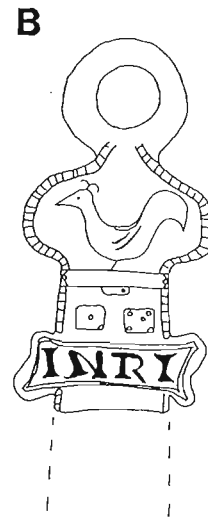
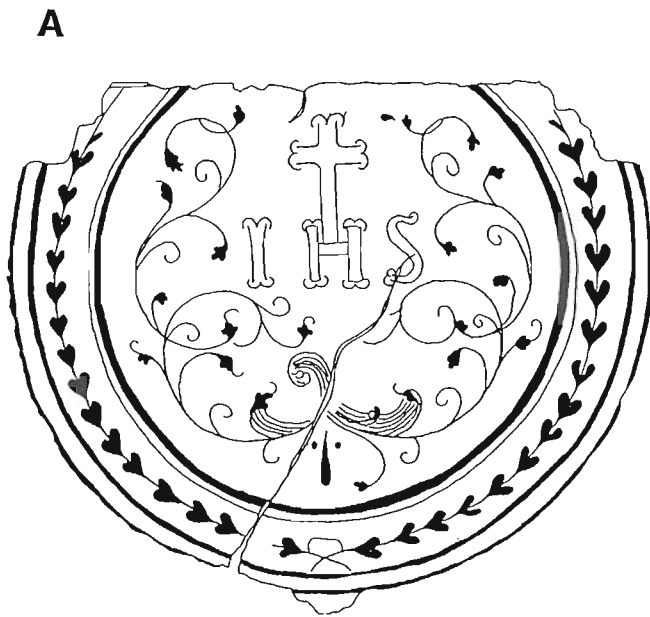


ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL EXAMINATIONS OF THREE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURY RICE PLANTATIONS ON THE WACCAMAW NECK



D. Hacker
1-3-1980



ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL EXAMINATIONS
OF THREE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURY
RICE PLANTATIONS ON THE WACCAMAW NECK

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Of the great tropical and semitropical staples in the Americas, rice was by far the least significant. Despite the pretensions of low country planters and the puffery of later apologists for the industry, rice was never vital to the West. In comparison with sugar, cotton, and tobacco, which have been described with some accuracy in the literature as mighty, Kingly, and holy commodities respectively, rice was but a humble footman or sexton, lacking even a hint of sovereignty in the marketplace.

-- Peter Coclanis,
The Shadow of a Dream.

ABSTRACT

This study examines the historical and archaeological research conducted by Chicora Foundation on a series of five sites representing portions of three eighteenth and nineteenth century Waccamaw Neck rice plantations -- Willbrook, Oatland, and Turkey Hill.

Three of these sites -- 38GE291, 38GE292, and 38GE340 -- represent the main settlement during the nineteenth century and two late eighteenth century slave settlements associated with Willbrook Plantation. Site 38GE291 also produced evidence of a possible eighteenth century plantation overseer's structure adjacent to the slave settlement. In addition, research at 38GE340 revealed evidence of a postbellum structure possibly associated with early Catholic missionary activity in the Waccamaw Neck vicinity.

One site -- 38GE294 -- represents the main house and a nearby slave structure associated with neighboring Oatland Plantation. The proximity of the single slave structure suggests that it may have been used by house servants. These structures, yielding architectural as well as archaeological data, date from the antebellum period.

The final site -- 38GE297 -- represents one of two nineteenth century slave settlements associated with Turkey Hill Plantation, situated just north of Oatland. Excavations at this site concentrated on what appears to be the house of a slave driver.

This study examines the historical documents, the archaeological and architectural evidence, and incorporates a detailed examination of the faunal material recovered from these sites to provide a detailed reconstruction of owner, overseer, and slave life on several Waccamaw Neck rice plantations.

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Three archaeologists for the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office have been involved in the review of these excavations, including Dr. Patricia Cridlebaugh, Dr. Linda Stine, and Mr. Lee Tippett. I wish to thank all of these individuals, as well as the entire staff of the Department of Archives and History for their professionalism and assistance during the four years of these investigations. I also wish to thank Ms. Martha Zierden, Exhibit Curator of The Charleston Museum, for arranging for the curation of this collection.

My co-authors also worked hard to ensure the success of this project, providing specialized studies, enthusiasm, and consistent dedication to excellent scholarship. As always, most of the credit for this study must be passed on, both to my coauthors, and also to the field crew, Mr. Scott Akeman, Ms. Mona Grunden, Mr. Al Jackson, Ms. Karrie Joseph, Ms. Liz Pinckney, and Mr. Bernie Slaughter, as well as to Chicora's Conservation Administrator, Ms. Debi Hacker.

INTRODUCTION

Michael Trinkley

Background

The 2400 acre Willbrook Plantation area was first examined by Chicora Foundation, Inc. in 1987 to complete archaeological investigations begun by Dr. Larry Lepionka in 1984 (Trinkley 1987a). As a result of Chicora's examination, 37 archaeological sites were defined, of which 14 sites (three prehistoric and 11 historic archaeological sites, including one underwater site) were recommended to the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. The SHPO concurred that 11 of these sites were eligible, two were probably eligible, and one was not eligible (letter from Deputy SHPO, Ms. Mary Edmonds, to Lt. Colonel Stewart Bornhoft, Charleston District Corps of Engineers, dated December 4, 1987).

As a result of this survey and need of The Litchfield Company to advance the development of certain portions of the property, a Memorandum of Agreement dealing with mitigation of golf course-related impacts to two sites, 38GE294 and 38GE295, was developed (dated July 23, 1987). Chicora entered into an agreement with The Litchfield Company to conduct the necessary data recovery excavations at site 38GE294 on July 23, 1987 and this work was conducted from August 3 to August 28, 1987. A management summary of this work was submitted on August 31, 1987 (Trinkley 1987b) and was approved by the SHPO (letter from Deputy SHPO, Ms. Christie Fant, to Lt. Colonel Stewart Bornhoft, dated September 21, 1987). The final report on this work was postponed until the completion of additional work at Willbrook Plantation.

One of the potentially eligible sites (38GE350) was further tested by Chicora Foundation archaeologists in 1988. Based on this additional testing (Trinkley 1988) the site was recommended as not eligible for inclusion on the National Register. The SHPO concurred with this assessment, noting that no additional work at 38GE350 was necessary (letter from Deputy SHPO, Ms. Mary Edmonds, to Lt. Colonel Stewart Bornhoft, Charleston District Corps of Engineers, dated April 7, 1988).

These investigations left a total of 10 eligible sites and one potentially eligible site on the Willbrook development tract. A final Memorandum of Agreement (MOA), covering these sites was signed by the parties on August 19, 1988.

In late 1989 Chicora was contacted by The Litchfield Company's representative, Mr. Steve Goggans, who requested that Chicora submit a proposal for data recovery excavations at four sites, 38GE291, 38GE292, 38GE297, and 38GE340. A final proposal for this work, dated February 19, 1990 was approved and an agreement for the work was signed on March 9, 1990. The data recovery excavations at these four sites began on March 19 and continued through June 21, 1990. As will be discussed in more detail in a following section, the excavations at 38GE292 included only a portion of the site, the main settlement area being at least temporarily green spaced. The agreement for the excavations at these four sites also incorporated the final report for Chicora's previous excavations at 38GE294.

A management summary of archaeological excavations at 38GE291 was submitted on May 25, 1990 (Trinkley 1990a) and was approved by the SHPO (letter from SHPO Archaeologist, Dr. Linda Stine, to Mr. Steve Goggans, dated June 1, 1990). A management summary of archaeological excavations at the remaining three sites

(38GE292, 38GE297, and 38GE340) was completed on June 25, 1990 (Trinkley 1990b) and was approved by the SHPO (letter from SHPO Archaeologist, Dr. Linda Stine, to Dr. Michael Trinkley, dated July 25, 1990).

The Willbrook property, incorporating about 1604 acres of highland, is situated about 17 miles northeast of Georgetown and about 5 miles southwest of Murrells Inlet in Georgetown County, South Carolina. The tract is bounded by the Waccamaw River to the west, Brookgreen Gardens to the north, and various properties to the south and east. It partially fronts U.S. 17 on its east border and is bisected by the old Kings Highway (Figure 1).

The proposed development plan for the site includes about 240 acres of roads and approximately 3900 dwelling units (based on the March 22, 1985 Conceptual PUD Master Plan developed by Edward Pinckney Associates). The development includes the construction of several golf courses over the tract and the possible creation of a marina complex. Residential construction will necessitate clearing and grubbing of wooded tracts, with associated underground utility and sewer construction. These development activities will result in considerable land alteration and damage to the archaeological sites known to exist on the property.

The background and archival research specific to this project was conducted in 1987 by Ms. Rowena Nyland, a graduate of the Applied History Program at the University of South Carolina. Some additional research was conducted during the course of the field work by Ms. Mona Grunden.

The field work for 38GE294 was conducted from August 3 through August 28, 1987 by a crew of five, including the author. A total of 731.5 person hours were devoted to the work at the site, with an additional 66 person hours devoted to the initial field processing of the collections. Investigations were conducted at 38GE291 were conducted from April 23 through May 2, 1990. A total of 431.5 person hours were devoted to this work, with an additional 40 hours spent off site in the field laboratory processing the collections. Work at 38GE292 was conducted from March 19 through March 22 with the investigations completed between May 30 and June 5, 1990. A total of 187.5 person hours were devoted to the field study, with an additional 70.5 person hours spent in the field laboratory. Excavations were begun at 38GE297 by a crew of five on May 24 and continued until June 21, 1990. A total of 538.5 person hours were devoted to work at the site, while an additional 40 person hours were spent off site in the field laboratory, processing specimens. Excavations at the final site, 38GE340, were conducted between March 19 and 20, and May 3 through May 23, 1990. A total of 502.5 person hours were spent on work at the site, with an additional 60 person hours in field processing.

Artifact analysis and cataloging was conducted at Chicora Foundation's laboratories in Columbia, South Carolina from August through December 1990. Conservation of archaeological specimens, conducted by Chicora Foundation, is completed.

Scope and Goals

The earlier archaeological and historical investigations at the Willbrook development (Trinkley 1987a) revealed that the three plantations, Willbrook, Turkey Hill, and Oatland, operated both under single owners, and under owners with family ties. It was recognized that the historical accounts would be able to offer relatively little information on either the economic operation of the various plantations, or on the lifestyles of those who labored on or profited from these plantations.

The survey work revealed two slave settlements at Willbrook Plantation, 38GE291 and 38GE340, which appeared to have slightly different temporal periods. In addition, a slave settlement from neighboring Turkey Hill was also recorded

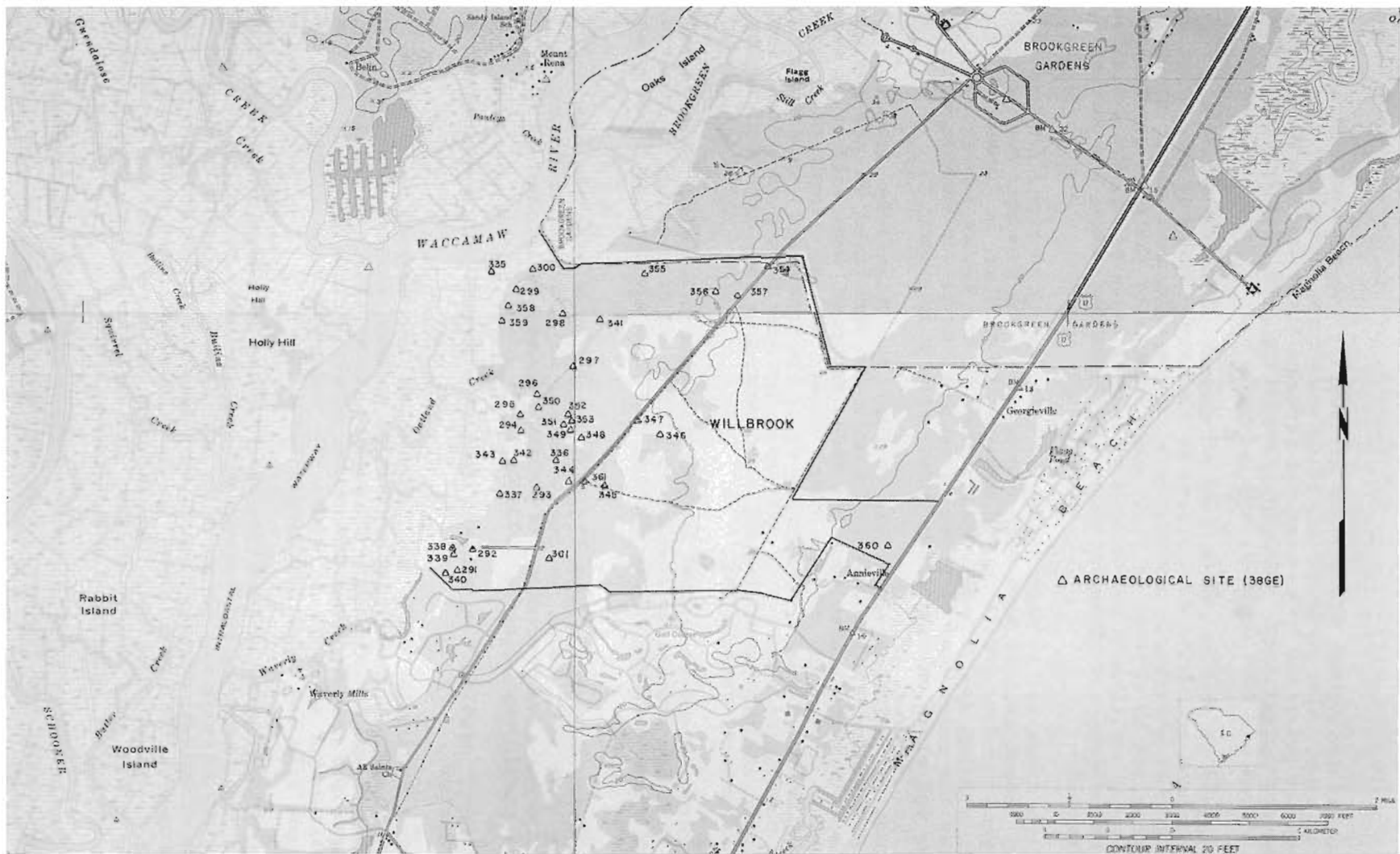


Figure 1. Portions of the Brookgreen, Magnolia Beach, Plantersville, and Waverly Mills USGS topographic maps showing the Willbrook Plantation area.

(38GE294), and archaeological excavations at 38GE297, the posited main Oatland Plantation settlement, also revealed one slave structure. Therefore, from these excavations was the potential to examine the lives of Black Waccamaw Neck slaves at four distinct plantation settings, comparing and contrasting their architecture, ceramics, food remains, and lifeways.

Excavations conducted at the Oatland settlement (38GE297) revealed a main plantation structure, while the excavations at Willbrook (38GE294) were expected to reveal additional structures associated with the main settlement. It would therefore be possible to explore at least some aspects of the main settlements at two plantations -- Willbrook and Oatland -- such as landscaping, the evolution of architectural styles, use of wealth among the plantation elite, and patterning of main settlements.

As will be discussed in more detail in a following section, few previous archaeological investigations have been conducted in the Waccamaw Neck region. While this limits the data available for comparative studies, it does reveal the importance of detailed analysis and interpretation for future researchers. It also emphasizes the importance of these investigations to our understanding of both the owner and slave on Georgetown County rice plantations.

Consequently, this research was guided by relatively simple, but fundamental, explanatory objectives and questions: who lived at the various settlements being examined, when were the sites occupied, what activities were performed at the sites, and do the sites relate to the larger plantation complexes of Willbrook, Oatland, and Turkey Hill? The excavations were viewed as opportunities to examine a number of different Waccamaw Neck plantation sites, while maintaining at least some control over ownership and, more importantly, geographic and temporal variability.

As the research was conducted and the analysis undertaken, we were well aware of the stinging criticisms leveled at plantation archaeology by numerous historians and some archaeologists. Perhaps the most succinct is that by Amy Friedlander, who noted:

it is already well known that the rich lived better than the poor. What is less well known is how everyday objects confirmed and reinforced relative positions and brought faraway decisions home to ordinary people (Friedlander 1990:109).

Theresa Singleton, viewing the subject from a somewhat different approach, critically remarks:

A more appropriate goal for plantation archaeology lies in understanding how a particular plantation society operated within an historical frame of reference. This goal will hopefully be realized in an approach that combines historical particularism and humanism with scientific analysis in order to understand the nature of plantation life and labor (Singleton 1990:77).

Clearly, if the goals of the study were nothing more than to document that the slaves had fewer material possessions or lived in less substantial structures than their owners, little was going to be contributed to our understanding of eighteenth and nineteenth century plantations. Likewise, if our analysis revolved solely around quantification of data, it would likely fail to provide any real understanding of "plantation life and labor." We have tried to avoid both pitfalls, providing both quantification and a humanistic approach, while attempting to go beyond simplistic observations.

At the same time, it is important to examine all of the intricacies of the plantation. As Brooker and Trinkley have observed:

much of recent plantation archaeology has emphasized the investigation of slavery -- cloaking itself in Marxian theory while examining power and racism on the plantation. The approach may well have merits and nobody will deny examining slave life is an extremely worthwhile undertaking. However, particularly disturbing for the architectural historian is an growing tendency among archaeologists to associate unusual or poorly documented building technologies with some insufficiently substantiated African origin (Brooker and Trinkley 1991:5).

Given the emphasis on slave settlements that the excavations at Willbrook, Oatland, and Turkey Hill were to have, it seemed appropriate to also ensure that our research fully examine the architecture of both slave and owner. Our research strove to integrate detailed architectural evaluations of the archaeological remains and our analysis of the results is tempered by the realization that we are only beginning to document the diversity present in plantation architecture. Perhaps of equal importance, we are only beginning to explore the reasons for this diversity.

As work progressed at the sites, it became evident that while these research questions were realistic, several other factors required attention. First, since the time of Chicora's last field examination of the sites they had suffered additional damage from Hurricane Hugo and the clearing which had to be conducted after Hugo. As a result, we attempted to identify areas of each site which had received the least amount of damage.

There is a tendency in archaeology today to believe that a site's data potential can be maximized by large-scale stripping using mechanical equipment. This approach usually involves some limited hand excavation to verify the depth to subsoil and perhaps to collect a small sample of artifacts. Following this, large areas are stripped of topsoil and features (such as pits and post holes) are plotted. Perhaps a sample of these features may also be excavated.

This approach was rejected at the Willbrook sites. The general interpretative value of "plowzone" artifacts has been amply demonstrated by Ward (1980) at prehistoric sites in North Carolina and it seems that there should be little debate over this issue. Of even greater significance to historic sites such as those in this study, these upper levels of soil frequently contain much (if not all) of the significant architectural data available. This data is in the form of artifacts, such as glass and architectural hardware, as well as in the form of physical remains, such as daub or mortar with lathe impressions. Once the soil containing these remains is stripped from a site the remaining features offer, at best, only ambiguous or tentative evidence of many architectural forms. Such an approach, therefore, can not only result in the inability to interpret the archaeological record, but what is perhaps worse, can lead to erroneous interpretations.

In an effort to minimize damage to the sites, while still obtaining clear information on the areas with the highest remaining integrity, we chose to use a power auger survey with computer plotting of site density. This approach has been used at numerous sites with success. The results of the investigation at the Willbrook sites continues to support its use as an alternative to site stripping.

The investigations also revealed that there was greater diversity in the archaeological remains than originally identified on the basis of limited surface and subsurface investigations (see Trinkley 1987a). In fact, the excavations at one Willbrook slave settlement (38GE291) identified the presence of a heretofore unknown slave overseer. The excavations at the other Willbrook slave settlement (38GE340) found the location of a probable postbellum settlement, perhaps of a Catholic priest. Excavations at the Turkey Hill slave settlement (38GE297) suggests that one structure may have been the house of a slave driver.

All of these field discoveries expanded the range of research at the sites and opened areas of new questions. Many of these lines of inquiry are new to plantation archaeology in South Carolina. For example, while the historical fact of slave drivers is well known (see Genovese 1976:365-388), there are few opportunities to specifically identify the structures of such individuals through historical records. Archaeological investigations in South Carolina have not previously reported findings similar to those at the Turkey Hill settlement.

In a similar vein, although overseers are well documented from historical research (see Joyner 1984), their appearance in the archaeological record is largely limited to the work of Otto (1984) at Cannon's Point Plantation in Georgia. When eighteenth century overseers are considered, the archaeological record is even less revealing.

The research at Willbrook, Turkey Hill, and Oatland plantations provides new information and new data for future archaeological study. We have diligently attempted, however, to avoid synthesizing from these limited data to a broader perspective, not because we wish to be labeled as "particularists," but because we are sensitive to the vastness of these data and the potential for variability which this limited research cannot begin to document.

Curation

The field notes, photographic materials, and artifacts resulting from Chicora Foundation's investigations have been curated at The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina as Accession Numbers 1987.49 (38GE297) and 1990.20 (38GE291, 38GE294, 38GE297, and 38GE340). The artifacts from data recovery excavations have been cataloged as ARL 38934 through ARL 39171, ARL 39,455 through ARL 39,578, and ARL 39,773 through ARL 39,994 (using a lot provenience system). The artifacts have been cleaned and/or conserved as necessary. Further information on conservation practices may be found in the Artifact Analysis section of this report. All original records and duplicate copies were provided to the curatorial facility on pH neutral, alkaline buffered paper and the photographic materials were processed to archival permanence.

NATURAL SETTING

Michael Trinkley

Physiographic Setting

Georgetown County is situated in the lower Coastal Plain of South Carolina, bounded to the east by about 37 miles of irregular Atlantic Ocean coastline, to the south by the Santee River, to the west by an artificial boundary with Williamsburg County, and to the north by the Great Pee Dee River and an artificial boundary with Horry County. Elevations in the county range from sea level to about 75 feet mean sea level (MSL) and the topography consists of subtle undulations characteristic of the beach ridge plains (Mathews et al. 1980). The coastal area is composed of a series of marsh and barrier islands, including South, Cedar, Pawleys, and North islands. All four represent Holocene beach ridge plain islands.

The Waccamaw Neck region, where the Willbrook, Turkey Hill, and Oatland plantations are found, consists of a finger of land separated from the mainland by the Waccamaw River and its associated marshes (Figure 2). This area, originally part of the Hobcaw Barony (Smith 1913), consists of relatively level, sandy land and is about 2 to 3 miles in width and about 14 miles in length. As Smith notes:

the [Hobcaw] barony became, with the rest of Waccamaw neck comprising All Saints Parish, a part of that rich, populous and productive rice planting region in Georgetown County (Smith 1913:66).

In 1832 the County was recognized as consisting of three distinct areas: "light sandy lands," "pine barren lands of various qualities," and the "rich rice swamp lands" (Lockwood 1832:32). These "rich lands" tend to hug the coast and extend inland along the major drainages -- the area of major rice production in the nineteenth century (see Hilliard 1975).

Georgetown County is drained by five significant river systems: the Waccamaw, Black, Sampit, Pee Dee, and Santee. Of these, only the Sampit is a coastal river, dominated by tidal action and salt water. The others have a significant freshwater discharge, with all but the Santee flowing into Winyah Bay.

Winyah Bay is less than a mile wide at its mouth, but gradually broadens to a width of about 4-1/2 miles at its midpoint. It narrows to a width of about a mile where it is formed by the Waccamaw and Pee Dee rivers. George Hunter, in 1730, described the Bay, noting that his soundings:

at Low Water neap Tides found 10 foot water. At high water spring tides there rise 16 1/2 feet. . . . one foot less water or thereabouts than Charles Town (George Hunter 1730, quoted in Bridwell 1982:6).

Only a few years later Georgetown was described as:

a very pleasant place, being situated on a fine bluff on Sandpit [Sampit] Creek, and about ten miles from the bar; the said Creek heads on about ten miles above the town, but any ship that can come over the bar, may come up to the town. The bar, indeed, they say, is not extraordinary good, but there has been several ships of a hundred

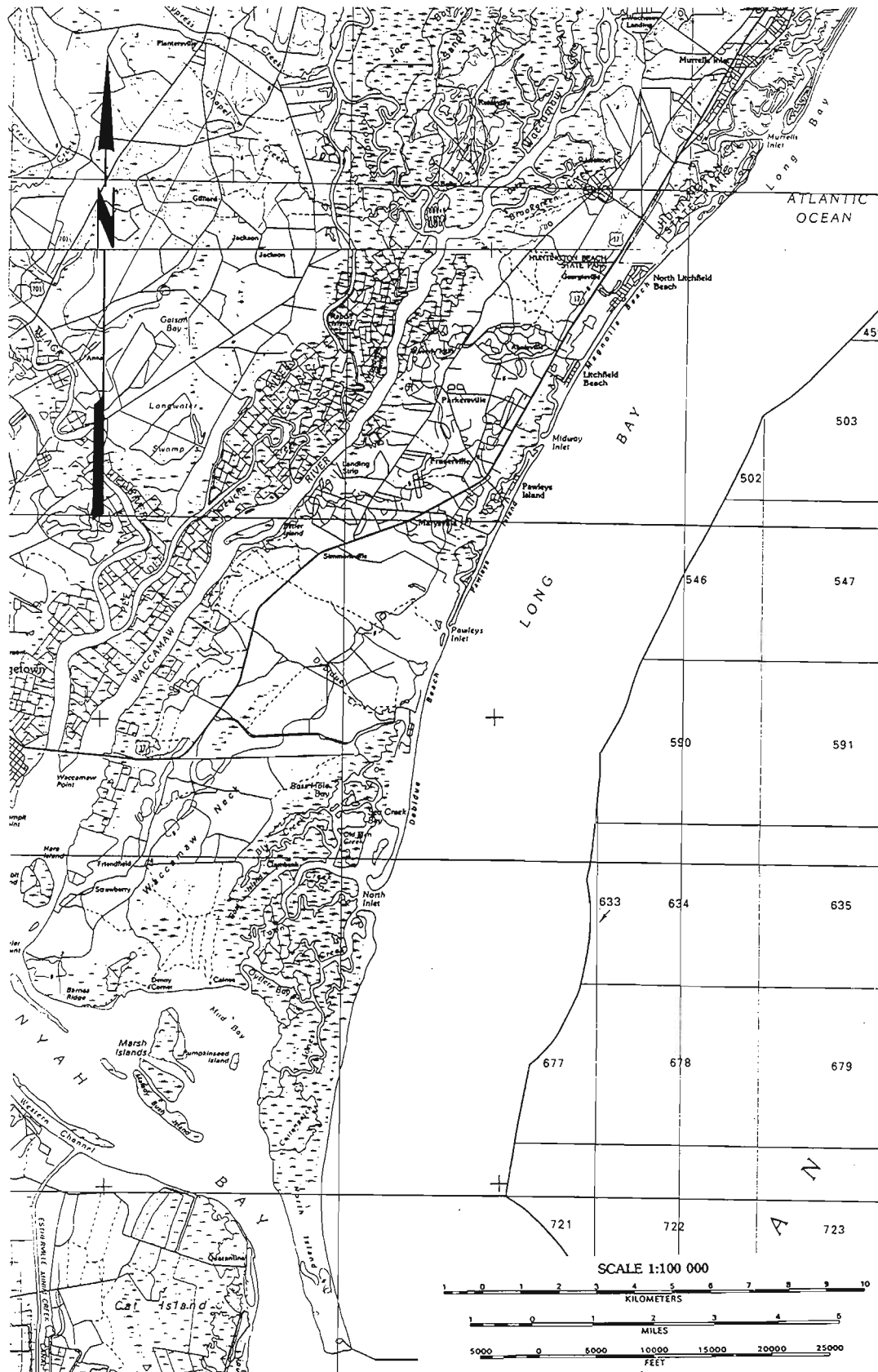


Figure 2. The Waccamaw Neck region of Georgetown County.

and fifty tons there and upwards (quoted in Bridwell 1982:6-8).

Climate

The climate of the Georgetown County area is influenced primarily by its southern latitude, proximity to the ocean, and low elevations, which result in a subtropical influence. The summers are long, hot, and humid, while the South Carolina mountains tend to serve as a barrier to cold air masses from the north and west, resulting in mild, dank winters (Hilliard 1984:13; Mathews et al. 1980:46).

The generally mild climate, as Hilliard (1984:13) notes, is largely responsible for the presence of many southern crops, such as cotton. Under normal conditions even corn, which requires 20 inches of precipitation during the growing season, thrives in the area (Wann 1977:183).

This environment, in spite of its potential agricultural productivity, was often seen as hostile, unhealthy, and even deadly to both blacks and whites alike. Joyner (1984:35-37) provides a brief review of nineteenth century observers, all of whom argue that the Low Country's "marsh miasma" was responsible for considerable sickness and death. Visitors frequently mentioned the stagnate air, noxious marsh gas, and abundant mosquitoes. Postell (1970:140-150) indicates that on one South Carolina rice plantation the 1859 figures show that there were 15 days lost from work per slave, compared to a southern mean of 12 days per slave. The Kollock Plantation, on Ossabaw Island, Georgia has a morbidity rate of 19.3 per 100 slaves and a Florida plantation averaged 21.3 days lost per slave in 1841.

Postell (1970:74-75) also notes that malaria and the various autumnal fevers were so chronic that there were only rarely mentioned in plantation records, although frequent remedies for "chills and fevers" found in planters' manuals testify to malaria's presence. Robert Pringle wrote in September 1739:

We have been Afflicted in this Town for these Two Months past with a great Sickness & Mortality by a Malignant Fever [apparently Yellow Fever], which has Carried off a great many People, but as the Season comes in now Pretty Cool, hope will be more healthful & that it will Please God to put a Stop to it (Edgar 1972:135).

In addition, the same climate that promoted the growth of rice, also made its preservation problematic. Pringle wrote in July 1742:

Rice at this time is never so Good in Quality as in the Cold Season by Reason it Growes Flowery & the Wevil & Worm is apt to gett into it. The Best time to Ship off Rice here, & when it is most plenty & best in Quality, is from the Month of November till the month of May, after which month it is Generally scarce, high in price, & not Good (Edgar 1972:391).

Many other provisions, such as butter and even rum, also failed to withstand the hot Carolina climate according to Pringle (Edgar 1972:685, 694). Some items were even more troublesome, as Pringle noted in an April letter:

Your Cocoa & Blubber still Remains on hand unsold, & as our hott Season now begins to Come in, the Blubber won't keep, so must be Oblidg'd to expose it to Publik Venue. Pray never send any more of it (Edgar 1972:676).

Hilliard points out that "any description of climate in the South, however brief, would be incomplete without reference to a meteorological event frequently

identified with the region -- the tropical hurricane" (Hilliard 1984:18). Hurricanes occur in the late summer and early fall, the period critical to antebellum cane, cotton, and rice growers. In the nineteenth century Ramsay observed:

in such a case between the dread of pestilence in the city, of common fever in the country, and of an unexpected hurricane on the island, the inhabitants . . . are at the close of every warm season in a painful state of anxiety, not knowing what course to pursue, nor what is best to be done (Ramsay, quoted in Calhoun 1983:2).

From 1670 to 1860 there were 10 major hurricanes, occurring at intervals ranging from 2 to 52 years, several of which caused extensive reported crop damages (Mathews et al. 1980:54). Doar comments that:

the heaviest and most destructive gale that the rice country has ever experienced . . . was in 1822, for it not only destroyed most if not all of the crops but a great many negro lives were lost . . . whole plantations were decimated in a few hours, and only those were saved who could get hold of a tree or floating debris (Doar 1936:22-23).

The September 27, 1822 hurricane is estimated to have killed 300 people, but it followed by only nine years the August 27, 1813 hurricane which was even more severe.

After these, Doar comments that some coastal rice planters began building "storm towers." Located in the rice fields:

These were of brick, round, with conical roofs and were 20 or 30 feet in diameter and 20 feet high. About ten feet from the ground was an entrance to the floor at this height . . . Upon the approach of threatening weather all the hands were taken into them until the danger was over (Doar 1936:23).

Geology and Soils

Coastal Plain geologic formations are unconsolidated sedimentary deposits of very recent (Pleistocene and Holocene) age lying unconformably on ancient crystalline rocks (Cooke 1936; Hilliard 1984:6-7; Mathews et al. 1980:5-6). The Pleistocene sediments are organized into topographically distinct, but lithologically similar, geomorphic units, or terraces, parallel to the coast. The study area is situated on the Pamlico terrace which includes deposits that accumulated when the sea level was about 25 feet above its present level.

Thom (1967) has studied the geomorphology of adjacent Horry and Marion counties, identifying five phases of coastal progradation, each represented by a "barrier island or barrier spit behind which have accumulated quiet-water . . . and fluvial sediments" (Thom 1967:50; see also Cooke 1936 who recognized the Waccamaw Neck as a spit or island built above the contemporaneous sea level). Thom suggests that the Waccamaw Neck is an extension of the more northern Myrtle Barrier, with a maximum position of the sea at 22 feet. There is also a narrow fringe of Holocene barrier formation which forms the present shoreline (Thom 1967:54-55). Evidence of these early dune and ridge formations may still be seen in some parts of the study area, especially on Turkey Hill "island."

The significance of the interplay between geology, coastal morphology, and hydrology is perhaps nowhere better exemplified than in the tidewater rice producing areas. As Hilliard (1975) notes, tidewater rice cultivation was "an ingenious adaptation to nature," which occurred only in those few areas where both sufficient tidal range (5 to 7 feet) and strong layering of fresh water on top of the saline water, occur. These conditions were met in the narrow zone

between tidal salt flats and the freshwater swamps above the tidal zone (Hilliard 1975:62), such as the Winyah Bay area of Georgetown County. Brown (1975:14-15) relates these conditions to the Arcuate Strand morphology typical of the area south to Bull's Bay (which includes the premier rice producing areas of South Carolina).

Also of tremendous significance to the plantation owners was the availability of fresh water. The principal deep water aquifers are the limestone of Eocene age known as the Santee Formation and the sands of Cretaceous age known as the Pee Dee and Black Creek formations, although these are at depths of 400 to 500 feet and 1600 to 2000 feet respectively, well out of the reach of colonial and antebellum plantation owners.

Lynch et al. (1882) note that colonial wells rarely exceeded 20 feet into the sands which were "everywhere saturated with the water which it received from a rainfall averaging 43.78 inches each year" (Lynch et al. 1882:258). Consequently, wells 12 to 15 feet deep provided "an unfailing supply of water of the very best quality" (Lynch et al. 1882:259). Water quality gradually declines as the population increased and antebellum wells became deeper, although they rarely exceeded 60 feet in downtown Charleston. One antebellum brick-lined well on Daniels Island, about 5.5 miles northeast of Charleston, was only 10.7 feet in depth (Zierden et al. 1986:4-44). Brief investigations at the Campfield Plantation slave settlement on the Black River about 8 miles above Georgetown, revealed a brick-lined well approximately 20 feet in depth (Zierden and Calhoun 1983:6). It is therefore clear that during the historic period both deep and shallow wells were in common use, although the more shallow wells probably tended to be less healthy and more saline.

The Willbrook tract is characterized by nine soil series: Centenary, Chipley, Hobonny, Johnston, Lakeland, Leon, Rutlege, Wakulla, and Yauhannah (Stuckey 1982:Maps 26,33). These soils may be divided into three categories: moderately well to excessively drained upland soils (Centenary, Chipley, Lakeland, Wakulla, and Yauhannah) which account for about 38% of the acreage; poorly to very poorly drained upland soils (Johnston, Leon, and Rutlege) which account for about 37% of the tract; and the Hobonny rice field soils which account for 25% of the area.

The well drained upland soils are found in sandy, or occasionally loamy, marine sediments and most are found on broad ridges or flats. The Lakeland soils tend to be level to slightly sloping and are found in narrow areas along drainageways, as well as on broad flats. Most of these soils have water tables at least 3 feet below the ground surface. All of the soils have an A or Ap horizon of grayish-brown sand varying from 0.3 to 0.6 foot in depth overlying a yellowish-brown subsoil.

The poorly drained upland soils are characterized by extensive flooding, with a water table no deeper than 1 foot below ground level. Because of water saturation, all are chemically reduced and have black to very dark gray A horizons. These soils are found on broad flats, narrow drainageways, and in the floodplains.

The Hobonny soils are organic mucks found on the floodplains of rivers. The soils, very strongly acidic and high in fertility, were extensively used for rice cultivation in the nineteenth century (Stuckey 1982:16,49).

Of the three slave settlements examined by Chicora Foundation two (38GE291 and 38GE340, both associated with Willbrook Plantation) are found on well drained Yauhannah soils and one (38GE297, associated with Turkey Hill) is on poorly drained Leon soils. Both of the main settlements, 38GE292 (Willbrook Plantation) and 38GE294 (Oatland Plantation) are situated on well drained soils near the edge of the high ground overlooking the rice fields (on Yauhannah and Wakulla soils respectively).

Floristics

While the immediate vicinity of the Willbrook tract may be characterized as an upland Atlantic Coast Flatwoods ecosystem, the project borders on a riverine ecosystem (the Waccamaw River) and several palustrine areas (the old rice fields and cypress ponds). Additionally, an estuarine ecosystem is found within a mile to the south. A somewhat different upland environment, called the maritime ecosystem, was previously found on the barrier islands in the vicinity. Consequently, Willbrook is situated in an area of extensive ecological diversity.

The vascular flora of the upland ecosystem in the Willbrook area is characterized by a mixed hardwood community. This community exhibits considerable diversity, but Kuchler (1964) suggests that the potential natural vegetation in the area is the Oak-Hickory-Pine forest containing medium tall to tall forests of broadleaf deciduous and needleleaf evergreen trees. The dominant trees are hickory, shortleaf pine, loblolly pine, white oak, and post oak. Other components would include dogwood, persimmon, sweetgum, and water tupelo. Such upland mixed hardwood forests have been selectively eliminated through logging and agriculture. Today much of the area is planted in pines or has been converted into live oak groves. The mixed hardwood forests provide excellent browse and cover for deer and even higher densities may be found in the edge zone between the upland zone and palustrine zone (Moore 1978:9). Other mammals frequently found in this zone are squirrels, opossums, raccoons, and skunks. Less common species include the black bear, fox, and bobcat (Sandifer et al. 1980:473-478). The only terrestrial turtle found in any frequency in this environment is the Eastern box turtle, although freshwater turtles may occasionally be observed (Sandifer et al. 1980:457). The turkey is especially characteristic of mixed hardwood forests where mature oaks are common (Bevill 1978:42-43).

Because Willbrook is situated on the Waccamaw River, the riverine ecosystem is a significant factor in the site's natural setting. The riverine ecosystem is based on waters with less than 0.5% ocean-derived salts and may be characterized as freshwater. The water velocity of the Waccamaw fluctuates under tidal influence, the river has a low gradient, a mud bed, and a well developed floodplain. The mud riverbed is not conducive to the survival of shellfish (see Lawrence's discussion in this study), although some freshwater mussels such as Elliptio spp. may be found in the sandier areas. Approximately 24 fish species are common in the riverine system and six species of anadromous fish are found. The more important common species include catfish, largemouth bass, black crappie, white bass, and yellow perch. Also present are spotted sucker, carp, shiner, and longnose gar. The anadromous species include primarily shad, herring, striped bass, and sturgeon (Sandifer et al. 1980:411). Reptile species, including the river cooters, sliders, snapping turtles, and Florida cooters, are fairly common although most are found along the edges of the slower flowing streams in the palustrine ecosystem. Alligators are not uncommon today and may have been more common prior to extensive human pressure (Sandifer et al. 1980:419). Avifauna are relatively uncommon in many riverine ecosystems because the tidal range and weak flow. The highest number of birds coincide the with spring and fall migrations (Sandifer et al. 1980:420). The presence of a nearby palustrine ecosystem, however, probably attracts birds to the site area.

The palustrine ecosystem in the vicinity of Willbrook includes several areas of tidal forested wetlands. These areas are dominated by oaks, sweetgums, cypress, and water tupelo with an abundant understory of swamp privet and wax myrtle (Sandifer et al. 1980:313). Adjacent tidal impoundments are the result of historic rice cultivation which areas of tidal emergent wetlands. These river marsh areas are dominated by brackish and freshwater plants such as giant cutgrass, wild rice, cat-tails, and saw grass. This ecosystem attracts a variety of mammals also found in the upland zone. As previously suggested, this environmental zone is the most ideally suited habitat for birds (Sandifer et al. 1980:375). Possibly significant birds during the antebellum period would include species such as the work stork, egret, ibis, and heron, and the ducks, primarily

the wood duck. Turtles are abundant.

Two distinct areas of the estuarine ecosystem are found near Willbrook -- the intertidal flats characterized primarily by the ubiquitous intertidal oyster beds and the emergent wetlands characterized by vascular flora such as Spartina and Juncus. The estuarine area is highly productive and provides an environment for a number of fish in tidal creeks. These fish may be divided into two groups. Fish such as the flounder, drum, catfish, and gar represent large predators which are found at the mouths of intertidal creeks. These fish feed on the second group, such as the mummichog, spot, Atlantic menhaden, and silver perch, which commonly travel in schools and migrate in and out of the intertidal creeks with the tide (Cain 1973:76-77). While few turtles are found in the estuarine area, birds are fairly common, particularly in the area of the emergent wetlands.

This ecological background has particular relevance to the foodways of Waccamaw Neck slaves. Smith, discussing rice plantations along the Georgia coast, mentions that:

the task labor used in growing rice allowed some free time, and the practice by owners along the rice coast of encouraging slaves to have gardens, and even to permit them to hunt and fish, contributed substantially to their diet (Smith 1985:116).

Joyner (1984:99-101) mentions that seafood was popular on Waccamaw Neck plantations, as was wild game. These accounts, which also include reference to the use of firearms by slaves, are based on relatively few historical accounts and are worthy of considerable archaeological exploration. If they are correct, it would be expected that the bounty of the Waccamaw Neck would be reflected in the faunal assemblage obtained from slave settlements. Regardless, the close proximity of freshwater, saltwater, and upland habitats in the Waccamaw Neck region provided a number of opportunities for wild food resources.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE WILLBROOK,
OATLAND, AND TURKEY HILL PLANTATIONS

Rowena Nyland

Historical Overview of the Waccamaw Neck

Waccamaw Neck is a narrow strip of land in Georgetown County extending some thirty-four miles from the Horry County line to Winyah Bay. Only a few miles in width, the Neck lies between the Waccamaw River and the Atlantic Ocean. The area's first known inhabitants were the Waccamaw and Winyah Indians (see Trinkley et al. 1983). Due to a variety of factors -- Indian wars, disease, and slavery -- most of these Native Americans were destroyed by the 1720s (Rogers 1970:10, 14; Nord 1982:8; Hetrick 1979:2).

The first white settlers were drawn to the area around Winyah Bay by the lure of lucrative Indian trade. The English, Scots, and French acquired land through proprietary and royal land grants, beginning as early as 1705. However, the majority of lands were granted in the 1730s (Rogers 1970:12, 20, 26). Access to water was a paramount factor in land development. The earliest policy was to grant narrow river frontage in order to give more settlers river access. Among the first grantees was Percival Pawley, who, through a series of land grants, obtained 24,000 acres on the Pee Dee, Sampit, and Waccamaw rivers in 1711. It was from this 1711 grant that John Allston received the Willbrook lands in the 1730s. Among the first Georgetown settlers were names of later owners of the Willbrook properties: Tucker, Young, Pyatt, Trapier, and Lesesne. Many of these pioneering settlers came from the nearby districts of Berkeley and Colleton seeking greater opportunity as did John and William Allston who left their father's place in St. John's Berkeley in the early 1730s (Rogers: 1970:16-21; see Figure 3).

Indigo was one of the area's first major crops, but had a relatively short life of less than 50 years. Production, which began in the 1740s and reached its peak from 1754-1760, was artificially stimulated by an English bounty and King George's War (1739-1749) which cut off England's supplies in the French and Spanish West Indies. The crop grew particularly well along the Pee Dee, Black, and lower Waccamaw rivers. The processing of indigo required settling through a series of vats which drew flies and mosquitoes rendering it a fairly offensive labor (Kovacik and Winberry 1987:75). One 1755 account mentions:

indigo has a very disagreeable smell, while making and curing; and the foeces, when taken out of the steeper, if not immediately buried in the ground (for which it is excellent manure, breeds incredible swarms of flies (Carman 1939:281-290).

Indigo required a fairly major initial investment, estimated at slightly over £2,024 (Gray 1933:I:541). A major benefit, however, was that its production could be integrated with rice on the same plantation. James Glen remarked:

I cannot leave this Subject without observing how conveniently and profitably, as to the Charge of Labor, both Indigo and Rice may be managed by the same Persons; for the labor attending Indigo being over in the Summer Months those who were employed in its may afterwards manufacture Rice in the ensuing Part of the Year, when it becomes most laborious; and after doing all this, they may have some time to spare for sawing Lumber and making Hogshead and other Staves to supply the Sugar Colonies (Glen 1761:10).



Figure 3. Herman Moll's map of Carolina in 1729.

Unfortunately, indigo was "one of those rank weeds like tobacco, which not only exhaust the substance of the earth, but require the very best and richest lands" (Carman 1939:281-290).

In 1753 the Winyah Indigo Society was officially organized and named Thomas Lynch, Sr. their first president. This group established a free school, a library, and functioned as a business and social club for members. By the end of the eighteenth century, planters along the Waccamaw, as elsewhere, had abandoned indigo due to a market surplus and a devastation of caterpillars (Winberry 1979:92, 98; Lawson 1972:3-4; see also Huneycutt 1949).

The early economy also depended on navel stores, and to a lesser extent, on salt processing. In 1733 exports from the port of Georgetown included 7,361 barrels of pitch, 1,092 barrels of tar, and 1,926 barrels of turpentine (Bridwell 1982:12; Rogers 1970:46-47). In the mid-1700s shipbuilding was an important Georgetown industry. Bridwell notes that there is evidence of shipbuilding as early 1738 and that by the late 1740s an active industry flourished in the Winyah Bay area (Bridwell 1982:14). By the mid-1750s this industry began to decline as other enterprises developed and the supply of shipwrights declined (Bridwell 1982:16).

Another crop was to have a more enduring and extensive effect on the economic and cultural life of the Waccamaw. Tidal rice culture began here in the 1730s and became the lifeblood of the Waccamaw until the slave system upon which it depended was ended by the Civil War (Figure 4).

Charles Joyner captures the essence of this unique culture in his prologue to Down by the Riverside:

the old rice fields are deserted now. Once thousands of black slaves labored on the lowcountry plantations, toiling in the intense heat and humidity of these rice fields, raising and lowering their hoes to the rhythm of work songs not unlike those of their African ancestors Toiling and singing, the slaves produced immense crops of rice, the fabled Carolina Gold Rice, which the Waccamaw River carried away and converted into immense profits that made their masters wealthy. Now the rice fields have been reclaimed by river and swamp; and bobolinks -- locally called rice birds -- have the banks to themselves. All Saints Parish, lying between the Waccamaw and the Atlantic Ocean, bounded on the south by Winyah Bay and on the north by the state line, was once the site of the richest plantations on the South Carolina rice coast. Lower All Saints Parish was in Georgetown District; it was here that the rice plantations were concentrated. A rice aristocracy of incredible wealth and power developed in Lower All Saints Parish. It supplied much of the leadership that took South Carolina out of the Union in 1860 and precipitated the Civil War (Joyner 1984:1).

George C. Rogers, in his study, The History of Georgetown County, attributes the rise of rice production in the area to four factors: rice cultivation had already been successfully developed in the province, a stable slave labor supply existed, land titles were stable and allowed for the accumulation of large tracts of property, and there were men like John and William Allston who were ready to exploit this potential.

Georgetown District was the nation's major rice-growing area. In 1826 Robert Mills observed that in Georgetown:

everything is fed on rice, horses and cattle eat the straw and hogs, fowls, etc. are sustained by the refuse, and man subsists upon the marrow of the grain The most valuable lands in the district

AREAS OF TIDAL RICE CULTIVATION:
GEORGETOWN COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

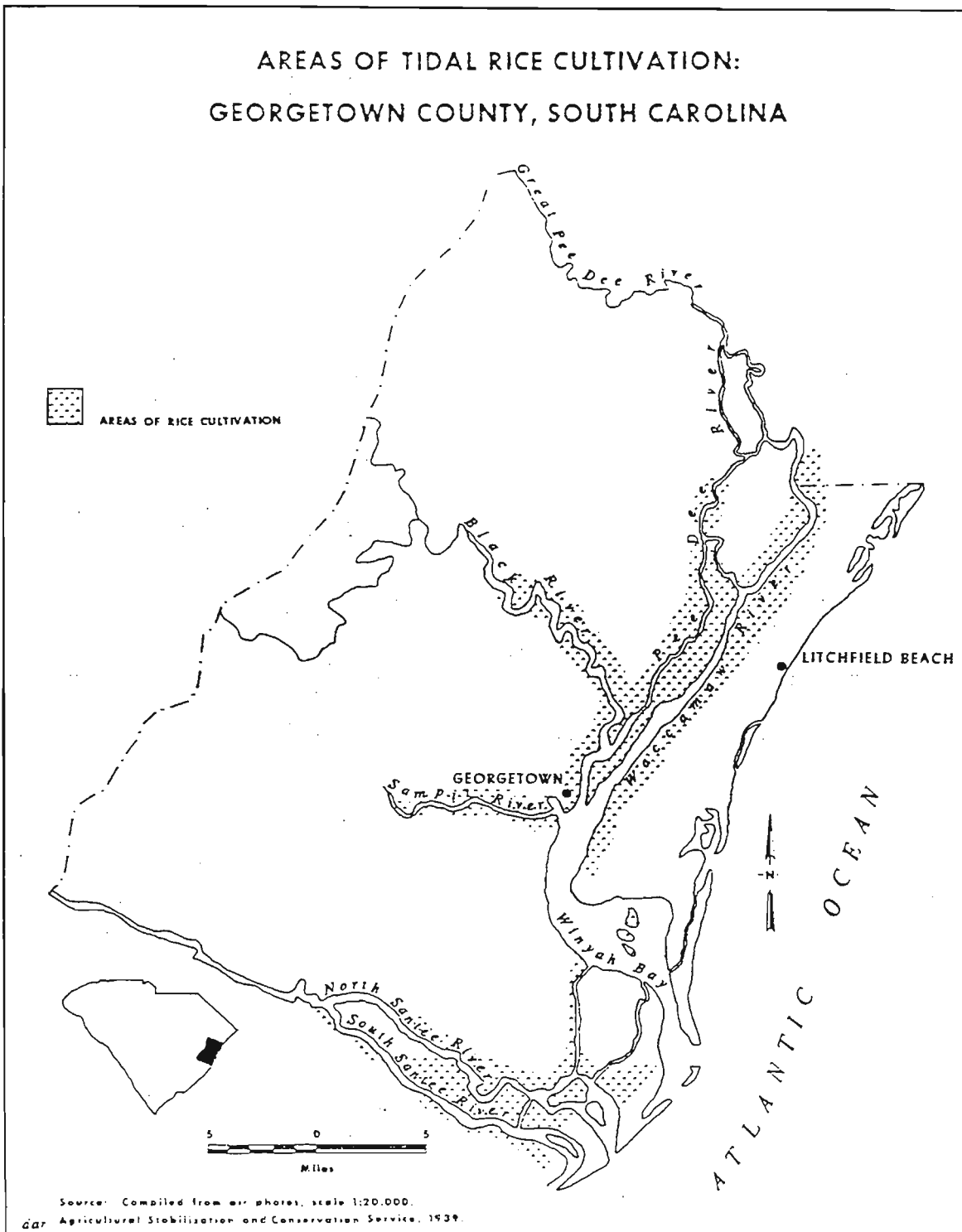


Figure 4. Areas of tidal rice cultivation in Georgetown County (from Carpenter 1983).

are those called the tide lands. . . . The yield of these lands is immense . . . they average three barrels or 2000 pounds to the acre (Mills 1826:558; see Figure 5).

The early history of rice is discussed by Clowse (1971:125-132) and Doar (1936). Although the records of rice exportation are vague, they do indicate that production increased dramatically after 1705 (see Clowse 1971:167-168 for additional discussion). In the late Colonial period rice profitability also increased. Perkins observes that:

yields were from 2 to 4 barrels per acre, and most plantations had 2 or 3 acres under cultivation for each field hand. Based on an average price of £2.3 (\$150) per barrel from 1768 to 1772, slaves generated revenues annually of from £9.2 up to £27.6 (\$600-\$1,800), with around £15 (\$975) probably the average figure (Perkins 1980:58).

Although most of the rice production figures are developed from shipping out of Charleston, Bridwell mentions that 322 barrels of rice were shipped out of Georgetown itself in 1733 (Bridwell 1982:12). In 1731, the closest year for comparison, 48,238 barrels of rice were shipped from Charleston (Clowse 1971:Table III). The low figure for the Georgetown port is probably the result of rice being shipped from Georgetown to Charleston by small coasting vessels, with the information not included in the official shipping totals.

Clowse points out the relationship between rice and slavery in economic terms:

it is fairly safe to assert that the increase in rice culture was mainly responsible for the rapid growth of the slave population up to the year 1715. A "common computation" in the eighteenth century was that each field hand should produce about a ton of marketable rice annually. If this rule of thumb were applicable to the 1715 situation, every five or six barrels of rice exported represented the labor of one field hand. On this basis, a minimum of 3,500 slaves were engaged full-time in rice growing, as opposed to perhaps 500 in 1700. While such figuring must be used cautiously, the demand for slaves for the rice fields had to be sharp since many slaves in this period must have worked primarily to clear and ready new rice lands for cultivation (Clowse 1971:170).

Rice was a labor intensive crop, requiring skill, ingenuity, and wealth. Slaves performed the tasks which made their owners wealthy:

the first business is to drain the swamp, in which work they have no particular methods deserving notice, or which are unknown in England. The moment they have got the water off they attack the trees, which in some swamps are very numerous; these they cut down at the root, leaving the stumps in the earth However they do not wait for the ground being cleared of them, but proceed to plant their rice among the stumps. In March, April, and May they plant; the negroes draw furrows eighteenth inches asunder, and about three inches deep, in which the seeds are sown; a peck is sufficient for an acre of land: as soon as planted they let in the water to a certain depth, which is, during the season of its growth, repeated, and drawn off several times; but most of the growth is while the water is eight, nine, or ten inches deep on the land. The great object of the culture is to keep the land clean from weeds, which is absolutely necessary, and the worst weed is grass. . . . This is the only object till it is reaped, which is usually about the latter end of August or beginning of September. Like wheat in England, they prefer cutting it while the straw is a little green, leaving it on

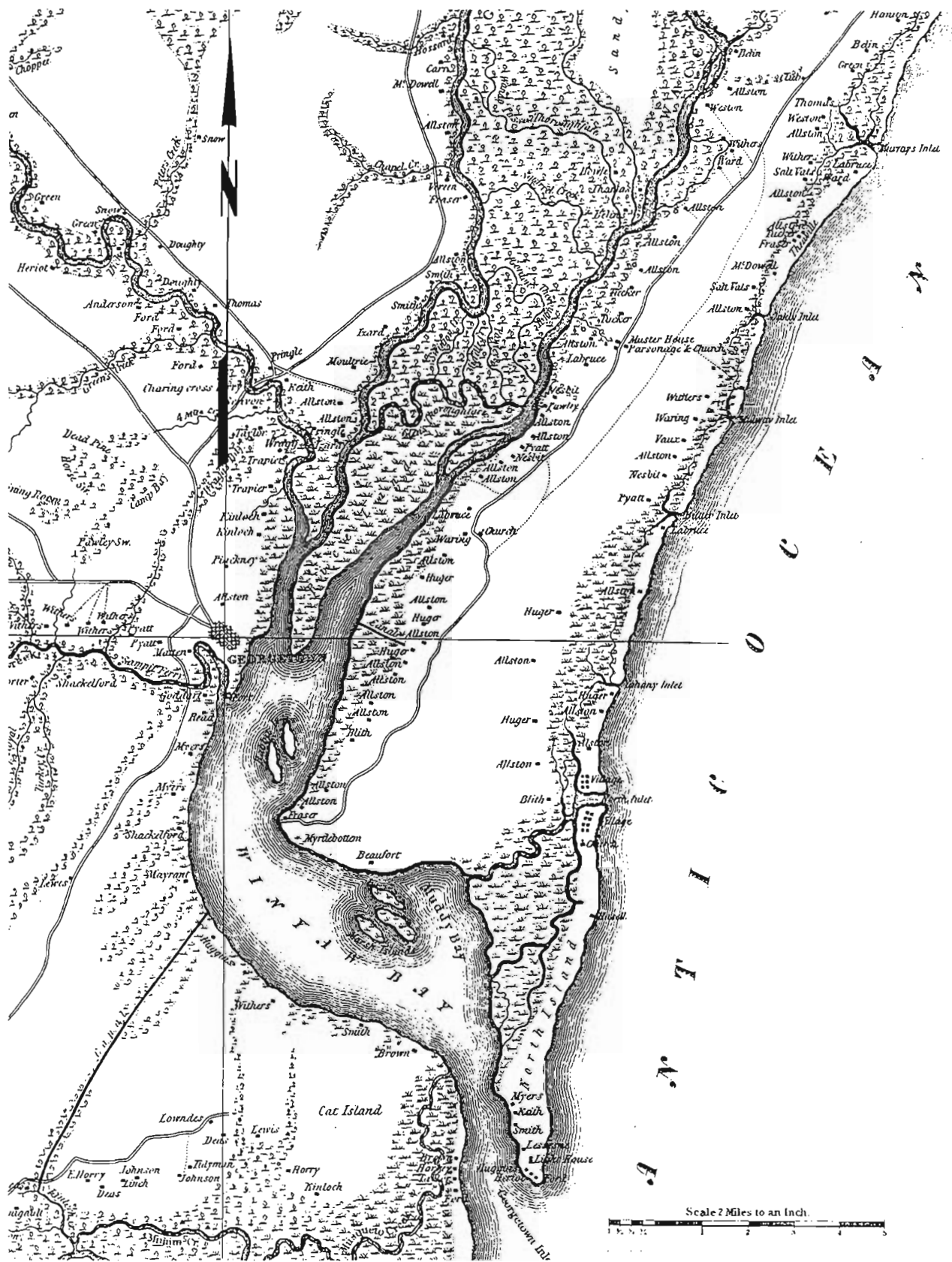


Figure 5. Waccamaw Neck ares in 1826, from Mills' Atlas.

the stubble to dry and wither two or three days in case the weather is favorable: after which they lay it up in barns or stacks

The next operation . . . is the threshing of it, after which it is winnowed, which was formerly a very tedious operation, but now much accelerated by the use of a windfan. When winnowed it is ground, to free the rice from the husk; this is winnowed again, and put into a mortar large enough to hold half a bushel, in which it is beat with a pestle by negroes, to free it from its thick skin; this is a very laborious work. In order to free it from the flour and dust made by the pounding, it is sifted; and again through another sieve, called a market sieve, which separates the broken and small rice, after which it is put up in barrels, and is ready for market.

The reader must observe upon this account that the cultivation of it is dreadful: for if a work could be imagined peculiarly unwholesome and even fatal to health, it must be that of standing like the negroes, ankle and even mid-leg deep in water which floats an ouzy mud, and exposed all the while to a burning sun which makes the air they breathe hotter than the human blood; these poor wretches are then in a furnace of stinking putrid effluvia We are told indeed that South Carolina breeds more negroes than she destroys, which is certainly a fact, as appears by the annual exportation of a few; but then let it not be imagined that it is in these properly denominated *dismals* (Carman 1939:275-279).

In 1840 Georgetown District produced 45% of the national rice crop. Between 1850 and 1860, production peaked. In 1850, 46,765,040 pounds of rice were produced in Georgetown County. By 1860, South Carolina produced nearly 64% of the total United States rice crop and one-half of the state's crop was grown in Georgetown District. The average yield on Georgetown plantations in 1850 and 1860 was thirty bushels per acre although some yielded as much as 52 bushels per acre. Prices ranged from 2.0 to 4.3 cents per pound in the 1850s (Easterby 1945:36; Kovacic 1979:49).

Profits on rice plantations during the nineteenth century were variable. Governor Robert Francis Allston reported in 1854 that "the profits of a rice plantation of good size and locality are about 8 percent per annum, independent of the privileges and perquisites of the plantation residence" (Easterby 1945:37; see also Phillips 1908:263). Peter Coclanis (1989:134-141) argues that while the annual net rate of return on rice cultivation was around 25% in the 1760s, it fell to an astounding -28% by 1859. Regardless, the plantation system was run almost entirely on credit, paying off each past year's indebtedness with the sale of the new crop. Although the Georgetown rice economy was in a healthy, expanding condition in the antebellum years, the planter's capital was constantly being invested in land and slaves (Sellers 1934:55-56). R.F.W. Allston was one of the district's leading slave owners with nine plantation totalling over 6,000 acres. However, in 1859, he replied to the Blue Ridge Railroad Commission that he was unable to invest in the railroad:

I have no funds to invest. All that I am worth lies in South Carolina and is invested in land and negroes; the annual income from which is pledged before it is realized (Easterby 1941:162).

Large plantations were the rule. The demand for the limited prime coastal lands forced up land values and pushed out marginal planters. By the early 1800s a hierarchy had developed based upon distance from the sea (Hetrick 1979:12). By 1850, 99 large planters (planters who harvested more than 100,000 pounds each) produced 98% of the District's total rice crop (Rogers 1970:253; Lawson 1972:8).

Overseers managed the black slaves who worked the rice field since the earliest days, although Mullin (1976:139) suggests that much of the authority lay

with slave drivers and overseers were sometimes employed simply to maintain a white presence on plantations. These drivers had tremendous skills, and in some cases, authority. A black driver on a Pon Pon rice plantation in Beaufort District was not only in charge of daily operations, but was corresponding with the plantation owner reporting on the various activities (see Mullin 1976:143-144). Olmstead's visit to a Georgia coastal rice plantation prompted him to observe:

having generally had long experience on the plantation, the advise of the drivers is commonly taken in nearly all the administration, and frequently they are, *de facto*, the managers. Orders on important points of the plantation economy, I have heard given by the proprietor directly to them, without the overseer's being consulted or informed of them; and it is often left to them to decide when and how long to flow the rice-grounds -- the proprietor and overseer deferring to their more experienced judgment (Olmstead 1953: 194).

Because of this reliance on slave labor, Georgetown District had the highest percentage of slaves in South Carolina. From 1810 to 1850, slaves made up 88% of the District's total population and accounted for 85% of the population in 1860 (Rogers 1970:328, 343).

Successful management of the large plantation required resourcefulness, intelligence, and constant oversight by owners and their wives. Adele Petigru was dismayed at her responsibilities when she married R.F.W. Allston:

There are too many servants; I do not know what to do with them. There is Mary, the cook; Milly, the laundress; Cina, the seamstress; Peter, the butler; Andrew, the second dining-room man; Aleck, the coachman; and Moses, the gardener. . . . After breakfast when they line up and ask, "Miss, Wha' yu' want me fu' today?" I feel like running away. Please send some of them away (Joyner 1984:81).

The planters of Waccamaw Neck were a small aristocratic group, closely knit by ties of blood as well as common interest. They were rich, even by standards of most of South Carolina's planters, and lived in a luxurious style. In 1839 planters along the Waccamaw, the Pee Dee, the Black, the Sampit, and Winyah Bay formed the Planters Club on the Pee Dee. In 1845 the men formed another organization, the Hot and Hot Fish Club, for "convivial and social intercourse" (Rogers 1970:228, 196).

The Civil War devastated Georgetown's economy. One popular journal stated, "no other part of the United States knows so well as the Rice Coast what defeat in war can mean, for nowhere else in this country has a full-blown and highly developed civilization perished so completely" (Sass 1941:108). Perhaps no area of the state suffered more economic and social damage than All Saints Parish.

Minimal documentation is available concerning the activities of the Waccamaw plantation freedmen following the war. There were some cases of looting and pillaging of the plantation homes, the "buckra houses." At first, some freedmen stayed on the confiscated plantations and worked under supervision of the Freedmen's Bureau. After restoration of the plantations, they signed work agreements with their former masters or other plantation owners whereby they were paid a set fee at the end of the planting season. Others turned from the rice fields to the burgeoning Georgetown timber industry for work. The majority of former slaves, it appears, remained on Waccamaw Neck. Here they could find ready food in the river and sea, and were among old friends and family. Too, the geographic isolation of the Neck may have reduced the travel incentive. Travel to Charleston, difficult and somewhat dangerous, required a boat and/or several ferry crossings (Lawson 1972:23; Genevieve Chandler Peterkin, personal communication, 1987; R.F.W. Allston Family Papers, South Caroliniana Library; see

also the Freedmen's Bureau Reports for Georgetown County, South Carolina Department of Archives and History).

The blockade and occupation of Georgetown in 1862 threatened the plantation system. Union troops seized rice as contraband and set fire to rice fields as they went up the Waccamaw. Some planters continued trying to grow crops, but an estimated 75% of the county's plantation families moved to the interior of the state. The war was followed by successive crop failures in 1865, 1866, and 1867. Between 1860 and 1870, South Carolina's rice production fell nearly 73%. In Georgetown County, the 1879 crop was approximately 10% of the 1860 crop (Kovacik 1979:55). Financing next year's crop became a critical concern for planters who had traditionally depended on their factors for this service. Thurston and Homes, long-time Charleston factors of R.F.W. Allston's plantations, wrote Allston's son in December 1870:

at this time we are unable to say what we can do in making advances to our customers for next year. Such large numbers of last year's accounts are still unsettled that we cannot make any promises at present, you may be certain however that we will do all in our power to accommodate your mother (R.F.W. Allston Family Papers, South Caroliniana Library).

Two weeks later the agents wrote that they would be unable to advance a requested \$1000 to his mother as her account was debited some \$800 (Rogers 1970:488-490; R.F.W. Allston Family Papers, South Caroliniana Library).

During this period, a number of things happened to land ownership: bankruptcies were common, the Freedmen's Bureau confiscated some lands and resettled former slaves on them, and other lands were sold at auction for nonpayment of loans or taxes. Companies such as Lachicotte and Sons and the Guendalos Company tried to profitably combine planting and rice milling to reduce operational costs. Efforts such as these managed to keep the rice industry alive until the turn of the century.

By the late 1800s Northern investors were buying up the old Waccamaw rice plantations. Having little, if any, interest in rice cultivation, many of these buyers used the plantations as game preserves for sport hunting. The loss of a stable and experienced work force, the competition from western rice lands, and finally the hurricanes of 1893, 1894, 1898, 1906, 1910, and 1911 that wrecked the dike system, ended the long history of rice production on the Georgetown rivers (Devereaux 1976:254-255; Lawson 1972:22-23, 409; Smith 1913:80). Elizabeth Allston Pringle of Chicora Wood wrote in 1906:

I fear the storm drops a dramatic, I may say tragic, curtain on my career as a rice planter. The rice plantation, which for years gave me the exhilaration of making a good income myself, is a thing of the past now -- the banks and trunks have been washed away, and there is no money to replace them (Rogers 1970:488-489).

Today most of the approximately forty plantations that dotted the Waccamaw have or are being developed into residential areas for permanent or seasonal residents and into commercial districts to service these developments.

History of the Willbrook Properties

Introduction

The land use history of the Willbrook properties parallels the broader history of tidal rice production on the Waccamaw Neck, from the introduction of rice culture in the Colonial period, through its peak in the 1840s and 1850s, to its decline following the Civil War and demise in the early twentieth century. The area's agri-economic history profoundly influenced the culture of those who

lived on the Willbrook properties -- the white landowners and the black slave-laborers. A comprehensive survey of these properties must consider three interrelated components -- land use, landowners, and laborers. This historical account of the Willbrook properties will examine these components through three time periods: 1700 to 1750: the initial Allston settlement of the Willbrook tracts; 1751-1860: the rise of the Allston rice plantations; and 1861-1987: the period of a new direction for the tracts.

Research

Historical study of early Georgetown District and the Allston family presents unique research problems. The major difficulty is the absence of legal records for the years 1785-1865. During the Civil War these records were removed from Georgetown to Cheraw for protection where they subsequently were destroyed by Union forces. This lack of official records creates serious obstacles to research of property ownership.

A lesser problem, but no less perplexing, is the Allston's practice of continually repeating family names. The difficulty is further compounded by the tradition of naming sons for uncles and the frequent intermarriage among the Allstons. The dilemma is such that the editors of the Biographical Index to the House of Representatives were unable to determine which of three possible "John Allstons" represented All Saints parish in the Sixteenth General Assembly (1804-1805) (Bailey 1984:30-31).

These handicaps have been minimized by the use of other primary sources and by the cooperation of a number of people. Robin Salmon, archivist at Brookgreen Gardens, shared material and her vast knowledge of Allston genealogy. Genevieve Chandler Peterkin, daughter of Genevieve Willcox Chandler (who conducted many of the ex-slave interviews on Waccamaw Neck for the Federal Writers' Project) provided information about the descendants of Willbrook slaves and gave invaluable assistance in interviewing. Mrs. Robert L. Lumpkin generously shared unique information about the Allstons, Pyatts, and Trapiers. This information supplied much of the personal element in this study that could not be obtained from legal documents alone.

1700-1750: The Initial Allston Settlement of the Willbrook Plantation

The history of the three Willbrook properties -- Willbrook, Oatland, and Turkey Hill -- is intrinsically linked with the history of the Allston family. For almost two centuries, descendants of John Allston I owned major portions of these valuable Waccamaw Neck rice lands. Six generations held the land from the first purchase in 1730 until the final tracts were out of the family in 1917.

The Allston's early economic and social gains were great. The first member of the family to settle in South Carolina was John Allston (these discussions will identify him as John Allston I to avoid later identification problems). John I first came to Charleston in 1682 as an indentured servant and within thirty-six years he owned 2,890 acres of land (Anonymous 1845:51; Salley 1905:114; Salley 1973:583, 586, 626, 634; Colonial Memorials 39, p. 233; Charleston County RMC DB F, p. 23). Within another twenty years, his children had intermarried with prominent families in the province: the Pawleys, Marions, and LaBruces and two of his sons held title to extensive landholdings on Waccamaw Neck. Two great grandsons, Joseph Alston and R.F.W. Allston, served the state as antebellum governors (from 1812-1814 and 1856-1858, respectively). Numerous other descendants participated in the Colonial Congress and the General Assembly. The editors of The Biographical Index of the South Carolina House of Representatives concluded that the "Allston family was the richest and one of the most powerful families on Waccamaw River" (Bailey and Edgar 1977:35).

The elder Allston's father was William Alston of Hammersmith, a part of

London. The family in England apparently spelled the name with one "l," but John I's will contains two. Descendants continued to use two l's until about 1780 when Colonel William Alston (of Clifton), dropped one l to distinguish himself from his cousin (William of Brookgreen) during the Revolutionary War (Allston 1936:7; Salley 1905:114).

After John I completed his seven year apprenticeship under James Jones, a Charleston merchant, he relocated in St. John's, Berkeley, established himself as a merchant, and married Elizabeth Harris. He died in 1718 or 1719, leaving six children: John, William, Elizabeth, Mary, Peter, and Thomasine. Allston names his wife and Percival Pawley as executors of his estate (Anonymous 1845:51; Salley 1905:114-116).

The youngest son, Peter, who was bequeathed the 500 acre plantation, "Whiskenpoo," remained in St. John's Berkeley. Peter died in 1748 and had descendants in the area as late as 1935. His son, Peter, represented St. David's Parish in the Fifth General Assembly (1783-1784) (Bailey and Cooper 1981:34).

Elizabeth Allston married Joseph LaBruce and perhaps moved to Prince George, Winyah where the LaBruce name was prevalent. Thomasine married Abraham Warnock and no further information is known about her (Allston 1935:7; Salley 1905:115; Nord 1982:38).

In 1719, Mary Allston married the prominent Thomas George Pawley (1669-1773?) who inherited two houses in Charleston and 1900 acres on the Waccamaw Neck from his father, Major Percival Pawley. By 1727 he and Mary had moved to the Winyah Bay area and established Wachokee plantation. Politically active, George was among the group which marched to Charleston to demand a port of entry for Georgetown, a local currency, and lower taxes. He represented Prince George, Winyah in the Third, Fifth, and Fifteenth Royal Assemblies and held various local offices including Indian Agent to the Cherokees. A monument in the All Saints' Church cemetery commemorates his donation of land for the church and cemetery (Bailey and Edgar 1977:511-512; Galbraith 1912:175).

Perhaps it was George and Mary Allston Pawley's good fortunes that enticed Mary's two eldest brothers, John and William, to Prince George, Winyah. By the 1730s both brothers had settled on Waccamaw Neck. They are thought to be the first settlers north of the Hobcaw Barony. Through Royal Land Grants and direct purchases, they rapidly began acquiring the nucleus of a large Allston land empire. Twenty-six plantations on the Neck were owned at one time by an Allston, including Friendfield, Youngville, Alderly, Rose Hill, Clifton, Prospect Hill, Litchfield, Laurel Hill, and Forlorn Hope (Figure 6). Henry A.M. Smith suggests that their holdings were of such magnitude that the peninsula "might well have been called Alston land or Alston's neck" (Smith 1913:68-70). Magnolia Beach, which once formed the eastern boundary of some of their properties, was, in fact, formerly named Allston Beach (Allston 1935:27; Allston 1936:99).

William Alston (1698-1744), the second son of John I, married Ester Labrosse de Marboeul (later LaBruce) in 1721 and they had eleven children. Georgetown plantations associated with this family line include Laurel Hill, the Oaks, Clifton, Prospect Hill, Woodville, and Waverly (Allston 1936:8).

John, Sr. (? - 1750), the eldest son and patriarch of the Willbrook landholdings, married twice. Only the given name of his first wife has survived, Deborah. After her death he married Sarah Torquet Belin, widow of James Belin, on November 10, 1748. Five children were born of these marriages: John, Jr., Josias, Samuel, William, and Martha (Anonymous 1845:52; Allston 1936:8; Nord 1982:9).

From 1732 until his death in 1750, John Allston, Sr. acquired large landholdings in the Prince George Parish of Georgetown District. Although he held property on the Socastee River and within the village of Georgetown, the bulk of

LEGEND

The heavy black line denotes the Northern boundary line of the barony.
 Roads are denoted thus: - - - - -
 Salt: Eider marsh - [stippled pattern]
 Rau Swam o - [stippled pattern]
 High Land, inland bays and swamps, and general topography unmarked.
 Oblique lines, water courses, roads, and soil areas taken from map attached to report issued 6 Sept. 1912 by the U. S. Department of Agriculture in the name of Georgetown County. The barony located from a copy in the Secretary of State's Office of the plat attached to the grant to John Roberts in 1736. The plantations located approximately from information somewhat verified by six maps.

NOTE

The barony did not include North Island.
 Debedue Island was formerly called Takony or Gauchamoy Island, and later Sandy Island and Dubordien Island.
 North Island was originally named Craven Island.
 Magnolia Beach was formerly called Alston Island.

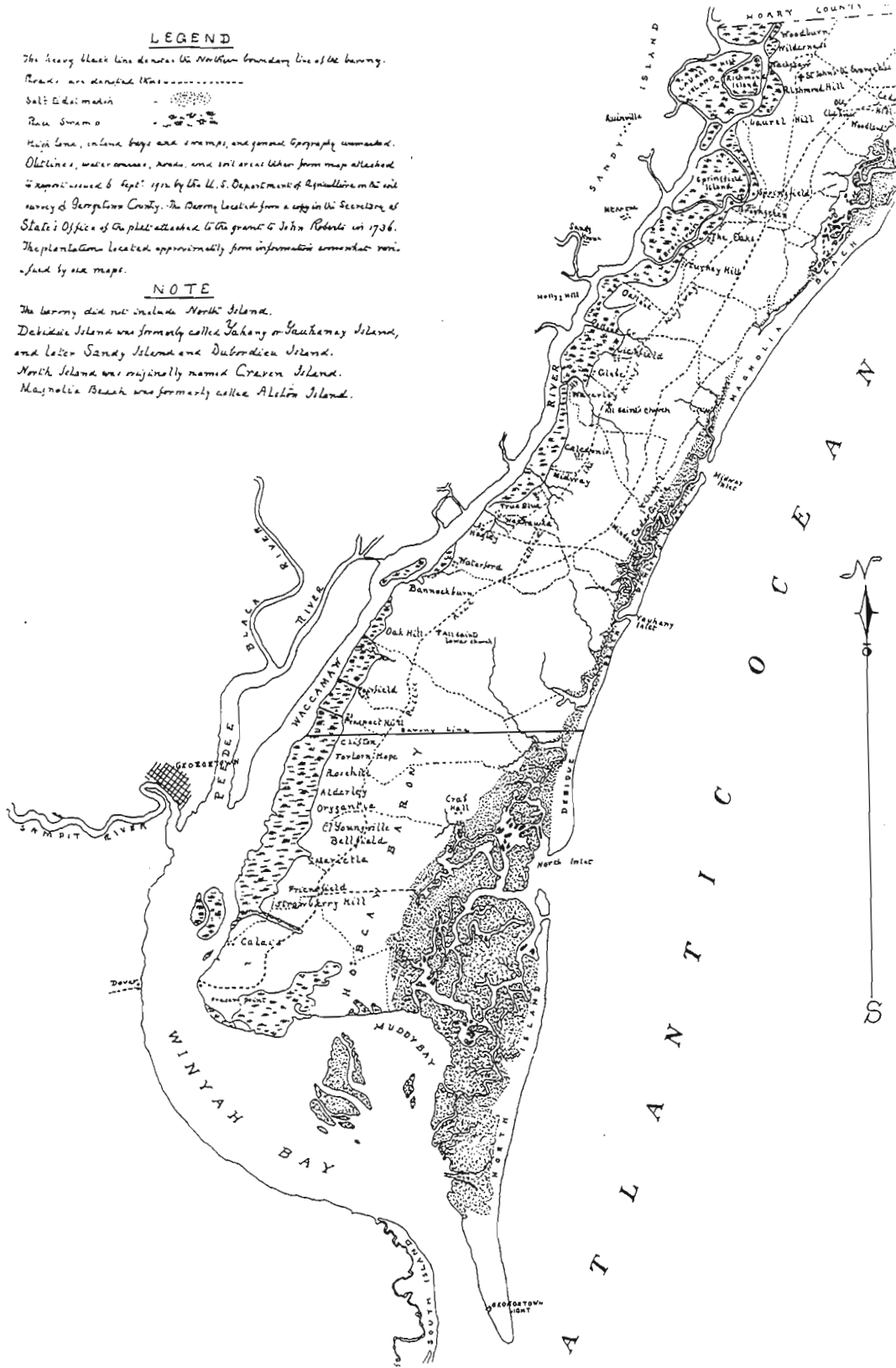


Figure 6. Waccamaw Neck plantations (from H.A.M. Smith, courtesy of the South Carolina Historical Society).

his holdings extended from the western bank of the Pee Dee River eastward across Waccamaw Neck to the Atlantic Ocean. The various tracts of property devised in his will totalled 4,685 acres. According to extant records, the nucleus of Allston's Waccamaw Neck holdings were acquired through four transactions.

