overview

For a detailed discussion of archaeology in the Beaufort area and a synopsis of the cultural periods typical of Hilton Head Island, the previous investigations of the Fish Haul site (38BU805) should be consulted (Trinkley 1986:38-53). As previously mentioned, Drayton's Fish Hall Plantation was first recorded as an archaeological site by Chicora Foundation in 1986. That survey resulted in the identification of:

the main house ruins (a 50 foot diameter rise to the right of the dirt access road), a cemetery used primarily by blacks (to the left of the dirt access road), a slave row with visible chimney ruins (to the right of the road) (38BU806 site form, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology).

The site was estimated to cover an area of at least 400 meters (1300 feet) northeast-southwest by 200 meters (650 feet) northwest-southeast. The site was evaluated as significant since it was one of the few plantations remaining on Hilton Head Island that had not been heavily impacted by development. Remains identified by the survey indicated that an entire plantation complex was present. Historical research for the nearby freemen's village of Mitchelville revealed that the Fish Hall Plantation was representative of the wealthy plantations typical of antebellum Hilton Head Island, that it had been farmed by a black "collective" in the postbellum, and that it had been the location of a freedmen's school. Prior to the fall of Hilton Head Island in November 1861, the plantation was the headquarters for the Confederate forces defending the island.

In 1989 Brockington and Associates conducted an intensive survey of the Palmetto Headlands tract, which incorporates a portion of the Fish Hall slave row to the northwest of Mitchelville Road. This study revealed the presence of at least one tabby chimney base and a probable slave assemblage with a mean ceramic date of 1843 (Espenshade and Grunden 1989:54-59). The results of the Brockington and Associates survey will be further discussed in a following section of this study.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION

Michael Trinkley

The Beaufort Area

Aboriginal groups and culture persisted in the low country into the eighteenth century, although their population declined from at least 1750 in A.D. 1562 to about 660 in A.D. 1682 (Waddell 1980:8-13). It is therefore difficult to separate discussions of Native Americans from the period of early Spanish, English, and French exploration and settlement (A.D. 1521-1670).

The conflict between the various powers (particularly the English and Spanish) resulted in the Indian populations being alternately wooed and then attacked with the ultimate result being cultural disintegration and fragmentation. While the Guale were present on the South Carolina coast into the middle seventeenth century, they were probably destroyed by the early eighteenth century. Both Jones (1978) and Waddell (1980) provide information on nearby Indian towns. Covington (1968:10) discusses the presence of Indian villages in 1685 on Hilton Head Island, where they were seeking the protection of the nearby Scottish colony of Stuarts Town at Port Royal from the Spanish. In 1696 Dickinson (Andrews and Andrews 1981:74-75) reported the presence of palmetto "wigwams" perhaps on the southern tip of Hilton Head Island. Apparently Yemassee groups were found in the Beaufort area until the 1715 Yemassee War (Covington 1968:12).

The Spanish Period

The first Spanish explorations in the Carolina low country were conducted in the 1520s under the direction of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon. Quattlebaum notes that,

Ayllon's captain, Gordillo, spent many months exploring the Atlantic coast Unfortunately we have little record of the extent of this expedition (Quattlebaum 1956:7).

One of the few areas explored by Gordillo which can be identified with any certainty is Santa Elena (St. Helena). Apparently Port Royal Sound was entered and land fall made at Santa Elena on Santa Elena's Day, August 18, 1520. "Cape Santa Elena," according to Quattlebaum (1956:8) was probably Hilton Head (Hoffman 1984:423).

Gordillo's accounts spurred Ayllon to seek a royal

commission both to explore further the land and to establish a settlement in the land called Chicora (Quattlebaum 1956:12-17). In July 1526 Ayllon set sail for Chicora with a fleet of six vessels and has been thought to have established the settlement of San Miguel del Galdape in the vicinity of Winyah Bay (Quattlebaum 1956:23). Hoffman (1984:425) has more recently suggested that the settlement was at the mouth of the Santee River (Ayllon's Jordan River). Ferguson (n.d.:1) has suggested that San Miguel was established at Santa Elena in the Port Royal area. Regardless, the colony was abandoned in the winter of 1526 with the survivors reaching Hispaniola in 1527 (Quattlebaum 1956:27).

The French, in response to increasing Spanish activity in the New World, undertook a settlement in the land of Chicora in 1562. Charlesfort was established in May 1562 under the direction of Jean Ribaut. This settlement fared no better than the earlier Spanish fort of San Miguel and was abandoned within the year (Quattlebaum 1956:42-56). Ribaut was convinced that his settlement was on the Jordan River in the vicinity of Ayllon's Chicora (Hoffman 1984:432). Recent historical and archaeological studies suggest that Charlesfort may have been situated on Port Royal Island in the vicinity of the Town of Port Royal (South 1982a). The deserted Charlesfort was burned by the Spanish in 1564 (South 1982a:1-2). A year later France's second attempt to establish their claim in the New World was thwarted by the Spanish destruction of the French Fort Caroline on the St. John's River. The massacre at Fort Caroline ended French attempts at colonization on the southeast Atlantic coast.

To protect against any future French intrusion such as Charlesfort, the Spanish proceeded to establish a major outpost in the Beaufort area. The town of Santa Elena was built in 1566, a year after a fort was built in St. Augustine. Three sequential forts were constructed: Fort San Salvador (1566-1570), Fort San Felipe (1570-1576), and Fort San Marcos (1577-1587). In spite of Indian hostilities and periodic burning of the town and forts, the Spanish maintained this settlement until 1587 when it was finally abandoned (South 1979, 1982a, 1982b). Spanish influence, however, continued through a chain of missions spreading up the Atlantic coast from St. Augustine into Georgia. That mission activity, however, declined noticeably during the eighteenth century, primarily because of 1702 and 1704 attacks on St. Augustine and outlying missions by South Carolina Governor James Moore (Deagan 1983:25-26, 40).

The British Proprietary Periods

British influence in the New World began in the fifteenth century with the Cabot voyages, but the southern coast did not attract serious attention until King Charles II granted Carolina to the Lords Proprietors in 1663. In August 1663 William Hilton

sailed from Barbados to explore the Carolina territory, spending a great deal of time in the Port Royal area (Holmgren 1959). Hilton viewed the headland, which now bears his name, noting,

[t]he lands are laden with large, tall trees, oaks, walnuts, and bayes, except facing the sea it is most pines, tall and good. The land generally, except where the Pines grow, is good soyl covered with black mold . . . The Indians plant in the worst land because they cannot cut down the timber in the best, and yet have plenty of corn, pompions, water-mellons, musk-mellons (William Hilton 1664; quoted in Holmgren 1959:35).

Almost chosen for the first English colony, Hilton Head Island was passed over by Sir John Yeamans in favor of the more protected Charles Town site on the west bank of the Ashley River in 1670 (Clowse 1971:23-24; Holmgren 1959:39). Like other European powers, the English were lured to the New World for reasons other than the acquisition of land and promotion of agriculture. The Lords Proprietors, who owned the colony until 1719-1720, intended to discover a staple crop whose marketing would provide great wealth through the mercantile system, which was designed to profit the mother country by providing raw materials unavailable in England (Clowse 1971). Charleston was settled by English citizens, including a number from Barbados, and by French Huguenot refugees. Black slaves were brought directly from Africa.

The Charleston settlement was moved from the mouth of the Ashley River to the junction of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers in 1680, but the colony was a thorough disappointment to the Proprietors. It failed to grow as expected, did not return the anticipated profit, and failed to evidence workable local government (Ferris 1968:124-125). The early economy was based almost exclusively on Indian trade, navel stores, lumber, and cattle. Rice began emerging as a money crop in the late seventeenth century, but did not markedly improve the economic wellbeing of the colony until the eighteenth century (Clowse 1971).

Meanwhile, Scottish Covenanters under Lord Cardross established Stuart's Town on Scot's Island (Port Royal) in 1684, where it existed for four years until destroyed by the Spanish. It was not until 1698 that the area was again occupied by the English. Both John Stuart and Major Robert Daniell took possession of lands on St. Helena and Port Royal islands, and on August 16, 1698, Hilton Head was included as part of a 4800 acre barony granted to John Bayley (Holmgren 1959:42). The town of Beaufort was founded in 1711 although it was immediately settled. While most of the Beaufort Indian groups were persuaded to move to Polawana Island in 1712, the Yemassee, part of the Creek Confederacy, revolted in 1715. By 1718 the Yemassee were

defeated and forced southward to Spanish protection. Consequently, the Beaufort areas, known as St. Helena Parish, Granville County, was for the first time safe from both the Spanish and the Indians. On December 10, 1717, Colonel John Barnwell claimed a grant of 500 acres on the northwest corner of Hilton Head (Royal Grants, v.39,p.225). About the same time, Alexander Trench, as agent for John Bayley, son and heir of Landgrave John Bayley, began to dispose of the 48,000 acre inheritance. Holmgren notes that Trench "must have been his own best customer," for he begins to either acquire title or use much of the Bayley property (Holmgren 1959:46-47). Hilton Head eventually became known as "Trench's Island" in the mid to late eighteenth century.

In 1728 a survey of the Port Royal area was conducted by Captain John Gascoigne and Lieutenant James Cook. Gascoigne's 1729 map ("A True Copy of A Draught of the Harbour of Port Royal") based on this survey identifies "Hilton Head Island," while Francis Swaine, using the same survey, identifies Hilton Head as "Trench Island" on his 1729 "Port Royal" map. By 1777 J.F.W. Des Barres produced a map entitled, "Port Royal in South Carolina," still using the 1728 Gascoigne-Cook survey, which identifies Hilton Head as "Trench's Island" (Cumming 1974).

The British Colonial Period

Although peace marked the Carolina colony, the Proprietors continued to have disputes with the populace, primarily over the colony's economic stagnation and deterioration. In 1727 the colony's government virtually broke down when the Council and the Commons were unable to agree on legislation to provide more bills of credit (Clowse 1971:238). This, coupled with the disastrous depression of 1728, brought the colony to the brink of mob violence. Clowse notes that the "initial step toward aiding South Carolina came when the proprietors were eliminated" in 1729 (Clowse 1971:241).

While South Carolina's economic woes were far from solved by this transfer, the Crown's Board of Trade began taking steps to solve many of the problems. A new naval store law was passed in 1729 with possible advantages accruing to South Carolina. In 1730 the Parliament opened Carolina rice trade with markets in Spain and Portugal. The Board of Trade also dealt with the problem of the colony's financial solvency (Clowse 1971:245-247). Clowse notes that these changes, coupled with new land policies, "allowed the colony to go into an era of unprecedented expansion" (Clowse 1971:249). South Carolina's position was buttressed by the settlement of Georgia in 1733.

By 1730 the colony's population had risen to about 30,000 individuals, 20,000 of whom were black slaves (Clowse 1971:Table 1). The majority of these slaves were used in South Carolina's

expanding rice industry. In the 1730 harvest year 48,155 barrels of rice were reported, up 15,771 barrels or 68% from the previous year (Clowse 1971:Table 3). Although rice was grown in the Beaufort area it did not become a major crop until after the Revolutionary War and it was never a significant crop on Hilton Head (Hilliard 1975). Elsewhere, however, rice monoculture shaped the social, political, and economic systems which produced and perpetuated the coastal plantation system prior to the rise of cotton culture.

Although indigo was known in the Carolina colony as early as 1669 and was being planted the following year, it was not until the 1740s that it became a major cash crop (Honeycutt 1949). While indigo was difficult to process, its success was partially due to it being complementary to rice. Honeycutt notes that planters were "able to 'dovetail' the work season of the two crops so that a single gang of slaves could cultivate both staples" (Honeycutt 1949:18). Indigo continued to be the main cash crop of South Carolina until the Revolutionary War fatally disrupted the industry.

A decade prior to the Revolutionary War, James Cook produced "A Draught of Port Royal Harbour in South Carolina" (1766) which identified 25 families on Hilton Head Island. This is significant in understanding the Colonial ownership of the island, since most property records were destroyed either in 1864 (by the Civil War) or in 1883 (by a fire).

Scholars have estimated that at the end of the colonial period, over half of eastern South Carolina's white population held slaves, although few held a very larger number. Hilliard (1984:36-37) indicates that more than 60% of the Charleston slaveholders by 1860 owned fewer than 10 slaves, while the average number of slaves per slaveholding was less than five. In Beaufort, however, the average number of slaves per slaveholding was greater than 20 and slaves accounted for over 70% of the Beaufort population in 1860 (Hilliard 1984:34).

The Revolutionary War brought considerable economic hardship to the planters. During the war the British occupied Charleston for over two and one-half years (1780-1782) and a post was established in Beaufort to coordinate forays into the inland waterways (Federal Writer's Project 1938:7). Holmgren (1959:55-59) notes only that skirmishes took place on Hilton Head between the island's Whigs and Tories from neighboring Daufuskie Island. During one skirmish, the Talbird house, on Skull Creek, was burned. The removal of the royal bounties on rice, indigo, and naval stores caused considerable economic chaos with the eventual "restructuring of the state's agricultural and commercial base" (Brockington et al. 1985:34).

The Antebellum Period

While freed of Britain and her mercantilism, the new United States found its economy thoroughly disrupted. There was no longer a bounty on indigo, and in fact Britain encouraged competition from the British and French West Indies and India "to embarrass her former colonies" (Honeycutt 1949:44). As a consequence the economy shifted to tidewater rice production and cotton agriculture. Lepionka notes that "long staple cotton of the Sea Islands was of far higher value than the common variety (60 cents a pound compared to 15 cents a pound in the late 1830s) and this became the major cash crop of the coastal islands" (Lepionka et al. 1983:20). It was cotton, in the Beaufort area, that brought a full establishment of the plantation economy. Lepionka concisely states,

[t]he cities of Charleston and Savannah and numerous smaller towns such as Beaufort and Georgetown were supported in their considerable splendor on this wealth An aristocratic planter class was created, but was based on the essential labor of black slavery without which the plantation economy could not function. Consequently, the demographic pattern of a black majority first established in colonial times was reinforced (Lepionka et al. 1983:21).

