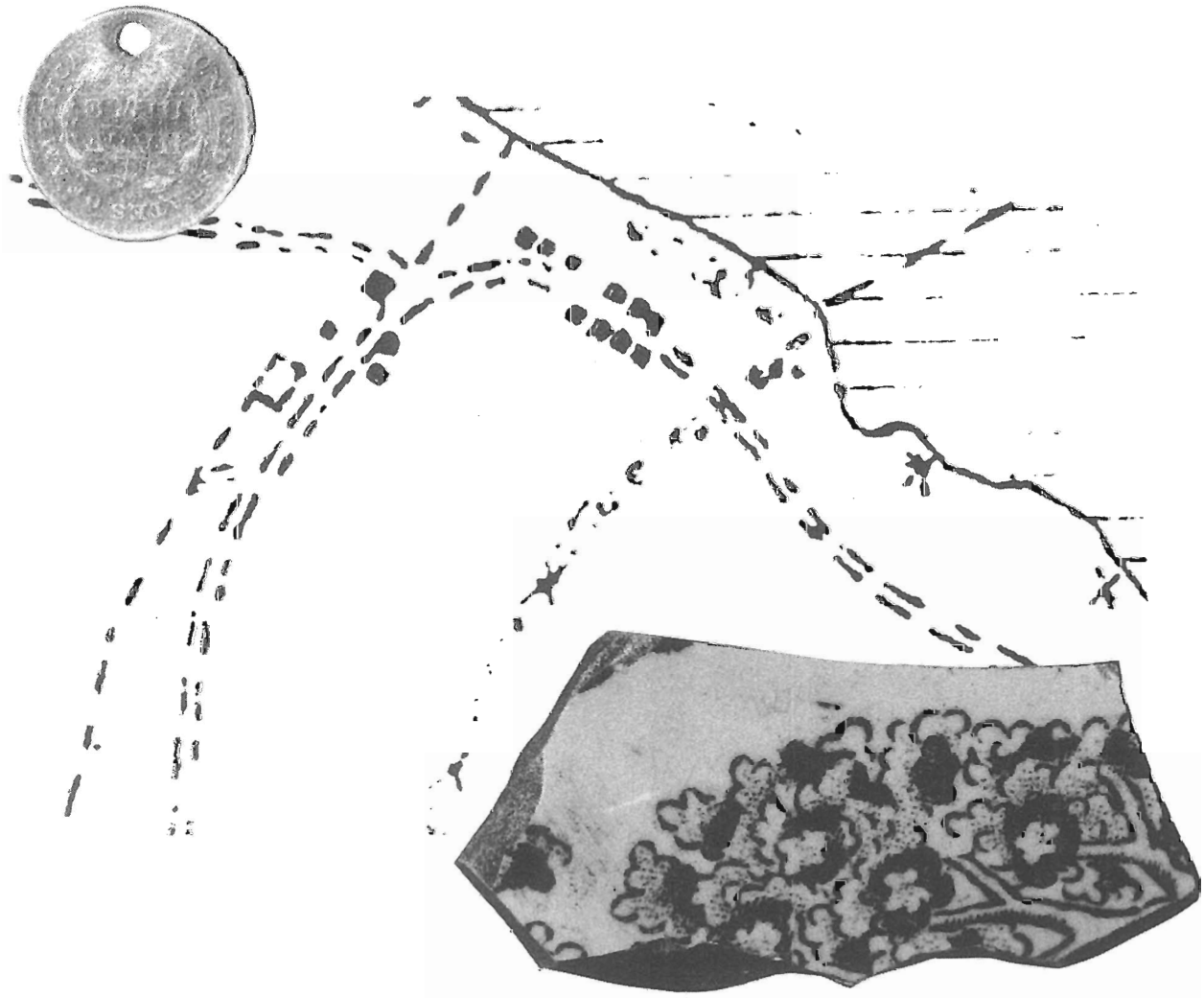
AN INVESTIGATION OF THE ST. QUEUNTENS PLANTATION MAIN HOUSE, BEAUFORT COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA



CHICORA FOUNDATION RESEARCH SERIES 51

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE ST. QUEUNTENS PLANTATION MAIN HOUSE, BEAUFORT COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

Research Series 51

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The past is not dead. It isn't even past.

— William Faulkner

ABSTRACT

There is relatively little historical information for St. Queuntens Plantation, situated at the north end of Lady's Island, overlooking the Coosaw River just east of Broomfield Creek. Although established sometime in the early eighteenth century, ownership is clouded until acquired by Joseph and Sarah Fickling in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, its late antebellum history is equally unclear, although the tract was taken over the federal government's District Tax Commissioners during the Civil War.

The site was discovered during a 1989 survey of the proposed Walling Grove Development. The plantation was determined eligible for inclusion on the National Register by the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office and the settlement was set aside for preservation in place.

This site, designated 38BU968, included five distinct loci or areas, including the main house, a slave settlement, a probable kitchen area, and two areas probably representing utility buildings. The main plantation included two tabby chimney supports, while another site area included the wall ruins of a utility building.

The lot on which the main house was situated was eventually sold and the owner began construction of a residence. When this undertaking was recognized by the State Historic Preservation Office, the Office of Ocean and Coastal Resources Management, and the Beaufort County Planning Office, the work was stopped and Chicora Foundation was retained to assess the damage done to the archaeological remains.

As a result of this assessment, and the owner's desire to complete construction of his residence, the State Historic Preservation Office and the Office of Ocean and Coastal Resources Management determined that a week of archaeological investigations would be adequate to mitigate the main plantation house and its associated yard area.

Chicora Foundation was retained to conduct these limited excavations, which included the use of small black excavations (5-foot and 2.5 by 10-foot units) to explore the architectural remains at the structure, small units (5-foot squares) to explore the area which would eventually be under the new house, and 2-foot units to explore the yard areas. The goal of this work was to achieve as much information concerning the structure as possible within the prescribed time limits.

This study briefly outlines the work undertaken and its contribution to helping us understand the artifact assemblages and architectural remains associated with what might best be described as a middling plantation in an area of Beaufort County which was not known for its agricultural production. The investigations reveal a modest main house, measuring about 20 by 36 feet, with exterior end chimneys. Set on individual tabby piers, the house was of frame construction and probably 1½ stories high. Unlike many main houses in the Beaufort area, this one does not appear to have been enlarged through time — probably because of the owners' modest means.

The research also reveals a rich assemblage of primarily nineteenth century artifacts in the yard area.

The investigation of St. Queuntens Plantation provides an important comparative resource which will be helpful in better understanding the lifeways of the small planter.

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We want to thank Mr. Walter Hendrix, owner of the property, for his support and interest in the exploration of Beaufort's rich history. We also want to thank Dr. Wayne Beam, the owner's representative, for his concern and interest in working with Chicora Foundation on this important project. We also thank Ms. Dorothy Glace for her interest in the historic resources of the property.

Oversight and review was provided by Mr. Niels Taylor at the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office and Mr. Fritz Aichele at the Office of Ocean and Coastal Resources Management. Mr. Keith Derting of the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology assisted us with the site numbering for the project. Ms. Sharon Pekrul provided assistance in the curation of the collection with the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology.

We would also like to thank the field crew for their dedication and tremendous support, including Ms. Sabrina Buck, Mr. Gregg Dickey, Ms. Amy Dodenhoff, Mr. Ian Hamer, Mr. John Hamer, and Mr. Brian Young. Ms. Rachel Brinson-Marrs coordinated cataloging and assisted in a number of different areas in the lab.

INTRODUCTION

Development of the Project

The Walling Grove Plantation tract is situated at the north end of Ladies Island and is dominated by the Coosaw River to the north and Broomfield Creek (previously known as Johnsons Creek) to the west (Figures 1 and 2). The initial archaeological survey of the Walling Grove Phase 1 development was conducted by Chicora Foundation in 1989 (Trinkley 1989). As a result of that study several archaeological sites were identified, including what appeared to be the main complex for St. Queuntens Plantation, 38BU968.

The plantation was encountered in both surface surveys and shovel tests during the original survey. Its UTM center point was identified as E532600 N3595300 and it was found to cover an area "800 feet east-west by 300 feet north-south" (Trinkley 1989:43). Within this site, several loci or areas were identified. Some were based on concentrations of artifacts, others on the presence of architectural remains, and some on both.

Near the intersection of two dirt roads (what would become Walling Grove Road and Old Plantation Road) was "Locus A," originally recognized by presence of tabby chimney footers. This area was briefly described in the original report:

> Locus A, representing the main house, is situated between the two standing twentieth century structures [on what are today Lots 2 and 16] in an open yard area with small clumps of scrub trees. This locus was examined by Shovel Tests 67-71 and 75-78. The only above ground remains identified in this survey are two tabby blocks, approximately 3.5 feet (east-west) by 7 feet (north-south) which are oriented N10°E. These blocks are placed 30 feet apart and represent tabby supports for the two end chimneys of the main house. While not verified by this survey, it appears likely from the location of scrub tree clumps that additional tabby corner piers will be found preserved. The structure is thought to measure about 30 by 20 feet, was of frame construction, and probably dated to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century (Trinkley 1989:43).

The site as it was identified during the original survey is shown here as Figure 3. Note that the map reveals both the site boundary, identified by the dashed line, and the approximate area of the different loci.

Materials recovered include historic ceramics, Colono ware, bottle glass, glassware, tableware items, window glass, nails (both cut and wrought), construction hardware, a minie ball, a kaolin pipe fragment, and a small quantity of metal items (Trinkley 1989:Table 1). The ceramics provided a mean date of 1817 for the plantation, although both eighteenth century wares such as lead glazed slipware and white salt glazed stoneware were found in association with later nineteenth century materials such as pearlware and whiteware (Trinkley 1989:Table 2). The collection from the site was consistent with a main complex, and revealed the same span of time as suggested by the historic documentation.

The evaluation of the site, which included all of the various loci or areas, suggested that integrity was high and that the site could address a broad range of significant research questions. Consequently, the site was recommended as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of

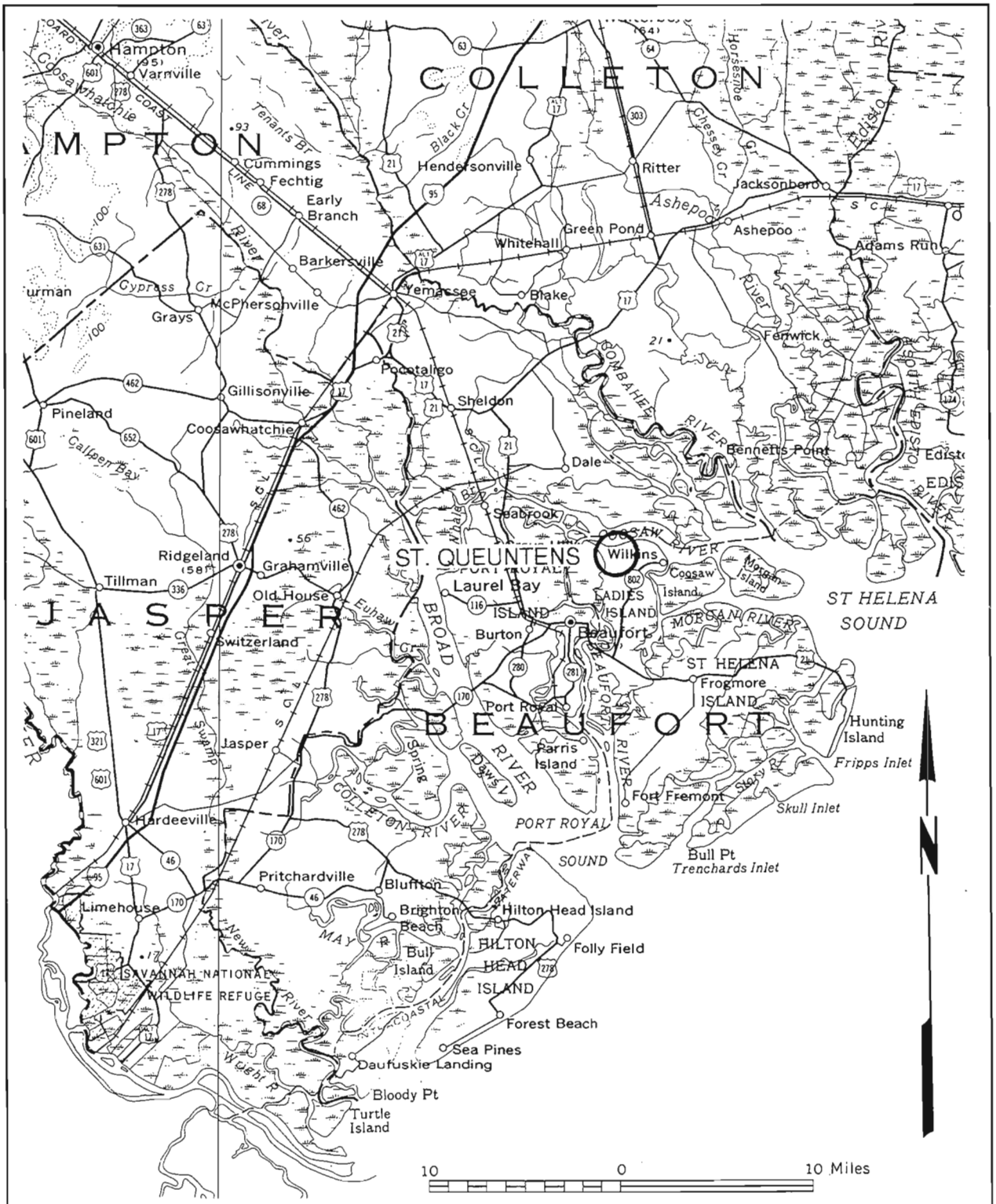

Figure 1. Project vicinity in Beaufort County (basemap is USGS South Carolina, 1:500,000).

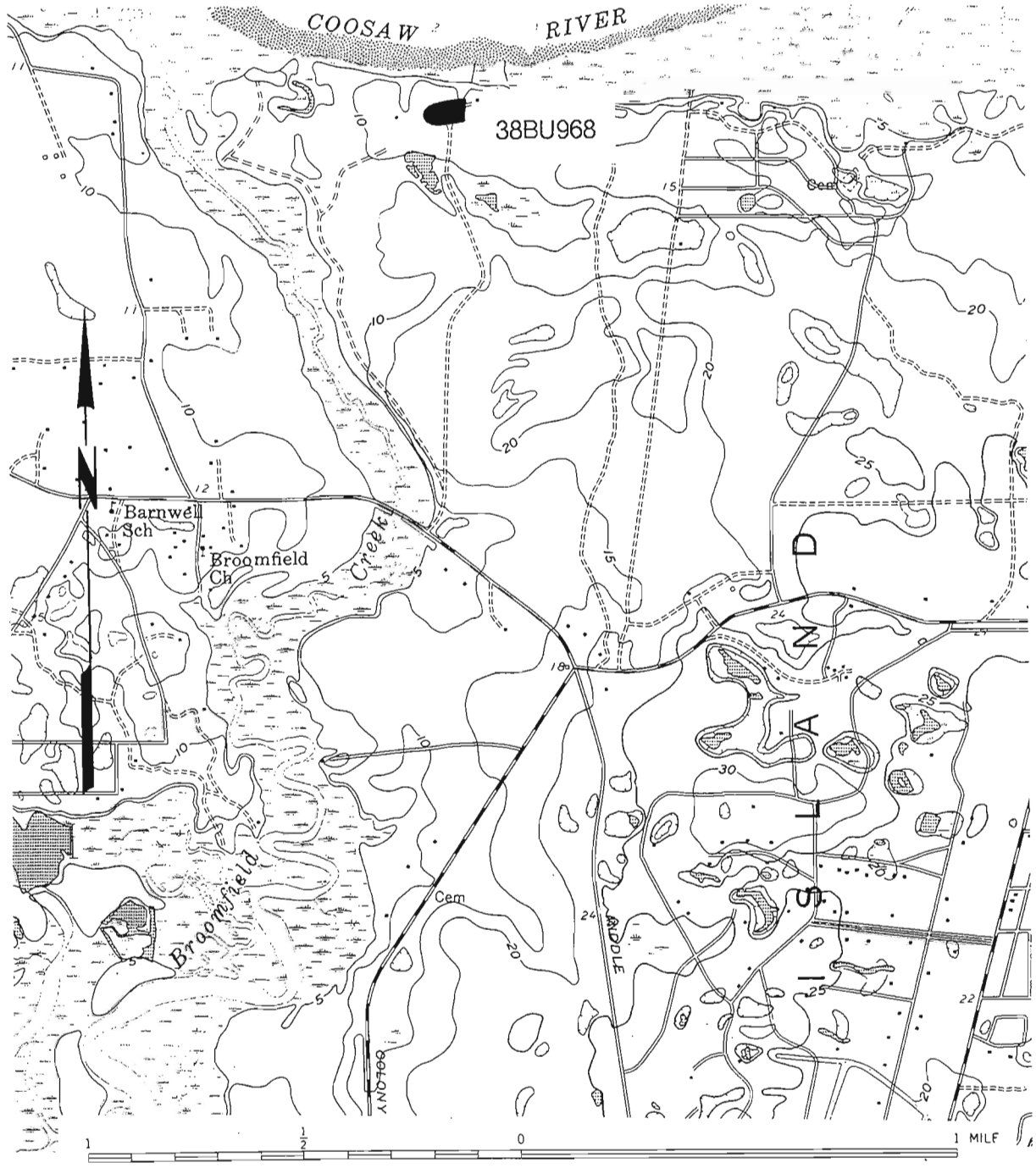

Figure 2. Location of St. Queuntens Plantation, 38BU968, on the Beaufort 7.5' USGS topographic map.