The three properties were originally part of a 24,000 acre tract granted by the Lords Proprietors to Landgrave Robert Daniel on June 18, 1711. The grant included lands in Berkeley, Granville, and Craven counties. Daniel deeded the entire 24,000 acre tract to Landgrave Thomas Smith on June 19, 1711 (Colonial Memorials 5, p. 147; Colonial Memorials 1, p. 329). Through a series of conveyances evolving from the 1711 grant, John Allston, Sr. acquired most of the Turkey Hill property in 1730, Willbrook Plantation before 1739, and Oatland on 1747. For the purposes of clarity, the acquisition of each of the three properties will be traced separately.

Turkey Hill

Landgrave Thomas Smith deeded 1490 of the 24,000 acres to Percival Pawley, son of Major Percival Pawley, on September 10, 1711. This 1490 acre tract is referred to in some records as "Unesaw" or "Unisaw." Pawley sold the northern 1000 acres to William Allston (brother of John Allston, Sr.) which later became part of the Oaks plantation (Charleston County RMC DB HH, p. 315; Charleston County RMC DB S, p. 348). In 1722 Pawley devised the southern 490 acres to his brother's (John Pawley) two daughters, Ann and Susanna. The records describe the property as bounding north on Percival Pawley's land, west on the Waccamaw River, south on land of John Crofts, and east on the marsh (Colonial Memorials 5, p. 67). Ann Pawley died; Susanna married Joseph Allen and in 1730 they sold the 490 acres to John Allston, Sr. for £600. These 490 acres formed the major part of Allston's Turkey Hill plantation. Several deeds refer to a 1711 plat of the entire 1490 acres, but the plat has not been located (Charleston County RMC DB S, p. 348; Charleston County RMC DB HH, p. 315).

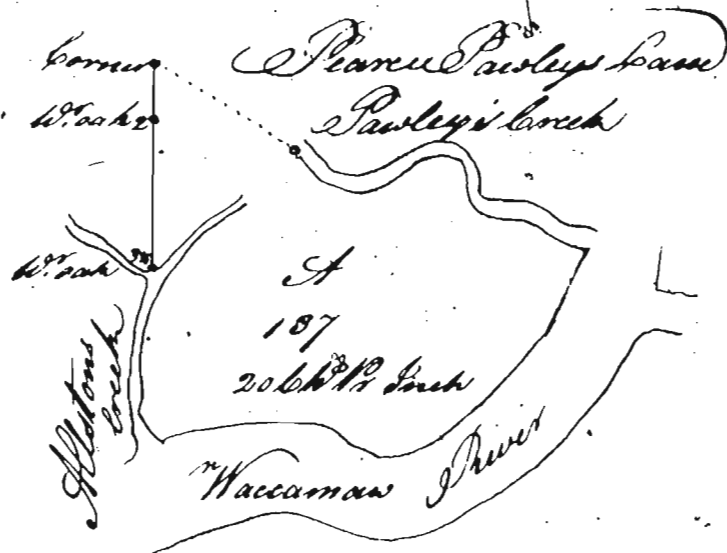
John Allston obtained a Royal Land Grant for 137 acres on April 28, 1733. This piece is located on the western bank of the Waccamaw opposite the 490 acre tract. The grant and plat indicate the boundaries as north on Pawley's Creek, west on Alston's Creek, and south on the Waccamaw River (Royal Land Grants 1, p. 98; Colonial Plats 1, p. 70) (Figure 7).

In 1734 John Allston obtained a Royal Land Grant for a 700 acre strip running north-south along the eastern bank of the Waccamaw River. A 1732 plat describes the property as "bounding to the westward on Waccamaw River to the Northward on William Allston's lands, to the eastward on the said John Allstons land on all other sides on lands laid out by Major Percival Pawley" (Colonial Plats 1, p. 280; Royal Land Grants 1, p.280) (Figure 8).

Willbrook

The Willbrook plantation also originated from the 24,000 acre tract deeded from Robert Daniel to Thomas Smith. On September 10, 1711, Smith sold 1280 acres of the tract to John Crofts of Charleston for £25. The Colonial Memorial defined the boundaries of this tract as bounding to the eastward on the seashore, to the north on Waccamaw River, and to the south on lands of Captain Thomas Hepworth (Colonial Memorials 1, p. 335). Crofts sold the property on December 20, 1714 to William Branford, a planter of Berkeley County, for £20 pounds (Colonial Memorials 1, p.333).

In his 1717 will, Branford equally divided the 1280 acres between his son Barnaby and daughter, Martha. Barnaby sold his share, the southern half, to John Lupton (Luptan) on June 21, 1733. According to his will, Allston bought one-half (320 acres) of this property from Lupton sometime before 1739 (Charleston Will Book 6, p. 358). This land and a part of the 700 acre Royal Land Grant constituted the Willbrook property.



By virtue of a Receipt to me directed by James St John Esq. Suror. Genl. &c.
I have admeasured and laid out unto Mrs John Allston a tract
of Land in Craven County containing One hundred and
thirty seven Acres Buttery and Boundary to the Northwards
on Pawleys Creek to the Westward on Allitons Creek and to the
Southward on Waccamaw River and hath such shape form
and marked trees as are specified in y^e above delineated
plat herof. Given under my hand this 4th day of July 1732
William Swinton D. Suror.

Figure 7. The 1733 lands on the northwest bank of the Waccamaw River (Colonial Plats 1, p. 70).

Oatland

Oatland, apparently the last of the three plantation lands acquired by John Allston, also derived from the 1280 acre portion deeded to William Branford in 1714 (Colonial Memorials 1, p. 333). Branford, as previously mentioned, deeded the northern half of the 1280 acres to his daughter, Martha. She later married Hugh Bryan, a planter of Port Royal (Colonial Memorials 3, p. 15). Although confusing, the records indicate that Martha's daughter, Mary, married William Branford, Jr. of Berkeley County. He sold the tract to John Allston on February 6, 1747 for £900. The deed described the property: "on Waccamaw River bounding and butting to the east on creeks and salt marsh by the seaside, north by lands belonging to George Pawley, and to the south and west on lands of the before names John Allston" (Charleston County RMC, DB ff, p. 22). A portion of the 700 acre Royal Land Grant formed the riverfront boundaries of Oatland. According to John Allston, Sr.'s will, these properties formed the southwest border of the 490 acre Turkey Hill tract (Charleston County Wills 6, p. 358).

In summary, the records indicate that from the 1280 tract sold by Thomas Smith to John Crofts in 1711, John Allston acquired the northern 640 acres which became Oatland and 320 acres of the southern 640 acres which became Willbrook. These two tracts and the 490 acre Turkey Hill property adjoined each other. By 1747, the three contiguous plantations extended from the eastern bank of the Waccamaw River to the Atlantic seashore.

Other Land Acquisitions

Allston acquired additional rice-producing lands along the Pee Dee River. At least three Pee Dee properties were obtained in the 1730s, two through Royal Land Grants of 100 acres (1732) and 420 acres (1734) and one by purchase of 150 acres from Abraham Warnock (Royal Land Grants 1, pp. 139, 2810; Charleston County RMC DB S, p. 347). In 1748 John Allston, Sr. sold these three properties totalling 670 acres to his eldest son, John (Charleston County RMC DB HH, p. 30).

According to newspaper accounts, John Allston, Sr. also owned additional lands. In a 1734 advertisement in the South Carolina Gazette, Allston advertised 575 acres for sale on Wando Swamp. Following his death, the executors of the estate offered three additional sites for sale. One tract between the Pee Dee and Waccamaw Rivers, was noted as being on a "fine bold creek on which any schooner may go to the barn door" (South Carolina Gazette August 3, 1734, May 28, 1750).

Death of John Allston, Sr.

John Allston, Sr. died in the spring of 1750 leaving to his children a large landed estate in Georgetown District and a personal estate appraised at \$12,180. Forty-one slaves, valued at \$8,490, made up the majority of the personal property. The remainder consisted of livestock, plantation tools, and household furnishings, mostly practical in nature, but including some silver and pewter. Interestingly, John Sr. owned a backgammon table and a few books, mostly religious. Ownership of a rice flat offers some evidence that this first Allston on the Willbrook properties was cultivating rice in the 1740s (Charleston Inventories B, p. 310). John's wife, Sarah, died in 1764 with an estate of \$1339 which consisted of four ordinary household items and four slaves (Charleston Inventories W, p. 60).

John Allston, Sr.'s will divided his real property among his four sons and a son-in-law. John Jr. (? - 1751), the eldest son, was given a choice to either retain the three Pee Dee properties which he received in 1748 or deed them to his brother, Josias, in exchange for the Turkey Hill property; he chose to retain the Pee Dee lands (Charleston County Wills 6, p. 358).

John Jr., married Esther Cordes Marion, daughter of Esther Cordes and Gabriel Marion, and sister of the famed Revolutionary hero, Francis Marion. Two

of their five children died before reaching legal maturity (Anonymous 1845:51; Richardson 1942:133, 142).

One daughter, Martha, married Benjamin Young (1733-1782), son of Archibald and Martha Young of Youngville plantation on the Waccamaw. Benjamin served in the Twenty-ninth Royal Assembly and in the First and Third General Assemblies. Martha and Benjamin had two sons, Archibald and Thomas (Bailey 1984:742). Thomas Young would later own the Willbrook plantation. Martha's twin sister, Elizabeth, married Benjamin Simons of St. Thomas Parish and died in childbirth. The third daughter, Eleanor, married Benjamin's brother, Peter Simons (Richardson 1942:42).

At John, Jr.'s death in 1751, his estate was divided among the three surviving daughters. He owned two homes, one on the Pee Dee and another in Georgetown. His personal estate was appraised at \$8,412 and included 30 slaves ranging in individual value from \$40 to \$450, livestock (cows, horses, hogs), and assortment of carpentry and plantation tools, and a canoe. His household furnishings suggest a measure of comfort -- mahogany table, tea table, walnut cupboard, writing desk, feather beds, china, pewter, and silver (Charleston County Inventories R-1, p. 306; Charleston County Wills 6, p. 568). Through a number of transactions, the Pee Dee property received from his father was deeded to Benjamin Allston, Jr. (son of William, Jr. of Brookgreen) in 1806 and forms parts of the present day Chicora Wood (Matanzas) plantation.

John Allston, Sr.'s youngest son, William (1738-1780/1), received several Pee Dee tracts: 300 acres on the western bank of the Pee Dee, 150 acres on the eastern bank, and 94 acres between the Pee Dee and Waccamaw Rivers. This son, known as William Jr. of Brookgreen or "Gentleman Billy," married Anne Simons in 1763. This union produced two children, Benjamin, Jr. and Elizabeth. In 1775 or 1776 William remarried Rachel Moore and had three children: Mary, Washington, and William Moore (Allston 1936:25; Charleston County Wills 6:358; Nord 1982:10).

William's grave bears the oldest marker in the Turkey Hill family cemetery (Trinkley 1987a:120). Another eight of the 13 identified graves are descendants of his family: son, Benjamin (1776-1809); Benjamin Jr.'s wife, Charlotte Ann Allston (d. 1824); Benjamin's third son, William Washington (1804-1823), his first daughter, Elizabeth Ann (1790-1822; married John Hyrne Tucker, Sr.) and her two infant children; his son, Joseph Waties' wife, Mary Charlotte (or Charlotte Mary); his third daughter, Mary Pyatt (1795-1836; married William H. Jones), and his two grandchildren (children of Benjamin's son, Robert Francis Withers and Adele Petigru Allston) (Galbraith 1909:181-183; Rogers 1970:520-521).

Turkey Hill

John Allston, Sr. bequeathed the Turkey Hill lands to his second son, Josias (1731-1776). Josias married three times, first to Hestor Simons (May 26, 1752), next to Anne Proctor, and lastly to Esther Brown (March 6, 1776) of St. James Santee. These marriages produced nine children (Anonymous 1845:52; Groves 1901:28; McIver 1970:52).

John Allston, Sr.'s will described the devise to Josias as:

the tract of land whereupon I now live and which I purchased of Joseph Allen containing 490 acres bounding northeasterly on lands of John Allston [son of William] and to the southwesterly in a certain line of division markt between the said tract and lands I purchased of William Branford also the lands on the front of the 490 acres which lies between the same and Waccamaw River and is part of the 700 acres for which I have is Majesty's grant and also one other tract of land containing 137 acres situate on the westside of the Waccamaw River and lies opposite to the lands above mentioned (Charleston County Wills 6, p. 358).

This statement confirms that the 490 acre Turkey Hill tract was John Sr.'s home in the 1740s.

Oatland

The Oatland tract of 640 acres, bought from William Branford, and an adjoining part of the 700 acre riverfront tract was left to his son, Samuel. Little further information is available about Samuel and the Oatland property until about 1812 (Charleston Wills 6, p. 358).

Willbrook

The 320 acre Willbrook tract and an adjacent portion of the 700 acre riverfront lands were left to John Allston's son-in-law, Benjamin Marion (who married Martha Allston). The elder Allston's will describes the Willbrook property as:

situate on the east side of Waccamaw River containing three hundred twenty acres which I purchased of John Lupton and also the lands lying between the same and Waccamaw River which is also a part of the seven hundred acres before mentioned (Charleston Wills 6, p. 358).

A small, unspecified portion of the 700 acre riverfront lands was devised to William Lupton, son of John Lupton from whom Allston bought the Willbrook tract. The wording of the will indicates that Lupton did not share ownership of Willbrook with Benjamin Marion, but was given river frontage to his own property which was probably south of the Willbrook tract:

also I give devise and bequeath to William Lupton and his heirs forever the other part of the seven hundred acres which lies between his lands and Waccamaw River (Charleston Wills 6, p. 358).

Allston has already devised to Josias and Samuel Allston and to Benjamin Marion those portions of the 700 riverfront acres that abutted their properties.

The three plantations would not be re-united under a single ownership again until the early twentieth century.

1751-1860: The Rise of the Allston Rice Plantations

The period from 1751 to 1860 extends from the early production of tidal rice in the Georgetown District based on slave labor to the Civil War which destroyed the plantation labor system. During this period the three plantations, Turkey Hill, Oatland, and Willbrook, operated as independent units, although there continued to be blood ties between the owners.

Turkey Hill

Josias Allston retained ownership of the Turkey Hill lands for 22 years and in August 1772 sold them to his cousin, Joseph Allston (1733-1784) for £10,000. Joseph was the son of William Allston (brother of John Allston, Sr.). In addition to the three tracts received through his father's will, the sale included a 13-3/4 acre triangular parcel bounded by the Waccamaw River on the west, by Joseph Allston's land on the northeast, and by Josias Allston's Turkey Hill property on the south. This small piece, bought from Joseph Allston in 1768, was apparently on the northwestern edge of the 490 acre tract (Charleston County RMC DB M-4, p. 14; Figure 9). Altogether the sale to Joseph Allston totalled 949-3/4 acres: the bequest from John Allston, Sr. (490, 137, and 300 acres) and the 13-3/4 acres tract purchased from Joseph (Charleston County RMC DB L-3, p. 478).

A subsequent deed expressly reserved the Turkey Hill family burial ground to Josias:

a piece of land 105 feet square to be laid on all sides equally of the present burial ground of the said plantation to the intent that the same should be appropriated for that use for the family of John Allston Senior deceased forever . . . and the same is hereby declared to be vested in the said Josias Allston and his heirs for the use of a burial place for the family of John Allston Senior forever and no other use intent or purpose whatsoever (Charleston County RMC DB B-4, p. 118).

This deed clearly suggests that members of the John Allston family were already interred in the cemetery in 1772 although the oldest legible date of death on the gravestones is now 1780 (Galbraith 1909:181-183; Trinkley 1987a:120).

The reason Josias sold his inheritance is unknown. He relocated in the Little River area on the North/South Carolina border on lands which his will suggests he obtained from Joseph Allston (Charleston County Wills 17, p. 527). An active patriot, Josias contributed to the aid of Bostonians suffering from the coercion of the Intolerable Acts and served on the Committee for Little River to enforce the nonimportation, nonexportation, and nonconsumption agreements (Rogers 1970:107, 115). As a member of the Committee of Little River, he sent a letter to the Council of Safety protesting the unpatriotic behavior of trader and coaster, Daniel Robins (Anonymous 1900:204-205). Josias also supplied 12 oxen and a horse for use by "the Swamp Fox," General Francis Marion, and 92 days of slave labor at the Georgetown Public Works (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Revolutionary Accounts Audit, p. 60).

Josias died in 1776, only four years after selling the property. His personal estate was appraised at over \$55,000, the bulk being 135 slaves valued at \$53,270. The inventory of his estate lists indigo seed and indigo hooks suggesting that indigo was the major crop on his Little River plantation (Charleston County Inventories CC, p. 359). Although living in Brunswick County, North Carolina when he drafted his will in 1773, Josias asked to be "interred at my old burying ground on Waccamaw" if he died in South Carolina and that his wife's body be moved there from its "Brunswiche" site (Charleston Wills 17, p. 527). Presumably he referred to the Turkey Hill cemetery. Although no marker in the cemetery bears his name, it is possible that Josias and his father, John, Sr. are buried in two of the three unmarked graves.

The new owner of Turkey Hill, Joseph Allston, also owned the Oaks, which formed the northern boundary of Turkey Hill. A highly successful planter, Joseph had five plantations by 1775, each with at least 100 slaves. One of his noted descendants (a grandson) was Governor Joseph Allston who married Theodosia Burr, daughter of Aaron Burr (Bailey and Edgar 1977:35-36); Rogers 1970:522).

Joseph Allston died in 1784 leaving Turkey Hill to his second son, Thomas (1764-1794). Joseph's will is the first extant record to name the plantation:

Allso, one other plantation called Turkey Hill containing One Thousand Three Hundred Acres or Thereabouts which I purchased of Josias Allston (Reserving) the use of the Dwelling House, Kitchen and Wash House, Stable, Hen house and the Garden for ye use of my Beloved Wife untill such time as my Executors shall put up a convenient House at my plantation joining on Turkey Hill all which Lands I do Give, Devise and Bequeath to my son Thomas Allston, his Heirs and Assigns for Ever (Allston 1936:16-21).

Although it is implied in John Allston, Sr.'s will that he had built on the



Figure 9. 13-3/4 acre Turkey Hill parcel (Charleston County RMC DB L-3 p. 478; best copy possible)

Turkey Hill site, this document definitely places a "dwelling house" and other buildings on the property by 1784.

Ten years later Thomas Allston died at the age of 29 without heirs. He married Mary Allston (d. June 30, 1836), daughter of Captain John Allston and Mary Faucheraud in 1785. After Thomas' death, she married Benjamin Huger, U.S. Congressman from South Carolina (1799-1805) (Bailey 1984:290-291; Richardson 1942:235; Webber 1915:168; Webber 1918:171; 1790 Census, Georgetown District).

Documentation of the plantation's ownership from the devise to Thomas Allston in 1784 until 1812 is missing. Beginning in 1785, legal transactions were recorded in Georgetown instead of Charleston and those records were destroyed during the Civil War. Some have contended that Thomas devised the Turkey Hill tract to the children of his brother, William Alston of Clifton; however, the extant records fail to substantiate this theory. Thomas' 1792 will does state, "All the residue of my estate, both real and personal . . . I give . . . unto such of the children of my brother William Allston as shall be living at the time of my death to be divided between them and to them. And it is my will that such residue be delivered to my brother William as soon as may be convenient" The will indicates that Thomas owned two plantations: "and further it is my will that my old negro woman Nanny be freed and liberated from slavery and that she have liberty to live upon either of my plantations." These two plantations are described as "my plantation is All Saints Parish, Waccamaw, called Prospect Hill" and "my sea-shore plantation . . . which I purchased from Francis Allston . . . containing 448 acres or thereabout and called the Retreat" (Allston 1936:27-28). Thomas left both plantations to his wife.

The 1838 will of William of Clifton also fails to substantiate the premise. This document refers to "a parcel of 150 acres devised to my seven eldest children by their Uncle Thomas Allston" which, he states, adjoins Fairfield Plantation. Fairfield, like Prospect Hill, was located considerably to the south of Turkey Hill. Without other evidence, these two wills fail to establish that Thomas left the Turkey Hill property to William's children. If he did, possibly William sold the property before the children reached maturity (Allston 1936:27-32; Rogers 1970:188).

Records do show that before 1812 Benjamin Allston, Sr. (1765-1847), son of Josias Allston, owned Turkey Hill for in that year his daughter, Martha Hayes (1789-1869) brought it to her marriage. Whether Benjamin secured the property directly from Thomas or through other sources is unknown (Allston 1936:32).

No early plat or other legal description of the Turkey Hill property is available for this period. In the Federal Writer's Project slave narratives, however, a former slave at Turkey Hill, Liza Small, described the plantation house: "some big white house been to the water front" (Federal Writer's Project, Slave Narratives by Genevieve Willcox Chandler).

Oatland

Ownership of the Oatland property remains unclear from 1750 when John Allston, Sr. devised it to his son, Samuel, until 1812. A search of plats, deeds, and wills for the time period has yielded no information. Since Samuel died intestate without children, one can only conjecture that Oatland either passed to John Allston, Sr.'s last surviving son, William Jr. of Brookgreen, or to his eldest son, Josias. Josias' will, however, does not refer to this property.

It is curious that Joseph Allston's will mentions that a house should be constructed for his wife "at my plantation joining on Turkey Hill" and that "all which lands" he gives to his son Thomas. It may be that Joseph was an intermediate owner and that he also gave the Oatland tract to Thomas. There are only two tracts "joining" Turkey Hill, Oatland to the south and The Oaks to the north. Of these two, Oatland seems more reasonable and may account for the

archaeological evidence (discussed in a following section).

Regardless, by undetermined means Oatland came into the possession of Josias' son, Benjamin, Sr., by 1812. In that year, Benjamin's daughter, Martha Hayes Allston, brought both Turkey Hill and Oatland to her marriage.

Oatland and Turkey Hill

Benjamin Allston, Sr. (1765-1847) also acquired other property along the Waccamaw. An 1814 plat indicates ownership of 1000 acres in Horry District at the juncture of Socastee Creek and Waccamaw River (Colonial Plats 30, p. 81).

Benjamin, Sr. is the first owner of these plantations about whom much personal information is known. Under his hand both properties fully developed into active rice producing plantations. Benjamin married three times, first to Mary Charlotte Cook (d. 1801), next to Dorothy Singleton (d. February 18, 1807), and last to Mary Coachman in 1808. Of the first union, three daughters were born, two (Ann E. and Mary Charlotte) died unmarried. Benjamin and both of these daughters are buried in the Turkey Hill family cemetery. The third daughter, Martha Hayes, inherited the two plantations (Allston 1935:genealogical chart; Galbraith 1909:81-83; Holcomb 1979:21; Jervey 1929:247; Jervey 1931:281; Webber 1931:200; Mrs. Robert L. Lumpkin, personal communication 1987).

Benjamin was obviously a likeable and interesting personality, as well as a successful planter. A member of the Winyah Indigo Society, he owned 58 slaves in 1790 at the age of 25. By 1840 his slaveholdings had increased to 493 (Anonymous 1958:36-37; Nord 1982:36; South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1790 Georgetown Census, 1840 Georgetown Slave Schedule). Among Allston's slaves were skilled, specialized workers capable of making Turkey Hill and Oatland self-sufficient communities. In an 1846 newspaper notice Benjamin Allston warned all persons "against trading with my servants, or of employing them, particularly the carpenters and smiths without a written permit signed by myself or some one of my managers" (Winyah Observer, January 28, 1846).

In November 1847, Robert Francis Withers Allston of Chicora Wood, wrote the U.S. Commissioner of Patents, Edmund Burke, that, "my friend and relation Mr. Benjamin Allston who is not 84 years of age, has made 400 bushels [sweet potatoes] per acre repeatedly" (R.F.W. Allston Family Papers, South Caroliniana Library).

Benjamin Allston's personal correspondence indicates that he used the Charleston rice-factor firm of Charles Kershaw and L. Lewis (later Lewis and Robertson, and afterwards, Lewis, Robertson & Thurston). This firm also handled R.F.W. Allston's account (Rogers 1970:337-338; R.W.F. Allston Family Papers, South Caroliniana Library; Charles Kershaw to Benjamin Allston, May 6, 1830, private collection).

In addition to the Turkey Hill plantation house, Benjamin Allston owned one of the oldest surviving homes in Georgetown located on a river bluff at 1019 Front Street (Mrs. Robert L. Lumpkin, personal communication 1987).

Benjamin, Sr. was among the social class who summered in the mountains and is thus described in the recollections of Frederick Adolphus Porcher, professor of history at the College of Charleston in the 1850s:

one of the distinguished habitues of these regions spending every summer in Greenville with visits to Asheville, the Warm Springs, etc. was Mr. Benjamin Allston, of Georgetown. He was a venerable old man, rather deaf but very fond of company. He had been a very successful man, commencing life I believe as an overseer. By means of industry and thrift he had become one of the richest rice planters on the Waccamaw (Stoney 1946:92-93).

Porcher further depicted Allston as being "a keen judge of character" with conversation "of an utterly uneducated man. His language was like a negro's, not only in pronunciation, but even in tone" (Stoney 1946:92-93). This type of speech developed from living predominately among blacks and adapting in early childhood to their Gullah speech patterns, a common occurrence among white planters on the Waccamaw Neck (Mrs. Robert L. Lumpkin, personal communication 1987; Mary Bayless, personal communication 1987; Joyner 1984:208).

Ben Horry, a former slave, recalled the Oatland Plantation and Benjamin Allston in a Federal Writers' Project interview with Genevieve Willcox Chandler:

very FUSS girl -- FUSS one I go with name was Teena Go there every Sunday after school. Oatland plantation belong to Marse Benjamin Allston. Stay till sunset (Joyner 1984:132).

Benjamin's daughter, Martha Hayes (1789-1869) married John Francis Pyatt (1790-1820) in 1812. The Pyatts were among the first English settlers on the Waccamaw Neck. John Francis' father, John Pyatt (1750-1795), represented All Saints in the Third General Assembly (1779-1780) and owned 120 slaves in 1790 (Bailey 1986:590). John Francis graduated from the College of South Carolina in 1810, was a member of the Winyah Indigo Society, and owned two plantations at the time of his marriage, Rosemont and Richmond on the Black River. John Francis and Martha had three children, John Francis, Benjamin Joseph, and Charlotte Josephine (Davidson 1971:243; Rogers 1970:261-262).

Martha's husband, John Francis, died in 1820 at the age of thirty. Her father, Benjamin, continued to manage both plantations until his death. Benjamin apparently owned a shipping vessel names for his daughter. In 1830, Charleston factor Charles Kershaw wrote Benjamin at Flat Rock, "we look for the Martha Pyatt to return almost daily with the clean rice the mill beat out" (Charles Kershaw to Benjamin Allston, May 6, 1830, private collection).

Benjamin's grave in the Turkey Hill family plot bears the Allston coat of arms and states that he "died on his way home from Charleston." The lengthy and laudatory obituary in the Winyah Observer noted that his education was interrupted by the Revolutionary War and that he had gone to the mountains for over 20 years. "Few persons," it read, "were more generally known and respected than Mr. Allston. . . . His mind was vigorous" with "keen perceptions." By nature, he was "true and sincere," "affable, candid, and generous," "a ready hand was always cheerfully extended to welcome to his hospitable mansion." "The great success of his early industry and enterprise is a useful example to the rising generations" (Winyah Observer, December 8, 1847; see also Galbraith 1909:182 and Trinkley 1987a:120-122).

At Benjamin's death in 1847 the two plantations went under separate management, but remained within the family.

Oatland

After Benjamin Allston's death, Martha H. Pyatt owned the Oatland property until her death in 1869. The 1850 census shows that the plantation produced 480,000 pounds of rice with the labor of 247 slaves (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1850 Georgetown Slave Schedule, 1850 Georgetown Agricultural Census) (Table 1).

In 1860 the figures appear to include lands other than the Oatland plantation as the total acreage reported is more than double that reported in the 1850 census and the amount of rice produced has dramatically increased to 675,000 pounds. The slave census for that year reports a plantation owned by Martha H. Pyatt in Georgetown District as well as the Oatland plantation on Lower All Saints -- it is likely these two have been combined in the agricultural census. Other crops produced include Indian Corn, sweet potatoes, peas, and beans.

Oatland had 213 slaves and 40 slave houses. This 1860 report is the first documentation of structures on the plantation (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1860 Georgetown Slave Schedule (Table 2)).

In addition to the Front Street house in Georgetown, Martha owned another home in Georgetown, the Pyatt-Doyle House at 630 High Market Street. Built about 1790, this home is listed on the National Register. She also owned a Charleston house, no longer extant, located at the corner of Meeting and Charlotte Streets (Mrs. Robert L. Lumpkin, personal communication 1987).

Turkey Hill

Martha Hayes Pyatt's daughter, Charlotte Josephine (1814-1906), married William Heyward Trapier (1805-1872) in 1846. R.F.W. Allston described the wedding of his cousin, Charlotte, as "a country fete" (Rogers 1970:278). Charlotte brought a significant fortune to her marriage, including the Waterford on the Waccamaw, a seashore tract, approximately one hundred slaves, \$3000 cash, and shares in the Bank of Charleston, the Planters and Mechanics Bank of South Carolina, and the State of South Carolina (Georgetown County RMC DB A, p. 365).

William Heyward Trapier's ancestors first settled at La Belle Fontaine plantation on the French Santee with other French Huguenots (Trapier Family Papers, South Caroliniana Library). His father owned plantations on the Black River, including Winsor. William was an 1824 graduate of Yale, vestryman for Prince George Winyah, and a charter member of the Planters Club on the Pee Dee. He spent much time abroad and one source described him as "too aristocratic to feel altogether at home in America, even in the low country of Carolina." He was said to regret, as late as 1860, that the South had the poor taste to separate herself from England (Davidson 1971:34, 85-86). Both sons of Charlotte and William Heyward, Benjamin Allston Trapier (1848-1862) and Paul Horry Trapier (1852-1870) died unmarried at early ages (Anonymous 1983:206).

Benjamin Allston died the year following his grand-daughter's marriage and William H. Trapier took over the management of Turkey Hill. The 1850 census reported Trapier's Lower All Saints plantation with 190 improved acres, 90,000 pounds of rice produced, and 114 slaves (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1850 Georgetown Slave Schedule, 1850 Georgetown Agricultural Schedule) (Table 1). The 1860 census showed Turkey Hill has 150 improved acres, produced 225,000 pounds of rice as well as Indian corn, sweet potatoes, peas, and beans. The plantation owned 87 slaves and 20 slave houses. This is the first account of the number of slave houses located on Turkey Hill (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1860 Georgetown Slave Schedule, 1860 Georgetown Agricultural Schedule) (Table 2).

Charlotte J. Trapier and her mother enjoyed the comforts afforded them by the plantation economy. They traditionally summered at various springs in Virginia. Martha Pyatt's letter from Salt Sulphur, Virginia in 1858 indicated this lifestyle:

we cannot be more comfortably accommodated anywhere than we are here -- each of us having two rooms with fireplaces and excellent fare. The walks prettily laid out, shady, and gravelled so that we can at any hour of the day take a pleasant ramble to the spring, or through the apple orchard (Martha H. Pyatt to Joseph B. Pyatt, September 13, 1858, private collection).

Willbrook

From 1750 when John Allston, Sr. bequeathed the Willbrook acreage to Benjamin and Martha Marion until the end of the eighteenth century, the chain of ownership is unconfirmed. Ownership during this period has been attributed to Peter Simons based on a 1791 plat of Litchfield plantation which indicates that

Table 1.
Willbrook Properties in 1850: Land, Crops, and Slaves.

	Oatland	Turkey Hill	Willbrook
Acres of Land:			
Improved	495	190	375
Unimproved	940	1000	---
Cash Value of Farm	\$109,800	\$40,000	\$85,000
Livestock:			
Horses	3	1	11
Asses/Mules	4	3	4
Milk Cows	10	6	10
Working Oxen	16	14	25
Sheep	28	16	51
Swine	--	--	159
Other Cattle	60	15	51
Value of Livestock:	\$1,106	\$675	\$2,204
Crops:			
Indian Corn (bu.)	--	--	2,800
Oats (bu.)	--	--	60
Rice (lbs.)	480,000	90,000	360,000
Slaves	247	114	149

the property north of Litchfield is owned by Peter Simons (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, John McCrady Plat 2294). Peter Simons did marry John Allston, Jr.'s daughter, Eleanor, and acquired lands on the Pee Dee through the estate of his father-in-law and through purchase from his wife's sister and husband. However, no records were found of any land holdings on the Waccamaw Neck (Colonial Memorials 9, p. 103; Charleston County Wills 6, p. 358).

Another version of this plat dated November 10, 1794 (copy in possession of Chicora Foundation) shows the main Willbrook house and two flankers, as well as a structure labeled "Wilson's" to the south. This location places Wilson west of 38GE291 and east of 38GE340.

Two possible Wilsons have been found in the Georgetown County records. One is a Thomas Wilson, who died in 1782 and the other is John Wilson, who married Margaret Hazel in 1777 (Salley 1914:27; Lucas 1978:110). Little is known of either individual, beyond their being in the Waccamaw Neck area during the late eighteenth century. It is likely that the Wilson shown on the 1794 plat was an overseer for the Willbrook Plantation.

A 1798 plat shows that Willbrook ownership is held by John Allston, Sr.'s descendent, Thomas Young. This plat indicates a working rice plantation of 1008 acres with eight rice fields totalling 173-1/4 acres, a main dwelling house, two groups of "Negro Houses" located close to the rice fields, three barns, and four out buildings (Colonial Plats C, p. 61; Figure 10).

Thomas Young was the son of John Allston, Jr.'s daughter, Martha, and Benjamin Young. He married Mary Allston (1779-1841), daughter of William, Jr. of Brookgreen and Rachel Moore, in 1800 at the Springfield plantation (part of present Brookgreen) (Georgetown Gazette, April 24, 1800). At the time of the marriage Mary owned a Georgetown lot, acreage at Killsock Bay, and 28 slaves

(Charleston County RMC DB B, p. 119). Thomas and Mary had a son who died at a youthful age and a daughter, Eliza (Nord 1982:36).

Mary's mother, Rachel, married Henry Collins Flagg after the death of William, Jr. and gave birth to two of their children at Willbrook (Robin Salmon, personal communication 1987). Although no records other than the 1798 plat attest to Thomas Young's ownership, it is conceivable that the property passed to William, Jr., the last surviving son of John, Sr., and from him to his daughter, Mary, and her husband.

Thomas Young apparently died in 1804 (Georgetown Gazette, May 30, 1804). He and his daughter, Eliza, are buried at Prince George Winyah (Johnson and Rose 1930:292).

The next record of ownership is John Hyrne Tucker's (1780-1850). Tucker apparently acquired Willbrook in the early 1800s. His roots in Georgetown go back to his grandfather, Captain Thomas Tucker (d. 1784), who imported slaves, served as a military officer in the Revolution, and was a member of the First and Second Provincial Congresses and the First General Assembly. John's father, Daniel (1752-1797), was a Georgetown merchant in the firm of Heriot and Tucker. He served in the Eighth and Ninth General Assemblies and resided at Litchfield

Table 2.
Willbrook Properties in 1860: Land, Crops, and Slaves.

	Martha Pyatt*	Turkey Hill	J.H. Tucker**
<u>Acres of Land:</u>			
Improved	575	250	2,600
Unimproved	3,000	700	10,000
Cash Value of Farm	\$75,000	\$20,000	\$300,000
<u>Livestock:</u>			
Horses	1	2	--
Asses/Mules	9	4	7
Milk Cows	10	10	20
Working Oxen	16	6	16
Sheep	40	--	16
Swine	75	50	75
Other Cattle	11	25	45
Value of Livestock:	\$2,230	\$1,400	\$2,755
<u>Crops:</u>			
Indian Corn (bu.)	1,500	400	4,360
Oats (bu.)	--	--	--
Rice (lbs.)	675,000	225,000	1,530,000
Wool (lbs.)	50	--	--
Peas & Beans (bu.)	318	150	500
Sweet Potatoes (bu.)	1,000	1,000	1,000
Butter (lbs.)	75	87	198
Slaves	213	87	188
Slave Houses	40	20	20

* The figures for Martha H. Pyatt, except for the number of slaves and slave houses, appear to include both Oatland and another plantation.

**The figures for the Estate of J.H. Tucker include both Willbrook and Litchfield.

Plantation to the south of Willbrook (Bailey 1986:725; see also Figure 10).

John Hyrne was a graduate of Rhode Island College (Brown), a vestryman at All Saints' Waccamaw and St. Paul's, Charleston, a charter member of the Georgetown Library Society, Commissioner of the Free Schools, member of the Winyah Indigo Society, and President of the Agricultural Society of South Carolina (Anonymous 1924:100; Davidson 1971:251; Winyah Observer, April 22,

1848). John married four times, the second time in 1809 to Elizabeth Ann Allston (1790-1822), daughter of Benjamin, Jr., and grand-daughter of William, Jr. of Brookgreen (Groves 1901:39). Possibly Willbrook came to John Hyrne through this marriage as Elizabeth was Mary Allston Young's niece. Elizabeth Ann's tombstone in the Turkey Hill family cemetery bears the inscription, "She was truly pious and benevolent kind and affectionate. Elevated in Sentiment and correct in judgement" (Galbraith 1909:182).

Accounts suggest that John Hyrne Tucker was a strong-willed, ambitious man who sought to excel in a variety of activities. F.A. Porcher recalled:

Rice planting was his sole delight. He lived for and in rice. It was the first and last thought on his mind. He had an exquisite taste in wine. . . . He was superstitiously religious regarding the Episcopal Church as the only true and safe road to heaven. . . . Provided he were attending divine services inside, he recked little of his coachmen exposed to the storm without. But he was on the whole a good man, and an honest man, and a happy man, in his own way (Stoney 1946:47).

His wife's brother, R.F.W. Allston, reminisced about Tucker's sportsman abilities:

as a boy of fifteen, I went occasionally to the upper beach on a visit to my excellent and very dear sister Mrs Tucker. Mr. John H. Tucker, a keen and successful sportsman all his life, was as ready for fishing, when the day came round, as for a deer drive. There was no one . . . to surpass him in deep-water fishing (Harwell 1947:41).

Through the years, Tucker remained close friends with R.F.W. Allston and his family. In 1821 he shipped a barrel of sweet potatoes to West Point for the young cadet, R.F.W. Allston. In 1858, R.F.W.'s son, Benjamin, wrote his father, "I remained at Plantersville [their summer retreat]. . . . Your were . . . handsomely toasted by John Tucker" (Easterby 1945:57, 145, 366).

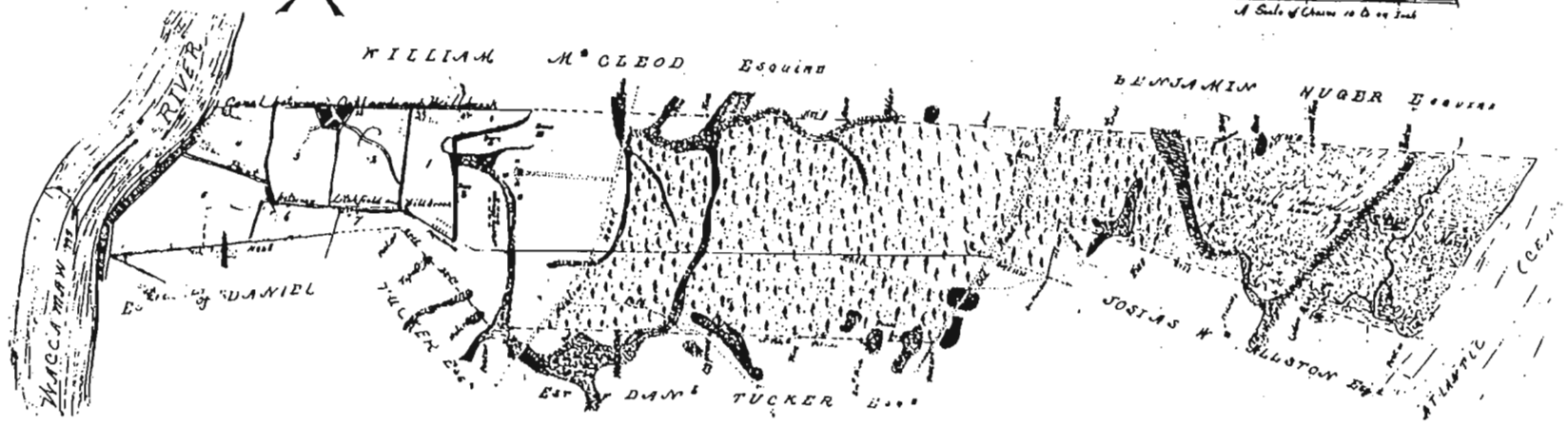
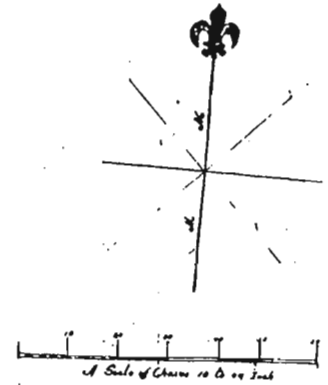
A highly successful rice planter, Tucker consistently won silver medals for his crop at the annual Winyah and All Saints Agricultural Society Fairs (Joyner 1984:34). In 1840 he owned 148 slaves (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1840 Georgetown Population Schedule). In 1850, 149 slaves worked on 375 acres of improved farm land owned by Tucker and produced 360,000 pounds of rice (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1850 Georgetown County Slave Schedule, 1850 Georgetown County Agricultural Schedule) (Table 1).

The 1860 Census, the year following Tucker's death, reports two plantations in Lower All Saints in the estate of John H. Tucker, one with 90 slaves and 20 slave houses and the other with 108 slaves and no listing of houses. These two plantations (Litchfield and Willbrook) of 2600 improved acres produced over 1-1/2 million pounds of rice (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1860 Georgetown County Slave Schedule, 1860 Georgetown County Agricultural Schedule) (Table 2). Tucker's estate also included a steam-powered rice pounding mill valued at \$40,000. The mill processed 50,000 barrels of clean rice annually, valued at \$100,000. An average of forty employees worked in the mill, half men and half women (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1860

PLAN OF
WILL BROOK.
 A PLANTATION belonging to
THOMAS YOUNG, Esq.
 situated in All Saints Parish George Town district
 in the State of South Carolina, having such
 various different bounds and marks as are explain'd
 and set up in this Plan. From a survey
 taken in July 1798. By
 John Herbold Surveyor

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Acres
Rice Fields	34
No 1	34
No 2	34
No 3	34
No 4	34
No 5	34
No 6	34
No 7	34
No 8	34
Outside Margins	7
Cleared high land at River including Ponds, Branches &c.	116
Rice Land including Ponds, Branches &c.	500
Savannah Land cleared	90
Swamp Marsh Land	100
Total	1008



Examined and Verified this 27th day of May 1798
 A. C. Hall
 Surveyor

Figure 10. 1798 plat of Willbrook Plantation (Colonial Plats C, p.61).

Georgetown County Manufacturing Schedule). Tucker's will lists a church, "pounding mill and threshing machine," but does not designate on which plantation (Willbrook or Litchfield) they were located. Although a mill pond is known from Oatland, no clear evidence of a mill has ever been identified at Willbrook (see Trinkley 1987a). In about 1845 a new All Saints Church was constructed and the old All Saints Church was removed to Tucker's Litchfield plantation for use as a black chapel (Charleston County Wills 48, p. 466; Rogers 1970:271-272).

John H. Tucker died in June 1859 at the age of 79, leaving a vast estate. R.F.W. Allston wrote to his son, Benjamin, of Tucker's death:

last Monday we attended the funeral of Mr. Tucker, who refused nourishment two days before he said he wished to die. He has left Litchfield to Henry, Willbrook to Hyrne (Easterby 1945:158).

John Hyrne Tucker II, approximately 30 years old at the time of the inheritance, retained ownership of Willbrook through the Civil War (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1860 Georgetown County Population Schedule).

Slavery

As rice production accelerated, so did the need for slaves. By 1810, slaves composed 88% of Georgetown's population while only 47% of the state population was slaves (Carpenter 1973:26). Rice plantation slaves worked on assigned tasks rather than in gangs. Many tasks were specialized and slaves held positions as drivers, trunk minders, blacksmiths, carpenters, boat men, bricklayers, tanners, livestock minders, basket weavers, and an array of household jobs including butlers, washers, cooks, maids, children's nurses, and seamstresses (Doar 1936:35; Lawson 1972:13; Phillips 1908:119-121).

The treatment of slaves on the Waccamaw Neck can only be conjectured. The slaves on the Neck were rarely sold, but were handed down from one generation to another (see wills of John Allston, Sr., John Allston, Jr., Joseph Allston, and Thomas Allston; Rogers 1970:328). John D. Magill of Wachesaw plantation was consistently noted as a mean master by former slaves in the Federal Writers' Project slave narratives. John Beese (Bees), son of Welcome Beese (Bees) of Oatland, reported that, in contrast, he had heard that the slaves at Oatland always had plenty to eat (Joyner 1984:104). However, even with the best natured master and overseer, a slave's life was not only hard, but his life did not belong to himself. In the rice harvest of 1846, the Winyah Observer noted that the temperature for the past week had ranged between 85 and 94° with not rain or wind, "it is the most oppressive weather we have ever known in this place and the laborers [a euphemism for the slaves] in the Harvest must find it more oppressive than usual" (Winyah Observer, September 16, 1846).

Housing for slaves was situated in rows called "streets" (Lawson 1972:15). These houses were sometimes made of "poles" (i.e., logs), had cypress shingles, and chimneys made of clay which had to be rebuilt annually (Munchie Johnson, personal communication 1987). Of course there was tremendous variety in the housing of slaves, some of which may be related to changes over time in what was considered appropriate and necessary and others which are related to either the financial abilities or attitude of the owner. It seems unlikely that there is any straight-line evolutionary path which slave housing followed (see Brooker and Trinkley 1991).

A letter accompanying 45 bales of cloth from Charles Kershaw to Benjamin Allston suggests that the slaves at Oatland and Turkey Hill may have received relatively descent clothing:

we have executed this order for Negro cloth and other articles on account of yourself and the Estate of John F. Pyatt. We have taken

considerable pains to obtain the best cloth that could be found, and we are satisfied that no better has been sent to Georgetown this season (Charles Kershaw to Benjamin Allston, November 9, 1831, private collection).

John H. Tucker, a religious man, wanted his slaves at Willbrook and Litchfield to have Christian training, regardless of their own feelings in the matter. The Rev. Alexander Glennie, rector of All Saints Church, held services on the plantation. Following the service, the overseer would call roll. Any slave who was absent and not sick would forfeit his weekly allowance of either bacon, sugar, molasses, or tobacco (Joyner 1984:22-23).

The slave narratives conducted by Genevieve Willcox Chandler offer valuable insights into the lives of former slaves at Willbrook, Oatland, and Turkey Hill and provide some information about structures on the plantations. Mom Louisa Brown recalled her marriage at Turkey Hill:

we marry to Turkey Hill plantation. Hot supper, cake, wine, and all. Kill cow, hog, chicken, and all. That time when you marry, so much to eat. . . . Hall jam full o'people; out-of-doors jam full.

Liza Small was raised at Turkey Hill and married a slave from the adjoining plantation, the Oaks. Her account describes the church or a building used as a church at Turkey Hill or Oatland:

Turkey Hill hold meeting in the class room. . . . Married in the class room. . . . While veil over you face; wreath round you head.

Liza also recounted the moving of the old Oatland Church; the pillars, she said, were "full of bees and honey." This is probably the Oatland Church shown on a 1919 plat and identified by previous Chicora Foundation research as 38GE361 (see Trinkley 1987a:144-145).

Uncle Welcome Beese (Bees), about 104 years old when interviewed, told of his life at Oatland. His father, Sam, worked in the rice fields and his mother, Polly, came from Virginia. Welcome, one of 12 children born to them at Oatland, worked with horses and did carpentry work at Oatland. He helped to build the Oatland Church during James L. Belin's ministry. Belin, himself a small slaveowner, was the Methodist pastor at Murrell's Inlet and served a forty year mission to the slave, from 1819 to 1859 (Joyner 1984:105, 154).

Welcome recalled Benjamin Allston:

Maussa didn't low you to marry till you twenty-two. Ben Allston own Turkey Hill. When him dead, I was twelve years old (Federal Writers' Project slave narratives).

A ledger recording "Negroes born at Oatland Plantation" and "at Turkey Hill Plantation" from 1813-1815 substantiates that both were working plantations in the early nineteenth century. In 1813, six births are reported at both Turkey Hill and Oatland, five at Oatland and two at Turkey Hill in 1814, and one at Oatland in 1815. The ledger generally includes the date of birth, name and sex of the child, and name of the mother, such as the following entry in the Oatland section: "Jacob and Rebecca Twins Son and Daughter of Arabelle born this 4 March about day light in the year of our lord 1814." A Turkey Hill entry reads: "Camellia and Hega delivered of dead born children since I went to town 1813" (Ledger of Births at Turkey Hill, Oatland, and Squirrel Creek Plantations, private collection).

1861-1987: New Directions for the
Willbrook Properties

The Willbrook, Turkey Hill, and Oatland rice plantations underwent abrupt change during the Civil War years. Union military forces came into the Georgetown District in 1862. Captain J.H. Tucker, 1st Military District (probably John Hyrne Tucker who inherited Willbrook in 1859) wrote Major General J.C. Pemberton about the Union devastation on July 2, 1862:

I have just received information that the enemy are on their way up the Santee with the intention of burning the Northeast Railroad Bridge. They have been committing great depredations in this district of late; such as burning barns, stealing negroes, and rice, etc. (Anonymous 1885:577-578).

Oatland and Turkey Hill

As troops advanced, owners of the river plantations fled to the interior, taking some slaves and leaving others to work the fields. Governor R.F.W. Allston's papers reveal interesting insights to this period. His widow, Adele Petigru Allston, fled to North Carolina for safety from Union forces. On October 12, 1864, she received this correspondence from her Nightingale Hall overseers, W. Sweet:

Rebecca and Judy at Nightingale Hall Beg mee [sic] to say to you that they wish to have husbands if you please. One of them is from mr. w. trapiers [sic] the other from mr. pringle [sic] at the White House. . . . Both of the men has brought good recomidations [sic]. Crismus is the name of the man Judy wants from mr. trapiers (Easterby 1945:308).

On December 14, 1864, Sweet's letter concerned rice mills: "mr. trapiers [sic] mill Pounds for the 20th same as Waverly dose [sic]" (Easterby 1945:320). This latter letter suggests that the Turkey Hill threshing mill was still operational in late 1864.

In a July 13, 1864 letter about escaped slaves, Jesse Belflowers, Mr. Allston's Chicora Wood overseer, mentioned Oatland. Tony and Stephen, he said, "went on and lay in Bullin's [sic] lake all day tuesday and that night they went over the Oatland Plantation and theare [sic] he left Stephen and went down to Waterford and laud by theare [sic] until thursday night." Four other slaves were there -- "one from Mr. Weston, one from Tucker, two from Capt. Read, and four I think was going from Oatland" (Easterby 1945:290).

Elizabeth Tucker wrote Adele Allston on March 17, 1866 about the Pyatts:

the Pyatts went at once to Georgetown leaving everything. Tony [?] having not a change of clothes for her infant and I hear has not a servant. Her house was given up to the Negroes at once (Easterby 1945:206).

This letter may refer to Martha Pyatt of Oatland and her sons and daughter. At some point during the war, Martha Pyatt, her daughter, Charlotte Josephine, and her son-in-law, William H. Trapier, moved to Walhalla in the Pickens District. Possibly they had summered there in earlier years and had friends in the area. They transported some furniture and two pieces, a sideboard and a secretary, were later reclaimed by Martha Pyatt's great grandchildren (Mrs. Robert L. Lumpkin, personal communication 1987).

Martha Pyatt and the Trapiers did not return to the Waccamaw Neck to live, but made Walhalla their permanent home. Charlotte J. Trapier corresponded frequently with her brothers and sister-in-law, Joanna Ward Trapier (Joanie), in

the years immediately following the war. Charlotte, in her mid-forties and the mother of two young boys, spoke of the difficulties of being uprooted and establishing a new life in Walhalla. In July 1866, she wrote to "Joanie":

there is nothing more delightful than the morning breeze at six or seven o'clock. You will smile at the idea of my taking about morning air if you remember me only as I used to be, in happier days -- but these are no times for luxurious indulgences; work, work is the order of the day (letter from Charlotte J. Trapier to Joanna Ward Trapier, July 1866, private collection).

In October (probably 1866), she related to "Joanie" that:

you will doubtless be surprised to learn that we have purchased a house in Walhalla. . . . in the precarious conditions of the times, it is better to have a roof over ones heads in what is deemed a comparatively safe spot (letter from Charlotte J. Trapier to Joanna Ward Trapier, October, private collection).

She continued that they were considering letting out the bottom floor for a store. This Walhalla home was reported on the northwest corner of Main and Tugaloo streets (Brennecke and Reid 1968:40).

Charlotte's anger and class consciousness emerged in an October (possibly 1866) letter:

this is certainly a delicious climate and such good water ought to compensate for the absence of good madeira, but I must acknowledge we sadly miss our glafs of wine -- too bad to think it is all down the throats of unappreciative Yankees and negroes (letter from Charlotte J. Trapier to Joanna Ward Trapier, October, private collection).

With Turkey Hill and Ingleside under control of the Freedmen's Bureau, her letter in October 1866 expressed the uncertainty of their future:

we are all resting on our oars, waiting on President Johnson and his Radical Congresses -- a curious condition of things indeed. Gen. Hampton made a most feeling address to the soldiers of the Pickens District a short time since He said we had lost all but honor and saw little hope for the future; we had kept our pledges, but the Yankees had violated everyone of theirs. We had nothing to expect and that Johnson alone stands between us and ruin (letter from Charlotte J. Trapier to Joanna Ward Trapier, October 6, 1866[?], private collection).

Like so many other Southerners, Charlotte continued to feel self-righteous regarding the Civil War, remarking, "you feel that if we have been unfortunate, we are no less famous. We must go down to posterity" (letter from Charlotte J. Trapier to Joanna Ward Trapier, September 11, private collection). Her attitudes regarding former slaves was also typical and reveal both an inability to accept in the inhumanity of slavery and the fact that bondage no longer existed as a Southern institution:

how I wish I could hire white servants. Our cook this morning declared her intention of leaving us for the city in a month's time, and out present housemaid is a raw as possible, but I hope by patience to get on with her. All the capable ones want to go to Charleston (letter from Charlotte J. Trapier to Joanna Ward Trapier, October 6, 1866 [?], private collection)

[my friend's] faithful Rachel is still with her. So few of the rase

are faithful, we must make a great deal of such as are so. I am glad some . . . are coming to their senses. I don't want any of my former maids about me. Emmeline is the only one we would care to have about us again. . . . I am not astonished that the latter are trying to get back to their former owners -- a desire it is said, that is becoming quite general -- it is not attachment, I am convinced, but necessity (letter from Charlotte J. Trapier to Joanna Ward Trapier, September 11, private collection).

Turkey Hill

The Trapier family papers contain information about their plantations during and after the war. Trapier plantations were especially vulnerable to Union action since William Heyward's brother, James H. Trapier, served as Brigadier General in the Army of the Confederacy. The old Trapier family home, Windsor on the Black River, was raided by Union soldiers in 1865. William Heyward's mother and other family members were on the plantation with over 200 slaves when Col. Patterson's troops raided.

Rosemont and Kensington, two plantations of Martha Pyatt's sons, Joseph Benjamin and John Francis, were also raided. Soldiers took furniture, wine, doors, windows, and mantles from the house. A family member disdainfully remarked that, "the negroes even electing to live in the 'Buckra house' for a brief period of time" (Trapier Family Papers, South Caroliniana Library; Rogers 1970:390).

Following the war, the Bureau of Relief, Freedmen, and Abandoned Land (Freedmen's Bureau) sent George C. Fox to seize those Georgetown plantations that had been abandoned by owners. By August 31, 1865 the Bureau had taken possession of William H. Trapier's two plantations, Ingleside on the Black River and Turkey Hill (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Georgetown District Report, Freedmen's Bureau, August 31, 1865). Oatland was apparently not confiscated, perhaps because the property was owned by the widow, Martha H. Pyatt, rather than by the rebellious Trapier family.

By October, the Bureau held in its possession at least 23 "abandoned" plantations in Prince George Parish, 11 of the 23 were on the eastern bank of the Waccamaw and extended from Laurel Hill on the north to Strawberry Hill on the south (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Report of George C. Fox, Freedmen's Bureau, October 1865). The Bureau's records give some information about structures and workmen on the plantations and their former owners. William H. Trapier is physically described in one of the documents, "the above named has light complexion gray hair light blue eyes and is 6'6" high and is 60 years of age and by profession a planter" (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Freedmen's Bureau, Petition of W.H. Trapier).

Structures at Turkey Hill were listed as late as October 1865 as "1 dwelling house, 1 threshing mill, 1 barn, 15 negro houses." The number of "negro houses" is five less than the 1860 census report suggesting the removal or destruction of several during the war years.

The freedmen living on the plantation, the report stated, were "self-sufficient" and "engaged in cultivating rice and corn" (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Georgetown District Report, Freedmen's Bureau, August 31, 1865 and October 1865).

Trapier's land was apparently restored in September 1865, but the order was subsequently rescinded. In late October, Trapier petitioned the Bureau for restoration stating that he had contracted "with his former slaves, but now freedmen" on September 28, 1865 to work at Ingleside and Turkey Hill and had assumed control and management of the plantation until October 28 when he was "informed that the action of Lt. Col. Murray was reversed and possession given to your petitioner revoked." In his Oath of Allegiance, dated December 11, 1865

and written from Walhalla, Trapier explained his absence from Turkey Hill, "I hereby certify that I have lived with my mother-in-law, Mrs. M.H. Pyatt since my marriage in 1846 and only visited my plantations occasionally." He further asserted, "the U.S. Authority has no control over the same [Turkey Hill and Ingleside]." Attached to the petition is M.H. Pyatt's oath that "W.H. Trapier has lived with me since his marriage in 1846" (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Freedmen's Bureau, Petition for Restoration of Property, W.H. Trapier, October 30, 1865).

According to these statements, Turkey Hill was unoccupied by the family since 1846. They apparently moved among their various homes -- the Oatland plantation, and the Georgetown and Charleston town houses -- depending upon the social and planting season. The original dwelling house at Turkey Hill, built by John Allston, Sr., in the 1730s, would have been over 120 years old.

Most Georgetown plantations were restored to their owners by December 1865; however, Turkey Hill and Ingleside were not restored to Trapier until January 15, 1866 (Rogers 1970:428).

Oatland

In November 1866, Martha H. Pyatt leased "Oatland with the Sea-Shore" tract bounded on the north by "Turkey Hill Plantation," south by lands in "the estate of John H. Tucker," and west by the "Waccamaw" to D.W. Jordan and Ralph Nesbit for three years for \$6120. The lease provided that the lessees would maintain "in good planting order with good banks and good fences at least 100 acres of the rice lands" and further stipulated that no timber would be cut except for fire wood and necessary repairs. The lease listed the personal property at Oatland: three mules, three yoke of oxen, one boat, one wagon, one ox cart, and nine trenching hoes (Georgetown County RMC, DB A, p. 150).

Because of failing eyesight, Martha H. Pyatt had her daughter write to her son in Georgetown regarding her will:

believing that grandfather's will and her own are both destroyed, she desires to make a new one for herself in as strict accordance with his bequest to her and her own will as she can She wishes [the bequests] to be enjoyed without being liable to creditors (as you both owe money), consequently, her attorney says she must approve a trustee No bond will be required of the trustee . . . knowing none has any cash to spare in these times (undated letter, private collection).

Mrs. Pyatt's will of February 20, 1869 left Oatland and the Charlotte Street house in Charleston to her daughter and the Georgetown house to her son, John F. Pyatt. The will stated:

fearing that the last will and testament of my father, the late Benjamin Allston, deceased, may have been lost or destroyed during the war, and thereby the evidence of the title to and my interest in the plantation situate in All Saints, Waccamaw, known and designated as "Oattam" [Oatland] may have perished, I desire here to announce and set forth that in and by the last will and testament I had only a life estate in said plantation with the remainder to my daughter, Charlotte Josephine Trapier for life, and after her death to her children (Will of Martha Hayes Pyatt, private collection).

Martha H. Pyatt died in 1869 and her son-in-law, W.H. Trapier, died in 1872. They are buried along with Trapier's two sons, Benjamin Allston (1848-1862) and Paul Horry (1842-1870) at St. John's Lutheran Church cemetery in Walhalla (Anonymous 1938:206).

Turkey Hill and Oatland

Charlotte continued to live at Walhalla and later in Atlanta. Her brother, Joseph, probably managed Turkey Hill and Oatland, but no member of the family lived on either plantation. Correspondence from Arthur B. Flagg in February 23, 1883 apprised Joseph of the destruction of the property at Oatland:

your man from Oatland came over yesterday morning and told me that six of the houses had burnt during the day before from the carelessness of a woman in the place (letter from Arthur B. Flagg to Joseph Trapier, February 23, 1883, private collection).

Since the "houses" are not individually identified, the letter suggests that they are all the same, probably former slave cabins.

At some point Turkey Hill seashore tract went under separate ownership from the remainder of the plantation. After the Civil War, the Oaks, Turkey Hill Seashore, and the Boone Savannah Tract are listed as part of the estate of Joseph Allston. On November 12, 1868, Mary J. Allston purchases the three properties from John Allston's estate at public auction (Georgetown County RMC, DB B, p. 365). In 1880, Mary J. Alston, Addison, and Mary C. Brown, all of New York City, sold the Oaks and Turkey Hill Seashore to Benjamin Burg Smith and Anna L.A. Smith (Georgetown County RMC, DB F, p. 465). Mrs. Anna L.A. Smith and others conveyed these two properties to Dr. Allard B. Flagg in January 1883. The deed provided family access to the Turkey Hill cemetery:

being all the premises therein conveyed [November 112, 1868 conveyance] except the Boone Savannah tract and the family graveyard on said plantation which is enclosed by a brick wall and the free ingress to the same from the public road to the family and their descendants (Georgetown County RMC DB H, p. 635).

The Flaggs owned both pieces until October 7, 1901, when they were auctioned by order of the court for nonpayment. The Turkey Hill Seashore and 3400 acres of the Oaks were bought at public sale for \$750 by Louis Claude Lachicotte (Georgetown County RMC, DB V, p. 162, 228).

Oatland and the remaining portion of Turkey Hill plantation remained the property of Charlotte J. Trapier until her death on January 10, 1906. About 91 years old, she died in Atlanta at the home of a niece, Mrs. J.B. Heyward. The Atlanta Constitution obituary read, "She was a Miss Pyatt of Georgetown before her marriage and was the widow of William Heyward Trapier, a prominent South Carolinian, a relative of Gov. Heyward." The funeral, it added, would be Walhalla, "the home of Mrs. Trapier during the war" (Atlanta Constitution, January 12, 1906; see also Georgetown Times, January 13, 1906).

Since both sons predeceased Charlotte Trapier, she left Turkey Hill and Oatland to her seven nieces and nephews: John S. Pyatt, Martha H. Heyward, Martha A. Pyatt, Penelope P. Parker, B. Allston Pyatt, Catherine W. Pyatt, and Maham W. Pyatt. Their heirs held the properties in joint ownership until 1917. In 1916 they granted a five-year timber lease to the Ward-Bate Co., Inc., a Georgetown-based business, for \$2500. The terms of the agreement permitted all pine timber of 12 inch diameter and upwards 12 inches from the ground to be cut, "saving and excepting thereupon the young trees which are situated in the old fields near Waccamaw River." The property was described as "Turkey Hill" and "Oatland" containing 1200 acres of land, more or less:

butting and bounding to the Oats on the north, to salt marsh and the Oaks Seashore [probably the old Turkey Hill Seashore tract] on the east, to the Willbrook plantation owned by Clarence Lachicotte on the south and the Waccamaw River on the west (Georgetown County RMC DB M-1, p. 234).

This is the first record of timber cutting on either property except that necessitated for planting, fire wood, or building purposes.

In 1917 the seven heirs sold the two properties to W.J. Singleton for \$5000. The deed for 1250 acres cited the following boundaries:

north on lands of the Oaks plantation, east on that part of the Oaks plantation known as Turkey Hill Seashore and the salt marsh, south on Willbrook plantation and west on the Waccamaw River.

The deed stipulates that the grantors reserve:

that certain part of the land . . . which has been set apart as a graveyard or cemetery with a right of way or easement from the most convenient landing to said cemetery. Which said reservation with the appurtenant right of way reserved however, only to the grantors herein and to their heirs (Georgetown County RMC DB N-1, p. 237).

A 1919 plat gives the acreage of the two plantations as 695 acres from rice fields to River Road, 596 acres from River Road to King Road (U.S. Highway 17), 140 acres from King Road to salt marsh, 95 acres from salt marsh to sand beach, for a total of 1426 acres (Georgetown County RMC PB C, p. 61; see Figure 11). This plat also suggests that the reason the trees in the fields along the Waccamaw River were excepted from the 1916 timber sale is that they were in the vicinity of the cemetery and remnants of the Turkey Hill plantation house, which according to the plat were still standing. No structures (except the church), however, were still present on Oatland.

From 1924 through 1926 the properties changes ownership several times. In 1924, the Oatland Gun Club bought them from W.J. Singleton. This club operated under a state charter for two years, from December 1924, until December 1926. Based in Conway, South Carolina, the corporation's purpose was "the buying and selling of agricultural and timber lands, and otherwise dealing in real estate and personal property." Officers of the corporation were M.G. Anderson, W.A. Freeman, H.L. Buck, and S.P. Hawes (South Carolina Secretary of State, Charter of Private Corporation 14010; Georgetown County RMC DB C-2, p. 13).

In 1926 V.W. Platt, a Conway druggist, bought the properties. Platt transferred ownership that same year to the Oatland Beach Club, a Columbia-based corporation organized for the "buying, selling, handling, trading, and developing [of] real estate either as principal or agent and also the handling of stocks, bonds, mortgages, certificates of indebtedness, and all other business incident thereto" (South Carolina Secretary of State, Charter Private Corporation 14485; Georgetown County RMC DB E-2, p. 97; Genevieve Chandler Peterkin, personal communication 1987). The Oatland Beach Club also acquired the 636 acre Willbrook plantation in 1926, thus reuniting the three properties under a single owner (Georgetown County RMC DB E-2, p. 98).

Willbrook

Further information about Willbrook during the Civil War is unavailable. It is known that ownership remained in the estate of John H. Tucker. His heirs paid \$211.33 in state, county, and school taxes on the real property of the estate in 1872 -- a total of 4,680 acres valued at \$14,087 (Georgetown County Tax Records, 1872).

An 1872 plat of Willbrook shows a single building, the main dwelling house, with one roadway leading from it to the public road and another to the rice fields. The plantation contained a total of 726 acres -- 60 acres of cleared lands, 127 acres of rice lands, and 539 acres of uncleared highlands (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, McCrady Plats 10, p. 5380). This plat shows Litchfield and Oatland, although it was drawn with south to the top

of the plat (Figure 12).

By 1873, Thomas A. Middleton owned Willbrook. Although no documentation of conveyance to Middleton was located, there are records of his obtaining loans in 1873 with Willbrook used as collateral. This owner is probably Thomas Alston Middleton (1836-1896), great grandson of William Alston of Clifton (1756-1839). According to various records, Thomas A. Middleton graduated from the South Carolina College in 1856 and married twice, first to Josephine Alston, daughter of William Algernon Alston, and later to Mary Beirne (July 26, 1866), daughter of Andrew Beirne of Baltimore (Bailey 1984:394; Cheves 1900:232; Groves 1901:56; Rogers 1970:254, 266, 310; Robin Salmon, personal communication 1987).

On December 3, 1873, Thomas A. Middleton mortgaged Willbrook to Isaac Alexander for a loan of \$1334.52. The agreement authorized the public auction of Willbrook if the loan were not repaid (Georgetown County RMC Mortgage Book A, p. 200). The following January, Middleton mortgaged his Pee Dee plantation, Enfield, to Robert Ellison Fraser for \$13,200 (Georgetown County RMC Mortgage Book A, p. 222).

From September 1875 until January 1876, Middleton received five small crop loans from Elkin Baum, each payable in periods ranging from 10 to 60 days. The five loans totalled only \$342.51. However, to secure additional time to make the payments, Middleton gave Baum a second mortgage on Willbrook, "as a security for any balance which may be due the said Baum under and virtue of his advances for the last crop to whit crop of 1875." If unpaid, the agreement authorized Baum to auction the plantation and pay off Issac Alexander loan from the proceeds (Georgetown County RMC Mortgage Book A, p. 543).

On October 21, 1876, Willbrook (766 acres) and Enfield (400 acres) were auctioned by Fraser and Sessions Auctioneers. The buyer, Jacob Baum, paid \$3678 for both properties (Georgetown County RMC DB E, p. 656). Jacob Baum's (1953-1881) father, Elkin Baum (1820-1882), was born in Schwereng, Germany and later immigrated to the United States. Jacob Baum is advertised in the 1872 Georgetown Times as a jeweler with "an elegant assortment of fine jewelry, watches, and clocks" (Anonymous 1980:2; Georgetown County Historical Society 1980:2; Georgetown Times, February 8, 1872).

Over the next decade, Willbrook changed hands several times between the Baums and James M. Lesesne, an indication of the financial instability of those years. Three months after purchase, Jacob Baum deeded the property to his father, Elkin Baum, for \$600 (Georgetown County RMC DB E, p. 732). On October 8, 1877, Elkin Baum deeded Willbrook to James M. Lesesne of Georgetown for \$2500 (Georgetown County RMC DB F, p. 162). Lesesne transferred ownership to his wife, Nellie Lesesne, on July 2, 1878 (Georgetown County RMC DB F, p. 7). The Lesesnes apparently lived on the property. James M. Lesesne is listed in the 1880 census as owning a 677 acre farm (Willbrook) in Lower All Saints valued at \$2000. The 26 acres planted in rice produced 10,444 pounds. The previous year Lesesne had paid \$56 in wages for Negro farm help (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1880 Georgetown Agricultural Schedule).

Elkin Baum regained ownership of Willbrook on June 2, 1881, because of non-payment by Lesesne. The Release of Equity suggests the property was in poor condition. Lesesne, it states, had "paid only what may be regarded reasonable rent for the use of said plantation during the time I have occupied the same and whereas the amount still due for principal and interest on said land is as much money as the said mortgaged premises in their present dilapidated condition are worth and more than they would bring at a forced sale" Baum paid \$500 for the release of the property (Georgetown County RMC DB F, p. 721). Elkin Baum died in 1882, and his executor sold the property in January 1885 to Louis Breslauer and Louis Claude Lachicotte for \$950 (Georgetown County RMC DB I, p. 152; DB K, p. 204).

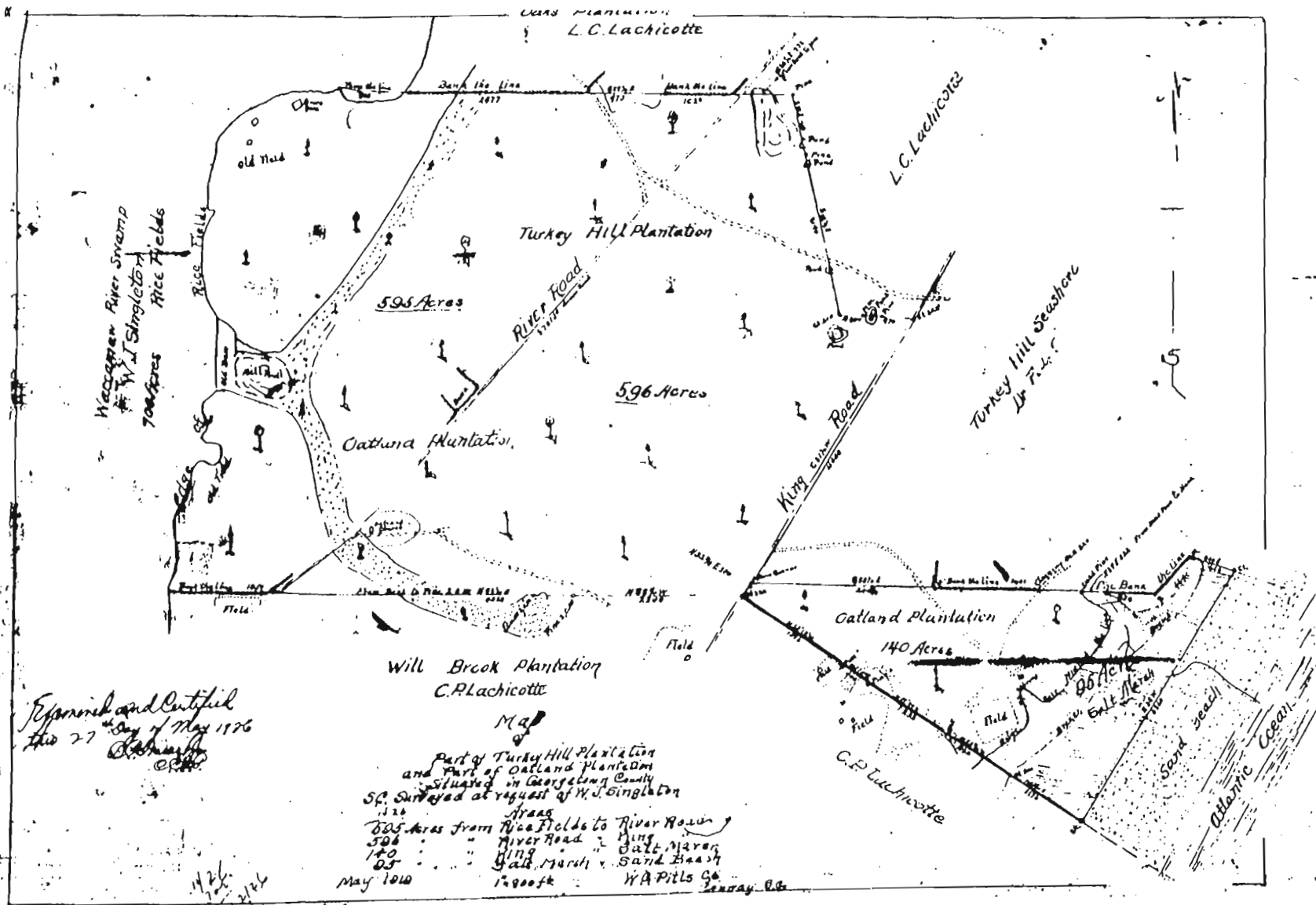


Figure 11. 1919 plat of Oatland and Turkey Hill plantations (Georgetown County RMC PB C, p. 61).