Mills, in 1826, provides a thorough commentary on the Beaufort District noting that,

Beaufort is admirably situated for commerce, possessing one of the finest ports and spacious harbors in the world There is no district in the state, either better watered, of more extended navigation, or possessing a larger portion of rich land, than Beaufort: more than one half of the territory is rich swamp land, capable of being improved so as to yield abundantly (Mills 1826:367).

Describing the Beaufort islands, Mills comments that they were "beautiful to the eye, rich in production, and withal salubrious" (Mills 1826:372; Figure 2). Land prices ranged from \$60 an acre for the best, \$30 for "second quality," and as low as 25 cents for the "inferior" lands. Grain and sugarcane were cultivated in small quantities for home use, while

[t]he principal attention of the planter is . . . devoted to the cultivation of cotton and rice, especially the former. The sea islands, or salt water lands, yield cotton of the finest staple, which commands the highest price in market; it has been no uncommon circumstance for such cotton to bring \$1 a pound. In favorable seasons, or particular spots,

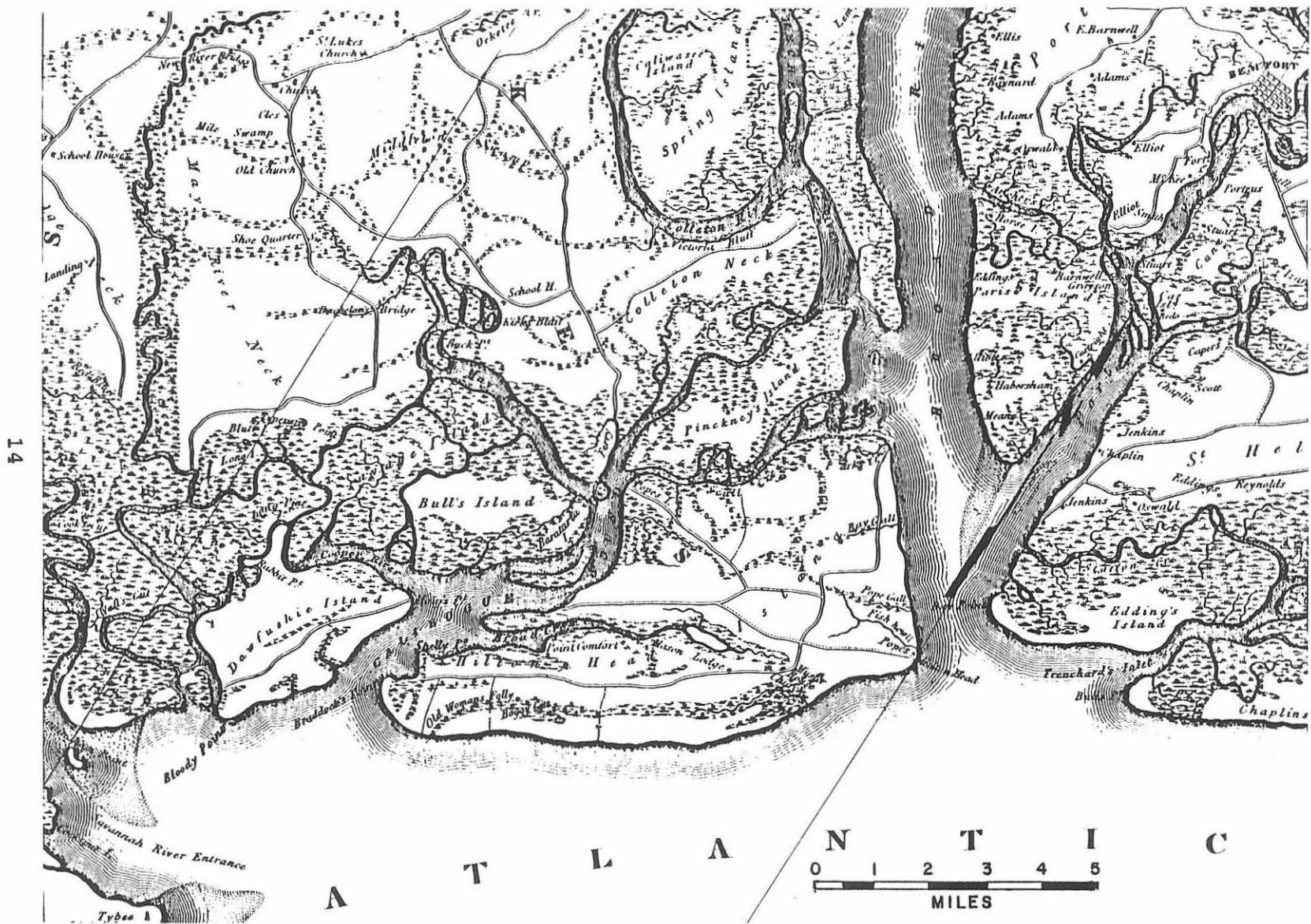


Figure 2. A portion of the Beaufort District in 1825 (from Mills' Atlas of 1825).

nearly 300 weight has been raised from an acre, and an active field hand can cultivate upwards of four acres, exclusive of one acre and half of corn and ground provisions (Mills 1826:368).

The emphasis of Beaufort District's agriculture can be easily observed by reference to Hilliard (1984). During the antebellum period Beaufort's wheat production remained below one bushel per capita and less than 15 bushels per square mile. Corn production fell 20 to 30 bushels per capita in 1840, although corn production remained about 250 bushels per square mile for most of the district throughout the period. Less than 10,000 pounds of tobacco were grown in the District in 1860 and less than 100 hogsheads of sugar cane were produced. Sweet potatoes were the largest non-cash crop grown.

Reference to the 1860 agricultural census reveals that of the 891,228 acres of farmland, 274,015 (30.7%) were improved. In contrast, only 28% of the State's total farmland was improved, and only 17% of the neighboring Colleton District's farm land was improved. Even in wealthy Charleston District only 17.8% of the farm land was improved (Kennedy 1864:128-129). The cash value of Beaufort farms was \$9,900,652, while the state average by county was only \$4,655,083. The value of Beaufort farms was greater than any other district in the state for that year, and only Georgetown listed a greater cash value of farming implements and machinery (reflecting the more specialized equipment needed for rice production).

This record of wealth and prosperity is tempered by the realization that it was based on the racial imbalance typical of Southern slavery. In 1820 there were 32,199 people enumerated in Beaufort District, 84.9% of whom were black (Mills 1826:372). While the 1850 population had risen to 38,805, the racial breakdown had changed little, with 84.7% being black (83.2% were slaves). Thus, while the statewide ratio of free white to black slave was 1:1.4, the Beaufort ratio was 1:5.4 (DeBow 1853:338).

Hilton Head Island fell to Union forces on November 7, 1861 and was occupied by the Expeditionary Corps under the direction of General T.W. Sherman. Beaufort, deserted by the Confederate troops and the white townspeople, was occupied by the Union forces several weeks later. Hilton Head became the Headquarters for the Department of the South and served as the staging area for a variety of military campaigns. As a result, the island is rich in military sites dating from about 1861 through 1867 (when the Department of the South was transferred to Charleston). A brief sketch of this period, generally accurate, is offered by Holmgren (1959), while a similarly popular account is provided by Carse (1981). As a result of the Island's early fall to Union forces, all of the plantations fell to military occupation, a large number of blacks flocked to the island, and a "Department

of Experiments" was born. An excellent account of the "Port Royal Experiment" is provided by Rose (1964), while the land policies on St. Helena are explored by McGuire (1985). Recently, Trinkley (1986) has examined the freedmen village of Mitchelville on Hilton Head Island. One result of the Mitchelville work was to document how little is actually known about the black heritage on Hilton Head and the sea island's postbellum history. Even the social research spearheaded by the University of North Carolina's Institute for Research in Social Science at Chapel Hill in the early twentieth century (e.g. Johnson 1969) failed to record much of the activities on Hilton Head.

Rose clearly reveals the failures of the "Port Royal Experiment," noting that Northerners felt that "in granting the franchise the national obligation to the freedmen had been fulfilled" (Rose 1964:389). Money and Northern support for the freedmen quickly dried up after the war, leaving most blacks with little beyond their small plots of land (obtained from the previous slave plantations) which they carefully guarded, for "they well understood the basis of their security" (Rose 1964:396). The black yeomanry, however, was largely disfranchised by the 1895 South Carolina constitutional convention. Rose notes that Sea Island blacks became, as a result, increasingly self-governing with the Baptist church being the greatest force in their lives. While the "secular law was the 'unjust' law, the church law was the 'just' law" (Rose 1964:407). This sense of community, churches, and order (seen at Mitchelville), may represent one of the strongest aspects of black heritage on the sea islands.

Secondary sources such as Holmgren (1959) and Peeples (1970) provide antebellum accounts of the island which emphasize the genealogy and land ownership of the period. Holmgren (1959) reproduces a map "compiled by the Hilton Head Company in 1958 from old surveys, maps and other available sources of information" which purports to show Hilton Head "before 1861," while Peeples (1970) provides a similar map titled, "Ante Bellum Hilton Head Island - Reconstructed from Ancient Authorities-19th C." Both maps are largely correct and indicate that by the Civil War the island's 26 plantations were owned by 14 prominent families -- the Baynards, Chaplins, Draytons, Elliots, Ficklins, Grahams, Jenkins, Kirks, Lawtons, Mathews, Seabrooks, Scotts, Stoneys, and Stuarts (Holmgren 1959:67). One aspect of the military occupation of the island was the creation of a series of maps (by the War Department, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the Tax Commission) which show in varying degrees of accuracy and detail the various late antebellum plantations. This is fortunate since most of the antebellum records for Hilton Head were destroyed. These various maps are discussed in detail by Trinkley (1987a:31-34).

Claims filed by Hilton Head plantation owners after the fall

of the island to federal forces provides an interesting view of island lifeways. One of the more complete was filed by Samuel G. Lawton of Calibogia or "Lawton's" plantation. The claim lists a dwelling house of six rooms, kitchen, corn house 22x50 feet, stable 25x30 feet, gin house 35x40 feet, servant's house, store room, smoke house and boat house, two good barns 25x40 feet, two old barns, 16 negro houses, and one blacksmith shop, with a total value of \$4000. Lawton also lost 45 bales of picked cotton, 15 bales still in the fields, 1400 bushels of corn, 18,000 pounds of fodder, 300 bushels of peas, 1000 bushels of potatoes, \$100 worth of poultry, \$200 worth of provisions in the smoke house, four horses valued at \$150 each, three horses valued at \$200 each, four mules valued at \$150 each, two mules valued at \$200 each, 12 oxen valued at \$30 each, 140 head of cows, 80 head of sheep, and 46 hogs. Additional items included "plantation utensils," two wagons, two tilt carts, one timer cart, three ox carts, one old buggy, one new McCarthy gin, new running gear, harness, saddles, bridles, medicines, carpenter's tools and smith's tools valued at \$150, a "14-oard boat" valued at \$500, an "8-oard boat" valued at \$300, a "4-oard boat" valued at \$100, a sail boat valued at \$150, and a cypress flat valued at \$250 (Abstract of Property in the State of South Carolina Lost by the Citizens thereof from the War, SCHS, File 34/309/1-2). The wealth on Hilton Head was tremendous, although the 1860 census records only four adult white males living on the island, three of which were overseers and one a "planter."

By the late 1890s much of the island had been bought by Northerners and Holmgren (1959:118ff) again provides a relatively accurate account. Rather matter-of-factly, she states that,

Thorne and Loomis [both Northerners] also began buying land from any Negroes willing to sell, and by 1936 there were only 300 Negroes on the island instead of the 3,000 of forty years before (Holmgren 1959:123).

Fish Hall Plantation

Colonel John Barnwell received a Royal Grant for 500 acres "bounding to the north on Port Royal Sound to the south on land not laid out, to the East on the Inlet and to the West on a small creek coming out of the said Sound" on December 10, 1717 (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Royal Grants, volume 39, page 225). While the description is ambiguous, John Barnwell and his wife Martha sold a tract called Fish Hall to Edward Ellis on October 24, 1760 (Charleston County RMC, Deed Book YY, page 245). It seems likely that the Royal Grant was the beginning of Fish Hall Plantation and that the tract passed from Colonel John Barnwell to his son, John Barnwell. Between the Colonial period and the early antebellum period, however, virtually nothing is currently known of the Fish Hall tract.

Thomas F. Drayton married Catherine Emma Pope, the only daughter of John Edward and Mary Baynard Pope, on February 28, 1838. Drayton apparently left his Bluffton plantation, Rephaim, at that time, although he continued to plant it, and resided with his wife at her mother's plantation, known as Fish Hall. When Mary B. Pope died about 1856, Drayton was named administrator of her estate and continued to operate Fish Hall in trust for seven minor children: Jonathan Edward Drayton, Anna M. Drayton, William S. Drayton, Mary E. Drayton, Percival Drayton, Emma G. Drayton, and Thomas F. Drayton (Reynolds and Faunt 1964:208; Fish Hall Historic Marker, notes on file, South Carolina Department of Archives and History). The 1860 slave census lists the 52 slaves of "Thomas F. Drayton, in trust for 7 minors" separate from his own 113 slaves at his Bluffton plantation. Although the sexes are about evenly divided at Fish Hall (26 males, 25 females), there are nearly three times as many female children (11 under the age of 14) as male children (four under the age of 14). There are also three times as many males over the age of 50 (6) than females over the age of 50 (2). Whether this demographic pattern is intentional is not known. Examination of Drayton's Bluffton plantation reveals that while there continues to be more "old" males than "old" females, there are more prime age females (36) than males (26) and that there are more young black males (19) than females (15) (National Archives 1967:20-21).