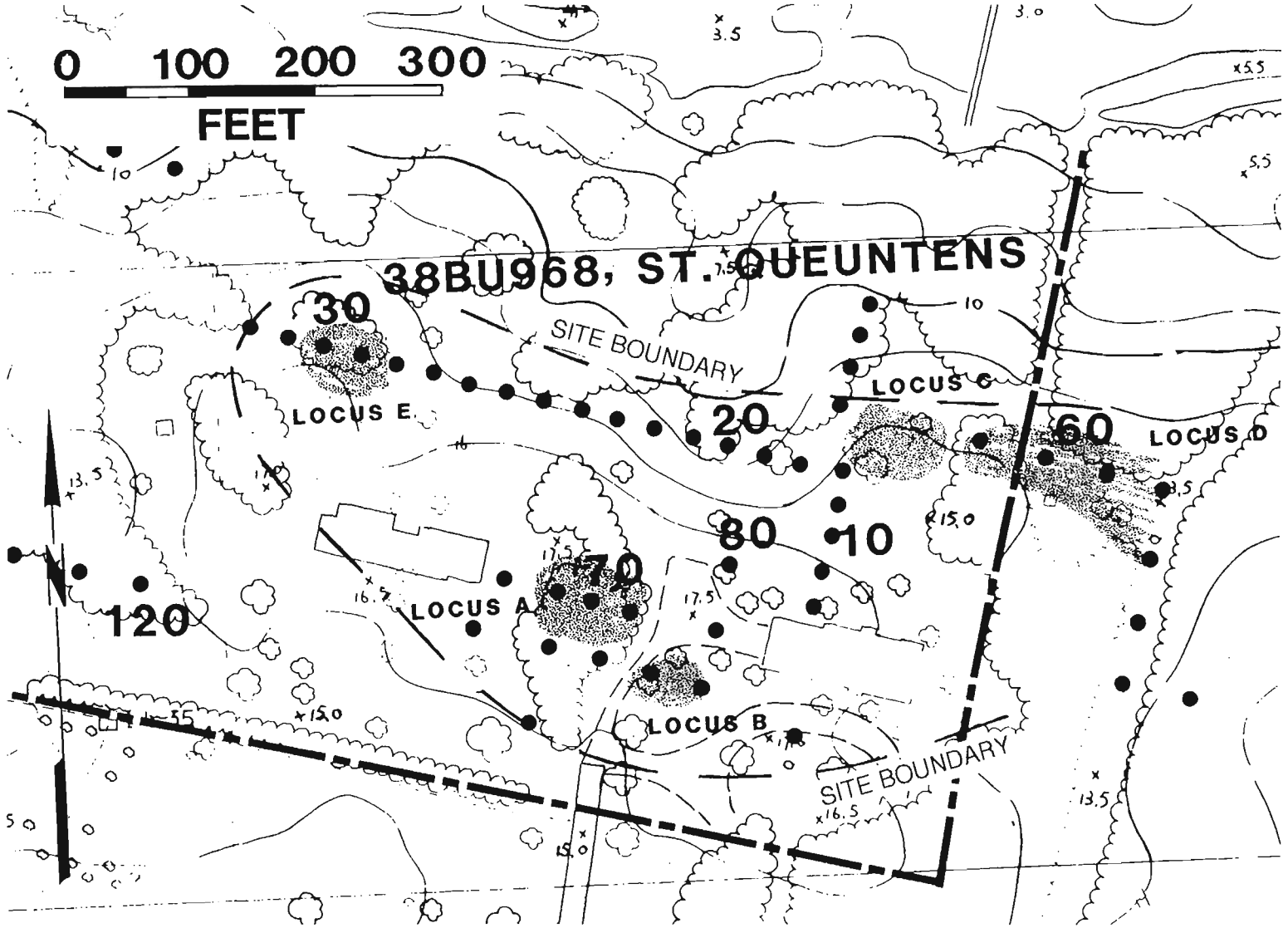

Figure 3. A portion of the Phase I Walling Grove development map showing the location of St. Queuntens plantation (adapted from Trinkley 1989:Figure 8).

Historic Places. The report noted that:

> It is likely that the development will adversely affect the site, through property access roads, utility construction, sewer systems, and house construction. There are two options, either site preservation through green spacing, or data recovery (Trinkley 1989:47).

The study went on to describe the nature of green spacing, explaining that it *must ensure the permanent protection and integrity of the archaeological data and architectural remains.*

The State Historic Preservation Office concurred with the eligibility recommendation and a Memorandum of Agreement was entered into between Walling Grove and the South Carolina Coastal Council (now the Office of Ocean and Coastal Resource Management).

At the time of the initial survey, and still extant today, are two ca. 1950 ranch style houses on what are called Lots 2 and 16 to either side of the main plantation house. One of the loci, called Area E, is situated on Lot 2. Three additional loci, termed Areas B, C, and D, are situated on Lot 16 to the east (see Figure 3).

Between these two extant houses and their associated parcels is Lot 1, owned by Walter Hendrix. This lot, shown by a plat prepared by Gasque and Associates dated November 14, 1996 and identified as Lady Island Tax Map 200-005-00B-0001, is roughly rectangular (Figure 4). It is on Lot 1 that the main house for St. Queuntens Planation was situated.

On January 2, 1997 the Foundation was contacted by Dr. Wayne Beam, in his capacity as a representative of the property owner. He indicated that the owner had possibly infringed on the plantation site in his construction of a residential house and that work had been halted by the Office of Ocean and Coastal Resource Management (OCRM) and the Beaufort County Planning Department pending a review by the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO). He asked that Chicora conduct what might be called a reconnaissance investigation of the site to evaluate the impact of the construction activity on the site.

The site was visited on January 16 and a day was spent examining the ruins and the associated new construction activities. The work consisted of a pedestrian survey, coupled with shovel testing a portion of the tract at 10-foot intervals.

This brief study supported the original site boundaries in the vicinity of the main plantation house ruins. The shovel tests reveal dense artifact remains from Old Plantation Drive northward down the slope toward the Coosaw River. Although the tests did not continue to the previously defined site limits it was not possible to verify the exact boundary north of the ruins, but it was clear that the new construction had been placed in a dense portion of the site and that the main house complex, defined at Area A, extended at least an additional 40 to 60 feet north of the construction zone. Likewise, the additional shovel testing and surface distribution provided evidence that the site continues both to the west and the east.

More than confirm the general parameters of the site, this study also revealed that there is little substantive difference in site density in the immediate ruins area and the area to the north, in the "near rear yard," where Mr. Hendrix's had begun construction. In addition, shell densities suggest a possibility that the sloped area, even further north in the "far rear yard," may be an area of overbank deposition association with the main plantation settlement — in other words, this area may have been used to dispose of plantation trash.

All of the data supported the conclusion that artifact density is high in the vicinity of both the ruins and the current foundation construction. There is no real difference in site density between the two areas (see Figures 5 and 6).

Construction related activities at the site, identified by the study, included:

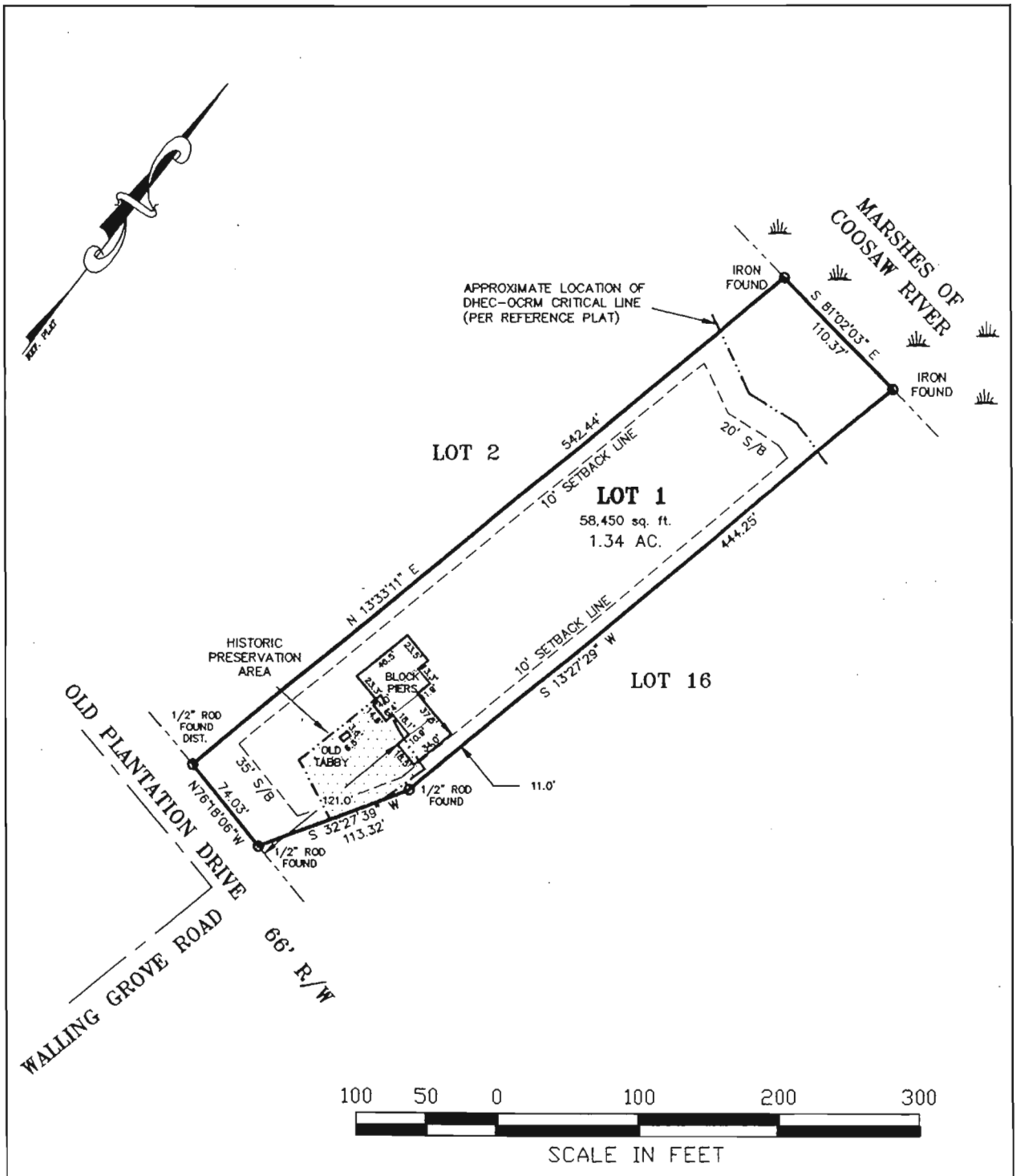

Figure 4. A portion of the Gasque and Associates "Foundation Survey Prepared for Walter Hendrix," Job 8702, dated November 14, 1996.

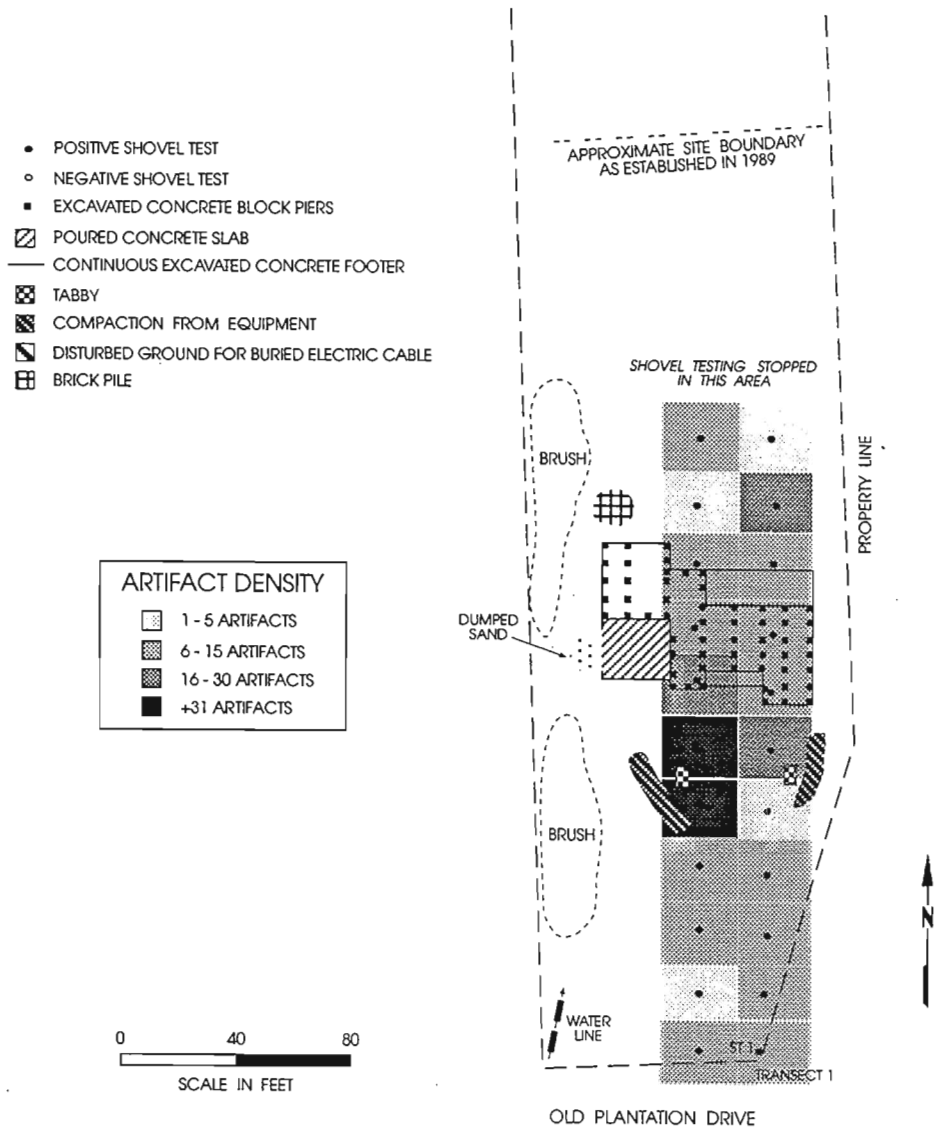

Figure 5. Artifact density in the tested area on the Hendrix lot at St. Queuntens plantation.

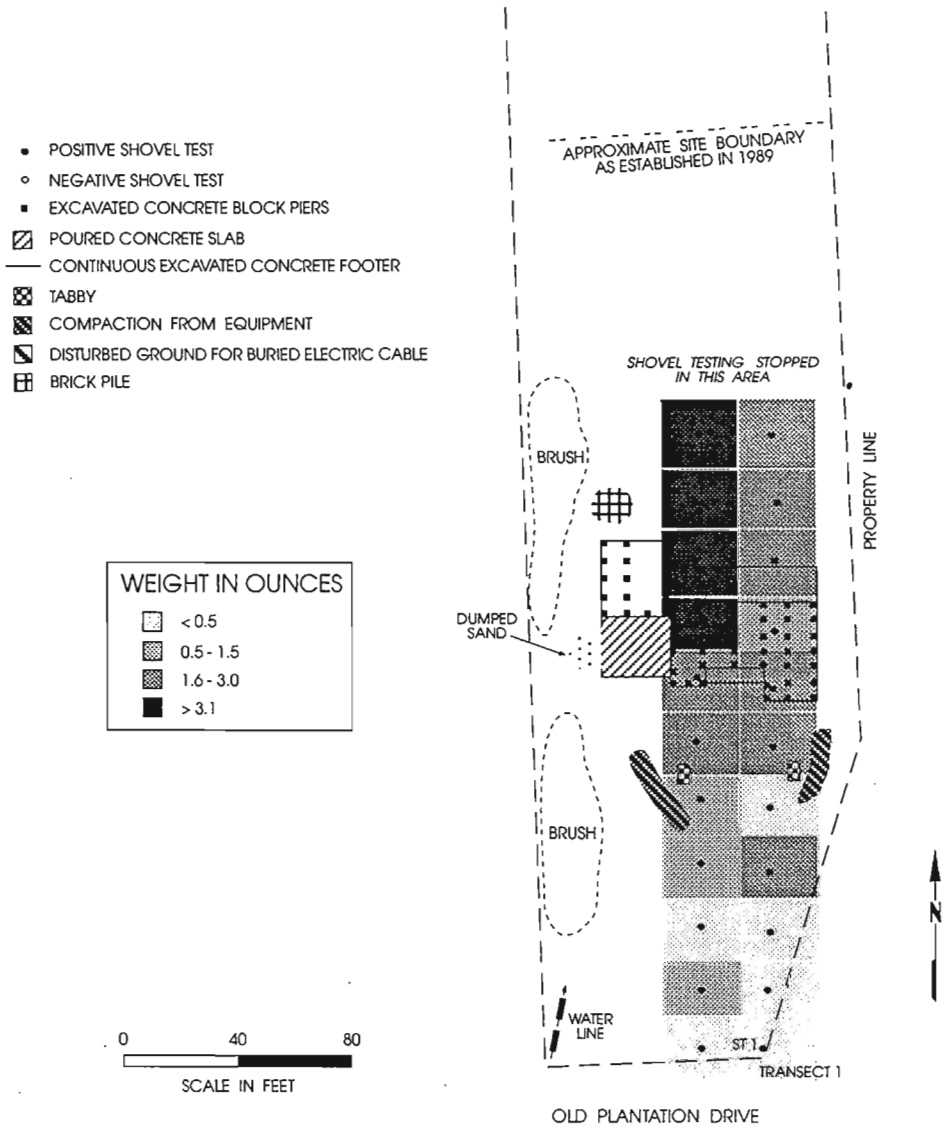

Figure 6. Shell density in the tested area on the Hendrix lot at St. Queuntens plantation.

- placement of underground utilities,
- application of a termiticide treatment,
- stockpiling of construction materials,
- rutting and compaction from construction traffic in the site area,
- excavation of foundation footers and piers,
- removal of a tree and grubbing out of the root ball, and
- placement of a concrete slab for a garage.

These are all the types of activities which are commonly associated with residential construction. Although these were certainly destructive of the archaeological resources, there was no evidence of unusual damage which suggested an effort to "erase" or destroy the archaeological site.

This evaluative study, after examining the damage and the nature of residential construction in this development, concluded that:

> While steps can be taken to minimize these damages, it seems likely that virtually all of the site under the approximately 2,500 square feet footprint of the Hendrix house will be destroyed or made inaccessible. In addition, at least an additional 1,800 square feet will be situated under a driveway or be subjected to rutting and compaction. The septic field will likely impact an additional 1,000 to 2,000 square feet of the archaeological site. This losses would total about 5,300 to 6,300 square feet of the archaeological site. To this we can probably add a factor of at least 10%, or 530 to 630 square feet as unspecified losses, to allow for landscaping, construction traffic, stockpiling, and other incidental losses. I believe that throughout these figures are conservative and represent the least likely impact (Trinkley 1997b:25).

This report was furnished to the SHPO and OCRM. Based on the review some level of data recovery was recommended. On March 19 Chicora Foundation was requested to provide a data recovery plan for the main settlement. Since no scope of work was available and neither the SHPO or OCRM had delimited the range of work expected at the site, our proposal offered three different levels of effort, including one, two, and four weeks of research (reflecting 25, 50, and 100 person days of study, respectively).

On March 24, 1997 we were informed that OCRM had approved one week of data recovery efforts and we were asked to provide more detail concerning the level of the effort and research design. By April 2, 1997 the data recovery plan had been approved by the SHPO and an agreement with Walling Grove was approved on April 8.

Data recovery efforts were conducted from April 21 through April 26 and a total of 280 person hours were spent working at the site. This reflects 10 extra person-days beyond that specified in our proposal. This additional work was conducted by Chicora Foundation in order to maximize the amount of information retrieved from this site. Mr. William B. Barr served as field director for this project.

Research Strategy and Questions

The data recovery plan for this portion of St. Queuntens Plantation is best described as exploratory. It was designed to focus on (1) delimiting the Walling Grove main house using 2.5 by 10 foot trenches and probing, (2) collecting architectural information through the excavation of several 5-foot units within the main house, (3)

collecting yard information through the excavation of several 5-foot units in the rear yard, where the new construction is located, and (4) exploring the remainder of the yard through the excavation of a series of 2-foot units to allow a sample of materials from the rest of the site.

Delimiting the Main House and Collecting Architectural Information

One of the primary questions concerning the site is the form of the main house. The original survey found only the two chimney stacks, but suggested that additional tabby supports might be present. This was further supported by Chicora's evaluative study. Colin Brooker's discussion of the main house in the original survey report outlined questions concerning the house form and organization, as well as its temporal association.

Although it was not thought possible to expose the entire house, the use of slot trenches (2.5 by 10 feet) would make it possible to isolate wall sections in order to more clearly define the exact size and placement of the structure, as well as construction techniques. This would allow the tabby walls to be traced, revealing the floor plan of the basement level. Of course it will be necessary to use that to project information for the floor or floors above.

We felt that the slot trenches, if carefully placed, would also be of adequate size to allow the identification of builder's trenches perhaps associated with the tabby walls. These trenches might be able to provide a better construction for the main house, since neither the historical documents or the tabby techniques are particularly informative. Where necessary, we intended to supplement the slot trench excavations with probing to identify intact, but buried wall remains. Although the artifact collections provided by the slot trenches would be limited, they may be sufficient to reveal the location of windows and other architectural features, based on the differential recovery of architectural hardware and window glass.