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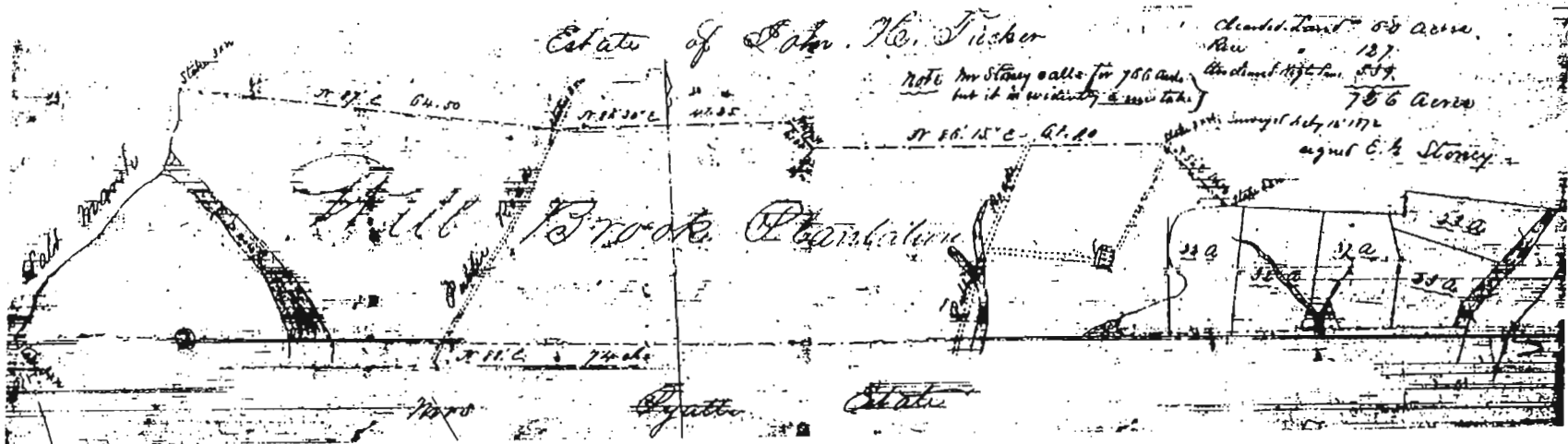


Figure 12. 1872 plat of Willbrook plantation (McCrary Plats 10, p. 5380).

including an oyster shucking operation and the production of a sauce, "Yan-kee Hot Sauce." The Lachicottes also operated a canning factory and shipped terrapin and seafood to New York. Both of these enterprises were reportedly located on the Brookgreen property to the north (Robin Salmon, personal communication 1987; Genevieve Chandler Peterkin, personal communication 1987; A.H. Lachicotte, personal communication 1987).

An 1886 plat shows the 439 acres of Willbrook woodlands divided into lots and a number of these lots on the eastern boundary are owned by black farmers: Lot 13 - Peter Bethea; Lots 30, 37, and 38 - Tom Small; Lot 32 - Rufus Singleton; Lots 33 and 34 - Welcome Beese; and Lots 38 and 39 - Nita Simmons (Georgetown County RMC PB A-2, pp. 70-71) (Figure 13).

In 1889 Breslauer deeded his half interest in Willbrook to Lachicotte for \$500. The 664-3/4 acre property is described as "butting and bounding to east on the salt marsh, to the north on lands of Pyatt, to the south on lands of Dr. M.H. Tucker and to the west on the Waccamaw River" (Georgetown County RMC DB K, p. 505). Later that year Claude Lachicotte transferred ownership to his wife Ella F., and the to his brother Clarence P. Lachicotte (Georgetown County RMC DB K, p. 698). Clarence Lachicotte lived on the premises and truck farmed. Alberta Morel Lachicotte, in Georgetown Rice Plantations, describes the Willbrook residence as an "old, well-constructed, two-story house." There appear to be no extant photographs of the house, although it seems to have been of a very simple design. In 1895 the rice plantation house burned and Clarence Lachicotte rebuilt the structure in the same general area (Lachicotte 1955:52; Alberta Lachicotte Quattlebaum, personal communication 1987; see also Trinkley 1987a:76-78, Figure 13).

In January 1911, Ella S. Lachicotte sold her half interest in the plantation to Clarence for \$2000 (Georgetown County RMC DB D-1, p. 206). Lachicotte planted rice on the plantation, it is believed, until at least 1922 (Alberta L. Quattlebaum, personal communication 1987). Clarence Lachicotte was the last person known to have lived at Willbrook. In December 1926, he sold it to the Oatland Beach Company for \$10,000. The deed description read:

known as Willbrook plantation, containing now 636 acres, more or less, and bounded as follows, on the north by Oatland Plantation, now owned by Oatland Gun Club, on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, on the south by Litchfield Plantation, now owned by Dr. Henry Norris, on the west by the Waccamaw River. This being the whole of the old Willbrook Plantation less certain tracts which have heretofore been conveyed therefrom, the conveyed tracts being as follows: 30 acres to Francis Doctor, Nita Simmons 20 acres, 10 acres to Peter Bethea, 5 acres to Ellen Trapier, 32 1/2 acres to Tom Smalls, 20 acres to Welcome Bees, 10 acres to Rufus Singleton, 17 3/4 acres to Harris Bees (Georgetown County RMC DB E-2, p. 98).

A 1931 plat of Turkey Hill, Oatland, and Willbrook shows the lots owned by all the above names people except Francis Doctor and Harris Bees (Georgetown County RMC PB A-2, p. 27; Figure 14). A lifetime resident of Waccamaw Neck, Genevieve Chandler Peterkin (personal communication 1987), identified the above surnames, except Bethea, as blacks who continue to reside in the area of Murrell's Inlet.

Another lifetime resident, 84 year old Munchie Johnson, also recalled these property owners. Mr. Johnson knew Welcome Beese who died as the age of 117 and Welcome's brother, Harris Beese, who died at the age of 93 or 94. Tom Small was "Mobee Small's baby son" and he had two sons, King and Mobee. Nita Simmons was the daughter of Welcome Beese. These people along with Doctor, Bethea, Singleton, and Trapier, Johnson said, had all lived on the lower Willbrook lots in the area called "Big Pond." Descendants of the Simmons and Beese's continue to live in the

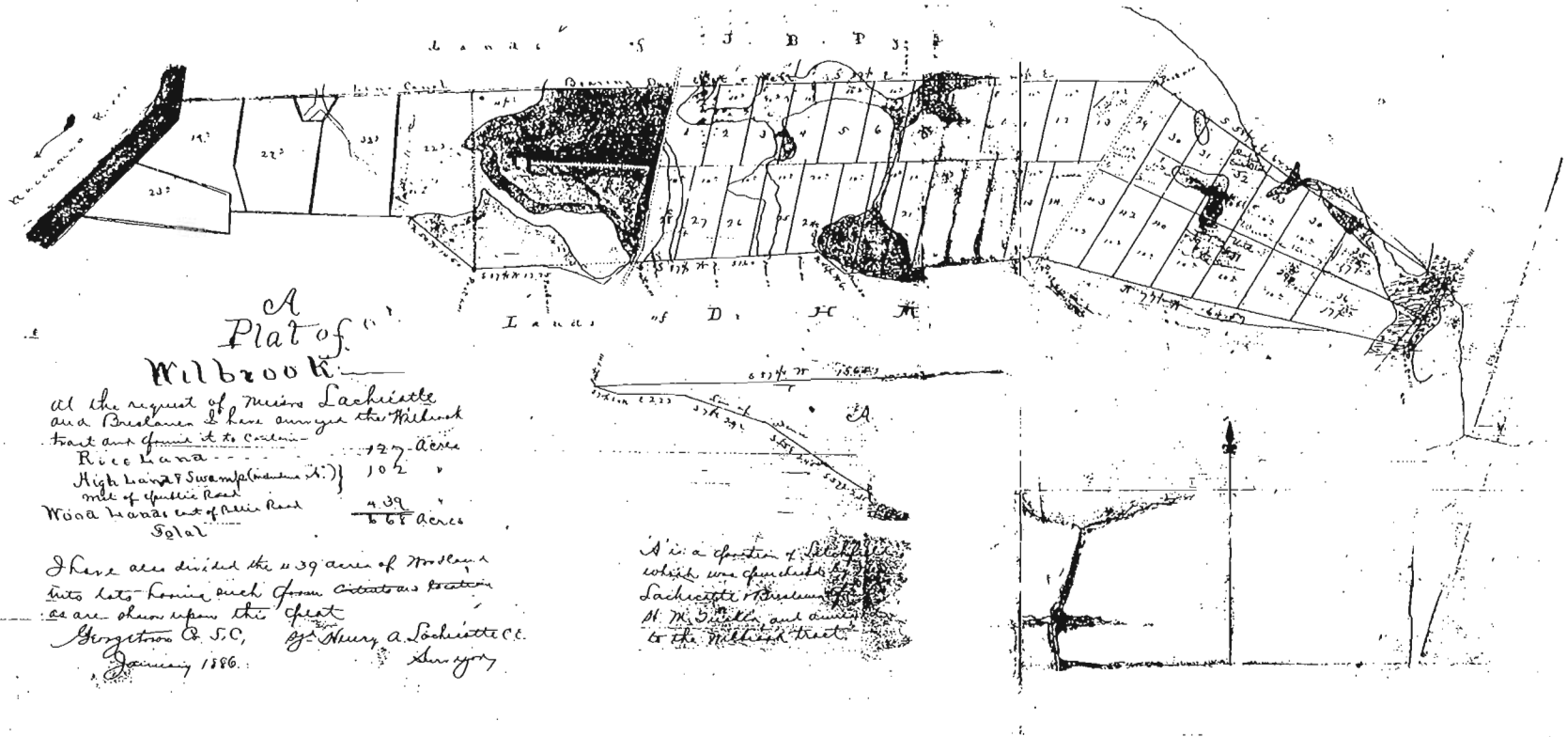


Figure 13. 1886 plat of Willbrook (Georgetown County RMC PB A-2, p. 70-71).

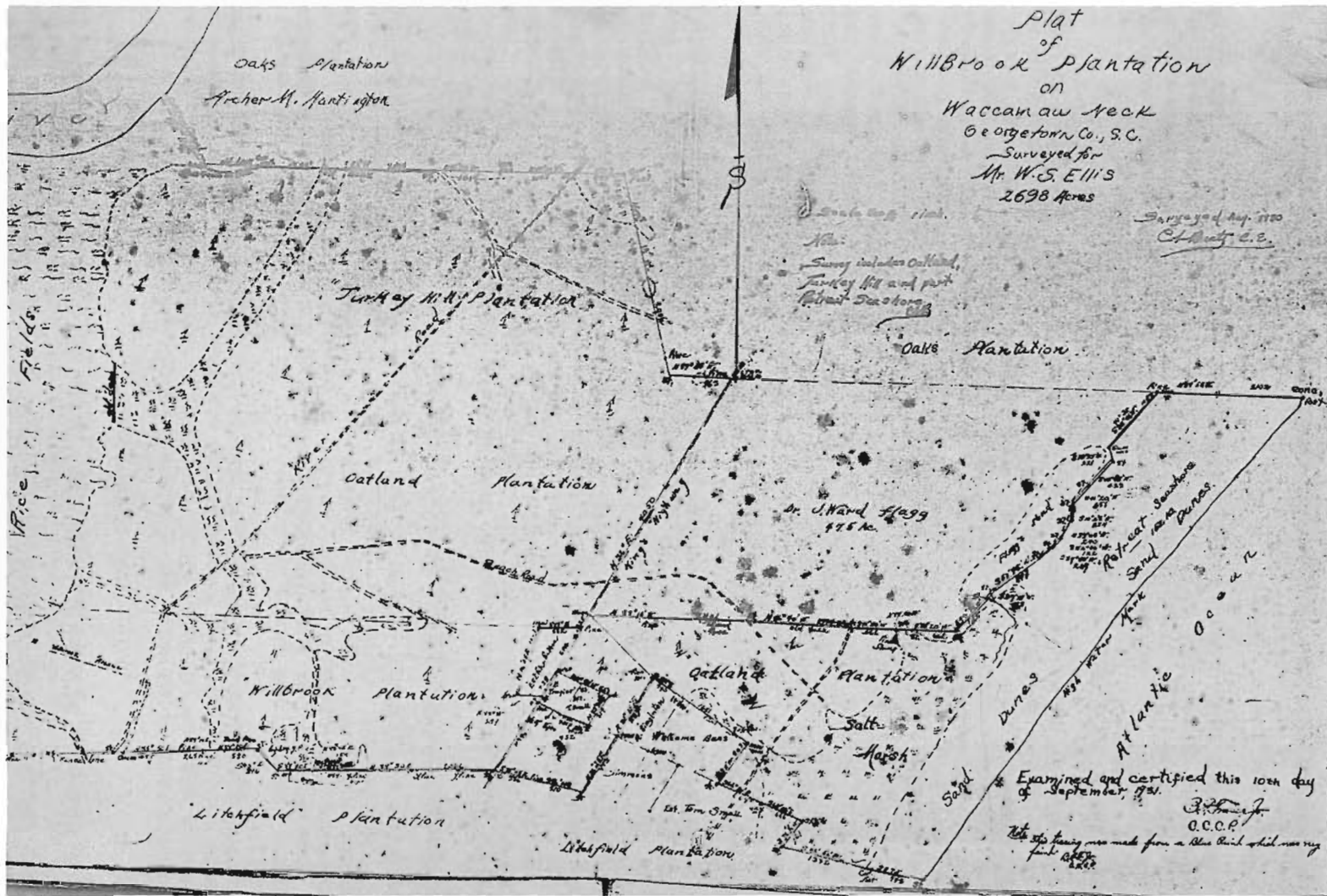


Figure 14. 1931 plat of Willbrook, Oatland, and Turkey Hill plantations (Georgetown County RMC PB A-2, p. 27).

area today. Mr. Johnson surmised that these people bought the land sometime soon after the war (they owned the property by at least 1886, as indicated by the plat of that year). His own father bought land on the Neck for \$1.50 per acre in the late nineteenth century (Munchie Johnson, personal communication 1987).

Willbrook, Oatland, and Turkey Hill

The Oatland Beach Club also bought Turkey Hill and Oatland in 1926 from V.W. Platt (Georgetown County RMC DB E-2, p. 97). The Oatland Beach Company sold the three plantations in 1926 to William S. Ellis, a wealthy businessman from Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. The properties, used for duck and quail hunting, included two miles of ocean frontage along Magnolia Beach (Georgetown County RMC DB X-1, p. 37a; Rogers 1970:490; Lachicotte 1955:52).

In 1931 the Fidelity Philadelphia Trust Company acquired the property and in 1938 sold it to Jesse Metcalf, a New York City millionaire, international sportsman, and nephew of Senator Jesse Metcalf of Rhode Island. Metcalf bought a large number of properties on the Pee Dee, Sandy Island, and along the Waccamaw during the 1930s. After Metcalf's death, his widow, Kathleen, sold the property in 1941 to the Reed I. West family of Marion, South Carolina. Munchie Johnson recalled that he helped cut timber for Reed West, the first time any extensive cutting had been done on the properties (Munchie Johnson, personal communication 1987; Rogers 1970:490-491). From 1945 to 1981 the Willbrook properties were owned by the Hunter family. Luther P Byars, A.M. Rose, and J. Thomas Hunter bought the plantation in 1945. Byars, Rose, and Hunter were businessmen and farmers from Marion County with summer houses at Murrell's Inlet. They used the plantation lands for winter duck hunting (Genevieve Chandler Peterkin, personal communication 1987; Georgetown County RMC DB O-2, p. 39; DB D-3, p. 363; DB K-3, p. 37; Bolick 1946:94; Lachicotte 1955:54).

A.M. Rose deeded his third interest to Hunter and Byars in 1948. Byars died in 1950, leaving his interest to Lurline Stedman, Lurline Byars (his wife), and John Byars (his son) who subsequently conveyed their interest to J.T. Hunter (Georgetown County RMC DB P-3, p. 305; DB Z-3, p. 175; Georgetown County Probate Court, Roll 84-ES-22-171; Genevieve Chandler Peterkin, personal communication 1987). When Hunter died in 1970 the property was inherited by his wife, Carolyn, and at her death in 1981, it was conveyed to their four children: J. Thomas Hunter, Jr., Adelle H. West, Hattie Costa Hunter King, and Dorothy H. Thomas (Georgetown County Probate Court, Roll 83-ES-22-98). On October 31, 1984, they conveyed title to Litchfield by the Sea, the current owner.

Synoptic Summary Relating to Archaeological Research

Although this historical research has revealed considerable information about the families owning Willbrook, Oatland, and Turkey Hill, there is much which is unclear, and even more about which very little was found. While the historical accounts are clearly useful to the archaeological research, it is equally clear that without the archaeological research our understanding of life on these Waccamaw plantations would be vague and, in some respects, distorted.

This summary will attempt to briefly review the information gathered from the various sources, relating it specifically to the archaeological research being undertaken by Chicora Foundation. At the risk of being somewhat repetitious each of the three plantations will be discussed individually.

Willbrook Plantation

Originally acquired by John Allston, Sr. prior to 1739 and integrated with the Oatland and Turkey Hill tracts by 1747, Willbrook was probably used in the early-eighteenth century as an indigo plantation. By John Allston, Sr.'s death in 1750, however, it is likely that rice was beginning to play a more important part in the plantation economy. Although it is clear from the records that

Allston did not live on the tract, there is no evidence regarding slave occupations or other support structures.

The land passed through the hands of Benjamin Marion, to Peter Simons, sometime prior to 1791. By at least 1798 the 320 acre plantation was owned by Thomas Young. A plat of that year reveals that the plantation contained a main house, four associated out buildings, three barns (almost certainly for rice), and two "negro settlements." The western slave settlement contained a double row totalling 10 structures, while the eastern settlement contained a double row of eight, for a total of 18 structures. A slightly earlier plat, dating 1794 suggests that Willbrook may have been managed by an overseer, Mr. Wilson.

At the turn of the century the property came under the ownership of John Hyrne Tucker. By 1850 there were 149 slaves working the plantation and by 1860 there were a total of 188 slaves and 20 slave structures on both Willbrook and Litchfield to the south (the figure of 9.4 slaves per structure is high, but perhaps not impossible). Regardless, it is likely that fewer slave houses existed on Willbrook in 1860 than in 1798.

The property passed to Tucker's son, John Hyrne Tucker, II in 1859 and remarkably little is known about the plantation during and immediately after the Civil War. It does seem likely, however, that the ca. 1798 main house escaped the war intact since it is the only structure shown on an 1872 plat. By 1895 the presumed original 1798 structure burned and was replaced the next year by a new house, built in approximately the same location. This 1896 structure remained intact until demolished in 1985.

Willbrook was clearly a wealthy plantation, valued at \$85,000 in 1850 and \$300,000 (combined with Litchfield) in 1860. Joyner illustrates that only 5.2% of the white population in 1850 had land holdings valued between \$50,001 and \$100,000 and only 2.5% had a total value of real estate above \$100,000. In 1860 the combined value of Willbrook and Litchfield place Tucker in a relatively exclusive group of landowners having over \$100,000 in real estate (Joyner 1984:Table 3). In 1860 Willbrook and Litchfield produced 2,132.5 pounds of rice per acre, well over the mean of 1,562.2 pounds per acre and nearly double the median of 1,260 pounds per acre. Tucker's estate managed to produce 6,173 pounds of rice per slave, compared to a mean of 3,765 pounds and a median of 3,333 pounds (Joyner 1984:Table 2). This places Litchfield and Willbrook in second place for both pounds of rice per acre and pounds of rice per slave compared to the 13 other major holdings in All Saints Parish.

Taking 1798 as the initial construction date for the plantation and assuming a terminal date of 1864 for the slave structures, the mean historic date for slave occupation on the plantation would be 1831. Given the likelihood that the slave structures were constructed prior to 1798 and that many were destroyed or abandoned by 1860, it is probable that the actual mean date is slightly earlier, perhaps 1820. The mean historic date for the main house area, built at least by 1798 and occupied until 1926, is 1862. Since the out buildings were gone by at least 1872 they may reflect a mean historic occupation of 1835.

Oatland Plantation

The 640 acre Oatland plantation was acquired by John Allston, Sr. in 1747 and like adjacent Willbrook, served primarily agricultural functions since Allston lived on Turkey Hill. Whether slaves were residing on the plantation cannot be determined from the historic accounts.

John Allston, Sr. willed the plantation to his son, Samuel in 1750. From Samuel ownership becomes clouded, although there is reason to believe that the property eventually passed to Joseph Allston, perhaps 1772. It seems likely that when Joseph died in 1784 the property passed to his son, Thomas and it was during the late eighteenth century that the first major settlement was built on Oatland

for Joseph's widow.

By 1812 the property had been acquired by Benjamin Allston, Sr. Although Benjamin gave a life estate in plantation to his daughter, Mary H. upon her marriage to John F. Pyatt in 1812, Benjamin continued to manage the tract until his death in 1847 (John F. Pyatt having died in 1820). By 1850 the plantation had 247 slaves and by 1860 there were 213 slaves living in 40 structures (5.3 individuals per structure being near the Waccamaw Neck norm). During the late antebellum or early postbellum the Oatland Church was constructed.

Mary H. Pyatt continued to live at Oatland until the Civil War when she and her extended family moved to Walhalla. Although the plantation was not confiscated by the Freedmen's Bureau, Mary H. Pyatt never returned to the property although there is evidence that it continued as a working plantation into the late postbellum. In 1883 at least six of the 40 slave structures on the plantation burned. By 1919 no structures were remaining on the Oatland tract.

Oatland's value of \$109,800 in 1850 places it at the uppermost scale of lands in All Saints, with only 2.5% of the population having real estate with a total value of \$100,000+. Even in 1860 only 26% of the population had more in land than the \$75,000 of Oatland (Joyner 1984:Table 3). In 1860 Oatland (and perhaps another plantation included in the tabulations) produced 1,173.9 pounds of rice per acre and 3,169 pounds per slave. Oatland's pounds per acre and pounds per slave are slightly below both the mean and median values for All Saints, and the plantation ranks 10th (out of 14 major land holdings) in both categories.

Assuming an initial construction period of 1785 for the Oatland main plantation complex and a terminal date of 1866, the mean historic date for the main house would be 1826. Using the same initial date for the slave settlement on the plantation, but a terminal date of 1883, the mean historic occupation would be 1834. Of course, given the very tenuous basis for the initial date of construction at the plantation, these represent only general approximations.

Turkey Hill Plantation

The 490 acre Turkey Hill plantation was acquired by John Allston, Sr., in 1730 and by 1747 the three study tracts were under one ownership. When Allston died in 1750 his will indicates that he was living on Turkey Hill plantation, suggesting that the plantation was constructed sometime between 1730 and 1750. The property passed to his son, Josias and by 1772 Turkey Hill was owned by Joseph Allston. The associated cemetery is first mentioned in 1780.

When Joseph Allston died in 1784 he left the only detailed account of the structures, which included a dwelling house, kitchen, wash house, stable, hen house, and a garden. Joseph left the plantation to his son, Thomas, with the provision that his widow could continue living there until a suitable dwelling was built for her at his "plantation joining on Turkey Hill."

Benjamin Allston acquired the tract sometime prior to 1812 and passed it on to his daughter, Mary H. Allston, who gave it to her daughter, Charlotte Josephine. Charlotte married William H. Trapier in 1846 and Trapier acquired control of Turkey Hill. It is clear from the historic documents, however, that the main Turkey Hill settlement was largely abandoned by this time. The extended Allston family was apparently living at Oatland, in Georgetown, or in Charleston.

By 1850 the plantation has 114 slaves but by 1860 there were only 87 slaves in 20 structures (for 4.4 individuals per structure, which represents a fairly low number for the Waccamaw Neck). The property was confiscated by the Freedmen's Bureau in 1865, at which time there was a main house, a threshing mill, one barn, and 15 slave houses. As previously mentioned, the documents examined consistently suggest that Trapier and his wife lived with her mother, and spent little, if any, time at Turkey Hill.

GENERAL HIGHWAY
AND
TRANSPORTATION MAP
GEORGETOWN COUNTY
SOUTH CAROLINA

PREPARED BY THE
SOUTH CAROLINA STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT
IN COOPERATION WITH THE
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS
DATA OBTAINED FROM
STATE-WIDE HIGHWAY PLANNING SURVEY

SCALE OF MILES

1939

POLYCONIC PROJECTION
COMPILED FROM U.S.C. & G.S. AIR PHOTO MAPS OF 1934
AND STATEWIDE HIGHWAY PLANNING SURVEY RURAL ROAD INVENTORY

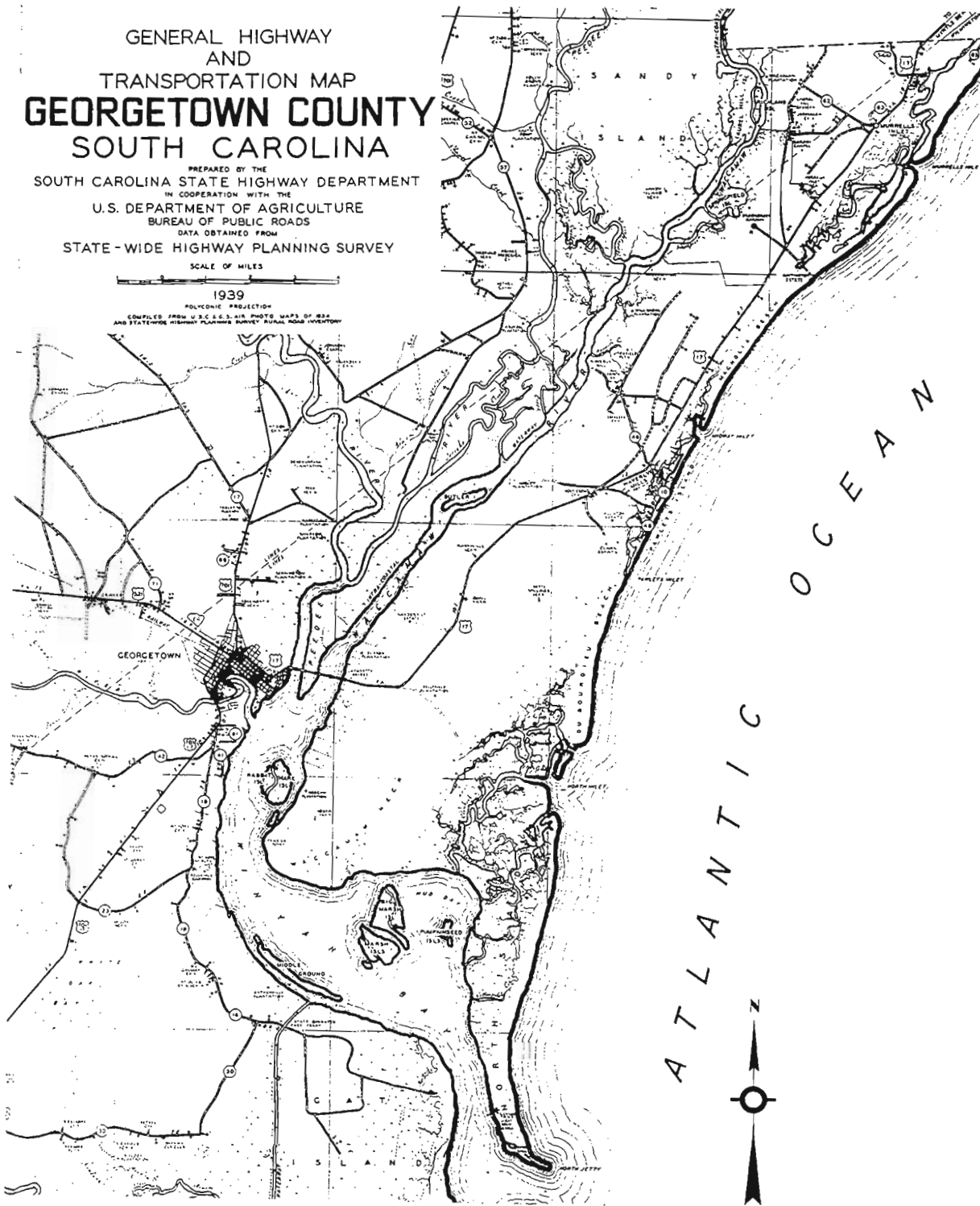


Figure 15. Waccamaw Neck settlement pattern in 1939.

The property was initially restored in late 1865, but this restoration was rescinded until 1866. A 1919 plat showed the cemetery and two structures, one of which appears to be the main house. By 1931 no structures are shown in the area of the Turkey Hill settlement, although a 1939 Georgetown County highway map indicates that the Parkersville School for blacks was located on Turkey Hill island (Figure 15).

Turkey Hill's 1850 value of \$40,000 and 1860 value of \$20,000 not only places it in comparison with Oatland and Willbrook, but also reveals that Trapier had relatively little money in real estate, compared to other All Saints planters (Joyner 1982:Table 3). Turkey Hill was also a relatively poor producer of rice, on both a per acre (900 pounds) and per slave (2,500 pounds) basis. These figures fall well below both the mean and median levels for other Waccamaw plantations and Turkey Hill ranks twelfth among the 14 major tracts (Joyner 1982:Table 2). This poor showing is likely the result of Trapier being an absentee owner.

The mean historic date for the Turkey Hill main settlement, using a construction date of 1740 and a terminal date of 1920 is 1830. Since occupation at the main complex ceased about 1846, it may be more appropriate to use this as the terminal date. If so, the mean historic date for Turkey Hill is 1793. The slave settlements, also originating about 1740 and continuing until about 1866, would have a mean historic date of 1803.

PLANTATION ARCHAEOLOGY

Michael Trinkley

There have been a series of articles offering, with various degrees of detail, syntheses of plantation archaeology (Fairbanks 1984; Orser 1984, 1990; Singleton 1990). There also are numerous papers which explore particular aspects of plantation archaeology (e.g., Babson 1990; Ferguson 1986; Friedlander 1986, 1990; Zierden 1986). There seems little reason to repeat what others have already said quite eloquently.

On the other hand, many of these discussions have, of necessity, discussed plantation archaeology in very broad, almost generic terms. Although the authors clearly realize the importance of distinguishing between, for example, rice and cotton plantations, the purpose of many the syntheses was not to make this distinction. And while there several historical accounts of rice plantations (Easterby 1945; House 1954; Littlefield 1981; Smith 1985) virtually all suffer from a lack of archaeological data.

Consequently, this brief synthesis will review the primarily archaeological research readily available on the rice plantations of Georgia and South Carolina and will conclude with a more detailed examination of the research currently available for the rice plantations on the Waccamaw Neck. The purpose of this section, of course, is to place the research at Willbrook, Oatland, and Turkey Hill into a broader framework, as well as to gather information useful for comparative studies.

This review will, as much as possible, avoid the current philosophical debates in archaeology surrounding the usefulness of mean dating, pattern analysis, status, ethnicity, and racism. While there may be a tendency on the part of some to debate theory to the exclusion of data collection, the decision to avoid these topics is not meant to imply that these discussions are inappropriate or unnecessary if the discipline is to grow and mature. Rather, the choice has been made to concentrate on an examination of the data present as a result of excavations at rice plantations, rather than how this data may be viewed from any one particular philosophical perspective.

Finally, it is likely that some sources have been overlooked, but every effort has been made to ensure that published and distributed studies have been included in these discussions. Unfortunately, many archaeological studies, at least in South Carolina, receive extremely limited distribution.

Rice Plantations

Five studies are of particular importance in this review of rice plantation archaeology in South Carolina and Georgia, both because of their common availability and because they begin to develop our understanding that rice plantations were, in some but not all ways, distinctive from other plantations in the South Carolina Low Country.

Three of these studies were published in 1980: Richard Carrillo's examination of the main plantation complex at Green Grove in Charleston County, South Carolina; William Lee's research at the main complex of Limerick in Berkeley County, South Carolina; and Theresa Singleton's excavations at Butler Island in McIntosh County, Georgia. The remaining two studies include Wheaton et al.'s (1983) examination of the Yaughan and Curriboo plantations in Berkeley County, South Carolina and Zierden et al.'s research at Archdale in Dorchester County, South Carolina.

Green Grove

Green Grove plantation, producing indigo and later upland rice, was occupied as early as 1714. A plantation complex was present at least by 1797 and may have continued into the early nineteenth century (Carrillo 1980:7-22).

The research at Green Grove was largely concerned with the examination of James Deetz's (1977) theories regarding the "re-Anglicization" of American colonies after 1760. In particular, Carrillo sought to examine archaeological differences in the Euro-American ceramic assemblage before and after the watershed date of 1760. A secondary goal of the project involved an examination of the black produced Colono ware ceramics.

Carrillo completely excavated two structures (A and C) and partially exposed a third (B). Latter work revealed a fourth structure and evidence of an extensive midden area. Structure A consisted of a building measuring 43 by 20 feet with end chimneys and a partition wall. Evidence of interior plaster walls were identified and the foundations were constructed of "poured brick rubble and lime . . . similar to tabby construction" (Carrillo 1980:32). Carrillo noted that this technique:

was utilized in the Caribbean and was associated with a Spanish style construction technique called "Spanish walling" consisting of timber frame filled with rough stones set in earth and mortar (Carrillo 1980:32).

Structure A appears to have been constructed between 1714 and 1738 and was burned during the American Revolution. The mean ceramic date for this building is 1788 (Carrillo 1980:Table 5). Although the published report does not report artifact patterns, 44.6% of the materials recovered from Structure A belong to the Kitchen Artifact Group, while 54.2% belong to the Architecture Group. The abundance of architectural remains (n=26,441) is the result of the structure burning.

Structure B, situated to the east of Structure A, had been heavily damaged by plowing and only portions of the brick foundation remained intact. This appeared to be a frame structure supported on low brick foundations and, like Structure A, it had also burned (Carrillo 1980:38). The mean ceramic date for the structure is 1790. While porcelain comprised only 6% of the ceramic collection in Structure A, it accounted for 23% of the ceramics in Structure B (Carrillo 1980:54). Carrillo suggests that this was the main house for the plantation

Structure C, also of brick construction, measured 14 by 18 feet. No mean ceramic date or function is suggested for the structure (Carrillo 1980:38).

Further work revealed a probable slave settlement to the east of the plantation complex (Carrillo 1980:51). Feature 13 appears to represent a trench wall structure and although only two sections of the walls could be identified, it measured in excess of 25 feet to a side (Carrillo 1980:Figure 16). The artifacts from this portion of the site are of a considerably lower "status." Porcelain accounted for only 4% of the ceramic assemblage and Euro-American ceramics accounted for only 32% of the collection. Colono wares (n=2718) dominated this portion of the site, accounting for 68% of the total. The mean ceramic date for this portion of the site was 1764, somewhat earlier than other portions of the Green Grove plantation (Carrillo 1980:56).

Carrillo finds some evidence supporting Deetz's theories regarding changes in ceramics during the mid-eighteenth century. He observes:

prior to 1762, the ceramics produced by three distinct cultures were in use: English slipware and delft for food consumption, chinese produced fine quality porcelain for tea consumption, and Colono ware, a ware produced by slaves and utilized in the preparation of

food. . . . After 1762, creamware plates were used for food consumption. Porcelain, creamware and pearlware were used for tea consumption and Colono ware continued to be used for food preparation (Carrillo 1980:60).

Of equal interest, however, is the assemblage of the early eighteenth century slave settlement, particularly when compared to the main plantation area. Table 3 provides an approximation of the artifact patterns, based on the information provided by Carrillo (1980:Table 1). In the planter's compound the Kitchen Group accounts for 47.9%, compared with 86.5% in the slave compound. Architectural remains in the planter's compound account for 49.5% compared with only 3.9% in the slave settlement. Tobacco artifacts are much more common in the slave compound than in the planter's main complex (Table 3).

Limerick

Limerick plantation dates to at least 1713 with several structures likely dating to this period, although the earliest documented plantation layout is from 1786 (Lees 1980:141). Producing upland rice at least by 1786, the plantation's early economy appears to have been organized around both subsistence crops and the commercial exportation of rice. By 1797 rice production was a significantly more important component of the economy. Rice continued to be the major cash crop until the Civil War (Lees 1980:142).

The research conducted at this plantation was oriented toward two descriptive goals: the architecture of the main plantation complex and intra-site artifact patterning. Lees (1980:14) also sought to relate the changes observed at Limerick, in both artifacts and architecture, to the changing economic system in which plantations such as Limerick operated.

Good archaeological evidence was obtained for three structures -- the main house (initially constructed in the eighteenth century and altered in the nineteenth), a nineteenth century kitchen, and an additional nineteenth century structure. An additional four structures are shown on eighteenth century plats. One of these four, the original kitchen, was probably identified on the basis of the archaeological study. A second structure, the remains of a probable eighteenth century barn, was identified outside the study area. The remaining two structures escaped detection (Lees 1980:120).

The pattern analysis of materials recovered from the work at Limerick (Table 3) reveal a preponderance of kitchen-related items (accounting for 59.0% of the collection), followed by architectural remains (34.5%). This assemblage, because it was collected not solely from structural contexts, but also from yard scatters, is probably a very accurate indicator of the total variety present on the plantation. The mean date for the total site complex was calculated to be 1820.

Lees (1980:Table 16) found that Colono ware ceramics associated with the main plantation complex at Limerick decline in importance during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He notes that:

Colono ceramics decrease from 77.5% of all ceramics for units with a mean ceramic date between 1726 and 1750 to only 2% of all ceramics for units falling between 1851 and 1875. For those same groups, European ceramics increase from 22.4% of all ceramics to 97.9%. . . . we can conclude that, in contexts generally associated with the planter occupations, Colono ceramics were generally more important during the Colonial period than they were during the Antebellum period (Lees 1980:138).

Lees briefly reviewed surface collected ceramics from two of the eighteenth century slave compounds known to have existed at Limerick (38BK261 and 38BK376):

at site 38BK261, 85% of the ceramics (total N=20) are Colono ceramics. Likewise, at site 38BK376, 75% of the ceramics (total N=12) are Colono ceramics. When compared to the main settlement at Limerick, where 38% of the ceramics are Colono ceramics, the contrast is striking (Lees 1980:136).

In terms of correlating broad economic patterns to the activities and events identified at Limerick, the project was perhaps slightly less successful. In general, the broad economic transformations present in South Carolina are paralleled in the Limerick data (see Lees 1980:148-149). Unfortunately, neither sufficient historical documentation nor archaeological research was available to explore the perhaps significant economic shifts from upland rice to upland swamp rice to tidal rice.

Butler Island

Singleton's research at two Butler Island slave settlements marks one of the few studies oriented almost exclusively to the examination of slave lifeways. The plantation occupation began in the early nineteenth century and although the Butler estate contained a number of plantations, Butler Island "was the largest in both acreage and production" (Singleton 1980:63). Rice planting began in 1802 at the modest level of 128 tierces (one tierce is equal to a 600 pound barrel) and by 1833 the production had reached 1,660 tierces. In 1833 the plantation produced 1,685 pounds per acre, at the upper end of productivity levels on the Waccamaw Neck (see Joyner 1984:Table 2). In addition to rice, the plantation produced both cotton and sugar, evidencing considerable diversification.

Site 1, investigated by Singleton, was the administrative nucleus for the plantation, including the overseer's house, various industrial activities, and a slave settlement. Unfortunately, this work was limited and failed to identify in situ remains. Site 2, which was much better preserved, contained primarily a slave settlement, although additional support buildings may also have been present (Singleton 1980:114-116). The 1815 inventory of the plantation revealed eight structures at Site 2, three of which were tested (Singleton 1980:119, 126). Excavations were concentrated at one, which revealed dimensions of approximately 24 by 48 feet.

Singleton's greatest contribution was the analysis of a collection clearly associated with a nineteenth century slave settlement on a coastal rice plantation. Her discussions of ceramic styles and vessel forms reveal the predominance of annular decoration over more expensive hand painted or transfer printed motifs (Singleton 1980:Table 9). Although a variety of vessel forms were present, bowls and cups (N=32) account for 54% of the collection (Singleton 1980:Table 8).

The artifact pattern from the Butler Island excavations (see Table 3) revealed that architecture artifacts account for 67.9% of the total, followed by the kitchen (20.0%) and tobacco (9.7%) groups. Using the data from Butler Island and three additional slave sites along the Georgia and Florida coast, Singleton proposed the "Slave Artifact Pattern in Coastal Georgia/Florida" (Singleton 1980:Table 18; see also Table 3). Singleton mentions that of the four plantations, only Butler Island cultivated rice. In addition, all of the plantations were managed very differently, adding to the potential variables (Singleton 1980:211). Regardless, the Georgia Slave Pattern has been widely adopted as "typical" of nineteenth century slave sites.

Yaughan and Curriboo

Perhaps the most often cited study of eighteenth century plantation slavery, this study deals with two Berkeley County plantations (Wheaton et al. 1983). Both were owned by the Cordes' family from the mid-1700s through the mid-1800s, although the best historic documentation comes from the Yaughan

plantation, which produced indigo, rice, pitch, corn, beef, and peas (Wheaton et al. 1983:302).

This study offers a wealth of historical and archaeological data on these upland rice plantations (which also clearly evidenced considerable diversification). Of tremendous significance are the data on slave architecture in the eighteenth century. The authors report the presence of both "mud wall" and frame architectural types. The mud wall or "cob" structures are characterized by trench and post foundations with clay or mixed clay and sand fill, nearby clay extraction pits, and a low incidence of internal hearths. Adams (1990:44-48) has recently suggested that these structures may represent wattle and daub construction, rather than "cob" construction and her re-evaluation of the Vaughan-Curriboo data deserves further consideration.

The frame structures at the investigated sites are based on the presence of post holes, absent trench features. In addition, the posts were spaced further apart than in the trench structures. The authors suggest that the construction techniques gradually changed from the use of trenches and cob architecture to the use of post and framing. They also observed that neither type of structure tended to have an internal chimney, although hearths and scattered charcoal seem to be common in the surrounding village area. Regardless of the construction technique, these slave structures were ephemeral even when recently constructed. They could be rapidly destroyed by twentieth century logging or cultivation activities.

Wheaton et al. (1983:226-250) provide a detailed examination of the Colono wares recovered from the excavations. Two types were distinguished: Colono-African (Colono) and Colono-Indian (Catawba), based on thickness, paste, form, and other attributes. Colono appears to have been made by African slaves, while the Catawba ware appears to be the result of trade with Catawba (or similar) Native American groups. This represented a major refinement in our understanding of Colono ware and its cultural implications.

The excavations at Vaughan and Curriboo also provide detailed information on the artifact patterns identified at the sites (Wheaton et al. 1983:Table 57). The pattern analysis of the mid to late-eighteenth Vaughan material compares more favorably with the materials from Curriboo plantation dating to the same time period, than from a late eighteenth - early nineteenth slave site also on Vaughan (Table 3). Wheaton et al. note that:

the highest Kitchen Group and lowest Architecture Group percentages are found on the oldest site (38BK76). The architectural shift that apparently took place between 38BK76 and 38BK75 is discussed elsewhere [i.e., the shift from mud wall structures to frame structures], but it is felt that the change in the Kitchen and Architecture Groups from the older to the younger site reflects culture change (Wheaton et al. 1983:286).

The study documents that at these ephemeral eighteenth and early nineteenth century structures, architectural remains are consistently uncommon, accounting for no more than 25% of the total artifact assemblage. Kitchen items dominate, followed by the architectural remains, followed by tobacco pipes.

Archdale

Archdale, located on the Ashley River in Dorchester County, was held by members of the Baker family from the late seventeenth century until 1903. The plantation house was built by 1734, but was largely destroyed by the 1886 earthquake (Zierden et al. 1985). During the eighteenth century the plantation was a large and active rice plantation, with 2,000 to 3,000 acres of marsh rice lands (Zierden et al. 1985:34). The nineteenth century saw the plantation gradually transform from a working plantation to a country home, so that by 1850 there were only 50 acres of improved land (Zierden et al. 1985:39).

Archaeological investigations at the site concentrated on three of the outbuildings associated with the main settlement. Structure A probably dates from the mid-eighteenth century, although archaeological evidence is tenuous. The structure may have served as an administrative or office building for the plantation. Structure B represents a probable wall trench building, with a length of about 25 feet (Zierden et al. 1985:62). Structure C, of probable frame construction on brick piers, measured approximately 20 by 30 feet.

As anticipated by the historical research, a mixture of both eighteenth and nineteenth materials were recovered from the excavations. The authors divided the collection into two "subassemblages":

based on temporal association. These include eighteenth century (ca. 1700-1780) and nineteenth century (1780-1880). Proveniences were assigned to one of these assemblages on the basis of the date of deposition, which was determined by stratigraphic point of initiation and *Terminus Post Quem* (Zierden et al. 1985:75).

In reviewing the pattern analyses from Archdale (Table 3), several items are of immediate interest. The percentage of architectural items increases through time at the expense of the Kitchen Group. This change may be the result of continuing repairs and modifications of the main complex through time. It is also likely an indication of the less substantial architectural techniques used in some structures (i.e., Structure B). In addition, the percentage of Activities Group artifacts declines from 4.0% in the eighteenth century to 1.9% in the nineteenth, perhaps an indication of the plantation's change in function from a working farm to a recreational dwelling.

Zierden et al. (1985:103) also observe that the pattern at the site is quite distinct from the expected Carolina Artifact Pattern and suggest that the low percentage of domestic materials may be the result of refuse being transported away from the house and formal garden, while the high percentage of architectural materials may be related to the substantial nature of the Archdale architecture and the site's near total destruction in the twentieth century. While these suggestions cannot be refuted, they should be judged in relationship to the pattern emerging from similar sites, rather than just on the basis of a generalized eighteenth century English domestic pattern.

Regardless, Zierden et al. (1985) also discuss the implication of status associated with the artifacts recovered from Archdale. Porcelain accounts for 13% of the recovered ceramics, and tablewares comprised 47% of the ceramics in the eighteenth century assemblage and 66% of the ceramics in the nineteenth century collections. Table glass increases from 0.4% of the eighteenth century Kitchen Group to 2.4% in the nineteenth century. Whether these temporal variations reflect the change in the plantation's function, increased wealth, increased availability, or other factors is uncertain. Clearly, however, the wealth and prestige of the Baker family is observable in the archaeological remains of Archdale. Colono wares were identified in the Archdale collection and were found to decrease from 39% of the ceramics in the eighteenth century assemblage to 17% in the nineteenth (Zierden et al. 1985:106).

Summary

These rather brief summaries offer only a glimpse of the information currently available on coastal Georgia and South Carolina plantations (excluding those of the Georgetown region). Whether status in ceramics, architectural features, or patterns are considered, there is much which unites these sites.

Rather than discussing this assemblage in isolation from the Georgetown rice plantations, it is appropriate to integrate the two. This recognizes that there may be differences between upland rice plantations and tidal rice plantations, particularly those of South Carolina's Waccamaw Neck. It seems

unlikely, however, with our current analytical, archaeological, and interpretative skills and small sample sizes, that these differences will be observable, even if the two technological forms of rice cultivation are maintained as distinct subsets.

Rice Plantations in the Waccamaw Neck Area

Nine Waccamaw Neck rice plantations have been examined archaeologically over the past 11 years, although the intensity of these examinations varies from survey to testing to data recovery. As a whole, the quality of data from the Waccamaw Neck is less reliable than that from elsewhere along the South Carolina and Georgia coasts, in spite of the intensity and importance of rice cultivation in Georgetown County or the number of plantation sites present in the area.

The earliest research is survey level investigation by Drucker (1980) at the Oaks and Laurel Hill plantations, now part of Brookgreen Gardens. In 1983 Zierden and Calhoun (1983) conducted limited test excavations at Campfield Plantation on the Black River. Trinkley (1987a) conducted survey level investigations of the Willbrook, Oatland, Turkey Hill plantations along the Waccamaw River. In 1986 Marvin Smith conducted test excavations at Midway plantation on the Waccamaw River. Excavations at the Wachesaw and Richmond Hill plantations on the Waccamaw were begun in 1983, but not completed until 1987 (Michie 1987, 1990; Michie and Mills 1988).

The Oaks and Laurel Hill

Drucker (1980) surveyed eight sites on portions of The Oaks and Laurel Hill, both now part of Brookgreen plantation. Identified were both domestic and industrial sites dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The presence of Colono ware was documented from a late eighteenth century possible overseer's structure on The Oaks. Collections from the other sites were too small to allow more detailed analyses. Although Drucker identified two sites associated with the milling of rice, she was reluctant to recognize the place or importance of these industrial sites in our understanding of Waccamaw Neck rice cultivation. This study points out the importance of viewing plantations not only as places of domesticity and agricultural pursuits, but also as commercial enterprise with the potential to contribute to our understanding of industrial technology and its application on a variety of levels.

Campfield

Campfield, on the Black River, began in the eighteenth century under the ownership of the Boone family and by the nineteenth century was owned by Sextus T. Gaillard. Structures were present on the plantation by at least 1790. Compared to the Waccamaw Neck rice plantations, the 600 acre Campfield plantation was insignificant. Campfield and Ramsay Grove together produced only 320,000 pounds of rice in 1850, only 95,000 pounds more than Turkey Hill and 4,090,000 pounds less than the Brookgreen holdings (Zierden and Calhoun 1983:8).

The investigations by Zierden and Calhoun are apparently the first serious examination of a Georgetown rice plantation. The portion of the site studied was a nineteenth century slave settlement with visible architectural remains and a high degree of site integrity. Although only 125 square feet were excavated, the researchers were able to provide a fairly detailed analysis of the artifact pattern (Table 3).

Considering the differences between the Campfield data and the Vaughan and Curriboo data (contrasted with Campfield's strong similarity to the Georgia data presented by Singleton [1980]), Zierden and Calhoun discuss two possible explanations. The artifact pattern differences, largely seen in the proportion of kitchen and architecture related items, may be the result of architectural differences. Campfield, like the Georgia sites, evidenced wood frame construction

on brick piers, resulting in rather abundant nails. The construction techniques at Vaughan and Curriboo, in contrast, were more impermanent and left few architectural artifacts. Also considered were the temporal differences between the two groups, with Vaughan and Curriboo dating from the eighteenth century, and Campfield and the Georgia sites dating from the nineteenth century.

At this nineteenth century slave site (mean ceramic date of 1853.7) Colono wares account for 19.4% of the total ceramic collection. Transfer printed and hand painted ceramics account for less than a third of the total pearlware and whiteware collection. Zierden and Calhoun also observed that the Campfield refuse appeared to have been "deposited in, or adjacent to, the slough and, to a lesser extent, scattered around the structures" (Zierden and Calhoun 1983:46). This is reminiscent of the disposal practices observed by Singleton at Butler Island, where a "ditch was used intensively for the deposit of refuse" (Singleton 1980:123).

Willbrook

A survey of the Willbrook plantation was completed by Chicora Foundation in 1987. The main plantation complex and two slave rows were identified. Historic documentation indicated that the plantation began in the eighteenth century and continued to the Civil War as a fairly major rice producing tract along the Waccamaw River (Trinkley 1987; see also this study).

The main plantation complex had been disturbed by at least one episode of demolition and reconstruction in the late nineteenth century and the twentieth century demolition of the standing structure. Previous excavations by another researcher have never been published, adding to the problems associated with the site.

In spite of these factors, the survey combined with the collections from previous excavations, provided considerable preliminary information on the settlement. The largest collection came from the kitchen, where the mean ceramic date for the recovered remains was 1802. The pattern analysis is shown in Table 3. It is likely that the abundance of architectural remains is the result of demolition at the site. It is curious that the Willbrook pattern analysis is most similar to two other planter sites which evidenced considerable demolition activity -- Green Grove and Archdale -- both of which date of the eighteenth century. Colono ware accounts for 10.2% of the total ceramic collection.

Both the slave settlements appear on a 1798 plat. The first produced a mean ceramic date of 1789.6, while the other yielded a date of 1814.9. Only the "earlier" settlement had a collection large enough to warrant the examination of its artifact pattern. It closely resembles the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern, with kitchenwares dominating architectural remains (Table 3). Colono wares account for 76.7% of the total ceramic collection at this site.

Oatland

Oatland plantation adjoined Willbrook to the north and the survey identified two plantation components -- a main settlement and what may have been an associated slave settlement (Trinkley 1987:91-99). The plantation originated in the late eighteenth century and continued as a viable economic unit until the Civil War. The main plantation settlement yielded a mean ceramic date of 1836.8, although the presence of creamware, delft, and white salt-glazed stoneware clearly indicates that the settlement began at least by the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

Kitchen related artifacts dominate architectural remains by two to one and Colono ware accounts for 18.9% of the total ceramic collection. Only 20.1% of the creamwares, pearlwares, and whitewares are either annular or edged. The pattern analysis closely resembles the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern (Table 3).

The posited slave settlement at Oatland received very limited test excavations and is poorly understood (see Trinkley 1987:95-99). Regardless, the available information reveals a mean ceramic date of 1845.9 and unlike the nearby plantation site, no eighteenth century materials were recovered. The pattern analysis for the site is dominated by the architectural remains, which account for 69.5% of the recovered materials. Colono ware accounts for 24.4% of the ceramics, although the total collection includes only 41 specimens.

Turkey Hill

The Turkey Hill plantation was established in the early to mid-eighteenth century. While the main house appears to have been abandoned in the early nineteenth century, Turkey Hill continued as an operating plantation until the Civil War (Trinkley 1987; see also this study). Three components were identified, including the main settlement and two slave rows.

Although the mean ceramic date for the main settlement is 1806.5, a small number of early to mid-eighteenth century remains clearly document its initial occupation. Colono wares account for 60.3% of the ceramic collection, although European ceramics are dominated by "high status" wares such as hand painted and transfer printed ceramics. Like several other eighteenth century planter complexes, the Turkey Hill main settlement has produced a pattern analysis with the kitchen and architecture remains about equal in proportion (45.8% compared to 44.6%; see Table 3).

Both of the two slave settlements appear to date from the nineteenth century, although they contain very small quantities of late eighteenth century remains. Their mean ceramic dates are 1848.6 and 1852.8. Colono ware pottery accounts for 8.5% and 2.3% at the two sites, supportive of their nineteenth century dates. Undecorated and annular wares are common at both sites.

Their pattern analyses, however, are quite different (Table 3). At one the kitchen group accounts for nearly 94% of the specimens, while at the other kitchen items account for only 56.1% of the collection. The only explanation available at the survey level was that the latter settlement appeared undisturbed and to have better integrity. The damage present at the other site may have reduced the opportunity for rather ephemeral architectural items, such as nails, to be recovered.

Midway

Midway plantation is situated on the Waccamaw River and was a major tidal rice plantation. It produced the fourth largest yield of rice per acre in 1860, although it ranked only eighth in yield per slave. Test excavations at the site explored the slave settlement, which dated to the nineteenth century, and a single test unit was placed in the vicinity of the main house (Smith 1986). Excavation of the slave settlement was complicated by fairly intensive postbellum occupation, while the investigations at the main settlement are too limited to be trustworthy.

The slave settlement excavations did, however, produce sufficient artifacts for a detailed pattern analysis. The results must be carefully interpreted given the postbellum occupation. Of the over 4,000 artifacts recovered from these excavations, only one Colono ware ceramic was recovered, and that specimen came from the planter's settlement.

Richmond Hill and Wachesaw

Richmond Hill and Wachesaw appear to have been primarily nineteenth century plantations, although their Waccamaw Neck location suggests that an earlier eighteenth century components exist. Regardless, the extensive archaeological investigations at the sites have focused on their nineteenth century settlements.

A series of excavations at Richmond Hill have investigated the planter's residence, an overseer's structure, and a structure tentatively identified as that of a driver. In addition, two assemblages from nineteenth century slave contexts have also been reported from Richmond Hill (see Michie 1987; Michie and Mills 1988; Michie 1990). At Wachesaw only the overseer's structure was investigated in any detail (Michie 1987).

These excavations are of considerable importance since they have investigated a diverse assemblage from two nineteenth century Waccamaw Neck rice plantations. All of the mean ceramic dates fall into a fairly tight cluster during the late 1830s to the late 1850s.

In spite of the promise, we have found that the published data are generally unsuitable for comparative studies. Problems arise not only from a failure to report artifact quantities or provide detailed pattern studies, but also because the number of artifacts present vary from publication to publication. For example, Michie (1987) reports four Colono ware sherds from the planter's complex at Richmond Hill, while seven are reported by Michie and Mills (1988) and Michie (1990) reports 11.

Given the importance of the data, we have tried to minimize these problems by "piecing together" data from several sources. This was successful only for the Richmond Hill planter's residence and even there no tabulation of Activities Group Artifacts was found (Table 3). No tabulations for furniture, personal, or activities artifacts could be located for the Richmond Hill slave structure in Michie (1987, 1990) and Michie and Mills (1988) provide no tabulations for the bulk of their collections from a second Richmond Hill slave settlement. The Wachesaw overseer's structure study does not report on furniture, personal, or activity group artifacts (Michie 1987). While we are certain that these data exist in unpublished collections, they were not readily available and are therefore not included in this synopsis.

Examination of Rice Plantation Artifact Patterns

If, as some have suggested, rice plantations are no different from cotton plantations, given the overwhelming influence of the poverty of slavery, then a comparison of rice plantation artifact patterns should be similar to either the Carolina Slave Artifact or the Georgia Coastal Slave Artifact Pattern.

Before this is examined, it is appropriate to briefly review the concept of pattern analysis as originally proposed by Stanley South (1977:31ff). South states:

the key to understanding cultural process lies in pattern recognition. Once the pattern is recognized, the archaeologist can then ask why the pattern exists, why it is often so predictive it can be expressed as laws. In so doing, he can begin to build a theory for explaining the demonstrated pattern (South 1977:31).

Expressed a different way:

As archaeologists our first responsibility is pattern recognition. We must then ask why the patterns are distinct, why there is this regularity, why there is this variability (South 1977:43).

The fundamental premise of South's pattern analysis is that culture is, in fact, patterned. Accepting this premise, then, similar cultures are expected to leave behind artifacts with less variability than is expected when artifacts from two "different" cultures are compared.

While most archaeologists today at least pay lip-service to the concept of pattern analysis through the quantification of their data following South's

various artifact groups, there is relatively little in the literature which goes beyond this collection of particularistic data. One shining example, of course, is Joseph's (1989) examination of plantation artifact patterning on low country plantations.

Joseph notes the widely divergent slave patterns may be explained in a number of ways, including the excavation strategies used to collect the data. One can perhaps add to this the concern that the portion of the site being excavated (yard vs. structure) may also skew the compilation of the pattern, although South suggests:

there will be a blending effect tending to erase all but the most dramatic differences in by-product clusters reflecting specialized activity areas; thus most artifact types and classes will eventually be found distributed around the structure through this generalizing process of refuse disposal (South 1977:182).

Regardless, Joseph suggests that the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern (see Singleton 1980) and the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern (see Garrow 1982) are different because they represent "different cultural groups" (Joseph 1989:64). He observes that the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern is based on Colonial period (eighteenth century) sites with high quantities of Colono ware and impermanent architecture. The Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern is based on Antebellum (nineteenth century) sites with low quantities of Colono ware and more permanent architecture. To this may perhaps be added the differing economies of the two groups -- largely rice agriculture at the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern sites and largely sea island cotton agriculture at the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern sites.

The previous examination of rice plantation sites in this section (largely confined to the South Carolina coast) has resulted in 19 examples of eighteenth and nineteenth century owner and slave patterns (Table 3). South has previously noted that often the most "apparent contrast" is the ratio of kitchen to architecture items (see South 1977:146). It may therefore be useful to examine the ratio between kitchen and architecture artifact groups. It may also be useful to add non-rice plantations to see if there is an economic variable worthy of additional attention. Table 4 therefore lists a series of 28 data sets, isolating eighteenth and nineteenth century occupations, owner and slave sites, and rice and non-rice economies (non-rice includes indigo during the eighteenth century, indigo and cotton during the late eighteenth century, and cotton during the nineteenth century).

In the construction of Table 4 the Turkey Hill slave sites (Trinkley 1987a) have been removed since they appear to be aberrant and are not confirmed by more detailed published research.

Examining eighteenth century plantation owner sites reveals a tremendous amount of variability, with the kitchen artifacts ranging from 43.2 to 75.5% and the architecture artifacts ranging from 16.9 to 50.3%. Even before adding a predictive range to this empirical range, the variability is almost overwhelming.

However, two distinct clusters are also obvious, dividing the rice and cotton plantations. Eighteenth century rice planters have a nearly equal ratio of kitchen to architecture artifact groups, with the range of kitchen artifacts being 43.2 to 48.4% and the range of architecture being 44.6 to 50.3%. The eighteenth century non-rice (ie. cotton) plantations have a high ratio of kitchen to architecture, with ranges of 64.6% kitchen to 16.9 to 29.2% architecture.

There is no empirical overlap of the eighteenth century rice and cotton plantation owner's assemblages, and even when expanded to the 95% predictive range these two patterns remain distinct (rice plantations have a kitchen artifact range of 38.2 to 53.4% and an architecture range of 39.2 to 56.0%, while

Table 3.
Artifact Patterns of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Rice Plantations

Site	Kitchen	Architecture	Furniture	Arms	Clothing	Personal	Tobacco	Activities
Green Grove ¹								
Planter (18th)	47.9	49.5	---	0.2	---	0.3 ^a	1.2	0.9
Slave (18th)	86.5	3.9	---	0.5 ^b	---	--	7.4	1.7
Limerick ²								
Planter (19th)	59.0	34.5	0.9	0.4	0.5	<0.1	1.6	2.7
Butler Island ³								
Slave (19th)	20.0	67.9	<0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	9.7	0.4
Yaughan ⁴								
Slave (18th) ^c	84.2	11.8	0.1	<0.1	0.3	<0.1	3.4	0.2
Slave (18th) ^d	70.7	25.0	0.1	0.2	0.5	0.1	2.0	0.5
Curriboo ⁵								
Slave (18th)	79.8	13.7	0.1	0.3	0.4	<0.1	5.4	0.4
Archdale ⁶								
Planter (18th)	43.2	50.3	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	1.2	4.0
Planter (19th)	34.4	62.0	0.1	0.1	0.2	<0.1	1.1	1.9
Campfield ⁷								
Slave (19th)	24.3	71.8	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.6	2.9
Willbrook ⁸								
Planter (18th) ^e	48.4	46.9	0.3	0.5	0.8	0.1	1.3	1.7
Slave (18th)	73.1	22.2	---	---	0.8	0.4	2.9	0.6
Oatland ⁹								
Planter (mixed)	61.8	33.9	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.2	2.3	0.7
Slave (19th)	23.5	69.5	---	0.8	0.4	---	1.0	4.8
Turkey Hill ¹⁰								
Planter (mixed)	45.8	44.6	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.2	4.5	4.1
Slave (19th)	93.8	4.1	---	0.5	---	---	1.0	0.5
Slave (19th)	56.1	34.4	---	0.5	1.8	0.5	2.3	4.5
Midway ¹¹								
Slave (19th)	41.3	55.7	0.1	0.4	1.1	0.1	1.0	0.4
Richmond Hill ¹²								
Planter (19th)	26.3	71.5	0.3	1.0	0.4	0.1	0.2	---

(18th) = eighteenth century

(19th) = nineteenth century

1: Carrillo 1980:Table 1

2: Lees 1980:Table 15

3: Singleton 1980:Table 16

4: Wheaton et al. 1983:Table 57

5: Wheaton et al. 1983:Table 57

6: Zierden et al. 1985:Table 7

7: Zierden and Calhoun 1983:Table 4

8: Trinkley 1987:Table 8, 2

9: Trinkley 1987:Table 12, 14

10: Trinkley 1987:Table 22, 18, 20

11: Smith 1986:Table 21

12: Michie 1987; Michie and Mills 1988

a: includes personal, furniture, and clothing items

b: represents almost entirely flints and spalls

c: mid to late eighteenth century

d: late eighteenth to early nineteenth century

e: late eighteenth to very early nineteenth century

Table 4.
Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Low County Plantation
Kitchen and Architecture Artifact Ratios

	Kitchen	Architecture	Type
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY			
<u>Owner</u>			
Green Grove	47.9	49.5	rice
Archdale	43.2	50.3	rice
Willbrook	48.4	46.9	rice
Turkey Hill	45.8	44.6	rice
Longpoint ¹	64.6	29.2	cotton
Lesesne ²	75.3	16.9	cotton
Fairbank ³	75.5	18.1	cotton
<u>Slave</u>			
Green Grove	86.5	3.9	rice
Early Yaughan	84.2	11.8	rice
Later Yaughan	70.7	25.0	rice
Curriboo	79.8	13.7	rice
Willbrook	73.1	22.2	rice
Cotton Hope ⁴	77.7	15.6	indigo
Lexington ⁵	80.0	17.1	?
NINETEENTH CENTURY			
<u>Owner</u>			
Limerick	59.0	35.5	rice
Archdale	34.4	62.2	rice
Oatland	61.8	33.9	rice
Richmond Hill	26.3	71.5	rice
Longpoint ¹	43.4	56.6	cotton
Wando ⁶	66.8	30.4	cotton
<u>Slave</u>			
Butler Island	20.0	67.9	rice
Campfield	24.3	71.8	rice
Oatland	23.5	69.5	rice
Midway	41.3	55.7	rice
Lexington ⁷	35.0	63.6	cotton
Cotton Hope ⁴	33.0	64.0	cotton
Haig Point ⁸	31.5	61.3	cotton
Fish Hall ⁹	29.7	58.8	cotton

Sources:

For sites without citations, see Table 3.

1. Poplin and Scardeville 1991:143
2. Zierden et al. 1986:Table 4-4
3. Zierden et al. 1986:Table 5-3
4. Trinkley 1999:Table 16
5. Wayne and Dickinson 1990:9-31
6. Wayne and Dickinson 1990:10-53
7. Wayne and Dickinson 1990:7-16
8. Trinkley 1987a:Table 25
9. Trinkley 1987a:Table 3

cotton plantations have a kitchen range of 54.2 to 85.9% and an architecture range of 5.2 to 40.9%).

The eighteenth century slave sites show no clear distinction between rice and other economies. The overall range of kitchen artifacts is 70.7 to 86.5% and the range in architectural artifacts is 3.9 to 25.0%. At these sites the kitchen artifacts overwhelm the architectural items, clearly mimicking the Carolina Slave

Artifact pattern.

At the empirical level there is only slight overlap between the eighteenth century slave sites and the eighteenth century owner sites. Where overlap does occur is between the eighteenth century slave and the eighteenth century "non-rice" planter. This may represent a comparison between the wealth of rice planting and the relatively difficult times of other eighteenth century planters. Clearly the rice planters have a more equal distribution of artifacts in the kitchen and architectural groups, suggesting that both areas of life and culture received equal attention by the planter. Among the "non-rice" planters, the kitchen artifacts dominate the kitchen-architectural ratio, suggesting that the essentials of food preparation took precedence over the elaboration of architectural features.

At the 95% range the eighteenth century slave artifact pattern appears to overwhelm the cotton planter, suggesting that a "non-rice planter" artifact pattern may be very difficult to distinguish from some eighteenth century slave sites, based solely on the ratio of kitchen and architectural artifacts.

In the nineteenth century the variability of the kitchen and architectural artifact ranges increases dramatically. Table 4 reveals that kitchen artifacts may range from 26.3 to 66.8%, while architectural artifacts may range from 30.4 to 71.5%. This empirical range overlaps appreciably with the eighteenth century planters, totally encompassing the rice planters of the period.

During the nineteenth century, however, no clear difference is observed between the economies of the rice and cotton plantations. Of course, by this period long staple sea island cotton was a very profitable crop, largely equal in economic viability to tidal rice. It seems likely that there was also an "equalizing" effect inherent among Low Country planters, with all planters striving toward the same economic goals and operating under the same weight of the forage system.

It is perhaps significant that at nineteenth century owners' sites the ratio of kitchen and architectural items is approximately equal. In this respect, it is similar to the rice planter of the eighteenth century and may reflect an increasing emphasis on architectural elaboration and refinement.

At nineteenth century slave settlements the ratio of kitchen to architectural artifacts is reversed from the eighteenth century and is typical of the Georgia Slave Pattern. Kitchen artifacts range from 20.0 to 41.3%, while the architectural items range from 55.7 to 71.8%. By the nineteenth century there is no clear division between the rice and cotton plantation slave settlements, based on the ratio of kitchen and architectural artifacts. It may be that this is one by-product of the change in planters' attitudes toward slaves during the nineteenth century.

Comparison of nineteenth century owner sites and nineteenth slave sites reveals that there is again considerable overlap and that based on kitchen and architectural artifacts alone, it may be difficult to distinguish the two types of sites.

These various patterns are graphically displayed in Figure 16. In a search for some broad generalization which makes sense of these patterns (that is, as South notes, explains not only the similarities, but also the variabilities), it is worth noting that the slave sites are found at either end of the pattern ranges. In the eighteenth century they exhibit high kitchen and low architecture. In the nineteenth century they exhibit low kitchen and high architecture.

During both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries both the rice and cotton planter appears in the mid-range, balancing kitchen and architectural items, suggesting that while both were of equal (or at least tremendous)

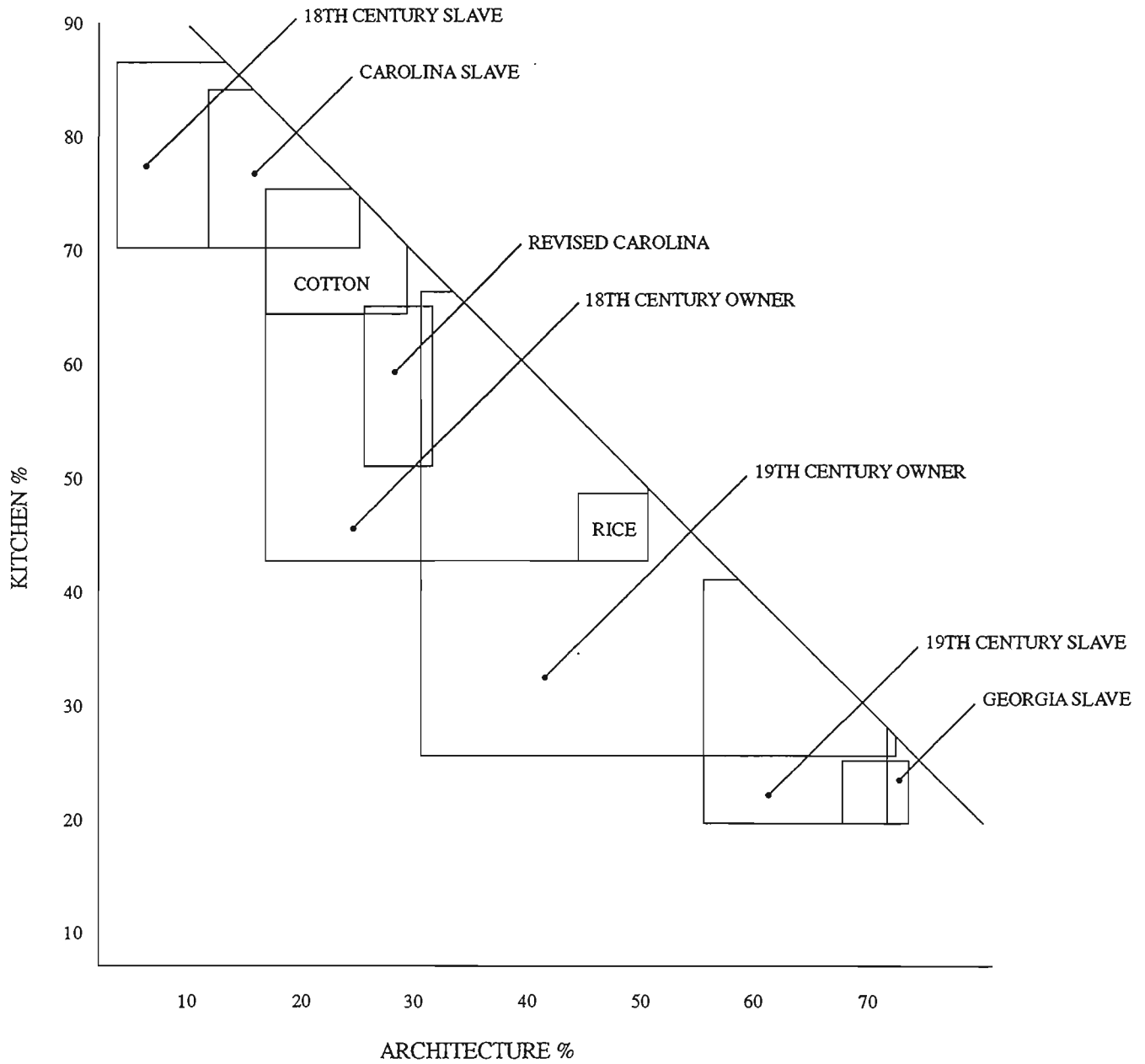


Figure 16. Pattern ranges for kitchen and architecture artifact groups.

importance, there could be a great deal of divergence between the ideal and the possible.

The extent of the overlap between the kitchen and architectural ratios of nineteenth century owner and slave compared to the very small overlap between the two groups in the eighteenth century, also suggests that the economic viability of plantations had been pushed to its maximum during the antebellum period. An alternative explanation for this overlap, of course, is that during the antebellum period there may have been a change in social values, with owners choosing to emphasize their place in society through an elaborate display of wealth at town houses in urban settings, with little attention to their remote sources of wealth -- the rural plantations.

This brief review also reveals that the ranges of both the Carolina and Georgia Slave Patterns, as they currently exist, may be too narrowly defined. And while it is unlikely that their names will ever be changed, it appears that they might be better referred to as eighteenth and nineteenth century patterns, rather than by their current geographic terms.

Returning for a moment to the question of rice plantations, it is clear that eighteenth century slave settlements at rice plantations are indistinguishable from eighteenth century slave settlements at other types of plantations. The same is true for nineteenth century slave sites. While there is a change over time, this change was largely directed by "outside" forces (see Joseph 1989:64-65) and has little, if anything, to do with the economies of rice and cotton. Slavery on a rice plantation, based on the artifact patterns, was little different from slavery on a cotton plantation.

The artifact patterns left by plantation owners, however, is clearly different between rice and non-rice plantations in the eighteenth century, but disappears by the nineteenth century.

Other Issues

A variety of other issues and concerns are revealed by this brief synthesis of eighteenth and nineteenth century rice plantations.

One is the presence of Colono ware ceramics at eighteenth and nineteenth century sites. As a variety of researchers have realized, the proportion of Colono ware pottery decreases from the eighteenth through the nineteenth century. Lees (1980) found the proportion declining from 77.5% in the early eighteenth century to 2% by the late nineteenth century. Researchers have also realized the nearly ubiquitous nature of Colono wares. While eighteenth century slave settlements consistently have the highest proportion of Colono wares, up to 80%, even the ceramics associated with the planter's residence in the eighteenth century may be anywhere from 10 to 40% Colono wares.

Perhaps more significant than the quantity of Colono ware, is its source. Wheaton et al. (1983) have recognized that the pottery is manufactured by both African-American slaves and Native American groups, defining slave made pottery as Colono and Native American made pottery Catawba.

This is an equally important distinction in the Georgetown area where hand-made, low fired, thin-walled, burnished pottery was being manufactured by protohistoric and historic Native American groups in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (see Trinkley et al. 1983). Simply asserting a slave or a Native American origin, absent any clear and convincing evidence for one over the other, is inappropriate scholarship. While it may be impossible to resolve this issue in the short-term, it is still an issue to which much more rigorous research should be devoted.

Examining other areas of the Kitchen Artifact Group, Zierden et al. (1985)

note that both tablewares and table glass gradually increase in importance from the eighteenth century through the antebellum period. While this data is from Archdale and may therefore reflect the changing status and function of that particular plantation, it is clearly worthy of additional attention at other plantations in Low County. Likewise, a number of authors have used porcelain as a clear status indicator, noting that at the main plantation settlement porcelain may account for upwards of a quarter of the ceramics during the eighteenth century. At three eighteenth century rice planter settlements (Green Grove, Archdale, and Willbrook), porcelain averages 15.6% of the total ceramic collection.

In the area of architectural research much has been contributed, at least at a gross level. A variety of eighteenth century rice plantation studies, including Carrillo's (1980) work at Green Grove, Wheaton et al.'s (1983) work at Yaughan and Curriboo, and Zierden et al.'s (1985) work at Archdale, have documented the presence of wall trench structures used as either slave dwellings or perhaps as utilitarian structures. Regardless of the exact nature of these structures (cf. Adams 1990), this documents the variability of architectural patterns and experiences in the eighteenth century, emphasizing the importance of architectural studies and the ephemeral nature of much of the archaeological record.

While studies such as those at Limerick and Archdale (Lees 1980, Zierden et al. 1985) illustrate the "mainstream" of plantation architecture, excavations at Green Grove (Carrillo 1980) document the use of "Spanish walling," emphasizing the importance of understanding the various sources for South Carolina's eighteenth century vernacular architecture. Combined with the slave architecture, these studies reveal that there is no "straight-line" evolution of plantation architecture in South Carolina. Rather, there are a variety of sources, divergences, dead-ends, and adaptations. All worked together to create something which may have parallel traditions in other parts of the world, but which, ultimately, is a unique Low Country form.

EXCAVATIONS

Michael Trinkley

Strategy and Methods

As previously discussed, each of the five sites (see Figure 1) had been previously examined by Chicora Foundation in 1987 (Trinkley 1987a). This initial work consisted of an intensive surface survey, and a review and compilation of work conducted at the sites by previous researchers, which in several cases included intensive testing (see Trinkley 1987a). Briefly, these sites were identified as:

- 38GE291 - Willbrook Slave Settlement with a mean ceramic date of 1789.6 which had been damaged by clearing operations in 1986,
- 38GE292 - Willbrook Plantation which consisted of three distinct loci, including the main house area (with a mean ceramic date of 1814.5), a kitchen (with a mean ceramic date of 1803.2), and a flanking structure (with a mean date of 1792.1),
- 38GE294 - Oatland Plantation with a mean ceramic date of 1836.8 which had also been damaged by clearing operations,
- 38GE297 - Turkey Hill Mainland Slave Settlement with a mean ceramic date of 1848.6, and
- 38GE340 - Willbrook Slave Settlement with a mean ceramic date of 1814.9 which had also been damaged by clearing.