An examination of the 1860 agricultural schedule provides information on both Fish Hall, listed under "Thomas F. Drayton, agent," and Rephaim, listed under Drayton's name alone (United States Census Agricultural Schedule 1860:281-282). Fish Hall contained 250 improved acres and 450 unimproved acres (41.4% is improved, above the averages of both the district, and the Bluffton and Savannah post office areas of St. Luke's Parish). In contrast, of the 4550 acres of Rephaim Plantation, only 11.8% were improved. Fish Hall was valued at \$10,000, over \$14 per acre, while Rephaim was valued at \$25,000, just under \$5.50 per acre. This difference may reflect the greater extent of developed acreage at Fish Hall. Both plantations had twice the area's average of farming implement value (\$2,000 at Fish Hall and \$2,600 at Rephaim, compared to an average of \$1,016). Fish Hall, however, had no milk cows, no oxen, no cattle, no sheep, and no swine. Its entire \$800 value of livestock included four horses and two mules. In this respect it is quite atypical, while Rephaim approximates the norm in each category. The absence of oxen suggests that these animals were either unnecessary on Fish Hall, or were imported from another plantation, such as Rephaim, as necessary. The absence of pigs and sheep, however, suggests that Fish Hall was a strongly oriented mono-culture plantation.

The crops produced at Fish Hall in 1860 included corn (500 bushels), cotton (25 bales), peas and beans (100 bushels), sweet potatoes (2000 bushels), and hay. In contrast, Rephaim produced these crops as well as oats, rice, and Irish potatoes. Fish Hall

did list \$100 worth of orchard crops. Compared to Rephaim, which was diversified and contained a quantity of acreage in reserve, Fish Hall was clearly oriented toward cotton production, with quantities of grain and sweet potatoes raised for local use.

Drayton was the commander of the Confederate forces defending Hilton Head Island in 1861 and it is likely that he left the island with the remainder of the Confederate troops after the Union attack on November 7, 1861. Drayton's plantation is shown on the November 1861 map entitled, "Map of the Country Surrounding Port Royal" (National Archives, Record Group 77, Map I 28-1). This map (Figure 3) shows the main house, a variety of support structures clustered around the house, and a double slave row with seven houses to the north of the entrance road and six to the south.

Drayton's Fish Hall Plantation was only one of 26 recognized and confiscated by the Federal government on Hilton Head. Taxes were levied in the amount of \$104, with a penalty of \$52 on November 25, 1862. The plantation was,

[s]aid to be or to have been owned by General Drayton-Bounded NE by Broad River SE by Coggins Point and Springfield SW by Grass Lawn NW & N by "The Point" (National Archives, Record Group 217, Records of the Beaufort, S.C. Tax District, Valuation Volume, page 37).

The property was sold to the Federal government during the tax sales for \$3000 (Beaufort County RMC, Direct Tax Sales Records 1863-1866; Beaufort County RMC, DB 9, page 254). These accounts indicate that the plantation included 1300 acres, which suggests that Fish Hall and the adjacent Pinelands tract were combined.

Throughout the Civil War Fish Hall had remained an active spot. Within days of the island's fall to Union forces, the blacks at Drayton's had a large prayer meeting and provided the Northerners with their first view of a black religious service. This event, however, did not dissuade the Union troops from confiscating crops and they returned "laden with sweet potatoes" (Eldridge 1893:76). The Fish Hall Plantation was also the location of an operable cotton gin in February 1862 (Eldridge 1893:107) and a large sawmill (No. 2), which burned in August 1863 (Saw Mill Burned 1863). The yard of the Fish Hall Plantation was the campground for the First South Carolina Volunteers, the first black regiment (The Negro in South Carolina 1862).

Several early accounts provide additional information about Drayton's house and his care of the slaves. Linehan mentions that "no plantation on the island had more comfortable or substantial negro quarters, the houses as a rule being in good condition" (Linehan 1895:307). Denison (1879:108) remarks that

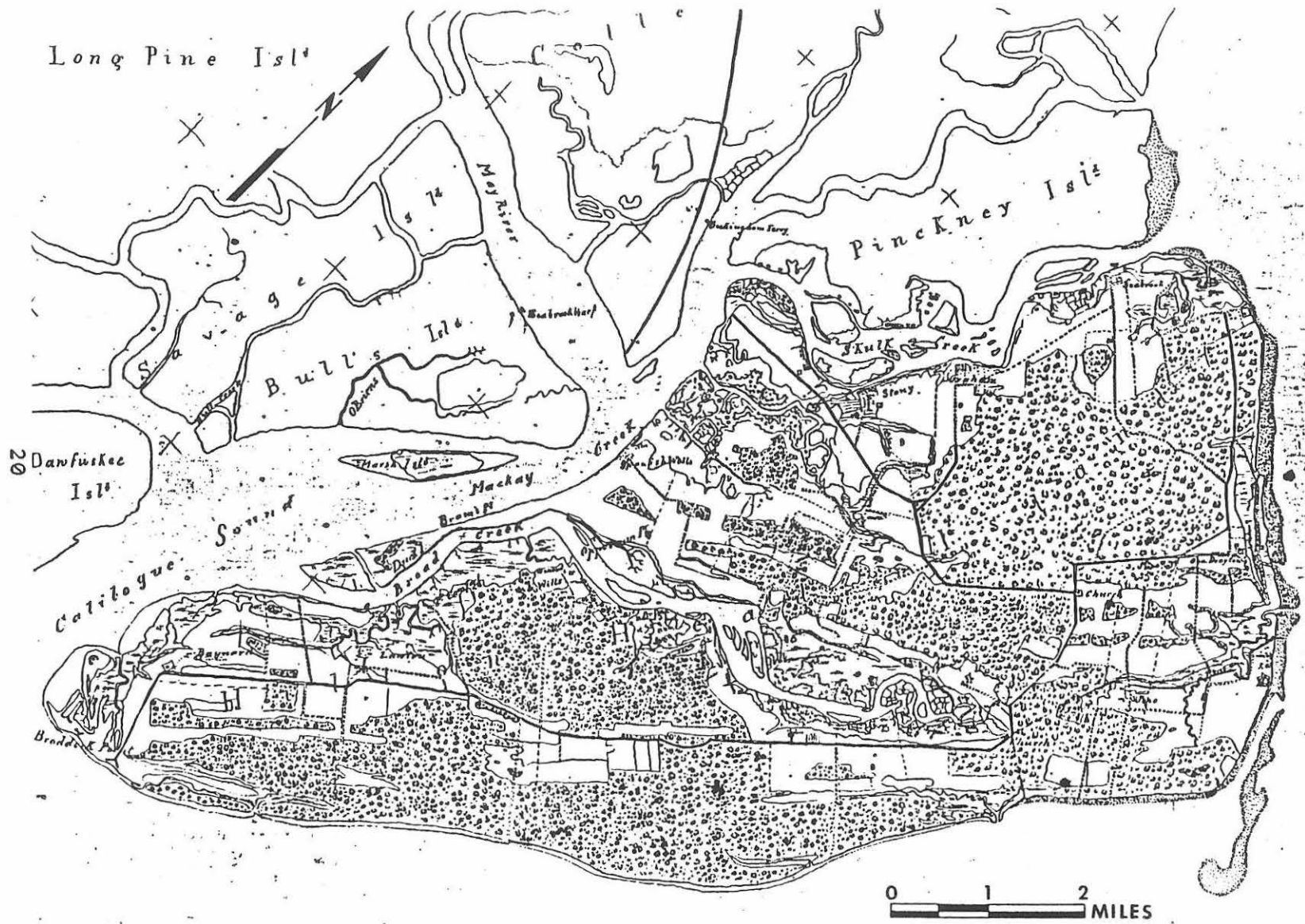


Figure 3. Hilton Head Island in November 1861.

the Fish Hall plantation house was "lordly."

In addition to these brief accounts, there are a series of at least five photographs taken on Fish Hall Plantation. Two are of support structures (Western Reserve Historical Society Negative P.G. 86-253 and New York Historical Society Negative 37626) and are entitled "Sorting Cotton at Drayton's Plantation" and "Slave Sorting Cotton at Drayton's." The latter photograph is also tentatively attributed to photographer Henry Moore, and has been given a date of 1862. These photographs show wooden structures in good condition and provide valuable architectural documentation. They also provide significant information on freedmen clothing.

Two views of the main plantation house are also available. One is taken from the front gates separating the plantation yard from the fields (New York Historical Society Negative 43692). The second photograph (U.S. Army Military History Institute, Massachusetts Commandery Military Order of the Loyal Legion, Vol. 26, page 1282) again shows in the rear of the house, but from an oblique angle. These photographs provide an extraordinary amount of architectural detail concerning of the Fish Hall Plantation house. In addition, they clearly indicate that the yard area of the house has been kept meticulously clean of trash and vegetation.

Of greatest importance to these investigations, however, is a single photograph of the Fish Hall slave row, taken in 1862, from the southwestern end of the row looking toward the main house at a slight angle (U.S. Army Military History Institute, Massachusetts Commandery Military Order of the Loyal Legion, Vol. 26, page 1283; Figure 4). While this photograph will be referenced at length in the following architectural discussions, it also provides information on intra-site patterning and refuse disposal practices.

The double slave row is separated by a relatively wide street, estimated to be about 70 to 80 feet. The structures to the left (northwest) of the photograph appear to be older than those to the right (southeast), based on their condition and the size of the trees planted on each side of the row. As Brooker will discuss, it is clear that these structures represent at least two distinct construction episodes. The structures are not evenly spaced and there is evidence for at least one gap in the northwest row. The yard area is relatively clean, although on the northwest side there are at least two large shell middens located between and toward the front of structures. While there may be one midden on the southeast in the background, this cannot be conclusively demonstrated. The absence of middens on the southeast may be related to their more recent construction. The photograph also illustrates a number of vertical stick fences attached to individual structures. These may represent pens or

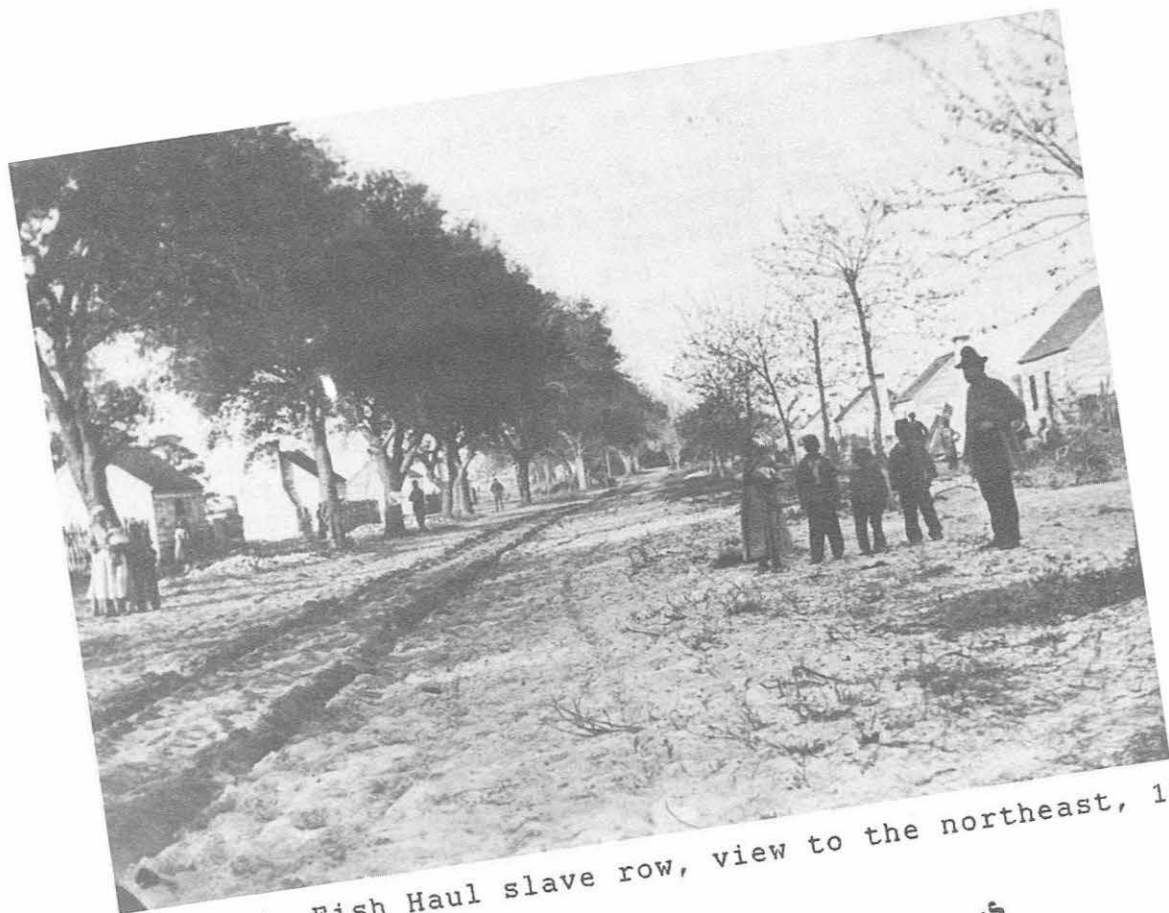


Figure 4. Fish Haul slave row, view to the northeast, 1862.