In order to acquire additional information regarding the main house, it was also proposed to excavate several more formal units — typically 5-foot squares. These units would be placed to either address questions raised by the slot trench excavations or to explore what appear to be different rooms of the main house. In the first case, the formal units would expand on existing slot trenches, opening a larger area and allowing greater exposure of features. This often helps resolve confusing architectural details, while at the same time helping to acquire a larger artifact collection. In the second case, the formal units would be placed in distinct structural areas in the hope that artifact types will reveal differences. But in addition to these two reasons for larger excavation units, the 5-foot squares might be useful to explore the basement — what type of floor was present and was the interior of the tabby stuccoed. These details will help us better understand the nature and complexity of the St. Queuntens house.

Collecting Yard Information in the Vicinity of the New House

Within the confines of the new house, we proposed to excavate several 5-foot units. The goal of this work was two-fold. First, we recognized that this is a near-yard area and that a fairly substantial quantity of artifacts are present. The excavation of several 5-foot units, placed in areas known from the previous shovel testing to exhibit a high density of remains, would help to sample these locations. Second, we anticipated that these units would recover material from a portion of the site which will, once the new house is completed, be inaccessible.

Sampling Yard Information in the Remainder of the Historic Yard

In order to collect as broad a range of information as possible from as large an area as possible, we also proposed the excavation of 2-foot units across the rear and front yards of the structure. These units were considered exploratory since they would provide data from a very broad area (measuring about 60 by 170 feet). All brick, mortar, shell, and tabby from these units would be quantified in the field, providing a very accurate record of the dispersion of architectural materials

(and possible subsistence remains) across the yard areas.

The Natural Setting

Mathews et al. (1980) suggest that the most significant ecosystem on Lady's Island is the maritime forest community. This maritime ecosystem is defined most simply as all upland areas located on barrier islands, limited on the ocean side by tidal marshes. On sea islands the distinction between the maritime forest community and an upland ecosystem (essentially found on the mainland) becomes blurred. Sandifer et al. (1980:108-109) define our subsystems, including the sand spits and bars, dunes, transition shrub, and maritime forest. Of these, only the maritime forest subsystem is likely to have been significant to the historic occupants of Walling Grove. While the subsystem is frequently characterized by the dominance of live oaks and the presence of salt spray, these are less noticeable on the sea islands than they are on the narrower barrier islands (Sandifer et al. 1980:120).

The islands may contain communities of oak-pine, oak-palmetto-pine, oak-magnolia, palmetto, or low oak woods. Often the larger islands are more mesic or xeric and tend to evidence field communities, pine-mixed hardwood communities, pine forest communities, or mixed hardwood communities (Sandifer et al. 1980:120-121, 437).

Robert Mills, discussing Beaufort District in the early nineteenth century, stated:

> besides a fine growth of pine, we have the cypress, red cedar, and live oak . . . white oak, red oak, and several other oaks, hickory, plum, palmetto, magnolia, poplar, beech, birch, ash, dogwood, black mulberry, etc. Of fruit trees we have the orange, sweet and sour, peach, nectarine, fig, cherry (Mills 1826:377).

He also cautioned, however, that "some parts of the district are beginning already to experience a want of timber, even for common purposes" (Mills 1826:383) and suggested that at least 25% of a plantation's acreage should be reserved for woods.

Edmund Ruffin commented on Lady's Island only briefly, observing the soils to be, "remarkedly light, so as to be subject to much injury from being blown away by the high winds" (Mathew 1992:123). He also remarked on the numerous sinks which characterize the island:

> numerous sinks, or basin shaped depressions of the land, of various sizes & shapes, but mostly circular & of no great extent; & which by their number, & sometimes by the steepness of their sides, are deemed serious impediments to tillage, & serve much to lessen the value of the lands (Mathew 1992:124).

One of the few other accounts describing Lady's Island during the mid-nineteenth century comes from Whitelaw Reid, who toured the area in 1865:

> On steaming up to Beaufort we found carriages, in waiting, on the opposite side, at the upper end of Lady's Island . . . . The sandy road led off among the cotton fields down the island. . . . Sometimes, for half a mile, the road passed through a splendid avenue of live-oaks, the pendulous Spanish moss, from the limbs, sweeping across our carriage tops . . . . Then the avenue faded away into a thicket of dwarf live-oaks, trespassing for several yards, each side of the road, upon the cotton fields, and mingling presently with cotton woods, bayonet plants and other like species of the palmetto, yellow pines and a clambering growth of grape-vines and honeysuckles. Through this undergrowth could still be seen

> the long rows of cotton stretching along on either hand out of sight (Reid 1866:96-97).

Today the lot's floristics have been significantly altered by development activities dating at least back to the 1950s. Dominating the casual observer's perception of the tract today is the grassed. lawn-like opening at the lot's southern edge bordering Old Plantation Drive. Along the west edge are a series of brushy thickets, likely remnants of when the area had been abandoned and was heavily overgrown. The northern end of the lot is characterized by overstory trees such as palmetto, oak, and cedar.

The topography on the entire tract tends to be flat, with the western edge characterized by a gradual slope to the saltwater marshes of Broomfield Creek. The northern edge of the tract consists of higher elevations, averaging between 8 and 17 feet above mean sea level (AMSL) (Figure 2). This macro-view, however, overlooks the topographic intricacies of smaller areas, such as Lot 1. Here the topography exhibits an east-west tending ridge about 15 to 16 feet AMSL along Old Plantation Drive. This ridge drops off strongly to the north, where much of the lot has elevations between 8 and 11 feet AMSL.

The main house was situated to take advantage of this ridge. Not only were the soils better drained because of the higher elevation, but the site's elevation provided better access to the breezes coming off the Coosaw. In contrast, most the settlement was situated on the lower ground. For example, the slave settlement, to the northeast, was at an elevation between 12 and 14 feet AMSL. The location of the main house, set on the overlooking ridge, was likely chosen to reinforce the division between slave and master. This is a subtle aspect of the plantation landscape that is often easy to overlook. Nevertheless, it may offer an additional mechanism to help us understand the concepts of power and alienation on nineteenth century Low Country plantations.

When the entire St. Queuntens tract is explored, about 70% is characterized by either poorly drained Coosaw or Williman soils, which have seasonal high water tables from 0 to 2.0 feet below the ground surface. Of the two the Coosaw as slightly better drained and exhibit a Ap horizon of dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) loamy fine sands about 0.8 foot in depth. These overly a A2 horizon of light brownish gray (2.5YR6/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of nearly 2.8 feet. The Williman soils may have water at or near their surface for almost half the year. The A horizon includes about 0.4 foot of very dark gray (10YR3/1) loamy fine sand overlying dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) sands. These soils would have been productive only if drained. Its likely that they would also have been mounded to assist with drying and help keep plant roots out of standing water.

The remaining 30% of the tract, much of which is situated in the project area, consists of the excessively well drained Wando and moderately well drained Seabrook soils. The Seabrook soils have an Ap horizon of dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) fine sand to a depth of about 0.9 foot, overlying a C horizon of light yellowish-brown (10YR6/4) sand. The Wando soils are similar, exhibiting a dark brown (10YR4/3) fine sand Ap horizon to 0.8 foot, overlying a C horizon of brown (10YR5/3) fine sands (Stuck 1980).

The northern end of the tract, along the Coosaw River, consists of Wando and Seabrook soils. It is in this area that the main house and most of the plantation settlement was developed.

Curation

An updated archaeological site form for 38BU968 has been filed with the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (SCIAA). The field notes, photographic materials, and artifacts resulting from these investigations have been curated at that institution under site number 38BU968. The collections have been cleaned and/or conserved as necessary. Further information on conservation treatments may be found in a following section. 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 standards.

HISTORIC SYNOPSIS

The Spanish and French

The first Spanish explorations in the Carolina low country were conducted in the 1520s under the direction of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon and Francisco Gordillo. One of the few areas explored by Gordillo which can be identified with any certainty is Santa Elena (St. Helena). Apparently Port Royal Sound was entered and land fall made at Santa Elena on Santa Elena's Day, August 18, 1520. "Cape Santa Elena," according to Quattlebaum (1956:8) was probably Hilton Head (Hoffman 1984:423).

Gordillo's accounts spurred Ayllon to seek a royal commission both to explore further the land and to establish a settlement in the land called Chicora (Quattlebaum 1956:12-17). In July 1526 Ayllon set sail for Chicora with a fleet of six vessels and has been thought to have established the settlement of San Miguel del Galdape in the vicinity of Winyah Bay (Quattlebaum 1956:23). Hoffman (1984:425) has more recently suggested that the settlement was at the mouth of the Santee River (Ayllon's Jordan River). Ferguson (n.d.:1) has suggested that San Miguel was established at Santa Elena in the Port Royal area. More recently, scholars have suggested that the settlement was on the Georgia coast, in the vicinity of St. Catherines Island (Rowland et al. 1996). Regardless, the colony was abandoned in the winter of 1526 with the survivors reaching Hispaniola in 1527 (Quattlebaum 1956:27).

The French, in response to increasing Spanish activity in the New World, undertook a settlement in the land of Chicora in 1562. Charlesfort was established in May 1562 under the direction of Jean Ribaut. This settlement fared no better than the earlier Spanish fort of San Miguel and was abandoned within the year (Quattlebaum 1956:42-56). Ribaut was convinced that his settlement was on the Jordan River in the vicinity of Ayllon's Chicora (Hoffman 1984:432). Recent historical and archaeological studies suggest that Charlesfort may have been situated on Port Royal Island in the vicinity of the Town of Port Royal (South 1982a, see also Rowland et al. 1996:23). The deserted Charlesfort was burned by the Spanish in 1564 (South 1982a:1-2). A year later France's second attempt to establish its claim in the New World was thwarted by the Spanish destruction of the French Fort Caroline on the St. John's River. The massacre at Fort Caroline ended French attempts at colonization on the southeast Atlantic coast.

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

The British Proprietory Period

British influence in the New World began in the fifteenth century with the Cabot voyages, but the southern coast did not attract serious attention until King Charles II granted Carolina to the Lords Proprietors in 1663. In August 1663 William Hilton sailed from Barbados to explore the Carolina territory, spending a great deal of time in the Port Royal area (Holmgren 1959). Almost

chosen for the first English colony, Hilton Head Island was passed over by Sir John Yeamans in favor of the more protected Charles Town site on the west bank of the Ashley River in 1670 (Clowse 1971:23-24; Holmgren 1959:39).

Like other European powers, the English were lured to the New World for reasons other than the acquisition of land and promotion of agriculture. The Lords Proprietors, who owned the colony until 1719-1720, intended to discover a staple crop whose marketing would provide great wealth through the mercantile system, which was designed to profit the mother country by providing raw materials unavailable in England (Clowse 1971). Charleston was settled by English citizens, including a number from Barbados, and by Huguenot refugees. Black slaves were brought directly from Africa, as well as Barbados.

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

Meanwhile, Scottish Covenanters under Lord Cardross established Stuart's Town on Scot's Island (Port Royal) in 1684, where it existed for four years until destroyed by the Spanish. It was not until 1698 that the area was again occupied by the English. Both John Stuart and Major Robert Daniell took possession of lands on St. Helena and Port Royal islands. The town of Beaufort was founded in 1711 although it was not immediately settled. Spring Island was granted to John Cockran in 1706 in two parcels of 500 acres each (S.C. Department of Archives and History, Colonial Series, Royal Grants, volume 39, page 6). One grant mentions that the land is "part of an Island over against Alatamaha Town."

While most of the Beaufort Indian groups were persuaded to move to Polawana Island in 1712, the Yemassee, part of the Creek Confederacy, revolted in 1715. By 1718 the Yemassee were defeated and forced southward to Spanish protection. Consequently, the Beaufort area, known as St. Helena Parish, Granville County, was for the first time relatively safe from both the Spanish and the Indians. The Yemassee, however, continued occasional raids into South Carolina, such as the 1728 destruction of the Passage Fort at Bloody Point on Daufuskie Island (Starr 1984:16). In the same year the English raid on St. Augustine succeeded in breaking the Spanish influence and the remnant Indian groups made peace with the English. The results for the Beaufort area, however, were mixed. While there was a semblance of peace, frontier settlements were largely deserted, population growth was slow, and the Indian trade was diverted from Beaufort to Savannah.

The British Colonial Period

Although peace marked the Carolina colony, the Proprietors continued to have disputes with the populace, primarily over the colony's economic stagnation and deterioration. In 1727 the colony's government virtually broke down when the Council and the Commons were unable to agree on legislation to provide more bills of credit (Clowse 1971:238). This, coupled with the disastrous depression of 1728, brought the colony to the brink of mob violence. Clowse notes that the "initial step toward aiding South Carolina came when the proprietors were eliminated" in 1720 (Clowse 1971:241).

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

(Clowse 1971:249). South Carolina's position was buttressed by the settlement of Georgia in 1733.

By 1730 the colony's population had risen to about 30,000 individuals, 20,000 of whom were black slaves (Clowse 1971:Table 1). The majority of these slaves were used in South Carolina's expanding rice industry. In the 1730 harvest year 48,155 barrels of rice were reported, up 15,771 barrels or 33% from the previous year (Clowse 1971:Table 3). Although rice was grown in the Beaufort area, it did not become a major crop in South Carolina until after the Revolutionary War. Rice was never a significant crop on the Beaufort Sea Islands, where ranch farming was favored because of its economic returns and favorable climate (Starr 1984:26-27). Elsewhere, however, rice monoculture shaped the social, political, and economic systems which produced and perpetuated the coastal plantation system prior to the rise of cotton culture.

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

During the Revolutionary War the British occupied Charleston for over two and one-half years (1780-1782). A post was established in Beaufort to coordinate forays into the inland waterways after Prevost's retreat from the Battle of Stono Ferry (Federal Writer's Project 1938:7; Rowland 1978:288). British earthworks were established around Port Royal and on Lady's Island (Rowland 1978:290) and part of Prevost's troops retreated from Stono Ferry crossing Lady's Island (Rowland et al. 1996:224). The removal of the royal bounties on rice, indigo, and naval stores caused considerable economic chaos during and after the war with the eventual "restructuring of the state's agricultural and commercial base" (Brockington et al. 1985:34).

The Antebellum Period

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

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

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

> Beaufort is admirably situated for commerce, possessing one of the finest ports and spacious harbors in the world . . . . There is no district in the state, either better watered, of more extended navigation, or possessing a larger portion of rich land, than Beaufort: more than one half of

> the territory is rich swamp land, capable of being improved so as to yield abundantly (Mills 1826:367).

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

> [t]he principal attention of the planter is . . . devoted to the cultivation of cotton and rice, especially the former. The sea islands, or salt water lands, yield cotton of the finest staple, which commands the highest price in market; it has been no uncommon circumstance for such cotton to bring $1 a pound. In favorable seasons, or particular spots, nearly 300 weight has been raised from an acre, and an active field hand can cultivate upwards of four acres, exclusive of one acre and half of corn and ground provisions (Mills 1826:368).

Reference to the 1860 agricultural census reveals that of the 891,228 acres of farmland, 274,015 (30.7%) were improved. In contrast, only 28% of the State's total farmland was improved, and only 17% of the neighboring Colleton District's farm land was improved. Even in wealthy Charleston District only 17.8% of the farm land was improved (Kennedy 1864:128-129). The cash value of Beaufort farms was $9,900,652, while the state average by county was only $4,655,083. The value of Beaufort farms was greater than any other district in the state for that year, and only Georgetown listed a greater cash value of farming implements and machinery (perhaps reflecting the more specialized equipment needed for rice production). Beyond the antebellum comments concerning the areas poor agricultural potential by Edmund Ruffin, there are postbellum accounts which suggest that Lady's Island continued to be considered a poor second to St. Helena in terms of general agricultural productivity, cotton yields, and wealth of its planters. Edward Philbrick wrote in 1862:

> the greater part of the plantations on Ladies Island are miserably poor, being the property of small proprietors who had not sufficient capital to make planting profitable. The soil is poor and he negroes for the most part have not sufficient food on hand for the coming year. The cotton crop is proportionally small and poor. No ginning apparatus being found there, I hall have it all taken to Beaufort for the steam-gins (Pearson 1906:117).

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

An interesting account of slavery on Lady's Island is presented by the W.P.A. slave narrative of Sam Mitchell, who, interviewed at age 87, clearly remembered the Woodlawn Plantation at the north end of the island. Woodland was a minor holding of Chaplin, who lived at Brickyard Plantation in the winter and in Beaufort during the summer. Mitchell remembered about 15 slaves on Woodlawn, which had a slave street or row. Each cabin had two rooms, although Chaplin "gib you nutting for yo' hourse — you hab to git dat de best way you can" (Rawick 1972:200). Each Tuesday the slaves were given one peck of corn as a ration, with sweet potatoes provided when available. Twice a year cloth was provided for clothing, and shoes were provided once a year. Each slave was allowed

two tasks of land to cultivate for their own use and a family was allowed to raise one pig. Mitchell's father was a carpenter, although at night he would go fishing or cut wood for a source of independent income. Woodlawn had no overseer, but operated under a slave driver. Woodlawn also had its own chapel, with a black minister. Slaves were allowed to leave the plantation on Saturday for Beaufort (Rawick 1972:200-204). Mitchell's story is certainly similar to many other, unrecorded, accounts of slavery in St. Helena Parish.

Civil War and the Postbellum

Hilton Head Island fell to Union forces on November 7, 1861 and was occupied by the Expeditionary Corps under the direction of General T.W. Sherman. Beaufort, deserted by the Confederate troops and the white towns-people, was occupied by the Union forces several weeks later. A single white person, who remained loyal to the Federal government, was found on Lady's Island (Johnson 1969:189). Hilton Head became the Headquarters for the Department of the South and served as the staging area for a variety of military campaigns. A brief sketch of this period, generally accurate, is offered by Holmgren (1959), while a similarly popular account is provided by Carse (1981). As a result of Hilton Head and Beaufort's early occupation by Union forces, all of the plantations fell to military occupation, a large number of blacks flocked to the area, and a "Department of Experiments" was born. An excellent account of the "Port Royal Experiment" is provided by Rose (1964), while the land policies on St. Helena are explored by McGuire (1985).

Recently, Trinkley (1986) has examined the freedmen village of Mitchelville on Hilton Head Island. One result of the Mitchelville work was to document how little is actually known about the black heritage and postbellum history of the sea islands. Even the social research spearheaded by the University of North Carolina's Institute for Research in Social Science at Chapel Hill in the early twentieth century (e.g. Johnson 1969, Woofter 1930) failed to record much of the activities on islands such as Hilton Head or Lady's Island.

Charlotte Forten comments that at some plantations on Lady's Island, "the masters, in their hasty flight from the islands left nearly all their furniture; but much of it was destroyed or taken by the soldiers who came first, and what they left was removed by the people to their own houses" (Forten 1864:590). The depredations of the Federal troops on Lady's Island is the common thread of many accounts. Not only was virtually all of the corn removed from Lady's Island in 1862 to feed the blacks on nearby St. Helena (see Pearson 1906:54), but Philbrick mentioned that:

> on the north end of Ladies Island the pickets are changed every little while, and have killed nearly all the negroes' poultry. The people don't dare to leave their houses, and take all their hens into their houses every night. They shoot their pigs and in one case have shot two working mules (Pearson 1906:118).

Earlier, Edward Pierce reported that the Union soldiers were slaughtering all of the livestock they would find on the plantations, sometimes killing as many as "fifty or more head on a plantation" (quoted in Johnson 1969:159).