Although site boundaries were determined by Chicora's work in 1987, sufficient work was not conducted at any of the sites to clearly delimit structural locations. Consequently, the first phase at each of the sites involved the completion of an auger test survey at 25 foot intervals. These data were intended to be used to generate computer density maps of the sites in order to guide the second phase of the investigations -- block excavations of significant site areas.

An auger survey was chosen over the more traditional shovel testing for several reasons. Auger testing has been found to be less destructive to the archaeological remains and to also be more efficient than individual shovel tests. The 25-foot interval was selected based on previous work at slave settlements with intervals ranging between 10 and 50 feet. These studies have revealed that intervals of 50 or more feet provide very little structure specific data, allowing only gross site boundaries to be established. Intervals of 25 feet generally tend to provide adequate definition of structural remains, although decreasing interval distance tends to increase the definition capability. The 25-foot interval was selected as the maximum acceptable for the study at the various Willbrook sites.

Block excavations using hand dug and screened 10-foot units were chosen at Willbrook, rather than large scale stripping, for several reasons. The first involved the environmental and aesthetic damage caused by such operations in a development oriented area. It is both difficult and costly to restore large site areas after such mechanized stripping. The most significant reason for avoiding this approach, however, relates to the nature of the archaeological record. Chicora Foundation archaeologists have recently investigated several eighteenth and nineteenth century slave settlements where the bulk of the architectural

evidence was found in the upper foot of the soil, with very few data being found as features or post holes in the subsoil. The data recovered included traditional artifacts, such as window glass and nails, which have long been used by historical archaeologists for structural reconstructions. In addition, structural evidence such as plaster, mortar with wattle or lath impressions, mortar log chinking, and similar materials tend to be largely confined to the upper zones of the site. Large scale stripping often removes much of the data with greatest interpretative value for architectural studies.

Auger Testing

At each site an auger grid was established with points marked at 25 foot intervals, except for 38GE292 where both 25 and 50 foot intervals were used. Absent standing architectural remains, the grids were oriented either with magnetic north-south or landform and topography. Each grid was tied into nearby development markers for long-term horizontal control. Each auger test was numbered from west to east and south to north within the grid. At several sites the grid was expanded during the course of the work, with the result that some auger tests are out of sequence (these tests, however, are noted on the maps accompanying the following section of this study).

The tests were conducted with a two-person power auger equipped with a 10-inch bit. Each test was augered to a depth of 1.5 to 2.0 feet. All soil was screened through 1/4-inch mesh and all remains, including shell, brick, and mortar, were collected. Measured profile drawings of all auger tests were collected and the tests were then back filled.

Materials from these tests were sorted in the field laboratory, with brick, mortar, and shell weighed and discarded. Historic artifacts were counted, although no attempt was made to distinguish between artifact classes for the purpose of the computer maps (primarily because the sample sizes tended to be small). Brick and mortar weights were combined (since both represent structural remains) and this information, as well as the tabulated artifact data, served as the basis for the computer density maps generated by Demiurge Electronics of Beaufort, South Carolina.

Block Excavations

The auger test grid served as the basis for the general site grid. At 38GE294 every other auger test number (i.e., at 50 foot intervals) were used to number "blocks," with each block designated by its southeast corner auger test number. Within these blocks a modified Chicago 10-foot grid was established, with each square designated by its southeast corner from a ORO point at the southwest corner of the 50-foot block. Thus, square 12-10R10 would be located in the 50-foot square auger test block number 12 and the southeast corner of the unit would be north 10 feet and right (or east) 10 feet from the ORO point (or the block's southwest corner).

This was found to be a difficult method for maintaining control over the site and at the remaining sites (38GE291, 38GE292, 38GE297, and 38GE340) a modified Chicago grid system was tied into the previously established auger test grid, without using the block designations. Units continued to be designated by their southeast corners, so unit 50R100 would be located 50 feet north and 100 feet right (or east) of the ORO point.

Vertical control at each site was maintained through the use of one or more elevation datums established in the site area by Chicora. Elevations are expressed as feet above mean sea level (MSL) as determined by reference to the established datum. This system allows widely separated areas of the site (and the different sites) to be precisely compared and the vertical controls can be easily re-established in the future.

Soils from the block excavations were screened through 1/4-inch mesh using mechanical sifters. Units were troweled at the top of subsoil, photographed in b/w and color film, and plotted. Excavation was by natural soil zones and soil samples were routinely collected. Features were usually bisected, with both small soils (approximately 2 quarts) and flotation samples (5 gallons) collected. Features were excavated by natural soil zones and were separately photographed, plotted, and profiles drawn during their removal. Feature fill was dry screened through 1/8-inch mesh to improve the recovery of faunal materials.

Field notes were prepared on pH neutral, alkaline buffered paper and photographic materials were processed to archival standards. All original field notes, with archival copies, are curated at The Charleston Museum. All specimens have been evaluated for conservation needs and have been treated prior to curation (this process is discussed in greater detail in a following section of this study). The materials from 38GE294 have Accession Number 1987.49 and are cataloged as ARL 38,934 through ARL 39,171. The materials from 38GE291, 38GE292, 38GE297, and 38GE340 have Accession Number 1990.20 and are cataloged as ARL 39,455 through ARL 39,578, ARL 39,773 through ARL 39,999, and ARL 40,017 through ARL 40,080.

38GE291

Archaeological investigations were begun at 38GE291 by a crew of five on March 19 and continued until March 21, 1990, during which time the program of auger testing was conducted. Excavations were begun on April 23, 1990 and continued through May 2, 1990. A total of 431.5 person hours were devoted to work at the site, while an additional 40 person hours were spent off site in the field laboratory processing specimens. As a result of this work 1500 square feet of site area were opened and 1418 cubic feet of soil were moved in primary excavations, all screened through 1/4-inch mesh.

Auger Tests

A series of 139 auger test grid points were laid out over the site at 25 foot intervals. The boundaries for this auger survey, established using Lepionka's (1986) testing data, previous work by Chicora (Trinkley 1987a), and additional surface survey, included an area 375 feet north-south by 175 to 250 feet east-west (Figure 17).

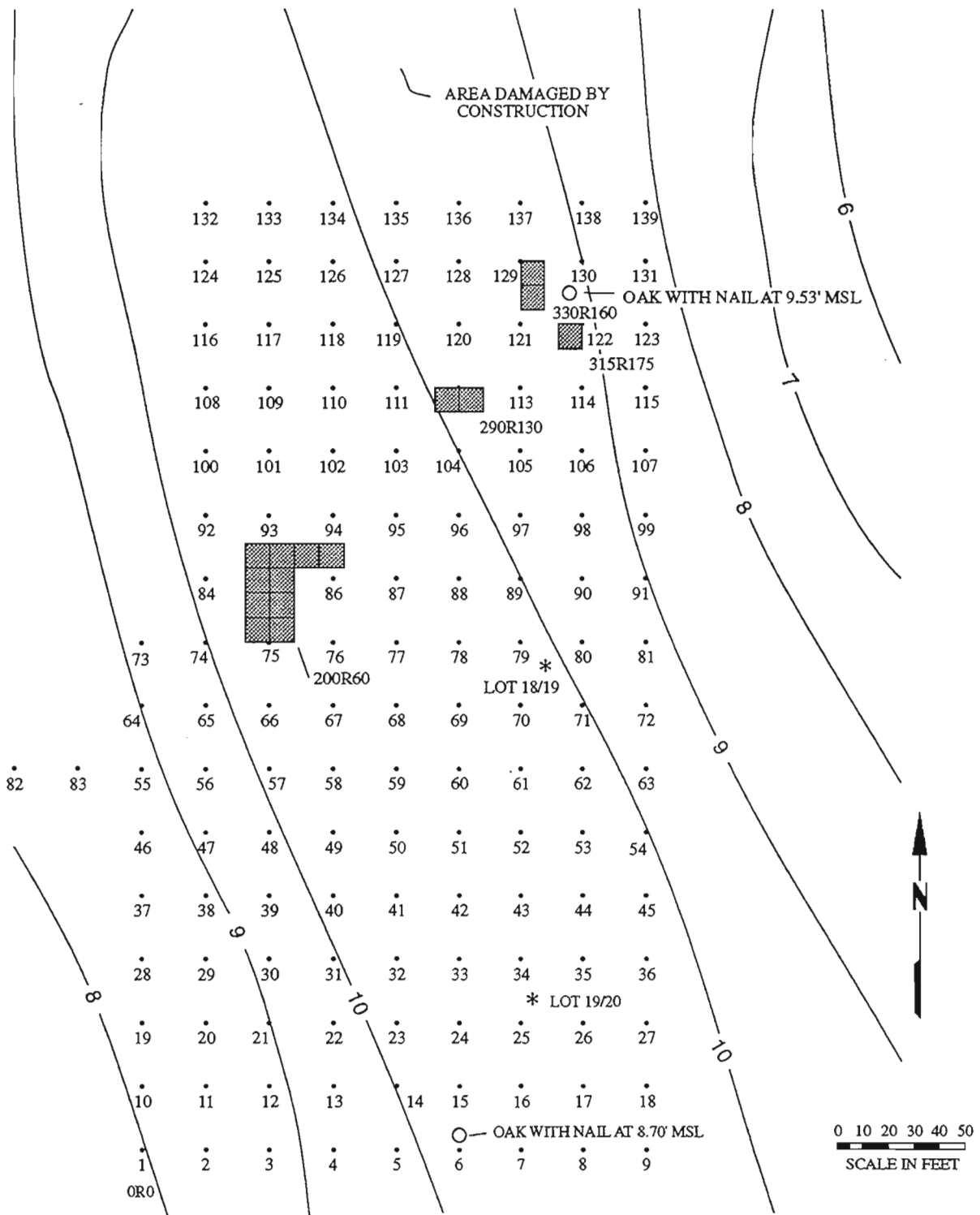
The mapping revealed a dense area of brick rubble and artifacts at the west edge of the site on a slight sand ridge (Figures 18 and 19). Additional, although smaller, concentrations were recorded at the north edge of the testing block. Elsewhere brick, mortar, and artifact densities were very low.

The previous surveys (Lepionka 1986, Trinkley 1987a) revealed that the site area had suffered extensive damage from clearing and grubbing operations in 1985. The current auger testing indicated that this damage had been compounded by tree removal necessitated by hurricane Hugo cleanup operations. This extensive disturbance appears to be responsible for the low density of artifacts and poorly defined site area (Figure 20).

Excavations

The grid, established due north-south, was tied into several permanent Willbrook property markers in order to maintain long-term horizontal control. We were unable to locate any of Lepionka's previous datum points and are therefore unable to incorporate any of his excavations into this work. Vertical control was maintained through the use of a mean sea level datum (a nail in the base of an oak tree at the northeast edge of the site, 9.58 feet MSL).

The site area had been marked out in 25 foot grid units for the auger survey, with each point numbered in succession from south to north and west to



38GE291

Figure 17. 38GE291 site area.

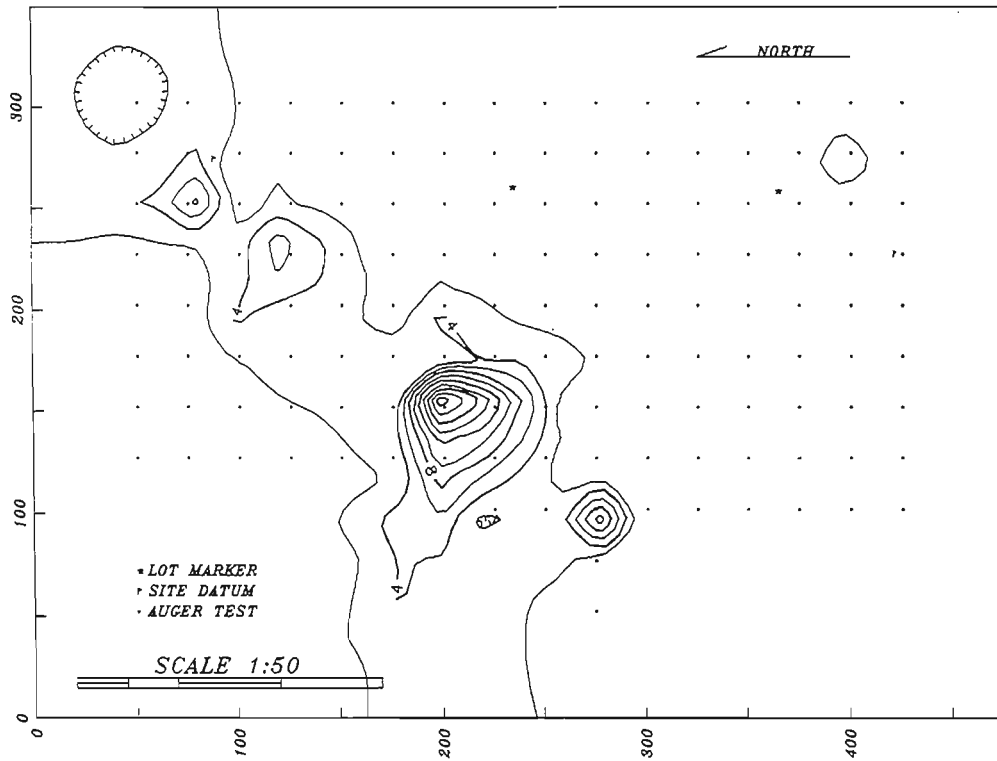


Figure 18. Density map of artifacts from 38GE291.

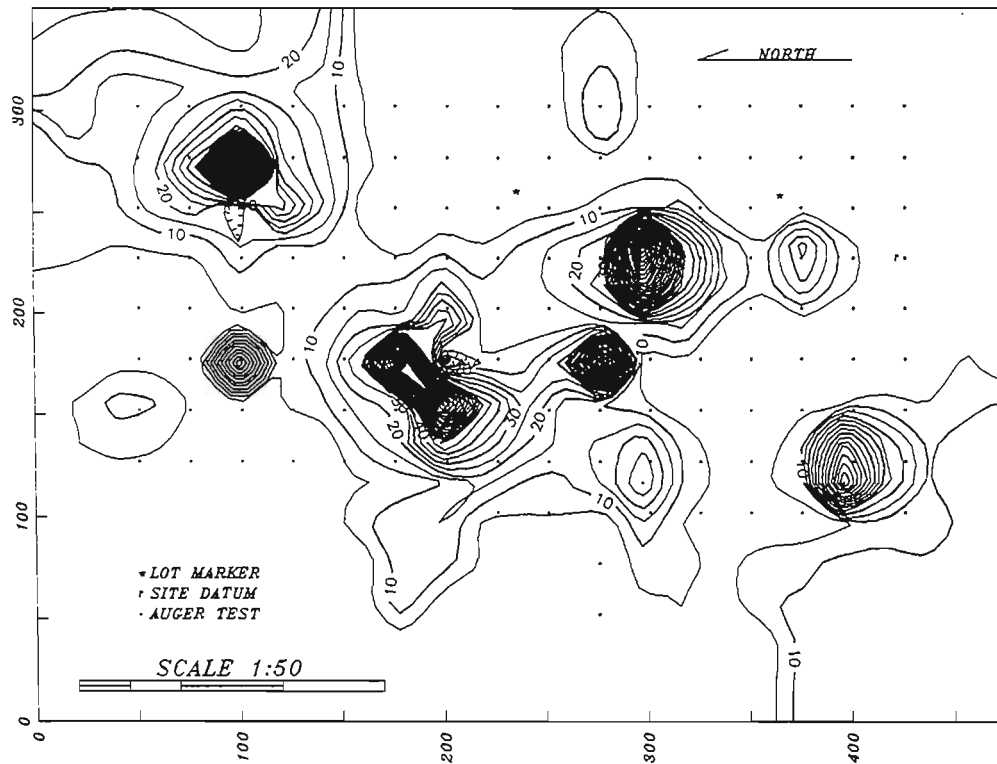


Figure 19. Density map of bricks and mortar from 38GE291.



Figure 20. 38GE291 site area, view to the south.

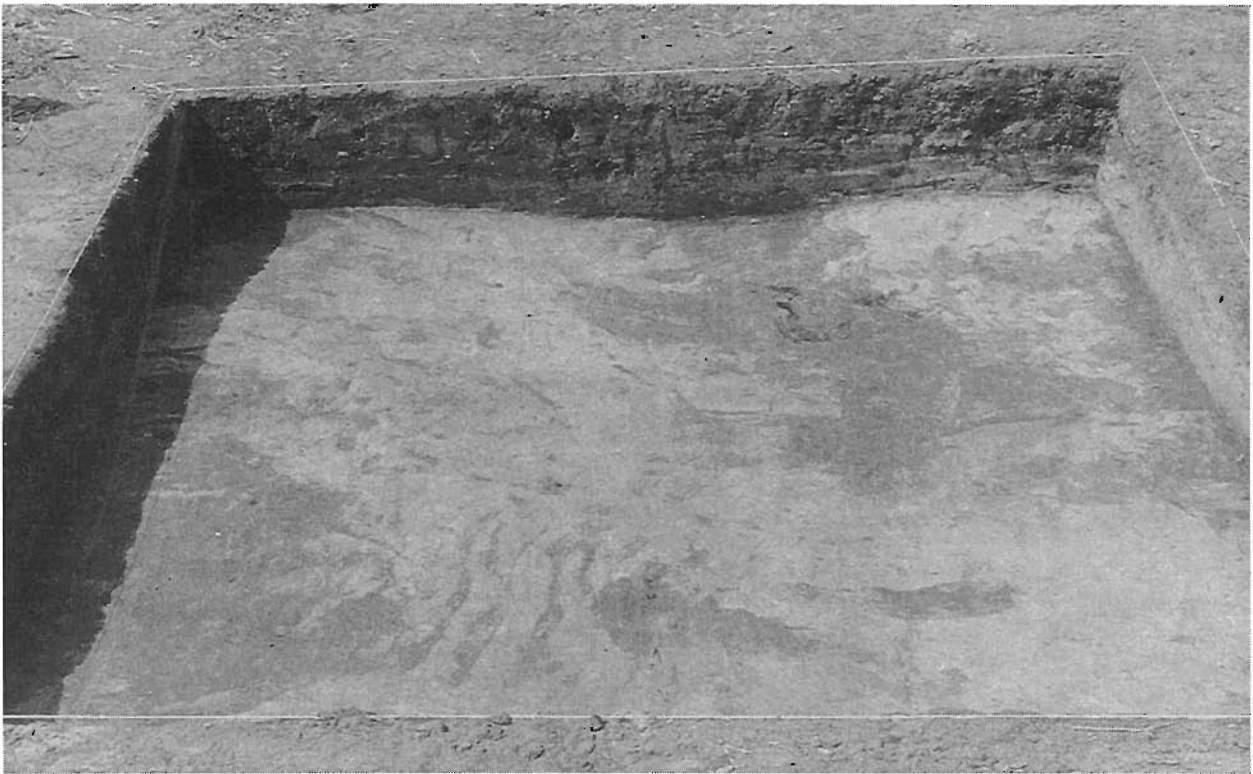


Figure 21. 38GE291, unit 315R175 at base of excavations, showing extensive disturbance.

east (excepting several areas where the grid was expanded as boundaries were revised). Horizontal control was maintained through a modified Chicago 10-foot grid system with the ORO point established at Auger Test 1 on the southwest edge of the site. All brick, mortar, and rubble from the excavations was weighed prior to being discarded. In addition, several units were selected for detailed sampling using a 2.25 by 2.25 foot block. All shell from these blocks was quantified and collected for additional analysis.

The first block excavation, at the central west edge of the site, opened 1000 square feet and included 200-230R50-60, 230R70-80. The area revealed a brown sandy plowzone, about 0.7 to 1.0 foot in depth, overlying a yellow sand subsoil. Only minor plow disturbance was identified during the excavations. The plowzone was found to contain abundant shell, brick, mortar, and plaster rubble, along with architectural and domestic remains.

This block yielded 129 pounds of rubble (with an average of 12.9 pounds per unit and a range of 7 to 18 pounds), although no clear concentrations exist. Likewise, a large quantity of nails, window glass, and architectural hardware came from this block (n=1260), but these remains were evenly spread across the 10 units. In comparison the remaining two block excavations (described below) produced an average of 6 pounds of brick per 10-foot unit. While these excavations strongly suggest a probable structure in the immediate vicinity of this block, representing eighteenth century domestic activity, no features or other clear indications of the structure could be identified.

Small quantities of faunal remains were found preserved in the plowzone soils. A total of 2323 pounds of shell were recovered from the excavations, for an average of 232 pounds per 10-foot unit. The two shell column samples collected from 210R50-60 reveal a soil:shell density ratio ranging from 35.2:1 to 45.1:1. The shells are primarily hardshell clam, with minor amounts of oyster.

The second block area, consisting of 200 square feet, incorporated units 290R120-130 in the central north area of the site. The computer mapping had indicated a high density of artifacts and brick rubble in this area. Excavation, however, revealed a zone of recent bulldozed fill up to 1.0 foot in depth overlying the old plowzone about 0.8 foot in depth. At the base of the plowzone extensive areas of bulldozer disturbance were encountered. Materials in this area included eighteenth century architectural and domestic remains, although Colono ware appears to be more common than elsewhere on the site. No features were encountered.

The third block area consisted of a single 10-foot unit (315R175) and two 10-foot units (330-340R160) situated to avoid trees at the northeast edge of the site. Unfortunately, these units revealed even greater disturbance than the previous block. Unit 315R175 consisted of up to 1.5 feet of bulldozed fill over occasional patches of plowzone about 0.4 foot thick (Figure 21). Unit 340R160 revealed bulldozer disturbance to a depth of 1.5 feet whereupon mottled yellow subsoil was encountered. Artifacts from this block are consistent with those from in the 290R120-130 block and appear to represent an eighteenth century slave assemblage. No features were encountered.

No further excavations were conducted at this site based on the extensive disturbance and our inability to locate features.

38GE292

Archaeological investigations were begun at 38GE292 by a crew of five on March 19 and continued until March 22, 1990, during which time the program of auger testing was conducted. Excavations were begun on May 30, 1990 and continued through June 6, 1990. A total of 187.5 person hours were devoted to work at the site, while an additional 70.5 person hours were spent off site in the field

area were opened and 370 cubic feet of soil were moved in primary excavations, all screened through 1/4-inch mesh (Figure 22).

Investigations at this site were originally intended to be confined to the vicinity of Lepionka's Structure C, with all other site areas green spaced. During our initial investigations at the site, it became apparent that construction also had the potential to affect the area west of the main house. Lepionka had previously identified a large quantity of building rubble in this area, although he attributed it to debris from the demolition of the plantation house after it burned in 1895. Since this interpretation was based only on the excavation of two 3-foot units, we felt that some limited additional investigation was in order. Both the Litchfield Company and the State Historic Preservation Office approved expanding the research design and limited additional work was conducted in the area.

Auger Tests

A series of 92 auger test grid points were laid out over the site, with 54 at 50 foot intervals and an additional 38 placed at 25 foot intervals. The boundaries for this auger survey, established using Lepionka's (1986) testing data, previous work by Chicora (Trinkley 1987a), and additional surface survey, included an area 500 feet north-south by 250 to 375 feet east-west.

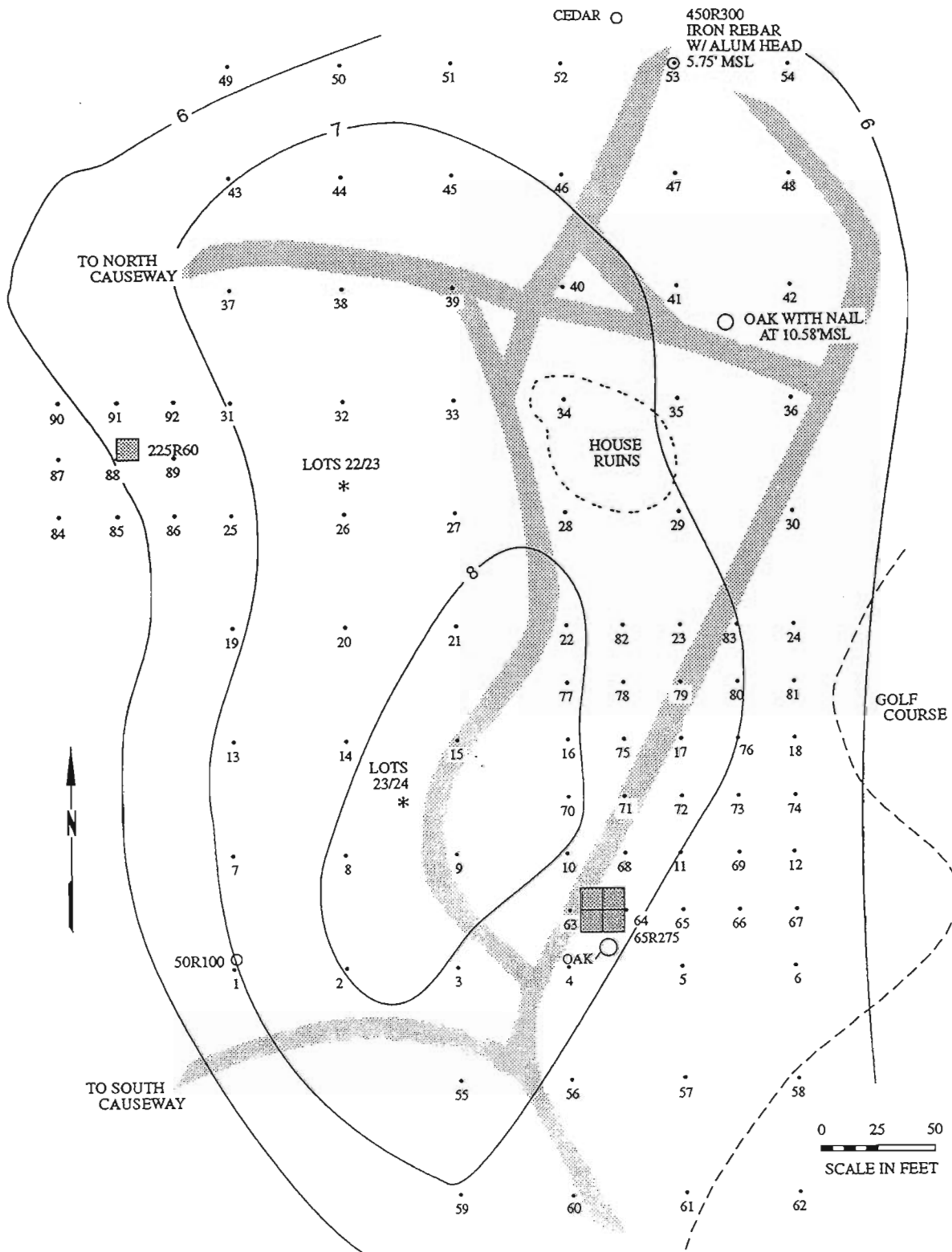
The mapping revealed a dense area of artifacts (correlating with a dense concentration of brick rubble) at the west edge of the site on the slope into the freshwater slough. Additional concentrations were recorded at the north edge of the testing block in the vicinity of the kitchen structure, and in the central site area around the main house. Elsewhere brick, mortar, and artifact densities were very low (Figures 23 and 24). The mapping provided no clear indication of Structure C, although Lepionka had reported fairly substantial artifact densities from two 3-foot test excavations.

The previous surveys (Lepionka 1986, Trinkley 1987a) revealed that the site area had suffered only minor damage from clearing and grubbing operations in 1985, although both the 1895 house and the antebellum kitchen structures were demolished during the early phases of the development process. The current auger testing revealed the probable kitchen location (as well as evidence of scatter from the demolition process) and the probable antebellum main house location (which is slightly south of the 1895 structure). The failure of the auger tests to identify Structure C appears to be directly related to two factors. First, a 25 foot interval was used in the area originally thought to contain the structure. This testing process failed because the ambiguity of Lepionka's notes misled the current investigations. Second, the actual area of Structure C was not identified on the density mapping because it was in an area of 50-foot interval testing and this sampling scheme was at too gross a level to provide the necessary sensitivity.

Excavations

The grid, established due north-south, was tied into several permanent Willbrook property markers in order to maintain long-term horizontal control. We were unable to locate any of Lepionka's previous datum points and are therefore unable to incorporate only one of his excavations (encountered within one of our 10-foot squares) into this work. Vertical control was maintained through the use of a mean sea level datum (a nail in the base of an oak tree at the northeast edge of the site, 10.58 feet MSL).

The site area had been marked out in 25 and 50 foot grid units for the auger survey, with each point numbered in succession from south to north and west to east (excepting several areas where the grid was expanded as boundaries were revised). Horizontal control was maintained through a modified Chicago 10-foot



38GE292

Figure 22. 38GE292 site area.

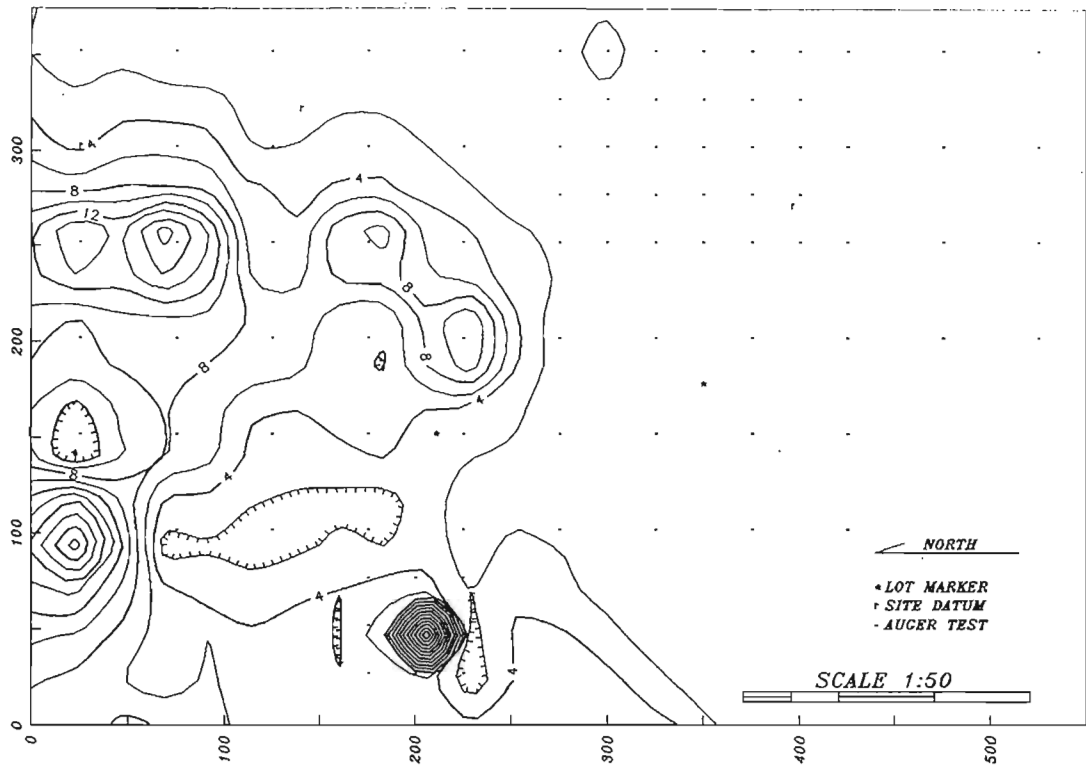


Figure 23. Density map of artifacts from 38GE292.

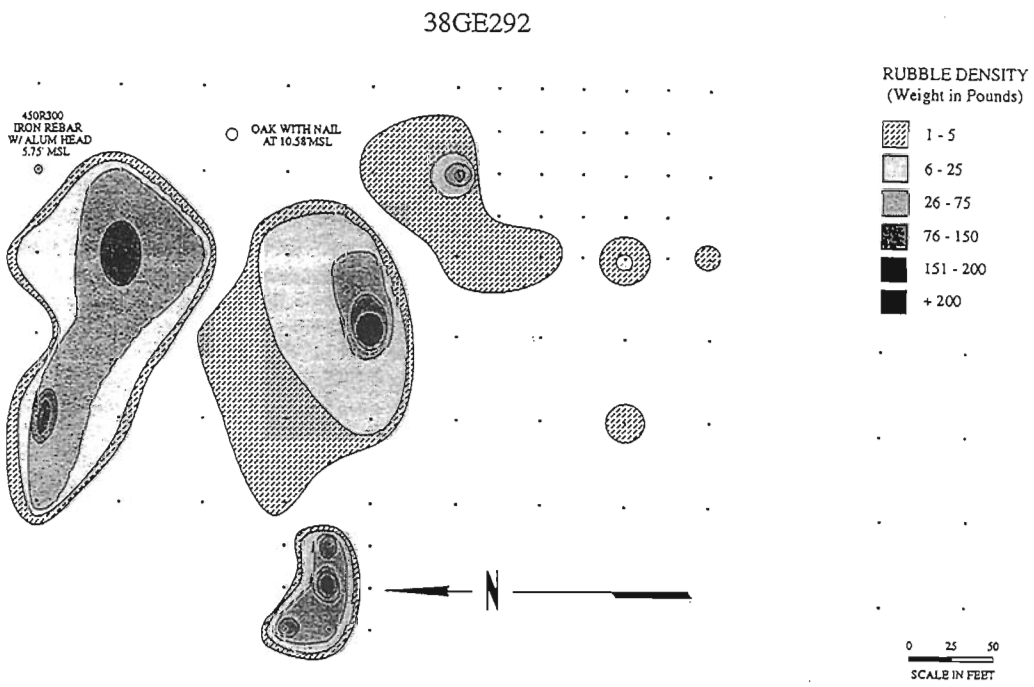


Figure 24. Density map of brick and mortar rubble from 38GE292.

grid system with a 50R100 point established at Auger Test 1 on the southwest edge of the site. All brick, mortar, and rubble from the excavations was weighed prior to being discarded.

The first block excavation was laid in to incorporate Lepionka's Structure C excavations, at the central east edge of the site (Figure 25). This area was finally identified using the available field notes from Lepionka's work, the memory of Ms. Mona Grunden who had worked with Lepionka, and triangulation from several known points. These excavations opened 400 square feet and include 55-65R275-285 (Figures 26 and 27). The area revealed a brown sandy plowzone, about 0.5 to 0.8 foot in depth, overlying a yellow sand subsoil. The plowzone was found to contain minor quantities of shell, brick, and mortar, along with architectural and domestic remains. This block evidenced only minimal disturbance (primarily from plowing), and two features, both clusters of post holes, were encountered.

The excavations in this block revealed the presence of a structure measuring 11 by 14 feet and oriented N40°W. This appears to be Lepionka's Structure C and it represents a frame structure constructed above the ground level on corner posts about 0.8 foot in diameter (Figure 27). There is no evidence of a chimney and only 13 pounds of brick rubble was recovered from the excavations. It seems likely that little, if any, brick was originally associated with this structure.

The second block area, consisting of a single 10-foot unit (225R60), was placed at the western edge of the site in the vicinity of the rubble piles (Figure 22). The computer mapping had indicated a high density of artifacts and brick rubble in this area. Excavation revealed a thin zone of gray sand about 0.4 foot in depth overlying subsoil. Within this zone were large quantities of brick rubble, burnt artifacts, and other construction debris. The materials recovered were consistent with those previously identified by Lepionka from this area and appear to represent debris from the burnt antebellum structure. The one feature encountered appears to be an erosional gully which had been filled in with the demolition rubble.

As previously mentioned, it appears based on the density maps that the 1895 house was constructed slightly north of the antebellum structure, not immediately on top of it, as was previously suspected. Given the large amount of debris associated with the earlier house, and the desire to salvage bricks, this minor shift in location was probably a matter of expedience.

A detailed examination was made of the various bricks used in the two standing chimneys and piers associated with the 1895 house, and those found in the vicinity of the posited antebellum house rubble. It is clear that the two chimneys evidence different bricks and workmanship. The southern chimney, with a single hearth or opening, is manufactured from recycled bricks. So too are the remaining piers associated with the 1895 house. The chimney to the north, have back-to-back openings, is constructed using machine made bricks.

It is likely that the bricks from the antebellum structure were salvaged, finding their way into the pier system and smaller chimney of the new structure. The larger chimney required the purpose of "modern" bricks. Fragments of both the antebellum bricks and the 1895 bricks were encountered in the rubble area examined by the second block excavation.

These brief investigations of the main house and associated rubble piles suggests that the house which burned in 1895 represented the second main settlement on Willbrook, constructed perhaps in the 1840s. This leaves the original colonial Willbrook main house unidentified. No further excavations were conducted at this site based on the decision to green space the main house and kitchen areas. To assist in the development of the green spacing plan, we have staked an area measuring 100 feet (north-south) by 125 feet (east-west) around the main house area. This should incorporate both the 1895 and the previous



Figure 25. Excavation of the Structure C block at 38GE292, view to the south.



Figure 26. 38GE292, Structure C block excavations completed, view to the northeast.

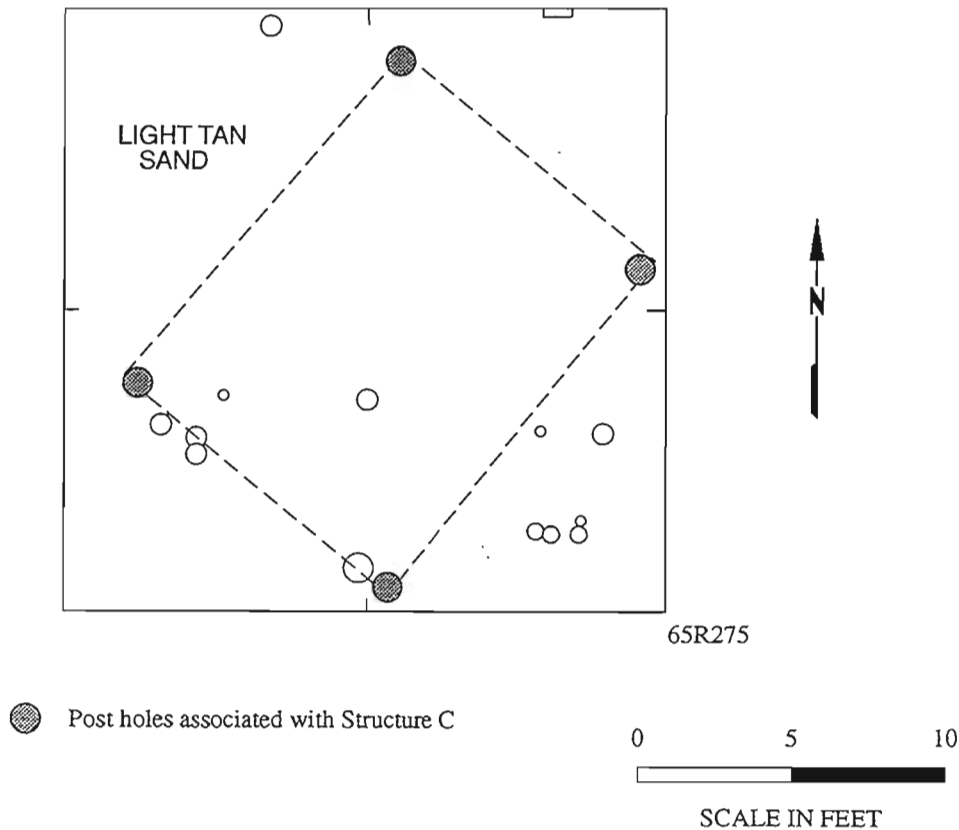


Figure 27. 38GE292, Structure C.

antebellum structures. We have also staked an area measuring 100 feet (north-south) by 175 feet (east-west) to incorporate the kitchen area.

38GE294

Archaeological investigations were begun at 38GE294 by a crew of five on August 3 and continued for four weeks, until August 28, 1987. A total of 731.5 person hours were devoted to work at the site, while an additional 66 person hours were spent off site in the field laboratory processing specimens during rain periods. As a result of this work 1625 square feet of site area were opened and 1598 cubic feet of soil were moved in primary excavations, all screened through 1/4-inch mesh.

Initial indications (see Trinkley 1987a) suggested that 38GE294 might represent a plantation settlement, based on an artifact pattern analysis which most closely approximated the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern, relatively high status ceramics, and no other likely location for the Oatland plantation settlement. Although the mean ceramic date was 1837 (Trinkley 1987a:Table 13), there were a number of eighteenth century wares, such as Westerwald, lead glazed slipware, and delft, which suggested initial occupation as early as the mid-1700s.

Auger Tests

The first phase of the work at 38GE294 was the placement of 198 auger tests laid out over the site at 25-foot intervals (Figure 28). The boundaries for this auger survey were established using Lepionka's (1986) testing data and surface indications present in 1987, included an area 425 feet north-south by 225 feet east-west.

Unlike the work at the other sites, these investigations used a two-person auger with a 12-inch bit. In all other respects the auger testing program was identical. The tests were taken into yellow sand subsoil, usually at depth of 0.8 to 1.2 feet. All soil was screened using 1/4-inch mesh and all artifacts (except brick mortar, and shell, which were weighted and discarded in the field) were retained.

The density map of historic artifacts (Figure 29) reveals two major concentrations: one at the west edge of the field adjacent to River Road and another at the center of the field tending toward the northeast. Within this second concentration were two "core" areas, one in the center of the field and the other at the northeastern edge of the field, against the tree line. Both of these "core" areas also reveal dense concentrations of brick and mortar rubble (Figure 30).

Shell density (primarily hardshell clam) was generally light throughout the area, although clear concentrations of shell were identified in the area associated with the artifact and rubble concentration at the western edge of the field. A second concentration was found associated with the artifact cluster at the northeastern edge of the field. Only a very light density of shell was found associated with the concentration observed in the center of the field. The most significant concentration of shell was found at the east central edge of the field and was originally thought to be associated with the prehistoric site in that area reported by Lepionka (1986). More recent analysis and survey, however, suggests that this concentration of shell probably related to an adjacent slave settlement southwest of the Oatland plantation (see discussion below).

Excavations

The site grid, established at N20°W, was tied into several property markers in order to maintain long-term horizontal control. Two of Lepionka's grid points were also found, which allowed his previous work at the site to be integrated into the overall site plan (Figure 28). Vertical control was maintained through the use of a mean sea level datum (a nail in the base of an oak tree south of River Road at the north edge of the site) having an elevation of 15.86 feet.

The site area had been marked out in 25-foot grid units for the auger survey, with each point numbered sequentially from south to north and west to east. These numbers, at 50 foot intervals, were used to number the excavation blocks, with each block designated by its southeast corner auger test number. Within these blocks a modified Chicago 10-foot grid was established, with each square designated by its southeast corner from a ORO point at the southwest corner of the 50-foot block. Thus, square 12-10R20 would be located in the 50-foot square auger test block number 12 and the southeast corner of the square would be north 10 feet and right (or east) 20 feet from the ORO point (or the block's southwest corner). As at other sites, excavations were conducted by hand and all soil was screened through 1/4-inch mesh.

The first block excavation, in the center of the field, opened 925 square feet and is termed the 81-83-119 block (Figures 31 and 32). The area revealed a dark brown plowzone, about 0.9 to 1.2 feet in depth, overlying a yellow sand subsoil. The plowzone contained abundant brick, mortar, and fine plaster rubble, along with primarily architectural remains (although domestic material was also found, particularly in the south half of the block). These remains reflect an early nineteenth century date, although some late eighteenth century material was present. The subsoil contained a very low density of aboriginal material, primarily relating to the Early Woodland (ca. 1800 B.C. to A.D. 500).

Work in this block, particularly to the northeast and southeast, was hampered by the discovery that the subsoil had been subjected to major disturbances as a result of the previous ground clearing operations. Little

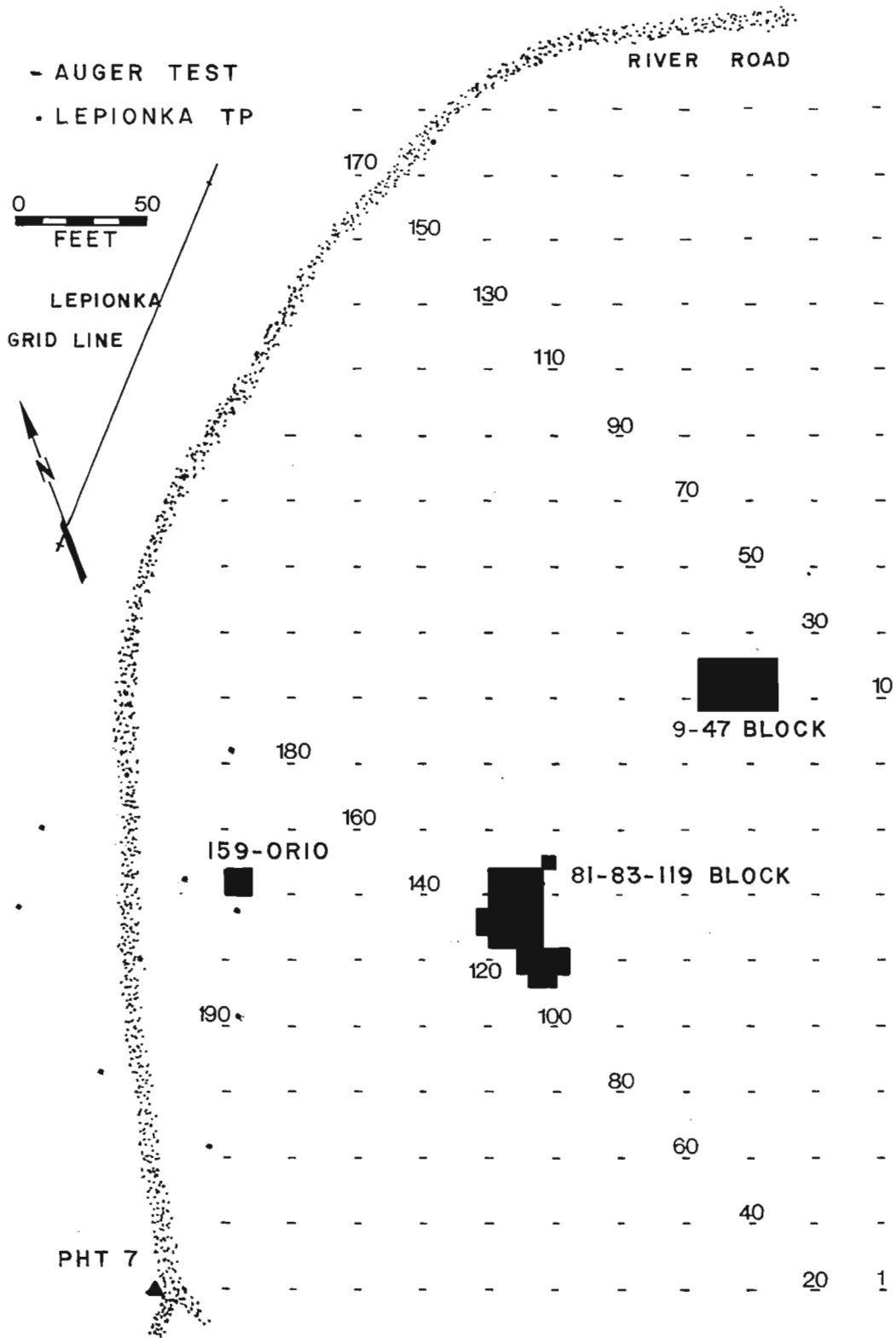


Figure 28. 38GE294 site area.

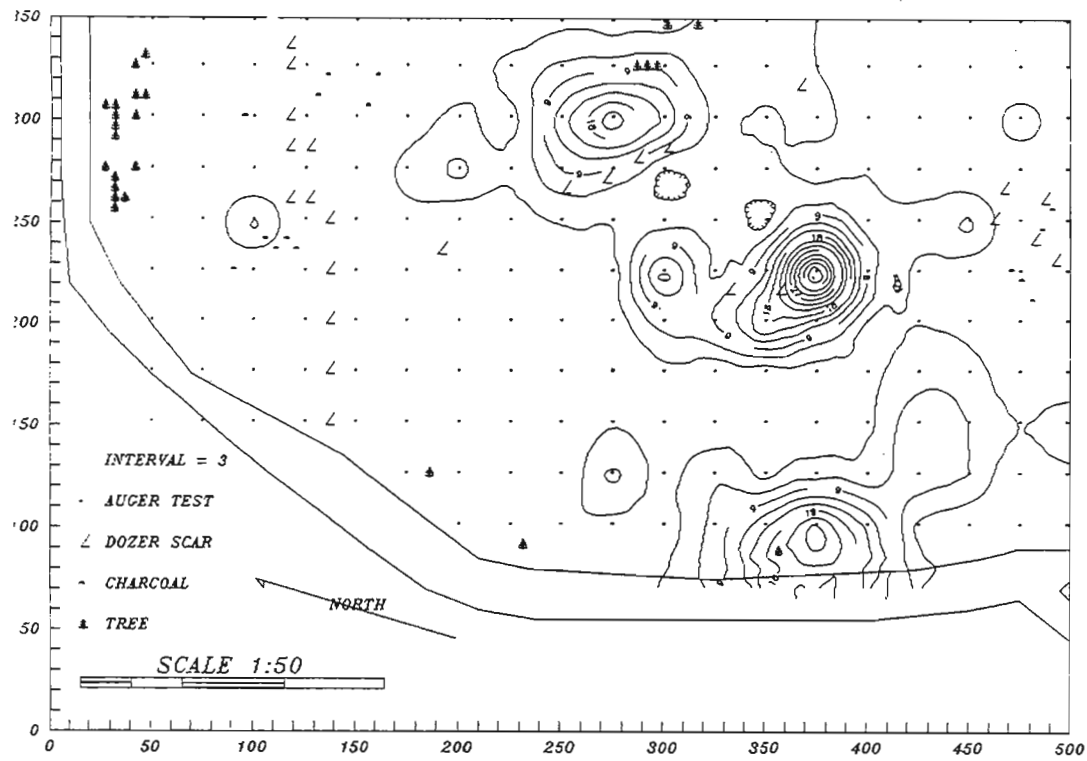


Figure 29. Density map of artifacts from 38GE294.

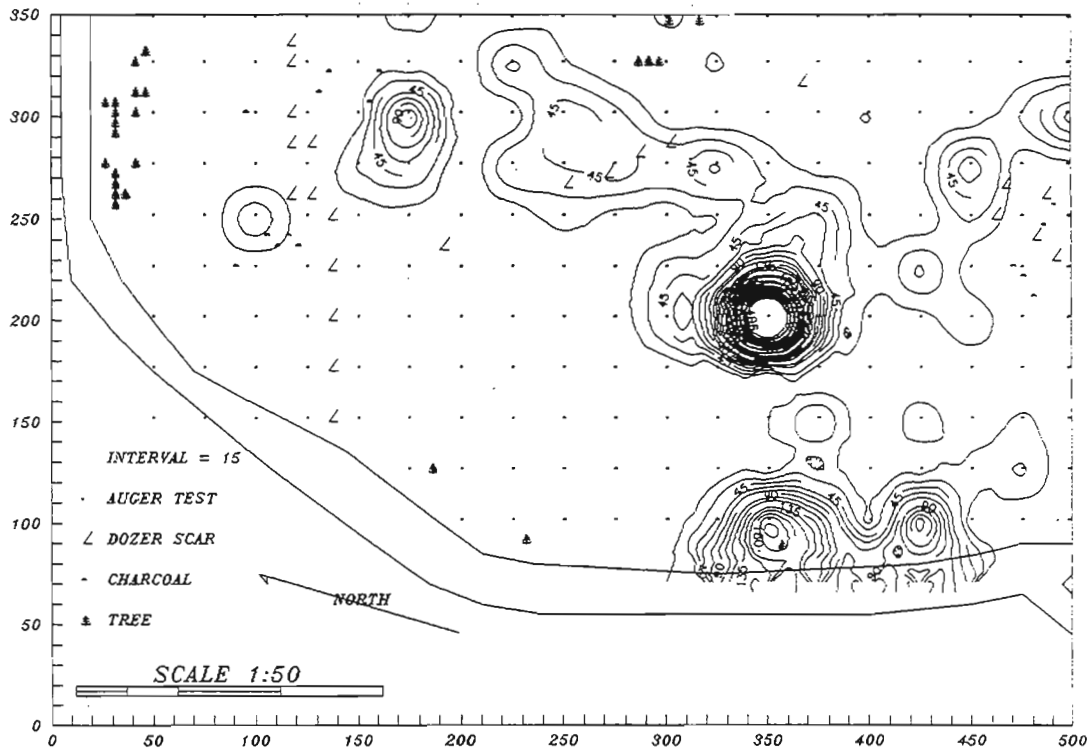


Figure 30. Density map of brick and mortar rubble from 38GE294.

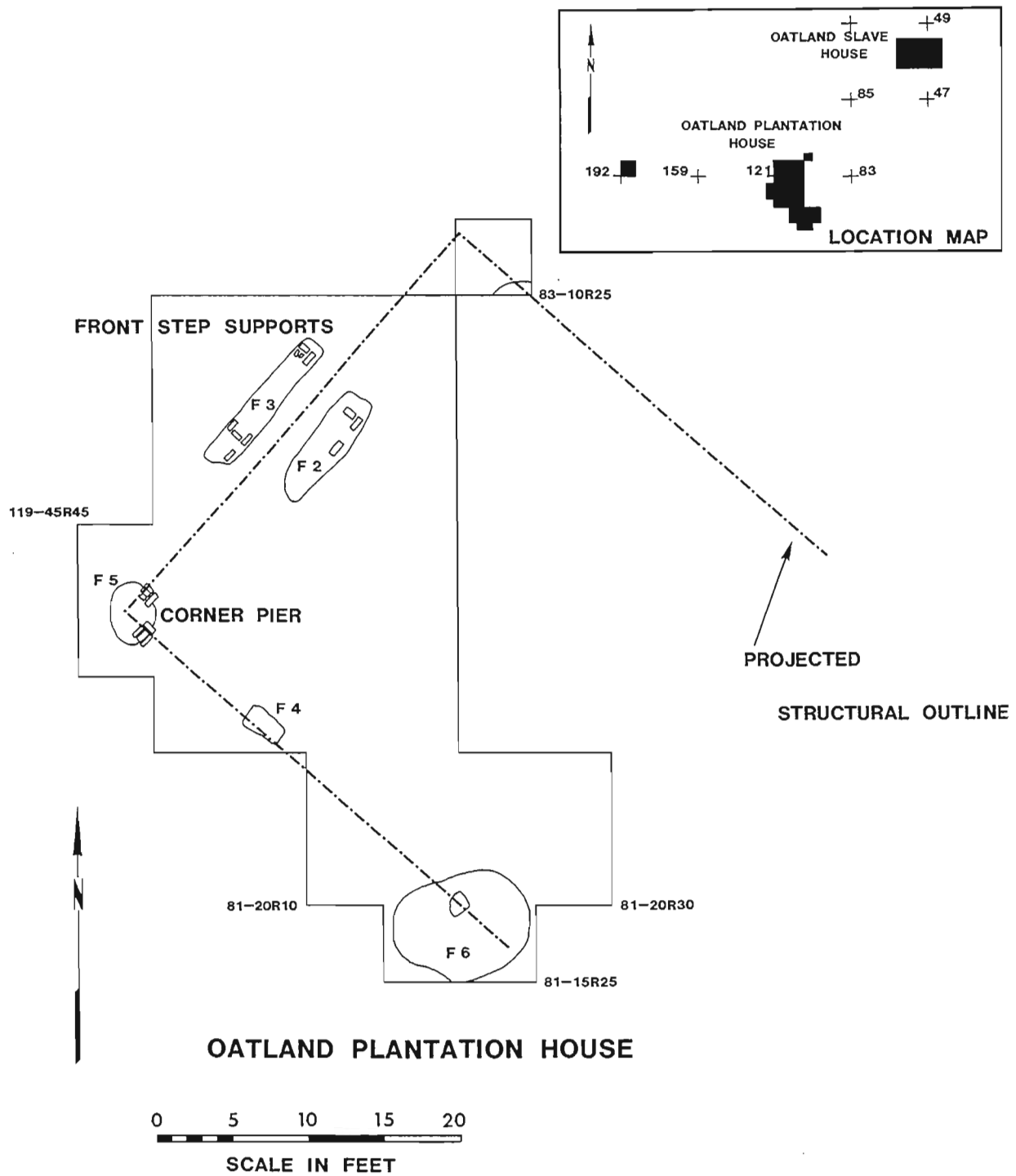


Figure 31. 81-83-119 block excavation area.

evidence of extensive agricultural activities was noted.

In spite of the disturbances to the site, these excavations revealed clear evidence of a major plantation structure (termed Structure A), oriented approximately north-northwest by south-southeast. Two rubble filled trench features (Features 2 and 3), interpreted to represent brick piers for the front steps, a corner brick pier (Feature 5), and the remains of two additional brick piers (Features 4 and 6a) provide evidence of the structure. The approximate dimensions of Structure A are 30 to 32 feet by 30 feet. Further construction details are provided by the abundant window glass, nails, fragments of mantle marble, and fine three-coat plaster with lathe impressions.

At the southwestern edge of Structure A, underlying the corner pier (Feature 6a) a pit (Feature 6b) measuring, 8.8 by 7.0 feet, was encountered (Figure 33). This pit was found to consist of three distinct soil zones. The uppermost, Zone 1, soils consisted of humic black sand. Underlying these, Zone 2 consisted of finely crushed, burnt shell. The basal zone consisted of brown sand. Total depth of the feature was 1.0 foot.

Feature 6b appears to represent a storage pit for slaked lime. It predates the structure since Feature 6a is a structural pier which overlies the lime pit. McKee reports that:

quicklime was placed in a pit or vat and more water than the amount required for slaking was poured over it; the mixture was allowed to stand and slake. The lime paste was either used at once or stored in a covered pit for months or years (McKee 1973:63).

A second block excavation, the 9-47 block, incorporated 600 square feet on the eastern edge of the field, adjacent to the tree line. This block revealed the eastern half of a double pen slave cabin (total dimensions are estimated to have been about 28 by 14 feet), termed Structure B (Figures 34 and 35).

This portion of the field revealed intact deposits with few indications of disturbance outside of a shallow plowzone (about 0.7 to 0.9 foot in depth). The excavations exposed a builder's trench with brick piers (Feature 7), the remnants of the central brick fireplace (Feature 9; Figure 36), and a large post hole (Feature 10) adjacent to the fireplace which may represent scaffolding for the chimney construction.

A large feature (Feature 8), interpreted as a clay extraction pit (possibly for clay used in the production of Colono wares), was identified immediately east of the structure. This pit measures about 8 feet in diameter and sloped inward to a base 3.7 feet below the ground. Fill consisted of largely of brown sand overlying a clay lens. At the base of the pit was a lens of brown sand and rubble (Figure 37). The pit was apparently back filled immediately after excavation using available building rubble and yard trash.

Structure B yielded abundant domestic and architectural refuse and was probably built in the early nineteenth century. There is little indication for occupation past about 1860.

The concentration of the west edge of the field (Figure 28) was investigated by a single 10-foot square. This unit revealed a spoil zone about 0.2 foot in thickness overlying a plowzone of dark brown sand about 1.0 foot in depth. Artifacts, primarily domestic refuse, were abundant and the unit contained a smudge pit (Feature 1) and several post holes. Although the artifact density was very high in this area, and the presence of post holes indicated the potential for additional structural remains, there was insufficient time to permit further investigations.



Figure 32. Excavation in the 81-83-119 block area.

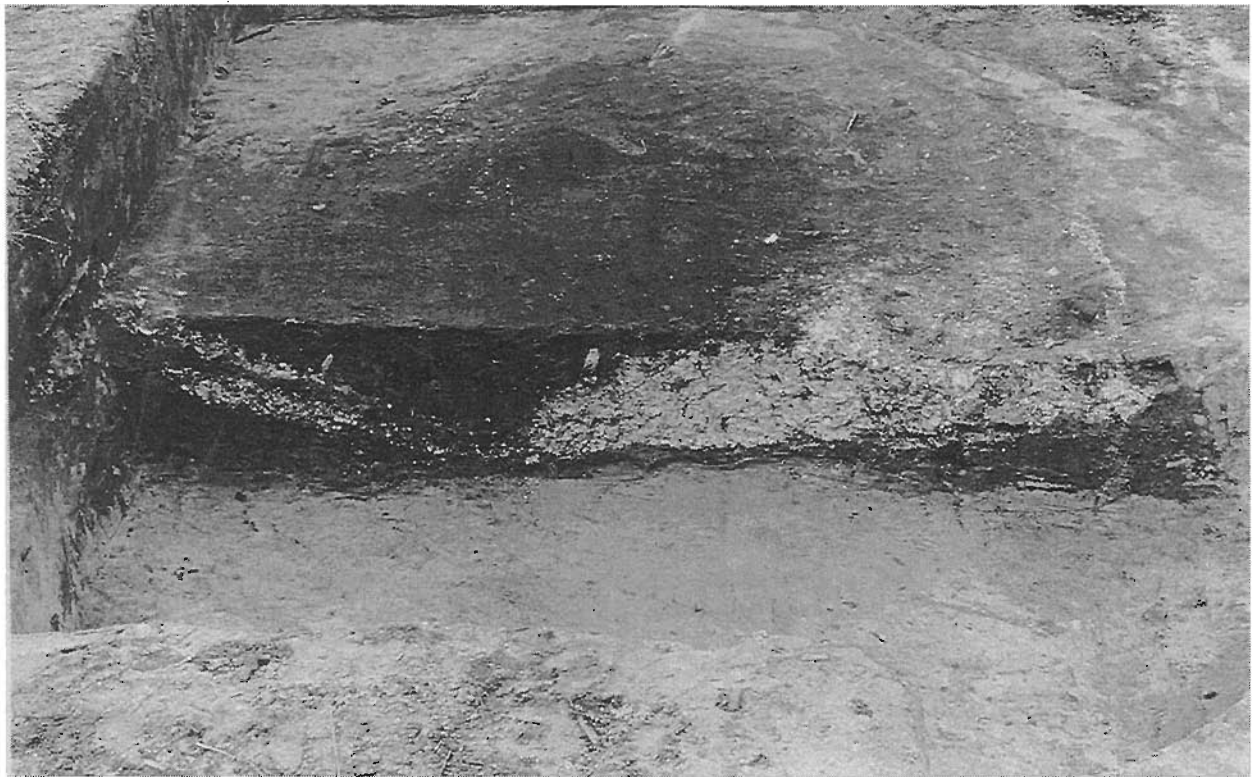


Figure 33. Feature 6b, view to the west.

PROJECTED

STRUCTURAL OUTLINE

OATLAND SLAVE HOUSE

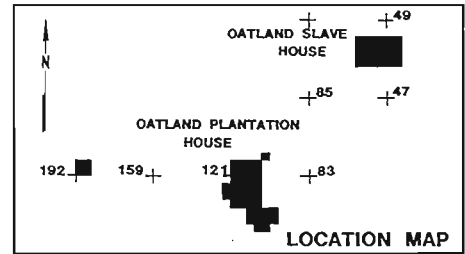
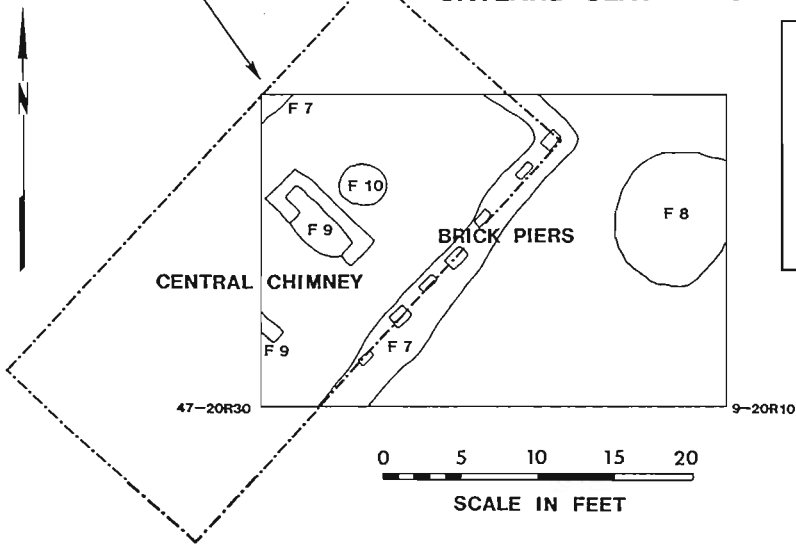


Figure 34. 9-47 block area, Structure B.



Figure 35. Structure B at the base of the plowzone, view to the west.



Figure 36. Feature 9 excavated, view to the northeast.

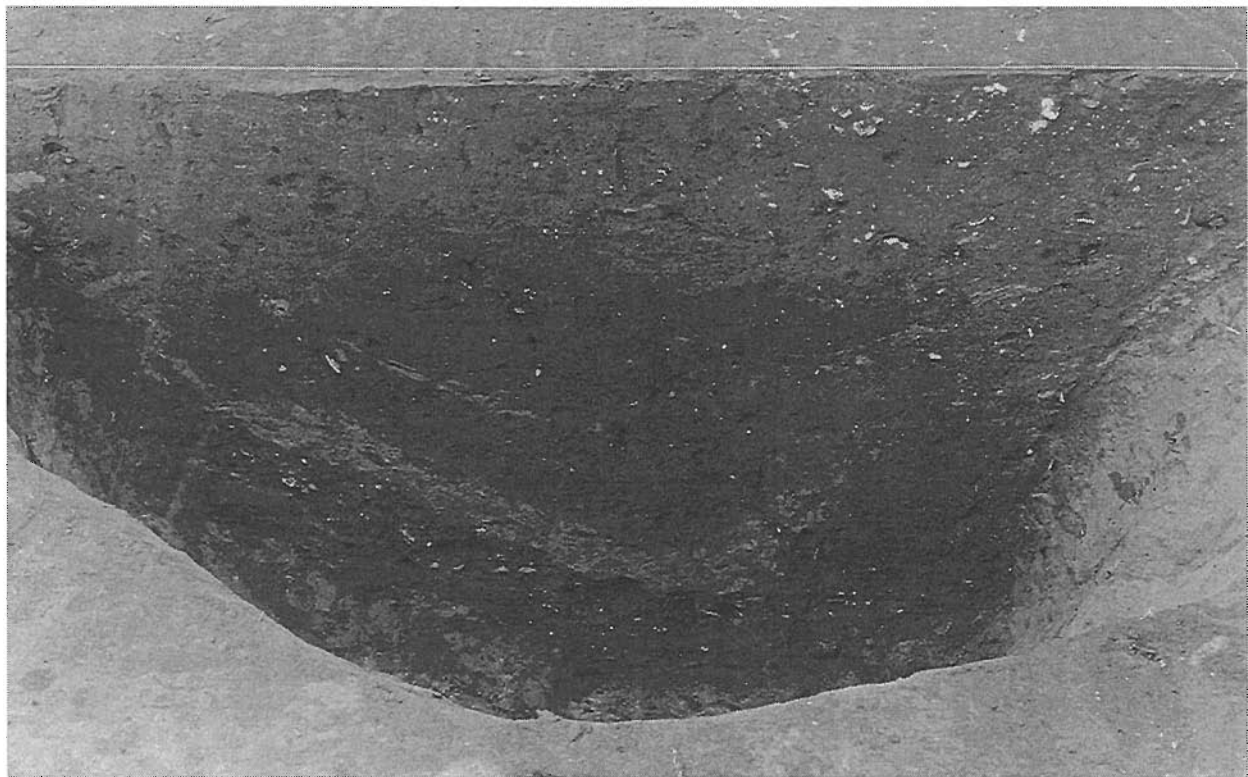


Figure 37. Feature 8, south half excavated, view to the north.

An examination of the bricks from Structures A and B indicate identical firing colors and inclusions. The sizes of the bricks from Structure A range from 8 - 8-1/2 by 4 by 2-3/8 - 2-1/2 inches, while those from Structure B range from 8 by 3-7/8 - 4 by 2-3/8 - 2-1/2. It appears that both structures were built using the same bricks.

38GE297

Archaeological investigations were begun at 38GE297 by a crew of five on May 24 and continued until June 21, 1990, during which time the program of both auger testing and data recovery excavations were conducted. A total of 538.5 person hours were devoted to work at the site, while an additional 40 person hours were spent off site in the field laboratory processing specimens. As a result of this work 1125 square feet of site area were opened and 864 cubic feet of soil were moved in primary excavations, all screened through 1/4-inch mesh (Figure 38).

Auger Tests

A series of 155 auger test grid points were laid out over the site at 25 foot intervals. The boundaries for this auger survey, established using previous work by Chicora (Trinkley 1987a) and additional surface survey, included an area 300 feet north-south by 250 to 350 feet east-west. The auger used a 10-inch bit and tests were dug to the yellow sand subsoil. All soil was screened using 1/4-inch mesh and all cultural material (including brick, shell, and mortar) was collected. For the purpose of the computer density mapping, only the count of the historic materials and the weight of the combined brick and mortar were used.

The mapping revealed a dense area of brick rubble and artifacts (Figures 39 and 40) at the northeastern edge of the site on a slight sand ridge overlooking a low slough. Additional, although smaller, concentrations were recorded in the central area of the testing block. Elsewhere brick, mortar, and artifact densities were very low.

The previous surveys (Lepionka 1986, Trinkley 1987a) revealed that the site area had suffered extensive damage from clearing and grubbing operations in 1985, with additional damage caused in the late 1980s by the construction of the paved road and associated utilities. The current auger testing indicated that this damage had been compounded by the nearby golf course construction and landscaping. This extensive disturbance appears to be responsible for the low density of artifacts and poorly defined site area.

Excavations

The grid, established northwest-southeast to approximate the orientation of the suspected slave settlement (with grid north being due northwest), was tied into several permanent Willbrook property markers in order to maintain long-term horizontal control. A nail was also placed in the pavement and a rebar set at another location. We were unable to locate any of Lepionka's previous datum points and are therefore unable to incorporate any of his excavations into this work. Vertical control was maintained through the use of a mean sea level datum (a nail in the base of an oak tree in the central portion of the site, 11.65 feet MSL).

The site area had been marked out in 25 foot grid units for the auger survey, with each point numbered in succession from south to north and west to east (excepting one area at the east edge of the site where the grid was expanded as boundaries were revised). Horizontal control was maintained through a modified Chicago 10-foot grid system with the ORO point established off the site. The 50R100 point was established at Auger Test 16 within the paved road at the southern edge of the site. Units are designated by their southeast corner. Thus, the southeast corner of square 100R150 would be located 100 feet north and 150

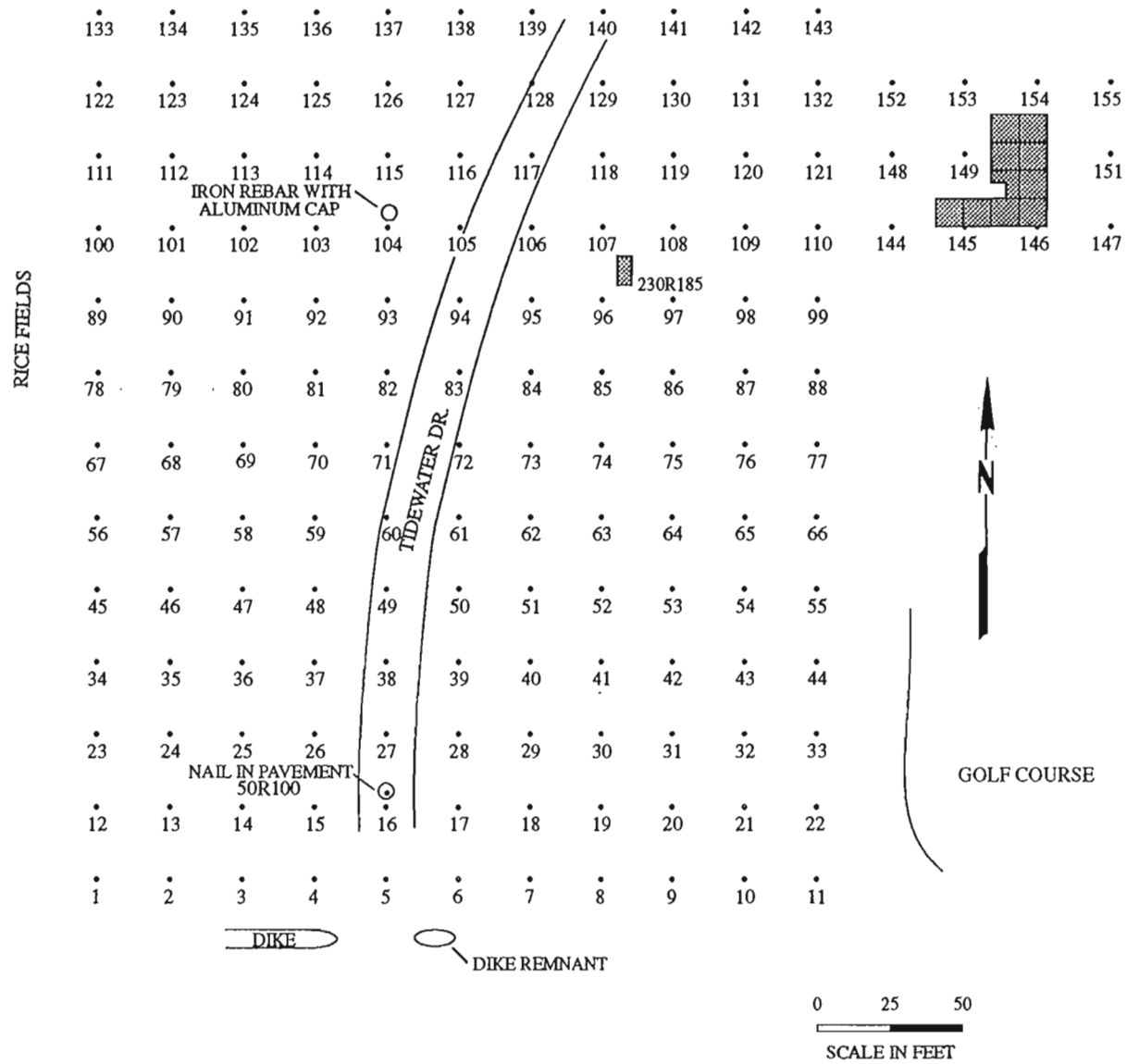


Figure 38. 38GE297 site area.

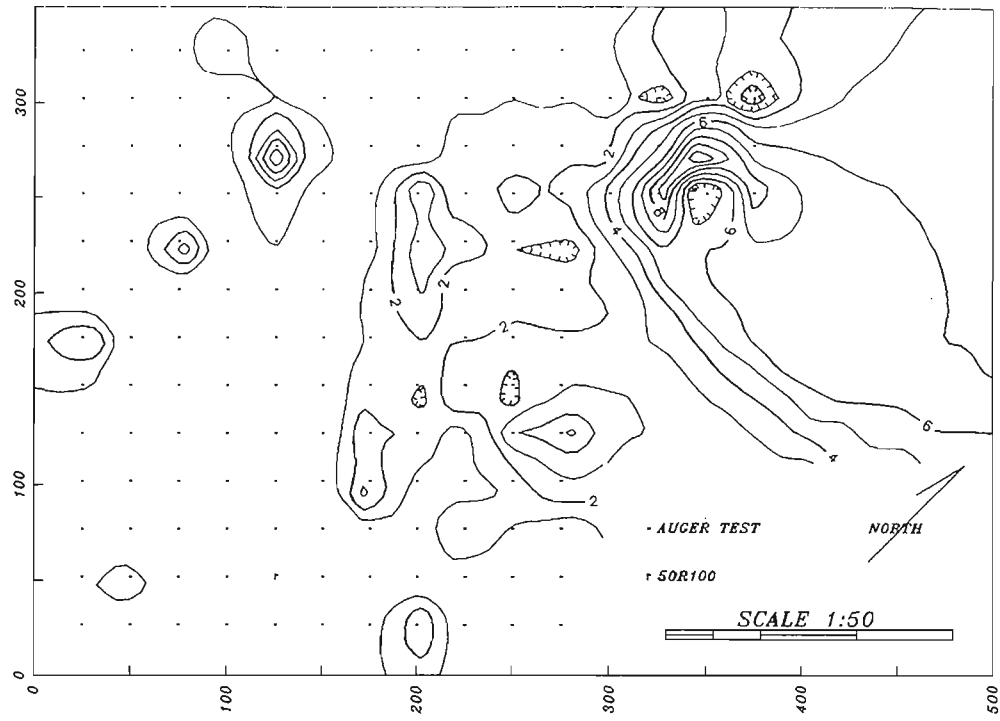


Figure 39. Density map of artifacts from 38GE297.