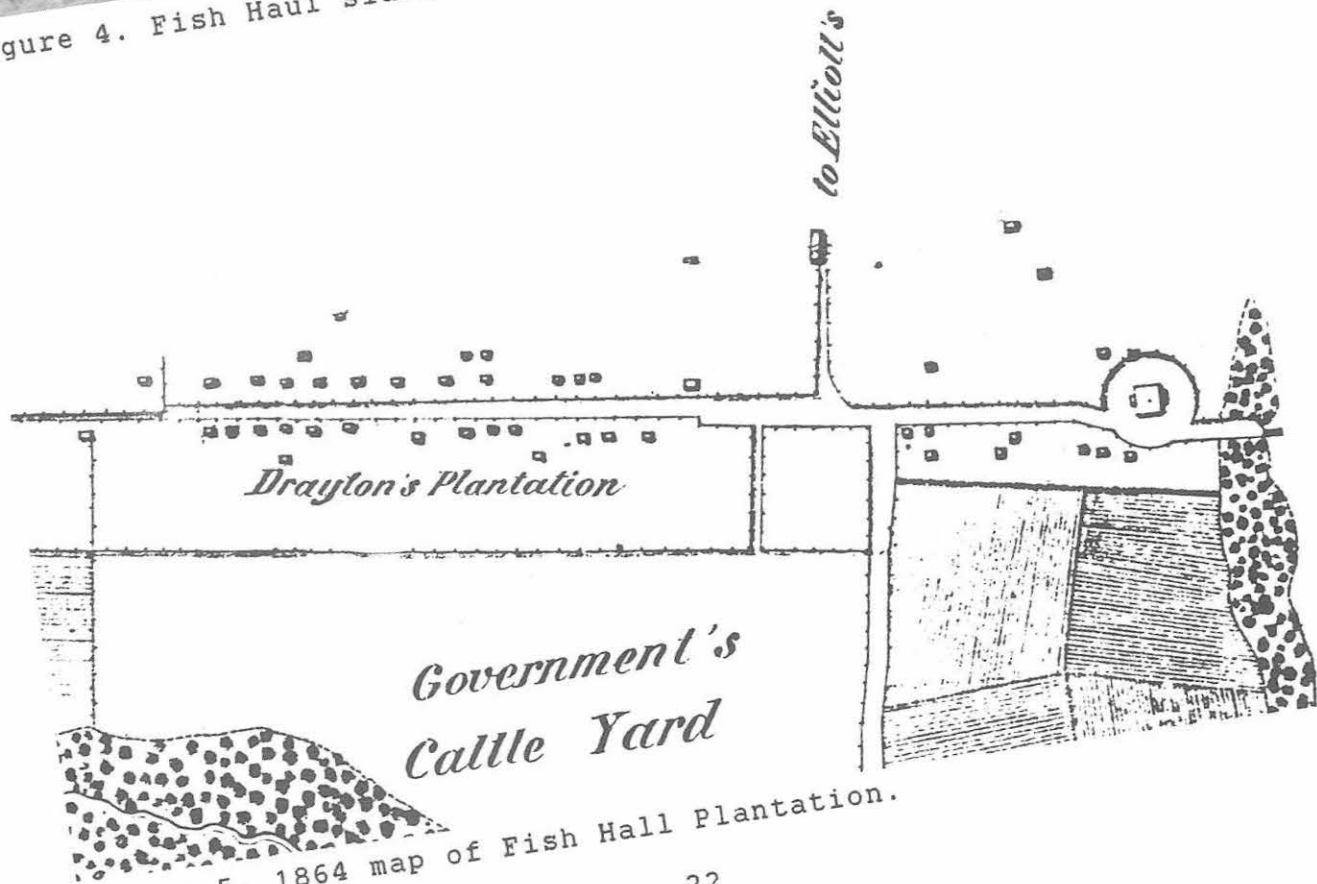


Figure 5. 1864 map of Fish Hall Plantation.

garden areas.

In 1864 a map of Hilton Head was begun by the military. Only one portion was completed, but it fortunately includes Fish Hall Plantation (National Archives, Record Group 77, Map I 52; Figure 5). The map shows a series of 15 structures southeast of the Fish Hall access road (13 of these on the road and two set to the rear of those on the road) and 15 structures on the northwest side of the road (12 of these on the road and three set to the rear of those on the road). The main house is illustrated in a circular yard area, with 12 additional structures scattered around it. It is significant that the previously discussed 1862 photograph of the Fish Hall slave row may be precisely correlated with the 1864 map.

In July 1867, Fish Hall was home to 120 blacks (an increase of 68 individuals since the 1860 census). The Freedmen's Bureau also specified that it contained 250 acres of cultivated land, 125 acres of wood, and 125 acres of cleared land (compared with 250 acres of improved land and 450 acres of unimproved land in 1860). The "loss" of 200 acres is thought to represent the lands subdivided for the creation of the freedmen village of Mitchelville on Drayton's plantation in 1862 (see Trinkley 1986:78-94 for additional historical information on Mitchelville). This would suggest that the government no longer recognized the original acreage of the plantation. On the remaining plantation tract were "mansion, barns and quarters" (National Archives, Record Group 105, Monthly Report of Lands, July 1867).

An undated document on military cemeteries indicated that a "small pox cemetery" is located "325 yds North West of the Drayton Plantation House." The document reveals that the cemetery was not at that time enclosed, but contained at least 31 bodies, 11 of which were marked with boards and could be identified. The cemetery was still in use and Captain Charles Barnard stated, "I would most respectfully request that this cemetery remain in use, as the bodies cannot be moved without danger of breeding contagion" (National Archives, Record Group 92, Office of the Quartermaster General Consolidated Correspondence File, Box 402). It seems likely that the cemetery today known as "Drayton's Cemetery" may be the remains of this military plot, rather than a pre-existing slave cemetery, although its use into the postbellum clearly included freedmen.

Many blacks were understandably reluctant to work for their previous owners, or any white man for that matter, much preferring to acquire their own land. McGuire points out that land rental, especially on federal property, was an acceptable alternative which allowed independent cultivation. She also notes that "enterprising freedmen sometimes combined resources and rented entire plantations" (McGuire 1985:158). This situation is

known to have occurred at Fish Hall, where the Tax Commissioners rented the plantation to Bacchus Singleton, in trust for himself and those residing on the land who paid their portion of the rent, in 1865 for \$220. The property was rented "subject to occupation by the military authorities, and reserving one half the mansion house for a school." Additional rules and regulations precluded more than half of the arable land being cultivated in any year, required land to be fallow for a year, specified that nothing should be wasted, allowed the government to take a lien on the crop (since only half of the rent was paid in January with the remainder due in July), specified that no one currently residing on the property could be forced off, required that laborers perform their fair share of the work, and prohibited the laborers from living in or occupying the mansion house. The Tax Commissioners also specified that individuals working for the government could continue to live on the plantation and, although not participating in the rental program, might cultivate up to three acres per full hand at a cost of \$2 per acre (National Archives, Record Group 217, Records of the Beaufort, S.C. Tax District, Indenture Volume, page 63). This would suggest that there were individuals living at Fish Hall who, like those in Mitchelville, were primarily wage hands.

A similar rental agreement was prepared in 1866, again with Bacchus Singleton, for \$220. This time, however, the plantation description specified,

except the mansion house thereon, Garden and buildings for necessary house servants and the Corral (so called) subject to occupation by the military authorities. And there is also excepted from this lease the village of Mitchelville (so called) (National Archives, Record Group 217, Records of the Beaufort, S.C. Tax District, Indenture Volume, page 81).

A similar rental agreement was prepared for 1867, again excluding Mitchelville, although the corral is not mentioned and the rent is only \$90. By 1868 (and again in 1871) the agreement is with Summer Christopher. In 1868 the rent is not specified, perhaps by mistake, while in 1871 the property is not longer rented "in trust" and the fee is \$140 (National Archives, Record Group 217, Records of the Beaufort, S.C. Tax District, Indenture Volume, pages 81, 129, 154, 236).

The failure to rent the plantation after 1871 is indicative of the gathering storm of land restoration. Fish Hall, being purchased by the Federal government and never going into private ownership, was not intensively involved in the bitter controversy surrounding the war time direct tax sales to white Northerners and local blacks (see McGuire 1985). On April 17, 1875, the heirs of Mary B. Pope paid \$407.83 and obtained approximately 1300 acres of Fish Hall Plantation (which included the Pine Land

tract) back from the Federal government (Beaufort County RMC, Deed Book 9, page 254). Excluded from the Certificate of Release were the approximately 803 acres on the Hilton Head Point south and east of Fish Hall Creek, which were reserved as a military reservation (National Archives. Record Group 49, Hilton Head), but included was the village of Mitchelville.

Perhaps anticipating the return of the Fish Hall tract, the heirs of Mary B. Pope (John E. Drayton, John G. Thomas, Anna M. [Drayton] Thomas, William S. Drayton, Mary E. Drayton, Percival Drayton, Emma G. Drayton, and Thomas F. Drayton, Jr.) had given their power of attorney to Henry E. Young and William S. Drayton for the express purpose of disposing of Fish Hall Plantation (Beaufort County RMC, Deed Book 10. p. 516). The heirs were not concerned that the property be sold as a tract, and even specified that lots could be donated for "church purposes." Of particular note is the statement that they authorized the attorneys to establish a cemetery on the Fish Hall lands "and give graves or lots . . . to such . . . persons as will remove their dead from the places of present interment near the residence house" (Beaufort County RMC, DB 10, p. 516). Given the continued existence of the "Drayton Cemetery" it seems unlikely that Young and Drayton were successful at getting relatives to move any graves.

Rivers and Drayton, however, were otherwise successful as they began selling parcels of the property in 1876. On December 9, 1876 the Heirs of Mary B. Pope sold 147.5 acres of Fish Hall to Robert McIntire (Beaufort County RMC, Deed Book 10, page 514). This tract was in turn sold by McIntire on February 20, 1878 to Gabriel Gardner (Beaufort County RMC, Deed Book 11, page 210). Gardner, on August 20, 1888 sold 650 acres of Fish Hall to Summer Christopher et al. (Beaufort County RMC, Deed Book 17, page 192). Perhaps to clear the title for the sale by Gardner to Christopher, the Heirs of Mary B. Pope recorded a deed to Gabriel Gardner on October 1, 1888 for 650 acres (Beaufort County RMC, Deed Book 18, page 613). By 1894 the heirs of Summer Christopher sold a 10 acre tract containing the Fish Hall slave row to Fred Owens, Jr. (Beaufort County RMC, Deed Book 49, page 135).

Owens maintained the property until 1965 when it was sold to the Hilton Head Company (Beaufort County RMC, Deed Book 133, page 210). The property then passed, as part of much larger parcels, from the Hilton Head Company to Port Royal Plantation Group (Beaufort County RMC, Deed Book 193, page 1631) and then to Palmetto Dunes (Beaufort RMC, Deed Book 223, page 223). The Beaufort County Recreation Commission acquired the 7.4 acre tract in 1980 from the Hilton Head Gators, who previously acquired the property from Palmetto Dunes in 1978 (Beaufort County RMC, Deed Book 277, page 576 and Deed Book 346, page 1215).

Land use history for the Fish Hall plantation in the

postbellum period is unclear. The 1873 U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Chart 438 clearly shows the main Fish Hall plantation complex standing. By the publication of the 1920 Corps of Engineers Hilton Head topographic map, however, the main house is no longer present. Neither map provides any evidence of remnant slave quarters. The first available aerial photograph for this area (CDU 3 148-149), taken in October 1939 indicates that the slave row vicinity is in cultivation, although the negative quality is insufficient to determine if the ruins are in a wooded strip adjacent to the road. The vicinity of the main plantation house is wooded.

METHODOLOGY

Michael Trinkley

Field Methods and Results

The field methods proposed for use at the Barker Field Expansion have been discussed in the Introduction to this study. The work was to consist of a combination of shovel testing and the excavation of a limited number of test units in the vicinity of the slave row.

A series of 12 1-foot square shovel tests were excavated along the center-line of the proposed access road (Shovel Tests 1 through 12, beginning at north corner of the property and continuing to the northeast). These tests were screened through 1/4-inch mesh and revealed a very low density of both prehistoric and historic remains. One clear glass fragment, one UID iron fragment, one UID nail fragment, and one Deptford Cord Marked sherd were recovered from the tests. The stratigraphy of these tests revealed disturbed fill of up to a foot overlying what appeared to be an only humus or plowzone.

An additional 12 shovel tests were excavated in the existing playing field southeast of the standing tabby ruins along three transects spaced 50 feet apart and excavated at 50 foot intervals (Shovel Tests 61 through 72). These tests produced a single undecorated pearlware ceramic and a unidentifiable iron fragment. Stratigraphy was similar to that observed in the vicinity of the access road and revealed that the field area has been extensively damaged by previous construction activities.

The recently cleared and grubbed tract to the south and southwest of the existing playing fields was visually surveyed using transects at 25 foot intervals. During this survey only modern debris were identified and no collections were made.

The slave row itself was investigated using a series of 48 1-foot shovel tests placed at 25 foot intervals along three transects spaced 15 feet apart (Shovel Tests 13 through 60). The results of this work will be more fully detailed in the following section of the report.

The survey work failed to identify any sites other than the previously recorded slave row, 38BU806. Although the 1864 map of Fish Hall illustrates at least one structure southeast of the slave row, in an area thought to be within the existing playing field, no evidence of any structures could be found. It is likely

that cultivation and the construction of Barker Field have caused extensive damage to this site and have greatly reduced its archaeological visibility.

The 38BU806 site grid, oriented approximately parallel to the recognized slave row at N50°E, was tied into several of the standing tabby ruins and is marked in the field by a 1-1/2 inch iron pipe at the point designated 820R100. Work at the site used a modified Chicago 10-foot grid system, with each square designated by its southeast corner, from a 0R0 point at the southwest corner of the site. Thus, the southeast corner of square 100R200 would be north 100 feet and right (or east) 200 feet from 0R0 point.