While it seems likely that the Union pickets were stationed at a number of places on Lady's Island, the major post was "Coosaw" or "Sams" fort, an earthwork on the northeastern point of the island (Pearson 1906:240; U.S. Coast Survey Chart, "Coast of South Carolina From Charleston to Hilton Head," dated 1862). These outposts were established, in part, as a response to the fear of Confederate attack from the north (see *Official Records*, Series I, volume 14, page 189). A letter dated August 31, 1862 briefly describes the outposts and mentions the presence of the 6th Connecticut Volunteers in the area (South Caroliniana Library, letter of Sam B. Shepard).

Of the 30 or 31 plantations on Lady's Island, the Federal government purchased all but seven through the District Tax sales held in 1863 (McGuire 1982:23, 35). The seven plantations not purchased by the Federal government were sold to

private investors, including both black and white individuals. McGuire (1982, 1985) provides a detailed account of the land policies in the area during the Civil War and her studies should be consulted for detailed information. In general, however, blacks slowly came to own a large proportion of the available land. Certificates of possession were eventually issued for a number of the sea island plantations (McGuire 1982:36). During the postbellum period previous owners slowly came forward to reclaim, or redeem, land confiscated by the Federal government. The 1872 redemption process was not totally successful, partially because some tracts had such low value. By the 1890s a program was established to provide owners unsuccessful at either restoration or redemption with token compensation (McGuire 1982:77; S.C. Department of Archives and History, Secretary of State Records, Beaufort County Tax Claims, Direct Tax Compensation Book IX/2/4/3B).

One of the more unique government programs of the "Port Royal Experiment" was the formation of "school farms." These were small portions of plantations set aside as mini-farms. Rent and sale proceeds from these acreages formed a public school fund intended to assist with the education of the Beaufort freedmen. Redemption of school farms came about even more slowly than other lands, largely because of their association with the funding of public education for freedmen. In addition, the lands, never first choice to begin with, were often eroded and poorly tended. By 1886 the school farm concept was abandoned. Curiously, the funds resulting from this system were not made available to the State by the Federal government until 1909 (McGuire 1982:68-69, 135-137, 217).

During the late nineteenth century most of the sea island plantations continued as a rural, isolated agrarian communities. The new plantation owners attempted to forge an economic relationship with the free black laborers and found a multitude of problems, including the need to pay higher wages, increasing problems with the cotton boll weevil, and decreasing fertility. The letters of G.C. Hardy, the manager of the Eustis Plantation on Lady's Island in the 1870s, clearly reveal the problems faced during this period. Hardy, in his letters to Frederic Eustis, discusses the rising labor costs and the serious losses of cotton to the boll weevil (South Caroliniana Library, Frederic A. Eustis Collection).

In the 1870s a new form of livelihood was introduced — the mining of phosphate for fertilizer. While both land and river rock mining were conducted in South Carolina, the Beaufort area saw primarily river dredging to acquire the phosphate ore present as gravel, although land mining of phosphate nodules also took place (Mathews et al. 1980:27, 31). As the industry began to decline in the early twentieth century, blacks returned to agriculture and oyster factories.

Woofter (1930) provides information on the agricultural practices of the St. Helena blacks in the early twentieth century, noting that the population was largely stable, with most blacks remaining in the vicinity of their parents' "home" plantations (Woofter 1930:265). In 1927 the first bridge was built connecting Lady's Island and Beaufort. This signalled the end of an era. Since that time the island has continued to become more urban and the black population with is its distinctly rural lifestyle has become more uncommon.

St. Queuntens Plantation

The specific history of the study tract has been only partially reconstructed during previous historical studies. In November 1706 a memorial for 500 acres was issued to Henry Quintyne. The tract was described as being in "Granville County butting and Bounding to the north on Cusa River to the West on a creek coming out of Cusa River to the East on land not yet laid out" (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Memorials, v. 1, p. 354). Like most memorials, the survey (Figure 7) is rather vague. We had originally suggested that it might not even cover the location of 38BU968 (Trinkley 1989:26). In retrospect, it seems almost certain that this 500 acre parcel includes all of what is today Walling Grove.

A note appended to the Memorial, and dated January 1732, states:

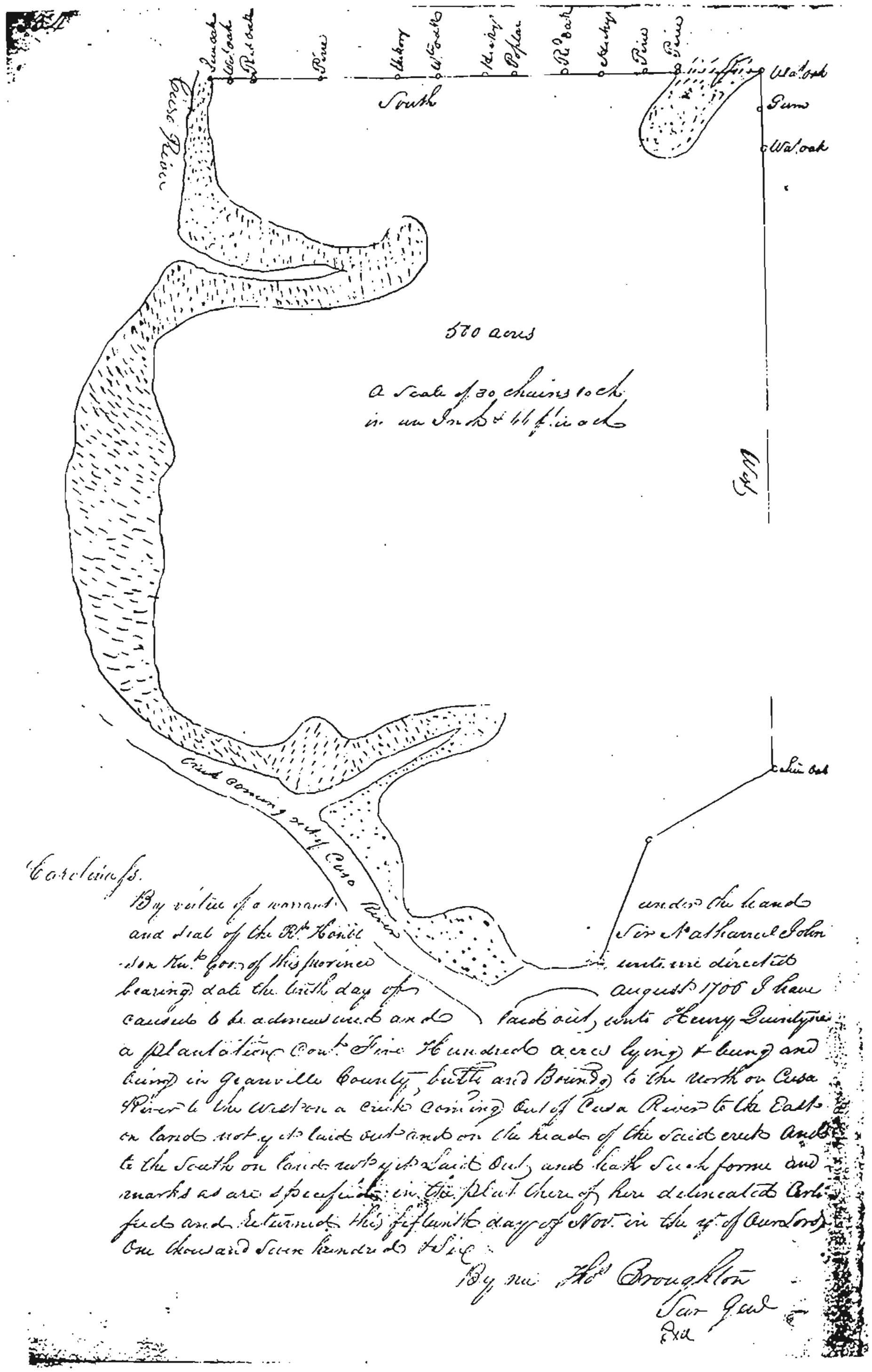

Figure 7. A portion of the 1706 Memorial for Henry Quintyne on Lady's Island (SCDAH Memorials, v. 1, p. 354)

> Which said five [sic] acres held and pofsed by me William Bull of Berkley [sic] County in the province of South Carolina in Right of my wife Mary being Sister and heir at law to the Henry Quityne who died Intestate the grant of which Said five hundred Acres is hereby required to be registered pursuant to the act of afsembly in that case made and provided by me the said William Bull (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Memorials, v. 1, p. 355).

Henry Quintyne was the only son of Richard Quintyne, who as a immigrant from Barbados was given two warrants — one in 1678 for 100 acres and another in 1679 for 670 acres (Salley 1973:193-194, 210; see also Edgar and Bailey 1977:548). Henry's sister Mary married William Bull I and Henry was killed during a Yemassee raid in July 1716 (Rowland et al. 1996:91, 114; see also Edgar and Bailey 1977:122). With no heirs other than his sister, it seems the property passed to Bull by way of his wife, Mary.

A more detailed survey of this tract was prepared for William Bull in April 1752 and shows "an overplufs of Seven hundred and Ten Acres of Land and Marsh" (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Pre-Revolutionary Loose Plats, Oversize Folder 41; Figure 8). This plat indicates not only that the original Quintyne tract contained more acres than originally surveyed, but also that two additional tracts had been acquired. By 1752 William Bull owned what would later become Brickyard Point, Johnson Plantation, and St. Queuntens Plantation. The plat identifies modern day Brickyard Point as "Quintyne's Point in Beaufort Creek," modern day Broomfield (or Johnsons) Creek as "Quintyne's Creek," and a landing at the western end of modern Walling Grove.

William Bull was a very wealthy planter, being left Ashley Hall in St. Andrew Parish by his father. It was on this plantation that he built a very fine two-story brick mansion. He later acquired Sheldon Plantation in Prince William Parish and records suggest that it was Sheldon that provided the bulk of his wealth, while Ashley Hall was his country seat. It seems unlikely that Bull would have spent much time at his Coosaw River holdings.

Bull's will, proved May 23, 1755, devised "three Tracks of Land on the South side of Coosaw River containing eight Hundred Acres or thereabouts being the Plantation where Major Quintyne lived" to his daughter, Mary Henrietta (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Charleston WB 7 [1752-1756], p. 339). Mary Henrietta Bull married Henry Middleton, the son of Arthur Middleton, in 1762.

In 1782 a map was prepared showing the Low Country toward the end of the American Revolution. "Middleton" is shown at the location of St. Queunten (Figure 9). Clearly, Middleton had acquired the plantation through his marriage to Mary Henrietta. He had inherited The Oaks, in St. James Goose Creek, from his father and from his first wife's holdings he had developed Middleton Place on the Ashley River in St. George Dorchester Parish. While it seems unlikely that Middleton would have concerned himself with one of his lessor holdings, no effort has been made to scour the 338 fiche which compose the Middleton Place Papers in the South Carolina Historical Society collections.

When Henry Middleton died in 1784 he left to his wife an annual stipend of £400 sterling and a life estate to his Charleston house. Although some land is devised to different individuals, he specifies that the majority of his lands (and we assume the St. Queuntens Plantation) "be sold by my Executors or the Survivor of them." He also specifically adds, concerning his wife, "I request she will accept what I have herein given her in Lieu and full satisfaction of her Dower and every claim on my Estate" (S.C. Department of Archives and History, Charleston WB 20 [1783-1786], p. 416-419).

The land is shown as "St. Quintins Point" on the 1789 William Fayden "Map of South Carolina and a Part of Georgia." This is the first

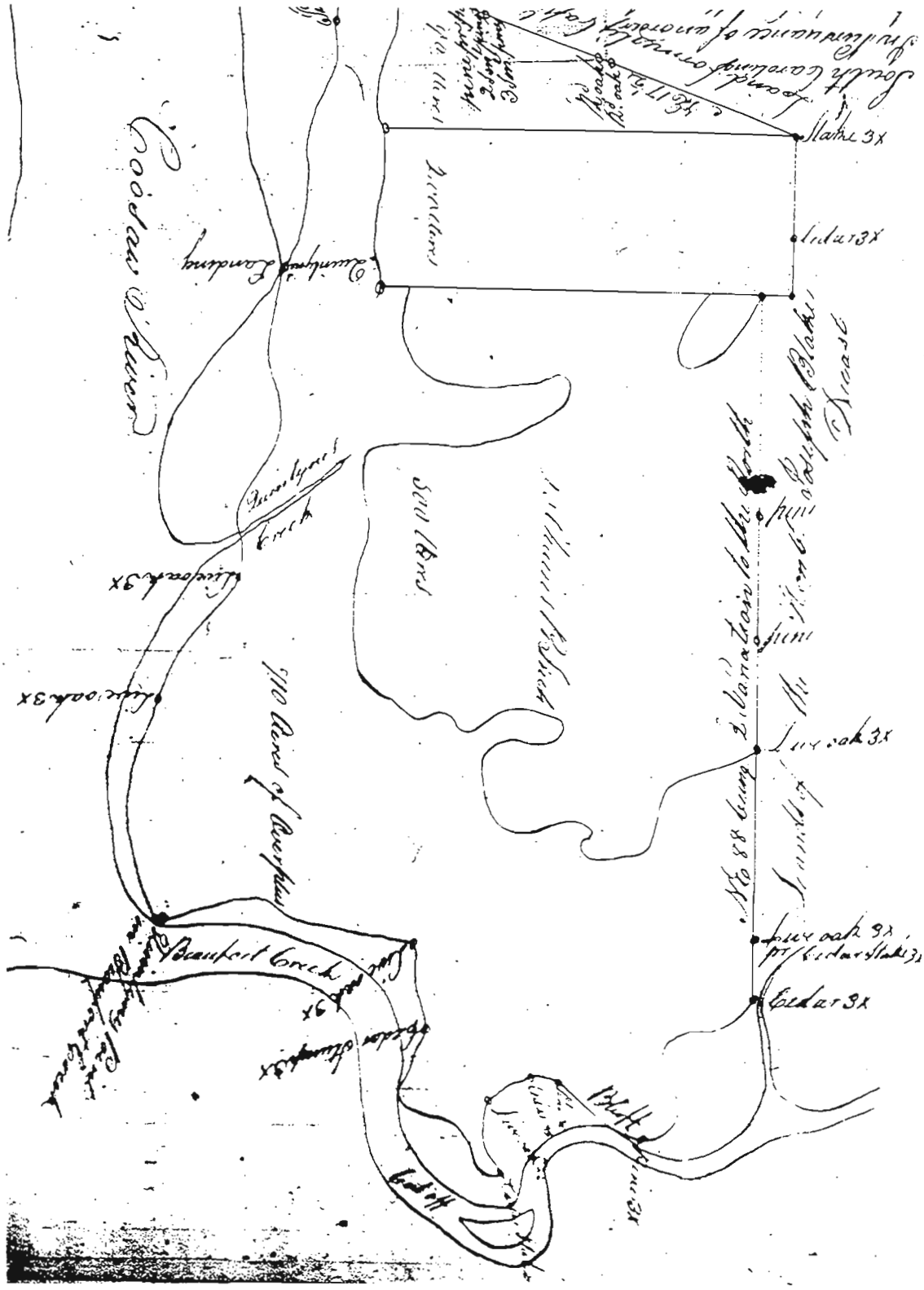

Figure 8. The 1752 plat of the William Bull property on Lady's Island (SCDAH, Pre-Revolutionary Loose Plats, Oversize Folder 41)

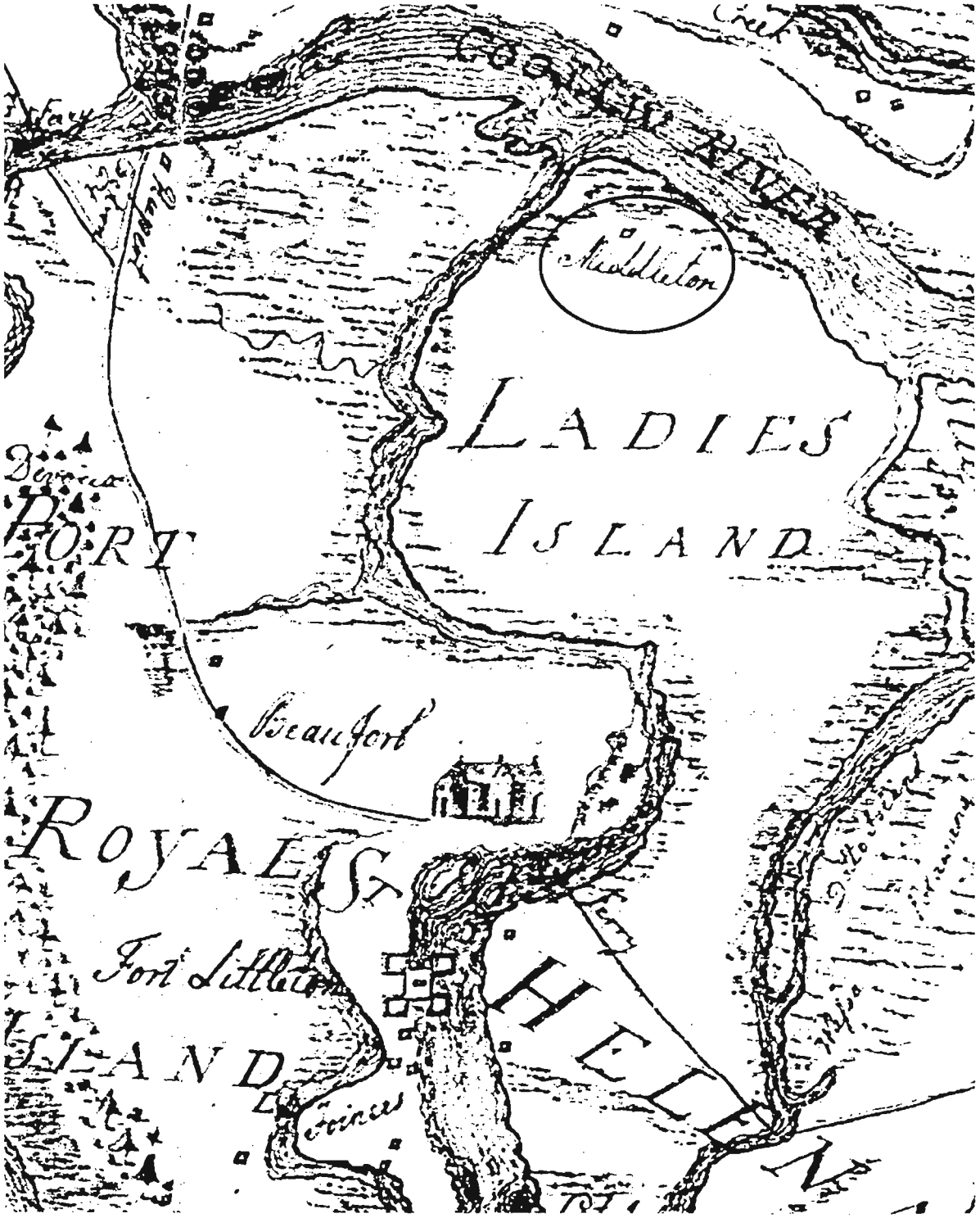

Figure 9. A portion of the 1782 map of the South Carolina Low Country showing British activities at the end of the American Revolution (Scavenius Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

time that the plantation is associated with Saint Quentin, a Roman (Gaius Quintinus) who was martyred in France. It is unclear how the name came to associated with this South Carolina plantation.