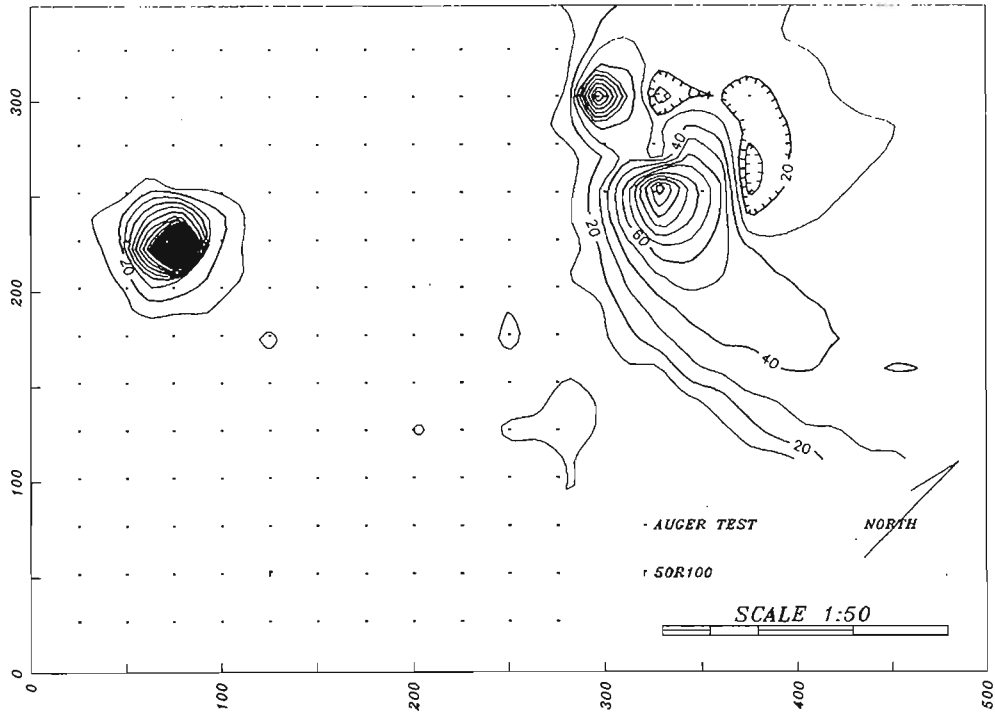


Figure 40. Density map of brick and mortar rubble from 38GE297.

feet right (or east) of the ORO point.

The first block excavation, at the northeast edge of the site, opened 975 square feet and included 250R300-310, 250-280R320-330. The area revealed a brown sandy plowzone, about 0.7 to 1.0 foot in depth, overlying a yellow sand subsoil. The plowzone was found to contain variable quantities of shell and brick, along with architectural and domestic remains.

Brick was found concentrated in 250-260R320-330 where 457 pounds were recovered (representing 68% of the total brick weight from this block). The brick gradually decreased to the west and north. These remains were almost entirely small fragments, frequently associated with soft shell lime mortar. Although no intact bricks were found, width of the bricks ranged from 4 to 4-5/8 inches and thickness ranged from 2-1/2 to 2-3/4 inches. Also associated with the brick in 250-270R330 were small, but noticeable quantities of fired clay daub. In 280R320 the daub was sufficiently common to separate from the brick and its total weight was 76 pounds. These fragments appear to represent chinking for a chimney.

The total recovered shell weight for the block excavation was 223 pounds. The ratio of hard shell clam to oyster consistently averaged about 3:1. The only other type of shell identified was whelk, which was uncommon.

This block evidenced only minimal disturbance (primarily from plowing) and a structure was identified based on the post hole pattern and disassociated chimney remains (Figure 41). The frame structure, oriented N27°W, measured 12 by 18 feet with a wattle and daub chimney constructed on the southern gable end. The structure rested on four posts, each measuring about 0.8 to 1.0 foot in diameter. One additional post had been placed under the east and west sills, perhaps to correct sagging. Window glass was uncommon, although the presence of shutter pintles indicates wooden closures.

The vicinity of the chimney could not be effectively investigated because a large tree appeared to be growing in the hearth area. The wattle and daub construction is inferred from the large quantity of daub found in the posited chimney area and the presence of burning on the ground. The brick probably served as the chimney base and hearth. The distribution of brick and daub suggests that the chimney collapsed to the north after the decay of the structure.

A total of four features were encountered. Feature 1 consisted of a shallow linear trench about five feet from the south end of the structure. It was found to be filled with yard trash, with a thin lens of water laid sand at its base (Figures 41 and 42). This feature is interpreted as representing a trench dug to support posts used to "prop" up the wattle and daub chimney.

Features 2, 3, and 4 each appear to represent outdoor hearths and are clustered around the rear (east) and north sides of the structure (Figure 41). Feature 2 measures about 4.5 feet in diameter and was 0.6 foot in depth. The pit fill consisted of a mottled brown sand, with 4.2 pounds of shell. Artifacts, largely burnt, were common in the pit, as was faunal material. Feature 3 measured about 3 feet north-south and was bisected by the R330 line. The pit was 1.0 foot deep and consisted of 0.8 foot of homogenous brown sand overlying about 0.2 foot of black sand and charcoal. Feature 4 measured 3.8 feet by 2.2 feet and was 1.2 feet in depth (Figure 43). This feature was also found to contain two distinct zones -- an upper layer of mottled tan sand overlying a dark black sand zone below. A total of 28 pounds of shell was recovered from the feature, as well as a large quantity of faunal material (including fish bone and scales).

The presence of these yard hearths, associated with a structure which clearly had a chimney, is somewhat puzzling. It is possible that the interior hearth was used only for heating purposes and the bulk of the cooking was done in the adjacent yard. Although similar hearths have been identified (Wheaton et al. 1983), they have been found in an eighteenth century context with structures

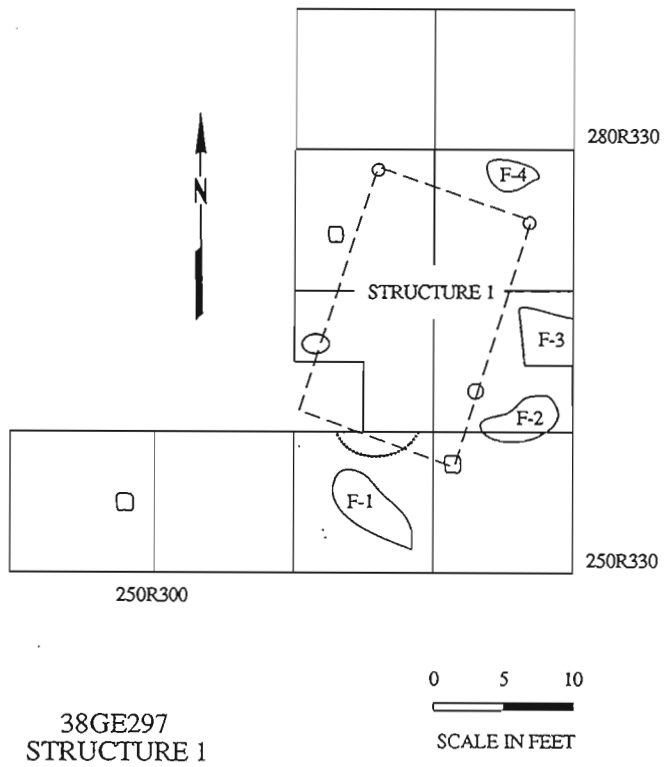


Figure 41. 250R300-310, 250-280R320-330 Block area at 38GE297.

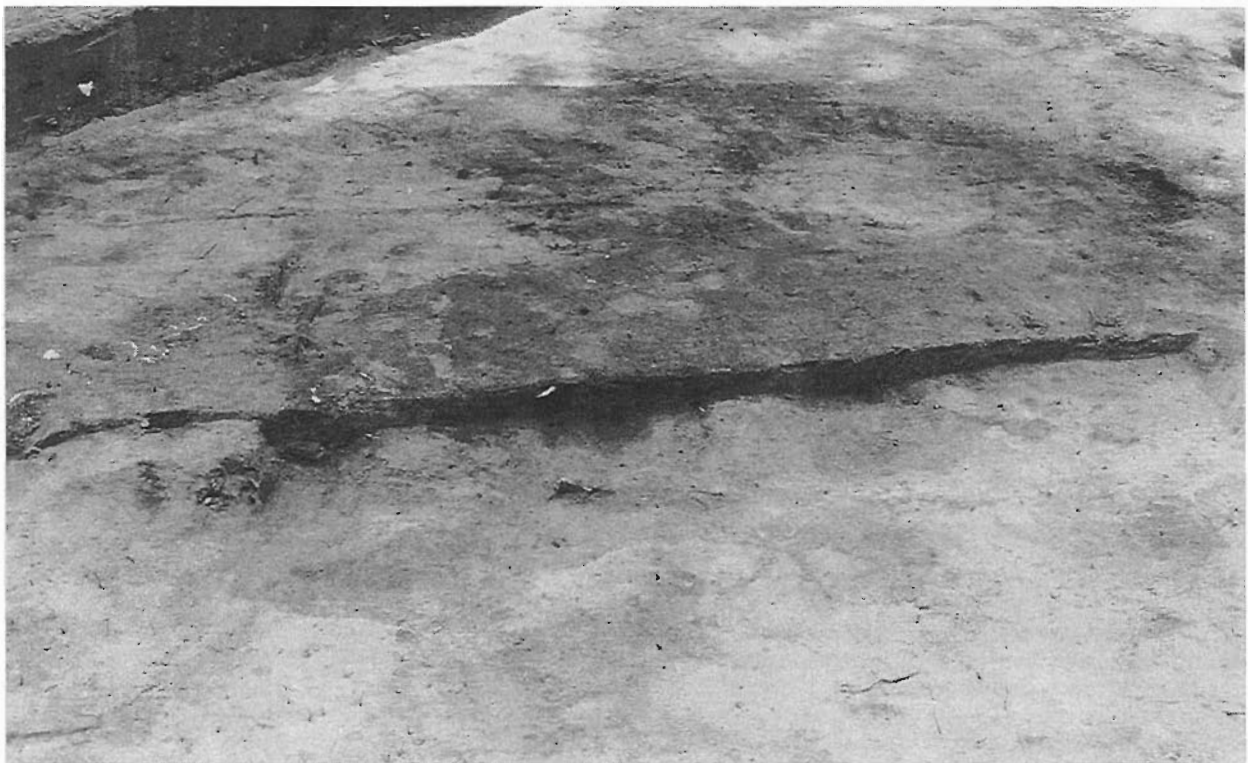


Figure 42. Feature 1, north half excavated, view to the southwest.

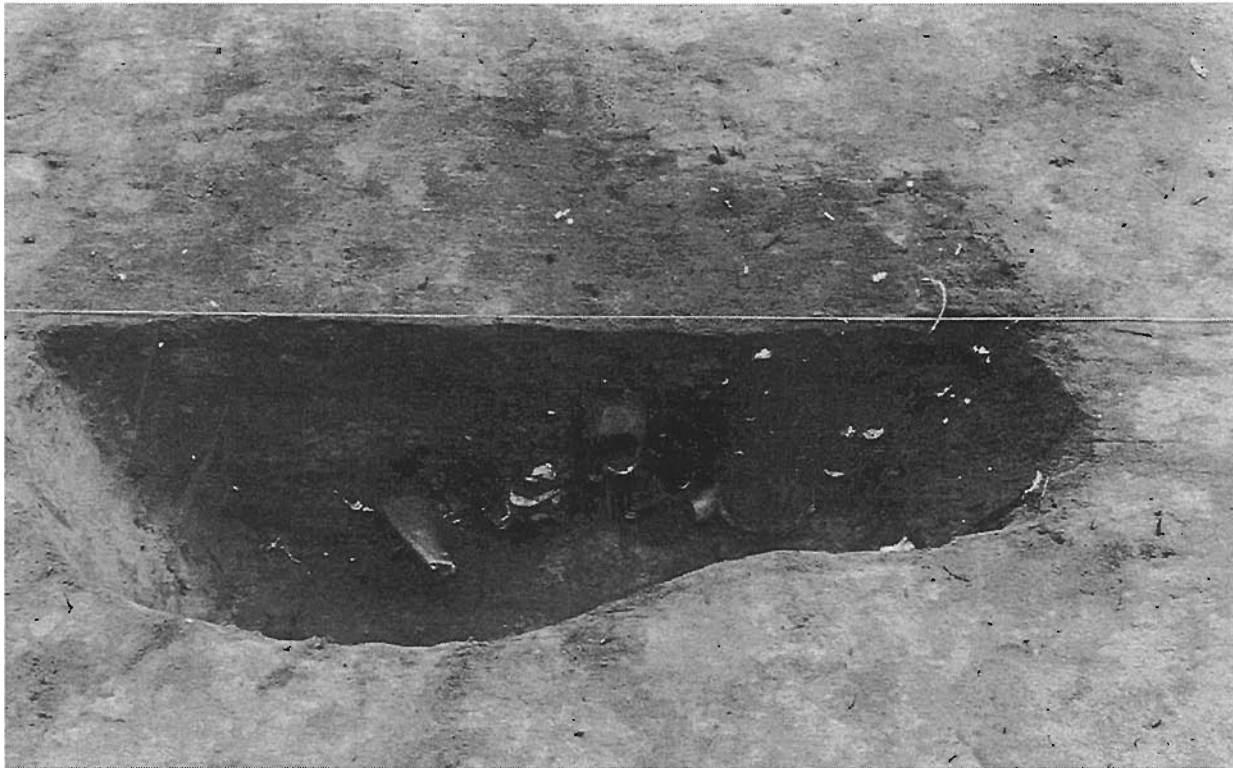


Figure 43. Feature 4, south half excavated, view to the north.

having no evidence of interior hearths. Unfortunately, as will be discussed below, the site had suffered too much damage to justify additional yard excavations to determine if this was a common, or isolated, practice at the Turkey Hill Mainland slave settlement.

The second block area, consisting of a single 5 by 10 foot unit (230R185), was placed in the north central area of the site. The computer mapping had indicated a moderate density of artifacts and brick rubble in this area. Excavation, however, revealed a zone of recent bulldozed fill up to 1.0 foot in depth, as well as portions of the old plowzone about 0.4 foot in depth. At the base of the plowzone extensive areas of bulldozer disturbance were encountered. No features were encountered and it is likely that this unit documents the extensive disturbance present throughout the site area.

These remains reflect an early to mid-nineteenth century date (pearlware, whiteware, and colono ware ceramics) and analysis discussed in a following section suggests a low status domestic structure. The material collected, however, does not appear to represent a "typical" slave assemblage. Excavations at this block recovered an unusually large number of glass beads, iron hoes, brass buttons, scissors, and similar items.

38GE340

Archaeological investigations were begun at 38GE340 by a crew of five on March 19 and continued until March 20, 1990, during which time the program of auger testing was conducted. Excavations were begun on May 3, 1990 and continued through May 23, 1990. A total of 502.5 person hours were devoted to work at the site, while an additional 60 person hours were spent off site in the field laboratory processing specimens. As a result of this work 1650 square feet of site area have been opened and 1473 cubic feet of soil have been moved in primary

excavations, all screened through 1/4-inch mesh.

This site, a documented slave settlement associated with Willbrook Plantation, was initially discovered during Chicora's 1987 investigations (Trinkley 1987a). During those initial investigations it was found that the site had been impacted by logging. Subsequently, the area was further damaged by Hurricane Hugo (Figure 44).

Auger Tests

A series of 97 auger test grid points were laid out over the site at 25 foot intervals. The boundaries for this auger survey, established using Lepionka's (1986) testing data, previous work by Chicora (Trinkley 1987a), and additional surface survey, included an area 250 feet north-south by 150 to 200 feet east-west. The auger used a 10-inch bit and tests were dug to the yellow sand subsoil. All soil was screened using 1/4-inch mesh and all cultural material (including brick, shell, and mortar) was collected.

The mapping revealed four areas of dense brick rubble and one linear area of artifact, all on a slight sand ridge (Figures 45 and 46). Elsewhere brick, mortar, and artifact densities were very low. Examination of the auger test data revealed that two of the brick rubble densities were inflated by the presence of dense remains in a single auger test; these two areas were identified as "burn piles" and discounted.

The previous survey (Trinkley 1987a) revealed that the site area had suffered extensive damage from clearing and grubbing operations in 1986. The current auger testing indicated that this damage had been compounded by tree



Figure 44. 38GE340, view to the northwest showing site damage.

removal necessitated by hurricane Hugo cleanup operations. This extensive disturbance appears to be responsible for the low density of artifacts and poorly defined site area.

Excavations

The grid, established due north-south, was tied into several permanent Willbrook property markers in order to maintain long-term horizontal control. Vertical control was maintained through the use of a mean sea level datum (a nail in the base of an oak tree at the southwest edge of the site, 8.82 feet MSL) (Figure 47).

The site area had been marked out in 25 foot grid units for the auger survey, with each point numbered in succession from south to north and west to east. Horizontal control was maintained through a modified Chicago 10-foot grid system with the ORO point established off the site and a 100R100 point established at Auger Test 1 on the southwest edge of the site. All brick, mortar, and rubble from the excavations was weighed prior to being discarded.

In addition, several units were selected for detailed sampling using a 2.25 by 2.25 foot block. All shell from these blocks was quantified and collected for additional analysis. In unit 170R180 the shell to soil ratio (by weight) was 1:98, while in 170R200 the ratio was 1:70. This appears typical throughout the site area. Although a total of 854.5 pounds of shell were recovered from 1200 square feet of excavation (averaging 71 pounds per 100 square feet), this was fairly uniformly spread over the area, dispersed by logging and hurricane clean-up operations.

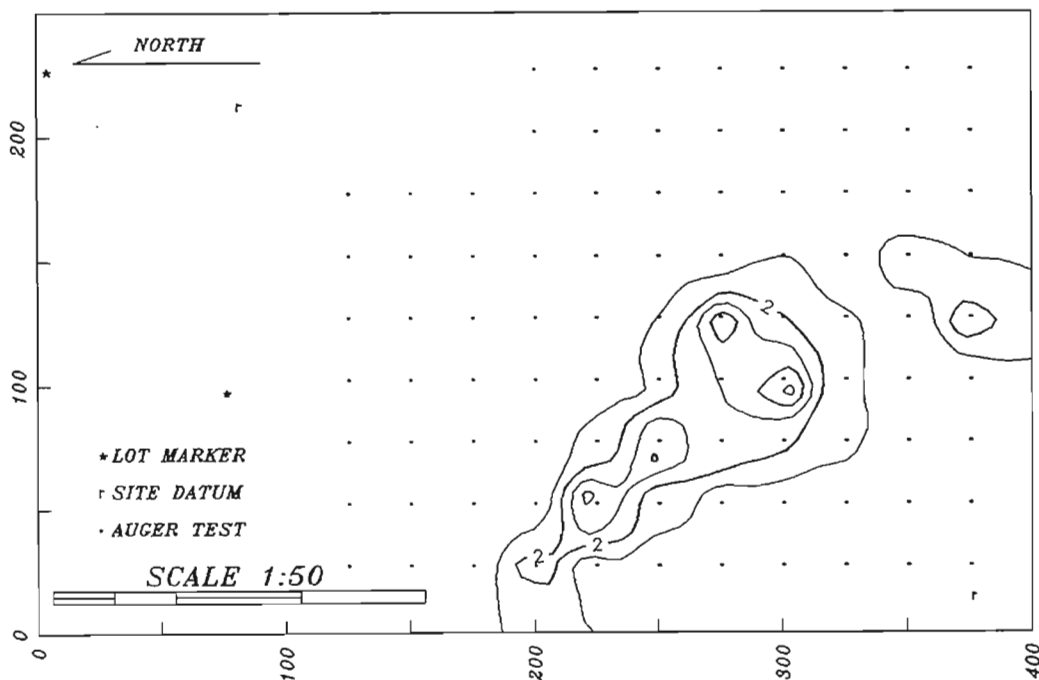


Figure 45. Density map of artifacts from 38GE340.

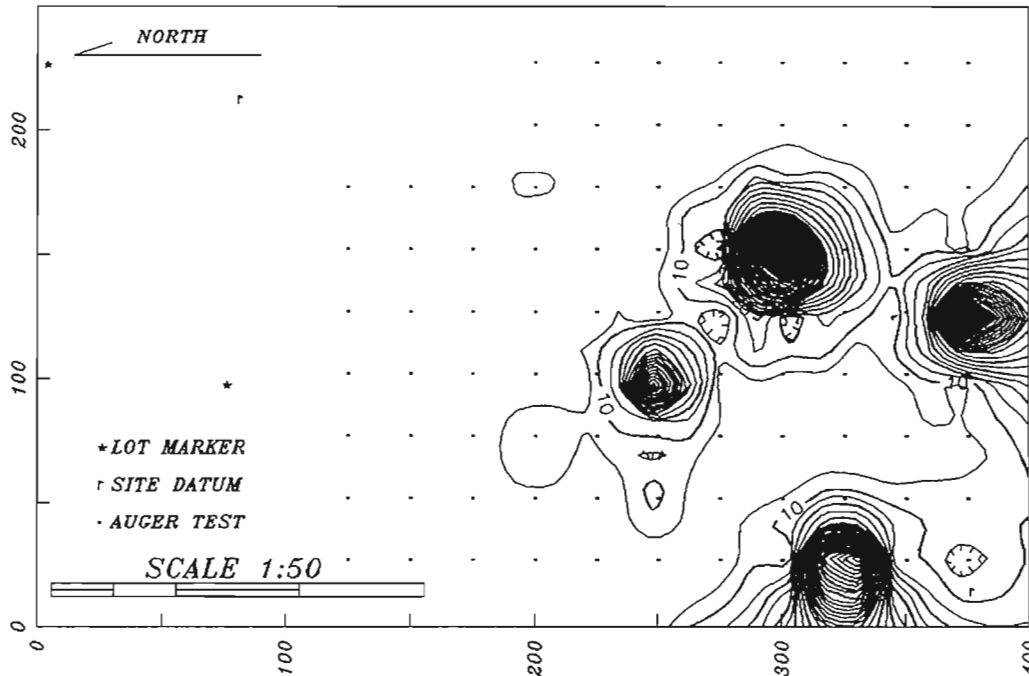
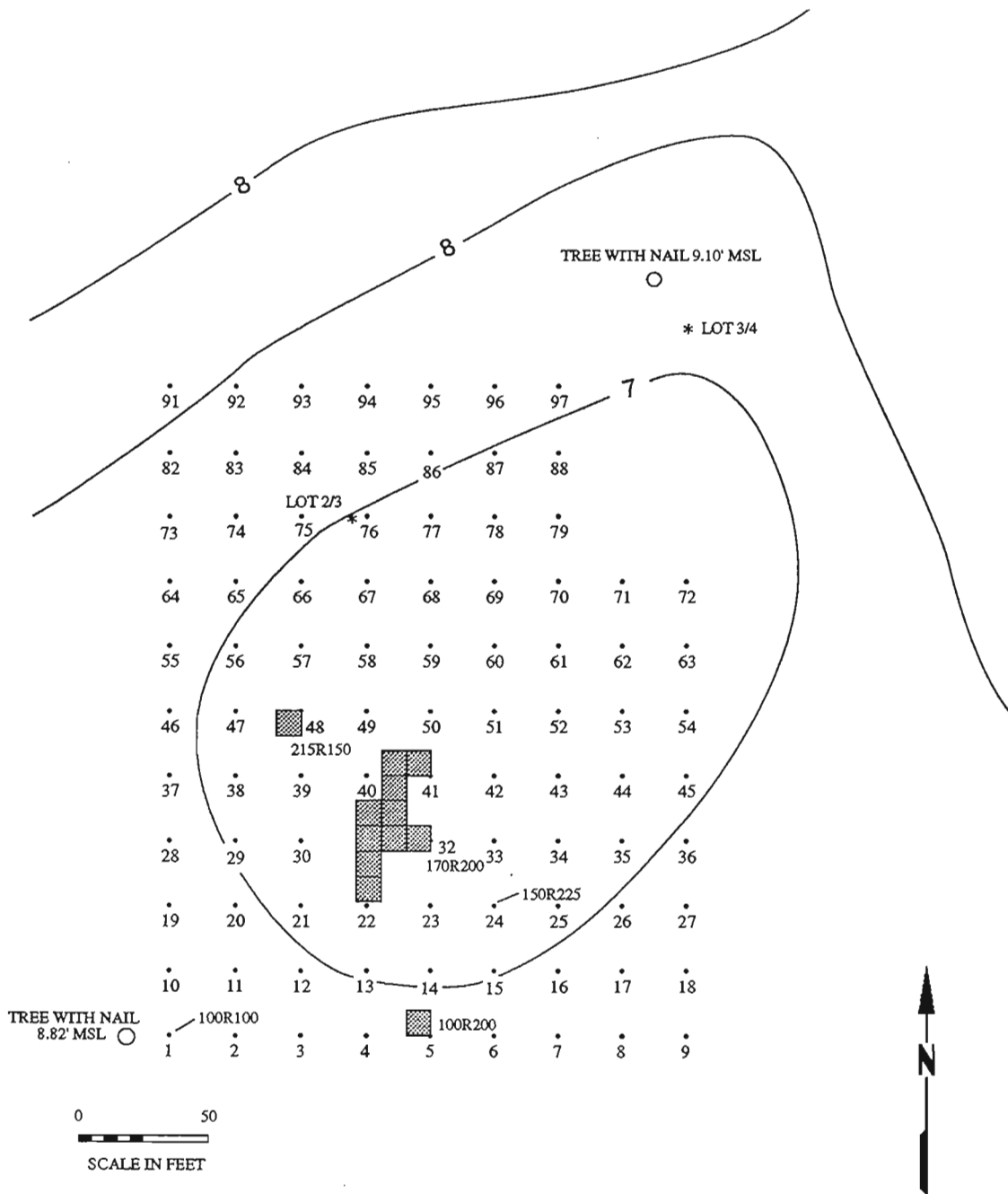


Figure 46. Density map of brick and mortar rubble from 38GE340.

The first block excavation, in the central portion of the site, opened 1000 square feet and includes 150-160R180, 170R180-200, 180R180-190, 190R190, and 200R190-200 (Figure 48). The area revealed a brown sandy plowzone, about 0.7 to 1.0 foot in depth, overlying a yellow sand subsoil. The plowzone was found to contain abundant shell with minor amounts of brick, along with architectural and domestic remains. Small quantities of faunal remains were found preserved in the plowzone soils. These remains reflect a late eighteenth through early nineteenth century date (lead glazed slipware, creamware, pearlware, and colono ware ceramics) and initial analysis suggests a low status domestic occupation. Although this block evidenced only minimal disturbance (primarily from plowing), no features were encountered.

The second block area, consisting of a single 10-foot square unit (215R150), was placed in the central west edge of the site. The computer mapping had indicated a moderate density of artifacts and brick rubble in this area. Excavation, however, revealed a zone a plowzone up to 1.0 foot in depth. At the base of the plowzone extensive areas of bulldozer disturbance were encountered. Materials in this area included the similar late eighteenth and early nineteenth century architectural and domestic remains. No features were encountered.

The third block area consists of a single 10-foot unit (100R200) situated at the south central edge of the site in an area shown by the computer mapping to have relatively high brick densities. Unfortunately, this unit revealed even greater disturbance than the previous block. Unit 100R200 consisted of up to 2.2 feet of bulldozed fill over occasional patches of plowzone about 0.4 foot thick. Artifacts from this block are consistent with those from in the previous blocks. No features were encountered.



38GE340

Figure 47. 38GE340 site area.

Toward the end of the work at this site additional surface survey was undertaken in the hopes of finding areas with minimal disturbance. Particular attention was paid to the relatively undisturbed field edges to the west and south of the site core. During these investigations a brick rubble pile was identified just inside the Willbrook property line adjacent to The Litchfield Plantation. The initial interpretation of these remains suggested that they represented an intact slave structure. Excavation opened an area of 450 square feet (-80R245, -70R215-235, and -60R235) in the vicinity of the rubble pile (Figure 49).

These excavations revealed the presence of a small frame structure with the sill raised on poorly constructed brick piers. This structure, oriented northeast-southwest, is estimated to have measured 12 to 13 feet in width (northwest by southeast) by 16 feet in length (northeast by southwest). No chimney footing was encountered, although the presence of dense brick push piles, evidence of brick robbing, and a trench feature at the gable end of the structure, provide some tentative evidence for a chimney.

Three features were encountered. Feature 1 is an intact north corner pier measuring 1.98 by 0.77 feet, set in a builder's trench measuring 2.4 by 1.8 feet. The piers consists of four courses of brick, two bricks in width. The mortar is a soft sand and lime mixture, with no obvious shell inclusions. The bricks in this pier, and elsewhere in this locus, measure 8-3/4 to 9-1/4 by 4-1/4 by 2-1/2 to 2-5/8 inches.

Feature 2 is a robbed brick pier at the east corner of the structure. The feature measured 2 by 1 feet and contained a light brown sand, devoid of artifacts, but containing about 8 pounds of rubble.

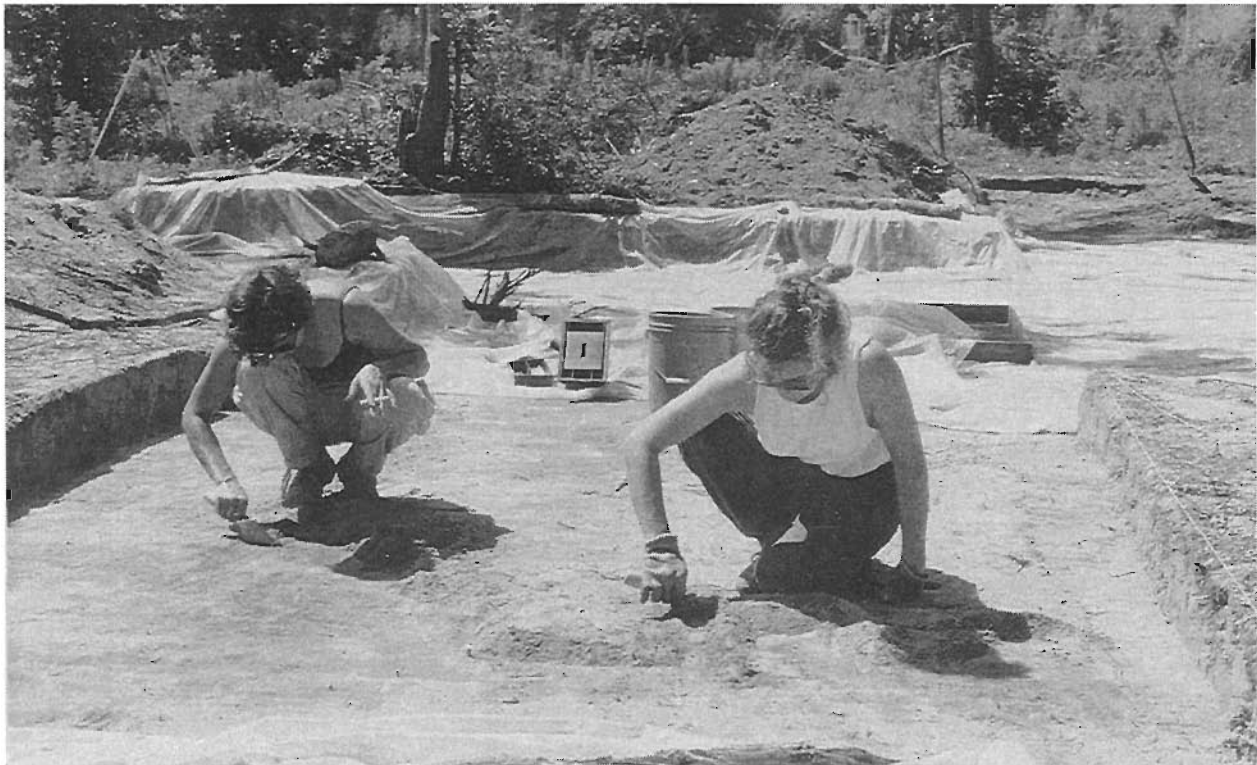


Figure 48. Troweling 190R190 at the base of the plowzone, view to the south.

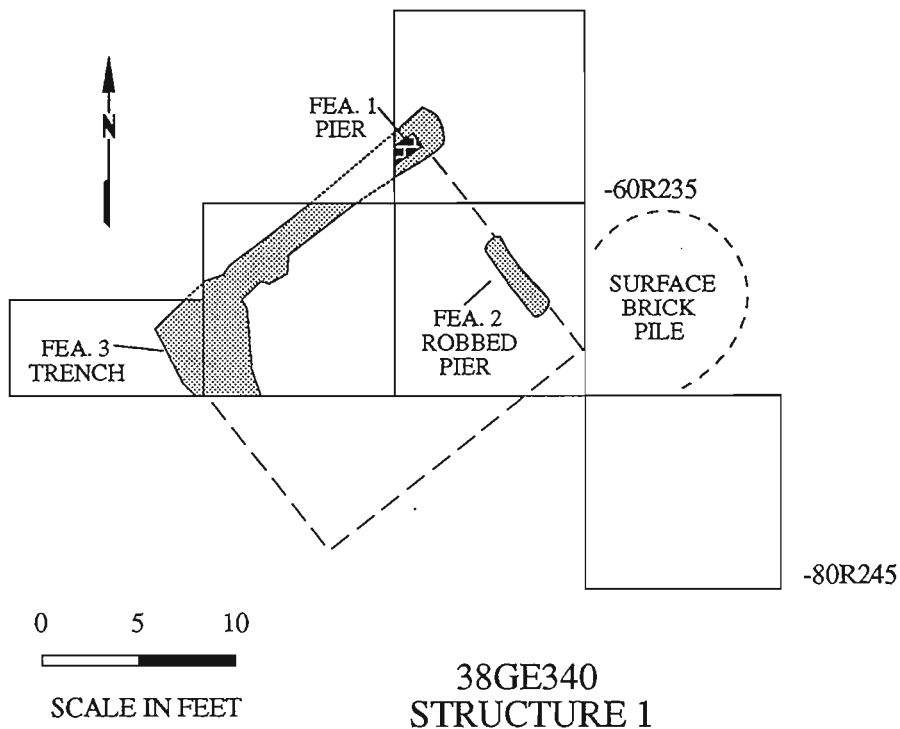


Figure 49. -80R245, -70R215-235, -60R235 block excavations.

Feature 3 consists of a shallow trench exposed on the northwest and southwest sides of the structure. It measures from 1.0 to 1.6 feet in width and from 0.1 to 0.25 foot in depth. The feature was found to terminate at the north corner pier and to broaden as it entered the N-70 profile (where it may have incorporated a chimney support). Small quantities of artifacts and brick rubble were found in the trench, with the brick rubble increasing in density toward the N-70 profile). This feature appears to be a shallow trench partially excavated to outline the structure, although it does not seem to continue to the northeastern side of the building. Trenches such as this were often laid out to assist with the construction of piers (Colin Brooker, personal communication 1990).

This structure evidences frame construction, but was finely plastered on the interior. Over 398 pounds of three-coat plaster were recovered during the excavations, much evidencing wood lath impressions.

The size of the structure at 38GE340 is not uncommon for slave housing, providing about 208 square feet of living space. Yet the archaeological remains (discussed in a following section) reveal a probable postbellum date (based on architectural hardware, ceramics, and glass).

ARTIFACT ANALYSIS

Debi Hacker and Natalie Adams

Introduction

The 1987 excavations at 38GE294 and the 1990 excavations at 38GE291, 38GE292, 38GE297, and 38GE340 produced 75,142 historic period artifacts, dating from the mid-eighteenth through late nineteenth centuries. All of these remains are attributable to those living at Willbrook (38GE291, 38GE292, and 38GE340), Oatland (38GE294), and Turkey Hill (38GE297) plantations. Materials are present from owner (38GE292, 38GE294), overseer (38GE291), and slave (38GE291, 38GE294, 38GE297, and 38GE340) contexts. These sites, spanning the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries at three adjacent plantations, therefore provide the most complete and diverse collection of Waccamaw Neck archaeological materials currently available.

The previous excavation section provides a thorough discussion of the various blocks and features for each of the sites and should be consulted for detailed information. These data, however, are synthesized here for the convenience of those using this section of the study:

38GE291, Block 1 (1000 square feet) - This area is posited to represent an ephemeral, probable overseer's structure on Willbrook Plantation dating to the eighteenth century. No features were encountered and all materials came from an intact plow zone context.

38GE291, Blocks 2 and 3 (500 square feet) - These two blocks were excavated in areas thought to represent an eighteenth century slave settlement on Willbrook Plantation. No distinct structural remains were identified and the area of these two blocks had been extensively damaged by clearing and grubbing.

38GE292, Block 1 (400 square feet) - This area represents Structure C at the main Willbrook Plantation complex. Excavations identified an 11 by 14 foot frame structure set on wood posts and lacking evidence of a chimney. The remains date primarily from the eighteenth century.

38GE292, Block 2 (100 square feet) - This unit was excavated in the area identified by Lepionka as being a secondary deposit of rubble from the demolished antebellum Willbrook Plantation house.

38GE294, Block 1 (925 square feet) - This block was placed in the area of the posited eighteenth and nineteenth century Oatland Plantation main house, identified as Structure A. Architectural features identified during the research reveal a structure approximately 30 to 32 feet by 30 feet set on brick piers (Features 4, 5, and 6a) with stairs leading to the front piazza (Features 2 and 3). Adjacent to the structure was found a probable lime storage or slaking pit (Feature 6b).

38GE294, Block 2 (600 square feet) - This block represents half of a nineteenth century double pen slave structure (Structure B) originally measuring 28 by 14 feet. The structure was built on brick piers in a trench (Feature 7) and contained a central fireplace (Feature 9). Nearby was a large pit (Feature 8), interpreted to represent a clay extraction pit.

38GE294, Block 3 (100 square feet) - This unit, excavated on the edge of the site, appears to be in the vicinity of an additional structure, perhaps a support

building for the main plantation house. Feature 1 represents a smudge pit.

38GE297, Block 1 (975 square feet) - This block identified a probable nineteenth century slave structure of frame construction, measuring 12 by 18 feet, having a brick hearth with a daub chimney, and built on wood posts. Given the quantity of artifacts present, this may represent the house of a slave driver. Feature 1 is a shallow trench for a chimney support, while Features 2, 3, and 4 are all exterior hearths.

38GE297, Block 2 (50 square feet) - This area was extensively damaged by previous construction. The materials identified, however, appear to represent the remains of an antebellum slave settlement.

38GE340, Blocks 1 and 3 (1200 square feet) - All three blocks were placed in the area of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Willbrook slave settlement (post-dating 38GE291). Excavations revealed extensive disturbance from clearing and Hugo clean-up.

38GE340, Block 2 (450 square feet) - Situated at the edge of the woods line, this block revealed the intact remains of a post-bellum structure measuring 12 to 13 feet by 16 feet. It was of frame construction, built on brick piers (Features 1 and 2) with a trench (Feature 3) outlining the structure and hearth area.

Descriptions and Interpretation

The 75,142 historic artifacts from these excavations will be discussed using South's (1977) artifact groups (e.g., kitchen, architecture, etc.) since such an approach allows the quantification and discussion of artifacts in a broad functional framework. Several modifications of South's original classificatory scheme, however, are worthy of mention. First, following the lead of Garrow (1982b:57-66), Colono ceramics will be discussed with (and tabulated in) the Kitchen Artifact Group. In addition, the stub stem pipes have been included in the Tobacco Artifact Group (rather than in the Activities Artifact Group). Second, for the purposes of these sites we have chosen to place military buttons not in the military objects class of the Activities Group, but rather in the Clothing Artifact Group. We have done this largely based on the historical evidence which suggests that military items quickly filtered into the hands of freed slaves (see Trinkley 1986). No items of clear military significance (such as arms or insignia) have been identified from any of the examined sites. Third, beads are included in the Personal Artifact Group, rather than in Clothing, since they were used by Black slaves as personal jewelry items.

Previous work in the region (see, for example, Trinkley and Hacker 1986:241-242 and Michie 1987:120-130) has attempted to use window glass thickness to determine the mean construction dates. The major shortcoming of this technique is that the regression formulae have a number of correction factors (for a detailed discussion see Adams 1980 and Orser et al. 1982). Recent studies by Jones and Sullivan (1985) have cast doubt on the validity of this dating technique. They comment that, "the very nature of window glass suggests that one should take great pains to avoid using it for dating except under special circumstances" (Jones and Sullivan 1985:172). Based on this advice and the generally poor results obtained in previous studies, no effort has been made to date the recovered window glass from these sites.

The sherds of Colono ware bear special, if only brief, attention. The most cogent published discussion of these wares is provided by Wheaton et al (1983:225-250), who suggest that the low-fired earthenwares were produced by black slaves for use on the plantation. Pottery called River Burnished or Catawba is similar and was produced by Indians for sale or trade (see also Ferguson 1985). While there are a number of attributes separating the two wares, thickness and paste are of primary utility. The Colono sherds tend to be thicker and have a coarser paste than the River Burnished or Catawba pottery, which is very

similar to the paste of modern or dated Catawba vessels.

Wheaton et al. (1983:225, 239) note that Colono pottery appears late in the seventeenth century, peaks in popularity (or at least abundance) during the eighteenth century, and appears to die out by about 1830. Research at the freedmen's village of Mitchelville on Hilton Head Island, however, found evidence of Colono pottery occurring into the third quarter of the nineteenth century (Trinkley 1986:232).

Eight separate components are represented at the excavated sites: four slave, one overseer, two owner, and one postbellum occupations. Because one of the primary goals of the project was to examine inter- and intra-site variability, patterning, and change, it was decided that these components should be dealt with in analysis in "functional" categories (Table 5).

Table 5.
Site Categories

Function	Site Number	Plantation	Time Period (century)
Slave	38GE291	Willbrook	18th
Slave	38GE340	Willbrook	late 18th/early 19th
Slave	38GE294	Oatland	19th
Slave	38GE297	Turkey Hill	19th
Overseer	38GE291	Willbrook	18th
Owner	38GE292	Willbrook	18th
Owner	38GE294	Oatland	19th
Postbellum	38GE340	Willbrook	19th

A large quantity of the historic artifacts from these investigations have required some form of conservation by Chicora prior to curation by The Charleston Museum. Ceramic and glass artifacts were examined and judged to be stable after washing; no reconstruction of artifacts was attempted during this study.

Brass items, if they exhibited active bronze disease, were subjected to electrolytic reduction in a sodium carbonate solution with up to 4.5 volts for periods of up to 72 hours. Hand cleaning with soft brass brushes or fine-grade bronze wool followed the electrolysis. Afterwards the surface chlorides were removed with deionized water baths and the items were dried in two acetone baths. The conserved cuprous items were coated with a 20% solution of acryloid B-72 in toluene.

Ferrous objects were treated in one of two ways. After the mechanical removal of gross encrustations, the artifacts were tested for sound metal by the use of a magnet. Items lacking sound metal were subjected to multiple baths of deionized water to remove soluble chlorides. The baths were continued until a conductivity meter indicated a level of chlorides no greater than 1.0 ppm ($\leq 18 \mu\text{mhos/cm}$). The specimens were dewatered in acetone baths and given an application of 10% acryloid B-72 in toluene, not just to reduce absorption of moisture, but also to provide some consolidation. 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 baths, identical to those described above for the removal of soluble chlorides. When the artifacts tested free of chlorides (at a level of less than 0.5 ppm or $\leq 10 \mu\text{mhos/cm}$), they were dewatered in acetone baths and a series of 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.

As previously discussed, the materials have been accepted for curation by The Charleston Museum as Accession Number 1987.49 (38GE294) and 1990.20 (38GE291, 38GE292, 38GE297, 38GE340). After consultation with The Diocese of Charleston,

it was determined that the procedures for the care of the religious artifacts found at Willbrook were in accord with Catholic teaching (letter to Dr. Michael Trinkley from the Very Reverend Sam R. Miglarese, October 24, 1990). All specimens were packed in polyethylene bags and boxed. All materials have been delivered to the curatorial facility.

Slave Sites

Kitchen Artifact Group

38GE291, Block 2. Excavations produced 1,878 Kitchen Group Artifacts. These include 365 Euro-American ceramics (19.4% of the group total); 1,231 fragments of Colono ware pottery (65.5% of the group total); 273 glass container fragments (14.5% of the group total), of which 221 fragments represent "black" bottle fragments; 3 tableware specimens (0.1% of the group total); and 6 kitchenware items (0.3% of the group total), all of which were iron kettle fragments.

The identifiable ceramics include a variety of eighteenth and early nineteenth century wares (non-identifiable ceramics are burned). Those with mean ceramic dates typical of the eighteenth century include two overglazed enamelled porcelains (MCD 1730), eight white salt-glazed stonewares (MCD 1758), seven scratch blue stonewares (MCD 1760), 131 lead glazed slipwares (including specimens with both a buff and a red body paste, MCD 1733), four clouded wares (including tortoise shell, Astbury, and Elers ware, MCD 1755), four decorated delfts (MCD 1750), one plain delft (MCD 1720), one annular creamware (MCD 1798), and 100 undecorated creamwares (MCD 1791).

Nineteenth century wares include 13 Cantonese porcelains (MCD 1815), two hand painted creamwares (MCD 1805), one polychrome hand painted pearlware (MCD 1805), two blue hand painted pearlwares (MCD 1800), eight annular pearlwares (MCD 1805), and six undecorated pearlwares (MCD 1805).

The major types of pottery from Block 2 at 38GE291 are summarized in Table 6. Colono wares are the most common, accounting for 81.3% of the total ceramic collection. If the European ceramics were included, the earthenware category would account for 98.4% of the collection. Within the category of earthenwares, slipware accounts for 50.4%, creamware 39.6%, and pearlware 7.6% of the total. Stonewares account for 2.8% of the total ceramics, and porcelains 5.3%.

The mean ceramic date for Block 2 at 38GE291 is 1763 (Table 7).

At 38GE291 the Colono ware collection is entirely typed as Colono, although some of the specimens do approach the type description of Catawba. The abundance of the Colono wares, when compared to the Euro-American ceramics may be an attribute of both the eighteenth century date and the status of the site.

Table 6.
Major Types of Ceramics at 38GE291, Block 2.

Slipware	131	
Clouded wares	4	
Delft	5	
Creamware	103	
Pearlware	17	
Total Earthenwares	260	91.8%
White salt-glazed	8	
Total Stonewares	8	2.8%
Canton porcelain	13	
Overglazed enamelled porcelain	2	
Total Porcelains	15	5.4%

Table 7.
Mean Ceramic Date for 38GE291, Block 2

Ceramic	Mean Date		
	(xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Canton Porcelain	1815	13	23595
Overglazed enamelled porc	1730	2	3460
White salt-glazed stoneware	1758	8	14064
Lead glazed slipware	1733	131	227023
Clouded wares	1755	4	7020
Decorated delft	1750	4	7000
Plain delft	1720	1	1720
Creamware, annular	1798	1	1798
hand painted	1805	2	3610
undecorated	1791	100	179100
Pearlware, poly hand paint	1805	1	1805
blue hand paint	1800	2	3600
annular/cable	1805	8	14440
Undecorated	1805	6	10830
Totals		283	499065
MEAN DATE = 1763.4			

Container glass at Block 2 on 38GE291 consists of 221 fragments of "black" glass, 13 fragments of aqua glass, 33 fragments of clear glass, three fragments of blue glass, and two fragments of emerald glass.

The "black" glass fragments, which evidence thick walls, gentle lines, and kick-ups, are typical of wine, champaign, or brandy bottles. A minimum of four wine bottles and one case bottle are represented in the collection. The remaining containers consist of one cylindrical aqua bottle, one cylindrical clear bottle, one clear medicinal bottle, one cylindrical blue bottle, and one cylindrical emerald bottle.

Three drinking containers were recovered at 38GE291, block 2. These represent tumblers (one plain, one etched, and one engraved). Six iron kettle fragments were the only kitchenware artifacts recovered.

38GE294, Block 2. Excavations produced 6,565 Kitchen Group Artifacts. These include 3969 Euro-American ceramics (60.4% of the group total); 1,777 fragments of Colono ware pottery (27.0% of the group total); 771 glass container fragments (11.7% of the group total), of which 462 fragments represent "black" bottle fragments; 16 tableware specimens (0.2% of the group total); and 32 kitchenware items (0.5% of the group total).

The identifiable ceramics include a variety of eighteenth and early nineteenth century wares (non-identifiable ceramics are burned). Those with mean ceramic dates typical of the eighteenth century include 14 Westerwald stonewares (MCD 1738), eight white salt-glazed stonewares (MCD 1758), 73 lead glazed slipwares (including specimens with both a buff and a red body paste, MCD 1733), 45 clouded wares (including tortoise shell, Astbury, and Elers ware, MCD 1755), two decorated delfts (MCD 1750), 26 plain delfts (MCD 1720), 84 annular creamwares (MCD 1798) and 1,267 undecorated creamwares (MCD 1791).

Nineteenth century wares include 30 Cantonese porcelains (MCD 1815), one

luster ware (MCD 1815) 24 hand painted creamwares (MCD 1805), 159 polychrome hand painted pearlwares (MCD 1805), 46 blue hand painted pearlwares (MCD 1800), 181 blue transfer printed pearlwares (MCD 1818), 157 edged pearlwares (MCD 1805), 105 annular pearlwares (MCD 1805), 811 undecorated pearlwares (MCD 1805), 36 green edged whitewares (MCD 1828), 58 blue edged whitewares (MCD 1853), 14 polychrome hand painted whitewares (MCD 1848), 114 blue transfer printed whitewares, five non-blue transfer printed whitewares (MCD 1851), 28 annular whitewares (MCD 1866), 241 undecorated whitewares (MCD 1860), and 13 yellow wares (MCD 1853).

The major types of pottery from 38GE294 are summarized in Table 8. Earthenwares, even without the addition of the Colono wares are the most common, accounting for 98.5% of the total collection. If the Colono wares were included, the earthenware category would account for 99.0% of the collection. Stonewares are uncommon compared to sites such as the freedmen village of Mitchelville, where they account for 19.2% of the collection (Trinkley 1986:226), and are even more uncommon at this site than has been found at similar sites in South Carolina (see Trinkley 1990:65).

Table 8.
Major Types of Ceramics at 38GE294, Block 2.

Slipware	73	
Clouded wares	45	
Luster wares	1	
Delft	28	
Creamware	1375	
Pearlware	1459	
Whiteware	496	
Yellow ware	13	
Total Earthenwares	3490	98.5%
Westerwald	14	
White salt-glazed	8	
Total Stonewares	22	0.6%
Canton porcelain	30	
Total Porcelains	30	0.9%

At 38GE294 the collection of Colono ware is entirely typed as Colono, although some of the specimens do approach the type description of Catawba.

Container glass at 38GE294 consists of 462 fragments of "black" glass, 16 fragments of aqua glass, 103 fragments of clear glass, two fragments of emerald glass, 41 fragments of light green glass, 5 fragments of manganese glass, one fragment of milk glass, and 24 fragments of green glass.

The "black" glass fragments, which evidence thick walls, gentle lines, and kick-ups, are typical of wine, champagne, or brandy bottles. A minimum of seven blown bottles, one french square bottle, and one medium sized bottle are represented in the collection.

The remainder of the glass collection consisted of one green panel bottle, one green ribbed bottle, two light green medicinal bottles or vials, one clear medicinal bottle or vial, and one clear blown bottle.

Five drinking containers were recovered: one clear goblet, two plain tumblers, and two fluted tumblers.

Kitchenware consisted of 25 kettle fragments, two iron forks, one iron knife, one iron utensil handle, one white metal utensil handle, one bucket lug, and one brass utensil handle.

Table 9.

Mean Ceramic Date for 38GE294, Block 2

Ceramic	Mean Date		
	(xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Canton porcelain	1815	30	54450
Westerwald stoneware	1738	14	24332
White salt-glazed stoneware	1758	8	14064
Lead glazed slipware	1733	73	126509
Clouded ware	1755	45	78975
Luster ware	1815	1	1815
Decorated delft	1750	2	3500
Plain delft	1720	26	44720
Creamware, annular	1798	84	151032
hand painted	1805	24	43320
undecorated	1791	1247	2269197
Pearlware, poly hand paint	1805	159	286995
blue hand paint	1800	46	82800
blue trans print	1818	181	329058
edged	1805	157	283385
annular/cable	1805	105	189525
undecorated	1805	811	1463855
Whiteware, green edged	1828	36	65808
blue edged	1853	58	107474
poly hand paint	1848	14	25872
blue trans print	1848	114	210672
non-blue trans	1851	5	9255
annular	1866	28	52248
undecorated	1860	241	448260
Yellow ware	1853	13	24089
Totals		3542	6391210
MEAN DATE =	1804.4		

38GE297, Block 1. Excavations produced 5,554 Kitchen Group Artifacts. These include 2430 Euro-American ceramics (43.7% of the group total); 1,939 fragments of Colono ware pottery (34.9% of the group total); 953 glass container fragments (17.1% of the group total), of which 652 fragments represent "black" bottle fragments; 31 tableware specimens (0.6% of the group total); and 201 kitchenware items (3.6% of the group total).

The identifiable ceramics include a variety of eighteenth and early nineteenth century wares (non-identifiable ceramics are burned). Those with mean ceramic dates typical of the eighteenth century include two Nottingham stonewares (MCD 1755), 13 lead glazed slipwares (including specimens with both a buff and a red body paste, MCD 1733), 19 clouded wares (including tortoise shell, Astbury, and Elers ware, MCD 1755), and 25 annular creamwares (MCD 1791).

Nineteenth century wares include 3 mocha pearlwares (MCD 1843), 26 polychrome hand painted pearlwares (MCD 1805), 41 blue hand painted pearlwares (MCD 1800), 136 blue transfer printed pearlwares (MCD 1818), 115 edged pearlwares (MCD 1805), 208 annular pearlwares (MCD 1805), 541 undecorated pearlwares (MCD 1805), 21 green edged whitewares (MCD 1828), 68 blue edged whitewares (MCD 1853), 19 polychrome hand painted whitewares (MCD 1848), 12 blue transfer printed whitewares (MCD 1848), 31 non-blue transfer printed whitewares (MCD 1851), 143 annular whitewares (MCD 1866), 13 sponged whitewares (MCD 1853), 427 undecorated whitewares (MCD 1860), and 31 yellow wares (MCD 1853).

The major types of pottery from Block 1 at 38GE297 are summarized in Table 10. Earthenwares, even without the addition of the Colono wares are the most common, accounting for 99.9% of the total collection. Stonewares account for only 0.1% of the ceramic total. This is quite low when compared to similar sites in South Carolina (see Trinkley 1990:65). No porcelains are found in the collection. Although porcelains are uncommon on slave sites, they are rarely entirely absent.

Table 10.
Major Types of Ceramics at 38GE297, Block 1.

Slipware	13	
Clouded wares	19	
Creamware	25	
Pearlware	1070	
Whiteware	734	
Yellow ware	31	
Total Earthenwares	1892	99.9%
Nottingham	2	
Total Stonewares	2	0.1%
Total Porcelains	0	0.0%

At 38GE297 the collection of Colono ware is entirely typed as Colono, although some of the specimens do approach the type description of Catawba.

Container glass at Block 1 on 38GE297 consists of 652 fragments of "black" glass, 109 fragments of aqua glass, 33 fragments of brown glass, 63 fragments of clear glass, four fragments of manganese glass, 51 fragments of green glass, three fragments of light green glass, and 38 fragments of melted glass.

Table 11.
Mean Ceramic Date for Block 1, 38GE297

Ceramic	(xi)	(fi)	fi x ix
Nottingham stoneware	1755	2	3510
Lead glazed slipware	1733	13	22529
Clouded wares	1755	19	33345
Creamware, annular	1798	25	44950
Pearlware, mocha	1843	3	5529
poly hand paint	1805	26	46930
blue hand paint	1800	41	73800
blue trans print	1818	136	247248
edged	1805	115	207575
annular/cable	1805	208	375440
undecorated	1805	541	976505
Whiteware, green edged	1828	21	38388
blue edged	1853	68	126004
poly hand paint	1848	19	35112
blue trans print	1848	12	22176
non-blue trans	1851	31	57381
annular	1866	143	266838
sponged	1853	13	24089
undecorated	1860	427	794220
Yellow ware	1853	31	57443
Totals		1894	3459012
MEAN DATE = 1826.2			

The "black" glass fragments, which evidence thick walls, gentle lines, and kick-ups, are typical of wine, champaign, or brandy bottles. A minimum of 12 blown wine bottles, two molded wine bottles, and two case bottles are represented in the collection. An additional 22 containers, include one brown molded bottle, four aqua panel bottles, three medium size aqua bottles, one aqua toiletry bottle, two aqua medicine vials or bottles, three clear panel bottles, four clear blown bottles, one clear medicine vial, one clear wide mouth jar, one green blown bottle, and one manganese wide mouth jar. One of these bottles (an aqua medicine bottle) exhibited the maker's mark "DYOTTSVILLE". This bottle was produced by the Dyottsville Glass Works in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania from 1833 through 1923 (Toulouse 1971:171).

Drinking containers consist of one clear etched tumbler, two clear pressed tumbler, one clear blown tumbler with a fluted body, four clear goblets, one clear pitcher, one manganese pressed tumbler, one blown manganese panel bodied tumbler (eight sides), one plain manganese tumbler, and two manganese pressed bowls (one exhibiting rays and the other a fan design).

Kitchen ware artifacts consisted of 201 items. The majority of these (n=113) are iron kettle fragments or (n=36) stove parts. Also, 18 fragments of a 13 inch diameter tinned iron coffee boiler were found. Other kitchen wares consist of one piece of lead foil, two tinned iron container fragments, five tinned iron coffee or tea steamer fragments, seven iron utensil handles, four bone utensil handles, six white metal utensil handles (Figure 50k), one iron knife fragment, four iron spoon fragments, two white metal spoon fragments (Figure 50l), one fireplace hook, and one iron vessel leg.

38GE340, Block 2. Excavations produced 4719 Kitchen Group Artifacts. These include 746 Euro-American ceramics (15.8% of the group total); 3663 fragments of Colono ware pottery (77.6% of the group total); 256 glass container fragments (5.4% of the group total), of which 184 fragments represent "black" bottle fragments; 11 tableware specimens (0.2% of the group total); and 43 kitchenware items (0.9% of the group total).

The identifiable ceramics include a variety of eighteenth and early nineteenth century wares (non-identifiable ceramics are burned). Those with mean ceramic dates typical of the eighteenth century include two overglazed enamelled porcelains (MCD 1730), one black basalt stonewares (MCD 1785), 37 lead glazed slipwares (including specimens with both a buff and a red body paste, MCD 1733), four clouded wares (including tortoise shell, Astbury, and Elers ware, MCD 1755), eight plain delfts (MCD 1720), and 389 undecorated creamwares (MCD 1791).

Nineteenth century wares include four Cantonese porcelains (MCD 1815), two cable creamwares (MCD 1805), one hand painted creamware (MCD 1805), 29 polychrome hand painted pearlwares (MCD 1805), 16 blue hand painted pearlwares (MCD 1800), 63 blue transfer printed pearlwares (MCD 1818), 41 edged pearlwares (MCD 1805), five annular pearlwares (MCD 1805), and 105 undecorated pearlwares (MCD 1805).

The major types of pottery from Block 2 at 38GE340 are summarized in Table 12. Earthenwares, even without the addition of the Colono wares are the most common, accounting for 99.0% of the total collection. Stonewares are uncommon (0.1%) compared to sites such as the freedmen village of Mitchelville, where they account for 19.2% of the collection (Trinkley 1986:226). Porcelains (0.9%) represent common amounts for typical eighteenth or early nineteenth slave sites (see Trinkley 1990:65).

The mean ceramic date for Block 2 at 38GE340 is 1793.1 (Table 13).

At 38GE340 the Colono ware collection is entirely typed as Colono, although some of the specimens do approach the type description of Catawba. The abundance of the Colono wares, when compared to the Euro-American ceramics may be an attribute of both the eighteenth century date and the status of the site.

Container glass at Block 2 on 38GE340 consists of 184 fragments of "black" glass, 9 fragments of aqua glass, 48 fragments

Table 12.
Major Types of Ceramics at 38GE340, Block 2.

Slipware	37	
Clouded wares	4	
Delft	8	
Creamware	395	
Pearlware	259	
Total Earthenwares	703	99.0%
Black basalt	1	
Total Stonewares	1	0.1%
Canton porcelain	4	
Overglazed enamelled porcelain	2	
Total Porcelains	6	0.9%

Table 13.
Mean Ceramic Date for Block 2, 38GE340

Ceramic	(xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Canton Porcelain	1815	4	7260
Overglazed enamelled porc	1730	2	3460
Black basalt	1785	1	1785
Lead glazed slipware	1733	37	64121
Clouded wares	1755	4	7020
Plain delft	1720	8	13760
Creamware, cable	1805	2	3610
hand painted	1805	4	7220
undecorated	1791	389	696699
Pearlware, poly hand paint	1805	29	52345
blue hand paint	1800	16	28800
blue trans print	1818	63	114534
edged	1805	41	74005
annular/cable	1805	5	9025
undecorated	1805	105	189525
Total		710	
MEAN DATE =	1793.1		

of clear glass, 14 fragments of green glass, and one fragment of milk glass.

The "black" glass fragments, which evidence thick walls, gentle lines, and kick-ups, are typical of wine, champagne, or brandy bottles. A minimum of 7 blown wine bottles and one blown case bottles are represented in the collection. An additional two containers include one clear blown medicine bottle and one clear cylindrical bottle.

Drinking containers consist of three clear goblets, one plain, clear tumbler, and one etched clear tumbler. Kitchen ware consists of 40 iron kettle fragments, one iron utensil handle, and two white metal utensil handles.

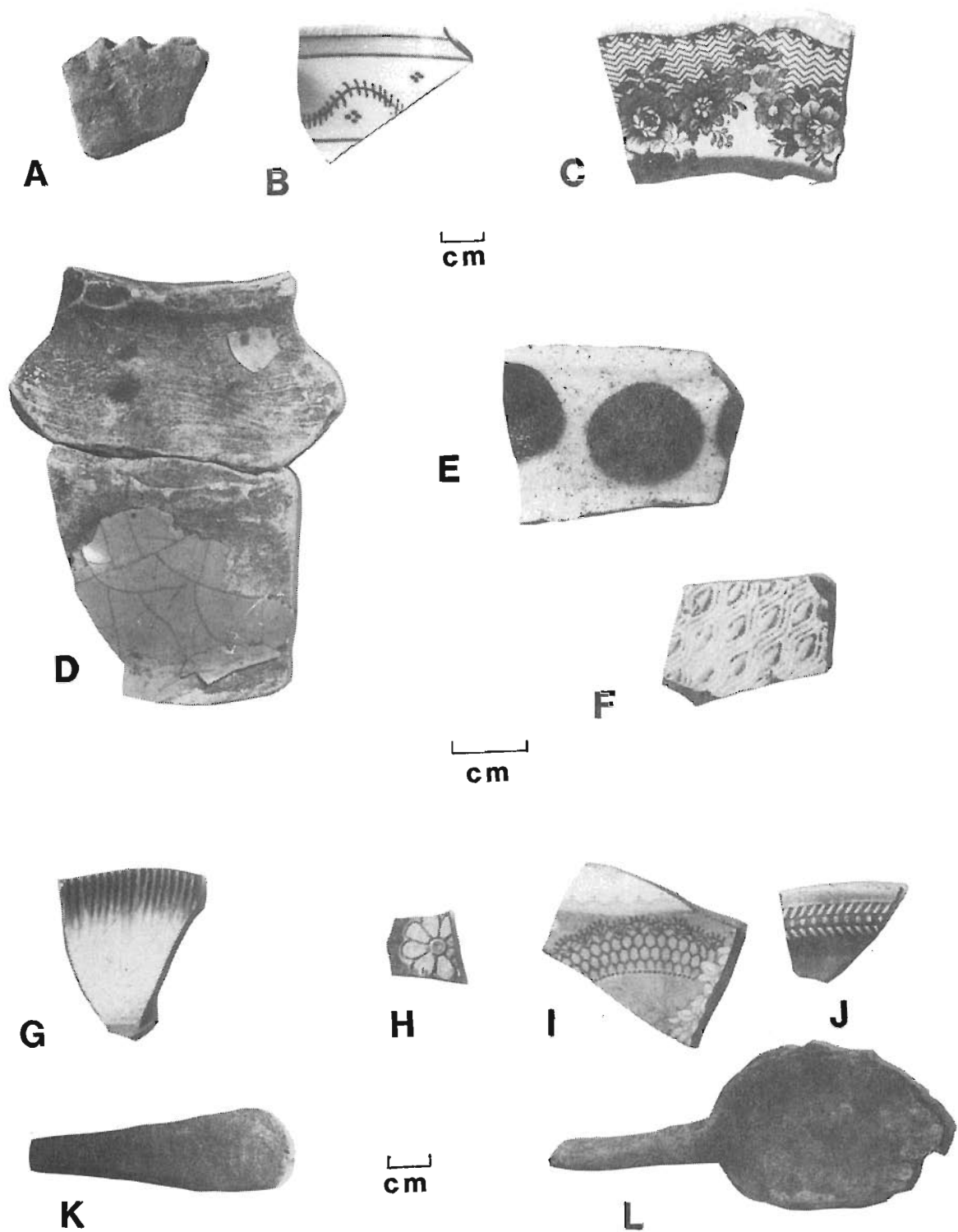


Figure 50. Kitchen artifacts from slave sites. A, Colonoware; B, polychrome handpainted pearlware; C, non-blue transfer printed white ware; D, delft; E, yellow combed slipware; F, white salt glazed stoneware; G, blue edged pearlware; H, westerwald; I, blue transfer printed whiteware; J, annular pearlware; K, white metal utensil handle; L, white metal spoon bowl.

Architectural Artifact Group

38GE291, Block 2. Excavations produced 450 Architecture Group Artifacts. These remains include primarily nails (n=417 or 92.7% of the group total). Other remains include 28 fragments of window glass, three construction hardware items, and two spikes.

Two types of nails have been recovered from this site -- hand wrought (n=195 or 46.8% of recovered nails), and machine cut (n=1 or 0.2% of recovered nails). The remainder are unidentifiable. The hand wrought specimens date from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, with a peak popularity during the eighteenth century (Nelson 1968). "Modern" machine cut nails were first manufactured in the 1830s (Nelson 1968:7; Priess 1971:33-34).

Table 14.
Measurements and functional categories of nails
from 38GE291, Block 2.

Penny Weight	SAE	Count
2d	1"	1
3d	1 1/4"	4
4d	1 1/2"	4
5d	1 3/4"	1
6d	2"	1
7d	2 1/4"	5
8d	2 1/2"	2
9d	2 3/4"	8
10d	3"	4
12d	3 1/4"	3
16d	3 1/4"	1
20d	4"	1

Function	#	%
small timber, shingles (2-5d)	10	28.6
sheathing, siding (6-8d)	8	22.8
framing (9-12d)	15	42.9
heavy framing (16-60d)	2	5.7
Total	35	

Because different size nails served different self-limiting functions, it is possible to use the relative frequencies of nails sizes to indicate building construction details. Table 14 lists both the penny weight size and the Standard Average European (SAE) size for the nails which were sufficiently complete for analysis. Measurable nails from 38GE291, Block 2 consisted entirely of hand wrought nails.

The small collection of nails from 38GE291 suggest that a majority of the nails were used for framing purposes, with most of the remaining nails either functioning to attach small timber and shingles or sheathing and siding. Very few were used for heavy framing which suggests pegged construction techniques. This is consistent with an eighteenth century date of the site.

Construction hardware consists of three iron strap hinge fragments. Two spikes were also recovered during excavation.

38GE294, Block 2. Excavations produced 5496 Architecture Group Artifacts. These

remains include primarily nails (n=4801 or 87.3% of the group total). Other remains include 637 fragments of window glass, two construction hardware items, and 11 spikes.

Two types of nails have been recovered from this site -- hand wrought (n=2125 or 44.3% of recovered nails), and machine cut (n=1343 or 24.4% of recovered nails). The remainder are unidentifiable. The hand wrought specimens date from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, with a peak popularity during the eighteenth century (Nelson 1968). "Modern" machine cut nails were first manufactured in the 1830s (Nelson 1968:7; Priess 1971:33-34).

Because different size nails served different self-limiting functions, it is possible to use the relative frequencies of nails sizes to indicate building construction details. Table 15 lists both the penny weight size and the Standard Average European (SAE) size for the nails which were sufficiently complete for analysis.

The collection of nails from 38GE294 shows that a majority of the nails either functioning to attach small timber and shingles or sheathing and siding. Relatively few were used for framing or heavy framing which suggests pegged construction techniques. Since it is probable that structures here were built in the late eighteenth century, pegged construction is consistent with the date of the site.

Construction hardware consists of two iron strap hinge fragments. Eleven spikes were also recovered during excavation.

Table 15.
Measurements and functional categories of nails
from 38GE294, Block 2.

Penny Weight	SAE	Wrought	Cut	Total
2d	1"	31	0	31
3d	1 1/4"	79	2	81
4d	1 1/2"	143	13	156
5d	1 3/4"	79	34	102
6d	2"	58	197	255
7d	2 1/4"	82	79	161
8d	2 1/2"	73	6	79
9d	2 3/4"	64	13	77
10d	3"	48	3	51
12d	3 1/4"	48	18	66
16d	3 1/2"	2	0	2
20d	4"	4	17	21

Function	Count	%
small timber, shingles (2-5d)	370	34.2
sheathing, siding (6-8d)	495	45.7
framing (9-12d)	194	17.9
heavy framing (16-60d)	21	2.1
Total	1082	

38GE297, Block 1. Excavations produced 7854 Architecture Group Artifacts. These remains include primarily nails (n=7755 or 98.7% of the group total). Other remains include 47 fragments of window glass, 23 construction hardware items, and 24 spikes.

Two types of nails have been recovered from this site -- hand wrought (n=63 or 0.8% of recovered nails), and machine cut (n=2738 or 35.3% of recovered

nails). The remainder are unidentifiable.

Because different size nails served different self-limiting functions, it is possible to use the relative frequencies of nails sizes to indicate building construction details. Table 16 lists both the penny weight size and the Standard Average European (SAE) size for the nails which were sufficiently complete for analysis.

The collection of nails from 38GE297 shows that most of them functioned to attach sheathing and siding. A relatively large amount of nails were used for framing and heavy framing, which suggests a framed, clapboard structure, with little finishing work.

Table 16.
Measurements and functional categories of nails
from 38GE297, Block 1.

Penny Weight	SAE	Wrought	Cut	Total
2d	1"	0	0	0
3d	1 1/4"	1	8	9
4d	1 1/2"	2	11	13
5d	1 3/4"	3	35	38
6d	2"	3	146	149
7d	2 1/4"	4	35	39
8d	2 1/2"	5	23	28
9d	2 3/4"	4	32	36
10d	3"	4	63	67
12d	3 1/4"	3	33	36
16d	3 1/4"	1	37	38
20d	4"	0	24	24
30d	4 1/2"	0	1	1

Function	Count	%
small timber, shingles (2-5d)	60	12.5
sheathing, siding (6-8d)	216	45.2
framing (9-12d)	139	29.1
heavy framing (16-60d)	63	13.2
Total	478	

Construction hardware consists of one shutter clasp, two butt hinge fragments, three strap hinge fragments, seven pintles, three fragments of paving stone, and seven fragments of slate. Door hardware consists of four interior fragments of a lock box and one deadbolt fragment. Twenty four iron spikes were also recovered in excavations.

38GE340, Block 2. Excavations produced 636 Architecture Group Artifacts. These remains include primarily nails (n=576 or 90.6% of the group total). Other remains include 54 fragments of window glass, two construction hardware items, two door lock parts and three spikes.

Two types of nails have been recovered from this site -- hand wrought (n=298 or 46.8% of recovered nails), and machine cut (n=45 or 7.1% of recovered nails). The remainder are unidentifiable.

Because different size nails served different self-limiting functions, it is possible to use the relative frequencies of nails sizes to indicate building construction details. Table 17 lists both the penny weight size and the Standard Average European (SAE) size for the nails which were sufficiently complete for analysis.

Table 17.
Measurements and functional categories of nails
from 38GE340, Block 2.

Penny Weight	SAE	Wrought	Cut	Total
2d	1"	4	0	4
3d	1 1/4"	0	1	1
4d	1 1/2"	5	3	8
5d	1 3/4"	3	2	5
6d	2"	3	1	4
7d	2 1/4"	9	1	10
8d	2 1/2"	9	0	9
9d	2 3/4"	7	1	8
10d	3"	2	1	3
12d	3 1/4"	1	0	1
16d	3 1/2"	0	0	0
20d	4"	1	0	1

Function	Count	%
small timber, shingles (2-5d)	18	32.7
sheathing, siding (6-8d)	23	41.8
framing (9-12d)	12	21.8
heavy framing (16-60d)	2	3.6
Total	55	

The majority of nails from 38GE340 are small nails which were used for were used to attach small timber and shingles or sheathing and siding. Very few were used for heavy framing which suggests pegged construction techniques. This is consistent with an eighteenth century date of the site.

Construction hardware consists of three two strap hinge fragments. One door lock part was recovered. Three spikes were also recovered during excavation.

Furniture Artifact Group

Furniture items from the slave sites consist of two brass upholstery tacks from 38GE291; three brass upholstery tacks, three lamp chimney glass fragments, and one brass furniture hinge from 38GE294; three lamp chimney glass fragments, one brass lamp/candle-stick base, one white metal kerosene-burner collar with serrated edged, four brass furniture tacks, two brass drawer pulls, one small brass box hinge, one small brass finial, and one iron fixed-loop hasp from 38GE297; and no furniture items were recovered from 38GE340.

Arms Artifact Group

Arms related artifacts include one brown gunflint from 38GE291; four lead shot, and four gun flints (one burned, one honey, one grey, and one black) from 38GE294; 13 lead shot, four percussion caps, two .22 calibre shell casings, one brass buttplate fragment, two gunflints (one grey, and one honey), and one lead flint wrap from 38GE297; and one lead shot and two gunflints (one dark brown and one black) from 38GE340.

Clothing Artifact Group

38GE291, Block 2. Recovered from the excavation at 38GE291 are 11 clothing items all of which are buttons. These buttons include nine specimens which may be placed in South's button taxonomy (South 1964) and two which cannot be assigned to any of South's classifications. These buttons are detailed in Table 18. Five of the classifiable buttons (Type 7) are dated to the eighteenth century, with the remaining types dating to the nineteenth century.

Table 18.
Buttons recovered from 38GE291, Block 2

Type	Description	#	Other (measurements in mms)
7	brass, cast with eye in place	5	15.5, 16.0, 16.0, 18.0, 25.5
28	brass, concave back, machine stamped 3 petal flower	1	17.5
29	white metal, cast with wire eye cast in boss	1	17.0
29	white metal, cast with wire eye cast in boss. "P" stamp on back	1	23.0
32	brass, cast with spun back, drilled eye. Rays stamped on front	1	12.0
--	brass, concave front	1	29.5
--	iron	1	fragment

Brass buttons account for eight specimens (72.7%), white metal buttons account for two specimens (18.2%), and iron buttons account for one specimen (9.1%).

38CH294, Block 2. Recovered from the excavation at 38GE294 are 41 clothing items including 36 buttons, three buckles, one shoe grommet, and one flat iron. These buttons include 32 specimens which may be placed in South's button taxonomy (South 1964) and four which cannot be assigned to any of South's classifications. These buttons are detailed in Table 19. Twenty-one of the classifiable buttons (Types 7, 8, 9, and 11) have been found in contexts dating to the eighteenth century in previous work. The remaining types date to the nineteenth century.

Brass buttons account for 16 specimens (44.4%), white metal buttons account for 16 specimens (44.4%), iron buttons account for two specimen (5.6%), and bone buttons account for two specimens (5.6%).

38GE297, Block 1. Recovered from the excavation at 38GE297 are 217 clothing items including 193 buttons, four buckles, six thimbles, seven scissor fragments, two aglets, one collar stud, one grommet, two iron hooks, and one eye (from hook and eye clothing attachments). These buttons include 174 specimens which may be placed in South's button taxonomy (South 1964) and 19 which cannot be assigned to any of South's classifications. These buttons are detailed in Table 20. Eighty-seven of the classifiable buttons (Types 7, 9, 11, 12, and 13) have been found in contexts dating to the eighteenth century in previous work. The remaining types date to the nineteenth century.

Brass buttons account for 42 specimens (21.8%), white metal buttons account for 17 specimens (8.8%), porcelain buttons account for 27 specimens (14.0%) iron buttons account for three specimen (1.6%), glass button account for six specimens (3.1%) and bone buttons account for eight specimens (4.1%).