Vertical control at the site was maintained through the use of an elevation data established by a previous property survey (an elevation point of 15.70 feet MSL is found at the base of a nearby utility pole) and the top of the iron pipe at 820R100 has an elevation of 13.58 feet MSL.

Soil from the test excavations was screened through 1/4-inch mesh using a roller screen. Excavations were by natural zones, with all cultural remains being bagged by provenience. Brick, mortar, tabby rubble, and shell were quantified in the field and discarded (except for representative samples). Soil samples were collected from each zone. Units were troweled at the top of subsoil, photographed in black and white and color film, and plotted. At the conclusion of this work, plastic was laid in the bottoms of the units and they were backfilled. The site area has been "salted" with 5 pounds of lead slugs and 3 pounds of copper pennies to discourage relic collectors using metal detectors.

Field notes were prepared on pH neutral and alkaline buffered paper and photographic materials were processed to archival standards. All original field notes, with archival quality copies, are curated at The Environmental and Historical Museum of Hilton Head Island as Accession Number 1989.6. All specimens have been evaluated for conservation needs and are being treated prior to curation (this process is discussed in greater detail below).

Laboratory Methods

The cleaning of artifacts was conducted in the field, with cataloging taking place at the Chicora laboratories in Columbia immediately after the completion of the field work. All artifacts except brass and lead specimens were wet cleaned. Brass and lead specimens were dry brushed and evaluated for further conservation. No brass or lead items revealed active corrosion and no conservation treatments were undertaken. Ferrous objects were treated in one of two ways. After the mechanical removal of gross encrustations, the artifact was tested for sound metal by

the use of a magnet. Items lacking sound metal were subjected to multiple baths of deionized water to remove chlorides. The baths were continued until a conductivity meter indicated a level of chlorides no greater than 1.0 ppm. The specimens were dewatered in acetone baths and given an application of 10% acryloid B-72 in toluene, not only to seal out moisture, but also to provide some additional strength. Items which contained sound metal were subjected to electrolytic reduction in a bath of sodium carbonate solution in currents no greater than 5 volts for a period of 5 to 20 days. When all visible corrosion was removed, the artifacts were wire brushed and placed in a series of deionized water soaks, identical to those described above, for the removal of chlorides. When the artifacts tested free of chlorides (at a level less than 0.1 ppm), they were dried in a series of acetone baths and phosphoric (10%) and tannic (20%) acid solutions were applied. The artifacts were air dried for 24 hours and coated with a 10% solution of acryloid B-72 in toluene.

Specimens have been packed in plastic bags and boxed for curation by The Environmental and Historical Museum of Hilton Head Island. Conserved specimens are boxed separately for ease in periodic inspection.

SITE 38BU806

Michael Trinkley and Debi Hacker

Archaeological Survey and Testing

The portion of the Fish Hall slave row incorporated into this study involves a series of four standing tabby chimneys in various stages of preservation spaced about 80 feet apart. Two of these chimneys have been previously exposed by the development of Barker Field and are presently in a grassed area fenced off from the playing field. The clearing and grubbing of the area along Mitchelville Road to the southwest revealed an additional two standing tabby chimneys. Off the Barker Field property, on an adjacent tract, are an additional two tabby chimneys. These structures have been numbered 1 through 6 running from the northeast to the southwest.

The survey of the Fish Haul slave row consisted of a series of three transects placed parallel to Mitchelville Road at 25 foot intervals with tests excavated every 25 feet. These 48 tests covered the strip of land between the Mitchelville Road ditch and the existing playing fields at Barker Field (Figure 6). An interval of 25 feet, rather than the originally proposed 50 foot interval, was used to better define the site boundaries, particularly those to the southeast adjacent the playing field. In addition, previous work on several sites at Haig Point Plantation on nearby Daufuskie Island has suggested that the density and dispersion of artifacts at slave rows requires the use of the smallest interval practicable. In these previous studies the artifact density quickly drops from 10 to 15 feet from the individual slave cabins.

The 48 shovel tests in the vicinity of the standing tabby chimney ruins at 38BU806 reveal a low density of cultural remains. A total of 139 specimens were recovered from the 48 tests, for an average of 2.9 specimens per test (and a range of 0 to 13). The distribution reveals a slightly higher density in the immediate vicinity of the structures, but a uniform "smear" of artifacts is found immediately adjacent to the Mitchelville Road ditch and immediately adjacent to the existing playing fields. These data suggest that the site has been impacted both by the improvements to Mitchelville by the Highway Department and the construction of Barker Field by Beaufort County.

The 75 to 80 foot wide strip which contains the standing tabby chimneys, however, was found to have suffered only minimal disturbance. In several areas there is fill ranging in depth

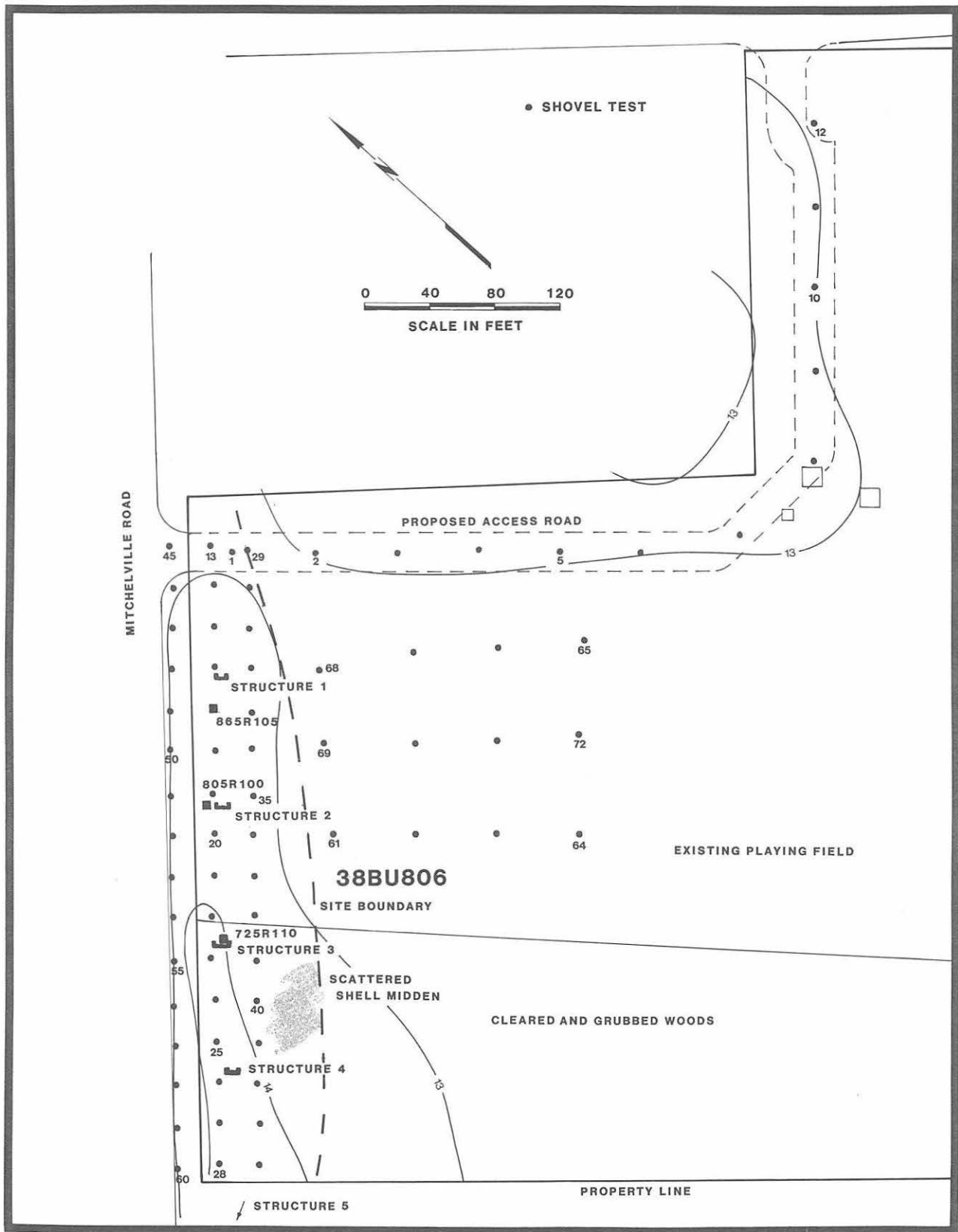


Figure 6. A portion of 38BU806, Barker Field Expansion.

from 0.2 to 0.4 foot. Elsewhere there is an old humus or plowzone up to a foot thick overlying a tan subsoil. The tests failed to identify any evidence of shell midden deposits, although one test was placed in a shell filled pit feature. The absence of shell middens in this portion of the site correlates well with the 1862 map which shows these structures but fails to reveal any evidence of shell piles.

A series of three 5-foot squares were excavated to collect additional information on site integrity, obtain a larger and more representative collection of artifacts, and to explore certain site areas. The first unit, 865R105, was placed in the vicinity of Shovel Test 17 which revealed a probable shell pit feature. The unit was situated midway between Structures 1 and 2 in a side yard area. The unit was excavated in two zones. Zone 1, 0.8 foot in depth, represents the upper plowzone of dark gray sand with a thin veneer of fill over a portion of the unit. Zone 2 was 0.4 foot in depth and represented mixed plowzone and feature fill overlying the site's subsoil. Zone 1 contained 19 pounds of mixed shell and mortar rubble, while Zone 2 contained 31 pounds of shell.

At the base of unit 865R105 was a large oval shell filled pit, designated Feature 1, bisected by the N860 wall. This feature, which contains historic material, was not excavated. Also within the unit is a possible feature along the R105 wall and a round post hole along the R100 wall. The unit profile indicated that plowing had gone to a depth of 0.7 foot below the original ground surface and had truncated the feature, but the plowing was not intensive. There is no evidence of deep subsoil plowing.

Unit 805R100 was placed immediately northwest of the Structure 2 chimney in the vicinity of a posited corner post for the structure. In this unit the recent fill, about 0.3 foot in depth, was removed as Zone 1a. While this zone was screened, it evidenced a very low quantity of cultural remains and appears to be a reddish-yellow sandy clay transported in from off-site. Zone 1b represents the site's old plowzone or humus and is 0.9 foot thick. The plowzone consists of a gray-brown sand which overlies the mottled yellow sand subsoil. A total of 38 pounds of tabby rubble were found in this unit. At the base of this unit a corner pier for Structure 2 was identified at 808.5R98.8. This indicates that Structure 2 was originally about 16 feet in width. The post hole was not removed during these excavations.

Unit 725R110 was situated within the fire box of Structure 3 and was excavated to obtain architectural information on the fireplace construction. Zone 1a represents the uppermost fill which had accumulated within the firebox, most of which was relatively modern. Incorporated in Zone 1a were 39 pounds of brick and mortar rubble, and 7 pounds of shell. The excavation of

this zone essentially leveled off the unit. The excavation of Zone 1b was begun over the entire unit, but was terminated in the vicinity of the firebox as the presence of distinct construction features became apparent. The area within the firebox was designated Feature 2 and was separately excavated. The remainder of Zone 1b, which represents the gray-brown sandy plowzone, was then excavated. The depth of Zone 1b in this unit was 1.0 foot, and included 5 pounds of shell and 5 pounds of tabby rubble. During excavation no evidence of a floor was found, which supports the photographic and architectural evidence that the structures' floors were raised off the ground.

Feature 2 represents the hearth for Structure 3. The feature was excavated by trowel and sifted through 1/4-inch mesh. Both drawings and photographs were made before and after excavation of the feature. The feature consisted of three distinct zones. The upper zone included a partially articulated brick hearth floor. The bricks, which are relatively small for the late antebellum, were dry laid on a bed of gray sand. These two zones had been disturbed by the growth of a small tree in the firebox. Underlying the gray sand zone was a dense concentration of mortar rubble (43 pounds) which had been used to fill the firebox area and raise the hearth to the cabin's floor level. The rubble zone was 0.8 foot in depth, and the hearth is estimated to originally have been at an elevation of 14.6 feet MSL (today the existing ground level is at an elevation of about 13.8 feet MSL, or about 0.8 foot lower than the hearth).

While previously investigated fireboxes at Daufuskie slave cabins have evidenced a similarly excavated pit, they have had a sand fill to raise the level of the hearth. This is the first time that mortar rubble, capped with sand, has been found. While this technique is serviceable, it raises questions regarding the source of the rubble. Since several examples of very fine plaster were incorporated with the mortar rubble, it appears that the material came from the demolition or renovation of a relatively high status dwelling which took place about the same time the slave cabin was built.

Additional details on the tabby chimneys and the slave cabin construction will be found in the architectural section of this study.

Artifact Analysis

The historic artifacts are discussed using South's (1977) artifact groups (i.e., kitchen, architecture, etc.), since such an approach is not only convenient, but also allows the quantification and discussion of artifacts in a broad functional framework. Several modifications of South's original classificatory scheme are incorporated into this work. First, following the lead of Garrow (1982b:57-66), Colono and Catawba

ceramics are discussed with (and tabulated with) the Kitchen Artifact Group. Second, for the purpose of this site, military buttons are included in the Clothing Group, rather than the military objects class of the Activities Group. This is done largely based on the historical research for the Hilton Head and Daufuskie region which documents the use of military clothing by Sea Island blacks (see Trinkley 1986). Third, beads and twisted copper wire have been included in the Personal Group, rather than the Clothing and Activities groups respectively. The rationale for this has been discussed at length previously (Trinkley 1987b), and involves the use of these artifacts by both slaves and freedmen as part of their personal adornment.