Unfortunately, no additional record of ownership has been located until the 1825 Mills Atlas of Beaufort District (Figure 10) which indicates that the property is owned by Fickling, an individual about whom little is known. This suggests that sometime in the 41 years between Middleton's death in 1784 and the publication of the 1825 map, Middleton's executors had disposed of the Coosaw River property.

By 1825 the property once owned by Henry Quintyne was definitely owned by Joseph and Sarah Fickling, who are listed in the 1820 census as residents of St. Helena, which included Lady's Island (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1820 Beaufort District Census, p. 5). An 1824 tax return for Joseph Fickling reveals his ownership of a 500 acre plantation in St. Helena Parish, valued at $860, a Beaufort town lot valued at $1,600, and goods valued at $1,500, as well as 36 slaves (South Carolina Department of Archives and History Microfilm 0015 052 1824 02046). Sarah Fickling owned an additional 460 acres in St. Helena, valued at $966, a town lot valued at $1,250, and 49 slaves (South Carolina Department of Archives and History Microfilm 0015 052 1824 02047).

It appears that Fickling was a moderately successful planter, representative of the vast majority of "middling" planters in the South Carolina Low Country. The question, however, remains if he was sufficiently wealthy to establish the main house or might it have been built earlier, perhaps by Middleton? It is tempting to suggest he built the complex as part of his effort to establish himself in the mainstream of the planter class.

Both Joseph and Sara continue to be listed in the 1830 census (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1830 Beaufort District Census, p. 289). By 1840, however, only Sarah is listed (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1840 Beaufort District Census, p. 264). In 1830 and 1831 Sarah Fickling sold at least nine slaves (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Microfilm 0002 001 005K 00186-187, 0002 001 005K 00354, 0002 001 005T 00272). These circumstances suggest that Joseph Fickling died around 1830 and that Sarah began to sell excess property. The only property listed in the 1850 agricultural census is Sarah Fickling's 460 acre tract mentioned in the 1824 tax return. The 500 acre tract is no longer listed under her name (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1850 Beaufort District Agricultural Census, p. 297). Based on the census records, Sarah Fickling died sometime between 1850 and 1860.

The ownership of the Walling Grove tract is again unknown for the period from about 1830 until 1863 when it is purchased from the United States Tax Commission by Joseph S. Reed (Beaufort County RMC, DB 7, p. 201). At that time it is described as the:

> tract of land on Ladies Island Known as "St. Quenten." Bounded northerly by Coosaw River, southerly by Woodland, Easterly by the Edward Cuthbert Place, Westwardly by the John Johnson Place, Containing five hundred and thirty acres more or less (Beaufort County RMC, DB 7, p. 201).

While the plantation maintains the name "St. Quentens," there is no indication of the previous owner. Examination of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History Combined Alphabetic Index for variations of St. Queuntens; the Freedmen Bureau records for Restoration of Property; and the Secretary of State, Beaufort Direct Tax Claims, Direct Tax Compensation Book provided no additional information. Records at the National Archives reveal only information regarding boundaries, acreage, and that the value of the land was fixed at $2,120 on November 3, 1862 (National Archives, RG 217, Entry 888, v. 2). As late as 1882 the original owner was listed as "not given" by the Federal government (*Senate Documents*, v. 4, n. 82, 1881-1882, p. 11).

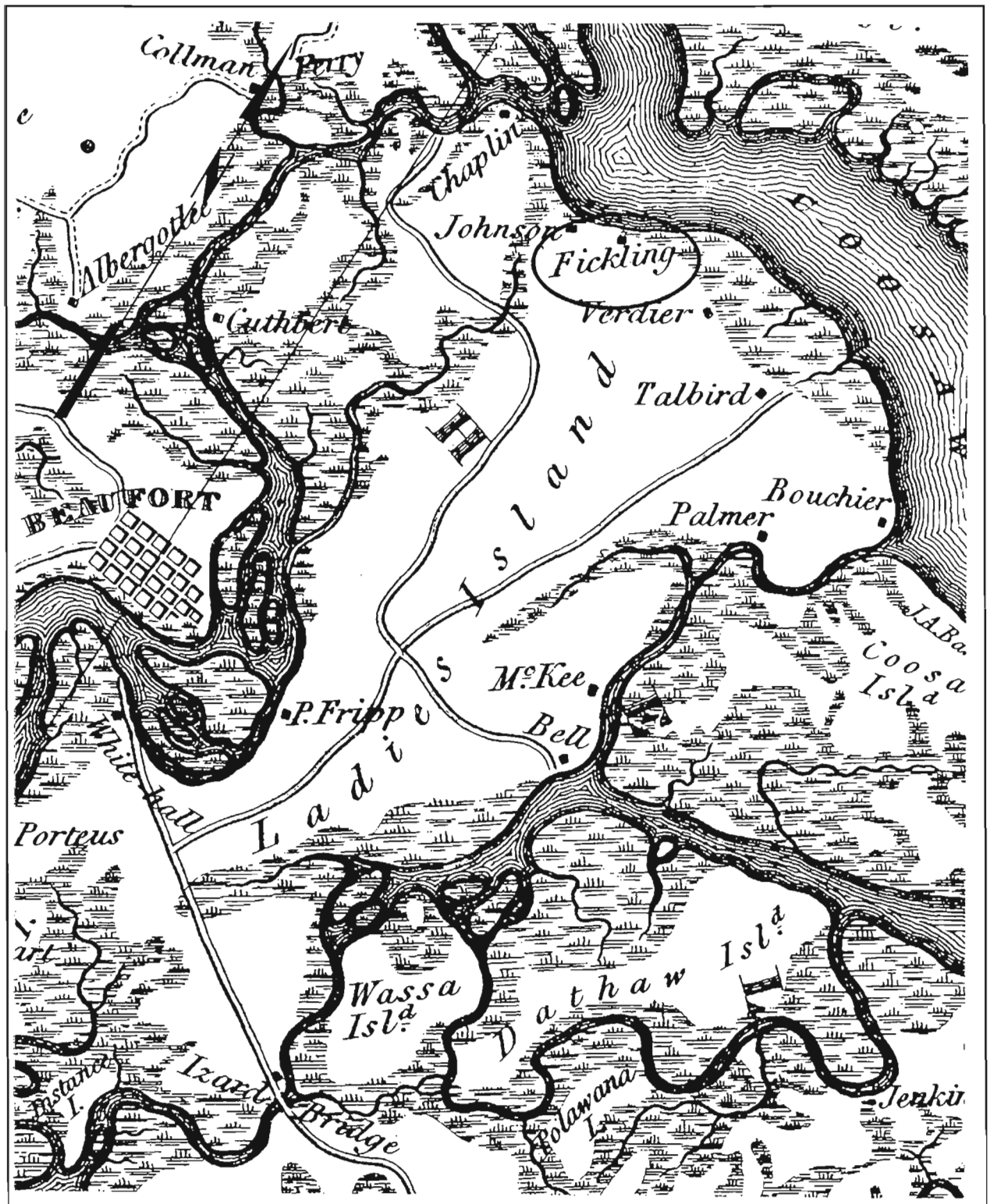

Figure 10. Mills' Atlas of the Beaufort District in 1825 showing the Fickling settlement.

Given the excellent records for restoration, redemption, and restitution of Ladys Island lands, it is unusual not to find any mention of this tract. Its early purchase by Joseph Reed, a private individual, may have discouraged its previous owners from pressing claims. Alternatively, the land may have been too unprofitable to warrant any serious attempt at restitution, there may have been no heirs to the property after the war, or the records may simply have been lost or not yet identified.

Information on Joseph Reed is sparse, although it appears that he was superintendent of several plantations on the north end of Ladys Island. Philbrick, in 1862, mentions riding to:

> Cuthbert's Point to sleep with Joe Reed and Mr. Hull. I found them delightfully situated in a small house on Beaufort River surrounded by a superb grove of live-oaks, clear of brush and nicely kept (Pearson 1906:116-117).

Reed purchased both the Walnut Hill (east of St. Queuntens) and St. Queuntens tracts in the 1863 land sale. He also acquired the Johnson School Farm (west of St. Queuntens), Pleasant Hill (or Pleasant Point School Farm, also known as Cuthbert's on the Beaufort River). As a result, he owned 690 acres in four parcels.

By 1869 Reed had moved to Chicago, leaving James G. Cole as the overseer of these tracts. Cole was to receive $600 per year for his work, but by 1875 had received no payments and sued Reed for his back pay and interest (Beaufort County Judgement Roll 1171). Reed was also sued by George Waterhouse in the same session for goods purchased at Waterhouse's store by Cole on credit (Beaufort County Judgement Roll 1170). Reed, residing in Chicago, did not appear before the court and apparently did not even respond to the summons. As a result, the Court ordered the various tracts sold at auction to pay the judgements of $4,701.79 to Cole and $469.38 plus costs to Waterhouse.

This action is most interesting not because it provides information on Reed's solvency, but rather because Waterhouse appended his accounts to the complaint. As a result, it is possible to examine the goods that were being purchased by Cole for plantation supplies and for resale to the plantation freedmen. Food, hardware, general merchandise, and clothing are among the items listed. Large number of nails were purchased, probably for the rehabilitation of the slave rows still being used by the freedmen. The other goods do not appear to be markedly different from those provided to slaves during the antebellum, and include items such as lard and flour, and cotton and calico cloth. What was different were the inexpensive "cups and saucers," reflecting the gradual dietary and social changes as freedmen attempted to imitate the behavior of Southern whites.

The court action also resulted in an inventory of goods at the plantations owned by Reed. The rather sparse list includes three horses, one mule, one colt, one boat, one flat, two gins, one corn mill, one 5-horsepower engine, 45 head of cattle, three carts, one set harnesses, two plows, two bedsteads, one crib, six dining room chairs, three additional chairs, six chamber sets, one side board, two wash stands, two mattresses, one French china dinner set, one French china tea set, two chamber stands, one wardrobe, one book case, one bureau, and 50 yards of matting. This inventory suggests rather meager equipage and furniture for two structures.

The 1873 Coast Chard 55, entitled "Coast of South Carolina and Georgia from Hunting Island to Ossabaw Island, Including Port Royal Sound and Savannah River," shows a main house for St. Queuntens about 0.5 mile from Johnsons Creek and a slave row about 0.2 mile east of the main house. The slave row consists of two rows of structures (a total of nine) parallel to the Coosaw River. Although the map is based on topography gathered from 1852 through 1872, other maps made during Reed's ownership of St. Queuntens reveal that the original plantation house and the antebellum slave row were both intact.

In fact, one of the best maps is the "Coosaw River to Ashepoo River, Including a Portion of Lady's Island" made by the Coast Survey (Figure 11). This map reveals not only the slave settlement, but also the main house and a road or path leading

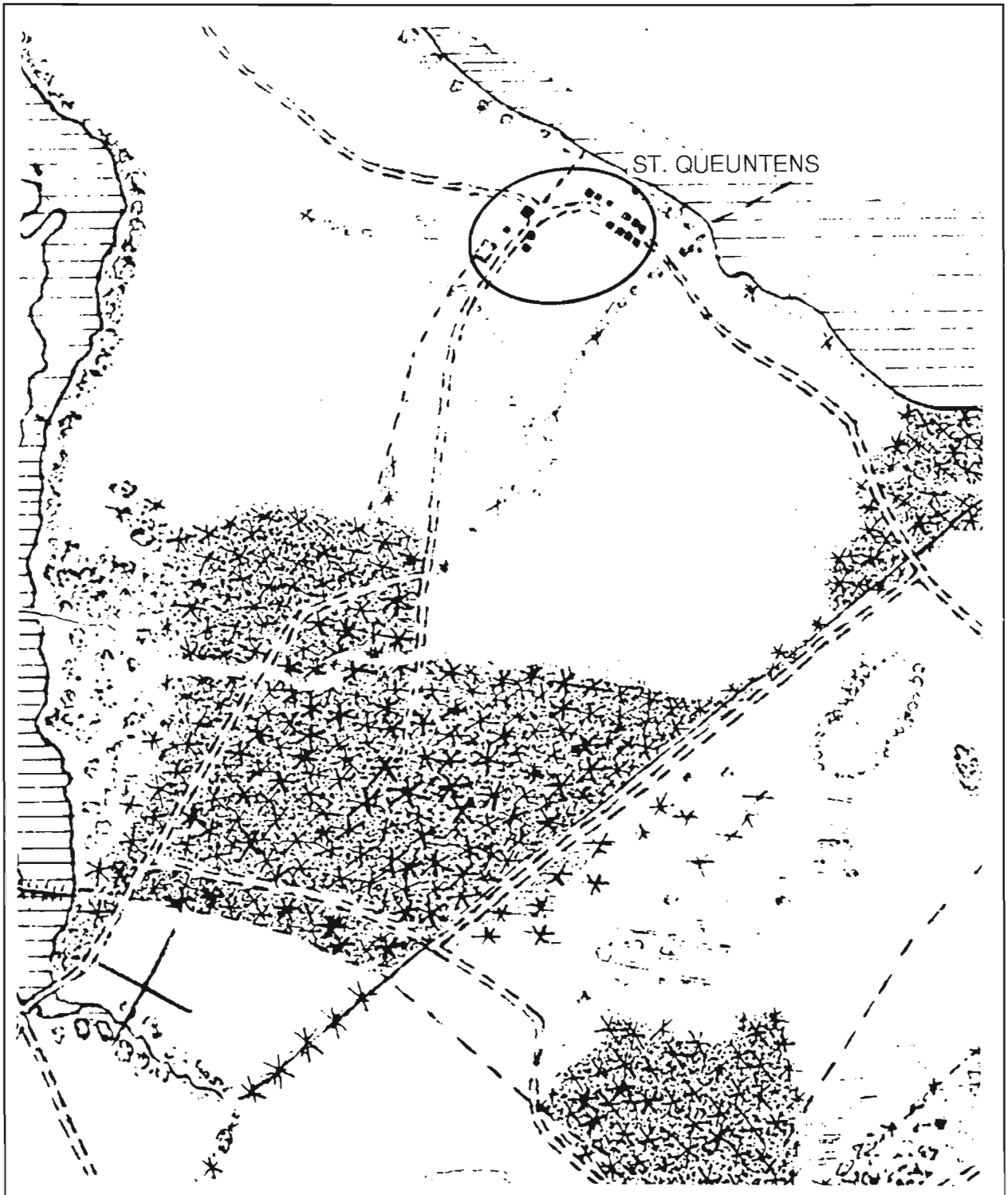

Figure 11. Portion of the 1854 Coast Survey "Coosaw River to Ashepoo River, Including a Portion of Lady's Island" showing the St. Queuntens Plantation settlement.

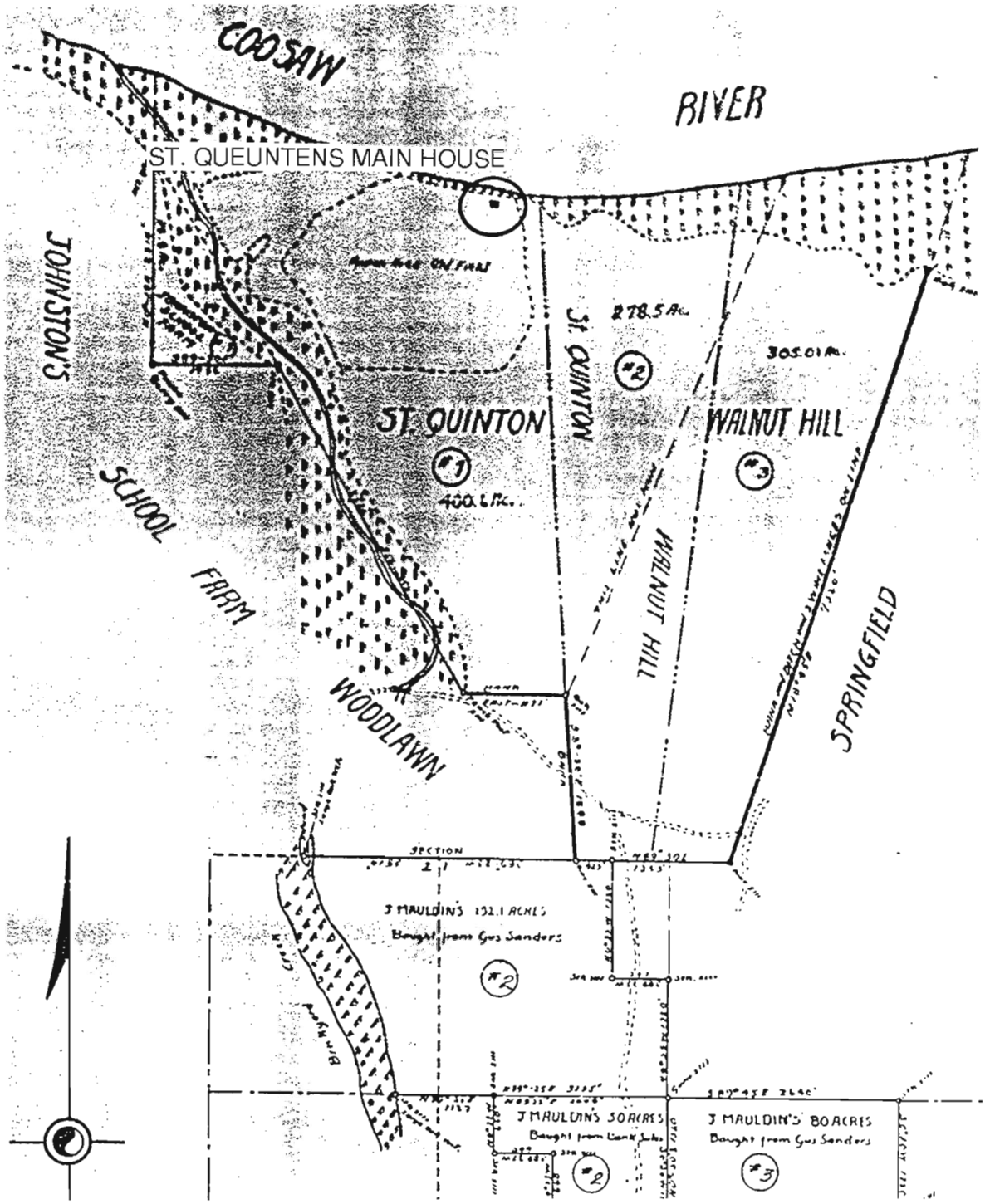

Figure 12. The 1920 plat of St. Queuntens, showing the division of the plantation in several tracts (McCrady Plat 3152).

from the main house to the Coosaw River. Between the main house and the slave settlement are three structures, while to the south and southeast of the main house are three additional buildings. A penned area is also shown south of the main house, with a fence line running toward a large wooded area.

This map suggests that the St. Queunten house, oriented toward the river, was not on a typical oak allée, but was situated in the southwest corner of a "T"-intersection. It also reveals that structures were built south of the main house (cf. Trinkley 1997).

When put up for auction by the Sheriff in 1876, St. Queuntens (along with Pleasant Point, Johnson School Farm, and Walnut Hill) was purchased by Cole (Beaufort County RMC, DB 10, p. 80). Cole apparently continued to operate the tracts until his death. In 1904 the tracts were sold by George Cole's heirs to F.W. Schaper (Beaufort County RMC, DB 26, p. 46). St. Queuntens was sold by Schaper three months later to W.F. Sanders (Beaufort County RMC, DB 26, p. 156). Two years later, in 1906, Sanders sold the tract to Joab Mauldin of Hampton, South Carolina (Beaufort County RMC, DB 26, p. 515). Throughout these transactions St. Queuntens consistently is described as 500 acres, the same amount of land shown in the 1824 tax return for Joseph Fickling.