Type 18 buttons included a wide variety of designs on button fronts and maker's marks on the backs: floral design; concentric circles; sun with "SCOVILLE/EXTRA" produced by Scoville and Company between 1840 and 1850 (McGuinn and Bazelon 1984:90); floral border on front with concentric circles on back; "PLATED"; "WARRANTED/SUPERIOR"; "EXT. TREB./QUALITY"; "ROBINSONS/TREBLE GILT" produced by the Robinson Company, London between 1812 and 1874 (McGuinn and Bazelon 1984:60); "BEST QUALITY/LONDON"; "LONDON"; "BEST" with an eagle, stars,

Table 19.
Buttons recovered from 38GE294, Block 2

Type	Description	#	Other (measurements in mms)
7	white metal, cast with eye in place, spun back	6	15.0, 15.0, 19.0, 19.0, 20.0, 25.0
7	brass, cast with eye in place, spun back	3	18.0, 19.0, 20.0
8	white metal, mold seam	1	fragment
8	brass, mold seam	5	19.0, 20.0, 20.0, 21.0, 21.0
9	brass, stamped	1	22.0
11	white metal, one piece cast with mold seam	2	19.0, 20.0
11	white metal, one piece cast with mold seam, stamped design	2	15.0, 17.0
11	white metal, one piece cast with mold seam, "PN" stamped on back	1	18.0
15	bone, no off-set rim	2	13.0, 15.0
18	brass, "PLATED" stamped on back	3	12.0, 14.0, 15.0
21	iron, four hole	1	17.0
25	brass, machine stamped brass face, iron back and eye	1	24.0
29	white metal, wire eye cast in boss	3	18.0, 19.0, 19.0
--	brass	3	2 fragments, 20.0
--	iron	1	20.0

Table 20.
Buttons recovered from 38GE297, Block 1

Type	Description	#	Other (measurements in mms)
7	brass, cast with eye in place	76	8.5, 13.5, 14.0 (2), 14.5, 16.0, 18.0 (2), 19.0 (4), 19.5 (3), 20.0 (7), 20.5, 21.0, 21.5, 22.0 (2), 22.5 (2), 24.0 (4), 24.5 (2), 25.0 (25), 25.5 (7), 26.0 (3), 27.0, 28.0, 29.5, 33.0, two fragments.
7	white metal, cast with eye in place	4	16.0, 19.0, 19.5, 25.0
9	brass, stamped design, stamped along edge	1	13.0
9	brass, stamped design, semi-circles stamped along edge	1	28.5
9	brass, stamped design, stamped pattern in circle	1	35.5
11	white metal, one piece cast with mold seam	2	17.0, 19.0
13	black faceted glass	1	23.0
15	bone disc	1	17.0
18	stamped brass, words on back	31	11.5, 12.0 (3), 13.0, 14.0 (3), 16.0, 18.0, 18.5, 19.0 (2), 19.5 (2), 20.0 (11), 21.0 (3), 22.0, 23.0

Table 20. (continued)

19	bone, five hole	5	16.0, 16.5, 17.0 (3)
20	bone, four hole	3	16.0, 18.0, 19.0
21	iron, four hole	2	13.5, 14.0
23	porcelain, convex front and back	22	10.0, 10.5 (5), 10.5 (blue-green), 11.0 (pie-crust rim), 11.0 (teal green on edge), 11.0 (UID color rim), 11.0 (5), 11.5 (2), 13.0, 14.0, 14.5, 15.0, 17.0.
25	machine stamped brass face, with iron back and eye	1	12.0 (circles along edge)
26 or 27	brass two piece (back only)	1	13.5
27	brass domed, machine embossed	2	13.0 front "T", back "TREBLE/RICH/STANDARD", 17.5 front-eagle with stars design
28	brass, concave back, machine stamped	1	22.5 front-fabric pattern, back-wreath design
29	white metal, wire eye cast in boss	15	18.0 (6), 18.5 (beveled front), 18.5, 19.0 (4), 19.5, 20.0, fragment
32	brass, with sunken panel	1	12.0
--	iron	1	17.0
--	brass	4	15.0, 17.5, 18.0, 22.0
--	white metal	2	16.0, fragment
--	porcelain	5	8.5 and 9.5 (black), 10.0 (dark blue), 16.0, fragment
--	glass	6	7.0 (black), 11.0 (pale blue), 12.0 (black with floral design), 15.0 (clear, 2 hole), 15.0 (black "greek key" pattern), 16.0 (black back grey glass on top).

or eagle with stars; flower wreath; "PLATED" with leaves on the front; "Treble Gilt/LONDON" in gothic letters; "JENNENS/LONDON" with fleur de lis design on front produced by Thomas Jennens and Company between 1852 and 1860 (McGuinn and Bazelon 1984:61); "WARRANTED/RICH ORANGE"; "DOUBLE GILT/NO. 2"; "TREBLE ORANGE/LONDON"; "SUPERFINE/QUALITY"; "TRENT GILT/ORANGE COLOUR"; "BEST QUALITY"; "CHARLES JENNENS LONDON" produced by Charles Jennens and Company between 1805 and 1852 (McGuinn and Bazelon 1984:61); wreath design; "STANDARD/COLOUR" with crown motif. One unidentified type brass button exhibited the mark "TREBLE/RICH/STANDARD" with a "I" stamped on the front. This button (Figure 511) is a confederate infantry button (#CS177 in Albert 1969:365).

Buckles include three iron (D shaped and O shaped frames and one suspender buckle) and one brass with a D shaped frame (Figure 51o). Six brass thimbles (Figure 51m-n) were also recovered as well as seven scissor fragments representing four separate sets, two brass aglets, one brass collar stud, one brass grommet, two iron hooks, and one flat brass eye.

38GE340, Block 2. Recovered from the excavation at 38GE340 are 24 clothing items including 23 buttons and one buckle. These buttons include 22 specimens which may be placed in South's button taxonomy (South 1964) and one which cannot be

assigned to any of South's classifications. These buttons are detailed in Table 21. Twelve of the classifiable buttons (Types 7, 8, 9, and 11) have been found in contexts dating to the eighteenth century in previous work. The remaining types date to the nineteenth century.

Table 21.
Buttons recovered from 38GE340, Block 2

Type	Description	#	Other (measurements in mms)
7	brass, cast with spun back	6	14.0, 18.5, 19.0, 20.5, 24.0, 28.0
7	white metal, cast with spun back	2	18.5, fragment
8	brass, cast with mold seam	1	18.5
8	white metal, cast with mold seam	1	13.5
9	brass, stamped	1	17.5 (floral motif)
11	white metal, cast	1	19.0
15	bone disc	1	16.5
18	brass, stamped	4	22.0 and 14.5 (wreath), 18.5 (0), 14.5 ("DOUBLE GILT")
29	white metal, wire eye cast in boss	5	19.0 (2), 18.5, fragment (2)
--	brass, steeply concave back	1	21.5

Brass buttons account for 13 specimens (56.5%), white metal buttons account for nine specimens (39.2%), and bone buttons account for one specimen (4.3%).

One D-shaped iron buckle was also recovered from 38BU340.

Personal Artifact Group

Personal artifacts include one counting slate from 38GE291, two beads, one unidentified British coin, one finger ring, and one slate pencil from 38GE294, 28 beads, two coins, eight mirror fragments, five iron key fragments, one eye glass lens fragment from 38GE297, and two beads, one iron key fragment, and one very thin picture glass from 38GE340.

The two coins from 38GE297 are one copper US 1857 flying eagle penny and one silver New Spain 17 0, 8 reals Charles III coin. The flying eagle cent was a short lived coin (1856-1858) that was conceived to replace the large cent. This offered a more convenient, clearer and more durable coin than the old ones (Junge 1984:106). The silver New Spain coin was heavily distributed in the United States after the American Revolution and it is estimated that Spanish dollars outnumbered other foreign coins current in North America by three or four to one (Porteus 1969:225).

Beads from the slave components are presented in Table 22.

Tobacco Artifact Group

38GE291, Block 2. The tobacco category includes 119 items. These remains include 89 kaolin (white ball clay) pipestems (74.8% of the group total), 27 kaolin pipebowl fragments (22.7% of the group total), and three colonoware pipestems (2.5%).

Of the 27 kaolin pipe bowls, only one (3.7%) is decorated. All of the bowls are of the Irish style. The pipestems recovered from 38GE291, Block 2 range from 4/64 to 5/64 inch in bore diameter. All of these are plain.

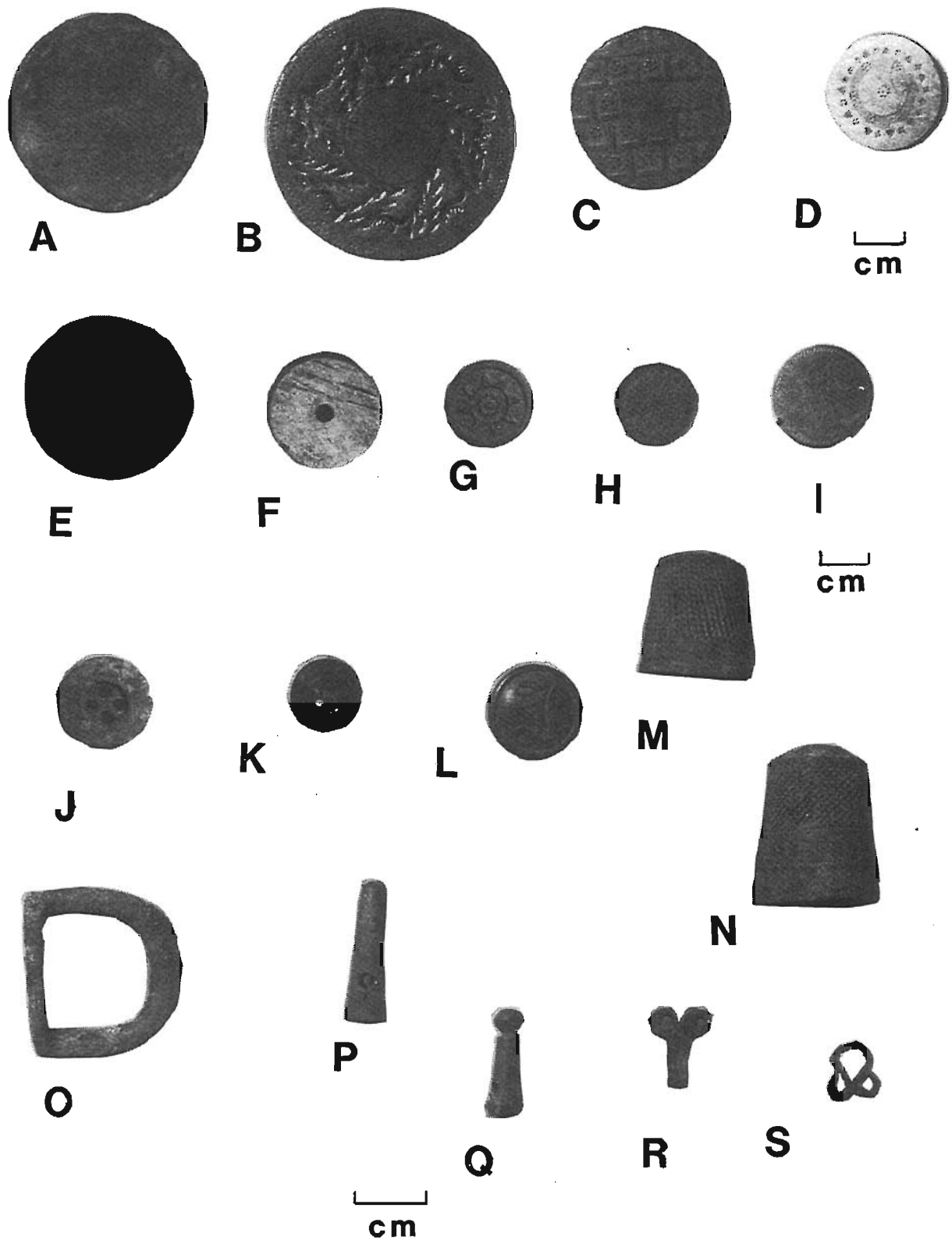


Figure 51. Clothing group artifacts from the slave sites. A-C, type 9 buttons; D, type 11 button; E, type 13 button; F, type 15 button; G-I, type 18 buttons; J, type 20 button; K, type 23 button; L, Infantry button; M-N, thimbles; O, buckle; P-Q, aglets; R, hook; S, eye.

Table 22.
Beads recovered from the slave components

Description	Number from each site
Wire wound, round, large, clear, clear, type Wlb	2 38GE297
Wire wound, round, large, ultra-marine, clear, type Wlb-15	1 38GE297
Wire wound, round, large, black, opaque, type Wlb	1 38GE340, 1 38GE297
Wire wound, round, very large, white, opaque, type Wlb	1 38GE297
Wire wound, round, blue, large, clear, type Wld	1 38GE340
Wire wound, round, large, lt. green, clear, type Wlb	1 38GE297
Wire wound, round, large, purple, translucent, type Wlb	1 38GE297
Wire wound, round, large, pale grey, clear, type Wld	1 38GE297
Wire wound, round, large, pale green, translucent, type Wld	1 38GE297
Wire wound, round, large, amber, clear, type Wld-1	1 38GE297
Drawn tube, 6-sided, large, blue, clear, type If	10 38GE297
Drawn tube, 6-sided, large, ultra- marine, clear, type If	4 38GE297
Drawn tube, 6-sided, large, clear, type If	2 38GE297
Drawn tube, 6-sided, large, black, opaque, type If-3	1 38GE297
Drawn tube, 6-sided, large, emerald- green, clear, type If	1 38GE297
Drawn tube, large, green, clear, type If	1 38GE294
Drawn tube, large, blue, clear, type If	1 38GE294

38GE294, Block 2. The tobacco category includes 421 items. They include 307 kaolin (white ball clay) pipestems (72.9%), 113 kaolin pipe bowls (26.8%), one colono pipestem, and one colono pipe bowl.

Of the 113 kaolin pipe bowls, 23 (20.4%) are decorated representing vertical ribs (11), diagonal ribs (1), simple leaf (4), stars (1), floral motif (1), vertical ribs and dots (1), ribs with leaves and stars (1), and stars and half circles. All of the bowls are of the Irish style. The pipestems recovered from 39GE294 range from 4/64 to 6/64 bore diameter. One has a yellow glaze tip and another is green glazed. Only one is decorated.

38GE297, Block 1. The tobacco category includes 571 items. These remains include 344 kaolin (white ball clay) pipestems (60.2%), 214 kaolin pipe bowls (37.5%), one brown stoneware pipestem (0.2%), one brown stoneware pipebowl (0.2%), seven terra cotta pipe bowls (1.2%), two terra cotta pipestems (0.3%), one colonoware stub stem pipe (0.2%), and one colonoware pipestem with bowl fragment (0.2%).

Of the 344 kaolin pipe bowls, 141 (41.0%) are decorated. These decorations include ribs (n=70), initials "TD" (n=1), simple leaves (n=14), simple leaves and

ribs (n=26), simple leaves and stars (n=1), simple leaves, grapes and grape leaves (n=2), stars (n=4), grapes and grape leaves (n=7), simple leaves and diagonal ribs (n=1), diagonal ribs (n=5), shields (n=2), horizontal ribs at rim (n=1), impressed flowers (n=1), large leaves (n=1), fan-like design (n=1), bird (n=1), unidentified letters (n=1), turbanned head figure (n=1), and black with curved ribs and stars (n=1). The turbanned head figure (Figure 52e) was probably originally a yellow-brown in color. It was possibly produced by Gambier, of Paris. Wilson (1971:25) mentions that Gambier produced effigy pipes with turbanned heads and beards during the mid nineteenth century.

The pipestems range from 4/64 to 6/64 bore diameter. On the 4/64 bore stems (n=68), seven are decorated which include brass tube around mouthpiece, ribbed, pale green glaze, bars and "(G)OUDA/STAR", and "R/R". The 5/64 bore stems (n=215) include four decorated examples: bars and ribs; bars, ribs, dots and "LF"; and bars, simple leaves and "JAN.PRING/_N GOUDA" (Figure 52b). The Gouda industry began around 1611 in Amsterdam. These Dutch pipes were cheaper than English ones and there is a reference in 1789 to England having completely forbidden the importation of Dutch pipes. Dutch pipes began to appear in the Williamsburg area during the American Revolution at a time when French support of the revolting colonies disrupted trade with Great Britain (Walker 1977:265-266). 6/64 bore stems (n=47) included 16 decorated examples; lead glazed mouth piece (n=1), bars and ribs, ribs and leaves, "ambier/" and "___/aris/m", which are probably Gambier pipes from Paris. Other designs include bars and ribs, "*W*/_STID_", "R/R", "16 or 91" and unidentified letters, diagonal ribs, simple leaves, and simple leaves, grapes and grape leaves with "R/R".

38GE340, Block 2. The tobacco category includes 119 items. These remains include 75 kaolin (white ball clay) pipestems (63.0% of the group total) and 44 kaolin pipebowl fragments (27.0% of the group total).

Of the 44 kaolin pipe bowls, only five (11.4%) are decorated. All of the bowls are of the Irish style. Decorations include simple leaves; ribs; ribs and simple leaves; stars and simple leaves; and an impressed "16" or "91". The pipestems recovered from 38GE340, Block 2 range from 4/64 to 6/64 inch in bore diameter. All but one (simple leaves) are plain.

Activities Artifact Group

38GE291, Block 2. The activities category includes 30 items. Nine of these artifacts are categorized as storage items identified as strap iron. The other remains include one piece of unidentified iron, 16 flint fragments, one slate fragments, two unidentified worked stone, and one piece of unidentified flat copper.

38GE294, Block 2. The activities category includes 227 items. Items identified as tools include one triangular file, one flat file, and one ruler (Figure 52g). Storage items include 28 pieces of strap iron. Stable/barn items consist of one hoe. Items identified as hardware include one piece of wire, one iron and one brass rivet, four iron screws, one eye bolt, one stove bolt, one nut fragment, one chain link, two nuts with bolts, one bolt fragment, and one iron tack. Other items include 147 pieces of unidentified iron, 14 lumps of lead, two copper fragments, two brass fragments, three iron bar stock, seven pieces of slate, one brass tube, one twisted wire, and one flat marble fragment.

38GE297, Block 1. The activities category includes 668 items. Artifacts identified as tools include one awl, one adze, two caliper fragments, one hammer, one flat file fragment, two triangular file fragments, one 1/2 round file, five hoe fragments, one sickle blade, and two millstone fragments. Fishing items include four lead fishing weights. Items classified as storage include 29 pieces of strap iron, one iron bucket lug, one brass padlock keyhole cover stamped "PATENT", one iron padlock hasp, and two complete iron padlocks. Stable items include one trace hook fragment, one whiffle tree hook, one wagon box fragment,

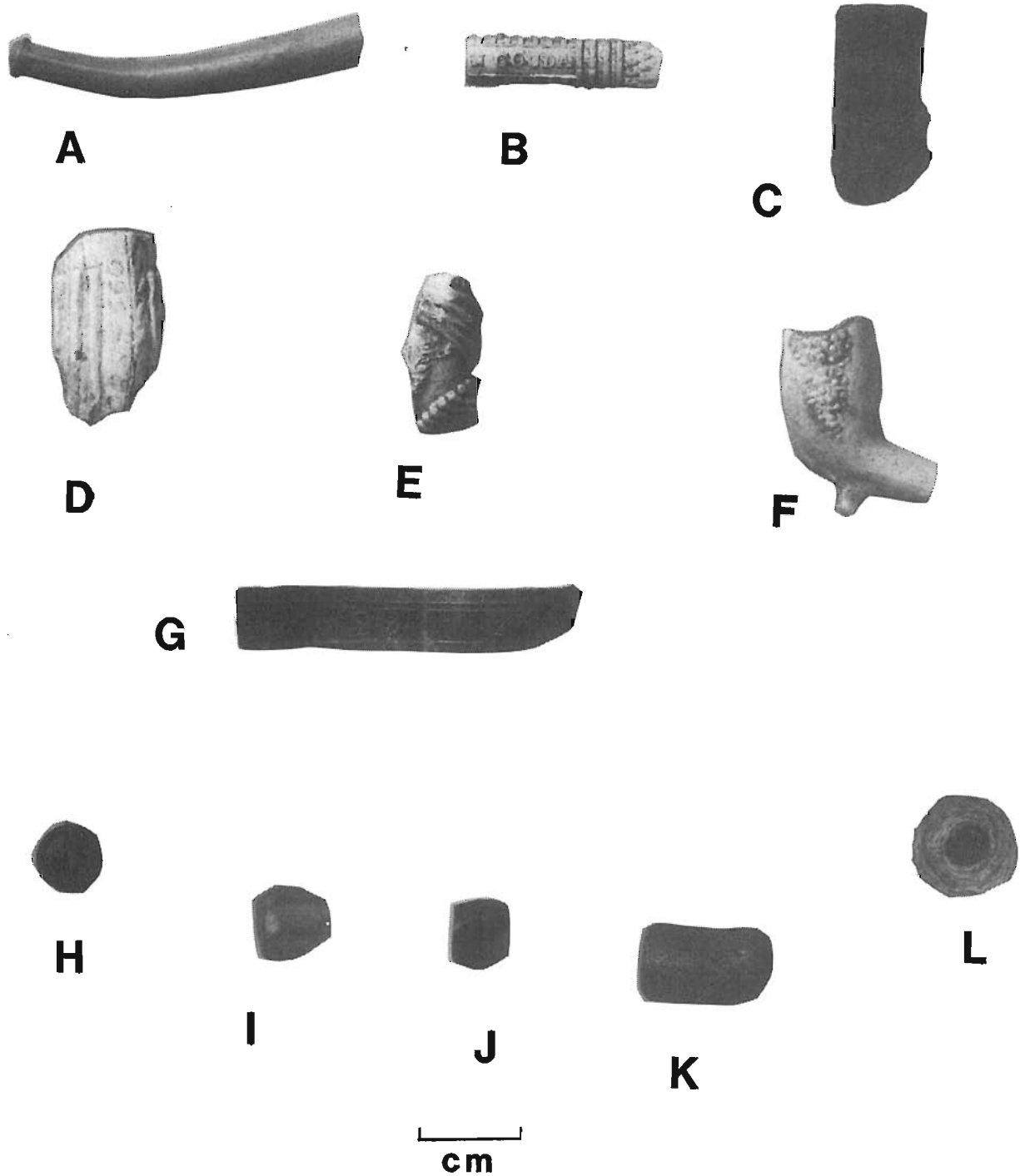


Figure 52. Other artifacts from the slave sites. A, terra cotta pipestem; B, Gouda pipestem; C, Colono ware pipe bowl fragment; D-F, pipe bowls; G, ruler; H-L, beads.

and one horse shoe nail. Miscellaneous hardware consists of eight screw fragments, three flat head wood screws, one carriage bolt, six iron bolt fragments, one brass bolt fragment, two nuts, three washers, one lock nut, seven iron tacks, two brass rivet and rove, six rivets, four roves, 15 iron stake fragments, four pieces of iron wire, one piece of twisted brass wire, one length of chain (three links), one length of chain (two links), one iron rod, and one iron rod with eye. Toys consist of two clay marbles (12.5 and 16.0 mm. diameters). Other items include 146 unidentified pieces of iron, three unidentified pieces of white metal, 13 unidentified pieces of lead, 18 unidentified pieces of brass, seven flint fragments, and one worked marble stone.

38GE340, Block 2. Activities related items consist of 69 items. Storage materials consist of three pieces of strap iron. Miscellaneous hardware includes one iron nail with brass head, one barbed wire fragment, one iron padlock hasp, and one iron padlock body fragment. Other items consist of 59 unidentified pieces of iron, two unidentified pieces of brass, and one honey colored flint fragment.

Overseer's Site

Kitchen Artifact Group

38GE291, Block 1. Excavations produced 11,584 Kitchen Group Artifacts. These include 1925 Euro-American ceramics (16.6% of the group total); 8,693 fragments of Colono ware pottery (75.1% of the group total); 907 glass container fragments (7.8% of the group total), of which 752 fragments represent "black" bottle fragments; 12 tableware specimens (0.1% of the group total), representing a total of two goblets and five tumblers (two plain, one ribbed, one etched, and one engraved); and 47 kitchenware items (0.4% of the group total), including 37 kettle fragments, one iron fork, four iron knives, two brass utensil handles (which mend), two white metal utensil handles, and one iron utensil handle.

The identifiable ceramics include a variety of eighteenth and early nineteenth century wares (non-identifiable ceramics are burned). Those with mean ceramic dates typical of the eighteenth century include six overglazed enamelled porcelains (MCD 1730), 111 Nottingham stonewares (MCD 1755), two Westerwald stonewares (MCD 1738), 35 white salt-glazed stonewares (MCD 1758), seven scratch blue stonewares (MCD 1760), two black basalt stonewares (MCD 1785), 496 lead glazed slipwares (including specimens with both a buff and a red body paste, MCD 1733), six clouded wares (including tortoise shell, Astbury, and Elers ware, MCD 1755), eight decorated delfts (MCD 1750), 26 plain delfts (MCD 1720), and 547 undecorated creamwares (MCD 1791).

Nineteenth century wares include 87 Cantonese porcelains (MCD 1815), three hand painted creamwares (MCD 1805), one black transfer printed creamware, six polychrome hand painted pearlwares (MCD 1805), 42 blue hand painted pearlwares (MCD 1800), nine blue transfer printed pearlwares (MCD 1818), 73 edged pearlwares (MCD 1805), 56 annular pearlwares (MCD 1805), and 156 undecorated pearlwares (MCD 1805).

The major types of pottery from Block 1 at 38GE291 are summarized in Table 23. Earthenwares, even without the addition of the Colono wares are the most common, accounting for 85.1% of the total collection. If the Colono wares were included, the earthenware category would account for 97.6% of the collection. Within the category of earthenwares, slipware, creamware, and pearlware each account for 20 to 32% of the total. Although stonewares are uncommon compared to sites such as the freedmen village of Mitchelville, where they account for 19.2% of the collection (Trinkley 1986:226), they are slightly higher than has been found at similar sites in South Carolina (see Trinkley 1990:65). Porcelains are also more common than is typical for eighteenth or early nineteenth slave sites.

Table 23.
Major Types of Ceramics at 38GE291, Block 1.

Slipware	496	
Clouded wares	6	
Delft	34	
Creamware	551	
Pearlware	342	
Total Earthenwares	1429	85.1%
White salt-glazed	42	
Nottingham	111	
Westerwald	2	
Black basalt	2	
Total Stonewares	157	9.4%
Canton porcelain	87	
Overglazed enamelled porcelain	6	
Total Porcelains	93	5.5%

Table 24.
Mean Ceramic Date for 38GE291, Block 1

Ceramic	Mean Date		
	(xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Canton Porcelain	1815	87	157905
Overglazed enamelled porc.	1730	6	3460
Nottingham stoneware	1755	111	194805
Westerwald stoneware	1738	2	3476
White salt glazed stoneware	1758	35	61530
Scratch blue	1760	7	12320
Black basalt	1785	2	3570
Lead glazed slipware	1733	496	858568
Clouded wares	1755	6	10530
Decorated delft	1750	8	14000
Plain delft	1720	26	44720
Creamware, handpainted	1805	3	5415
undecorated	1791	547	979677
Pearlware, poly hand paint	1805	6	10830
blue hand paint	1800	42	75600
blue trans print	1818	9	16362
edged	1805	73	131765
annular/cable	1805	56	101080
undecorated	1805	156	281580
Total		1678	2975113
MEAN DATE = 1773			

The mean ceramic date for Block 1 at 38GE291 is 1773 (Table 24).

At 38GE291 the Colono ware collection is entirely typed as Colono, although some of the specimens do approach the type description of Catawba. The abundance of the Colono wares, when compared to the Euro-American ceramics may be an attribute of the eighteenth century date. However, one might expect that a white overseer would have had a larger quantity of Euro-American ceramics.

Container glass at Block 1 on 38GE291 consists of 752 fragments of "black" glass, 67 fragments of aqua glass, 67 fragments of clear glass, 12 fragments of emerald glass, and nine fragments of green glass.

The "black" glass fragments, which evidence thick walls, gentle lines, and kick-ups, are typical of wine, champagne, or brandy bottles. A minimum of 15 blown bottles, one molded bottled, and two blown case bottles are represented in the collection. An additional 14 containers, including two panel bottles and at least three medicinal bottles or vials.

Drinking containers consist of two clear goblets, two plain, clear tumblers, one clear ribbed tumbler, one clear engraved tumbler, and one etched clear tumbler. Kitchen ware consists of 37 iron kettle fragments, one iron fork fragment, four iron knife fragments, two brass utensil handles (which cross mend), two white metal utensil handles, and one iron utensil handle.

Architecture Artifact Group

Excavations produced 1281 Architecture Group Artifacts. These remains include primarily nails (n=1169 or 91.2% of the group total). Other remains include 106 fragments of window glass, one door lock part, two construction hardware items, and three spikes.

Two types of nails have been recovered from this site -- hand wrought (n=811 or 69.4% of recovered nails), and machine cut (n=22 or 1.9% of recovered nails). The remainder are unidentifiable.

Because different size nails served different self-limiting functions, it is possible to use the relative frequencies of nails sizes to indicate building construction details. Table 25 lists both the penny weight size and the Standard Average European (SAE) size for the nails which were sufficiently complete for analysis. Measurable nails from 38GE291, Block 1 consisted entirely of hand wrought nails.

Table 25.
Measurements and functional categories of nails
from 38GE291, Block 1.

Penny Weight	SAE	Wrought	Cut
2d	1"	3	0
3d	1 1/4"	13	0
4d	1 1/2"	17	0
5d	1 3/4"	14	0
6d	2"	12	2
7d	2 1/4"	39	0
8d	2 1/2"	46	1
9d	2 3/4"	34	2
10d	3"	25	1
12d	3 1/4"	19	0
16d	3 1/2"	4	0
20d	4"	0	0
30d	4 1/2"	1	2

Function	Count	%
small timber, shingles (2-5d)	47	20.1
sheathing, siding (6-8d)	99	42.3
framing (9-12d)	81	34.6
heavy framing (16-60d)	7	3.0
Total	234	

The collection of nails from 38GE291 show that a majority of the nails were used for sheathing, siding, or framing purposes, with most of the remaining nails either functioning to attach small timber and shingles. Very few were used for heavy framing. This structure appear to have been a fairly substantial house with some pegged construction. This is consistent with an eighteenth century date of the site.

Construction hardware consists of one strap hinge and one strap hinge fragment. Three spikes were also recovered during excavation. The one door lock part consists of an interior lock box.

Furniture Artifact Group

Furniture items from the overseer's site consist of four brass upholstery tacks, and one lamp chimney part. This lamp part consists of a strip of decorated metal.

Arms Artifact Group

Arms related artifacts include three lead shot, one U.S. rifle/musket bullet (minie ball), one flint wrap, and three gunflints.

Clothing Artifact Group

Recovered from the excavation at 38GE291 are 59 clothing items 48 of which are buttons. These buttons include 40 specimens which may be placed in South's button taxonomy (South 1964) and eight which cannot be assigned to any of South's classifications. These buttons are detailed in Table 26. Twenty-seven (67.5%) of the classifiable buttons (Types 1, 3, 7, 9, and 11) are dated to the eighteenth century, with the remaining types dating to the nineteenth century.

Brass buttons account for 22 specimens (45.8%), white metal buttons account for 22 specimens (45.8%), iron buttons account for two specimen (4.2%), and porcelain buttons account for two specimens (4.2%).

Other clothing related items include one button eye, one iron scissors fragment, one decorated brass thimble (devil's face and flowers along lower band), one iron suspender clip, two iron buckles, one iron buckle with gilt, one iron and brass buckle, one brass buckle, and one white metal buckle.

Personal Artifact Group

Personal artifacts include 15 items. Beads from 38GE291, Block 1 are presented in Table 27.

Other personal artifacts include four iron pocket knife fragments, one iron key fragment, one copper coin, one cut manganese glass jewelry setting, one brass stick pin fragment, and one unidentified silver object (Figure 53n) (possibly the handle of a posy holder or glove stretcher). The copper coin is a British George II half penny which were made between 1727 and 1760 (Craig 1971:226). Of the Southern colonies, Georgia received the majority of this currency. Since establishing a colony required a money supply, these coins were shipped by the ton to the colony of Georgia between 1734 and 1735. They circulated at their sterling or English value so long as the trustees for the Colony controlled the economy (Newman and Doty 1976:148-149).

Tobacco Artifact Group

The tobacco category includes 612 items. These remains include 462 kaolin (white ball clay) pipestems (75.5% of the group total), 146 kaolin pipebowl fragments (23.9% of the group total), and four colonoware pipestems (0.6%).

Table 26.
Buttons recovered from 38GE291, Block 1

Type	Description	#	Other (measurements in mms)
1	one piece cast brass back with domed ceramic face	1	12.5 (blue and white swirls)
3	domed embossed brass face with bone back	1	18.0 (floral pattern)
7	brass, cast with eye in place, spun back	11	8.0, 13.0, 15.5 (2), 16.5, 18.0, 20.5 (silver gilt face), 24.0, 25.0, 32.0, fragment.
7	white metal, cast with eye in place, spun back	1	16.0 (rough surface)
9	brass, flat disc, hand stamped design	3	12.5 and 13.5 (no design), 23.0 (stamped design)
11	white metal, one piece cast, mold seam	10	11.5 (front, center, dot), 17.0, 18.0, 21.5 ("111" in front center, dots along rim), 22.0, 25.0 (3), melted, fragment (sunburst design)
23	porcelain, convex front and back	2	10.5, 11.5
25	machine stamped brass face, iron back and eye	1	fragment (gilt, with fan-fold pattern on front)
29	cast soft whitemetal, wire eye cast in boss	9	16.5, 23.0, 24.0, 24.5, 25.0 (3), fragment (2)
31	brass, spun back, drilled eye	1	25.0 (6 pt. star surrounded by 6 more 6 pt. stars)
--	iron	2	20.5, fragment
--	brass	3	13.5 x 5.0 (oval, back of two piece button), 22.5 (front, machine stamped; rear, drilled eye), 12.0 x 15.0 oval cuff-link
--	brass and iron	1	17.0
--	white metal	2	fragment, 19.0 (front, concentric circles; rear, eye one piece, very thick and round)

Table 27.
Beads recovered from 38GE291, Block 1

Description	Number
Wire wound, round, large, brown opaque, type Wld	1
Wire wound, round, very large, clear, clear, type Wlb-4	1
Wire wound, round, large, clear, opaque, type Wlb-2	1
Hollow cane, tubular, large, red exterior, opaque, green interior, clear, type IIIa3	2
Hollow cane, round, large, white, opaque, type IIa13	1

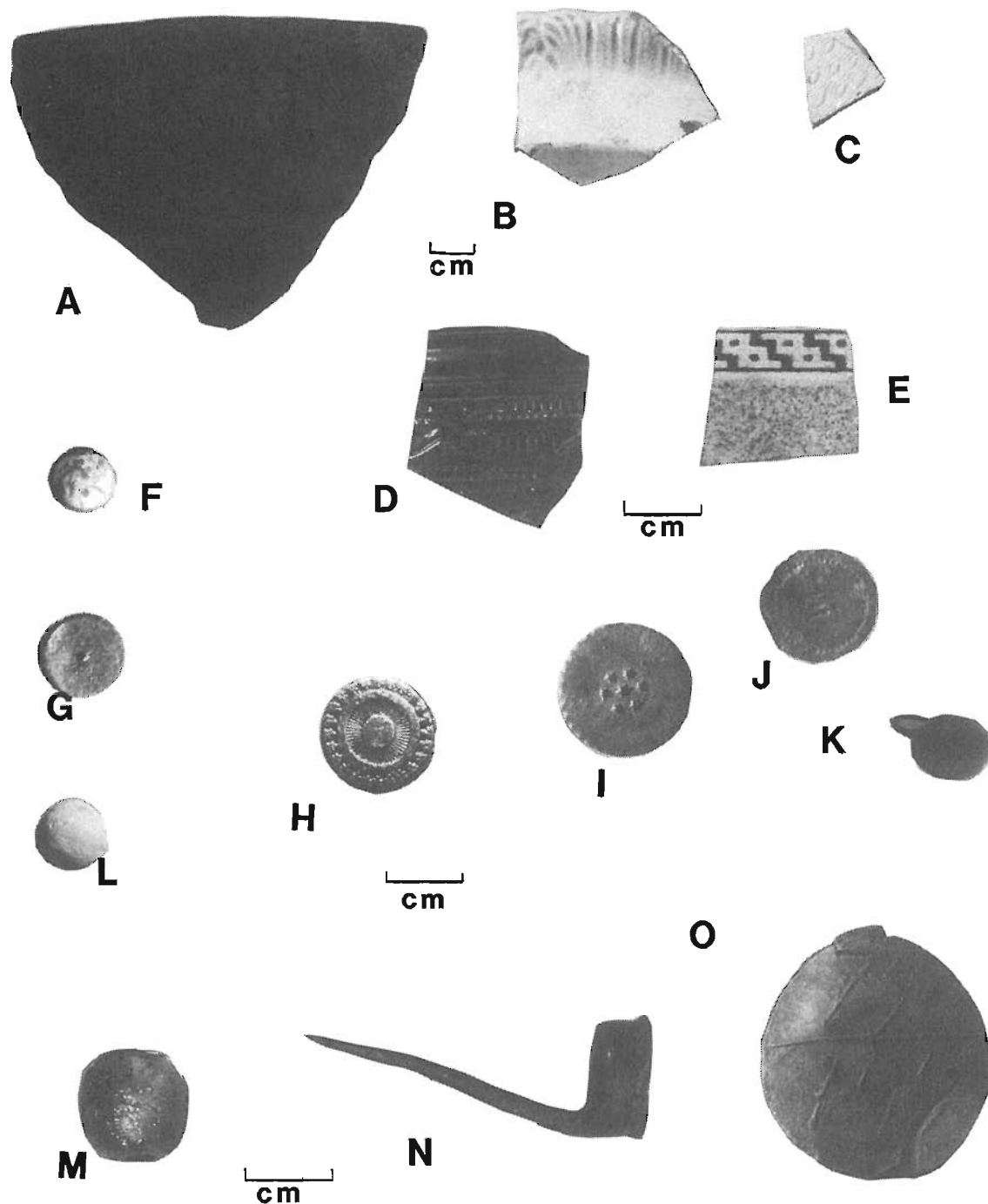


Figure 53. Artifacts from overseers' site. A, Colono ware; B, green edged pearl ware; C, white salt glazed stoneware; D, nottingham; E, annular pearlware; F, type 1 button; G, type 11 button; H, type 25 button; I, type 31 button; J, untyped button; K, brass cuff link; L, lead shot; M, bead; N, unidentified brass object; O, lead seal.

Of the 146 kaolin pipe bowls, only nine (6.2%) are decorated. All of the bowls are of the Irish style. The pipestems recovered from 38GE291, Block 1 range from 4/64 to 6/64 inch in bore diameter. Only one is decorated. This stem (5/64 inch bore) is marked 1W/GEORGE/BRADLEY/BENTHAL. No reference to this mark was found.

Activities Artifact Group

The activities group includes 163 items. Those items categorized as tools consist of one round file and four triangular file fragments. Storage items include 43 fragments of strap iron, one lead baling seal with lettering "PP/W", and one lead seal with lettering on the front "79/109" (Figure 53o) and rear "TUNNO/RCHAN/ONDO". Miscellaneous hardware includes one drive hook, two gimlets (screw starters), and one iron rivet.

Owner's Sites

Kitchen Artifact Group

38CH292, Block 1. Excavations produced 418 Kitchen Group Artifacts. These include 121 Euro-American ceramics (28.9% of the group total); 230 fragments of Colono ware pottery (55.0% of the group total); 57 glass container fragments (13.6% of the group total), of which 37 fragments represent "black" bottle fragments; four tableware specimens (1.0% of the group total), and six kitchenware items (1.4% of the group total).

The identifiable ceramics include a variety of eighteenth and early nineteenth century wares (non-identifiable ceramics are burned). Those with mean ceramic dates typical of the eighteenth century include one overglazed enamelled porcelain (MCD 1730), four Nottingham stonewares (MCD 1755), 11 white salt-glazed stonewares (MCD 1758), 34 lead glazed slipwares (including specimens with both a buff and a red body paste, MCD 1733), three decorated delfts (MCD 1750), four plain delfts (MCD 1720), and six undecorated creamwares (MCD 1791).

Nineteenth century wares include one Cantonese porcelain (MCD 1815), three hand painted creamwares (MCD 1805), two polychrome hand painted pearlwares (MCD 1805), two blue hand painted pearlwares (MCD 1800), one blue transfer printed pearlware (MCD 1818), seven annular pearlwares (MCD 1805), four undecorated pearlwares (MCD 1805), one non-blue transfer printed whiteware (MCD 1851), and one undecorated whiteware (MCD 1860).

The major types of pottery from Block 1 at 38GE292 are summarized in Table 28. Earthenwares, even without the addition of the Colono wares are the most common, accounting for 79.5% of the total collection. If the Colono wares were included, the earthenware category would account for 94.6% of the collection.

The mean ceramic dates for Blocks 1 and 2 at 38GE292 are 1759.6 and 1850.9 (Table 29).

At 38GE292, Block 1 the Colono ware collection is entirely typed as Colono, although some of the specimens do approach the type description of Catawba. The abundance of the Colono wares, when compared to the Euro-American ceramics may be an attribute of the eighteenth century date, although the high frequency of Colono ware is relatively surprising taking the status of the site.

Container glass at Block 1 on 38GE292 consists of 37 fragments of "black" glass, seven fragments of aqua glass, six fragments of clear glass, one fragment of emerald glass, two fragments of dark green glass, and four fragments of green glass.

The "black" glass fragments, which evidence thick walls, gentle lines, and kick-ups, are typical of wine, champaign, or brandy bottles. A minimum of one blown wine bottle is represented in the collection. An additional two containers, including one aqua panel bottle and one dark green cylindrical bottle.

Drinking containers consist of one etched clear goblets, one plain clear tumbler, and one pressed clear glass salt cellar. Kitchen ware consists of six items: three iron kettle fragments, two bone and iron utensil handles, and one white metal utensil handle.

Table 28.
Major Types of Ceramics at 38GE292, Block 1.

Slipware	34	
Clouded wares	1	
Delft	7	
Creamware	6	
Pearlware	16	
Whiteware	2	
Total Earthenwares	66	79.5%
White salt-glazed	11	
Nottingham	4	
Total Stonewares	15	18.1%
Canton porcelain	1	
Overglazed enamelled porcelain	1	
Total Porcelains	2	2.4 %

38CH292, Block 2. Excavations produced 1013 Kitchen Group Artifacts. These include 146 Euro-American ceramics (14.4% of the group total); two fragments of Colono ware pottery (0.2% of the group total); 725 glass container fragments (71.6% of the group total), of which 22 fragments represent "black" bottle fragments; 14 tableware specimens (1.4% of the group total), and 126 kitchenware items (12.4% of the group total).

The identifiable ceramics include a variety of eighteenth and early nineteenth century wares (non-identifiable ceramics are burned). Those with mean ceramic dates typical of the eighteenth century include one white salt-glazed stoneware (MCD 1758), one black basalt (MCD 1785), one lead glazed slipware (MCD 1733), and one undecorated creamware (MCD 1791).

Nineteenth century wares include one blue transfer printed pearlware (MCD 1818), three edged pearlwares (MCD 1805), two undecorated pearlwares (MCD 1805), four blue transfer printed whitewares (MCD 1848), and 77 undecorated whitewares (MCD 1860).

The major types of pottery from Block 2 at 38GE292 are summarized in Table 30. Earthenwares are the most common, accounting for 98.7% of the collection.

The mean ceramic dates for Blocks 1 and 2 at 38GE292 are 1759.6 and 1850.9 (Table 29).

At 38GE292, Block 2 the collection is entirely typed as Colono. The paucity of the Colono wares, when compared to the Euro-American ceramics may be an attribute of both the nineteenth century date and the status of the site.

Container glass at Block 2 on 38GE292 consists of 22 fragments of "black" glass, 165 fragments of aqua glass, 219 fragments of clear glass, nine fragments of manganese glass, one fragment of cobalt blue glass, and 303 unidentifiable sherds of melted glass.

Table 29.
Mean Ceramic Dates for 38GE292, Blocks 1 and 2

Ceramic	Mean Date		fi x xi	(fi)	fi x xi
	(xi)	(fi)			
Canton porcelain	1815	1	1815		
Overglazed enamelled porc	1730	1	1730		
Nottingham stoneware	1755	4	7020		
White salt glazed stoneware	1758	11	19338	1	1758
Black basalt	1785			1	1785
Lead glazed slipware	1733	34	58922		
Green glazed, cream body	1767			1	1767
Cloud wares	1755	1	1755		
Decorated delft	1750	3	5250		
Plain delft	1720	4	6880		
Creamware, undecorated	1791	6	10746	1	1791
Pearlware, poly hand paint	1805	2	3610		
blue hand paint	1800	2	3600		
blue trans print	1818	1	1818	1	1818
edged	1805			3	5415
annular/cable	1805	7	12635		
undecorated	1805	4	7220	2	3610
Whiteware, blue trans print	1848			4	7392
non-blue trans	1851	1	1851		
undecorated	1860	1	1860	77	143220
Total		83	146050	92	170289
MEAN DATE = 1759.6 (Block 1), 1850.9 (Block 2)					

Table 30.
Major Types of Ceramics at 38GE292, Block 2.

Lead glazed slipware	1	
Green glazed, cream body	1	
Creamware	1	
Pearlware	6	
Whiteware	81	
Total Earthenwares	90	98.7%
White salt-glazed	1	
Black basalt	1	
Total Stonewares	2	1.3%

The "black" glass fragments, which evidence thick walls, gentle lines, and kick-ups, are typical of wine, champagne, or brandy bottles. A minimum of one blown wine bottle is represented in the collection. An additional 11 containers, including four panel bottles, six cylindrical bottles, and one square case bottle.

Drinking containers consist of one etched floral design clear goblet, one plain clear tumbler, one cut glass tumbler, and one clear tumbler fluted near the base. Kitchen ware consists of 126 items including 125 stovepart (one marked 1W/"_MBIA"), and one iron utensil handle.

38GE294, Block 1. Excavations produced 3982 Kitchen Group Artifacts. These

include 2080 Euro-American ceramics (52.2% of the group total); 74 fragments of Colono ware pottery (1.9% of the group total); 1718 glass container fragments (43.1% of the group total); 68 tableware specimens (1.7% of the group total), and 42 kitchenware items (1.1% of the group total).

The identifiable ceramics include a variety of eighteenth and early nineteenth century wares (non-identifiable ceramics are burned). Those with mean ceramic dates typical of the eighteenth century include ten Westerwald stonewares (MCD 1738), 11 white salt-glazed stonewares (MCD 1758), two black basalts (MCD 1785), 12 lead glazed slipwares (MCD 1733), two Jackfields (MCD 1760), 21 clouded wares (MCD 1755), 10 decorated delft (MCD 1750), 12 plain delft (MCD 1720), six annular creamwares (MCD 1798), one blue transfer printed creamware (MCD 1790) and 347 undecorated creamwares (MCD 1791).

Nineteenth century wares include 78 Cantonese porcelains (MCD 1815), one luster ware (MCD 1815), one hand painted creamware (MCD 1805), three polychrome hand painted pearlwares (MCD 1805), 25 blue hand painted pearlwares (MCD 1800), 73 blue transfer printed pearlwares (MCD 1818), 43 edged pearlwares (MCD 1805), 25 annular pearlwares (MCD 1805), 164 undecorated pearlwares (MCD 1805), nine green edged whitewares (MCD 1828), 47 blue edged whitewares (MCD 1853), 33 polychrome handpainted whitewares (MCD 1848), 152 blue transfer printed whitewares (MCD 1848), 28 non-blue transfer printed whitewares (MCD 1851), 51 annular whitewares (MCD 1866), three sponged whitewares (MCD 1853), 635 undecorated whitewares (MCD 1860), and 56 yellow wares (MCD 1853).

The major types of pottery from Block 1 at 38GE294 are summarized in Table 31. Earthenwares, even without the addition of the Colono wares are the most common, accounting for 94.5% of the total collection. If the Colono wares were included, the earthenware category would account for 94.7 of the collection.

The mean ceramic dates for Blocks 1 and 3 at 38GE294 are 1828.8 and 1843.6 (Table 32).

At 38GE294, Block 1 the Colono ware collection is entirely typed as Colono, although some of the specimens do approach the type description of Catawba. The paucity of the Colono wares, when compared to the Euro-American ceramics may be an attribute of both the nineteenth century date and the status of the site.

Table 31.
Major Types of Ceramics at 38GE294, Block 1.

Lead glazed slipware	12	
Clouded wares	21	
Luster wares	1	
Delft	22	
Creamware	355	
Pearlware	333	
Whiteware	958	
Yellow ware	56	
Total Earthenwares	1758	94.5%
Westerwald	10	
White salt-glazed	12	
Black basalt	2	
Total Stonewares	24	1.3%
Canton porcelain	78	
Total Porcelains	78	4.2%

Container glass at Block 1 on 38GE294 consists of 1718 fragments of bottle glass. The "black" glass fragments (n=730), which evidence thick walls, gentle lines, and kick-ups, are typical of wine, champaign, or brandy bottles. A minimum of four blown wine bottles are represented in the collection as well as one panel bottle. An additional 28 containers include examples of cylindrical, panel, patent medicine, liquor, soda water, and medicine bottles. One of the panel bottles had "DAVIS" embossed on one side. This is probably a medical cure all manufactured in Philadelphia, advertised as Dr. W.A. Davis' Depurative in 1853-1854 (Fike 1987:160 and Baldwin 1973).

Table 32.
Mean Ceramic Dates for 38GE294, Blocks 1 and 3

Ceramic	Block 3		Block 1		
	(xi)	(fi)	fi x xi	(fi)	fi x xi
Canton porcelain	1815	15	27225	78	141570
Westerwald	1738			10	17380
White salt glazed stoneware	1758	2	3516	11	19338
Black basalt	1785	3	5355	2	3570
Lead glazed slipware	1733			12	20796
Jackfield	1760			2	3520
Clouded wares	1755			21	36855
Luster wares	1815	2	3630	1	1815
Decorated delft	1750			10	17500
Plain delft	1720	1	1720	12	20640
Creamware, annular	1798	3	5394	6	10788
hand painted	1805			1	1805
blue trans print	1790			1	1790
undecorated	1791	26	46566	347	621477
Pearlware, poly hand paint	1805	1	1805	3	5415
blue hand paint	1800	1	1800	25	45000
blue trans print	1818	11	19998	73	132714
edged	1805			43	77615
annular/cable	1805			25	45125
undecorated	1805	33	59565	164	296020
Whiteware, green edged	1828	8	14624	9	16452
blue edged	1853	29	53737	47	87091
poly hand paint	1848	19	35112	33	60984
blue trans print	1848	93	172143	152	280896
non-blue trans	1851	25	46275	28	51828
annular	1866	67	125022	51	95166
sponge	1853	11	20383	3	5559
undecorated	1860	112	208320	635	1181100
Yellow ware	1853	10	18530	56	103768
Total		486	895990	1861	3403577
MEAN DATE	= 1843.6 (Block 1), 1828.8 (Block 3)				

Drinking containers consist four manganese tumblers (plain, pressed, pressed [star burst], and pressed [wide rays]), eight clear glass tumblers (two etched, two ribbed, one plain, two pressed [wide rays], and one cut [rays]), two plain manganese goblets, five clear goblets (three plain, one cut, and one cut [wide rays]), and one unidentifiable tableware vessel which resembled a salt cellar. Kitchen ware consists of 25 iron kettle fragments, nine tinned iron container fragment, one iron skillet handle, one stove part, and six iron utensil handle fragments.

38GE294, Block 3. Excavations produced 809 Kitchen Group Artifacts. These

include 571 Euro-American ceramics (70.6% of the group total); 47 fragments of Colono ware pottery (5.8% of the group total); 179 glass container fragments (22.1% of the group total); four tableware specimens (0.5% of the group total), and eight kitchenware items (1.0% of the group total).

The identifiable ceramics include a variety of eighteenth and early nineteenth century wares (non-identifiable ceramics are burned). Those with mean ceramic dates typical of the eighteenth century include two white salt-glazed stonewares (MCD 1758), black basalts (MCD 1785), one plain delft (MCD 1720), three annular creamwares (MCD 1798), and 26 undecorated creamwares (MCD 1791).

Nineteenth century wares include 15 Cantonese porcelains (MCD 1815), two luster wares (MCD 1815), one polychrome hand painted pearlware (MCD 1805), one blue hand painted pearlware (MCD 1800), 11 blue transfer printed pearlwares (MCD 1818), three edged pearlwares (MCD 1805), 11 annular pearlwares (MCD 1805), 33 undecorated pearlwares (MCD 1805), eight green edged whitewares (MCD 1828), 29 blue edged whitewares (MCD 1853), 19 poly handpainted whitewares (MCD 1848), 93 blue transfer printed whitewares (MCD 1848), 25 non-blue transfer printed whitewares (MCD 1851), 67 annular whitewares (MCD 1866), 11 sponged whitewares (MCD 1853), 112 undecorated whitewares (MCD 1860), and 10 yellow wares (MCD 1853).

The major types of pottery from Block 3 at 38GE294 are summarized in Table 33. Earthenwares, even without the addition of the Colono wares are the most common, accounting for 95.9% of the total collection. If the Colono wares were included, the earthenware category would account for 96.2% of the collection.

The mean ceramic dates for Blocks 1 and 3 at 38GE294 are 1828.8 and 1843.6 (Table 32).

Table 33.
Major Types of Ceramics at 38GE294, Block 3.

Luster wares	2	
Delft	1	
Creamware	29	
Pearlware	60	
Whiteware	364	
Yellow ware	10	
Total Earthenwares	466	95.9%
White salt-glazed	2	
Black basalt	3	
Total Stonewares	5	1.0%
Canton porcelain	15	
Total Porcelains	15	3.1%

At 38GE294, Block 3 the collection of Colono ware is entirely typed as Colono, although some of the specimens do approach the type description of Catawba. The paucity of the Colono wares, when compared to the Euro-American ceramics may be an attribute of both the nineteenth century date and the status of the site.

Container glass at Block 3 on 38GE294 consists of 179 fragments of bottle glass. The "black" glass fragments, which evidence thick walls, gentle lines, and kick-ups, are typical of wine, champaign, or brandy bottles. A minimum of three blown wine bottles is represented in the collection. An additional eight containers include three cylindrical bottles (two brown and one clear), one green panel bottle, one green ribbed bottle, one green decorative bottle, one aqua patent medicine bottle, and one blue bottle with hexagonal base.

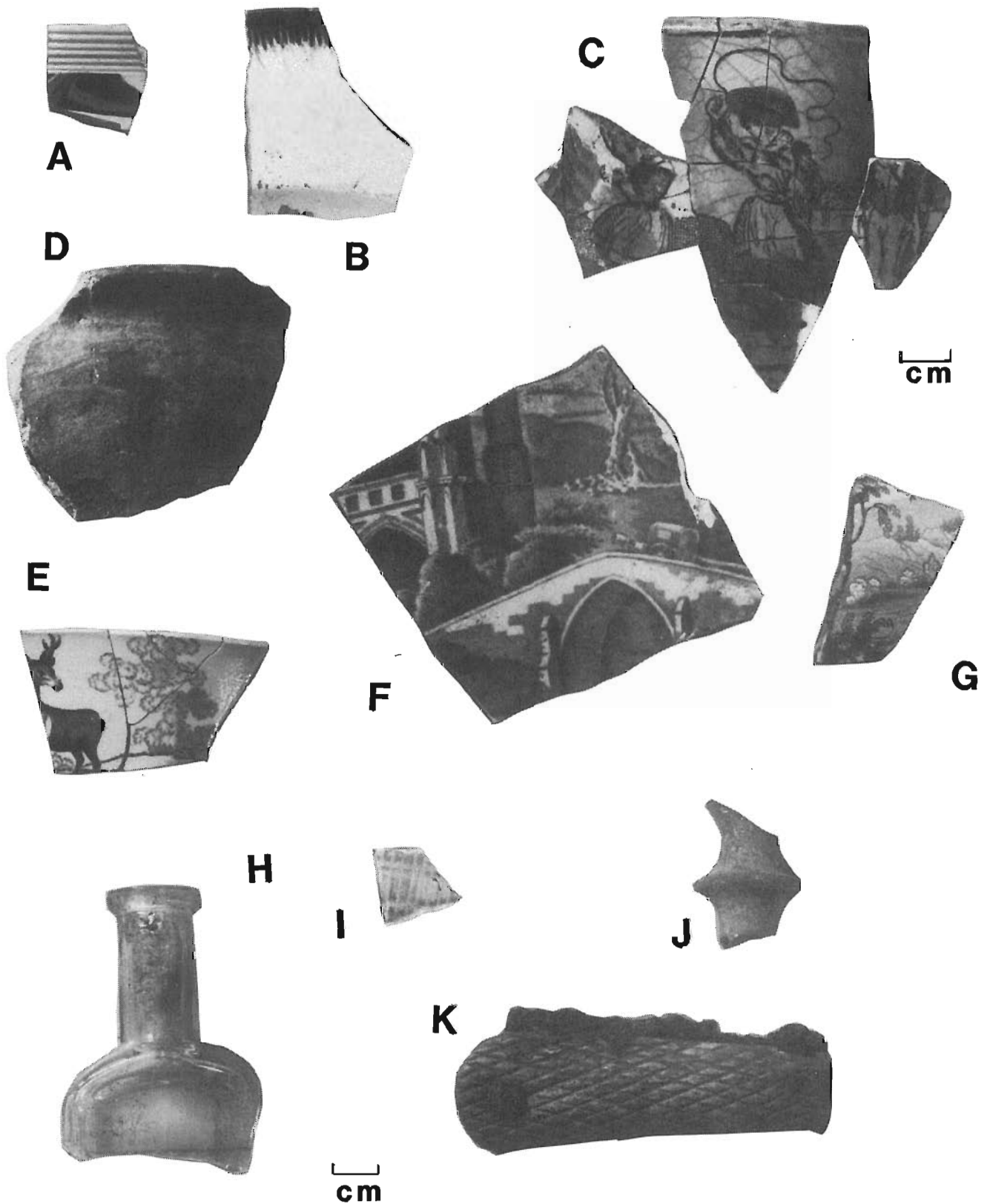


Figure 54. Kitchen artifacts from owner's sites. A, annular pearlware; B, blue edged whiteware; C, polychrome hand painted pearlware; D, Colono ware; E, blue transfer printed pearlware; F, blue transfer printed whiteware; G, non-blue transfer printed pearlware; H, medicine bottle; I etched glass; J, stem portion of glassware; K, bone and iron knife handle.

Drinking containers consist one plain clear tumbler. Kitchen ware consists of four iron kettle fragments, one iron kettle lug, one iron container fragment, and two fragments of one iron utensil handle.

Architecture Artifact Group

38GE292, Block 1. Excavations produced 534 Architecture Group Artifacts. These remains include primarily nails (n=506 or 94.8% of the group total). Other remains include 28 fragments of window glass.

Two types of nails have been recovered from this site -- hand wrought (n=77 or 15.2% of recovered nails), and machine cut (n=13 or 2.6% of recovered nails). The remainder are unidentifiable.

Because different size nails served different self-limiting functions, it is possible to use the relative frequencies of nails sizes to indicate building construction details. Table 34 lists both the penny weight size and the Standard Average European (SAE) size for the nails which were sufficiently complete for analysis.

The paucity of measurable nails from 38GE292, Block 1 are most likely not a very good indicator of overall functional ratios, although it can be noted that these ratios are roughly similar to the nails sizes from the previously discussed sites.

38GE292, Block 2. Excavations produced 471 Architecture Group Artifacts. These remains include primarily nails (n=379 or 80.5% of the group total). Other remains include 91 fragments of window glass and one door lock part.

Two types of nails have been recovered from this site -- hand wrought (n=2 or 0.4% of recovered nails), and machine cut (n=142 or 30.1% of recovered nails). The remainder are unidentifiable.

Table 34.
Measurements and functional categories of nails
from 38GE292, Block 1.

Penny Weight	SAE	Wrought	Cut
2d	1"	0	0
3d	1 1/4"	0	0
4d	1 1/2"	0	1
5d	1 3/4"	1	0
6d	2"	2	1
7d	2 1/4"	6	0
8d	2 1/2"	2	1
9d	2 3/4"	5	1
10d	3"	1	0
12d	3 1/4"	1	1
16d	3 1/2"	0	0
20d	4"	0	0
30d	4 1/2"	0	0

Function	Count	%
small timber, shingles (2-5d)	2	8.7
sheathing, siding (6-8d)	12	52.2
framing (9-12d)	9	39.1
heavy framing (16-60d)	0	0.0
Total	23	

Because different size nails served different self-limiting functions, it is possible to use the relative frequencies of nails sizes to indicate building construction details. Table 35 lists both the penny weight size and the Standard Average European (SAE) size for the nails which were sufficiently complete for analysis. Only machine cut nails were found suitable for further analysis.

Table 35.
Measurements and functional categories of nails
from 38GE292, Block 2.

Penny Weight	SAE	Count
2d	1"	1
3d	1 1/4"	6
4d	1 1/2"	0
5d	1 3/4"	2
6d	2"	17
7d	2 1/4"	0
8d	2 1/2"	0
9d	2 3/4"	2
10d	3"	8
12d	3 1/4"	5
16d	3 1/2"	3
20d	4"	0
30d	4 1/2"	0

Function	Count	%
small timber, shingles (2-5d)	10	22.2
sheathing, siding (6-8d)	17	37.8
framing (9-12d)	15	33.3
heavy framing (16-60d)	3	6.7
Total	45	

As in Block 1, measurable nails from 38GE292, Block 2 are most likely not a very good indicator of overall functional ratios, although also here it can be noted that these ratios are roughly similar to the nails sizes from the previously discussed sites.

38GE294, Block 1. Excavations produced 10,468 Architecture Group Artifacts. These remains include primarily window glass (n=5313 or 50.8% of the group total) and nails (n=5,143 or 49.1% of the group total). Other remains include one door lock part, five pieces of construction hardware, and six spikes.

Two types of nails have been recovered from this site -- hand wrought (n=830 or 16.1% of recovered nails), and machine cut (n=2789 or 54.2% of recovered nails). The remainder are unidentifiable.

Because different size nails served different self-limiting functions, it is possible to use the relative frequencies of nails sizes to indicate building construction details. Table 36 lists both the penny weight size and the Standard Average European (SAE) size for the nails which were sufficiently complete for analysis.

The measurable nails from 38GE294, Block 1 indicate that the majority were used for small timbers or shingling and sheathing or siding. Relatively few were used for framing and very few for heavy framing.

Other architectural items include one keyhole surround, two shutter hooks,

two drive pintles, one hinge fragment, and six spikes or spike fragments.

Table 36.
Measurements and functional categories of nails
from 38GE294, Block 1.

Penny Weight	SAE	Wrought	Cut
2d	1"	66	2
3d	1 1/4"	255	45
4d	1 1/2"	102	93
5d	1 3/4"	68	72
6d	2"	40	441
7d	2 1/4"	49	177
8d	2 1/2"	25	29
9d	2 3/4"	41	26
10d	3"	38	47
12d	3 1/4"	35	56
16d	3 1/2"	5	30
20d	4"	2	19
30d	4 1/2"	0	3

Function	Count	%
small timber, shingles (2-5d)	703	39.8
sheathing, siding (6-8d)	761	43.1
framing (9-12d)	243	13.8
heavy framing (16-60d)	59	3.3
Total	1766	

38GE294, Block 3. Excavations produced 708 Architecture Group Artifacts. These remains include primarily nails (n=608 or 85.9% of the group total). Other remains include 96 fragments of window glass, two pieces of construction hardware (one hinge and one drive pintle), and two spikes.

Two types of nails have been recovered from this site -- hand wrought (n=22 or 3.6% of recovered nails), and machine cut (n=229 or 37.7% of recovered nails). The remainder are unidentifiable.

Furniture Artifact Group

No furniture items were recovered from 38GE292, Block 1. At 38GE292, Block 2, 26 fragments of lamp chimney glass and two porcelain caster fragments were found. At 38GE294, Block 1, two brass tacks, 19 fragments of lamp chimney glass, two brass drawer pulls, and one iron escutcheon were found. Items at 38GE294, Block 3 include three brass upholstery tacks and two fragments of lamp chimney glass.

Arms Artifact Group

One brown gunflint was recovered from 38GE292, Block 1, and no arms related artifacts were found at 38GE292, Block 2 or 38GE292, Block 3. Arms related artifacts at 38GE294, Block 1 include one lead shot, five percussion caps, and six gunflints (three burned, two fragmented, and one dark gray).

Clothing Artifact Group

Recovered from the excavation at 38GE292, Block 1 are three clothing items, all of which are buttons that can be placed in South's button taxonomy (South 1964). These include one type 7 brass button (24.0mm), and two type 11 white

metal buttons (23.0mm and 25.0mm). The 25mm button exhibits a stamped "P/N" on the rear.

Three clothing items were recovered from 38GE292, Block 2, two of which are buttons that are type 23 in South's button taxonomy (South 1964). Both are white porcelain buttons measuring 11.0mm. In addition, one brass shoe grommet with bits of leather attached was also found.

Recovered from 38GE294, Block 1 were 82 clothing related items 76 of which are buttons. These buttons include 66 specimens which may be placed in South's button taxonomy (South 1964) and 10 which cannot be assigned to any of South's classifications. These buttons are detailed in Table 37. Six (9.1%) of the classifiable buttons (Types 7 and 9) are dated to the eighteenth century, with the remaining types dating to the nineteenth century.

Brass buttons account for 12 specimens (15.8%), white metal buttons account for two specimens (2.6%), iron buttons account for three specimen (3.9%), porcelain buttons account for 50 specimens (65.8%), glass buttons account for four specimens (5.3%), bone buttons account for four specimens (5.3%), and shell buttons account for one specimen (1.3%).

Other clothing related items include two double pronged iron buckles, one brass buckle, one unidentified brass decorative buckle, one brass cuff link, and one shoe grommet.

At 38GE294, Block 3 two unidentifiable brass buttons were recovered as well as two iron buckle fragments.

Table 37.
Buttons recovered from 38GE294, Block 1

Type	Description	#	Other (measurement in mms)
7	brass, spun back	2	25.0 (2)
7	white metal, spun back	2	19.0, 25.0 (once silver plated)
9	brass, flat disc, hand stamped face design	2	12.0 (once silver plated), 17.0 (star design)
18	brass, stamped, words or design on back	3	14.0 and 22.0 ("GILT"), 19.0 ("IMPERIAL STANDARD")
19	bone, with centering hole for cutting tool	2	14.0, 16.0
20	bone, four hole	2	18.0 (2)
21	iron, fiber center	1	18.0
22	shell, sunken panel	1	9.0
23	porcelain, convex front and back	49	8.0, 10.0 (8), 11.0 (27 inc. 4 decorated including 2 calico, 1 khaki colored, 1 green calico with rays), 12.0 (4 inc. 1 black), 13.0 (3 inc. 2 black and 1 brown), 14.0, 15.0 (2), 16.0, 18.0 (2)
24	iron back and front, fabric covered	1	13.0 (fabric covered)
35	glass, with brass wire eye and holder	1	15.0
--	brass with iron	2	14.0, 17.0
--	brass, single hole	2	20.0 (2)
--	brass	1	15.0
--	iron	1	24.0
--	porcelain, two hole	1	14.0 (blue-green)
--	glass	2	fragments
--	glass, black ball	1	14.0

Personal Artifact Group

Personal artifacts from 38GE292, Block 1 include one brass ring (20.0mm diameter and 2.0mm thickness) and one copper coin. The coin was in poor condition so identification was difficult. It is possibly a George III or a Great Britain halfpenny (see Newman and Doty 1976:143-149).

Only one personal artifact was recovered from 38GE292, Block 2. This artifact was three links of a silver plated brass bracelet (Figure 55m).

At 38GE294, Block 1, personal artifacts consist of nine items. These include one bone toothbrush (Figure 55g), three mirror fragments, one slate pencil fragment, one graphite pencil fragment, two interior watch parts (one of which is engraved "Eardley Norton...") (Figure 55h), one clear round bead, and one cut green glass decorative piece. This item may be a button or jewelry part.

Personal artifacts from 38GE294, Block 3 include two items which consist of one jack knife fragment and one slate pencil.

Tobacco Artifact Group

At 38GE292, Block 1 the tobacco category includes 29 items. These remains include 23 kaolin (white ball clay) pipestems (79.3% of the group total), and six kaolin pipebowl fragments (20.7% of the group total).

Only one of the pipe bowls was decorated. This bowl contained the initials "TD". The pipestems recovered range from 4/64 to 5/64 inch bore diameter. None were decorated.

Tobacco related items from 38GE292, Block 2 consist of two 5/64 inch bore diameter kaolin pipestems. No other tobacco related artifacts were recovered.

At 38GE294, Block 1 the tobacco category includes 156 items. These remains include 50 kaolin (white ball clay) pipe bowls (32.0% of the group total), 98 kaolin pipestems (62.8% of the group total), two pipestem fragments, one strike-a-light fragment, one kaolin stub stemmed pipestem, one terra cotta pipestem, one colono pipestem, and two red clay pipestems.

Sixteen (32.0) of the pipe bowls were decorated. These decorations include vertical ribs, simple leaves, floral designs, initial "TD", stares, yellow glaze, and one unidentified pattern. Pipestems range in size from 4/64 to 6/64 inch bore diameter. Only one exhibited a maker's mark (Figure 55i). This mark is "W. WHITE/GLASCOW" which was probably manufactured by pipemaker William White between 1847 and 1851. White advertised himself as "black and Rockingham teapot, stone jug and fire-clay chimney-pot and tobacco pipe manufacturer, Staffordshire warehouse" (Walker 1977:1341). In 1852 John Ellis succeeded White, manufacturing all of the above except for tobacco pipes.

At 38GE294, Block 3 the tobacco category includes 39 items. These remains include 28 kaolin (white ball clay) pipestems (71.8% of the group total), and 11 kaolin pipe bowls (28.2% of the group total).

None of the pipe bowls or stems were decorated, and the pipestems range from 4/64 to 6/64 inch bore diameter.

Activities Artifact Group

Activities related artifacts from 38GE292, Block 1 consist of one tool, one storage item, six stable/barn items, three miscellaneous hardware, and 58 "other" items totalling 69 items. The tool is an iron blade of a knife (possibly a straw or hay knife). The storage item is a bucket handle, for a bucket which measures 7.5" in diameter. Stable/barn items include two horse shoe nails, three barbed

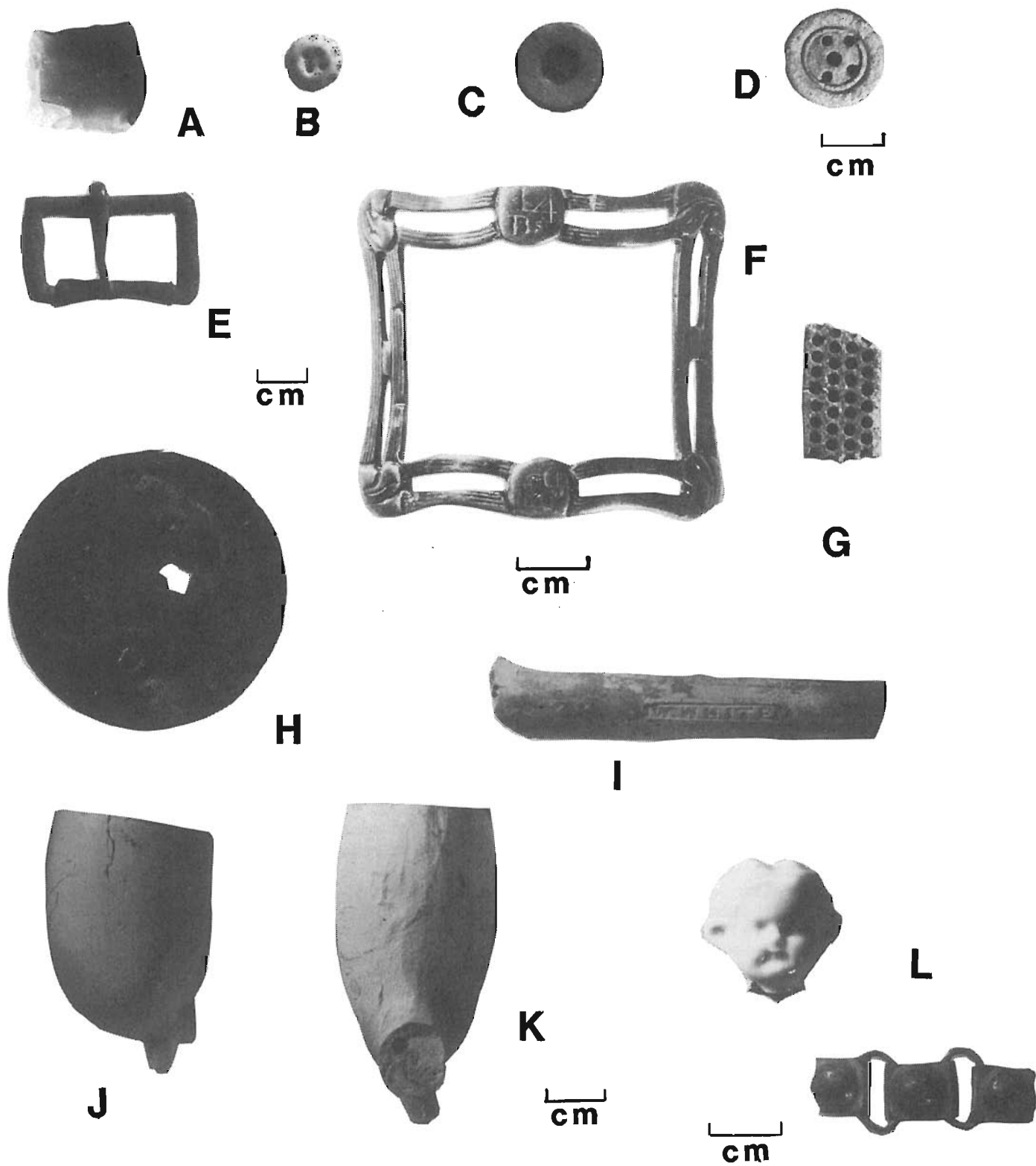


Figure 55. Other artifacts from owner's sites. A, gunflint; B, type 23 button; C, type 20 button; D, type 19 button; E-F, brass buckles; G, bone toothbrush; H, clock part; I, pipestem; J-K, pipe bowls; L, dolls head; M, brass bracelet fragment.

wire fragments, and one hoe fragment. Miscellaneous hardware include one fragment of wire, and two staples. Other artifacts consist of two fragments of slate, 55 pieces of unidentifiable iron, and one unidentifiable brass item.

At 38GE292, Block 2, 137 activities related items were recovered. These include one fishing gear item (hook), three storage items (strap iron), one stable/barn item (horse shoe nail), three miscellaneous hardware (three barbed wire fragments), and 129 other items. These consisted of 106 pieces of unidentifiable iron, one piece of unidentifiable white metal, one piece of unidentifiable brass, and 21 fragments (minimum of 12 whole) of possible metal tambourine jingles.

At 38GE294, Block 1, 165 activities related items were recovered. These include three tools, two fishing gear, 32 storage items, the stable/barn items, 41 miscellaneous hardware, 13 toys, and 71 other. Tools consist of three triangular files. Fishing gear consist of two hooks. Storage items consist of 32 pieces of strap iron. Stable/barn items include one harness fragment, one plow blade fragment, and one plow part. Miscellaneous hardware included wire, screws, bolts, rivets and roves, nuts, washers, chain links, and pulleys. Toys consist of one porcelain tea set fragment, three porcelain doll heads (Figure 55m), one porcelain doll arm, three porcelain doll body parts, one porcelain statuette, three marbles or marble fragments, and one jew's harp. Other items include 42 unidentifiable iron fragments, two pieces of flat copper, five pieces of unidentifiable brass, nine pieces of slate, eight lead fragments, two bell parts, and three pieces of worked marble.

Activities related artifacts from 38GE294, Block 3 consist of one tool (triangular file), one miscellaneous hardware (screw), and nine other items. These consisted of three piece of unidentifiable iron, the fragments of slate, two fragments of marble, and one copper fragment.

Postbellum Occupation (38GE340)

Kitchen Artifact Group

Excavations produced 782 Kitchen Group Artifacts. These include 222 Euro-American ceramics (28.4% of the group total); 16 fragments of Colono ware pottery (2.0% of the group total); 505 glass container fragments (64.6% of the group total), of which 261 fragments represent "black" bottle fragments; 29 tableware specimens (3.7% of the group total); and 10 kitchenware items (1.3% of the group total).

The identifiable ceramics include a variety of eighteenth and early nineteenth century wares (non-identifiable ceramics are burned). Those with mean ceramic dates typical of the eighteenth century include one lead glazed slipware (MCD 1733) and six clouded wares (including tortoise shell, Astbury, and Elers ware, MCD 1755).

Nineteenth century wares include one blue transfer printed pearlware (MCD 1818), one edged pearlware (MCD 1805), one annular pearlware (MCD 1805), eight undecorated pearlwares (MCD 1805), four blue edged whitewares (MCD 1853), 13 polychrome hand painted whitewares (MCD 1848), 20 blue transfer printed whitewares (MCD 1848), five non-blue transfer printed whitewares (MCD 1851), 20 annular whitewares (MCD 1866), four sponged whitewares (MCD 1853), 102 undecorated whitewares (MCD 1860), and eight yellow wares (MCD 1853).

Two whiteware plates exhibited maker's marks; one exhibiting a shield with "TRADE/MARK" printed over it. While wording was often used on English pieces after 1862 Kovel 1986:233), more specific information is supplied by Godden

(1964:147). Edward Clarke and Company used this mark between 1865 and 1887. The other mark was "IRONST_/T. GOO_", beneath shield. Another impressed mark was also located on the vessel which consists of a shield with unidentifiable lettering, possibly the name of the pattern. This vessel was manufactured by Thomas Goodfellow between 1828 and 1859 (Godden 1964:280).

The major types of pottery from Block 1 at 38GE340 are summarized in Table 38. Earthenwares account for 100% of the total collection. The mean ceramic date for Block 1 at 38GE340 is 1850.8 (Table 39).

At 38GE340 the collection is entirely typed as Colono, although some of the specimens do approach the type description of Catawba. The paucity of the Colono wares, when compared to the Euro-American ceramics may be an attribute of both the nineteenth century date and the status of the site.

Container glass at Block 1 on 38GE340 consists of 505 fragments or 64.6% of the group total.

Table 38.
Major Types of Ceramics at 38GE340, Block 1.