The 48 shovel tests in the vicinity of the four slave structures at 38BU806 produced a total of 139 artifacts. Of these remains, 58 (or 41.7%) represent the Kitchen Artifact Group. These are primarily glass, with only 15 ceramics recovered (one creamware, one pearlware, 12 whitewares, and one salt glazed stoneware). A total of 66 (47.5%) Architecture Artifact Group items, primarily nails, were recovered. Only two fragments of window glass were identified in the tests. The Tobacco Artifact Group accounts for six specimens (4.3% of the total), while the remaining nine specimens (6.5%) are Activity Artifact Group items.

The three 5-foot squares excavated at 38BU806 produced 1178 historic period artifacts, the bulk of which date from the early to mid-nineteenth century. These remains reflect the occupation of this site by slaves working on the Fish Hall Plantation, probably from about the 1840s through the 1860s. There is only very limited evidence of postbellum occupation and the few specimens from this later time period fail to extend the occupation much past the mid-1870s. For this survey report we have presented brief discussions on the mean ceramic dating and pattern analysis for the site as a whole. No attempt has been made to discuss intra-site differences.

Dating Synthesis

A number of artifacts recovered from the Fish Hall slave row are useful for dating the occupation of the site. Ceramics, in particular, have been shown to be temporally sensitive indicators and South (1977) has demonstrated the usefulness of the mean ceramic date concept. Other artifacts, while often providing additional dating information, frequently are not found in sufficient quantities to provide adequate confidence in their associations. Some specimens are useful for providing terminus post quem (TPQ) dates, or a date after which the assemblage was deposited. Many specimens, however, provide only a general time frame, such as "typical of the nineteenth century."

Regrettably, the historical documents provide only ambiguous

evidence on which to base a mean historical date. Interpretation of the photographic evidence suggests that the southeastern slave row was constructed sometime in the 1840s. Our knowledge of the leasing arrangements at Fish Hall and its restoration to the heirs of Mary B. Pope suggest that occupation ceased early in the 1870s (the slave row is not shown on the 1873 Coast and Geodetic Survey chart of the area). Taking a historical date range of 1840 to 1870, the mean historical date is 1855.

Leaving consideration of the ceramics for last, the other artifacts tend to support a mid-nineteenth century date. Only one lettered panel bottle fragment, suggestive of a post-1867 date was identified (from Zone 1 in 865R105). Manganese glass was sparse at the site, as were South Carolina Dispensary bottles, which provide a TPQ of 1891.

The "modern" machine cut nails postdate the 1830s and the very few hand wrought nails recovered, which continued to be used for several decades after the introduction of cut nails, suggests an even later date. The presence of two Union military buttons provides a TPQ of 1861-1862.

Turning to the ceramics, it is clear that the assemblage is representative of the early to mid-nineteenth century. The presence of a single eighteenth century ceramic may represent an earlier, as yet undetected, occupation or may represent heirloom curation. The mean historic ceramic dating technique (South 1977) has been applied to the total collection and the results are presented in Table 1. A mean ceramic date of 1846 is obtained, nine years earlier than the suggested mean historic date of the site.

Several factors may account for the seemingly early mean ceramic date. It is possible that the slave row was constructed earlier than 1840, although this does not seem likely based on the photographic evidence. It is also possible that occupation at the slave row did not extend as late as suggested. Since there are lease records for Fish Hall extending to 1871 this explanation also seems unlikely.

An examination of Table 1 reveals that the pearlware ceramics largely represent high status decorative motifs such as transfer print and hand painted styles. It seems likely that these specimens represent discard from the main house which have been incorporated into the slave assemblage. This practice, coupled with the long use of ceramics by slaves, would tend to skew the date toward the early end of the range. While a larger assemblage is necessary for reliable interpretations, this collection is entirely consistent with a very late antebellum date. In addition, there are no obviously postbellum ceramics in the collection.

ceramic	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
NA salt glazed stoneware	1866	4	7464
Clouded wares	1755	1	1755
Pearlware, poly hand painted	1805	1	1805
blue hand painted	1800	1	1800
blue trans printed	1818	4	7272
annular/cable	1805	1	1805
undecorated	1805	2	3610
Whiteware, annular	1866	2	3732
sponge	1853	1	1853
blue hand painted	1841	2	3682
undecorated	1860	21	39060
Yellow ware	1853	3	5559

$$\text{Mean Ceramic Date} = 79397 \div 43 = 1846$$

Table 1. Mean ceramic date for 38BU806, unit excavations.

Pattern Analysis

It is possible to use South's (1977) functional artifact groups for an "artifact pattern analysis." South believes that the patterns identified in the archaeological record will reflect cultural processes and will assist in delimiting distinct site types. South has succinctly stated that, "we can have no science without quantification" (South 1977:25). The recognition of patterns in historical archaeology is not an end in itself, but rather should be one of a series of techniques useful for comparing different sites with the ultimate goal of distinguishing cultural processes at work in the archaeological record.

There can be no denying that the technique has problems (see, for example, Joseph 1989), some of which are very serious, but no more effective technique than South's has been proposed. Garrow (1982b:57-66) offers some extensive revisions of South's original patterns, which will be incorporated in this study. Even at the level of a fairly simple heuristic device, pattern analysis has revealed five, and possibly seven, "archaeological signatures" -- the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern (Garrow 1982b; South 1977), the Revised Frontier Pattern (Garrow 1982b; South 1977), the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern (Garrow 1982b; Wheaton et al. 1983), the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern (Singleton 1980), and the Public Interaction Artifact Pattern (Garrow 1982b). In addition, there are the less well developed and tested Tenant/Yeoman Artifact Pattern (Drucker et al. 1984) and the Washington Civic Center Pattern (Garrow 1982b) which Cheek et al. (1983:90) suggest might be better termed a "Nineteenth Century White Urban Pattern." Recent work at the freedmen's village of Mitchelville on Hilton Head Island has

revealed a loose clustering of artifact patterns midway between those of the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern and the Tenant/Yeoman Artifact Pattern (Trinkley 1986). Several of these are summarized in Table 2. A careful inspection of these patterns surprisingly reveals no overlap in the major categories of Kitchen and Architecture, which suggests that these two categories are particularly sensitive indicators of either site function (including intra-site functional differences) or "cultural differences" (see Cheek et al. 1983:90; Garrow 1982a:4; South 1977:146-154).

<u>Artifact Group</u>	<u>Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern</u>	<u>Mitchelville "Artifact Pattern"</u>
Kitchen	20.0-25.8%	36.8-41.0%
Architecture	67.9-73.2%	54.2-57.0%
Furniture	0.0-0.1%	0.6-0.7%
Arms	0.0-0.2%	0.3%
Clothing	0.3-1.7%	1.0-1.2%
Personal	0.1-0.2%	0.1-0.2%
Tobacco	0.3-9.7%	0.6-0.7%
Activities	0.2-0.4%	2.2-3.1%

Table 2. Archaeological pattern comparisons.

Table 3 presents the artifact pattern for the combined unit excavations at 38BU806. A comparison of Tables 2 and 3 reveals that the collection from the Fish Hall slave row is very similar to that expected for a coastal, nineteenth century slave row. The major differences involve a slightly higher percentage of Kitchen Group remains and a proportional drop in Architecture remains. In addition, the Activities Group is higher than expected for a slave assemblage, but this is primarily the result of the large quantity of unidentifiable metal fragments placed in this category.

The situation at the Fish Hall slave row is identical to that observed at the late postbellum slave row, 38BU634, on Daufuskie Island (Trinkley 1989). One possible explanation for the reduced quantity of architectural items might be salvage of the buildings in the early postbellum period during their demolition. Colin Brooker (personal communication 1989) suggests that there is a pattern of salvage among many of the Beaufort area plantation structures after the Civil War.

<u>Kitchen Group</u>				
	Ceramics	51		
	Colono ceramics	1		
	Glass	256		
	Tableware	15		
	Kitchenware	26		
			349	29.7%
<u>Architecture Group</u>				
	Window glass	40		
	Construction hardware	6		
	Cut nails and fragments	15		
	Hand wrought nails and fragments	3		
	Wire cut nails	2		
	UID nail fragments	620		
	Spikes	7		
			693	58.8%
<u>Furniture Group</u>				
	Furniture hardware	2		
			2	0.2%
<u>Arms Group</u>				
	shot	3		
			3	0.2%
<u>Tobacco Group</u>				
	pipe stems	11		
	pipe bowls	4		
			15	1.3%
<u>Clothing Group</u>				
	Buttons	19		
	Other clothing	1		
			20	1.7%
<u>Personal Group</u>				
	Beads	1		
	Personal items	4		
			5	0.4%
<u>Activities Group</u>				
	Storage items	1		
	Misc. hardware	6		
	Other	84		
			91	7.7%

Table 3. Artifact pattern analysis for 38BU806.

ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS AT 38BU806

Colin Brooker

Description

Site 38BU806 is occupied by at least six structures (designated from northeast to southwest as Structures 1 through 6), distanced 79.8 to 81 feet apart on a linear ground plan aligned N58°E paralleling Mitchelville Road (Figure 6). Above ground a tabby chimney base marks each building, while other major architectural elements have been either destroyed or removed.

Chimney bases are preserved differentially; however, all were originally identical (excepting minor dimensional variation), being of a rectangular "U" shaped configuration and measuring (above grade) 5 feet 11 inches by 2 feet 7 to 8 inches overall. The chimneys open into a hearth toward the northeast. Those of Structures 1 and 3 are the most complete, standing almost to their full height (4 feet 3 inches to 4 feet six inches above the present ground surface).

Fabrication involved three or four successively higher tabby pours, the mix being introduced into timber forms (made up from 1 inch or 1-1/4 inch thick horizontal boards) which defined the chimney base shape. Unusually, there is no evidence indicating that the inner and outer formwork faces were separated by cross tied ("needles") as is generally (although not universally) the case among comparable features observed elsewhere (i.e., Haig Point Plantation, Daufuskie Island, S.C.; Spring Island structures, S.C.).

The tabby mix composition also appears to be distinct, as it includes a small proportion of whole clam shell with the normal oyster shell aggregate. Broken brick, glass, and ceramics (dating from the early nineteenth century) occur as occasional inclusions. Compaction was thorough, producing a particularly dense and strong cast material.

Without full excavation details of the lowest tabby pour level remain imperfectly understood. Nevertheless, impressions do show that tabby here provided structural bearings, elevating the timber foundation sills (upon which the main building rested) somewhat above ground level. These end sills, possibly measuring 9-1/2 inches square were notch around the chimney base, rebates carefully fabricated during the tabby pouring process facilitating the placement (Figure 7). Tabby walls which

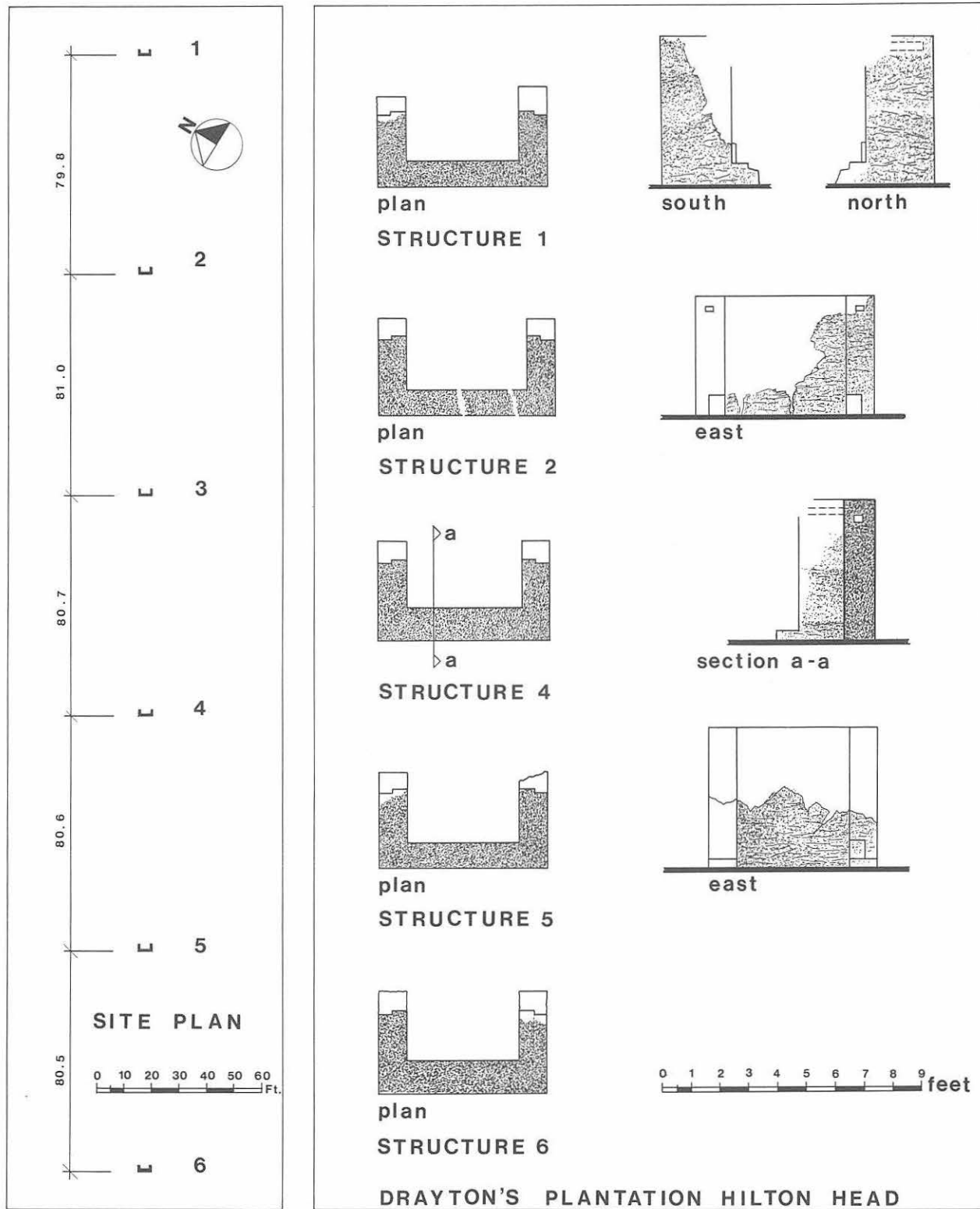


Figure 7. Site plan and tabby structures 1, 2, 4-6.