Upon Joab Mauldin's death, sometime prior to 1920, the property was passed to an heir, Leonora M. Dowling (see Beaufort County RMC, DB 53, p. 546). A plat of the Mauldin property was prepared in 1920 (Figure 12) and St. Quinton" was divided into two tracts of 400.6 and 278.5 acres (McCrady Plat 3152). The increase in acreage is not surprising since this represents the first known survey of the tract. Both the 1912 Corps of Engineers 15' Beaufort topographic map and the 1920 plat shown the main house (at the northeastern edge of an "old field" on the 1920 plat). By 1912, however, the slave row shown on the 1873 map is no longer present (Figure 13).

The 400.6 acre portion of St. Queuntens, known as Tract 1, and the Johnson School Farm, were conveyed by Leonora M. Dowling through Louise Dowling to G.G. Dowling in 1938 (Beaufort

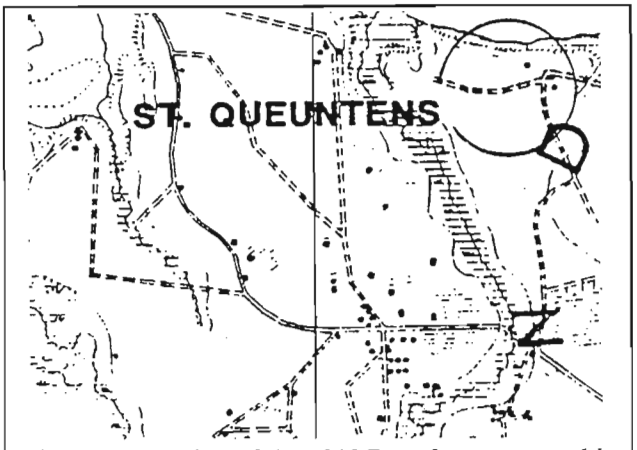

Figure 13. Portion of the 1912 Beaufort topographic map showing the planatation area.

County RMC, DB 53, p. 546; Beaufort County RMC, DB 61, p. 402). By this time, however, there is a mortgage on the property. The 1939 Soil Conservation Service aerials for Beaufort County show the ruins of a structure, thought to be the main house on the property (CDU-3-103).

In 1949 G.G. Dowling conveyed his portion of St. Queuntens Plantation to Bert H. Walling (Beaufort County RMC, DB 69, p. 117). Walling apparently entered into an agreement with Emil H. Klatt to raise dogs on the property, but the partnership failed in 1962 and Klatt went to court to dissolve the agreement and force a settlement (Beaufort County Judgement Roll 10,297). The property was sold at public auction to Bert Walling in 1963 (Beaufort County RMC, DB 117, p. 3). Walling sold two small tracts to Ladys Island Resort, Inc. in 1965 (Beaufort County RMC, DB 132, p. 257) and sold the remainder to Walling Enterprises, Inc. (Beaufort County RMC, DB 113, p. 112). Walling Enterprises then sold the property to Ladys Island Resort, Inc. (Beaufort County RMC, DB 132, p. 244). In 1967 Ladys Island Resort was sued by Continental Corporation and a judgement was obtained ordering the property to the sold (Beaufort County Judgement Roll 13,389). The land was sold to Doris B. and Edwin S. Brock (Beaufort County RMC, DB 149, p. 232), who sold it to the current owners, Walling Grove Development Corporation, in 1988 (Beaufort County RMC, DB 508, page 398).

EXCAVATIONS

Strategy and Methods

The scope of work for the main plantation settlement, developed by Chicora in consultation with the State Historic Preservation Office, was to focus on four specific topics:

- delimiting the main house using 2.5 by 10 foot trenches and probing;
- collecting architectural information through the excavation of several 5-foot units in the main house;
- collecting front yard information through the excavation of 5-foot units; and
- exploring the remainder of the yard through the excavation of a series of 2-foot units to allow a sample of materials to be recovered.

This work was to take no longer than a week and was, by virtue of the allotted budget, to involve approximately 200 person hours of field investigation. The specific research goals are outlined below in greater detail.

Delimiting the Main House

One of the primary questions we sought to address concerned the form of the main house. The original survey found only the two chimney stack supports, but suggested that additional tabby supports might be present. This was further supported by the additional survey work conducted in an effort to evaluate the extent of construction-related damage (Trinkley 1997b). Brooker (in Trinkley 1989) also outlined questions he had concerning the form and organization of the house, as well as its temporal association.

Although it was not going to be possible to expose the entire house, we felt that using slot trenches it would be possible to isolate wall sections in order to more clearly define the exact size and placement of the structure, as well as perhaps some of the construction techniques used. It would also be possible to trace the tabby walls to reveal the floor plan of the basement level and this might allow a reasonable projection of the floors above.

We also hoped that the slot trenches might allow the identification of builder's trenches, perhaps associated with the tabby walls. These trenches might contain artifacts that would help better date the main house itself. Although we anticipated that the artifact collections from the slot trenches would be limited, it was possible that sufficient materials would be recovered to allow us to project the location of windows and other architectural features, based on the differential recovery of architectural hardware and window glass.

Where necessary we anticipated supplementing the slot trenches with probing to identify intact, but buried, wall remains. Although probing can't answer all the questions we might have concerning how the different walls are "put together," it can help solve at least some issues.

Collecting Architectural Information

In order to acquire additional information regarding the main house, we also anticipated excavating several formal units — probably 5-foot squares. These units would be placed to either address questions raised by the slot trenches or to explore what appear to be different rooms or areas in the basement.

In the first case, the units will be used to

expand slot trenches, opening a larger area and allowing greater exposure of features. This, of course, often helps resolve confusing architectural details, while at the same time helping to acquire a larger artifact collection. In the second case, the formal units will be placed in distinct structural areas in the hope that artifact types or proportions will reveal functional differences. In addition, the formal units would also provide information on the architecture of the basement — for example, what type of floor was present and was the interior plastered. These details would help us to better understand the nature and complexity of the main house.

Collecting Front Yard Information

Our focus on the front yard was exclusively driven by the construction of the new house and the disturbance it was creating. Within the confines of the current construction we proposed to excavate several 5-foot units.

Based on the survey data, it appeared that this front yard zone contained dense artifacts — so the proposed research would sample those remains. Further, this work was designed to obtain a sample of materials from an area which will become inaccessible once the new house is constructed.

One area of focus was to be the southwest quadrant of the new house, adjacent to the slab garage since this area exhibited the highest density of remains. Another area of our focus was to be the northwest quadrant of the house. Although the artifact density in this area is about the same as the eastern portion of the construction area, previous shovel testing suggested dense concentrations of shell, which may extend northward. Testing in this area may help to identify the function of this shell.

Sampling Other Yard Areas

In order to collect as broad a range of information as possible from as large an area as possible, we proposed the excavation of 2-foot units at 20-foot intervals across the rear and front yards of the structure. These units were to be exploratory, providing information from a relatively broad area of the main settlement. All brick, mortar, and shell from these units would be quantified in the field, providing an accurate record of the dispersion of architectural materials across the yard area. We also hoped that an examination of the density of remains in the units would help us understand the distribution of other debris in the main house area.

Excavation Methods

The site grid was oriented with the two tabby chimney supports in order to follow the approximate orientation of the structure. This resulted in a grid oriented N10°E. A modified Chicago grid was established, with each square designated by its southeast corner from a reference point located off-site. Thus, the southeast corner of square 100R200 would be located north 100 feet and right (or east) 200 feet from the 0R0 point. The main site datum, an iron rebar, was established at 205R175.

Vertical control was maintained through the use of a mean sea level datum established by Chicora at 205R175 (elevation at 16.00 feet AMSL). This allowed not only the construction of a topographic map showing the elevations in the site area, but also ensured that profiles were accurately reflected in drawings.

All excavations were by hand and soils were screened through ¼-inch mesh using mechanical and hand sifters. Units were troweled at the top of the subsoil, photographed using b/w and color transparency film, and plotted. Excavation was by natural soil zones and soil samples were routinely collected.

Excavations

The field investigations were conducted from Monday, April 21, 1997 through Sunday, April 27, 1997. Six individuals and the field director, Mr. William Barr, participated in the study, for a total of 322 person hours devoted to the work. The field study was conducted during a very wet period of the year and about 30 hours

were spent in the field lab washing artifacts, nevertheless, this represents about 45% more time than originally proposed. We increased the level of field work, without any additional cost to the client, since it became quickly apparent that the site was richer than originally anticipated.

The work opened a total of nine 2-foot units in the front yard area (i.e., that area north of the main house), seven 5-foot units in the area within the new house footprint, 10 5-foot units and nine 2.5 by 5-foot units in the tabby ruins of the main house, and 13 2-foot units in the rear yard (i.e., south of the main house) (Figure 14). A total of 738 square feet were excavated and a total of 964.9 cubic feet of soil were moved in primary excavations.

Each of the different excavation areas is briefly evaluated below.

Front Yard Area

Although we originally anticipated excavation of units at 20-foot intervals, a combination of the poor weather and dense remains made this impractical. In the front yard area (i.e., the area to the north of the main house), we excavated nine 2-foot units. These revealed that artifact density, while high near the house, dropped dramatically beyond the area originally shovel tested. This drop in density contributed to our decision to limited these tests.

It appears that the front yard was well maintained, being kept clean and clear of obvious debris. In fact, it is important to note that we have identified this area as the "front" yard almost entirely on the low artifact density. There seem to be examples of similar houses having formal (i.e., front) entrances facing both water and land vistas, with the front facing whichever direction was more prominent. There is so little historical information concerning St. Queuntens that it is impossible, through the historically documents, to speculate on what might have been the front entrance. This research, however, suggests that the water may have been the dominant landscape, with the main house facing toward Coosaw River.

This is supported by the apparent location of the kitchen, slightly southeast of the main house. Taking a somewhat rear position, this would be appropriate if the house were designed to be viewed, and approached, from the river. Although the other standing tabby ruin, probably a storage building, is northeast of the main house, the distance is far greater and it appears to be a more recent addition to the plantation landscape. It may have been masked by trees, or it may have been added late enough that the owners were no longer concerned about displaying the plantation setting as a sign of wealth, power, and prestige.

Rear Yard Area

To the rear (i.e., the south) of the main house, artifact density increases noticeably. There seems to be a general blurring of artifacts in this area, probably reflecting a blending of materials from both the main house and also the kitchen. Although placed at 20-foot intervals, it was not possible to extend the investigations to the paved road. In all, 13 units were excavated, taking the area investigated southward about 50 feet from the main house.

Yard Information in the Vicinity of the New House

The excavations under the new house (i.e., within its footprint) consisted of seven 5-foot units. They revealed that artifacts were very common in this near yard area. Interpreting these remains, however, is problematical since the work found much greater disturbance from house construction than originally anticipated based on the survey shovel tests.

The work also failed to identify any evidence of a formal entrance or piazza for the main house. We suspect that whatever might have been present has been extensively damaged by house construction. As previously discussed, we had also hoped that our work in this area would account for the dense shell detected in this area by the shovel tests. We were largely unsuccessful, again probably because the recent house construction had very aggressively mixed deposits. The quantity of shell, however, remains quite high.

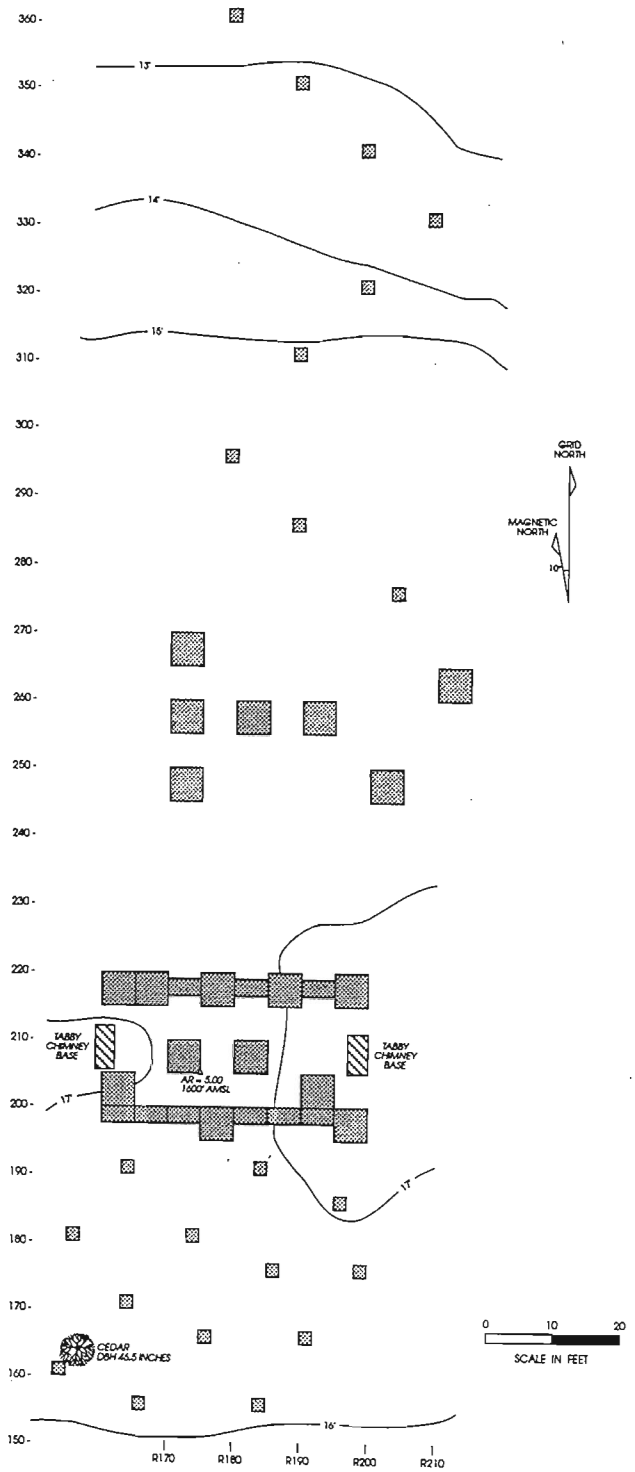

Figure 14. Plan of excavations at St. Queuntens Plantation.

Large quantities are not mixed with mortar, suggesting that it does not represent deteriorating tabby.

A more likely explanation, given its location, is that it represents a shell drive or work area associated with the main house. Its location seems to correlate with what is shown as a trail or path leading from the main house to the water in the 1850 plan of the settlement (Figure 11). It may be that the shell represents the remains of this landscape feature. It also appears that much, perhaps all, of this shell was mined from prehistoric middens and prehistoric pottery in both the tabby and this shell lens. This suggests that some effort was spent to collect shell, not only for architectural needs, but also for the creation of pathways on the plantation landscape.

While the work in this area failed to meet our expectations in many respects, we did recover a substantial collection of materials which are of assistance in pattern studies and dating the settlement.

The Main Planation House

Much of our work, as anticipated, focused on the main St. Queuntens house and included 11 5-foot units, three of which were placed within the structure, and eight 2.5 by 5-foot units, placed exclusively to reveal foundations.

The excavations disclosed that the main house measured about 35.7 feet east-west by almost exactly 20 feet north-south. The structure was supported on a series of 10 tabby piers (Figures 15 and 16). The structure was supported on a series of 10 tabby piers , including four "L"-shaped corner piers and three intervening piers along the north and south sides. The interior edge of the tabby foundation corresponds with the interior edge of the tabby chimney supports, suggesting that the tabby chimney block also served to support the structure's sills on the two ends.

Although there is little direct evidence for the height of this lowest level, the tabby chimney supports are about 2.5 feet above grade, suggesting that the remainder of the foundation piers have all been reduced to their current level — just below the grade. Each pier appears to have been broken off at a pour line.

It is likely that the St. Queuntens house was raised perhaps as little as 2.5 feet above the surrounding ground level. This seems to be supported by a slightly deeper brown sand lens under the structure than outside it. We believe that this lens reflects the period's A horizon or original ground surface — which is deeper under the house since that area was not disturbed or used. It is thinner outside since there would have been considerable pedestrian traffic and use areas. The near yard was likely also swept, further reducing the depth of the A horizon.

There were no interior piers, suggesting that the floor span was achieved by running joists, probably 2 by 12s, north-south from sills supported by the tabby piers. This 20-foot span would have presented no particular problems for late eighteenth century builders.

The excavations revealed, above the brown sandy loam of the original ground surface, a lens documenting the structure's burning. Our investigations suggest that the structure fell primarily to the south, suggesting that the fire may have started in the rear. In addition, we found almost no burn zone in the center of the structure, also suggesting that the structure fell southward. The two central units also produced very few artifacts.

The excavations also revealed that the builders had originally set out a very shallow trench, essentially "outlining" the building's floor plan (Figure 17). This trench was found preserved along portions of the north wall, although it has been lost along the south wall. The portions of the trench still preserved vary from about 0.05 to 0.1 foot in depth.

Where tabby piers were to be placed this trench was widened and deepened, with the builder's trench primarily placed on the north side of the piers. At the northwest corner the builder's trench is found on the inside of the building, while

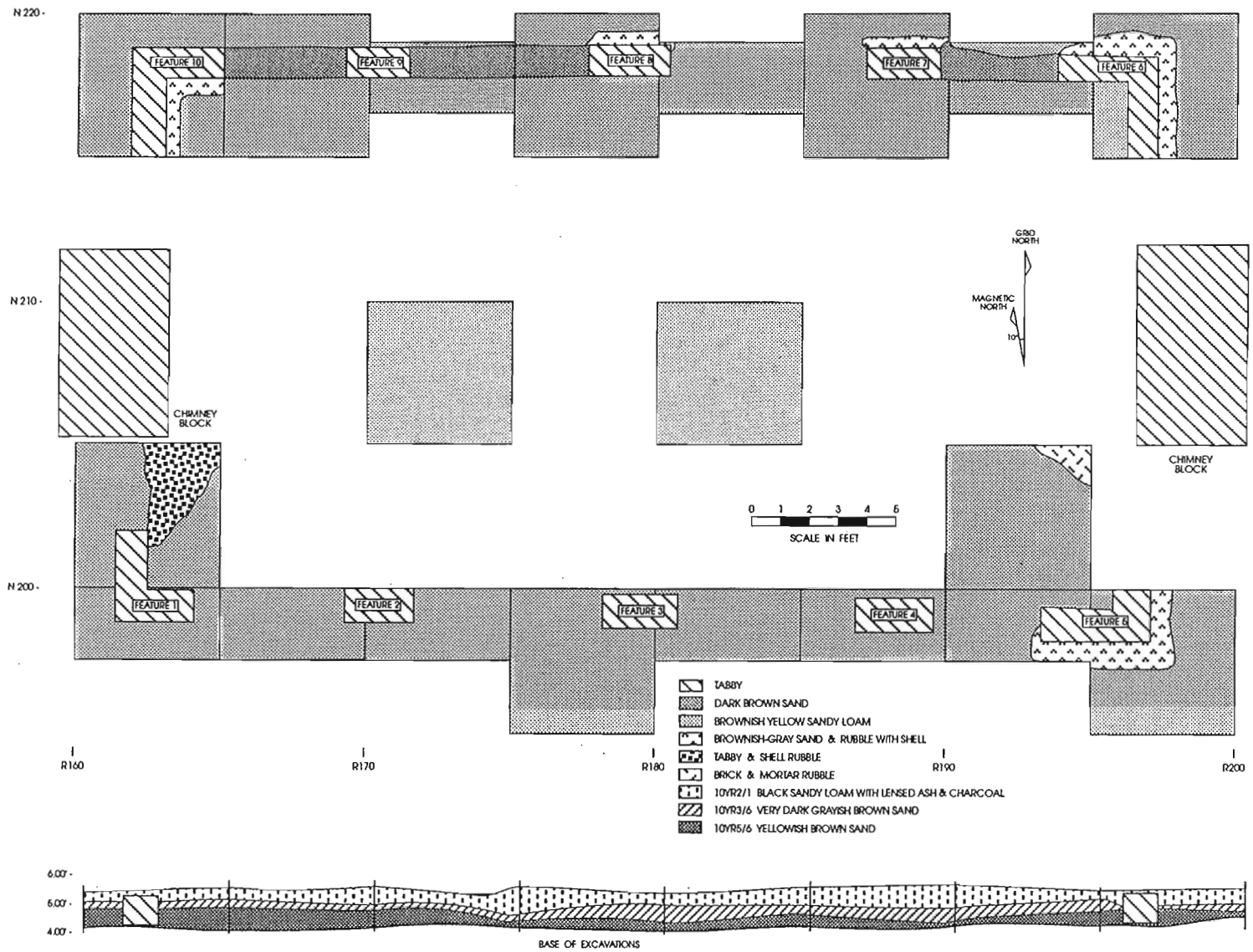

Figure 15. Plan view of the main house area showing excavations, tabby foundations, and other features.