Slipware	1	
Clouded wares	6	
Pearlware	11	
Whiteware	176	
Total Earthenwares	194	100.0%

Table 39.
Mean Ceramic Dates for 38GE340, Block 1

Ceramics	Mean Date		
	(xi)	(fi)	xi x fi
Lead glazed slipware	1733	1	1733
Clouded wares	1755	6	10530
Pearlware, blue transfer print	1818	1	1818
edged	1805	1	1805
annular/cable	1805	1	1805
undecorated	1805	8	14440
Whiteware, blue edged	1853	4	7412
poly hand paint	1848	13	24024
blue trans print	1848	20	36960
non-blue trans print	1851	5	9255
annular	1866	20	37320
sponge	1853	4	7412
undecorated	1860	102	189720
Yellow ware	1853	8	14824
Total		194	359058
MEAN DATE = 1850.8			

The "black" glass fragments, which evidence thick walls, gentle lines, and kick-ups, are typical of wine, champaign, or brandy bottles. A minimum of four blown bottles, one square molded bottled, and one eight sided panel bottle are included in black glass. An additional 17 containers include seven medicine bottles, three cylindrical bottles, four panel bottles, one toiletry bottle with a basketry pattern, one square bottle, and one oval bottle. The toiletry type bottle is described in Knopf's Guide to Glass (Spillman 1983:92). They are

generally globe shaped although there are some cylindrical variations. Most had paper labels that identified the contents -- hair oil, smelling salts, cologne, or other toiletries.

Drinking containers consist of two clear goblets with blown base (one exhibiting two angular knobs on the stem [Figure 56e]), one plain tumbler, two fluted tumblers (one wide and one narrow flutes), one tumbler exhibiting wide rays, one decanter stopper (cut glass, eight facets on each side), and one unidentified vessel with a ribbed body. The goblet exhibiting knobs is described by Spillman (1982:7). These were produced in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania between 1800 and 1840. The decanter stopper is similar to ones produced in Bohemia and Germany, which were widely exported to the United States between 1790 and 1803 (Spillman 1982:101).

Kitchen ware consists of one iron spoon fragment, two iron utensil handle fragments, one skillet pan fragment, three iron kettle fragments, one iron stove lift, one iron stove part, and one piece of lead foil.

Architecture Artifact Group

Excavations produced 5282 Architecture Group Artifacts. These remains include primarily nails (n=2800 or 53.0% of the group total). Other remains include 2476 fragments of window glass (46.9% of the group total), three construction hardware items, and three spikes.

Two types of nails have been recovered from this site -- hand wrought (n=1 or <1.0% of recovered nails), and machine cut (n=1290 or 46.1% of recovered nails). The remainder are unidentifiable.

Because different size nails served different self-limiting functions, it is possible to use the relative frequencies of nails sizes to indicate building construction details. Table 40 lists both the penny weight size and the Standard Average European (SAE) size for the nails which were sufficiently complete for analysis. Measurable nails from 38GE340, Block 1 consisted entirely of machine cut nails.

The collection of nails from 38GE340 show that a majority of the nails were used for sheathing or siding, with most of the remaining nails either functioning to attach small timber and shingles or for framing. Very few were used for heavy framing.

Construction hardware consists of one strap hinge and two slate fragments. Three spikes were also recovered.

Furniture Artifact Group

Furniture items from the postbellum site consist of nine lamp chimney glass fragments, one brass furniture tack, and one brass clock key.

Arms Artifact Group

Arms related artifacts include one gun lock plate fragment, twelve percussion caps, four 22 calibre shell casings, and 51 lead shot.

Clothing Artifact Group

Recovered from the excavation at 38GE340 are 30 clothing items 27 of which are buttons. These buttons include 24 specimens which may be placed in South's button taxonomy (South 1964) and three which cannot be assigned to any of South's classifications. These buttons are detailed in Table 41. All buttons date to the nineteenth century.

Table 40.
Measurements and functional categories of nails
from 38GE340, Block 1.

Penny Weight	SAE	#
2d	1"	4
3d	1 1/4"	21
4d	1 1/2"	15
5d	1 3/4"	40
6d	2"	88
7d	2 1/4"	14
8d	2 1/2"	11
9d	2 3/4"	6
10d	3"	46
12d	3 1/4"	16
16d	3 1/2"	4
20d	4"	4
30d	4 1/2"	1
40d	5"	1

Function	Count	%
small timber, shingles (2-5d)	80	29.6
sheathing, siding (6-8d)	113	41.7
framing (9-12d)	68	25.1
heavy framing (16-60d)	10	3.7
Total	271	

Table 41.
Buttons recovered from 38GE340, Block 1

Type	Description	#	Other (measurements in cms)
20	bone, four hole	3	11.0, 11.5, 14.0
21	iron, with fiber center	7	14.0 (2), 15.0, 17.0 (2), 18.0 (2)
22	shell, sunken panel	1	12.5 (2 hole)
23	porcelain, convex front and back	9	9.0 (2), 10.0, 11.0 (3), 12.0, 16.5, 17.0
32	brass, stamped with sunken panel	2	14.0 (front-circle in a ring), 15.0
35	brass/glass, glass inlay with brass set holder and eye	2	10.0 (purple glass), 15.0 (glass inlay only, remains of foil backing on rear)
--	iron	2	badly corroded
--	iron and brass	1	14.0 (hand snap button)

Brass buttons account for 2 specimens (7.4%), iron buttons account for ten specimen (37.0%), porcelain buttons account for nine specimens (33.3%), bone buttons account for three specimens (11.1%), shell buttons account for one specimen (3.7%), and glass buttons account for two specimens (7.4%).

Other clothing related items include one cream colored plastic collar stud, one brass suspender clip, and one brass hook (from a hook and eye attachment).

Personal Artifact Group

Personal artifacts include 22 items. Beads from 38GE340, Block 1 are presented below.

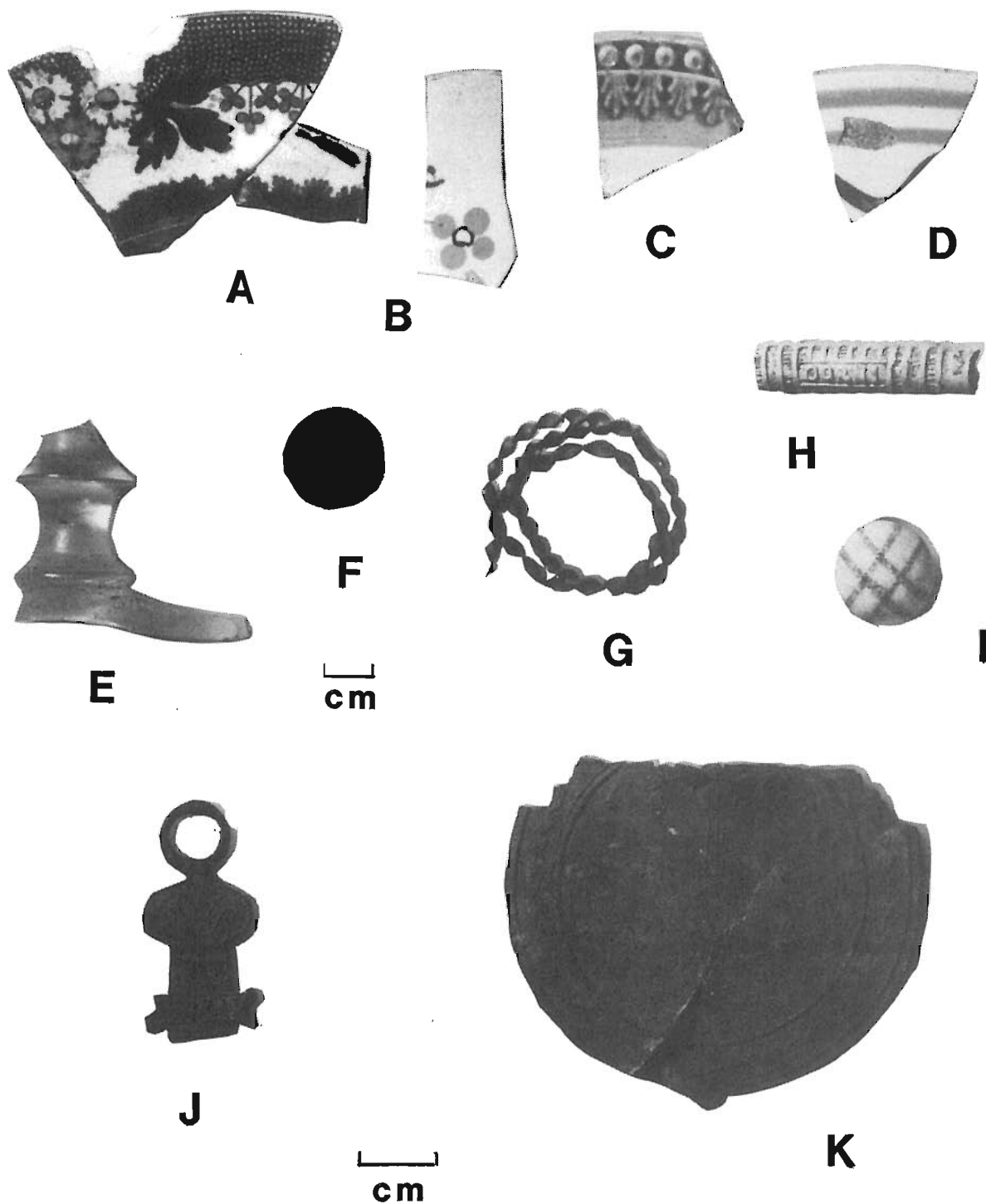


Figure 56. Artifacts from postbellum occupation. A, transfer printed whiteware; B, polychrome hand painted whiteware; C, edged whiteware; D, annular whiteware; E, goblet stem/base; F, 1859 "Indian Head" penny; G, brass decorative pin; H, Peter Dorni pipestem; I, Red/Green striped marble; J, crucifix; K, religious pyx.

Table 42.
Beads recovered from 38GE340, Block 1

Description	#
Tubular, round, large, black, opaque, type 11a6	1
Tubular, 6 facet, large, clear, clear, type 1f	3
Wire wound, round, medium, white, translucent type W1d	1

Other personal artifacts include 10 mirror fragment, two pocket knife fragments, one coin, one brass crucifix fragment, one eye glass lens fragment, one decorative pin, and one pyx cover. One of the pocket knife fragments once had a wood or bone handle, similar in form to "Boys' Knives" advertised in the 1895 Montgomery Ward catalogue (stock numbers 46086 and 46087). The decorative pin consists of a twisted brass strip, wrapped into two circles (Figure 56g). A fragment of the pin attachment is intact. The coin is an 1859 United States copper-nickel "Indian Head" type coin (Figure 56f). The crucifix is of Catholic origin and, when whole, measured 3 1/2 to 4" long (Figure 58). The bird and domino motif is highly unusual, and the crucifix shows no signs of long term wear (Reverend Edwin F.D. Robinson, O.F.M., personal communication 1990).

The pyx cover is an interesting item which deserves more detailed mention. A pyx is a container used by the Catholic church which carries the Blessed Sacrament to the sick. At first it was a small wooden box, usually round with a lid. In recent times a small silver-gilt box is normally used, in which the receptacle is enclosed in a small patenlike plate. The lid of the pyx vessel is enlarged by decorative elements and raised above the bowl. By the nineteenth century all historical forms were being reproduced (New Catholic Encyclopedia, vol 8 pp. 872-873). This brass foil pyx cover is 58mm in diameter and contains

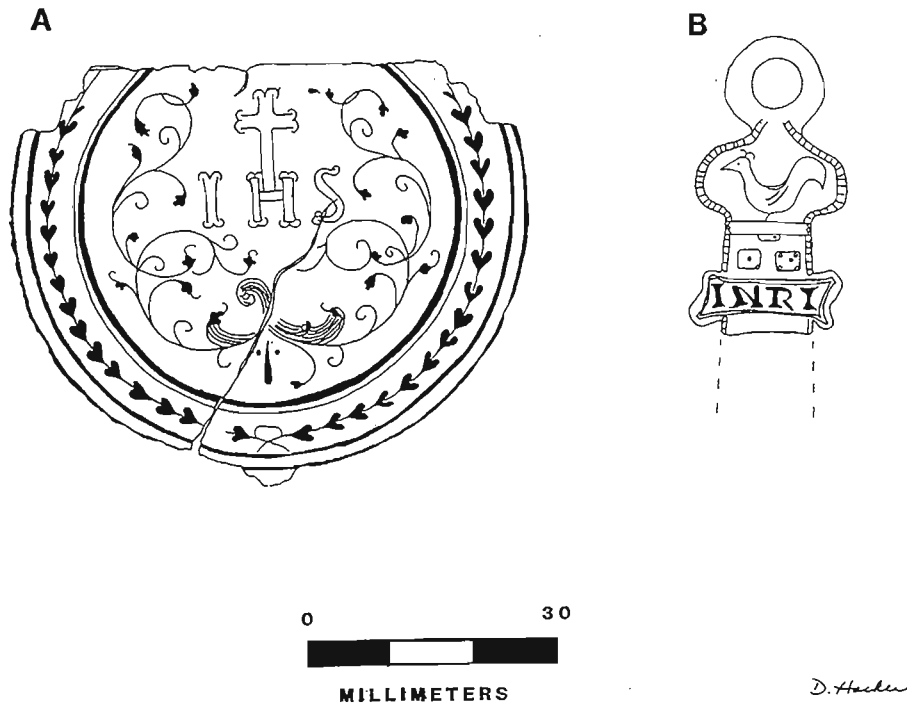


Figure 57. Religious items from 38GE340; a) pyx cover, b) crucifix fragment.

a laurel wreath design around the edge, with a floral motif in the center. The initials "IHS" are contained in the center which is the latinized abbreviation of Jesus Christus (Jesus Hosteum Sanctum) (New Catholic Encyclopedia, vol.1:12). There is a cross centered above the "H". This small cross which represents the sacrifice of mass has occurred on all pyx since the fifteenth century and has not changed in design (New Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 1:12 and vol. 8:873). The age of this pyx is unknown, but the design is similar to those in the sixteenth and seventeenth century Spanish period of occupation, but nonetheless may not be of Spanish origin or of the Spanish exploration period (Reverend Edwin F.D. Robinson, O.F.M., personal communication 1990). Since no pre-eighteenth century artifacts were found associated with the pyx, it is possibly a reproduction of an earlier form. Alternatively, it pre-dates the site, was found by the occupant and kept as a curiosity.

Tobacco Artifact Group

The tobacco category includes 32 items. These remains include 27 kaolin (white ball clay) pipestems (84.4% of the group total), and five kaolin pipebowl fragments (15.6% of the group total).

Of the 5 kaolin pipe bowls, three (60.0%) are decorated, including simple leaves, "TD" with stars, and ribs and stars. All of the bowls are of the Irish style. The pipestems recovered from 38GE340 range from 4/64 to 6/64 inch in bore diameter. Four are decorated; one containing ribs and bars and stamped "PETER//DORNI" (Figure 56h), one stamped with "_____" (probably McDougall), one decorated with leaves, and the other stamped "____bier/a Paris/M*M".

Peter Dorni was a French pipemaker in the mid nineteenth century (ca. 1850-1880) whose products were widely exported and plagiarized (Walker 1977:296). The McDougall company of Glasgow was the largest export manufacturer of pipes in the mid-nineteenth century. The firm opened in 1846 and continued business until 1867 (Humphrey 1969:17-18). Gambier produced pipes in Paris during the nineteenth century and was best known for figurine bowls (Humphrey 1969:17).

Activities Artifact Group

The activities group includes 108 items. Those items categorized as tools consist of one 1/2 round file and one hammer head claw. Storage items include one fragment of strap iron and one brass padlock keyhole cover. Fishing gear consist of one lead fishing weight. Items categorized under Stable/Barn are five horse shoe nails. One toy item consists of a red and green striped stone marble (Figure 56i). Miscellaneous hardware includes two wood screws, one bolt, one large eye bolt, one washer, one staple, one brass rivet and rove, two brass roves, one chain link, one length of chain (two links), one iron pipe coupling, and one iron rod. Other items consist of 82 fragments of unidentifiable iron and one piece of unidentifiable lead.

Dating Synthesis

The previous discussions have indicated that a number of artifacts may provide temporally sensitive information with which to date the various components at Willbrook, Oatland, and Turkey Hill. Ceramics, in particular, have been shown to be useful for obtaining mean occupation dates (South 1977). Other artifacts, while useful in dating, are often not found in sufficient numbers to provide confidence in their associations. Some artifacts are useful for providing terminus post quem (TPQ) dates, or a date after which the assemblage was deposited. Most artifacts, however, provide only a general time frame, such as "typical of the nineteenth century". On slave sites, additional caution must be exercised since it is possible that specimens might have long periods of use, or curation, so that eighteenth century materials may find their way into nineteenth century contexts.

The ceramic dates have been previously considered in the earlier portion of this chapter. These will be discussed by plantation rather than by individual sites, since several contemporaneous sites can be found on one plantation.

Willbrook plantation contained three sites. The first is 38GE291 which revealed two components; one eighteenth century slave (MCD 1763.4) and one eighteenth century overseer (MCD 1773). At the slave site 89.4% of the ceramics date to the eighteenth century and at the overseer's site 74.4%. This suggests that the bulk of the occupation was during the middle to late eighteenth century, with an ending occupation during the early nineteenth century. Site 38GE340 is another slave component of Willbrook plantation. It is located closer to the rice fields and does not seem to be as incorporated into the main house landscape as does 38GE291 (see Figure 10). It's mean date is 1793.1 with 63.3% of the ceramics dating to the eighteenth century. The remainder consisted of Canton porcelain or pearlware. No whiteware was recovered. It is likely that this settlement did not come about until the last quarter of the eighteenth century when the tidal rice fields were created and appears to have lasted to the 1820s or 1830s. Both slave settlements appear on the 1798 plat.

It is probable that there is another, later, slave settlement at Willbrook dating to the late antebellum period and possibly continuing to be occupied during the postbellum period. In 1984, Lepionka located what he described as a tenant site on the Willbrook tract. This site, recommended as "not eligible" by Lepionka, was only surface collected. The site consisted of "three closely spaced historic loci" which contained late nineteenth century artifacts and two sizeable brick falls (Lepionka 1984:27-28). Unfortunately, no further work was performed as this site and it was subsequently destroyed (Trinkley 1987:123).

38GE340 also contained structural remains of a postbellum occupation. The house yielded a mean ceramic date of 1850.8 with whitewares contributing 95.9% of the ceramics. No creamwares were found and only a handful of pearlware which suggests that the site may have been occupied as early as the 1820s.

The Willbrook main house (38GE292) yielded two mean dates (MCD 1759.6-Block 1 and MCD 1850.9-Block 2). Because Block 2 is secondary refuse of a later house, only Block 1 will be considered. 77.1% of the ceramics date to the eighteenth century. Interestingly, it appears that while the main house, overseer's house, and slave rows were initially occupied at roughly different times in the mid-eighteenth century, they were all abandoned somewhere around the 1830s or 1840s. This coincides with the probable construction date for the antebellum main house, as well as with a broader movement in plantation rebuilding or renovation.

Oatland plantation contained one site (38GE294). This site represents a nineteenth century main house which yielded mean ceramic dates of 1843.6 and 1828.8. 79.4% of the ceramics dated to the nineteenth century suggesting that the bulk of occupation occurred in the nineteenth century. This corresponds with historical references to the property not being occupied until the turn of the century by the widow of Joseph Allston. Apparently slaves were occupying the property by the second half of the eighteenth century. The slave settlement yielded an MCD of 1804.4 with 41.7% of the ceramics dating to the eighteenth century. Whitewares contributed 14.4% of the ceramic total which suggests that the site was being occupied at least up to the Civil War era.

Turkey Hill plantation contained a slave row (38GE297) with an MCD of 1826.2. The bulk of occupation at this site appears to occur primarily in the nineteenth century. Eighteenth century ceramics include only 3.1% of the ceramic collection while whiteware include 38.8%. The remaining ceramics consist of pearlware.

Pattern Analysis

Up to this point we have used South's artifact groups and classes as simply

a convenient and logical means of ordering data, clearly recognizing that other methods are available (e.g. Sprague 1981). In this section we will use these functional categories for an "artifact pattern analysis" developed by South (1977) who 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 pattern recognition, and pattern cannot be refined 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 (South 1988).

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. While a number of factors influence the construction of the pattern, Joseph states:

[w]hatever its flaws, the value of artifact patterning lies in the fact that it is a universally recognized method for organizing large collections of artifactual data in a manner which can be easily understood and which can be used for comparative purposes (Joseph 1989:65).

Even at this level of a fairly simple, heuristic device, pattern analyses have revealed five, and possibly seven, "archaeological signatures" -- the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern (Garrow 1982b; Jackson 1986), 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; Zierden and Calhoun 1983), and the Public Interaction Artifact Pattern (Garrow 1982b), as well as the less 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". Several of these patterns are summarized in Table 43. 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; Joseph 1989:60; South 1977:146-154).

Tables 44 through 47 present artifact patterns for the slave sites, overseer site, owner sites, and the postbellum occupation.

Sites 38GE291 and 38G340 at Willbrook Plantation represent eighteenth century and late eighteenth/early nineteenth century slave occupations. The kitchen/architecture percentages correspond closely with those found at other eighteenth century slave sites (see Table 4). The two nineteenth century slave settlements (38GE294 and 38GE297) at Oatland and Turkey Hill both have a lower kitchen ratio and higher architectural ratio which is typical of other nineteenth century slave sites (Table 4). However, 38GE294 has an "intermediate" percentage (51.4% kitchen/43.1% architecture) of these materials, which may not be unusual due to its turn of the century (1804.4) mean date.

The eighteenth century overseer's site (38GE291) at Willbrook exhibits a very high kitchen (84.4%) to architecture (9.3%) ratio which corresponds most closely to eighteenth century slave sites or to some eighteenth century cotton planter sites. In addition to the high kitchen ratio, Colono wares represent 75.1% of the kitchen group total. This suggests that the eighteenth century overseer at Willbrook was poor using the cheap and more easily accessible Colono wares. The 1794 plat of Willbrook shows this structure as being occupied by "Wilson". Subsequent historical research indicates that Wilson was indeed a low class white who never accumulated any wealth. Since this pattern corresponds with

Artifact Group	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern ^a	Revised Frontier, Artifact Pattern ^b	Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern ^c	Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern ^d	Piedmont Tenant/ Yeoman Artifact Pattern ^e
Kitchen	51.8-65.0%	35.5-43.8%	70.9-84.2%	20.0-25.8%	45.6 (40.0-61.2)
Architectural	25.2-31.4%	41.6-43.0%	11.8-24.8%	67.9-73.2%	50.0 (35.8-56.3)
Furniture	0.2-0.6%	0.1-1.3%	0.1%	0.0-0.1%	0.4
Arms	0.1-0.3%	1.4-8.9%	0.1-0.3%	0.0-0.2%	-
Clothing	0.6-5.4%	0.3-1.6%	0.3-0.8%	0.3-1.7%	1.8
Personal	0.2-0.5%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1-0.2%	0.4
Tobacco	1.9-13.9%	1.3-14.0%	2.4-5.4%	0.3-9.7%	-
Activities	0.9-1.7%	0.5-5.4%	0.2-0.9%	0.2-0.4%	1.8

Sources:

^aGarrow 1982^dSingleton 1980:216^bGarrow 1982^eDrucker, et al. 1984:5-47 (no range was provided, but has been partially reconstructed for the Kitchen and Architectural Groups)^cGarrow 1982

Table 43. Previously published artifact patterns.

Table 44.
Artifact Patterns from the Slave Sites

	38GE291	38GE294	38GE297	38GE340
Euro-American Ceramics	365	3969	2430	746
Colono ware	1231	1777	1939	3663
Glass	273	771	953	256
Tableware	3	16	31	11
Kitchenware	6	32	201	43
Total Kitchen	1878	6565	5554	4719
Kitchen %	75.4%	51.4%	38.0%	84.7%
Window Glass	28	637	47	54
Doorlock Parts	0	0	5	1
Construction Hardware	3	2	23	2
Wrought Nails	195	2125	63	298
Cut Nails	1	1343	2738	45
UID Nails	221	1378	4954	233
Spikes	2	11	24	3
Total Architecture	450	5496	7854	636
Architecture %	18.1%	43.1%	53.8%	11.4%
Furniture Hardware	2	5	14	0
Furniture %	<0.1%	<0.1%	0.1%	0.0%
Lead Shot/Bullets	0	4	19	1
Gun Parts	1	0	1	0
Flints	0	4	2	2
Lead Flint Wrap	0	0	1	0
Total Arms	1	8	23	3
Arms %	<0.1%	<0.1%	0.2%	0.1%
Buttons	11	36	193	23
Other Clothing	0	5	24	1
Total Clothing	11	41	217	24
Clothing %	0.5%	0.4%	1.5%	0.4%
Beads	0	2	28	2
Personal items	1	3	17	2
Total Personal	1	5	45	4
Personal %	<0.1%	<0.1%	0.3%	0.1%
Pipe bowls	27	114	214	44
Pipe stems	88	308	330	74
Other	0	0	27	1
Total tobacco	119	422	571	119
Tobacco %	4.8%	3.3%	3.9%	2.1%
Tools	0	3	17	0
Fishing Gear	0	0	4	0
Storage Items	9	28	38	3
Stable/Barn Items	0	1	4	0
Toys	0	0	2	0
Misc. Hardware	0	16	68	4
Other	21	178	188	62
Total Activities	30	227	321	69
Activities %	1.2%	1.8%	2.2%	1.2%

Table 45.
Artifact Pattern from the Overseer's Site (38GE291)

Euro-American ceramics	1925
Colono ware	8693
Glass	907
Tableware	12
Kitchenware	47
Total Kitchen	11584
Kitchen %	84.4%
Window Glass	106
Door Lock Parts	1
Construction Hardware	2
Wrought Nails	811
Cut Nails	22
UID Nails	336
Spikes	3
Total Architecture	1281
Architecture %	9.3%
Furniture Hardware	5
Furniture %	<0.1%
Lead Shot/Bullets	4
Gun Parts	0
Flints	3
Lead Flint Wrap	1
Total Arms	8
Arms %	<0.1%
Buttons	48
Other Clothing	11
Total Clothing	59
Clothing %	0.4%
Beads	6
Personal Items	9
Total Personal	15
Personal %	0.1%
Pipe bowls	146
Pipe stems	457
Other	9
Total Tobacco	612
Tobacco %	4.5%
Tools	2
Fishing Gear	0
Storage Items	45
Stable/Barn Items	0
Toys	0
Misc. Hardware	4
Other	112
Total Activities	163
Activities %	1.2%

Table 46.
Artifact Patterns from Owners' Sites

	38GE292 Block 1	38GE292 Block 2	38GE294 Block 1	38GE294 Block 3	38GE294 combined
Euro-American Ceramics	121	146	2080	571	2651
Colono ware	230	2	74	47	121
Glass	57	725	1718	179	1897
Tableware	4	14	68	4	72
Kitchenware	6	126	42	8	50
Total Kitchen	418	1013	3982	809	4791
Kitchen %	39.6%	61.2%	26.7%	51.3%	29.1%
Window Glass	28	91	5313	96	5409
Door Lock Parts	0	1	1	0	1
Construction Hardware	0	0	5	2	7
Wrought Nails	77	2	830	22	852
Cut Nails	13	142	2789	229	3018
UID Nails	416	235	1524	357	1881
Spikes	0	0	6	2	8
Total Architecture	534	471	10468	708	11176
Architecture %	50.6%	28.5%	70.2%	44.9%	67.8%
Furniture Hardware	0	28	24	5	29
Furniture %	0.0%	1.7%	0.2%	0.3%	0.2%
Lead shot/Bullet	0	0	15	0	15
Gun Parts	0	0	0	0	0
Flints	1	0	6	0	6
Lead flint wrap	0	0	0	0	0
Total Arms	1	0	21	0	21
Arms %	<0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%
Buttons	3	2	76	2	78
Other Clothing	0	1	6	0	6
Total Clothing	3	3	82	2	84
Clothing %	0.3%	0.2%	0.6%	0.2%	0.5%
Beads	0	0	1	0	1
Personal Items	2	1	9	2	11
Total Personal	2	1	10	2	12
Personal %	0.2%	<0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%
Pipe bowls	6	0	50	11	61
Pipe stems	23	2	98	28	126
Other	0	0	5	0	5
Total Tobacco	29	2	156	39	195
Tobacco %	2.7%	0.1%	1.0%	2.5%	1.2%
Tools	1	0	3	1	4
Fishing Gear	0	1	2	0	2
Storage Items	1	3	32	0	32
Stable/Barn Items	6	1	3	0	3
Toys	0	0	13	0	13
Misc. Hardware	3	3	41	1	42
Other	58	129	71	9	80
Total Activities	69	137	165	11	176
Activities %	6.5%	8.3%	1.1%	0.7%	1.1%

Table 47.
Artifact Pattern from Postbellum Occupation (38GE340)

Euro-American Ceramics	222
Colono ware	16
Glass	505
Tableware	29
Kitchenware	10
Total Kitchen	782
Kitchen %	12.3%
Window Glass	2476
Door Lock Parts	0
Construction Hardware	3
Wrought Nails	1
Cut Nails	1290
UID Nails	1509
Spikes	3
Total Architecture	5282
Architecture %	83.4%
Furniture Hardware	11
Furniture %	0.2%
Lead shot/Bullets	67
Gun Parts	1
Flints	0
Lead Flint Wraps	0
Total Arms	68
Arms %	0.2%
Buttons	27
Other Clothing	3
Total Clothing	30
Clothing %	0.5%
Beads	5
Personal Items	17
Total Personal	22
Personal %	0.3%
Pipe bowls	5
Pipe stems	25
Other	2
Total Tobacco	32
Tobacco %	0.5%
Tools	2
Fishing Gear	1
Storage Items	2
Stable/Barn Items	5
Toys	1
Misc. Hardware	14
Other	83
Total Activities	108
Activities %	1.7%

eighteenth century cotton planter patterns, it suggests the unprofitability of cotton growing during that time period.

Some brief observations on the owner contexts sites must be made before the artifact patterns can be discussed with some meaning. At 38GE292, excavations in Block 1 revealed a structure that is interpreted to be an outbuilding of the main house complex, because this structure has no chimney. The second Block excavation reveals evidence of a much later component and appears to represent secondary deposition, therefore no further consideration of this Block will be taken in discussion of artifact patterning. Patterns for Blocks 1 and 3 from 38GE294 are listed separately and are also combined based on their relatively close proximity and nineteenth century mean dates.

38GE292 represents an eighteenth century main house complex which whose pattern deviates from those found at other eighteenth century rice plantations (see Table 4). Since the excavated structure did not represent a domestic building, the excavations did not yield a normal domestic pattern. 38GE294 represents a nineteenth century main house component similar to others dating from the same period. While nineteenth century owner patterns vary widely, the pattern does not overlap with eighteenth century main house components from other plantation sites.

Status and Economic Observations

Miller (1980) has suggested a technique for the analysis of ceramic collections to yield information on the economic value of the assemblage, which, as Garrow notes, "theoretically provides a means of roughly determining the economic position of the household that used and discarded the ceramics" (Garrow 1982b:66; see also Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987 and Garrow 1987). Unfortunately, this technique is limited to the cream colored wares (and a few other ceramics) of the nineteenth century, and its methodology has not been perfected, although Miller has recently published a revised and expanded set of CC index values (Miller 1991). In spite of its problems, like South's pattern analysis, provides another significant analytical technique. The drawback to implementing Miller's revised and expanded values is that previously published indices from other sites would need to be recalculated to make the sites comparable. For this reason, Miller's earlier values have been used to calculate ceramic indices. The data is presented for researchers who wish to apply Miller's revised values.

Likewise, Otto (1984) has used percentages of surface decorations and vessel forms to indicate the status position of the site occupant. However, his work has been criticized for oversimplifying plantation social organization into terms of planter, overseer, and slave, when in reality social distance between these groups varied greatly (Orser 1984:5-6). Howson (1990:87) suggests that "status and its material correlates are too complex to be inferred directly," and that,

"to use the concept of hierarchy is to assume the existence--either actual or ideal--of a continuous series of social statuses. No such continuous series--either actual or ideal--existed in southern society." (Howson 1990:88).

Despite these valid criticisms, it provides another means of inter-site comparison.

Tables 48 through 51 present ceramic index values for the four slave sites. The indices as compared with other slave sites is very low, ranging from 1.03 at the earlier Willbrook settlement to 1.59 at the Oatland settlement. All of these indices, except the early Willbrook index, are comparable to other slave settlements (Table 64). The low index at 38GE291 may be explained by the low minimum vessel count (n=8) which probably skewed the index.

Table 48.
Ceramic Index Values for 38GE291, Willbrook Slave

Plates	Index Value Assigned (date)	#	Product
Undecorated	1.00 (1787)	4	4.00

Average value = 1.00

Bowls	Index Value Assigned (date)	#	Product
Undecorated	1.00 (1802)	1	1.00
Annular	1.20 (1814)	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1.20}{2}$
		2	2.20

Average value = 1.10

Cups/saucers	Index Value Assigned (date)	#	Product
Undecorated	1.00 (1770)	1	1.00
Annular	1.20 (1814)	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1.20}{2}$
		2	2.20

Average value = 1.10

Average Ceramic Index = 8/8/40 = 1.03

Table 49.
Ceramic Index for 38GE294, Oatland Slave

Plates	Index Value Assigned (date)	#	Product
Undecorated	1.00 (1802)	29	29.00
Edged	1.23 (1802)	45	55.35
Hand Painted	1.67 (1796)	4	6.68
Transfer Printed	3.43 (1803)	$\frac{16}{94}$	$\frac{54.88}{145.91}$
		94	

Average Value = 1.45

Bowls	Index Value Assigned (date)	#	Product
Undecorated	1.00 (1802)	17	17.00
Annular	1.20 (1814)	21	25.20
Hand Painted	2.33 (1802)	7	16.31
Transfer Printed	2.80 (1814)	$\frac{5}{50}$	$\frac{14.00}{72.51}$
		50	

Average Value = 1.45

Cups/saucers	Index Value Assigned (date)	#	Product
Undecorated	1.00 (1802)	15	15.00
Annular	1.20 (1814)	1	1.20
Hand Painted	1.80 (1796)	3	5.40
Transfer Printed	3.40 (1796)	$\frac{11}{20}$	$\frac{37.40}{59.00}$
		20	

Average Value = 1.97

Average Ceramic Index = 174/277.42 = 1.59

Table 50.
Ceramic Index Values for 38GE297, Turkey Hill Slave

Plates	Index Value		#	Product
	Assigned	(date)		
Undecorated	1.00	(1824)	17	17.00
Edged	1.29	(1824)	23	29.67
Transfer Printed	3.21	(1824)	10	32.10
			50	78.77

Average Value = 1.57

Bowls				
Undecorated	1.00	(1824)	14	14.00
Sponged	1.10	(1855)	2	2.20
Annular	1.20	(1824)	70	84.00
Hand Painted	1.67	(1824)	10	16.70
Transfer Printed	2.50	(1824)	5	12.50
			106	129.40

Average Value = 1.22

Cups/saucers				
Undecorated	1.00	(1814)	1	1.00
Sponged	1.17	(1871)	1	1.17
Hand Painted	1.50	(1814)	4	6.00
Transfer Printed	3.00	(1814)	5	15.00
			11	23.17

Average Value = 1.38

Average Ceramic Index = $167/231.34 = 1.38$

Table 51.
Ceramic Index Values for 38GE340, Willbrook Slave

Plates	Index value		#	Product
	Assigned	(date)		
Undecorated	1.00	(1796)	9	9.00
Edged	1.29	(1796)	9	11.61
Hand Painted	1.67	(1796)	5	8.35
			23	28.26

Average Value = 1.26

Bowls				
Undecorated	1.00	(1802)	3	3.00
Annular	1.20	(1814)	1	1.20
Hand Painted	2.33	(1802)	7	16.31
			11	20.51

Average Value = 1.86

Cups/saucers				
Undecorated	1.00	(1795)	2	2.00
Hand Painted	1.80	(1796)	2	3.60
			4	5.60

Average Value = 1.40

Average Ceramic Index = $38/55.07 = 1.45$

Table 52 gives shape and function information on the ceramics at the slave sites. The assemblage from 38GE291 reveals that tableware represented 76.9% of the collection which is similar to the slave component at Cannon's Point (Otto 1984). The assemblage also revealed that there was an equal reliance on plate and bowl forms, with about 38.4% of the collection representing serving flatware (plates, saucers, and serving pieces) which is lower than the collections from nineteenth century Cannon's Point (Otto 1984) and Haig Point (Trinkley 1988). The lower percentage of flatwares may be due to the eighteenth century date of the site.

At 38GE294, the assemblage shows that tableware items represent 96.6% of the collection which is about 33% higher than Cannon's Point (Otto 1984) and 8.5% higher than at Haig Point (Trinkley 1988). There was a higher reliance on plate forms which account for 56.6% of the collection. This exceeds the Cannon's Point slave site, but is lower than the overseer's assemblage. Flatware comprised 62.3% of the collection, similar to Haig Point, but higher than Cannon's Point.

The assemblage from 38GE297 reveals that tableware represents 92.1% of the collection, which is similar to Haig Point. There was a higher reliance on bowl forms which account for 58.1% of the collection. Interestingly, the architectural and some of the artifactual data suggests that the excavated structure belonged to a slave driver, however, the preponderance of bowl forms, compared to the other slave sites suggests an emphasis on stews and soups. One might expect more flatwares if the status of the slave was driver, but this may be more indicative of cultural affiliation rather than position in the plantation hierarchy. Flatwares comprised 34% of the collection which is much lower than Cannon's Point, Haig Point, and Cotton Hope (Otto 1984; Trinkley 1988; Trinkley 1990).

At 38GE340 the assemblage indicated that tableware represents 81.7% of the collection. There was a higher reliance on plates than bowl forms and accounted for 49% of the collection. Comparison of 38GE291, the earlier Willbrook slave settlement, to 38GE340, the later Willbrook slave settlement, suggests that there may have been a shift away from a reliance on bowl forms from the middle to late eighteenth century. Flatwares comprised 57.2% of the collection which is somewhat higher than at Cannon's Point, but similar to Haig Point.

Another analysis that is potentially revealing concerns the examination of surface treatments. Otto (1984:64-67) found that at Cannon's Point the slaves tended to use considerably more banded, edged, and hand painted wares than the plantation owner, who tended to use transfer printed wares. The overseer appears to have been intermediate on this scale, although the proportions of decorative motifs were generally more similar to the slaves than the owner. Part of the explanation, of course, involves the less expensive cost of annular, edged, and undecorated wares compared to the transfer printed wares. And while transfer printed specimens were present in the slave assemblage at Cannon's Point, they

Table 52.
Shape and Function of Ceramic Vessels from Slave Sites

Shapes	38GE291		38GE294		38GE297		38GE340	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Tablewares								
Plates/saucers	10	38.5	128	56.6	56	29.3	24	49.0
Bowls	9	34.6	55	24.3	111	58.1	12	24.5
Serving	1	3.8	13	5.7	9	4.7	4	8.2
Tea and Coffeeware	5	19.2	28	12.3	7	3.7	5	10.2
Utilitarian	1	3.8	2	0.9	8	4.2	4	8.2

represented a variety of patterns and Otto (1984:66) suggests that either the planter purchased mixed lots of ceramics for slave use, or the slaves themselves occasionally made such purchases. An additional, often advanced, explanation involves the use by slave of discarded ceramics from the main house.

Table 53 reveals that the two eighteenth century Willbrook slave sites (38GE291 and 38GE340) yielded no transfer printed wares at all. This suggests that the slaves acquired their earthenwares through the planter who would have bought cheap bulk ceramics, rather than through "hand-me-down" acquisition from the planter household. Some wares may have filtered in this way, since apparently they obtained some porcelains. At 38GE294, 46.6% of the wares are either edged, annular, or hand painted. Only 18.4% are transfer printed. At 38GE297, 66% of the wares are edged, annular or hand painted, whereas 12.3% are transfer printed.

Table 54 gives ceramic indices for 38GE291, Willbrook overseer. The average ceramic index achieved is 1.89 which is higher than any of the slave indices previously discussed and is comparable to the index from Cannon's Point overseer. It is interesting that the site patterning and Colono ware counts seem to suggest that this site would yield a low index, comparable to those at slave sites. However, the Willbrook overseer's component exhibits an index similar to other published overseer's sites.

Table 53.
Surface Decorations of Ceramic Assemblages from the Slave Sites

Decoration	38GE291		38GE294		38GE297		38GE340	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Undecorated	6	75.0	61	35.0	32	19.8	14	36.8
Sponged					3	1.9		
Edged			45	25.9	23	14.2	9	23.7
Annular	2	25.0	22	12.7	70	43.2	1	2.6
Hand Painted			14	5.0	14	8.6	14	36.8
Transfer Printed			32	18.4	20	12.3		

Table 54.
Ceramic Index Values for 38GE291, Willbrook Overseer

Plates	Index value Assigned (date)	#	Product
Undecorated	1.00 (1787)	9	9.00
Edged	1.29 (1796)	8	10.32
Transfer Printed	3.86 (1796)	1	3.86
		18	23.18

Average Value = 1.29

Bowls	Index value Assigned (date)	#	Product
Undecorated	1.00 (1802)	6	6.00
Annular	1.20 (1814)	4	4.80
Hand Painted	2.33 (1802)	4	9.32
Transfer Printed	2.80 (1814)	1	2.80
		15	22.92

Average Value = 1.53

Cups/saucers			
Undecorated	1.00 (1770)	1	1.00
Hand Painted	1.33 (1770)	<u>3</u>	<u>3.99</u>
		4	4.99

Average Value = 1.25

Average Ceramic Index = 1.89

Table 55 illustrates the percentage of shapes and functions of ceramic vessels from 38GE291. Tableware represents 72.9% of the ceramic collection which is much higher than the percentage from Cannon's Point overseer (58%). Plates are proportional to bowls with bowl percentages approximating those found at the Cannon's Point overseer's site. Flatware represents 42.1% of the assemblage which is considerably lower than the percentage (72%) found at the Cannon's Point overseer's house (Otto 1984:69), and more closely resembles the slave assemblage.

Table 55.
Shape and Function of Ceramic Vessels from 38GE291,
Willbrook Overseer

Shapes	#	%
Tablewares		
Plates/saucers	28	26.2
Bowls	33	30.8
Serving	17	15.9
Tea and Coffeeware	18	16.8
Utilitarian	11	10.3

Table 56 gives the percentages of surface decorations from the overseer's site. While almost half are undecorated, an identical proportion are spatter, edged, annular or hand painted with the remaining 4.3% being transfer printed. This is a low percentage of transfer printed wares, considering that the Cannon's Point overseer site contained 14% transfer printed wares and slave sites, particularly of the nineteenth century, contained anywhere from 14.9% (Cotton Hope, Trinkley 1990) to 21% (Cannon's Point, Otto 1984).

Tables 57 and 58 present ceramic indices for the owners' components at Willbrook and Oatland Plantations. Unfortunately, there were not enough identifiable ceramic vessels at 38GE292 (Willbrook) to yield a meaningful index.

Table 56.
Surface Decoration of Ceramic Vessels from 38GE291,
Willbrook Overseer

Type	#	%
Undecorated	22	47.8
Spatter	1	2.2
Edged	12	26.1
Annular	1	2.2
Hand Painted	8	17.4
Transfer Printed	2	4.3

At 38GE294 (Oatland) 175 ceramic vessels were identified which exhibited a ceramic index similar to those found at slave sites. This site, which yielded mean ceramic dates of 1828.8 and 1843.6, suggests that the display of wealth at Oatland may have been oriented towards things such as housing, land, and slaves during the nineteenth century.

Table 57.
Ceramic Index Values for 38GE292, Willbrook Owner

<u>Bowls</u>	<u>Index Value Assigned (date)</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>Product</u>
Undecorated	1.00 (1802)	1	1.00
Annular	1.20 (1814)	3	3.60
		4	4.60

Average Value = 1.15

Average Ceramic Index = 1.15

Table 58.
Ceramic Index Values for 38GE294, Oatland Owner

<u>Plates</u>	<u>Index Value Assigned (date)</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>Product</u>
Undecorated	1.00 (1836)	19	19.00
Edged	1.25 (1836)	36	45.00
Hand Painted	2.36 (1838)	1	2.36
Transfer Printed	2.81 (1836)	19	53.39
		75	119.75

Average Value = 1.60

<u>Bowls</u>	<u>Index Value Assigned (date)</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>Product</u>
Undecorated	1.00 (1836)	18	18.00
Sponged	1.10 (1855)	2	2.20
Edged	1.25 (1836)	1	1.25
Annular	1.40 (1836)	29	40.60
Hand Painted	1.80 (1836)	1	1.80
Transfer Printed	3.00 (1836)	4	12.00
		55	75.85

Average Value = 1.40

<u>Cups/Saucers</u>	<u>Index Value Assigned (date)</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>Product</u>
Undecorated	1.00 (1846)	28	28.00
Hand Painted	1.23 (1846)	6	7.38
Transfer Printed	2.45 (1846)	11	26.95
		45	62.33

Average Value = 1.39

Average Ceramic Index = $175/257.93 = 1.47$

At the owner's sites, shape and function percentages for the Willbrook main house (38GE292) are unreliable because of the low vessel count and will not be discussed further. The Oatland main house (38GE294) assemblage contains 85.4% tablewares which is much more than found at Cannon's Point main house (52%). Plates predominate over bowls which does not necessarily reveal the status of the site since it is very similar to the slave component from the same plantation. Flatware comprises 54.8% of the assemblage which is much less than the percentage from Cannon's Point.

Table 59.
Shape and Function of Ceramic Vessels from Owners Sites
Willbrook and Oatland

Shapes	38GE292		38GE294	
	#	%	#	%
Tablewares				
Plates/saucers	2	16.7	111	50.7
Bowls	6	50.0	67	30.6
Serving	0	0.0	9	4.1
Tea and Coffeeware	2	16.7	28	12.8
Utilitarian	2	16.7	4	1.8

Table 60 illustrates the proportion of surface decoration from the owners sites. Interestingly, transfer printed wares are quite low at 38GE294 and absent at 38GE292, although the low vessel count is the probable cause for its complete absence.

Table 60.
Decoration of Ceramic Vessels from Owners Sites

Type	38GE292		38GE294	
	#	%	#	%
Undecorated	1	16.7	65	37.1
Sponged			2	1.1
Edged			37	21.1
Annular	3	50.0	29	16.6
Hand Painted	2	33.3	8	4.6
Transfer Printed			34	19.4

Table 61.
Ceramic Index Values for 38GE340, Postbellum Occupation

Plates	Index Value		#	Product
	Assigned	(date)		
Undecorated	1.00	(1846)	8	8.00
Edged	1.13	(1846)	2	2.26
Transfer Printed	2.63	(1846)	5	13.15
			15	23.41

Average Value = 1.56

Bowls				
Undecorated	1.00	(1846)	3	3.00
Hand Painted	1.60	(1846)	2	3.20
Transfer Printed	2.80	(1846)	2	5.60
			7	11.80

Average Value = 1.69

Cups/Saucers				
Undecorated	1.00	(1856)	2	2.00
Sponged	1.17	(1871)	1	1.17
Hand Painted	1.77	(1846)	1	1.77
Transfer Printed	3.00	(1857)	4	12.00
			8	16.94

Average Value = 2.18

Average Ceramic Index = 30/52.15 = 1.73

Table 61 gives the ceramic indices for 38GE340, Willbrook postbellum occupation. The average ceramic index achieved is 1.73 which is similar to the Cannon's Point slave (Otto 1984). Although the artifacts at the site (crucifix and religious pyx) suggest a specialized occupant who may have had social status in some circles, his economic status may have been low.

The ceramic assemblage reveals that 90.3% of the collection is tableware. Plates and saucers accounted for 67.7% whereas bowls made up only 22.6% of the collection. Flatwares consisted of 67.7% of the assemblage which is similar to the percentage obtained from Cannon's Point overseer. Although the vessel count is relatively low, no serving wares are represented which suggests that this person did not entertain often or have formal meals.

Table 62.
Shape and Function of Ceramic Vessels from 38GE340
Postbellum Occupation

Shape	#	%
Tablewares		
Plates/Saucers	21	67.7
Bowls	7	22.6
Serving	0	0.0
Tea and Coffee	2	6.5
Utilitarian	1	3.2

Table 63 gives the proportion of surface decorations for the postbellum occupation of 38GE340. While transfer printed wares are relatively high, they are lower than the planter from Cannon's Point, but higher than the slaves or overseer (Otto 1984:64).

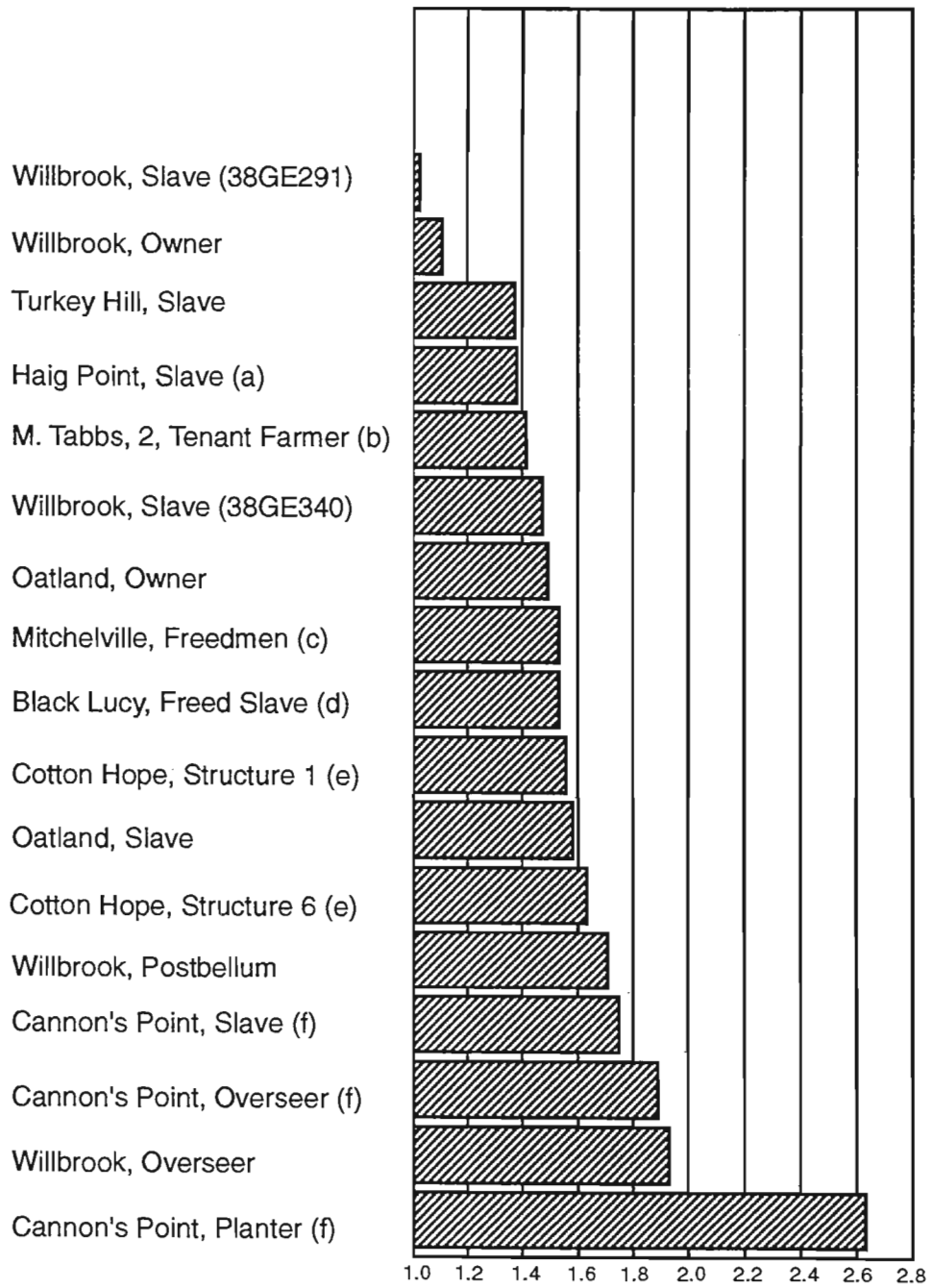
Table 63.
Surface Decoration of Ceramic Vessels from 38GE340
Postbellum Occupation

Type	#	%
Undecorated	13	43.3
Sponge	1	3.3
Edged	2	6.7
Hand Painted	3	10.0
Transfer Printed	11	36.7

Summary

As was expected from the slave sites, the kitchen ratio declines over time as well as the amount of Colono ware ceramics (see Joseph 1989 and Lees 1980), and they all contain low status ceramics. The Oatland slave row (38GE294) is believed to be the location of the house slaves' quarters, and economic indicators suggest that these slaves may have been slightly "better off" than field slaves on neighboring plantations. Although the structure uncovered at Turkey Hill (38GE297) is believed to have belonged to a driver, the mean ceramic index was slightly lower than that obtained at Oatland. However, this site contained more personal items than the other slave sites. Determining the economic position of a driver in relationship to house slaves may be difficult since they may be similar, although it is possible that they may be displayed differently because of their occupational differences.

As some have suggested (Howson 1990; Joseph 1989) the high availability and low cost of European ceramics after the Industrial Revolution probably played a hand in the decline of colono ware pottery at slave sites. Archaeologically, this decline has been clearly documented (eg. Lees 1980). It has also been suggested that as slaves became more adapted to Euro American foodways,



- References: a. Trinkley & Hacker 1989 d. Felton & Schulz 1983
 b. Miller 1980 e. Hacker & Trinkley 1990
 c. Trinkley & Hacker 1986 f. Spencer-Wood & Heberling 1987

Table 64. Ceramic indices from various plantation sites, ranked by index.

industrial ceramics may have become more suitable for cooking and serving, and Colono wares less desirable (Joseph 1989:62; Wheaton et al. 1983). If slaves became more adapted to Euro American foodways, then the industrial ceramics at nineteenth century slave sites should exhibit a larger number of flatwares, and this could potentially be magnified if these slaves were house slaves or a driver.

At the nineteenth century driver's site (38GE297) bowl forms dominate the European ceramic assemblage, and are significantly more numerous than at the other eighteenth and nineteenth century slave sites. Also, there is little difference in proportion of bowl forms between the other eighteenth and nineteenth century slave sites excavated. This suggests that adaptation to Euro-American food ways may not have been the cause of the decline in Colono wares. It is probable that the major reason for the decrease in Colono ware manufacture is that planters could afford to purchase more of the Euro American wares, and slaves did not need to continue augmenting their ceramics with Colono wares. The preponderance of bowl forms at slave sites, as African archaeologist Merrick Posnansky suggests, may reflect a general peasant agricultural situation. To suggest an African influence is ignoring the diverse lifeways in the African continent, since African diets varied widely. Herding cultures used lots of meats, having access to more and better cuts. Subsistence farmers could not afford to be as selective as herders in the cuts of meat and tend to make stews full of bone scraps (McKee n.d.: 21). The presence of an African diaspora in the New World coupled with the limited amounts and choices slaves had in their cuts of meats may have made the heavy use of bowls an African-American preference or necessity.

The eighteenth century overseer at Willbrook had an economic status similar to the nineteenth century overseer from Cannon's Point. However, the site contained a very high percentage of Colono ware ceramics and had an artifact pattern similar to the Willbrook slaves and very different from eighteenth century rice plantation owners.

The 1794 plat of Willbrook indicates that the overseer's name was Wilson. Subsequent historical research showed that this person and his offspring were poor whites who never obtained any sort of wealth. This points out that pattern analyses may be better indicators of economic position or ability rather than cultural affiliation as terms like "Carolina Slave Pattern" suggest. Although the strong difference between the "Carolina Slave Pattern" and the "Carolina Artifact Pattern" may indicate cultural differences, it could also point to the sharp contrast between rich and poor during the eighteenth century, which may have become less distinctive or, at least, more variable by the nineteenth century (see pp. 61-77 for a more in depth discussion).

In some ways the overseer lived much like the slaves, taking advantage of the slave made Colono ware pottery as well as occupying an unelaborate dwelling, but still purchasing Euro-American ceramics of his superior economic means. Since this is the only eighteenth century overseer's site excavated in South Carolina, the patterns noticed in this study raise important questions for future research such as: Do other eighteenth century overseer sites show this heavy use of Colono wares? How did overseers obtain these wares? What amount of variation is there among overseer sites and what do the artifact patterns produced suggest about the relationships between owner, overseer, and slave? How did overseers' lifestyles change from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century?

As mentioned previously, the eighteenth century component excavated at the Willbrook main house complex revealed a wooden structure measuring 11 by 14 feet with no chimney, suggesting that this building did not function as a domestic structure. The artifact pattern generated in this area is very different from patterns obtained from other eighteenth century main house sites, and it is possible that the structure served as a storage or out building, noting that the activities category is higher than one normally finds at a domestic structure.

The nineteenth century main house component from Oatland (38GE294) exhibits an artifact pattern not unusual for other nineteenth century owner sites, although these vary widely. However, it yielded a very low ceramic index (1.47). None of the Allston's lived at Oatland full time until the late eighteenth century when a home was built for Joseph Allston's widow. She may have had only a modest allowance, which may account for the lack of many high status ceramics.

At the postbellum site (38GE340), The ceramics did not contain any examples of serving wares which suggests that this person did not entertain often or have formal meals at home. The low kitchen group count (12.3%) also suggests that the occupant did not often eat at home, or additionally or alternatively suggests a short term, seasonal, or intermittent occupation. The artifacts at the site (crucifix and religious pyx) suggest that this might be the home of a specialized occupant (such as a Catholic priest) who visited the area to hold an occasional mass.

As suggested by the data as well as by other researchers (Orser 1984; Howson 1990), determining plantation hierarchy and economic position, is a complex problem for which mathematical formulas do not yield solid answers. Relying only on formulas is an oversimplification of sometimes complicated economic and social issues. Good archaeological interpretation depends on being able to analyze and interpret results using a multi-faceted contextual approach. While not suggesting that patterns do not exist, because in reality they do, archaeologists should not discuss only "cultural regularities" and unidirectional trends. This risks oversimplifying a very complex situation; the effects on individuals of a changing economic market as well as the existence of a multi-cultural society with different perceptions of social symboling. For instance, were ceramics always or ever status markers within the slave community? Cultural markers, such as Colono wares or Euro American ceramics, can be dangerous to use in defining directions of cultural change or change in social meaning (see Howson 1990).

Traditional forms of artifact analysis will always remain vital to historical archaeology. It is the only way for site comparisons. But an additional, interpretive step must be taken to address and understand the more complex issues surrounding plantation life.

VERTEBRATE FAUNAL REMAINS

Jack H. Wilson, Jr.

Introduction

The vertebrate faunal collections from 11 loci at five historic archaeological sites along the lower Waccamaw River, the Waccamaw Neck region of Georgetown County, South Carolina, were analyzed for this study. Three sites (38GE291, 39GE292, and 38GE340) are from Willbrook Plantation, one site (38GE297) is from Turkey Hill Plantation, and one site (38GE294) is from the Oatland Plantation. The faunal assemblages from Willbrook Plantation are from a late eighteenth century overseer locus and a late eighteenth century slave row at 38GE291; an eighteenth century high status structure location and the nineteenth century main house site for Willbrook Plantation at 38GE292; and an eighteenth century slave row and a postbellum tenant structure at 38GE340. The Turkey Hill faunal material is from a nineteenth century slave row and a possible nineteenth century slave driver house at 38GE297. The three loci from 38GE294 at Oatland Plantation that possess faunal material analyzed for this study include an unidentified activity area (Block 3), a posited slave structure (Block 2) and the main house (Block 1).

The faunal assemblages were obtained from both plowzone and feature contexts, with the former contributing the bulk of the material. Animal bone was retrieved from the plowzone by screening soil through 1/4-inch mesh screen. The bone samples from the features were recovered by screening soil through 1/16-inch mesh screen. This report provides a description of the animal species found in the bone samples from the 11 loci, the results of the zooarchaeological analysis of the remains, and a comparison of the data obtained with that for other sites of the appropriate time period from the South Carolina coastal plain.

Environmental Background

The Carolina Province marks the transitional zone between the tropical fauna of the southern Atlantic and the temperate fauna of the northern Atlantic, and is located between Cape Hatteras, North Carolina and Cape Canaveral, Florida (Briggs 1974; Ekman 1953). These five sites within the Waccamaw Neck lie between the riverine environment associated with the Waccamaw River to the west and the Atlantic Ocean to the east. The three plantations on which these archaeological sites are located are within an upland ecosystem that also has access to a riverine ecosystem (the Waccamaw River), and to a lesser extent indirect access to the marine ecosystem of the coast.

The upland ecosystem in this area is characterized by a mixed hardwood community of oak, hickory and pine forest (Kuchler 1964). The mixed hardwood forests and areas disturbed by human activity provide excellent combinations of browse and cover for deer, and even higher densities of this mammal may be found in the edge zone between the upland environment and the palustrine zone (Moore and Bevill 1978:9). Other wild mammals frequently found in this zone are squirrels, opossums, and raccoons (Sandifer et al. 1980:473-478). The only terrestrial turtle found in any frequency in this environment is the Eastern box turtle, although freshwater turtles such as cooters and mud turtles may occasionally be observed (Sandifer et al. 1980:457). The turkey is especially common to mixed hardwood forests where mature oaks are found (Moore and Bevill 1978:41-43).

Given the location of the three plantations on the Waccamaw River, the riverine ecosystem is a significant factor in the natural setting of the sites.

The mud riverbed is not conducive to the survival of shellfish, although some freshwater mussels such as Elliptio spp. may be found in the sandier areas. Approximately 24 fish species are common to the riverine system and six anadromous fish species can be found in these waters. The more important common species include catfish, largemouth bass, black crappie, white bass, and yellow perch. Also present are spotted sucker, carp, bowfin, shiner, and longnose gar. The anadromous species include shad, herring, striped bass, and sturgeon (Sandifer et al. 1980:411). Reptile species, including river cooters, slider, snapping turtles, and Florida cooters, are fairly common, although most are found along the edges of flowing streams in the palustrine ecosystem. Alligators are not uncommon today and may have been more common prior to extensive human pressure (Sandifer et al. 1980:419). Avifauna are relatively uncommon in many riverine ecosystems because of the tidal range and weak flow. The highest numbers of birds in the area coincide with the spring and fall migrations (Sandifer et al. 1980:420). The presence of a nearby palustrine ecosystem, however probably attracts birds to the vicinity of the archaeological sites present at these three plantations.

The palustrine ecosystem in the vicinity of the plantations include areas of tidal forested wetlands and areas of tidal emergent wetland. It was this tidal emergent wetland that was diked to provide the rice fields that was the economic basis of many of the Waccamaw Neck plantations. These river marsh areas are dominated by brackish and freshwater plants such as giant cutgrass, wild rice, cat-tails and saw grass. This ecosystem attracts a variety of mammals that area also found in the upland zone, including deer, opossum, and raccoon (Sandifer et al. 1980:381-383). As mentioned earlier, this environmental zone is the most ideally suited habitat for birds such as ducks and geese in the Coastal Region (Sandifer et al. 1980:375). In addition to the turtle species mentioned earlier, the Carolina diamondback terrapin would also be found in the brackish waters of the wetland area (Obst 1986:113).

Within ten miles of the three plantations two distinct areas of the estuarine ecosystem can be found--the intertidal flats characterized by the ubiquitous intertidal oyster beds and the emergent wetland characterized by marshgrasses such as Spartina spp. and Juncus spp.. The estuarine area is highly productive and provides an environment for a number of fish in the tidal creeks. Fish such as flounder, drum, catfish, gar, and the occasional shark represent large predators which can be found at the mouths of intertidal creeks. These fish feed on other fish, including mumichog, spot, Atlantic menhaden, and silver perch, which commonly travel in schools and migrate in and out of the intertidal creeks with the tide (Cain 1973:76-77). There are also a number of fish present that can be classified as marine species, that is, those fish that either spawn in the estuary or use the area as a nursery (see Boschung et al. 1983). Members of the drum family, including black drum, silver perch, seatrout, spots, red drum, star drum, and Atlantic croaker.

Of the turtles, usually only the diamondback terrapin is present in the estuarine environment (Obst 1986:113). Bird species that can be found here include the ibis, clapper rail, and, more rarely, duck. And although deer may graze in the high marsh, the only mammals frequently found associated with the estuary are the marsh rabbit and the raccoon (Sandifer et al. 1980:259-260).

In summary, the people resident at the three plantations enjoyed access to a natural environment that abounded with a number of wild fauna species that were potential food sources. These wild resources would have been in addition to the domestic animals--cows, pigs, Caprines (sheep and goats), chicken and geese--that one could assume would have been the mainstays of that portion of the inhabitant's diet provided by animals. The maritime forests, freshwater creeks, brackish waters, rice fields, salt marshes, and sounds define a number of diverse habitats that could be directly or indirectly exploited by the inhabitants of the area, if they chose or were permitted to do so.

Analytical Techniques

The faunal collection from the 11 loci at the five sites were studied by the author using standard zooarchaeological procedures and the Chicora Foundation comparative faunal collection. The bone material was sorted to class, suborder or species, and individual bone elements were identified. The bones of all taxa and other analytical categories were also weighed and counted. The Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) for each animal category was computed using paired bone elements and age (mature/immature) as criteria. A minimum distinction method (Grayson 1973:438) was used to determine the MNI for each of the six archaeological components. This method provides a conservative MNI estimate based on the total faunal assemblage from each of the nine identified loci.

As a measure of zooarchaeological quantification, MNI has a number of problems (Grayson 1973:438; 1984:28-92; Klein and Cruz-Urbe 1984:26-32). How one aggregates the MNI will affect the number of individuals calculated. If MNI is calculated based on the entire site, the number will be smaller than if it is calculated for each excavation unit and totaled for the site. Use of MNI emphasizes small species over large ones. For example, a collection may have only a few large mammals, such as deer, and scores of fish. Yet, the amount of meat contributed by one deer may be many times greater than that contributed by a score or two of fish.

Given the problems associated with MNI as a zooarchaeological measure, an estimate of biomass contributed by each taxon to the total available for use by the inhabitants of the site is also calculated. The method used here to determine biomass is based on allometry, or the biological relationship between soft tissue and bone mass. Biomass is determined using the least squares analysis of logarithmic data in which bone weight is used to predict the amount of soft tissue that might have been supported by the bone (Casteel 1978; Reitz 1982, 1985; Reitz and Cordier 1983; Reitz and Scarry 1985; Reitz et al. 1987; Wing and Brown 1979). The relationship between body weight and skeletal weight is expressed by the allometric equation $Y = aX^b$, which can also be written as $\log Y = \log a + b(\log X)$ (Simpson et al. 1960:397). In this equation, Y is the biomass in kilograms, X is the bone weight in kilograms, a is the Y-intercept for a log-log plot using the method of least squares regression and the best fit line, and b is the constant of allometry, or the slope of the line defined by the least squares regression and the best fit line. Table 65 details the constants for a and b used to solve the allometric formula for a given bone weight X for each taxon identified in the archaeological record.

In order to investigate questions concerning the variety and degree of specialization exhibited by the vertebrate faunal assemblages (at least those with a minimum of 500 bone elements), measures of diversity and equitability were calculated for both MNI and biomass based on the identified species present (see Tables 71, 74, and 83 below). The diversity of a sample indicates the variety that is present and gives some indication of the richness of the sample. The equitability measures evenness and richness of the sample. Diversity is measured here using the Shannon-Weaver formula and the equitability is measured using the Sheldon formula.

The Shannon-Weaver (1949:49) formula used to determine the diversity of a sample is:

$$H = - \sum p_i (\ln p_i)$$

where H is the measure of diversity, and p_i is, in this case, either the MNI or the biomass of each species/taxon "i" divided by the total MNI or total biomass as appropriate for the sample. Thus, for each identified species/taxon that has a MNI count, p_i is calculated by dividing the MNI for that species by the total number of MNI from the sample. The diversity measure H is the sum of all the p_i multiplied by the natural log (ln) of each p_i . A similar procedure is used to

Table 65.

List of Allometric Values Utilized in this Study to Determine Biomass in Kilograms (kg) Based on Bone Weight Expressed in Kilograms.

Faunal Category	log a	b	r ²
Mammal	1.12	0.90	0.94
Bird	1.04	0.91	0.97
Turtle	0.51	0.67	0.55
Snake	1.17	1.01	0.97
Chondrichthyes (shark)	1.68	0.86	0.85
Osteichthyes (bony fish)	0.90	0.81	0.80
Non-Perciformes	0.85	0.79	0.88
Siluriformes (catfish, sea catfish)	1.15	0.95	0.87
Perciformes (sea bass, bluefish)	0.93	0.83	0.76
Sparidae (porgy)	0.96	0.92	0.98
Sciaenidae (drum)	0.81	0.74	0.73
Pleuronectiformes (flounder)	1.09	0.89	0.95

Derived from Table 4 in Reitz (1985:44) and Table 2.3 in Quitmyer (1985:440).

These variables are used to solve the formula $Y = ax^b$, or $\log Y + \log a + b(\log X)$; where Y is the biomass in kilograms, X is the weight of the bone in kilograms, a is the Y-intercept, b is the slope, and r² is the proportion of total variance explained by the regression model (see Reitz 1985:44; Reitz and Scarry 1985:67).

calculate the diversity index for the biomass, with the biomass figures being substituted for the MNI in the above explanation. Diversity measured by the Shannon-Weaver formula has a scale that runs from 0 to 4.99, with 4.99 indicating high diversity.

The Sheldon formula (Pielou 1966; Sheldon 1969) used to determine the equitability of a sample is

$$H' = H / (\ln N)$$

where H' is the measure of equitability, H is the Shannon-Weaver diversity measure calculated for the sample, and N is the total number of cases, observations, or, in this situation, species/taxon for which MNI or biomass was calculated in the sample. Equitability is simply the diversity measure divided by the natural log (ln) of N, the number of species/taxon for which the MNI was calculated or the number of species/taxon for which the biomass calculations was made. Equitability is measured on a scale that goes from 0 to 1.0. A low equitability value near 0 indicates that one taxa is considerably more abundant than all other taxa. A value near 1 on the scale indicates an even distribution of taxa. A value in the vicinity of the midrange of the scale, 0.5, indicates a more normal distribution of taxa. A normal distribution in this case indicates that there are a few abundant taxa, a moderate number of common taxa, and many rare taxa.

The results of the analysis of the faunal collections from the 11 loci at the five archaeological sites on the lower Waccamaw River will be presented by individual site after a short description is presented of the identified animal species.

Identified Fauna

Before considering the results of the zooarchaeological study of the faunal remains recovered from the five prehistoric components, the general use and habitat preference for each identified species will be considered. Tables 66-72 list the various animal species identified in the archaeological collections

Table 66.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), Number of Bones, Weight, and Estimated Meat Yield by Species for the Main House, 38GE294.

SPECIES	MNI		NUMBER OF BONES	WEIGHT		BIOMASS %
	#	%		cm	kg	
Cow, <u>Bos taurus</u>	1	4.76	26	306.7	4.549	32.42
Pig, <u>Sus scrofa</u>	2	9.52	80	162.9	2.574	18.35
Sheep, <u>Ovis aries</u>	1	4.76	1	3.0	0.071	0.51
Raccoon, <u>Procyon lotor</u>	2	9.52	3	5.2	0.116	0.83
Opossum, <u>Didelphis virginiana</u>	1	4.76	1	0.4	0.012	0.09
Rabbit, <u>Sylvilagus spp.</u>	2	9.52	2	0.3	0.009	0.06
Domestic Cat, <u>Felis domesticus</u>	1	4.76	2	2.2	0.054	0.38
Unidentified Mammal	-	-	221	324.2	4.782	34.08
Chicken, <u>Gallus gallus</u>	1	4.76	4	2.0	0.038	0.27
Mourning Dove, <u>Zenaida macoura</u>	1	4.76	2	0.2	0.005	0.04
Unidentified Bird	-	-	21	4.9	0.087	0.62
Carolina Diamondback Terrapin, <u>Malaclemys terrapin centrata</u>	2	9.52	65	67.1	0.530	3.78
Snapping Turtle, <u>Chelydra serpentina</u>	2	9.52	47	114.1	0.756	5.39
Box Turtle, <u>Terrapene carolina</u>	1	4.76	4	3.6	0.075	0.53
Mud Turtle, <u>Kinosternon subrubrum</u>	1	4.76	1	0.8	0.011	0.08
Unidentified Turtle	-	-	5	1.4	0.040	0.29
Redhorse, <u>Moxostoma sp.</u>	1	4.52	4	0.4	0.014	0.10
Bowfin, <u>Amia calva</u>	1	4.52	1	0.4	0.014	0.10
Gar, <u>Lepisosteus sp.</u>	1	4.52	101	14.6	0.259	1.85
Unidentified Fish	-	-	9	1.2	0.034	0.24
Unidentified	-	-	20	9.7	-	-
TOTAL	21	100	620	1024.7	14.030	100

recovered from the excavations within each loci.

Domestic Mammals

Three animal species, cow (Bos taurus), pig (Sus scrofa), and domestic Caprine, are the only domestic mammals identified in the collection that could have been used as food resources. The domestic Caprine present is most likely the sheep (Ovis aries). No dog (Canis familiaris) remains are present, but a few bone elements identified as domestic cat (Felis domesticus) are.

Pigs are one of the most important domestic mammals used for food in the Southeastern United States (see Hilliard 1972:92-111). Pigs require little care, as they can be allowed to roam free, or they can be penned. Their diet can consist of a variety of food resources, including seeds, roots, fruits, nuts, mushrooms, snakes, larvae, worms eggs, carrion, mice, small mammals, kitchen refuse, feces, and grain. Pigs store about 35% of the calories they consume, and can gain about two pounds for every 15 to 25 pounds of feed (Towne and Wentworth 1950:7-8). Within 18 months, a pig can gain up to 200 pounds, of which about 120 pounds can be consumed. Dressed, a pig carcass can yield between 65% and 80% meat. It is difficult to estimate the size of the pigs that were available to the inhabitants of Waccamaw Neck during the late eighteenth century. Prior to 1800 there were no standard breeds of pig (Gray 1933: 206). An idea of the

Table 67.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), Number of Bones, Weight, and Estimated Meat Yield by Species for the Slave Row, 38GE294.

SPECIES	MNI		NUMBER OF BONES	WEIGHT		BIOMASS %
	#	%		gm	kg	
Cow, <u>Bos taurus</u>	2	12.50	33	259.0	3.907	26.71
Pig, <u>Sus scrofa</u>	3	18.75	110	213.8	3.288	22.47
Opossum, <u>Didelphis virginiana</u>	1	6.25	1	0.4	0.012	0.08
Rabbit, <u>Sylvilagus spp.</u>	1	6.25	1	0.1	0.003	0.02
Domestic Cat, <u>Felis domesticus</u>	1	6.25	1	2.0	0.049	0.34
Unidentified Mammal	-	-	254	457.4	6.519	44.56
Chicken, <u>Gallus gallus</u>	1	6.25	5	1.6	0.031	0.21
Canada Goose, <u>Branta canadensis</u>	1	6.25	1	3.7	0.067	0.46
Mourning Dove, <u>Zenaida macoura</u>	1	6.25	1	0.1	0.003	0.02
Unidentified Bird	-	-	21	5.6	0.098	0.67
Carolina Diamondback Terrapin, <u>Malaclemys terrapin centrata</u>	1	6.25	33	23.6	0.263	1.80
Snapping Turtle, <u>Chelydra serpentina</u>	1	6.25	3	23.1	0.259	1.77
Box Turtle, <u>Terrapene carolina</u>	1	6.25	2	1.5	0.042	0.28
Mud Turtle, <u>Kinosternon subrubrum</u>	1	6.25	1	0.1	0.007	0.05
Unidentified Turtle	-	-	3	0.6	0.023	0.16
Gar, <u>Lepisosteus sp.</u>	1	6.25	2	1.6	0.043	0.29
Unidentified Fish	-	-	6	0.6	0.020	0.14
Unidentified	-	-	32	7.3	-	-
TOTAL	16	100	510	1002.1	14.630	100

Table 68.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), Number of Bones, Weight, and Estimated Meat Yield by Species for the Dump Area, Block 1, 38GE294.

SPECIES	MNI		NUMBER OF BONES	WEIGHT		BIOMASS %
	#	%		gm	kg	
Cow, <u>Bos taurus</u>	1	16.67	1	3.2	0.075	8.73
Pig, <u>Sus scrofa</u>	2	33.33	10	20.6	0.400	46.57
Sheep, <u>Ovis aries</u>	1	16.67	1	3.8	0.087	10.13
Unidentified Mammal	-	-	3	2.9	0.690	8.03
Unidentified Bird	-	-	1	0.1	0.003	0.35
Carolina Diamondback Terrapin, <u>Malaclemys terrapin centrata</u>	1	16.67	17	9.5	0.143	16.65
Unidentified Turtle	-	-	8	3.4	0.072	8.38
Gar, <u>Lepisosteus sp.</u>	1	16.67	1	0.1	0.005	0.58
Unidentified Fish	-	-	2	0.1	0.005	0.58
Unidentified	-	-	55	52.0	-	-
TOTAL	6	100	100	95.7	0.859	100

Table 69.
Summary of the Faunal Categories Expressed as
Counts and Percentages for MNI and Biomass, Main House, 38GE294.