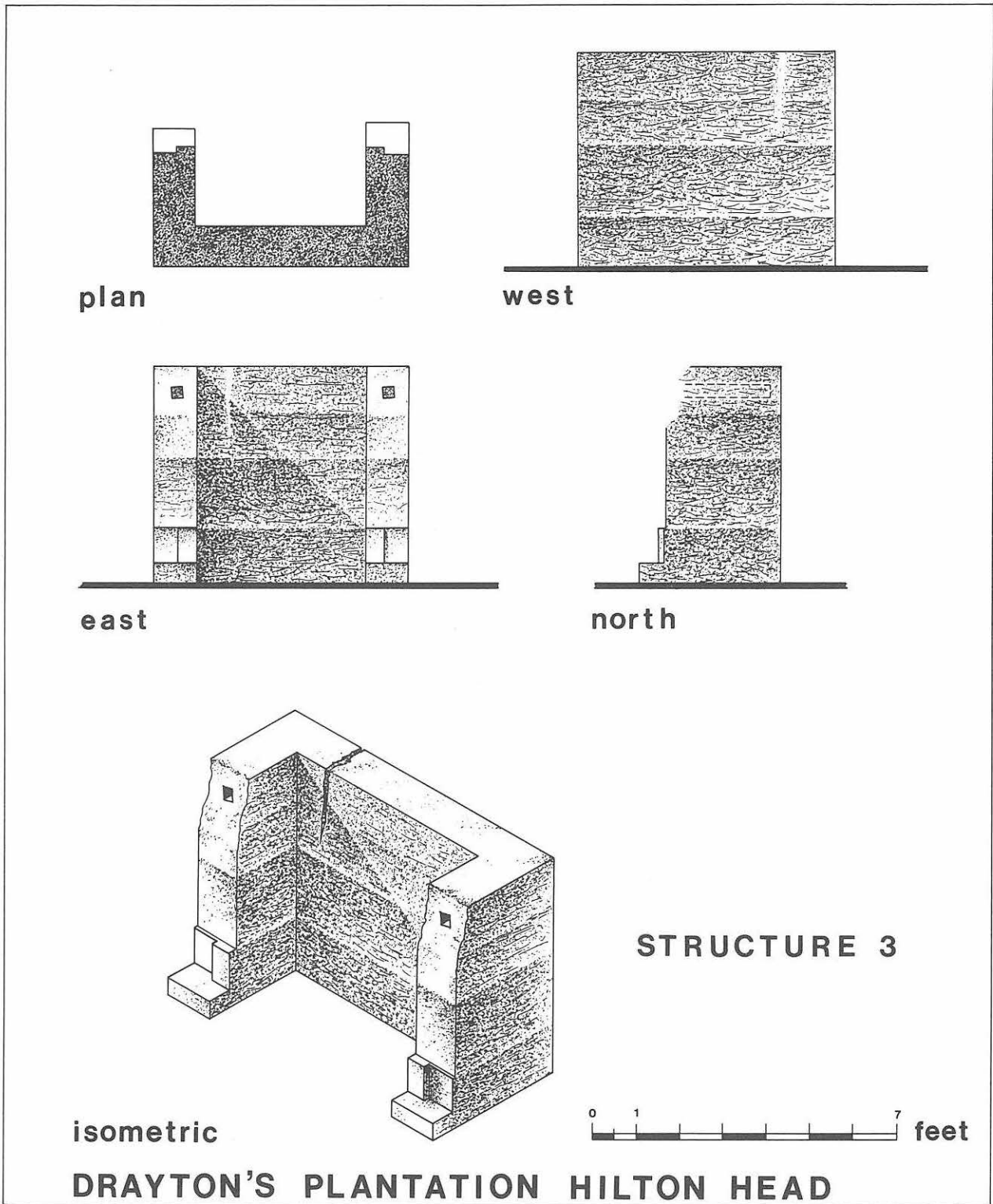


Figure 8. Detailed drawings of tabby structure 3.

form the chimney bases vary in thickness. The long, west, face is 1 foot 2 inches wide, while the two "legs" (i.e., north and south faces) are 1 foot wide.

Upper pours required other forms, similar to the first in width, but differing in height. All must have been positioned and filled before material resulting from the previous casting operations had completely set to ensure adhesion between the various tabby levels. Adhesion so was good at this site that, except for the uppermost level, individual pour lines cannot be safely distinguished.

The last (i.e., uppermost) pour, which used formwork 1 foot 1 inch high, introduced rectangular timbers of variable section (ranging between 3-1/2 by 2-1/2 inches to 3 inches by 3-1/4 inches) into the fabric. Extending horizontally along almost the entire length of each tabby wall and completely enclosed, the purpose of such timbers is unknown, although the possibility exists that they were intended to minimize cracking following any structural settlement.

Above this last pour the chimney elements have disappeared, although broken tabby brick is scattered sparsely across the site and may represent disassociated stack fragments. There is some uncertainty concerning hearth details and openings. Good quality fired brick appears to have been used to pave the hearths. Timber lintels or, less probably, cast iron flats spanned hearth openings, but details are lost. Both the tabby and fired bricks are expertly made. Fired brick samples measure 2-1/4 by 3-1/2 by 8-1/4 inches, while the tabby brick samples measure 2 by 4-1/4 by about 8 inches.

Knowledge of building plan, elevation, and formal character is slight. Ground stains revealed during excavation suggest that Structure 2 was approximately 16 feet wide, its long axis (assuming a rectangular plan), would have been aligned N58°E and would have been centered on the chimney base. Excavated window glass indicates glazed fenestration rather than windows protected solely by shutters.

Temporal attribution presents difficulties, the principal exposed architectural elements (i.e., tabby chimney bases) having no exact analogies. Lack of formwork ties probably indicates construction after 1830 to 1840, since the rectangular timber "needles," were commonplace from about 1760 through 1835. Archaeological results suggest building about 1840 or later, a conclusion consistent with the available architectural evidence.

While meager, such information can be supplemented using photographic and documentary records which help to identify the building group.

Interpretation

Local historians identify Structures 1 and 2 as dwellings built to accommodate slaves of the Fish Hall Plantation, an interpretation confirmed by the research conducted by Chicora Foundation. A map of Hilton Head Island drawn during the early 1860s (Figure 5) depicts an area designated "Drayton's Plantation," bounding the "Government's Cattle Yard" located north of Mitchelville, a freedmen's village established by Union forces in 1862 (Trinkley 1986:78-94). Plantation buildings are not named, yet given the distinctive ground plan, there can be no doubt that structures, shown bordering both sides of an approach (now Mitchelville Road) focusing upon a much larger house (Fish Hall Plantation) overlooking Port Royal Sound, represent Drayton's slave settlement.

Organized linearly, the settlement exhibits some irregularity. Along the approach road's northern side, eight variably spaced units are indicated, flanked each by three smaller structures. Opposite, at the settlement's western extremity, six more structures constitute a tightly planned group, distanced from eight other buildings more randomly arranged.

Data is insufficient to determine whether all or most structures are slave dwellings. Excluding the smallest, 18 probable houses remain. The settlement's population was 52 slaves in 1860. Taking an average, each dwelling therefore accommodated three or four individuals. Given the demography of Drayton's slaves (previously discussed in this report) and wide range of house sizes available, the figure must be treated cautiously. Even so, excessive overcrowding seems to have been avoided (cf. Genovese 1974:524).

Location, spacing, and orientation point toward the group of six evidently related structures previously mentioned, being the same as Structures 1 through 6 presently under discussion. Accepting this remise, then further details concerning settlement planning, organization, dwelling area, and phasing are available through an invaluable photograph entitled "Negro quarters, Gen. T.S. Drayton's Plantation, 1862" (Figure 4).

The photographer (possibly Samuel Cooley, self-styled "U.S. Photographer, Department of the South) chose a viewpoint (judging by chimney position) looking northeast down the tree lined slave street. On the left, his image records four small, single-storied gabled dwellings (measuring perhaps 10 by 12 feet) which possess substantially proportioned brick or brick and tabby end chimneys. Timber framed, with horizontal weather boarded walls and shingle roofs, individual houses were entered directly off the access road through a centrally positioned doorway. Flanking this door on each side were small windows. Side hung timber shutters are visible closing the window openings. West of each house, fenced

lots can be seen, the enclosures either accommodating livestock or protecting gardens.

On the right are five dwellings. Built uniformly, these differ from neighboring houses across the slave street most significantly in size. Foreshortening makes any estimate of building length difficult, but 20 feet seems an optimum dimension. Width is more reliably gauged at 15 or 16 feet. A central door and two flanking windows suggest internal division into two or possibly three rooms, the principal living area enclosing a hearth and perhaps the through-passage. Again, timber framed construction predominates with incombustible material, such as tabby or brick, forming the end chimneys. Gable-ended roofs are pitched at about 42° and timber shingles provided weather tight finishes. External walls appear to be clad using wide (9 to 12 inch) horizontal boards, neatly trimmed and whitewashed. Floors are elevated above the ground (based on a individual who appears to be sitting on steps in front of the nearest doorway) and are therefore most likely boarded.

Reference to the 1860s map discussed above leave little doubt that the photograph captures an image of the Fish Hall slave settlement's southwestern end with the dwellings on the right hand side conforming in their orderly arrangement and size with the group designated Structures 1 through 6. Although only five of the six known structures comprising the group are pictured, no other building assemblage offers a better candidate for this identification. Other groups present discrepancies in orientation, number, and configuration.

Several points emerge from the fortunate coincidence between photographic, cartographic, archaeological, and architectural evidence. In terms of planning, the site organization was predicated upon a linear allocation of slave plots with the dwellings and their gardens being organized as rows. The arrangement had advantages, allowing close supervision, orderly expansion should slave holding increase, and easy refuse collection (such as the oyster shell accumulations attested by the 1862 photograph).

Single or double slave rows are well known features of local plantation planning, becoming common locally about 1760 and continuing until emancipation (see Brooker 1989:224-225; Lewis 1979:25, 109-112). Less well documented are internal developments governing settlement shape over time. Few plans were static. On nearby Daufuskie Island, the Haig Point Plantation's northern settlement demonstrates several phases from about 1826 through 1850 which reflect first expansion and later decline, although the initial single row pattern was always retained (Brooker 1989:225-228).

At Drayton's Plantation, settlement evolution followed

another course, expansion causing reworking of earlier dispositions. In 1862 the houses opposite Structures 1 through 6 fronted a regular line of semi-mature oaks. Much younger trees bordered the roadway's southern side, strongly suggesting that a single slave row settlement had, through the addition of Structures 1 through 6, been enlarged into a double row configuration. This event, judging by the tree size, may have taken place as late as about 1850.

Spatial allotment also changed. Assuming northern dwellings are the oldest, then Structures 1 through 6 represent an improvement over their pre-existing neighbors. Living area almost tripled, increasing from about 120 square feet per dwelling to approximately 300 square feet, which allowed internal subdivision and better ventilation if, as is highly probable, the house plans incorporated a through-passage. Outside, fenced enclosures (providing fresh vegetables and other slave-tended produce) received shade from freshly planted trees, the latter obviously intended to ultimately coalesce with the earlier planting to form a high canopy over the street.

Whether improvement reflected occupant status or more enlightened views concerning slave welfare cannot be said. Abolitionist sentiment, high slave mortality, and declining birth rates prompted many (but not all) owners to ameliorate slave living conditions with the trend becoming marked during the first quarter of nineteenth century (Genovese 1972:524). Along the southeastern seaboard, single slave houses of standardized through-passage plan and end chimney type, measuring 16 by 20 or 16 by 24 feet, are frequently encountered, often spaciouly laid out about wide avenues. How closely surviving examples represent the totality of nineteenth century coastal slave housing is nevertheless questionable. Inadequate and flimsy buildings quickly disappeared once abandoned, leaving few traces other than occasional verbal accounts.

It is clear older houses at Drayton's Fish Hall Plantation received consistent maintenance until 1862 and newer houses were well built. Unlike slave dwellings such as those forming Haig Point's slave settlement on Daufuskie Island (probably erected about 1850 under William Pope's absentee ownership), Structures 1 through 6 at Fish Hall possessed raised ground sills, which prevented direct moisture penetration, ensuring longer building life and the "comfort of the inhabitants" (Southern Cultivator volume 14, page 17, cited in Smith 1973:90; see also Brooker 1989:231). Windows were probably glazed and relatively large, whereas all too often slaves relied upon poor natural lighting filtering through small openings protected solely by timber shutters. Chimney design using dense tabby and carefully made brick effectively countered ever-present fire risks (Genovese 1972:525).

The pattern was not entirely original since the earlier houses, despite their spatial shortcomings and lack of window glass, appear soundly fabricated. There is no evidence indicating the presence of barely serviceable wattle and daub chimneys Trinkley (1986:251) encountered at Mitchelville or log buildings hypothesized for later settlement phases at Haig Point Plantation (Trinkley 1989:251). Instead, mid-nineteenth century slave building on Fish Hall Plantation employed standardized and near standardized products (i.e., timber framing, shingles, weather boarding, and floor boarding) produced either locally or imported through local urban centers. Only fired brick can be considered scarce, with transportation expenses preventing its wider use and forcing expenditure of skilled plantation labor on tabby and tabby brick manufacture.