Figure 16. South wall of the main house, along the N200 line, looking west.

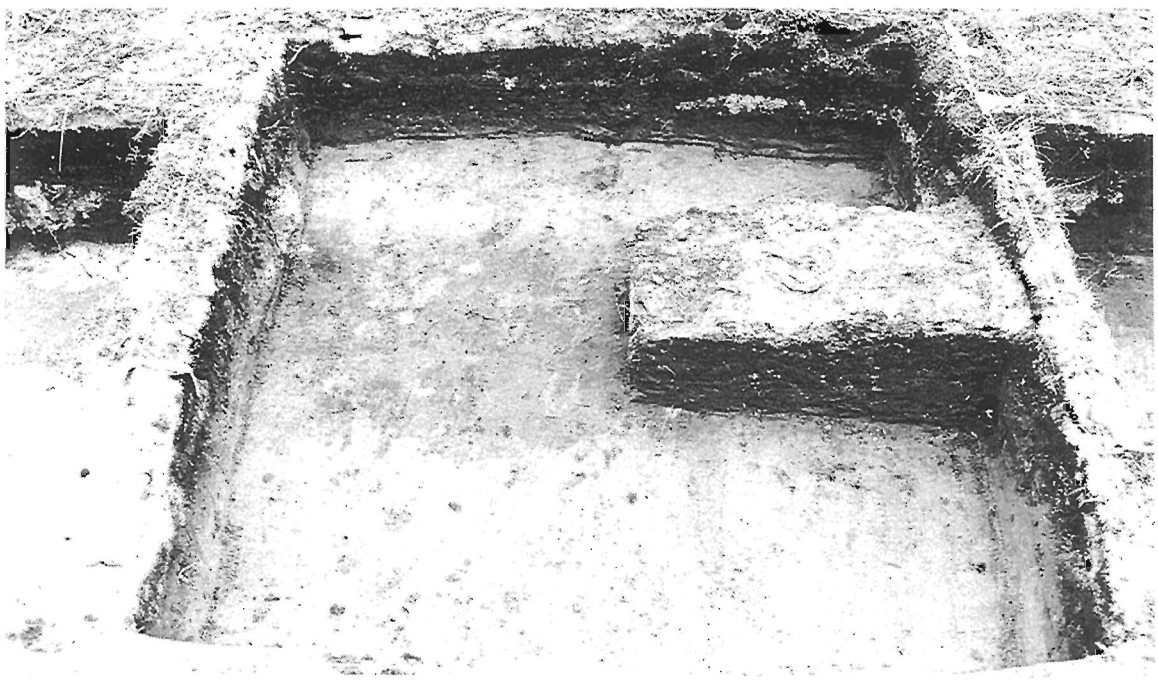

Figure 17. Unit 215R180 showing tabby pier and the trench dug to outline the structure, view to the north.

on the southeast corner, it is found on the outside. It seems likely that the builders, after roughly outlining the structure, came back and more precisely lined up piers. These builder's trenches range from about 0.1 to 0.2 foot in depth, where present, and probably served to also level the base lift or pour of the tabby.

The builder's trenches were excavated, but failed to produce materials other than shell, brick rubble, and an occasional wrought nail. No firmly datable materials were recovered. This suggests that when the structure was built there were no earlier buildings on the site.

As will be discussed in more detail in the following sections, it is clear from this work that the structure was of frame construction. As previously noted, the structure lacks a basement or raised storage area. The dispersion of burned materials suggests that the structure was, at most, a story and half in height. The end chimneys suggest a through-hall design, with rooms off either side of a central hall. One was likely a dinning room, while the other was probably a parlor. Stairs, probably from the hall, would have lead up to bedrooms, perhaps with dormer windows.

Given the low height of the house above grade, it seems probable that the porches set on wood posts, or perhaps very slender tabby or brick piers set shallowly. Nevertheless, we can add little concerning this aspect of the house since no clear archaeological remains were encountered.

ANALYSIS OF ARTIFACTS

Introduction

This section is intended to provide an overview of the material culture present at the St. Queuntens main house. Since the excavations focused on essentially three site areas — the front yard, the rear yard, and the main structure, these discussions are also organized in this manner. A general overview of the recovered artifacts, their contribution toward architectural or status reconstructions, mean ceramic dating, artifact pattern analysis, and exploration of status indicators (including, where appropriate, Miller's indices) are provided for each area. At the conclusion of this section there is a summary, which draws together the different areas of the main house and offers more generalized observations concerning the artifacts and their contribution to our understanding of late eighteenth and nineteenth century plantation life on Ladies Island.

Laboratory Processing, Conservation, and Analysis

The cleaning of artifacts was largely conducted in Beaufort during rain periods and was completed in Columbia, after the conclusion of the excavations. Cataloging and analysis of the specimens was conducted intermittently in December 1997. Conservation treatments have been conducted by Chicora personnel at the Columbia laboratory intermittently from December 1997 through May 1998.

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 (until a chloride level of no greater than 1 ppm or 18 μmhos/cm was achieved using a conductivity meter) and the items were dried in an acetone bath. The conserved cuprous items were coated with a 20% solution (w/v) of acryloid B-72 in toluene.

Ferrous objects 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 30 days. When all visible corrosion was removed, the artifacts were wire brushed and placed in a series of deionized water soaks for the removal of soluble chlorides. When the artifacts tested free of chlorides (at a level less than 0.1 ppm, or 2 μmhos/cm), they were dewatered in acetone baths and were air dried for 24 hours. Afterwards, a series of phosphoric (10% v/v) and tannic (20% w/v) acid solutions were applied and the specimens were again allowed to air dry for 24 hours. They were finally coated with a 10% solution (w/v) of acryloid B-72 in toluene.

As previously discussed, the materials have been curation by the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology as site number 38BU968. Inclusive specimen numbers for the collection are 38BU968-1-1 through 53-3. The collection has been cataloged using this institution's accessioning practices. Specimens were packed in plastic bags and boxed. 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 also curated with this facility. All materials have been delivered to the curatorial facility.

Analysis of the collections followed professionally accepted standards with a level of intensity suitable to the quantity and quality of the remains. The temporal, cultural, and typological classifications of the historic remains follow such authors as Cushion (1976), Godden (1964, 1985), Miller (1980, 1991), Noël Hume (1970), Norman-Wilcox (1965), Peirce (1988), Price (1979), South

(1977), and Walton (1976). Glass artifacts were identified using sources such as Jones (1986), Jones and Sullivan (1985), McKearin and McKearin (1972), McNally (1982), Smith (1981), Vose (1975), and Warren (1970). Additional references, as appropriate for different types of materials, will be discussed in the following sections.

The analysis system used South's (1977) functional groups as an effort to subdivide historic assemblages into groups which could reflect behavioral categories. Initially developed for eighteenth-century British colonial assemblages, this approach appears to be an excellent choice for the St. Queuntens collection. Although criticized for problems in sample comparability (see, for example, Joseph 1989), even the system's detractors note that:

> whatever 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).

The functional categories of Kitchen, Architecture, Furniture, Personal, Clothing, Arms, Tobacco, and Activities provide not only the range necessary for describing and characterizing most collections, but also allow typically consistent comparison with other collections.

Another important analytical technique used in this study is the minimum vessel count, as both an alternative to the more traditional count of ceramics[1] and also as a prerequisite to the application of Miller's cost indices. The most common approach for the calculation of minimum number of vessels (MNV) is to lay out all of the ceramics from a particular analytic unit (such as a feature), grouping the sherds by ware, type, and variety (e.g., floral motif vs. pastoral). All possible mends are then made. Body sherds are, from this point on, considered residual and not further considered. Remaining rim sherds, which fail to provide mends, are examined for matches in design, rim form, colors, and other attributes which would indicate matches with previously defined vessels. Those which fail to match either mended vessels or other rims are counted as additional vessels. Where there were multiple proveniences from an excavation unit, all were combined for this analysis, using a minimum distinction method for the MNV, which tends to provide a relatively conservative count.

Although no cross mend analyses were conducted on the glass artifacts, these materials were examined in a similar fashion to the ceramics to define minimum number of vessel counts, with the number of vessel bases in a given assemblage being used to define the MNV. Attempts were made to mend and match vessel bases in order to ensure the accuracy of the count. If a glass artifact exhibited a different color and/or form not represented by the counted bases, then it was designated a separate vessel or container.

Two methods were used to determine the occupation span of the various excavation units. The first method is South's (1977) mean ceramic dating approach. The other is his bracketing technique. This second method consists of creating a time line where the manufacturing span of the

[1] Although counts are used in this, and virtually every study of historic wares, we know that they are biased as measures of the proportions of types. Simply put, the proportion by number of sherds of a particular type reflects two things — first, the proportion of that type in the population, and second, the average number of sherds into which vessels of that type have broken (known among some researchers are their brokenness) in comparison with the brokenness of other types. In general, however, brokenness will vary from one type to another and also from one size vessel of a particular type to another size vessel of the same type. Usually, types with a high brokenness will be over-represented in comparison to those with a low brokenness. More importantly, this bias not only affects the study of a single assemblage, but may affect the study, or comparison, of different assemblages which may have a different level of brokenness.

various ceramics are placed. The left bracket is placed by determining where at least half of the ceramic type bars touch. The right bracket is placed the same way, however, it is placed far enough to the right to at least touch the beginning of the latest type present (South 1977:214). We have chosen to alter South's bracketing technique slightly by placing the left bar at the earliest ending date when that ending date does not overlap with the rest of the ceramic type bars.

The observant reader will also note that both metric and English units of measurement have been used in the analysis. We recognize that this departure from consistency may be troubling, and may require some conversion back and forth. We have, however, tried to ensure an internal consistency. Where the artifact was likely described by its maker or user in English measurements, they have been retained. The only exception to this is when there has been extensive research on the artifact class which uses metric measures (one example being the work on English "wine" bottles by Olive Jones). When the maker or user of the object probably had no reason to refer to a specific measurement (such as the length or diameter of a pencil), we have used metric units.

In the following discussions, the first time a particular artifact type, or class, is encountered, it will be discussed in greater detail than it is when found in subsequent contexts. While this may cause some difficulty for those interested in only one particular unit at the site, it will reduce the shear volume of text and will make these discussion flow in a more readable fashion.

The Front Yard

As previously mentioned, the "front" of the St. Queuntens structure is thought to be the north facade, facing the water. Consequently, the front yard excavations included seven 5-foot units placed under the footprint of the new house being built on the lot, as well as nine 2-foot units continuing down slope, toward the water (see Figure 14 for the placement of these units). A total of 1911 artifacts were recovered from these excavations, resulting in an artifact density of 8.2 specimens per cubic foot.

Kitchen Group Artifacts

A total of 701 Kitchen Group artifacts was recovered, most (354 or 50.5%) representing ceramics. Glass specimens are nearly as common, accounting for 46.2% of the Kitchen Groups (n=324). The major types of ceramics are shown in Table 1, revealing that tablewares, such as the porcelains, white salt glazed stonewares, slipware, creamwares, pearlwares, and whitewares account for 84.5% of the ceramics. Utilitarian wares,[2] such as most of the stonewares, the coarse earthenwares, and other ceramics, account for about 15.5% of the assemblage.

Table 1.
Major Types of Ceramics from the Front Yard Area

Porcelain		3	0.8%
Stoneware		23	6.5%
Brown	7		
Blue/Gray	2		
White	2		
Other	12		
Earthenware		328	92.7%
Redware	3		
Slipware	12		
Coarse	3		
Refined	3		
Delft	7		
Creamware	56		
Pearlware	112		
Whiteware	104		
Other	28		

The most common ceramic are the pearlwares. Characterized by a cream colored paste and a blue to white glaze, was perfected by Josiah Wedgewood in 1779 (Noël Hume 1970:128; Price 1979; South 1977:212). The most common type in the front yard area is blue transfer printed (representing 43 specimens or 38.4%), typically

[2] Utilitarian wares are those used in food preparation and storage. They typically include stonewares and coarse earthenwares, but exclude Colono ware, because of the possible ethnic differences in food preparation and consumption practices.

thought to represent very high status, expensive assemblage. The next most common pearlwares were those identified as undecorated (n=35, 31.3%). These may reflect plain specimens, as well as undecorated portions of edged, hand painted, and similar pearlwares.

The pearlwares are represented by 21 vessels, including nine plates or saucers, 10 bowls, and two cups. Of these, 14 (or 66.7%) are either transfer printed or hand painted — both high status or costly decorative styles.

The quest for a truly white-bodied ware culminated with the introduction of whitewares about the second decade of the nineteenth century. In the front yard of St. Queuntens the comprise about 29.3% of the ceramics and are dominated by plain or undecorated varieties. In fact, of the 12 identifiable vessels, only one is a blue transfer print; the others are all undecorated. The 12 vessels include six plates or saucers, two bowls, and four cups.

The creamwares in the collection, accounting for the third largest group (n=56, 15.8% of the ceramic assemblage), are recognized by an off-white (cream colored) paste and a distinctive yellowish lead glaze which exhibits a greenish color where thickly puddled (Brown 1982:15-16; Norman-Wilcox 1965:139). Although four different decorative styles are identified, the bulk of the collection is undecorated (n=53, 94.6%) and only single specimens of cable, annular, and blue transfer printed motifs are present. Six vessels were identified in the study, including four plates or saucers and two bowls. All are undecorated, except for one example of a fairly unusual cable decorated plate (this design is more often associated with hollowware, such as bowls).

The remaining collection from the front yard area includes a small quantity of white salt-glazed stoneware, lead glazed slipware, and clouded wares — all characteristic of the eighteenth century. Also present are a few Chinese porcelains, typical of the nineteenth century. The mean date for the collection is 1820.2, although the bracket dates range from about 1770 to at least 1900, if the decalcomania whiteware is included. If it is excluded, as perhaps a late intrusion from elsewhere on the site, then the terminal bracket date would be much earlier — about 1831. The bracket dates suggest that the site saw a peak in during the late quarter of the eighteenth century and first quarter of the nineteenth century. Although there was likely occupation up to the Civil War, the front yard debris suggest that either

Table 2.
Mean Ceramic Date the Front Yard Area

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	# (fi)	fi x xi
Canton porcelain	1800-1830	1815	3	5,445
White SGSW	1740-1775	1758	2	3,516
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	12	20,796
Clouded wares	1740-1770	1755	3	5,265
Creamware, cable	1790-1820	1805	1	1,805
annular	1780-1815	1798	1	1,798
blue trans printed	1765-1815	1790	1	1,790
undecorated	1762-1820	1791	53	94,923
Pearlware, poly hand painted	1820-1840	1805	15	27,075
blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	5	9,000
blue transfer printed	1795-1840	1818	43	78,174
edged	1780-1830	1805	8	14,440
annular	1790-1820	1805	6	10,830
undecorated	1780-1830	1805	35	63,175
Whiteware, green edged	1826-1830	1828	1	1,828
blue edged	1811-1880	1853	3	5,559
poly hand painted	1826-1870	1848	1	1,848
blue transfer printed	1831-1865	1848	9	16,632
non-blue transfer printed	1826-1875	1851	1	1,851
poly decalcomania	1901-1950	1926	2	3,852
undecorated	1820→	1860	87	161,820
Yellowware	1826-1880	1853	2	3,706
			294	535,128

535,128 ÷ 294 ≈1820.2

the occupation was much lighter or that refuse disposal practices had dramatically changed.

Container glass accounts for 324 fragments or 46.2% of the Kitchen Group total. A wide range of glass colors are present, although melted glass (much probably being aqua originally) accounts for 26.9% of the collection (n=87). Of the identifiable fragments, clear is most common, comprising 19.1% of the assemblage (n=62), followed by manganese (14.2%, n=46). This manganese glass was introduced between 1880 and 1890, as manganese was added to the flux to produce an almost colorless glass. The only disadvantage was that the glass would take on a purple tint if exposed to strong sunlight for long periods of time. After about 1918 manganese was no longer used (Fletcher 1976:57-58; Kendrick 1976:54-55). This indicates that St. Queuntens most likely continued to be used after the Civil War.

This is supported by the small collection of milk glass (n=18), much of which is identifiable as canning jar liners, added to zinc lids to prevent corrosion and the associated metallic taste, when acidic foods came into contact with the canning jar lid. These likely post-date about 1896 (Fletcher 1976:50-51). Like the very late decalcomania ceramics, it is not possible to determine if these are associated with the main house or may be a late addition from other nearby activity.

Black glass, which is actually dark green in transmitted light, represents "wine" bottles commonly used in Europe and North America. Olive Jones (1986) has conducted extensive research on this bottle style, discovering that the cylindrical "wine" bottle, at least up to the mid-nineteenth century, represents four distinct styles — two for wine and two for beer — linked to their size and intended contents. These four styles, however, were not just used for wines and beers. Other products, such as cider, distilled liquors, vinegar, and mineral waters might also have been sold in these bottle styles. In addition, they would have been used by private individuals as containers for decanting, storing, and serving beverages either bought in barrels or made at home.

Of the 36 fragments of black glass recovered from the front yard area, only one is a measurable base. This specimen has a basal diameter of 90 mm, typical of a wine style and probably dating from 1790 to 1850.

The aqua glass (n=38, 11.7%) includes several panel bottle fragments. These bottles are commonly associated with proprietary or "patent" medicines. While these concoctions frequently contained a high percentage of alcohol, Wilson notes that it would be a mistake to assume these preparations were primarily consumed for their alcohol. He notes that nineteenth century living conditions were such that there were a "plethora of fevers and aches" to which proprietary medicines were routinely applied (Wilson 1981:39).

Eighteen tableware items were recovered from the front yard area, representing about 2.6% of the Kitchen Group artifacts. Included are two iron utensil handle fragments, probably spoons or forks; two fragments of a clear glass bowl, about 6-inches in diameter; one fragment of clear pressed glass, probably dating from the first half of the nineteenth century;; and 13 fragments of tumblers.

The tumblers are clearly the most common object in the tableware category. Both pressed clear (n=12) and manganese (n=1) glass examples are present, although the dominance of the clear glass suggests that most of the examples date from the first half of the nineteenth century. The plain examples range from diameters of 2¾ inches to 4 inches, although 3 to 3½ inch examples account for six of the 10 specimens. Three examples are ribbed, exhibiting a repeating pattern of convex units parallel to one another running from the base upward.