BIOMASS FAUNAL CATEGORY	MNI			
	#	%	kg	%
Domestic Mammals (Cow, Pig, Sheep)	4	19.05	7.194	79.43
Domestic Birds (Chickens)	1	4.76	0.038	0.42
DOMESTIC TAXA TOTAL	5	23.8	7.232	79.92
Wild Mammals (Raccoon, Opossum, rabbit)	5	23.81	0.137	1.51
Wild Birds (Mourning Dove)	1	4.76	0.005	0.06
Aquatic Reptiles (Turtles, Terrapins)	6	18.57	1.308	14.42
Fish (Gar, Bowfin, Redhorse)	3	14.29	0.321	3.54
WILD TAXA TOTAL	15	71.4	1.771	19.6
Commensal Species (Cat)	1	4.80	0.054	0.6
TOTAL	21	100	9.057	100

Table 70.
Summary of the Faunal Categories Expressed as
Counts and Percentages for MNI and Biomass, Slave Row, 38GE294.

FAUNAL CATEGORY	MNI		BIOMASS	
	#	%	kg	%
Domestic Mammals (Cow, Pig, Sheep)	5	31.25	7.195	90.01
Domestic Birds (Chickens)	1	6.25	0.031	0.39
DOMESTIC TAXA TOTAL	6	37.5	7.226	90.4
Wild Mammals (Rabbit, Opossum)	2	12.50	0.015	0.19
Wild Birds (Canada Goose, Mourning Dove)	2	12.50	0.070	0.88
Aquatic Reptiles (Turtles, Terrapins)	4	25.00	0.571	7.15
Fish (Gar)	1	6.25	0.063	0.79
WILD TAXA TOTAL	9	56.3	0.719	9.0
Commensal Species (Cat)	1	6.3	0.049	0.6
TOTAL	16	100	7.994	100

possible size of the pigs that were available to the inhabitants of Waccamaw Neck in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can be gained from the average weight of 140 pounds for 4,000 southern pigs slaughtered in 1860 (Fogel 1965:206). Pork preserves very well, is satisfying due in part to its high fat content, and is a very good source of thiamine (Towne and Wentworth 1950:249).

Although cattle has been an important meat source during the history of the southeastern United States, it is in many ways a more burdensome meat resource to raise than pigs (see Hilliard 1972:112-140; Rouse 1973; Towne and Wentworth 1950, 1955). Cows provide less of a return for the energy input provided to raise them (Towne and Wentworth 1950:7-8). Cows feed on grain and grasses, and will not produce good weight gains without quality and quantity sources for both.

Table 71.
Rank of the ten most prominent fauna species by biomass
and MNI for the Main House and Slave Row, 38GE294.

SPECIES	MAIN HOUSE		SLAVE ROW	
	BIOMASS	MNI	BIOMASS	MNI
Cow	1	6	1	2
Pig	2	1	2	1
Snapping Turtle	3	1	4	3
Diamondback Terrapin	4	1	3	3
Gar	5	6	6	3
Raccoon	6	1	-	-
Box Turtle	7	6	7	3
Sheep	8	6	-	-
Chicken	9	6	8	3
Canada Goose	-	-	5	3
Bowfin	10	6	-	-
Redhorse	10	6	-	-
Opossum	-	6	9	3
Mud Turtle	-	6	10	3
Rabbit	-	1	-	-

Table 72.
Diversity and Equitability of the MNI and Biomass Calculations for
the Faunal Samples from the Main House and Slave Row,
Oatland Plantation, 38GE294

SITE	DIVERSITY	EQUITABILITY	N	MNI
Slave Row	2.477	0.966	13	16
Main House	2.715	0.979	16	21

SITE	DIVERSITY	EQUITABILITY	N	MNI
Slave Row	1.163	0.453	13	7.974
Main House	1.412	0.509	16	9.087

Also, cattle store only about 11% of the calories they consume and yield only 50 to 60% dressed meat. Balanced against the greater labor required to raise cattle above that required for swine and the fact that beef does not preserve as well as port (Tomhave 1925:275), there is a demand for fresh beef, cattle hides, and a number of other foods made from milk products, such as milk, cheese, butter, and buttermilk, that can be obtained from cattle (see Hilliard 1972:119-135; Rouse 1973; Towne and Wentworth 1955).

The third domestic mammal that may have served as a food resource is the sheep. Sheep were a minor food resource for Southern populations during the eighteenth century, declining in popularity after that period in the nineteenth century (Hilliard 1972:141-144). Of course, sheep were a source of wool that could be used to make clothing, primarily for home use (Hilliard 1972:141-142).

Wild Mammals

A number of wild mammals are present in the faunal assemblages from the three plantations. These include deer, rabbit, raccoon, opossum and squirrel.

The largest of the wild mammals in the assemblage is the white-tailed deer (Odocoileus virginianus). Apparently deer remained widely available in most areas of the Southeast well into the nineteenth century (Hilliard 1972:74-78). The preferred method of hunting deer was with firearms, which restricted the availability of this food resource for slaves. Permission from the slave owner or overseer would probably be required for slaves to hunt deer and other animals with firearms, and firearms would also have to be available for use by the slaves to hunt. The latter situation would not have been common among slave populations (Hilliard 1972:75-76). Presumably, the only uses that deer would have had were as a food resource, and perhaps for hides. In general, the deer's preferred habitat is the edge of deciduous forests and open fields, although they will move to mud flats around marshes to feed on the grasses found there.

Two rabbit species are common to the study area, the Eastern cottontail (Sylvilagus floridanus) and the marsh rabbit (S. palustris). Both white and black inhabitants of the plantations could have used rabbits as a food resource with relative ease. Because rabbits can be taken through the use of traps, slaves without access to firearms could harvest them for food (Hilliard 1972:78-79). Rabbits occupy a number of different habitats, but are usually found in marshes, thickets, overgrown fields, and along the edge of forest clearings and forest edges. Important to rabbits in their choice of habitats is access to escape cover offered by thickets, weed patches, and dense high grass. The marsh rabbit generally prefers damper ground than does the Eastern cottontail, and is somewhat more likely to be found in locations near marshes.

Raccoon (Procyon lotor) bones are present in small number in the historic faunal assemblages. This mammal served as a food resource for both whites and blacks, although its meat was apparently less prized than that of the opossum (Hilliard 1972:80). Gathering raccoons could be done using firearms and hunting dogs, to which blacks would presumably have had less access than whites prior to the later portion of the nineteenth century, or they could be obtained by trapping (Hilliard 1972:80). This nocturnal mammal is able to adapt to a variety of habitats, although they prefer wooded areas near water.

Remains of the opossum (Didelphis virginiana) are present in a very small quantity in the analyzed faunal samples. The opossum was generally preferred over the raccoon as a food resource because the former could be kept, fattened, and "cleaned out" by "penning and feeding them for several days on milk and bread or roasted sweet potatoes" (Hilliard 1972:80). The preferred habitat of the opossum, a nocturnal animal, is wooded areas near water, but they are often found in and around human settlements.

The Eastern gray squirrel (Sciurus carolinensis) was a common food source in the region throughout the antebellum period (Hilliard 1972:79). Both whites and slaves prized squirrel as a food resource although it was less accessible to slaves who had limited access to firearms. However, squirrel could also be taken by traps and snares (Hilliard 1972:79). The Eastern gray squirrel is found in heavily forested habitats with large stands of mature hardwoods and an understory of smaller trees and shrubs.

Domestic Birds

Chicken (Gallus gallus) is the only identified domestic bird species found in the faunal samples from the five sites. Chicken, like pigs, can be raised either by letting them run loose or by penning them. The meat of the chicken enjoyed a high status as a food item for both whites and blacks during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Also, besides serving as a meat resource,

chickens supplied eggs that could be consumed and used to prepare other food dishes (Hilliard 1972:46-47).

It is notable that no turkey (Meleagris gallapavo) is present in the faunal assemblages. Turkey was a valued food resource for antebellum whites and blacks (Hilliard 1972:80-81). Although hunting with firearms is one method used to acquire wild turkeys, there is little likelihood that slaves, who had limited access to firearms, would have been able to use this technique to hunt the animal. Another common technique to take wild turkeys is by trapping (Hilliard 1972:80). However, because wild turkeys tend to avoid inhabited areas, there would have been less chance for slaves, and probably for other segments of the plantations populations, to encounter them.

Wild Birds

Three wild bird species, Canada goose, duck and mourning dove, are present in the collection. Canada goose (Branta canadensis) is a migratory waterfowl that, as a wild species, winters along the Carolina coast where fresh water sources are present (Potter et al. 1980:79). The Canada goose was also domesticated during the late 1800s, and by the end of the century standards of excellence for wild Canada geese as a poultry breed had been established (Johnson and Brown 1903). It could not be determined by examining the bone elements present in these faunal assemblages if the specimen were wild or domesticated. Therefore, the Canada goose remains present were placed in the wild bird category lacking any evidence of domestication.

The remains of another migratory waterfowl, duck (Anas spp.) are also present in the faunal assemblages. A number of duck species, including the mallard (Anas platyrhynchos), black duck (A. rubripes), common teal (A. crecca), and American wigeon (A. americana), commonly winter along the Carolina coast, and a small number may live year-round on the coast (Potter et al. 1980:89-90).

The last wild bird species present is the mourning dove (Zenaida macroura). This species is a valuable game bird that is also an important consumer of weed seeds. The mourning dove is a permanent resident throughout the Carolinas, and is found in open country habitats such as fields, forest edges, and areas disturbed or used by humans. It is only rarely found in wooded areas (Potter et al. 1980:189).

Reptiles: Turtles

A total of five different species of turtle are present in the faunal collections--Carolina diamondback terrapin, snapping turtle, cooter, mud turtles, and Eastern box turtles. The Carolina diamondback terrapin (Malaclemys terrapin centrata) is a turtle that feeds on marine molluscs and is usually found in an estuarine setting or in brackish lakes and marshes along the coastal strip (Obst 1986:113). The Carolina diamondback terrapin inhabits the Atlantic Coast from North Carolina to Florida (Obst 1986:214). The diamondback terrapin was an important food resource in the southeast (Hilliard 1972:89) that became an accepted delicacy throughout the United States during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Obst 1986:113, 183). The taste of the diamondback terrapin flesh is considered to lie between that of chicken and fish. It was only the enactment of protective legislation 60 years ago that prevented the extinction of the diamondback terrapin (Obst 1986:113). This resident of the coastal marshes, tidal flats, coves, estuaries and the lagoons behind barrier beaches can be joined in brackish water environs on occasion by other turtles including mud turtles and cooters (Ernst and Barbour 1972:105).

Remains of snapping turtles (Chelydra serpentina) are common in the faunal assemblages. Snapping turtles are found in diverse forms of water such as ponds, rivers, and canals. This turtle is a true aquatic inhabitant of the bank regions of water sources, only rarely leaving the water (Obst 1986:109-111). It would

have been used as a food resource.

Another turtle present in small quantities in the faunal collections is the mud turtle (Kinosternon spp.). This turtle also dwells in the water, and it is usually found near freshwater sources (Obst 1986:109) and on occasion in brackish water. Mud turtles could possibly have been used as a food resource.

A fourth turtle species identified in the faunal assemblages is the cooter (probably Chrysemys floridana). This turtle can be found primarily in and around bodies of freshwater such as ponds, lakes, rivers, and canals (Obst 1986:109-111), and on occasion in brackish waters. These turtles use the land to lay their eggs at some distance from water, to sun themselves, and occasionally to feed. During the nineteenth century in the south, the cooter was used as a food resource (Hilliard 1972:89).

The last turtle species identified in the collections is the Eastern box turtle (Terrapene carolina carolina). This turtle is widespread throughout the southeast, and is adaptable to both aquatic and terrestrial habitats. Box turtles can be found near permanent bodies of water, or in open, mixed forests where the climate is hot and dry in the summer and the winters are mild (Obst 1986:106). Hilliard (1972:89) notes that "box terrapin" was used as food resources during the nineteenth century in the south.

Pisces

The fish identified in the faunal samples from the five sites include freshwater, anadromous and marine species. Their numbers and biomass indicate the importance of this class as a food resource. The freshwater species identified include gar, bowfin, redhorse, catfish, bass, and sunfish. The anadromous species identified are herring and striped bass. Shark and drum are the two marine species present.

The bowfin (Amis calva) is commonly found in sluggish, clear, often vegetated, lowland waters of the Carolina Coastal Plain, and average between 45 and 87 centimeters in total length (Lee et al. 1980:53-54). The redhorse (Moxostoma sp.) is a member of the Catostomidae, or sucker, family of fish. Redhorse is found in large streams, rivers, natural lakes, and impoundments of the Carolina Coastal Plain north of the Santee River drainage. This fish ranges from 21 to 60 centimeters in length (Lee et al. 1980:427-428).

A number of catfish (Ictalurus spp.) are present in the faunal collections. The bullhead catfish (Ictalurus natulus) is found in pools and backwaters of sluggish streams, usually in areas of heavy vegetation (Lee et al. 1980:442). The most common freshwater catfish found in the sluggish waters and low salinity areas of South Carolina estuaries is the white catfish (Ictalurus catus) (Wenner et al. 1981). Hilliard (1972:85-86) notes that catfish were a very important food fish throughout the South that could be taken with a variety of techniques including traps, trot lines, and set hooks that could be left untended.

Gar (probably longnose gar, Lepisosteus ossues) is one of the identified fish that could have been taken from a freshwater habitat as well as an estuarine setting. Longnose gar are commonly found up to 150 centimeters in length and inhabit both fresh and brackish waters of larger streams and coastal inlets throughout the Coastal Plain of the Carolinas Lee et al. 1980:49-50). These fish were probably taken as individuals with a hook and line, or possibly in traps.

The sunfish (Lepomis spp.) class comprise a number of species that inhabit the a wide variety of habitats including rivers, creeks, ponds, lakes, slow moving/sluggish bodies of water, swamps, and areas of brackish water of the Coastal Plain. These fish are also found in areas with varying amounts of aquatic vegetation. Typical species include redbreast sunfish (Lepomis auritus),

warmouth (Lepomis culosus), bluegill (Lepomis macrochirus), redear sunfish (Lepomis microlophus), and spotted sunfish (Lepomis punctatus). Sunfish vary between 4 and 26 centimeters in size (Lee et al. 1980:588-603).

The largemouth bass (Micropterus salmoides) is a freshwater species that prefers clear, quiet waters with aquatic vegetation. The adults range in size from 12 to 79 centimeters in length (Lee et al. 1980:608).

Herring (Clupeidae) comprise a number of anadromous species that ascend most coastal rivers during spring spawning migrations. These fish generally range between 20 and 30 centimeters in length. Typical species that may have been present in the South Carolina Coastal Plain include blueback herring (Alosa aestivalis), American shad (A. sapidissima), and hickory shad (A. mediocris) (Lee et al. 1980:61-68).

The other anadromous species present is the striped bass (Morone spp.). This fish is a marine and estuarine coastal species that moves far upstream in rivers during spawning migrations. Adults are predatory on fish and larger crustaceans. Striped bass range from 45 to 200 centimeters in length (Lee et al. 1980:576).

The two marine fish species present are drum and shark. Marine species are those fish that either spawn in the estuary, use the area as a nursery, or use the area to feed (see Boschung et al. 1983). Members of the drum family (Scianidae) include black drum (Pongias cromis), silver perch (Bairdiella chrysoura), seatrout (Cynoscion spp.), spots (Leiostomus xanthurus), red drum (Sciaenops ocellatus), star drum (Stellifer lanceolatus), and Atlantic croaker (Micropogonias undulatus). All of these drums are commonly found in bays and estuaries. The star drum and the Atlantic croaker are good seasonal indicators, being present in the estuarine system from early spring with a maximum availability in the late fall.

Generally speaking, sharks are found in estuaries throughout the Carolina Province only during the warm months (Dahlberg 1975; Schwartz and Burgess 1975). These fish use the estuarine environment as a feeding ground. Common estuarine sharks include the dusky shark (Carcharhinus obscurus) and the bull shark (C. leucas) (Boschung et al. 1983:340-346). These sharks range in length from 225 to 305 centimeters (Lee et al. 1980:36).

Commensal Species

Commensal species include animals commonly found near human occupations that are not generally considered to be food resources. Such animals include pets, pests, vermin, and animals that prey on pests and vermin, such as snakes, amphibians, cats, rats and mice. The three commensals present in these faunal assemblages include cat, rice rat and deer mouse. The domestic cat (Felis domesticus) remains appear to be from a pet that would have been useful in controlling the other pests and vermin inhabiting a plantation setting. The rice rat (Oryzomys palustris) is a major crop pest that prefers wet or marshy areas, but is found wherever food resources are abundant. The deer mouse (Peromyscus spp.) is usually found in forested areas, but is also present at forest edges, in open clearings, and in overgrown clearings.

The Results of the Faunal Analysis

Before discussing the results of the analysis of the faunal assemblages from the five sites, a few comments concerning the bone samples themselves need to be offered. In general, faunal samples that do not contain at least 200 individuals or 1400 bones are usually deemed too small to provide reliable interpretations (Grayson 1979, 1984; Wing and Brown 1979). Examination of Tables 66-68, 72, 75-79, and 81 show that only the collection from the posited slave driver house at 38GE297 (Table 81) minimally meets these criteria, having a total

of 1478 bones. And of these 1478 bones, only 267 (18%) could be identified as to species. Due to the small sample sizes, not all the collections will be discussed with the same amount of detail. And the comments that will be offered about the fauna and faunal usage in the following pages must be viewed as preliminary and as a basis for future research.

A second general observation that can be made is that the vast majority of the identified bone elements in each of these faunal assemblage consists of teeth fragments. This is thought to be due in large part to the plowzone contexts from which most of the faunal material was collected. In such an environment as the plowzone, the bone material is subjected to a great deal of fragmentation. Teeth, being very sturdy, will tend to remain while other bone elements are broken and scavenged. Still, there are enough bone elements to conduct analyses of a number of the faunal assemblages obtained from Oatland, Willbrook, and Turkey Hill plantations.

The Three Faunal Assemblages from Oatland Plantation, 38GE294

The three loci from 38GE294 at Oatland Plantation that possess faunal material analyzed for this study include an unidentified activity area (Block 3), a posited slave structure (Block 2) and the main house (Block 1). The general discussion that is given in this section will focus on the samples from the main house and the posited slave structure, the unidentified activity area having a sample too small to profitably discuss in detail. Of the 1230 bone elements that comprise the faunal collection from these three loci, a total of 581 bone elements (47% of the collection) could be identified as to species. The Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), number and weight of bone, and estimated meat yield (biomass) for the samples from the three loci are presented in Tables 66-68. A summary of the MNI and biomass calculations for seven faunal categories is listed in Tables 69-70, and Table 71 ranks 10 species/taxa by the biomass and MNI each contributed to the total respective totals computed for the slave structure and the main house.

As would be expected, domestic vertebrates--pig, cow, chicken, and sheep--account for a vast majority of the biomass total calculated for the two loci. Although cow represents over 26% of the total biomass at the slave structure locus, and over 32% at the main house locus, only 12.5% (n=2) and 4.76% (n=1) respectively of the total MNI identified are cow. In both instances, pig accounts for less biomass than does cow, 22.47% (3.288 kg) at the slave structure and 18.35% (2.574 kg) at the main house. However, pig has more individuals present, three (12.5% of the MNI) at the slave structure and two (9.52% of the MNI) at the main house. The sheep remains are found only at the main house and at the unidentified activity area in Block 159-ORO. The two astragalus bones recovered are presumably the remains of legs of mutton.

Chicken has a different pattern, providing less than 0.5% of the total biomass for the slave structure and the main house locales, while being represented by one individual in both assemblages (6.25% of the MNI at the slave structure and 4.76% of the MNI at the main house locale).

The wild fauna taxa are well represented by count in the collections from the slave area and the main house loci, actually outnumbering the domestic taxa nine to six at the slave area and 15 to five at the main house locale. However, the biomass contributed by the wild taxa to the total biomass amount is dwarfed by the domestic taxa total at both the slave area (7.226 kg to 0.719 kg) and the main house locale (7.232 kg to 1.771 kg). The most important wild species in the slave area assemblage according to biomass are turtles, Canada goose, gar, and opossum. By MNI, the same order holds, with turtles being represented by four species and four individuals. In the main house faunal collection, the most important wild species by biomass are turtles, fish, and raccoon. By MNI, rabbit inserts itself in this list after fish, and opossum joins the list at the end.

Reptiles, represented by turtles, are the second most important taxa by biomass after the domestic mammals in the faunal collections from all three locales at the site, and by MNI at the slave area and the main house locale. Carolina diamondback terrapin, snapping turtle, box turtle, and mud turtles are the four species identified in this category. Carolina diamondback terrapin are found in the palustrine and marsh areas adjacent to the plantation. Diamondback terrapin apparently comprised a good portion of a slave's diet in coastal areas dating back to before the nineteenth century (Quitmeyer 1985:20). During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the diamondback terrapin became a gourmet item, as well as continuing as a part of the diet of more "common" folk (Obst 1986:183). Both the snapping turtle and the mud turtle would be present in the palustrine and riverine areas near the plantation and the rice fields. Box turtles are present in the forests, cleared areas such as overgrown fields, and along the water courses on the plantation. These four species of turtles could be caught by hook and line, by traps, or by hand.

The next most important faunal category at the main house locale according to biomass (with 3.54 kg) are the fish, with a MNI of three. In the slave area assemblage, fish rank fourth in biomass with 0.79 kg, but total only one identified individual. Fish identified include gar, bowfin and redhorse, all of which could be taken from the river and the palustrine environments surrounding the plantation and rice fields. None of these fish species are present in quantities sufficient to warrant a supposition that they were procured by nets or seines. All were probably obtained as individuals by use of hook and line or perhaps by gigging.

Wild mammals comprise only a small part of the faunal collection from Oatland using biomass as the criterion for estimating importance. This category ranks seventh in terms of biomass (0.015 kg) at the slave locale and fourth (1.51 kg) at the main house locale. Comparing the wild mammals present in the two collections, opossum and rabbit are present in both, while raccoon is found only in the main house assemblage. Raccoon and opossum are common scavengers that are drawn to crops, trash deposits, hen houses and the like that are found around human settlements. The rabbit would have been found in the marsh areas, in overgrown fields and along the edges of forested areas. The fact that raccoon is found only in the main house faunal assemblage might corroborate Hilliard's (1972:80) statement concerning a possible low utilization of this wild mammal as a food resource for antebellum blacks given the lack of access to firearms and dogs, which are commonly used to hunt raccoons, by slaves.

In general, few wild bird species are present in any of the faunal collections from the three Oatland Plantations loci. The presence of one individual each of Canada goose and mourning dove in the faunal collection from the slave area boosts this category to third place in importance by biomass behind domestic mammals and reptiles. The only identified wild bird species in the main house assemblage is mourning dove, with an MNI of one. Mourning dove is a game bird that is found in open habitats such as fields, forest edges, and other areas disturbed or used by humans. The Canada goose, as a migratory waterfowl, would have been found in the riverine and palustrine areas of the plantation and rice fields.

The only commensal species identified in any of the three faunal collections from Oatland is the domestic cat. The cat would presumably have been kept as a pet and would have served to keep the numbers of other commensals down. It is surprising that the remains of other true commensals, such as rice rat, deer mouse, toads, and snakes are absent from the Oatland faunal collection. These and other commensal species are present in the Willbrook, Turkey Hill, and other plantation sites of the region (see Reitz 1978, 1984, 1987; Wilson and Wilson 1986).

Table 71 summarized the 10 most prominent fauna species/taxa with respect to their contribution to the total biomass and by MNI for each of the three loci

at Oatland. Two domestic species, cow and pig, rank on-two in the slave area and main house assemblages, although cow ranks only second at the slave area and sixth at the main house locale when MNI are considered as compared to pig's first at both. Another domestic species, chicken, ranks eight and ninth respectively on the biomass list and only third and sixth respectively when MNI are examined. Fish species take the sixth (gar) position by biomass in the slave faunal assemblage, and fifth (gar) and tenth (bowfin and redhorse) places in the main house collection. The Carolina diamondback terrapin, an aquatic reptile, is the third ranked species based on biomass at the slave area, and the fourth ranked at the main house. Snapping turtle ranks fourth by biomass at the slave area and third at the main house. Box turtles rank seventh on the biomass list in both the slave area and the main house assemblages. Mud turtles rank tenth according to biomass in the slave area collection.

The highest ranked wild mammal according to biomass is raccoon, which ranks sixth in the main house list, but is absent from the slave area. Opossum ranks ninth in terms of biomass in the slave area assemblage, but does not make the top ten biomass contributors at the main house.

Diversity and equitability indices were calculated for the total biomass and MNI present in the slave area and main house faunal assemblages (Table 72). The diversity measure for biomass is low for both the slave area (1.163) and the main house locus (1.412). Both equitability determinations are near 0.50, 0.453 for the slave area and 0.509 for the main house area. For MNI, the diversity figures (2.477 for the slave area and 2.715 for the main house locale) are in the midrange of the scale (which goes to 4.9). The equitability calculations of 0.966 and 0.979 for the MNI are at the high end (1.0) of the scale. These numbers are interpreted to indicate that a few species contributed the greatest portion of the total biomass, but that a number of species were exploited in addition to the four domestic species of cow, pigs, sheep, and chickens. The most important faunal categories after the domestic taxa are reptiles (turtles), fish and wild mammals in the main house assemblage, and reptiles (turtles), wild birds and fish in the slave area faunal collection.

The Faunal Assemblages from Willbrook Plantation 38GE291, 38GE292 and 38GE340

The six faunal assemblages from Willbrook Plantation are from a late eighteenth century overseer locus and a late eighteenth century slave row at 38GE291; an eighteenth century high status structure location and the nineteenth century main house site for Willbrook Plantation at 38GE292; and an eighteenth century slave row and a postbellum tenant structure at 38GE340. Of these six assemblages, only the eighteenth century overseer locus at 38GE291 has a large enough sample to be discussed in detail. The other five will only be discussed in general.

Eighteenth Century Overseer's House, 38GE291

A total of 1098 bone elements weighing 1614.9 grams comprise the faunal sample from the eighteenth century overseer's house at 38GE291. The MNI, number and weight of bone and estimated meat yield (biomass) for the sample is listed in Table 73. A summary of the MNI and biomass calculations for seven faunal categories is listed in Table 74, and Table 75 ranks 10 species/taxa by the amount each contributed to the total biomass for the faunal sample. This sample falls just short of the minimum number of bones needed to insure the reliability of the following interpretations, so these comments are preliminary.

The domestic vertebrates--cow, pig and chicken--total over 90% of the biomass calculated for this locus, but only 23% of the MNI. Cow is by far the most notable part of the subsistence biomass total, with 7.576 kg (49.05%) out of the total biomass of 15.447 kg. Pig is second in biomass with 1.270 kg. Chicken is a minor part of this total, being only 0.054 kg. The MNI total for

Table 73.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), Number of Bones, Weight, and Estimated Meat Yield by Species for the Overseer's House, 38GE291.

SPECIES	MNI		NUMBER OF BONES	WEIGHT		BIOMASS %
	#	%		gm	kg	
Cow, <u>Bos taurus</u>	1	7.69	67	540.5	7.576	49.05
Pig, <u>Sus scrofa</u>	1	7.69	10	74.3	1.270	8.22
White-tailed Deer, <u>Odocoileus virginianus</u>	1	7.69	2	25.0	0.476	3.08
Raccoon, <u>Procyon lotor</u>	1	7.69	10	24.0	0.459	2.97
Unidentified Mammal	-	-	108	283.2	4.234	27.41
Chicken, <u>Gallus gallus</u>	1	7.69	3	2.9	0.054	0.35
Unidentified Bird	-	-	9	3.0	0.055	0.36
Carolina Diamondback Terrapin, <u>Malaclemys terrapin centrata</u>	1	7.69	11	5.9	0.104	0.67
Snapping Turtle, <u>Chelydra serpentina</u>	2	15.38	82	115.4	0.762	4.93
Cooter, <u>Pseudemys floridina</u>	1	7.69	7	5.1	0.094	0.61
Unidentified Turtle	-	-	3	1.7	0.054	0.29
Bowfin, <u>Amia calva</u>	1	7.69	2	0.7	0.022	0.14
Catfish, <u>Ictalurus</u> sp.	1	7.69	3	0.8	0.025	0.16
Gar, <u>Lepisosteus</u> sp.	1	7.69	7	3.1	0.074	0.48
Shark, <u>Carcharhinus</u> sp.	1	7.69	1	1.2	0.147	0.95
Unidentified Fish	-	-	8	1.9	0.050	0.32
Unidentified	-	-	756	526.2	-	-
TOTAL	13	100	1098	1614.9	15.447	100

Table 74.
Summary of the Faunal Categories Expressed as Counts and Percentages for MNI and Biomass, Overseer's House, 38GE291.

FAUNAL CATEGORY	MNI		BIOMASS	
	#	%	kg	%
Domestic Mammals (Cow, Pig)	2	15.385	8.846	79.600
Domestic Birds (Chickens)	1	7.692	0.054	0.486
DOMESTIC TAXA TOTAL	3	23.08	8.900	90.09
Wild Mammals (Deer, Raccoon)	2	15.385	0.935	8.414
Wild Birds	-	-	-	-
Aquatic Reptiles (Turtles, Terrapins)	4	30.769	0.960	8.639
Fish (Bowfin, Catfish, Gar, Shark, Unidentified Fish)	4	30.769	0.318	2.862
WILD TAXA TOTAL	10	76.92	2.213	19.91
Commensal Species	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	13	100	11.113	100

Table 75.
Rank of the ten most prominent fauna species by biomass
and MNI for the Overseer's House, 38GE291.

SPECIES	BIOMASS
Cow	1
Pig	2
Snapping Turtle	3
Deer	4
Raccoon	5
Shark	6
Diamondback Terrapin	7
Cooter	8
Gar	9
Chicken	10

the domestic taxa is only three, which is probably being affected by sample size. The domestic mammals of pig and cow have the most biomass, 9.846 kg. The domestic birds (chicken) is the least important category according to biomass with only 0.054 kg.

The wild fauna are well represented according to MNI, and their biomass totals provide a significant addition to the biomass total for the site. Of these wild animals, the most important individuals are snapping turtle, deer and raccoon by biomass. Snapping turtle is also the most numerous individual species by MNI with two. By category, the aquatic reptiles (snapping turtle, Carolina diamondback terrapin and cooter) are second to domestic mammals by biomass (0.960 kg), with the wild mammals (deer and raccoon) following close behind (0.935 kg). Fish follow in third with 0.318 kg. The MNI totals show the importance of the fish and aquatic reptiles, with both having four individuals present. The wild mammals have only two individuals. Surprisingly, no wild birds or commensal species are present in this faunal collection, which may reflect the small size of the sample.

The diversity and equitability indices for this faunal assemblage is presented in Table 76. For the biomass, the diversity (1.1874) is toward the low end of the scale, and the equitability (0.4778) is toward the middle of the scale. By MNI, the diversity (2.1703) is toward the middle of the scale, while the equitability (0.9893) is at the high end of the scale. These figures are interpreted to mean that a near normal distribution of the effective taxa utilized for subsistence is indicated with a few species (cow and pig) providing the greatest portion of the biomass, a number of species (snapping turtle, deer, raccoon, shark, and diamondback terrapin) providing a small quantity of the biomass, and a number of species (cooter, chicken, bowfin, catfish, and gar) contributing only slightly to the biomass total. These figures indicate that the domestic species are most important, with the riverine/palustrine area in the vicinity of the plantation also being strongly utilized. The shark would be from the estuarine area not in the immediate vicinity of the plantation, but it could have been obtained by an infrequent foray to the estuarine area, trade with other plantations in the area, or by purchase.

Late Eighteenth Century Slave House, 38GE291

Only a very small collection of animal bone, 22 fragments weighing 39.6 grams, was recovered from the excavations at the 38GE291 slave house (Table 77). This total is too small to discuss in detail. The only taxa noted are cow, pig, snapping turtle, unidentified mammal, and unidentified bird.

Table 76.
Diversity and Equitability of the MNI and Biomass Calculations for
the Faunal Samples from the Overseer's House, 38GE291,

<u>SITE</u>	<u>DIVERSITY</u>	<u>EQUITABILITY</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>MNI</u>
38GE291, Overseer's House	2.1703	0.9893	12	13

<u>SITE</u>	<u>DIVERSITY</u>	<u>EQUITABILITY</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>BIOMASS</u>
38GE291, Overseer's House	1.1874	0.4778	12	11.063

Eighteenth Century High Status House, 38GE292

A total of only nine bone elements weighing 20.7 grams comprise this faunal assemblage from the eighteenth century high status house excavation at 38GE292 (Table 78). The three domestic mammals of cow, pig, and sheep are the only identified species present.

Nineteenth Century Main House, 38GE292

The faunal assemblage from the nineteenth century main house at 38GE292 contains only one identified bone element from a sheep and one bone element from an unidentified mammal (Table 79).

Eighteenth Century Slave Row, 38GE340

The excavations conducted at the eighteenth century slave row locus of 38GE340 produced 268 bone elements that weigh 317.9 grams (Table 80). The domestic mammals present include cow, pig and sheep. A small quantity of deer remains are also present. Snapping turtle and Carolina diamondback terrapin are two aquatic reptiles identified in the small collection. And an estuarine species, drum, is represented by one bone element.

Postbellum Tenant House, 38GE340

The postbellum tenant house from 38GE340 has a faunal assemblage with 154 bone elements weighing 377.2 grams (Table 81). Cow, pig and sheep are the domestic mammals present and chicken is the only domestic bird. Wild mammals include the raccoon, opossum, and eastern gray squirrel. The aquatic reptiles are snapping turtle and Carolina diamondback terrapin, which would have been available in the immediate environs of the plantation. The only identified fish present is sunfish, which also would have been found in the freshwater habitats on and near the plantation. Rice rat is a commensal species that would have inhabited the environs of the plantation.

The Vertebrate Fauna from Turkey Hill Plantation, 38GE297

The two faunal assemblages from Turkey Hill Plantation (38GE297) include a posited nineteenth century slave driver house and a nineteenth century slave row. Only the faunal material from the posited nineteenth century slave driver house excavation is large enough to be discussed in some detail. The faunal assemblage from the nineteenth century slave row consists of only two unidentified mammal bone elements that weigh 3.7 grams.

Table 77.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), Number of Bones, Weight, and Estimated Meat Yield by Species for the Slave House, 38GE291.

SPECIES	MNI		NUMBER OF BONES	WEIGHT		BIOMASS %
	#	%		gm	kg	
Cow, <u>Bos taurus</u>	1	33.33	1	7.1	0.153	20.03
Pig, <u>Sus scrofa</u>	1	33.33	1	2.4	0.058	7.59
Unidentified Mammal	-	-	4	22.7	0.437	57.20
Unidentified Bird	-	-	1	0.2	0.005	0.65
Snapping Turtle, <u>Chelydra serpentina</u>	1	33.33	1	0.7	0.111	14.53
Unidentified	-	-	14	6.5	-	-
TOTAL	3	100	22	39.6	0.764	100

Table 78.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), Number of Bones, Weight, and Estimated Meat Yield by Species for the High Status House, 38GE292.

SPECIES	MNI		NUMBER OF BONES	WEIGHT		BIOMASS %
	#	%		gm	kg	
Cow, <u>Bos taurus</u>	1	33.33	2	11.7	0.241	53.56
Pig, <u>Sus scrofa</u>	1	33.33	1	2.1	0.051	11.33
Sheep, <u>Ovis aries</u>	1	33.33	1	1.5	0.038	8.44
Unidentified Mammal	-	-	5	5.4	0.120	26.67
TOTAL	3	100	9	20.7	0.450	100

Table 79.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), Number of Bones, Weight, and Estimated Meat Yield by Species for the Main House, 38GE292.

SPECIES	MNI		NUMBER OF BONES	WEIGHT		BIOMASS %
	#	%		gm	kg	
Sheep, <u>Ovis aries</u>	1	100.0	1	2.5	0.060	31.91
Unidentified Mammal	-	-	1	5.8	0.128	68.09
TOTAL	1	100	2	8.3	0.188	100

Nineteenth Century Slave Driver's House, 38GE297

The faunal sample from the nineteenth century slave driver house at 38GE297, Turkey Hill Plantation, consists of 1478 bone elements that weigh 1733.7 grams. Of the 1478 bone elements, 1211 (81.9%) are unidentified, unidentified mammal, unidentified bird, or unidentified fish remains. This limits the discussion and interpretation of this collection. Table 82 illustrate the MNI, number and weight of bone and estimated meat yield (biomass) for this faunal

Table 80.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), Number of Bones, Weight, and Estimated Meat Yield by Species for the Slave House, 38GE340.

SPECIES	MNI		NUMBER OF BONES	WEIGHT		BIOMASS %
	#	%		gm	kg	
Cow, <u>Bos taurus</u>	1	12.50	9	53.0	0.937	29.03
Pig, <u>Sus scrofa</u>	1	12.50	13	29.2	0.548	16.98
Sheep, <u>Ovis aries</u>	1	12.50	1	2.6	0.062	1.92
White-tailed Deer, <u>Odocoileus virginianus</u>	1	12.50	1	3.9	0.090	2.79
Unidentified Mammal	-	-	17	34.3	0.633	19.61
Unidentified Bird	-	-	1	0.3	0.007	0.22
Carolina Diamondback Terrapin, <u>Malaclemys terrapin centrata</u>	1	12.50	24	26.7	0.286	8.86
Snapping Turtle, <u>Chelydra serpentina</u>	2	25.00	47	68.2	0.535	16.57
Unidentified Turtle	-	-	7	4.6	0.088	2.73
Drum, Sciaenidae	1	12.50	1	1.1	0.042	1.30
Unidentified	-	-	147	94.0	-	-
TOTAL	8	100	268	317.9	3.228	100

Table 81.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), Number of Bones, Weight, and Estimated Meat Yield by Species for the Tenant House, 38GE340.

SPECIES	MNI		NUMBER OF BONES	WEIGHT		BIOMASS %
	#	%		gm	kg	
Cow, <u>Bos taurus</u>	2	13.33	12	230.4	3.517	59.76
Pig, <u>Sus scrofa</u>	2	13.33	24	50.9	0.904	15.36
Sheep, <u>Ovis aries</u>	1	6.69	1	1.7	0.042	0.71
Raccoon, <u>Procyon lotor</u>	1	6.69	3	8.2	0.175	2.97
Opossum, <u>Didelphis virginiana</u>	1	6.69	2	0.7	0.019	0.32
Eastern Gray Squirrel, <u>Sciurus carolinensis</u>	1	6.67	1	0.6	0.017	0.28
Rice Rat, <u>Oryzomys palustris</u>	2	13.33	7	0.7	0.019	0.32
Unidentified Mammal	-	-	14	24.8	0.473	8.03
Chicken, <u>Gallus gallus</u>	2	13.33	9	6.4	0.111	1.89
Unidentified Bird	-	-	2	0.6	0.013	0.22
Carolina Diamondback Terrapin, <u>Malaclemys terrapin centrata</u>	1	6.69	3	1.5	0.041	0.70
Snapping Turtle, <u>Chelydra serpentina</u>	1	6.67	5	57.0	0.474	8.05
Unidentified Turtle	-	-	1	1.3	0.038	0.65
Sunfish, <u>Lepomis</u> sp.	1	6.67	1	0.1	0.005	0.09
Unidentified Fish	-	-	3	1.3	0.037	0.63
Unidentified	-	-	66	41.0	-	-
TOTAL	15	100	154	377.2	5.885	100

Table 82.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), Number of Bones, Weight, and Estimated Meat Yield by Species for the Slave Driver's House, 38GE297.

SPECIES	MNI		NUMBER OF BONES	WEIGHT		BIOMASS %
	#	%		gm	kg	
Cow, <u>Bos taurus</u>	1	3.45	38	382.6	5.551	30.69
Pig, <u>Sus scrofa</u>	3	10.34	90	376.6	5.473	30.26
White-tailed Deer, <u>Odocoileus virginianus</u>	1	3.45	6	36.3	0.667	3.69
Raccoon, <u>Procyon lotor</u>	1	3.45	8	16.7	0.331	1.83
Opossum, <u>Didelphis virginiana</u>	1	3.45	1	2.4	0.058	0.32
Eastern Gray Squirrel <u>Sciurus carolinensis</u>	1	3.45	1	0.4	0.012	0.07
Deer Mouse, <u>Peromyscus</u> spp.	1	3.45	1	0.1	0.003	0.02
Rice Rat, <u>Oryzomys palustris</u>	2	6.90	13	3.6	0.083	0.45
Unidentified Mammal	-	-	105	309.3	4.584	25.34
Chicken, <u>Gallus gallus</u>	2	6.90	7	5.8	0.101	0.56
Canadian Goose, <u>Branta canadensis</u>	1	3.45	2	7.2	0.123	0.68
Duck, <u>Anas</u> spp.	1	3.45	5	5.5	0.096	0.53
Unidentified Bird	-	-	16	5.3	0.093	0.51
Carolina Diamondback Terrapin, <u>Malaclemys terrapin centrata</u>	1	3.45	19	8.4	0.132	0.73
Snapping Turtle, <u>Chelydra serpentina</u>	1	3.45	21	31.7	0.320	1.77
Redhorse, <u>Moxostoma</u> sp.	1	3.45	1	0.1	0.005	0.03
Bowfin, <u>Amia calva</u>	2	6.90	16	3.8	0.087	0.48
Catfish, <u>Ictalurus</u> sp.	3	10.34	16	2.7	0.066	0.36
Sunfish, <u>Lepomis</u> sp.	1	3.45	7	0.2	0.008	0.04
Gar, <u>Lepisosteus</u> sp.	1	3.45	7	2.0	0.052	0.29
Striped Bass, <u>Morone</u> sp.	1	3.45	1	0.2	0.008	0.04
Bass, <u>Micropterus salmoides</u>	1	3.45	1	0.6	0.020	0.11
Herring, <u>Clupeidae</u> sp.	2	3.45	5	0.3	0.011	0.06
Unidentified Fish	-	-	215	10.8	0.203	1.12
Unidentified	-	-	875	520.7	-	-
TOTAL	29	100	1478	1733.7	18.087	100

assemblage. A summary of the MNI and biomass calculations for seven faunal categories is listed in Table 83, and Table 84 ranks the ten species/taxa by the biomass each contributed to the total computed for the locus.

Cow and pig, both domestic vertebrates, dominate the collection by biomass, and have an MNI of four. Their combined biomass total, 11.024 kg, is over 82.% of the total biomass computed for identified taxa. Pig, along with catfish, is the most numerous animal species with an MNI of three. Chicken, domestic bird, is also an important food resource, with an MNI of two, but a biomass total of only 0.101 kg.

The wild fauna taxa are well represented, with wild mammals, wild birds, aquatic reptiles, and fish all being present. The wild mammals (deer, raccoon, opossum and eastern gray squirrel) are second to the domestic mammals according to biomass, and have the same MNI total (four). Fish rank second according to biomass (0.460 kg), but first in total MNI (12). The fish present are all freshwater (redhorse, bowfin, catfish, sunfish, gar, and bass) with the exception of striped bass and herring, which are anadromous species. Aquatic reptiles

Table 83.
 Summary of the Faunal Categories Expressed as
 Counts and Percentages for MNI and Biomass, Slave Driver's House, 38GE297.

FAUNAL CATEGORY	MNI		BIOMASS	
	#	%	kg	%
Domestic Mammals (Cow, Pig)	4	13.793	11.024	82.207
Domestic Birds (Chickens)	2	6.897	0.101	0.753
DOMESTIC TAXA TOTAL	6	20.69	11.125	82.96
Wild Mammals (Deer, Raccoon, Opossum, Squirrel)	4	13.793	1.068	7.964
Wild Birds (Canadian Geese, Duck)	2	6.897	0.219	1.633
Aquatic Reptiles (Turtles, Terrapins)	2	6.897	0.452	3.371
Fish (Bowfin, Catfish, Gar, Redhorse, Sunfish, Bass, Herring, Striped Bass, identified Fish)	12	41.379	0.460	3.430
WILD TAXA TOTAL	20	68.97	2.199	16.40
Commensal Species (Rice Rat, Deer Mouse)	3	10.34	0.086	0.64
TOTAL	29	100	13.410	100

Table 84.
 Rank of the ten most prominent fauna species by biomass
 for the Slave Driver's House, 38GE297.

SPECIES	BIOMASS
Cow	1
Pig	2
Deer	3
Raccoon	4
Snapping turtle	5
Diamondback Terrapin	6
Canadian Goose	7
Chicken	8
Duck	9
Bowfin	10
Catfish	10

(snapping turtle and Carolina diamondback terrapin) come next with a biomass total of 0.452 and an MNI of two. Wild birds (Canadian geese and duck) are next, outranking domestic birds, with a biomass total of 0.219 kg and an MNI total of two.

Two commensal species are present, rice rat and deer mouse. The former would have been found in the vicinity of the structures and rice fields of the plantation. The latter would have been present in the fields and wooded areas nearby, and in the vicinity of the buildings and structures of the plantation.

The top ten species according to biomass (Table 84) is topped by cow and pig, two domestic mammals. Next come two wild mammals, deer and raccoon. Then follow the two aquatic reptiles, snapping turtle and Carolina diamondback turtle. A wild bird species, Canadian geese, is next, followed by a domestic bird,

chicken. Duck, a wild bird species is ninth on the list. And a fish species, bowfin, is tenth on the list.

The diversity and equitability indices for both MNI and biomass from the slave driver's house at 38GE297 is listed in Table 85. The biomass diversity (1.3666) is relatively low and the equitability is near the middle of the scale. The MNI diversity (2.5812) is at the midpoint of the scale and the equitability (0.8766) is toward the high end of the scale. The biomass indices indicate that there are a few important species (cow and pig) that contribute the most to the biomass total, and a number of other species (deer, raccoon, snapping turtle, Carolina diamondback terrapin, chicken and Canadian geese) that provide some portion of the biomass. And there are a large number of species (opossum, eastern gray squirrel, duck, redhorse, bowfin, catfish, sunfish, gar, bass, striped bass and herring) that contribute small amounts of the total biomass. Such a distribution indicates a somewhat normal distribution (mathematically speaking) of species that contribute to the total biomass. The MNI indices indicate that a large number of species were actively included in the faunal subsistence in addition to the most important domesticated mammals, cow and pig.

Table 85.
Diversity and Equitability of the MNI and Biomass Calculations for
the Slave Driver's House, 38GE297.

SITE	DIVERSITY	EQUITABILITY	N	MNI
38GE297, Slave Driver's House	2.5812	0.8766	19	29

SITE	DIVERSITY	EQUITABILITY	N	BIOMASS
38GE297, Slave Driver's House	1.3666	0.4641	19	13.121

Comparison of the results with other Coastal Plain faunal assemblages

Given that the faunal assemblages from Oatland, Willbrook, and Turkey Hill Plantations are from either a plantation setting (here used to include planter, overseer, and slave habitations) or a tenant farm, it is probable that the identified exploitation patterns will resemble faunal sample patterns identified for rural plantation settings rather than urban settings. Over the years a large amount of research has been conducted on patterns of faunal usage at plantation sites (see Otto 1984; Reitz 1978; Reitz, Gibbs and Rathburn 1985), however, most of it has been done at sites on the coast in a sea island or tidewater environment rather than at sites with an inland riverine setting. Some differences should be expected in the faunal use patterns between sites located on the coast in a tidewater/sea island environment and those located in an interior riverine environment. Such differences will be due in part to environmental variables rather than differences in behavior.

Reitz (1984:14-15; 1987) proposed a number of hypotheses about the vertebrate faunal composition of the diet of Carolina urban and rural sites that date from the late eighteenth into the middle of the nineteenth century. In general, urban residents apparently utilized more domestic species, especially birds. As a consequence, wild animals were utilized to a lesser extent at urban sites and fewer wild species were exploited. Table 86 shows the MNI percentages determined for each of seven general faunal categories (Domestic Mammals, Domestic Birds, Wild Mammals, Wild Birds, Reptiles, Fish, and Commensals) at the main house and slave row from Oatland Plantation (38GE294), and the slave

Table 86.
Comparison of Selected Historic Assemblage Faunal Categories by MNI.

FAUNAL CATEGORY	38GE294		38GE297	38BU805	URBAN	RURAL	SLAVE
	MAIN HOUSE	SLAVE ROW					
Domestic Mammals	19.1	31.3	13.8	19.1	28.9	17.2	20.5
Domestic Birds	4.8	6.3	6.9	12.8	19.7	4.1	3.0
Wild Mammals	23.4	12.5	13.8	10.6	8.1	19.2	24.7
Wild Birds	4.8	12.5	6.9	8.5	7.6	3.0	2.1
Reptiles	28.6	25.0	6.9	12.8	5.4	13.7	10.4
Fish	14.3	6.3	41.4	25.5	19.7	38.4	36.6
Commensals	4.8	6.3	10.3	10.6	10.6	4.3	2.8
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Data for the Slave Pattern are derived from Reitz (1984:Table 7).

Percentages for the Urban and Rural Patterns are from Reitz 1988 and are for materials from late eighteenth and early nineteenth century coastal contexts.

The 38BU805 (Mitchelville) Pattern is from Wilson and Wilson (1986:Table 39).

38GE294 is Oatland Plantation.

38GE297 is the Turkey Hill Slave Driver's House.

driver's house at Turkey Hill Plantation (38GE297), with composite percentages computed by Reitz (1984:24; 1988) for Urban, Rural, and Slave contexts in the southern Atlantic Coastal Plain, and the nineteenth freed slave component at Mitchelville (38GE805) on Hilton Head Island, South Carolina.

In only one category, commensals, is the MNI percentage from one of the two Oatland Plantation (38GE294) assemblages, the main house collection, similar to any of the percentages listed for the other patterns, in this one case the rural commensal figure. In all other faunal categories, the Oatland main house and slave area faunal assemblage MNI percentages differ quite radically from those expected for urban, rural and slave assemblages. Also, the two patterns are quite different from the faunal use pattern from the postbellum black community of Mitchelville on Hilton Head Island.

Likewise, the faunal assemblage MNI faunal exploitation pattern from the slave driver's house at Turkey Hill Plantation (38GE297) differs from the others, except again for commensals. For commensals, the totals for Mitchelville and the urban pattern are similar to the 10.3% noted for the slave driver's house at Turkey Hill plantation. Unfortunately, Mitchelville is an small town/urban setting, and the neither it or the urban pattern proper should compare with the pattern from 38GE297.

Conclusions

As noted earlier, faunal samples that do not contain at least 200 individuals or 1400 identified bone elements are usually deemed too small for use in making reliable interpretations (see Grayson 1979, 1984; Wing and Brown 1979). None of the faunal samples meet either of these two criteria, although the 1478 bone elements from the slave driver's house at 38GE297 comes close. Unfortunately only 267 of these bone elements could be identified to species. Still, the faunal material from the main house and slave row at Oatland Plantation (38GE294) and the slave driver's house at Turkey Hill plantation (38GE297) can be used as a basis some general comments concerning the faunal use at these sites. Therefore, the discussion and conclusions set forth in this

study have to be considered to be preliminary and can serve as a guide to further research at inland plantation and postbellum archaeological sites.

Given that the Oatland and Turkey Hill plantations are from a riverine environment, and not a sea island/tidewater environment like the patterns defined for urban, rural, and slave sites by Reitz and for the semi-urban pattern from Mitchelville, it is not unexpected that these faunal category exploitation patterns based on MNI all differ. Although the faunal samples from Oatland, Turkey Hill and Willbrook plantations are all too small to be used for drawing definite conclusions about differing patterns of faunal usage, information is present that suggests two general questions for future research at inland riverine antebellum and postbellum archaeological sites. The pattern of faunal exploitation at such inland sites, especially plantation sites, can be investigated and behavior patterns that concern control of slaves, diet, and faunal exploitation can be more fully explored. Certainly, it appears that the primary area where wild faunal species were collected by the site's reported in this study was the immediate environs of the site. The presence of a few estuarine species (drum and shark) also suggests that the inhabitants of the inland sites interacted with the estuarine/coastal environment or the inhabitants of the estuarine/coastal environment. The answers to these and other questions await a more thorough archaeological study of such inland riverine locales.

SHELLFISH REMAINS

David R. Lawrence

Introduction

Shellfish from Willbrook Plantation submitted by Michael B. Trinkley of Chicora Foundation, Inc. included three hand picked lots of left valves of *Crassostrea virginica* (Gmelin), the American oyster (ARL 39847 from 38GE291, Unit 210R50; ARL 39849 from 38GE291, Unit 210R65; ARL 39855 from 38GE291, Unit 220R60, and four shell separates from column samples (ARL 39847, as above; ARL 39849, 38GE291, Unit 210R60; ARL 39975 from 38GE340, Unit 170R180; ARL 39979 from 38GE340, Unit 170R200) composed primarily of fragments of the quahog *Mercenaria mercenaria* (L.). All samples came from upper and plowed zone horizons at domestic occupation sites, likely eighteenth century ones, within the Willbrook Plantation complex (M. B. Trinkley, personal communication, August, 1990). Oysters were examined using the criteria of Lawrence (1988a) as subsequently amended (see Lawrence, 1989). No differences were found among the oyster samples and they are here described and interpreted collectively. The quahogs are noted but briefly.

The Oysters

The oysters are of but moderate size and typically display the ovate outlines, valve cupping, small attachment areas, and massiveness typical of subtidal individuals. Preserved oyster associates are rare to lacking (only one valve fragment with clionid sponge borings appears in the hand picked left valves), suggesting a source in waters of lowered salinities. Marginal "stabbing" notches indicate that the valves were forcibly separated and clearly imply that the oysters were used as food. Although some valve interiors show lustrous surfaces the valve discolorations commonly associated with heated or cooked oysters are not strikingly evident. Thus the strong possibility exists that these oysters were eaten raw. The valves are chalky in part (as to be expected in plowed zone occurrences) hence making seasonal interpretation of ligament growth difficult. Although several valves suggest a winter time of death, no strong inferences of season of collection are possible.

Estuarine settings close to Willbrook Plantation (e.g. the Murrells Inlet area) are closed (high salinity) ones and should not yield oysters with the characteristics observed in these lots. More likely sources are down river and toward Winyah Bay. As noted from nearby 38GE306, the Richmond Hill Plantation (Lawrence, 1988b), the oysters thus suggest a need to search for other lines of evidence linking Willbrook Plantation site inhabitants to the southerly Winyah Bay/Georgetown area.

The Quahogs

Minor oyster valves, including those collected dead, and one cockle (*Dinocardium* sp.) fragment occur in the column materials, but the bulk consists of chalky and angular fragments of the quahog. Only four entire valves of *M. mercenaria* are present in all of the column samples. Fragments of ventral valve edges display stabbing notches, indicating the clams were used as food. Numerous quahog fragments have beveled edges which very likely were produced by fragmentation during plowing followed by chemical/mechanical alterations of the valves. In plowed zone material it would not be prudent to interpret such features as the result of original, eighteenth century use of the shells. More

importantly, the presence of quahogs and a cockle indicates that site inhabitants were visiting nearby sand bars, sand flats, and beach areas where these organisms and their remains can be found (see Shoemaker et al., 1978); the quahogs were used for food.

SUMMARY AND SYNTHESIS

Natalie Adams and Michael Trinkley

Introduction

The sites examined in this study represent various components of the Willbrook, Oatland, and Turkey Hill plantations. All are situated on the Waccamaw Neck, Georgetown County, and all are tied together not only by proximity, but also by family ties. The sites span over 150 years and begin to tell the story of both whites and blacks of the Waccamaw Neck rice plantations.

Three of these sites are found on Willbrook Plantation and represent two late eighteenth century slave settlements (38GE291 and 38GE340) and the main settlement (38GE292) during the nineteenth century. Site 38GE291 produced evidence of a possible eighteenth century overseer's structure. In addition, 38GE340 revealed evidence of a postbellum structure.

Oatland Plantation consisted of one site (38GE294) which represents both the main house and a slave structure, possibly used by house servants. These structures date from the antebellum period.

At Turkey Hill Plantation one of the two nineteenth century slave settlements (38GE297) was examined. Excavations here concentrated on a structure believed to be associated with a slave driver.

The history of Willbrook Plantation may be traced back to its original purchase by John Allston, Sr., sometime prior to 1739. By 1747 it was integrated with the Oatland and Turkey Hill tracts. During this early period it is likely that Willbrook was an indigo plantation, although rice was beginning to be more commonly planted by the late eighteenth century. While the historical records make it clear that Allston did not live on these tracts, the presence of slaves on the tract is unknown.

Passing through several hands, the 320 acre plantation was owned by Thomas Young at least by 1798. A plat from that year reveals the main house (38GE292), four associated out buildings (also part of 38GE292), three barns (probably for rice), and two slave settlements -- today known as 38GE291 and 38GE340. A plat from 1794 suggests that Willbrook was being managed by an overseer, a Mr. Wilson.

By the early nineteenth century Willbrook came under the ownership of John Hyrne Tucker and by 1850 there were 149 slaves working on the plantation. By 1860 the number had grown to 188 (on both Willbrook and neighboring Litchfield, also owned by Tucker) and it seems likely that the slave settlements had shifted from Willbrook to Litchfield.

Surprisingly little is known about Willbrook during the Civil War, although the main house survived until it burned in 1894. Subsequently a second plantation house built in approximately the same location, but was demolished in 1985. Settlement continued at the plantation into the early twentieth century. The mean historic date for the slave settlements is thought to be about 1820 (although one should predate the other, based on cartographic evidence), while the mean historic date for the main settlement ranges from 1835 (for the out buildings) to 1862 (for the first main house).

Oatland Plantation was acquired by John Allston, Sr. in 1747 and, like Willbrook, served primarily agricultural functions since Allston lived at Turkey Hill. There is no documentation of slaves residing on Oatland during this early

period. The property passes to Allston's son, Samuel, in 1750 and from this point to about 1777 ownership is clouded. It seems that the first major settlement was built on Oatland after 1784 for Joseph Allston's widow.

By 1812 the property was acquired by Benjamin Allston, Sr., who managed the property for his daughter, Mary Pyatt, until his death in 1847. By 1850 the plantation has 247 slaves and by 1860 there were 213 slaves living in 40 structures. The plantation was abandoned by Pyatt during the Civil War and while the plantation was not confiscated by the Freedmen's Bureau, she never returned to Oatland. The tract, however, continued as a working plantation, probably using labor contracts, until the late postbellum. In 1883 at least six of the old slave structures burned and by 1919 no structures were left standing.

The mean historic date for the Oatland settlement is 1826, assuming an initial date of 1785 and a terminal date of 1866. The slave settlement, with a terminal date of 1883, would have a mean historic date of 1834.

Turkey Hill, comprising 490 acres of prime land, was acquired by John Allston, Sr. in 1730 and by 1747 the three tracts -- Willbrook, Oatland, and Turkey Hill -- were under one owner. By 1750 the main settlement at Turkey Hill had been constructed and the cemetery was in place at least by 1780. At Joseph Allston's death in 1784 an account of five structures and a garden was provided. The plantation was left to his son, Thomas, with the provision that his wife could use the mansion until a suitable dwelling was built for her at his "plantation joining on Turkey Hill," or Oatland.

Benjamin Allston acquired Turkey Hill prior to 1812 and passed it to his daughter, Mary H. Allston. It was passed from Mary to her daughter, Charlotte, who married William H. Trapier in 1846. The plantation dwelling, however, was abandoned, and the extended Allston family was living either at Oatland, in Georgetown, or in Charleston.

By 1850 the plantation had 114 slaves, although the number declined to 87 by 1860, living in 20 structures. This plantation was confiscated by the Freedmen's Bureau in 1865, at which time there was a main house, a threshing mill, one barn, and 15 slave houses. Originally restored in late 1865, this was rescinded until 1866. A 1919 plat shows the cemetery and two structures, one of which was probably the main house, still standing after nearly 170 years. By 1931 it had disappeared.

The mean historic date for Turkey Hill, using an initial date of 1740 and a terminal date of 1920, is 1830. However, occupation at the main complex ceased at least by 1846, so the mean date may actually be closer to 1793. The slave settlements, also originating about 1740 and continuing until about 1866, would have a mean historic date of 1803.

Artifacts, Plantation Life, and Labor

Eighteenth Century

Two slave settlements (38GE291 and 38GE340), both related to Willbrook Plantation, yielded eighteenth century dates (1763 and 1793). This suggests that the mean historic date for the combined settlement of 1820 is incorrect and that the settlements were constructed prior to 1798 and were abandoned long before 1860. Comparing the archaeological evidence to the historic documentation, it is likely that the settlements were constructed by John Allston, Sr., perhaps around 1740, shortly before Willbrook was integrated with Oatland and Turkey Hill. They may have functioned until the early nineteenth century, when John Hyrne Tucker consolidated Willbrook and Litchfield, perhaps moving all of the slaves to the neighboring plantation. The earlier date for 38GE291 may be at least partially explained by the presence of an overseer on the site, with the settlement extending to the earliest period of Allston's ownership in the mid-eighteenth

century.

Artifact patterns from both sites appear to fall within the range for the Carolina Slave Pattern, with the Kitchen/Architecture percentages being 75.4%/18.1% and 84.7%/11.4% respectively. As others have suggested (Joseph 1989; Lees 1980), the percentage of kitchen artifacts tends to decline over time at slave sites. Interestingly, this is not the case at Willbrook and may be due to the proximity of the earlier settlement to the main house while the later settlement was located next to work areas. Since it is possible that there was temporal overlap between the two sites, the field slaves may have had poorer housing than the slaves located within "eye shot" of the main house, and this may partially explain the lower percentage of architectural remains at 38GE340. Alternatively, the temporal difference between the two sites may be inadequate to clearly distinguish subtle changes in artifact patterns over perhaps only two or three generations of occupants.

While no traditional architectural features were uncovered, the archaeological evidence is not totally silent regarding these slave structures. The quantity and sizes of nails present indicates frame structures, wood shingled roofs, and pegged construction associated with heavy framing. Few of the windows were glassed and other architectural hardware (such as door locks and hinges) were either uncommon or absent from most structures. The presence of brick suggests that at least the chimneys were brick, although the piers may have been wood. None of the architectural features penetrated very deeply into the surrounding soil.

It has also been suggested that Colono ware percentages decline over time (Wheaton and Garrow 1985; Joseph 1989). While, in general, this appears to be the case, the slave settlements at Willbrook Plantation do not reflect this trend. This may also be due to the locations of the slave settlements. At 38GE291 (the earlier of the two sites), Colono wares represent 65.5% of the kitchen group whereas at 38GE340 (the later of the two sites) they represent 77.6% of the kitchen group. Slaves living at 38GE291 may have been in closer contact with the planter family and were receiving either cast offs or new industrial ceramics.

The eighteenth century overseer site at Willbrook (38GE291) yielded equally interesting results. It should be noted that the 1794 plat of the plantation indicates that this structure belonged to a man named Wilson. Subsequent historical research indicated that this person was a poor white who never attained any significant wealth. The historical documents (see, for example, Land 1969:194-202) provide some clues if overseers' are thought of on the same level as the "meaner sort" of eighteenth century small planter. The archaeological evidence seems to support just such a parallel. Both suggest re-use and hoarding of all potentially useful items. Nothing went to waste and everything had some value. The inventories outlined by Land (1969) reveal everyday items modified by "derty," "old," "broken," and "raged." One vessel is even listed as a "damnified pott," evidencing the disdain attached to it by the appraiser. The archaeological assemblage is similarly "mean."

The site yielded a mean ceramic date of 1773, a time period for which little is known about white overseers. Archaeological data on overseer's has been recovered from nineteenth century sites (e.g., Michie 1987; Otto 1984), but nothing has been published on eighteenth century overseers. This date also suggests that the overseer's structure, like the slave settlements, was built early during Allston's ownership and was abandoned by the time Tucker combined efforts at Willbrook and Litchfield plantations.

The site contained a very high percentage of Colono ware ceramics (75.1% of the kitchen group) and had an artifact pattern which falls within the Carolina Slave Pattern range (84.4%/9.3%). Both of these results suggest that the white overseer was not much better off economically than the slaves he controlled.

The quantity and types of nails present indicate a frame structure of pegged construction. Window glass is much more common at the overseer's residence and plaster fragments with faint lathe impressions were also recovered from the plowzone soils. One of the few other architectural items recovered was a fragment of a lock box typically used on interior doors, indicating some finishing details were present. Brick rubble, while not common, is adequate for chimney and possibly even footing piers. These bits of evidence suggest a simple, unelaborate structure, but one which was clearly more sophisticated than that built for the slaves.

While furniture items are rare, the presence of a lead flint wrap and gun flints suggests that the use of arms (probably for hunting, based on the size of the gun flints) was common. Personal items show an interesting mix of practical and frivolous -- fragments of pocket knives and of a posy holder or glove stretcher. A single coin found at the site was produced from 1727 through 1760.

So, in many ways the overseer lived much like the slaves, taking advantage of the slave made Colono ware pottery. He was still able to purchase a few ceramics and other goods of his Euro-American tastes or superior economic means. His housing, while simple, was clearly superior to that of the slaves, having plaster walls and glassed windows.

Since this is the only eighteenth century overseer's site excavated in South Carolina, the patterns noticed in this study raise important questions for future research:

- Is this heavy use of Colono wares common among eighteenth century overseers?
- How did they obtain these wares (were they bought, commandeered, gifts)?
- Are the Colono wares primarily local or non-local?
- What amount of variation is there among eighteenth century overseers' sites and what do the artifact patterns suggest about the relationships between owner, overseer, and slave?
- How did overseers' lifestyles change from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century?

At Willbrook Plantation (38GE292), eighteenth century remains around the main house complex were uncovered. These artifacts yielded a mean ceramic date of 1760, considerably earlier than suggested by the mean historic date. This suggests that although the plantation may have been standing through the nineteenth century, it was abandoned (like the Willbrook slave settlements) shortly after Tucker consolidated Willbrook and Litchfield plantations.

The site produced an artifact pattern containing 39.6% kitchen related materials and 50.6% architecture related items. While this does not fall within the ranges of the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern (Garrow 1982), it does fall within the range established for other, eighteenth century rice planter sites, documenting the validity of this finding.

This structure was a wooden building measuring 11 by 14 feet with no chimney and perhaps only one glassed window. The Activities category yielded a higher percentage (6.5%) than is normally found with domestic sites, which suggests it served as a storage or out building.

Colono wares consisted of 55% of kitchen group which is apparently not unusual for the time period. Lees (1980:Table 16) found that the Colono wares at the Limerick Plantation main house accounted for 47.9% of the kitchen group for

the period 1751 to 1775. Unfortunately, only four industrial ceramic vessels were able to yield information on form and, therefore, the data regarding status based on ceramics is unreliable. Since the excavations at the eighteenth century Willbrook main house complex were not associated with the dwelling house, little more can be said about the life style of the planter family.

Nineteenth Century

Two slave components (38GE294 and 38GE297), associated with Oatland and Turkey Hill Plantations, yielded nineteenth century dates (1804 and 1826). While these are closer to the mean historic dates than were those from Willbrook, there are still noticeable differences. The 1804 mean ceramic date from Oatland is 30 years earlier than suggested by the historic documentation, while the mean ceramic date for Turkey Hill is 23 years older than suggested by the historic documents.

The artifact pattern at Oatland (51.4%/43.1%) falls within the Piedmont Tenant/Yeoman Artifact Pattern (Drucker et al. 1984). However, the site type does not fit the title or context of the pattern. The artifact pattern at Turkey Hill (38.0%/53.8%) does not fit into any published pattern. As was expected, the kitchen ratio does decrease over time which, while partly the result of economic shifts, may also be the result of architectural changes.

These two artifact patterns support what has been found from other sites - in the nineteenth century the artifact pattern for slave settlements fails to fit any one pattern. There is a tremendous amount of variability, for both slaves and their owners (Figure 58). This can certainly be explained in economic terms, as plantation operations became increasingly marginal undertakings, especially in the rice district (see Coclanis 1989).

Structures were found associated with both sites. At Oatland, a double pen house with brick piers and a central chimney was uncovered. This structure measured 28 by 14 feet (or 196 square feet per unit). At Turkey Hill, a 12 by 18 feet (or 216 square feet) house was uncovered which contained a gabled end brick hearth with a daub chimney and was built on wood posts. Both structures are believed to be associated with "higher status" slaves (i.e., house slaves at Oatland and a driver at Turkey Hill). The construction and house size appear to be normal for the time period. The average room size of slave houses in nearby Berkeley County during the early antebellum consisted of 199.6 square feet of floor space (Adams 1990:89). Unfortunately, these nineteenth century structures cannot be compared to the eighteenth century components examined in this study, so no changes, continuities, or trends can be noted.

Colono ware percentages decreased significantly from the eighteenth century to the nineteenth century at the slave sites. Colono ware consisted of only 27% of the ceramic assemblage at Oatland and only 34.9% of the assemblage at Turkey Hill. As some have suggested (Howson 1990; Joseph 1989) the high availability and low cost of European ceramics after the Industrial Revolution probably played a hand in the decline of Colono ware pottery at slave sites. Archaeologically, this decline has been documented, here and elsewhere (e.g., Lees 1980). It has also been suggested that as slaves became more adapted to Euro American foodways, industrial ceramics may have become more suitable for cooking and serving, and Colono wares less desirable (Joseph 1989:62; Wheaton et al. 1983). If this is the case, then the industrial ceramics at nineteenth century slave sites should exhibit a larger number of flatwares, and this could potentially be magnified if these slaves were house slaves or drivers since they may have had access to better cuts of meat.

At 38GE297, the Turkey Hill driver site which dates to the nineteenth century, bowl forms dominate the European ceramic assemblage, and are significantly more numerous than at other eighteenth and nineteenth century slave sites. Additionally, the other sites show little difference in proportion of bowl

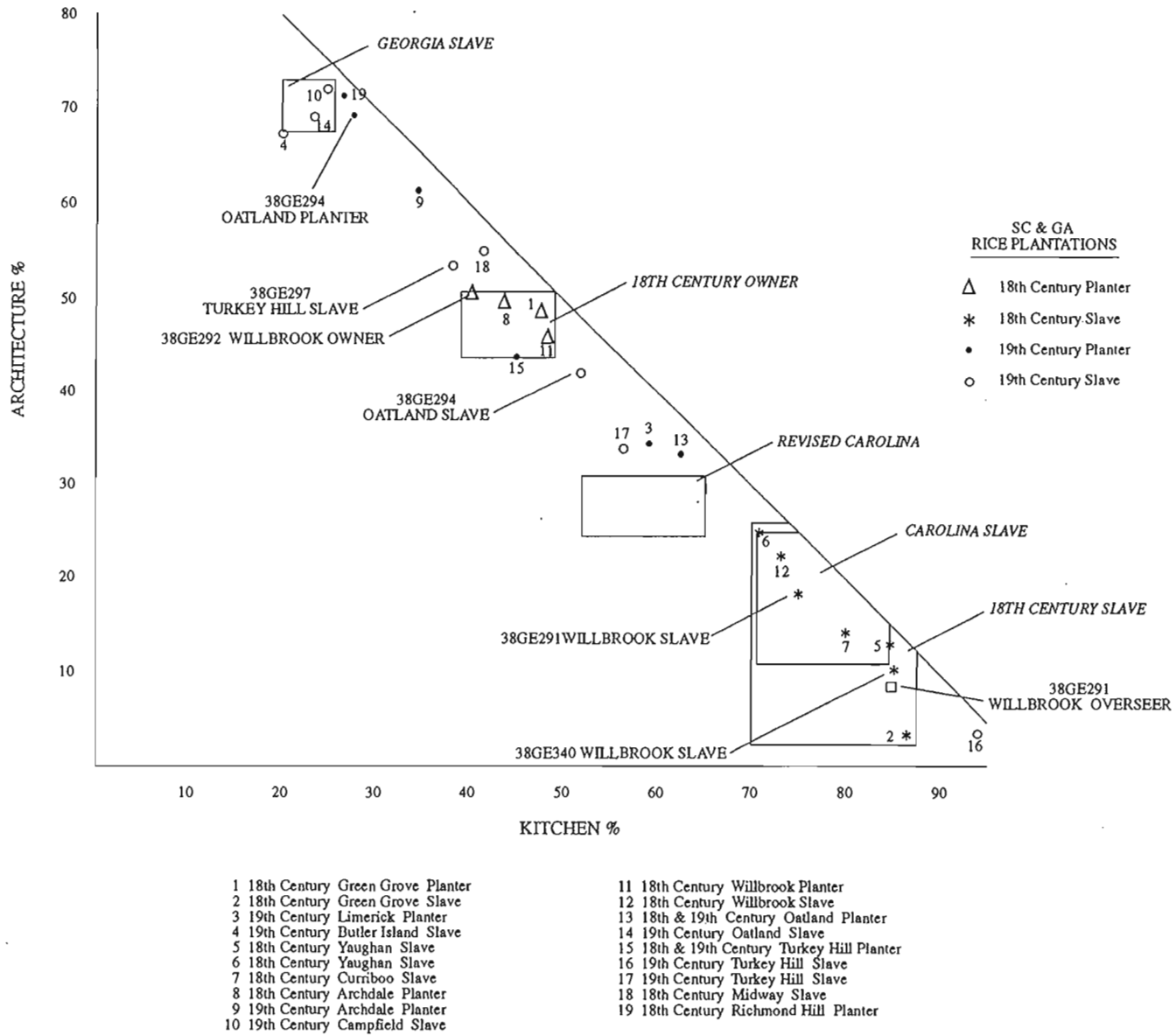


Figure 58. Comparison of eighteenth and nineteenth century rice and cotton plantation artifact patterns.

forms. This suggests that adaptation to Euro-American food ways was not one of the major reasons for the decline in Colono ware. It seems likely that planters could afford to purchase the industrial wares and slaves did not need to continue producing the Colono wares (see Howson 1990; Joseph 1989). African archaeologist Merrick Posnansky suggests that the preponderance of bowl forms at slave sites may reflect a general peasant agricultural situation. To suggest that it is an African trait is to ignore the diverse backgrounds of African slaves, since African diets varied widely. Herding cultures used lots of meats, having access to more and better cuts, while subsistence farmers could not afford to be as selective and tended to make stews (McKee n.d.:21).

Two nineteenth century owners components were examined during this study. These were associated with Willbrook (38GE292) and Oatland (38GE294) plantations. Due to a decision to green space the main house at 38GE292 only 100 square feet were opened. This revealed debris (in a secondary context) from the antebellum main house, probably built in the 1840s, which burned in the 1890s. The artifacts yielded a mean ceramic date of 1851 (very close to the posited mean historic date of 1862), and the kitchen/architecture percentages are 61.2%/28.5% which falls into the range for the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern. Colono wares represent only 0.2% of the kitchen group total.

At Oatland Plantation (38GE294) architectural remains were found for a structure yielding a mean ceramic date of 1844 (compared to a mean historic date of 1826). Block 1 revealed a structure measuring 30 to 32 feet by 30 feet set on brick piers with stairs leading to a front piazza. The kitchen/architecture percentages are 26.7%/70.2% which is quite different than that found at Willbrook main house. It must be pointed out, however, that kitchen and architecture artifact ratio are quite variable at nineteenth century rice plantations (see page 73, Table 4 and Figure 58). While the differences between the two owners sites may be due to architectural differences, it is likely that the small sample size, as well as its location, has affected the ratio at the Willbrook site. As at Willbrook, the Oatland site yielded few Colono ware ceramics (1.9%).

Another nineteenth century component at Willbrook Plantation (38GE340) consists of a postbellum occupation yielding a mean ceramic date of 1851. Excavations revealed a domestic structure measuring 12 to 13 by 16 feet. It was of frame construction, built on brick piers with a trench outlining the structure and a hearth area. This site yielded some interesting personal artifacts including a religious pyx and a crucifix of Catholic origin. It is believed that this structure belonged to an itinerant priest who visited the area periodically to oversee religious services. The artifact pattern exhibited a low kitchen percentage (12.3%) while the architectural percentage was quite high (83.4%). This low kitchen percentage may represent only periodic use of the building or food preparation off-site. No serving wares were represented in the ceramic assemblage which suggests that this person did not entertain often or have formal meals.

The collections from these three rice plantations provide a significant assemblage of eighteenth and nineteenth century high and low status sites. They document the disparity in the material possessions and housing of the individuals. The faunal analysis reveals that while wild species were quite common the planter's table at Oatland, they contributed little to the overall biomass. Yet, at the overseer's house, and probably among the slaves, wild foods, such as fish, deer, racoon, and others, were common and significant dietary supplements. Likewise, the bulk of the shellfish remains were found at the slave and overseer's house. The shellfish present at the main Willbrook and Oatland houses was more commonly oyster than clam, suggesting some difference in either taste or social status.

While there is much still to learn about the lives of the planter and slaves on the Waccamaw Neck, the investigations at Willbrook, Oatland, and Turkey Hill are beginning to amass critical data for comparative studies and an eventual

synthesis. Periodically throughout this study areas requiring additional attention have been noted and questions have been posed. Perhaps of greatest significance are efforts to explain the variety of artifact patterns in relationship to the economic life and death of low country plantations. As Coclanis notes:

This legacy testifies not only to the informative power of rice but to the strengths and weaknesses of the capitalist productive mode. Just as the market was largely responsible for the low country's rice, it was largely responsible for the area's later decline as well. For its siren song lured the area into a pattern of economic and social development which was conducive to economic growth under one limited set of conditions - great external demand for plantation staples produced in the low country - but which would thwart progressive economic adjustments if these conditions ever changed, that is to say, if external demand for low-country staples ever faltered. And, as we have seen, external demand did indeed falter. It is possible, of course, that in the low country, a fragile ecological area with limited economic possibilities, development was doomed from the start. But by establishing an economy whose health was dependent almost entirely upon the vagaries of international demand for commodities, the hegemonists, in effect, sealed the low country's fate (Coclanis 1989:157).

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**Archaeological
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