The November 30, 1861 issue of Harper's Weekly published a drawing over the caption, "Our picket at General Drayton's Mansion, Hilton Head Island." Beyond the Union Army picket gate an avenue is depicted, lined either side by trees and slave houses of three distinct types. Those to the right are considerably smaller than those on the left. Apparently looking northeast, even allowing artistic license, correspondence with the 1862 photograph is tenuous unless the drawing is thought of as having been reversed during printing. If the steel plate was engraved without first reversing the photographic image upon which it was based, this situation could easily occur. Besides underscoring the unrivalled value of photographic records, the discrepancies may mean, if they mean anything, that Fish Hall Plantation was more diverse than described. The questions that arise can only be answered by further archaeological investigations.

Preservation

General

Recent resort development had made much of Hilton Head's plantation history, often stressing it through commercial promotion, idealized notions, and mythologies respecting the antebellum era and plantation owners. "That singular institution," slavery, has however proved unpalatable, inspiring little general attention or recognition. It should be unnecessary to emphasize that slavery, however alien, was a fundamental aspect of local plantation systems. Yet, few Hilton Head slave settlement sites have received any systematic investigation and even few have received public protection.

Drayton's Fish Hall slave row forms an exception, offering visitors and Island residents alike an accessible, documented, and protected environment exhibiting characteristic building patterns associated with slavery not easily seen elsewhere on Hilton Head Island.

Chain link fencing encloses the two tabby chimney bases (Structures 1 and 2) visible before recent investigations, guarding these features against mechanical damage. A historic marker provides information, summarizing the site's occupational history (but concentrating on the high status occupants, not the slaves). Outside the enclosure (with the exception of Structure 3) ruins have fared less well, tree roots and plowing having caused severe mechanical disassociation. Structure 6 is the most badly impaired, its chimney base reduced to a level less than a foot high above the surrounding soil. The tabby of Structure 5 is split and fragmented, while the tabby of Structure 4 is eroded. Structure 3 has suffered root penetrations in the hearth, but otherwise stands almost full height, retaining integrity and details otherwise incompletely represented.

Fencing is a first priority if Structures 3 through 6 are to be conserved over the long term. Chain link fencing matching the existing fence furnishes an obvious, inexpensive, although unsightly, choice, suitable until considered landscape designs can be developed. Future goals should include provision for interpretative displays, reinstatement of mid-nineteenth century planting along Mitchelville Road, and the development of a regular maintenance program.

A secondary priority entails tree removal, preferably under trained archaeological supervision, where roots interfere with structural elements. Left unchecked, already destructive root action can only cause more, irreversible, damage to tabby and other concealed features. Damage which has already occurred may be mitigated through tabby conservation.

Tabby Conservation

Tabby is a composite material composed of oyster shell, lime, and sand mixed in roughly equal proportions with water. For structural purposes tabby was normally cast, using (or re-using) timber formwork. After curing, surfaces almost invariably received an oyster shell lime facing, reducing permeability and giving protection against mechanical damage.

Stripped of the original surface coatings (internal plaster and external stucco), tabby is highly susceptible to the deleterious effects of moisture penetration. In conditions of saturation, followed by rapid drying, lime mortars (which form an essential part of all tabby mixes) disintegrate. The process is accelerated by frost which causes moisture contained within the material to freeze and expand. Results include cracking, breakdown of compound bonding (leading to friability), and a further increase in water penetration. Subsequent leaching by rain of tabby surfaces may expose the oyster shell matrix, which deprived of binding agents, rapidly loses strength.

Tabby conservation involves intervention first by minimizing moisture penetration to break the cycle of deterioration, and second by stabilizing eroded or damaged surfaces. Techniques including patching friable, cracked, holed, or otherwise damaged vertical surfaces and the capping of vulnerable horizontal tabby planes (such as the tops of walls). While procedures evolved over the last two decades, notably by the National Park Service at Fort Frederica, Georgia, can give satisfactory temporary results, over the long term it has proven impossible to totally arrest the continued deterioration of tabby ruins.

Stabilization must therefore rely on continuous maintenance programs, including periodic patching and even reconstruction. Where tabby ruins are heavily weathered, problems arise concerning the appearance and authenticity of the conserved structure. Ideally, any visible material employed for conservation should approach the original fabric in terms of color, texture, and finish, while still be identifiable as an intrusive element. Where the scale of required patching is extensive, a balance must be struck between conservation needs and the veracity of the completed project. The degree to which consolidant materials can be matched to eroded tabby is uncertain and either a frank distinction between old and new work must be accepted, or the use of new material limited.

Choice of Mix

Patching and capping operations principally serve to prevent moisture penetration into vulnerable top and vertical surfaces of otherwise unprotected tabby wall structures. Consolidant materials must be moisture resistant (not wholly non-absorbent) and compatible in their physical and chemical characteristics with the historic building fabrics being treated. Choice of mix is critical since inappropriate material associations have been shown to accelerate, rather than arrest, decay.

As has been mentioned above, tabby mixes are based on lime derived from oyster shell. In modern masonry practice, hydrated lime has been largely replaced by portland cement, which has the advantage of a fast "set-up" period and is easily handled. Portland cement, however, is comparatively non-absorbent and non-resilient. Used in conjunction with softer materials, cracking due to differential rates of expansion frequently occurs at interfaces. This allows water penetration. On freezing, this water expands and hastens disintegration.

The relative non-absorbency of portland cement compared to lime mortar is also a serious disadvantage when applied over tabby, since the cement will limit natural evaporation from tabby surfaces and lead to differential moisture concentrations which are highly frost susceptible. Experiments with various mortar mixes indicates, however, that portland cement used in

conjunction with lime, has the durability and flexibility necessary for tabby conservation.

Extensive exterior surface consolidation at the Barnwell-Gough House in Beaufort, South Carolina, shows some minor surface erosion but no cracking after nine years of weathering and two record-breaking frosts. The mix used for this project involved one part of portland cement, one part lime, 8-3/4 parts sand, and 1/4 part oyster shell. Capping employed for tabby ruins at the Sams House on Dataw Island, South Carolina and the Edwards House at Spring Island, South Carolina, has proved effective over the short term. The mix at both of these projects differed only in that two parts lime and two parts oyster shell were used.

In all three projects considerable efforts were expended to match the appearance of consolidant mixes with the original fabric color and texture. Heavy concentrations of oyster shell decrease workability and adversely effect adhesion, making the texture of eroded tabby almost impossible to reproduce. Color was successively matched through the use of white portland cement.

At Fort Frederica, Georgia, the National Park Service used generally harder mixes in a 1:1 lime/portland cement ratio and has experienced some cracking on vertical tabby surfaces. Lamp black is frequently added for cosmetic purposes.

Choice of mortar mix is a matter of judgement based on a field assessment of the condition of the historic material and specific site weathering factors. Soft mixes, while suitable for badly eroded or very friable surfaces, will require periodic renewal and replacement. Final specification should be preceded by test programs monitoring various alternative consolidant mixes. It must be emphasized that for any given structure, tabby condition will vary and will therefore require the use of mixes differing in degree of hardness.

Operational Procedures

Once suitable consolidant materials have been determined, it is recommended that cracks, holes, and fissures in the tabby chimney bases of Structures 1 through 6 be filled and patched following careful brushing away of loose fabric and organic matter.

Where tabby is relatively coherent and retains structural integrity (i.e., Structure 1), patching should be minimized. In the case of Structures 2 and 5, which have suffered severely from root penetration, more extensive patching, plus minor reconstruction, will be required. Here, after removal of vegetation, it is suggested that broken and fissured tabby fragments (especially the chimney backs) be consolidated in such a way as to produce even, horizontal surfaces and then a

continuous capping be applied. The cap should have a thickness of 4 inches and be fabricated using a suitable consolidant mix. Reduced almost to ground level by erosion and mechanical injury, Structure 6 requires a similar capping, again to be 4 inches deep.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Michael Trinkley

The archaeological survey of the Barker Field Extension revealed that the only site on the tract is the Fish Hall Plantation slave row, 38BU806. This site, however, is of extraordinary significance and deserves careful attention.

The Fish Hall Plantation represents a major cotton plantation on Hilton Head Island. As such it has the potential to document both the lifestyle of the wealthy planter and the lifestyle of his slaves. There are few such plantations left on Hilton Head and there appear to be none in the same state of preservation. The Fish Hall plantation is an essential element in the cultural heritage of Hilton Head and is of tremendous importance in understanding the heritage of the Afro-Americans which made up the bulk of Hilton Head's population until the mid-twentieth century. Typically the historical records provide little information concerning the poor and the illiterate. Slaves are uniformly ignored by historical documents, except as they relate to the wealth and economics of their owners. The archaeological investigation of their lives is the only means of documenting their contribution and understanding their lives.

Information collected thus far provides only a glimpse of the history and lifeways on Fish Hall Plantation. There is reason to believe that Drayton was a relatively caring plantation owner. The slave housing appears to be well built and healthful. Further research on slave diet will contribute more to our understanding of the care of the Fish Hall slaves. Both the artifacts, historical documentation, and architectural research suggest that the slave row was constructed late in the antebellum period and was deserted early in the postbellum. There is little indication that the black residents of Fish Hall remained in the cabins past the late 1860s or early 1870s.

The portion of the site identified on the Barker Field property includes four tabby slave cabin chimney remains and associated archaeological remains. Off the County property to the southwest are two additional structures. Previous survey work by Brockington and Associates (Espenshade and Grunden 1989) has identified limited evidence of this site to the northwest of Mitchelville Road, although the bulk of the slave row in this vicinity appears to have been destroyed by road construction. Additional elements of the slave row may exist to the northeast and north of Barker Field, although these areas have not been intensively surveyed. In addition, the main house and associated

out buildings are likely preserved in woods and pasture areas although, again, no intensive surveys of these areas have been undertaken. These areas, however, face development in the near future.

The portion of the Fish Hall slave row contained on the Barker Field property then assumes major significance since the archaeological and architectural remains evidence excellent preservation. The archaeological investigations reveal the presence of intact subsurface remains, including both features and artifacts. The architectural remains, while suffering from exposure, provide important clues to the construction and appearance of the slave cabins. The site is certainly eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

While it is appropriate for Beaufort County to be concerned with recreational opportunities for its citizens on Hilton Head Island, it is also essential that the County protect the island's rich cultural heritage. The well-being of life includes not only amenities such as recreation, but also the appreciation of one's past. The county has the opportunity to incorporate this unique archaeological site into a passive historical park and this opportunity, which would benefit all of the island's citizens, should not be ignored.

It is an unfortunate fact that there are individuals who would seek to convert our common heritage into private ownership by looting archaeological sites. The tabby ruins at Barker Field are known to relic collectors and have been illegally dug in the past. Evidence of this activity remains as depressions around the fireboxes of the two chimneys in front of the existing playing fields. In an attempt to protect the site a fence has been erected around the two ruins, but this approach has been only moderately successful.

It is therefore essential that the Beaufort County Recreation Commission develop a site preservation plan for the Fish Hall slave structures on their property. The recommendations offered in this report are directed toward the long-term preservation of the Fish Hall slave row present on the County property.

First, in spite of changes made in the design of the park facility, it is clear that the playing fields will impact the fringe area of the site. Had cultural resource studies been involved from the early planning stages this situation could have been avoided by moving the picnic areas planned for the southern and southeast edge of the park to the northwestern edge and incorporating the archaeological site. This would have served to protect the site and could have been developed as an impressive passive historical park. It is regrettable that this opportunity was not seized. It is still possible, however, for the County to

incorporate public interpretation of the archaeological remains through appropriate signage and protected displays. This work should be overseen by professional archaeologists and museum personnel to ensure its appearance and accuracy.

Second, it is essential that archaeological site outside the currently proposed construction zone be physically fenced off to avoid all construction impacts. The County should include provisions in all contracts for the construction that prohibit the site area from being used as equipment parking or for equipment turn-arounds. All personnel, including subcontractors, should be strictly prohibited from entering the area.

Third, the site area should be cleared of vegetation, especially all vegetation which is growing around the tabby ruins. This work should be done by hand, taking all measures possible to ensure that the structural remains are not further damaged. After this is accomplished, any further landscaping should be conducted by hand and ground disturbance should be limited to the upper 0.2 foot of soil. No utilities, including sprinkler lines, should be placed in the site area.

Fourth, there are currently plans to place varying amounts of fill in the site area. These plans should be abandoned. Recent investigations (see Hester 1989) indicate that subtle changes in soil chemistry and compaction can result from site burial. Without detailed planning and evaluation, the placement of fill on archaeological sites can seriously impact their long-term preservation.

Fifth, it is essential that the site be protected from vandals and relic collectors. This can be accomplished only with the total involvement of the Beaufort County Recreation Commission, the Beaufort County Sheriff, and the Town of Hilton Head. Recent studies (see Hester 1989) indicate that fencing can be effective protective measure, as long as the site is routinely patrolled and the property manager is willing to aggressively pursue those who damage the site. Since evenings and weekends are the times when the site will be at greatest risk, it is imperative that the Beaufort County Sheriff be made aware of the need to protect the site. The County's legal office should investigate the means to ensure legal authority to prosecute individuals who damage the site.

Sixth, the tabby ruins are at serious risk to continued weathering and erosion. These remains are an integral aspect of the site and are a visual aspect useful for public interpretation. Without consolidation and careful preservation, however, these ruins will have a very short lifespan. This program of preservation treatments should be conducted by an architectural historian with experience in tabby consolidation and should begin immediately.

Seventh, the County should develop a long-range plan for the site, incorporating the recommendations offered above if green spacing is the preferred alternative. If the County is unable to make provisions to ensure the long-term preservation of the site then data recovery is the only other solution. If data recovery is necessary at this site it is likely that the project will require up to eight weeks of field time with an additional eight to ten weeks of analysis and report production. The costs of data recovery may range up to \$80,000.

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