Four kitchenware items were also recovered, including three fragments of thin metal probably representing can fragments and one zinc canning jar lid stamped "KERR." The can fragments were heavily corroded and did not include any rim fragments. Nevertheless, they suggest at least a mid-nineteenth century period of use. In contrast, the metal canning jar lid post-dates 1900, representing another item in the small

quantity of early twentieth century remains recovered from St. Queuntens.

The final item in the Kitchen Group is a single Colono ware sherd.

Architecture Group Artifacts

A total of 1130 architectural specimens (excluding brick) was recovered from the front yard excavations, representing about 59.1% of the area's total assemblage.

The singe largest category is that of nails, with 712 specimens recovered (representing 63.0%) of the architecture group collection). Included are wrought, cut, and wire nails, as well as a category of unidentifiable fragments, heavily corroded and often little more than spalls.

The hand wrought specimens, which range in size from 3d to 20d, date from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries, with the peak popularity during the eighteenth century (Nelson 1968). The shanks are rectangular in cross-section and some authors (see, for example, Lounsbury 1994:412) suggest that these nails tapered on all four sides. Recent work by Wells (1998), however, reveals that wrought nails can taper on either two or four sides and this is not, taken alone, a distinctive feature.

Both round "rose head" and "T-head" examples are found. The rose heads were created by four strikes of the hammer, creating the distinctive shape. These were most commonly used in rough framing, although much of the eighteenth century framing used mortise and tenon joints, limiting the number of framing nails actually used. T-heads, also called clasp heads, were created by two additional strikes on opposite sides, forming the distinct T-shape in cross section. These nails were most commonly used in trim work, where there was a desire to make the head less obvious. At times this would also include the attachment of clapboards.

Of the 17 identifiable and measurable wrought nails, 13 have T-heads. At first glance, this suggests that relatively few nails were used in framing, probably because of the use of other carpentry techniques. This, however, is probably not the case, since the rose head nails are all very small — 3d and 5d. While these two head patterns did serve different functions, based on the yard evidence, it seems likely that they were used interchangeably at St. Queuntens — and that their use was not specifically associated with framing.

A single hand wrought spike was also recovered from the yard area. The item, measuring about 7½ inches in length, was likely used to join very large framing members.

Machine cut nails account for the majority of the collection, although only 169 (56.9%) are sufficiently intact to allow penny weight measures. These nails were first manufactured in the 1790s, although the heads were still hand applied. By the late 1830s they are entirely manufactured by machine with uniform heads and shanks with burrs on the edges (Nelson 1968:7; Priess 1971:33-34). Sizes range from 4d to 50d, although there is a strong cluster in the 6d to 10d range.

In addition, 219 wire nails were recovered, ranging in size from 3d to 20d. These nails were commonly available by 1880s (Nelson 1968), although it may have taken another decade for them to make their way south and become common (see, for example, Wells 1998:96). Their presence, especially in relatively high numbers, suggests that the plantation house continued to be repaired up to the twentieth century. Like the cut nails, the sizes between 6d and 10d are most common — it is these sizes which would most likely have been used for sheathing and siding.

Although different nails served different self-limiting functions, no attempt is made to use the relative frequencies of nail sizes to indicate building construction details since all of these specimens were recovered in the yard area.

The next most common architectural remains are fragments of flat glass — accounting for 277 specimens (representing 24.5% of the artifact group). The bulk of the specimens are fairly thin and light green in color, suggesting they

are almost certainly window glass.

Four construction hardware items were also recovered, including one drive pintle, two strap hinge fragments, and one iron latch plate.

The pintle, also called a hook, and driven into the wood framing, was used to support some object — which in this case was likely a shutter, since the pintle is only 3¼ inches in length and the pivot was only 1⅜ inches in height. The item is hand wrought and was likely part of the original hardware for the St. Queuntens house.

The two fragments of the strap hinge include one tip — which might be from any number of hinge types — and a portion of the strap including the pintle sleeve. These might have been used for either doors or shutters — too little remains for any sure identification.

The iron latch device was the base plate for a latch swiveling under a decorative knob. The size and weight of the object suggests that it was likely used on shutters.

Arms Group Artifacts

Only two arms items were recovered from the excavations in the front yard. Combined, they represent only 0.1% of the total assemblage and include two minie balls. One is badly crushed and no diameter is possible. The other is .54 caliber with three rings and is likely for either a rifle or rifled musket.

Tobacco Group Artifacts

The front yard area produced 11 tobacco artifacts, all pipe stems, representing 0.5%of the total assemblage. These include one pipe stem with a bore diameter of 4/64-inch, nine with a bore diameter of 5/64-inch, and one measuring 6/64-inch.

Clothing Group Artifacts

This category include seven buttons and six other items associated with clothing, accounting for 0.7% of the total collection from the front yard. Only two of the buttons can be classified using South's (1964) typology. One is a Type 23 porcelain button measuring 10 mm in diameter, while the other is a Type 26 brass button measuring 14.6 mm in diameter. Three of the remaining buttons are made from black rubber and have two eyes. They range from 14.0 to 21.5 mm in diameter. Another is iron and brass, measuring 11.1 mm in diameter, while the final button is milk glass set in a brass surround measuring 19.8 mm.

The other clothing items include one suspender catch button measuring 16.7 mm in diameter, one snap closure set (male and female), one male snap closure, one brass grommet, and two iron buckles, one measuring about 35 by 42 mm, and the other measuring 26 by 32 mm.

These clothing items are not especially useful in dating, although the snap closures are turn of the century[3], further supporting other yard debris that suggest occupation at St. Queuntens into the first decade of the twentieth century.

Personal Group Artifacts

Two personal group artifacts, accounting for 0.1% of the total assemblage, were recovered from the front yard excavations. These include a mirror fragment and a pierced coin.

The mirror fragment, which still has some remnant silvering, was probably a relatively small, inexpensive item, since the glass is not particularly heavy. The date on the coin, a United States half-dime, is illegible, but the motif present was used only between 1840 and 1859 — indicating that it was used prior to the Civil War. The item has been punched with a small hole and was worn. The practice of wearing coins appears to be a distinctly African trait (see Singleton 1991:164), suggesting this item may have been lost by one of the St.

[3] Snap closures are absent from the 1895 Montgomery Ward and 1897 Sears, Roebuck catalogs, making their appearance at least by 1902 when they are illustrated in Sears catalog as "Invisible Sew-On Fasteners."

Queuntens slaves.

Activities Group Artifacts

The yard to the north of the main plantation house produced 51 activities group artifacts, which account for 2.7% of the total assemblage. Included are toys, fishing gear, storage items, miscellaneous hardware, and an "other" category.

The toys include six glass marbles and one porcelain bisque doll's head tinted pink. Handmade glass marbles date as early as about 1846 and continue into the first decade of the twentieth century. Machine made glass marbles, without a pontile scar, post-date about 1910 (Baumann 1991). Unfortunately, the specimens recovered from St. Queuntens are eroded and no pontile scar can be identified, so dating is problematical. Likewise, the porcelain doll's head is likely an antebellum example, but precise dating with the portion remaining is not possible.

Baumann (1991:138-147) briefly reviews the various games of chance which used marbles. Although we commonly think of marbles as a child's game, it is important to realize that they were just as often used by adults in gaming. Games such as "ringer" and "spanner" were likely played for cash wagers and formed the nucleus of urban backlot gaming.

The single fishing weight is a lead weight. Although it could be used as a weight for line fishing, it is more likely from a net. The storage item category is represented by two fragments of 1½ inch wide strap metal, probably used as banding on barrels.

The miscellaneous hardware includes 24 staples, one copper rivet, four screws, one 2¼ inch iron ring, and two links of chain. While all are typical of plantations or farms, none are temporally sensitive.

The "other" category includes a range of objects which don't necessarily fit any other functional group. In the front yard they include three fragments of lead, one puddle of melted lead, three slate fragments, one soapstone fragment[4], and a compass leg. This last object represents an instrument used in drawing and the building trades for laying off measurements, circles, and arches. Although made of iron and not brass, it is still a specialized tool that is appropriate in the plantation office of a gentleman of the period.

The Main House

Excavations in the main house area include 10 5-foot units and nine 2.5 by 5-foot slot trenches, opening a total of 362.5 square feet. This work, which focused on exposing the structure's foundation, recovered 5278 artifacts and produced a site density of 13.9 artifacts per cubic foot — an increase of about 67% over the front yard. Of course, much of this increased density is associated with architectural debris — which comprises nearly 72% of the artifacts recovered from these investigations.

Kitchen Artifact Group

Kitchen related artifacts account for 26.9% of the assemblage from the main house (n=1423). Of these, glass is the largest contributor (n=1081, 76.0%), followed by ceramics (n=305, 21.4%). Five fragments of Colono ware pottery were also recovered from within the main house. While more common than in the front yard, where only one fragment was found, this slave-made pottery still accounts for less than 1% of the kitchen artifacts.

The ceramics include a range of eighteenth and nineteenth century wares. Like those in the front yard, earthenwares are most common, although in the immediate structure area both

[4] If this item were found in an assemblage with more than an occasional prehistoric sherd, it would be tempting to dismiss it as a Native American object. At St. Queuntens the prehistoric component is exceedingly scarce and it is more likely that this soapstone represents either a historic items — perhaps associated with cooking or dealing with hot dishes — or was simply an unusual item picked up and incorporated into the historic assemblage.

Table 3.
Major Types of Ceramics from the Main Plantation Area

Porcelain		9	3.9%
Stoneware		49	21.2%
Brown	9		
Blue/Gray	3		
White	7		
Other	30		
Earthenware		173	74.9%
Redware	7		
Slipware	13		
Refined	1		
Delft	12		
Creamware	13		
Pearlware	64		
Whiteware	62		
Other	1		

porcelains and stonewares are more common (Table 3). Among the earthenwares, pearlwares and whitewares are about equally common, representing about 54.5% of the ceramics. Creamware is hardly reflected in the collection, likely the result of the structure's long history and demolition in the early twentieth century. Other early ceramics, such as delft, clouded wares, lead glazed slipware, and white salt glazed stoneware account for an equally small proportion of the collection.

Tablewares represent slightly less of the collection (78.4%) than was the case in the front yard. The increase in utilitarian wares is perhaps associated with postbellum changes when more food preparation and storage was taking place in the main house by its occupants, rather than in the associated kitchen by slaves.

Regardless, the apparent status of the motifs found is still high. Among the pearlwares, 52% of the decorated wares are either hand painted or transfer printed, most commonly found on the tables of owners. Plain wares account for only a third of the collection. Among the whitewares, however, we may see a reversal of fortune. Only four of the 15 decorated whitewares, or 27%, exhibit high status motifs. More common are the edged, annular, or sponge-decorated wares — all relatively inexpensive and commonly produced. Undecorated wares, in contrast to the pearlwares, account for 76% of the whitewares, further indicating the use of less expensive ceramics in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Although the creamwares reveal only two vessels — both bowls — a total of nine pearlware vessels are identified in the collection, including three plates, one cup, and five bowls. This has the appearance of a very low status assemblage, dominated by bowls, with very few teaware items. The whitewares, in spite of the scarcity of expensive motifs, reveal a higher status assemblage of vessel forms — eight plates or saucers, two cups, and only two bowls.

The mean ceramic date for the main house area is 1800 — about 20 years earlier than the collection from the front yard (Table 4). The beginning bracket date is the same as found for the front yard trash — 1770. The terminal bracket date, however, reflects the somewhat earlier mean date, suggesting that occupation at the main house dramatically declined about 1830.

As previously mentioned, porcelains are more common in the vicinity of the main house, with the assemblage including not only Chinese export wares from the early nineteenth century, but also a small number of relatively high status British porcelains with a hand painted overglaze decoration.

Noël Hume (1970:137) offers little commentary on English porcelains, noting only that they date primarily from 1755 through 1775, the dates which South adopts for his mean ceramic dating approach (and which we use in Table 4). This date range, however, should be more clearly identified with the so-called "soft-paste" porcelains first produced as early as the mid-1740s (although they probably weren't imported into the colonies until about 1755). This earliest English porcelain was manufactured with white clay and ground glass. It wasn't until about 1800, spurred by late eighteenth century British economic policies, that English firms, most notably Josiah Spode II, began

Table 4.
Mean Ceramic Date the Main House Area

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	# (fi)	fi x xi
Canton porcelain	1800-1830	1815	3	5,445
English porcelain	1745-1795	1770	6	10,620
Westerwald	1700-1775	1738	1	1,738
White SGSW	1740-1775	1758	6	10,548
White SGSW, Scratch Blue	1744-1775	1760	1	1,760
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	13	22,529
Clouded wares	1740-1770	1755	1	1,755
Decorated Delft	1600-1802	1750	5	8,750
Plain Delft	1640-1800	1720	7	12,040
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	13	23,283
Pearlware, poly hand painted	1820-1840	1805	1	1,805
blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	4	7,200
blue transfer printed	1795-1840	1818	19	34,542
edged	1780-1830	1805	10	18,050
annular	1790-1820	1805	8	14,440
undecorated	1780-1830	1805	22	39,710
Whiteware, blue edged	1811-1880	1853	5	9,265
poly hand painted	1826-1870	1848	1	1,848
non-blue transfer printed	1826-1875	1851	3	5,553
sponged	1836-1870	1853	1	1,853
undecorated	1820→	1860	47	87,420
Yellowware	1826-1880	1853	1	1,853
			181	325,805

325,805 ÷ 181 ≈1800.0

producing a hard paste porcelain using calcined bone (Godden 1985:39-40; Patterson 1979:107)

The main house assemblage also contains a larger, but still meager, collection of white salt glazed stones. From their introduction about 1740, these became the standard because of their price and appearance until superseded by creamwares (Godden 1985:35). Also present are a small number of Scratch Blue wares, executed on bodies of white salt glazed stoneware (see Godden 1985:36).

The clouded ware found in the main house is commonly called Tortoiseshell. It is a cream colored earthenware (essentially an early creamware) enriched with semi-translucent colored glazes — typically blue, green, and brown tints.

The lead glazed slipwares represent a traditional method of decoration, trailing designs in a contrasting-colored slip onto the clay vessel. These wares are almost exclusively utilitarian and were replaced by the more pretentious earthenwares of the eighteenth century. At St. Queuntens they likely represent some of the earliest wares used by the owners, probably in association with the delft examples.

Unlike the yard area, where burned ceramics were exceedingly uncommon, in the main house 74 burnt earthenwares were identified. These, in combination with other burned materials, suggest that the St. Queuntens house either burned, ending its use or when finally in ruins was burned to remove it from the landscape.

Turning to the kitchen glass in the main house, the bulk (65.8%, n=711) is melted — offering further support for the eventual demise of the structure. Of the fragments that are not melted and which can be confidently attributed to a color group, 124 are "black" glass (11.5%) and 110 are clear (10.2%).

Only two bases are present in the collection of black glass. One measures 76 mm and the other 90 mm in diameter. The smaller is almost certainly a wine bottle size, while the larger may be either a wine bottle or an undersized beer style (Jones 1986).

Aqua glass represents only 4.5% of the assemblage (n=49), but two identifiable bottles were recovered. One is an Atwood's Jaundice Bitters, Georgetown, Massachusetts, first introduced in 1840. It was produced only until 1855 when the rights were acquired by Carter and Sons, who continued bottling the medicine in

Georgetown until 1875 (Fike 1987:30). The product was sold to relieve "jaundice, headache, dyspepsia, worms, dizziness, loss of appetite, darting pains, colds and fevers," but at 51 proof, it seems likely that alcohol was the most active ingredient.

The other aqua specimen is a 2-inch square medicine bottle with the trademark of Owens Bottle Company, used between 1911 and 1929 (Toulouse 1971:393). This date range supports previous concerns that either the main house or some other structure in the immediate area may have been used into the first or second decade of the twentieth century.

Other container glass includes brown, blue, green, light green, and manganese examples, as well as milk glass. These, however, are typically small fragments and no temporal or functional information is available.

Tableware from the main house excavations includes seven tumbler fragments and one milk glass bowl with a 5-inch diameter. The tumblers, like those from the front yard area, include four specimens measuring between 2½ and 3½ inches in diameter. All are plain and probably sat about 4 to 5 inches in height. In addition, two evidence the striations of an anchor closure, indicating that they represent commercial containers, sold filled with something such as peanut butter or jelly, but intended to be reused as a tumbler (Jones and Sullivan 1985:143). These are most likely twentieth century in origin.

Kitchenware items include an example of an enamelled iron bowl, originally about 6-inches in diameter; 19 tin can fragments; and four kettle fragments. None of the tin can fragments included a seam or other datable portion. In addition, these may also reflect kitchen tins or other light gauge metal containers.

Architecture Artifact Group

A total of 3766 architectural specimens (excluding brick) was recovered from the front yard excavations, representing 71.4% of the area's total assemblage.

The singe largest category is that of nails, with 3544 specimens recovered (representing 94.1% of the architecture group collection). Included are wrought, cut, and wire nails, as well as a category of unidentifiable fragments, heavily corroded and often little more than spalls.

As previously discussed for the front yard area, the earliest nails are the wrought specimens, including 583 which are intact and 178 which are fragmentary. For the intact wrought nails, 332 or 56.9% are rose heads and 251 or 43.1% are T-heads.

In contrast to the yard collection, where the two head styles seemed to have served similar functions, the size distribution of those associated with the main house are very different. For example, the single most common size of the rose head nails is 3d, accounting for 37% of this style of wrought nails. When they are added to the 4d size, they account for 64.5%. In other words, nearly two-thirds of the rose headed nails range in size from 1¼ to 1½ inches — a size that might typically be associated with plaster lath or wood shingles.

The T-headed wrought nails, although occurring in a broad range of sizes, concentrate between 8d and 10d (n=128, 50.9%). This is a range typically used for attaching sheathing or light framing.

Based on the data from the main house area, there does appear to a difference in how the two head styles were used. Because the data from the main house excavation are probably reflective of the range of nails in a primary context, they are likely more representative than those nails found in a yard area, reflecting repair, renovation, and perhaps even other structures.

The bulk of the identifiable nails, 1653 or 62.8%, represent machine cut examples, which range in size from 2d to 50d. Wire nails reflect about 8.2% of the identifiable assemblage (n=217). Although not a substantial percentage, this does suggest that repairs were carried out to the main house into the very late nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries.

As previously discussed, different nail sizes[5] served self-limiting functions. Consequently, it is possible to use the relative frequencies of nail sizes to indicate building construction details. Table 5 lists nails by both penny weight sizes and the Standard Average European (SAE) size, as well as the function of various nail sizes.

This table reveals the concentration of rose headed nails in the 2-5d range, which has been previously suggested to be an indication that they were primarily used to attach lath or wood shingles (the absence of slate clearly indicates that the St. Queuntens house had a wood shingled roof). Likewise, the concentration of mid-sized T-headed nails is thought to reflect their use in attaching sheathing. The absence of larger nails, of either head shape, is probably associated with the reliance on mortise and tenon joints.

Table 5.
Probable Function of Intact Nails from the Main House Excavations

	Wrought				Cut		Wire	
	Rose		T-Head					
Function	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Lath, shingles (2-5d)	298	89.8	41	16.3	87	6.6	28	14.9
Sheathing (6-8d)	25	7.5	81	32.3	701	53.4	62	33.0
Framing (10-12d)	7	2.1	121	48.2	463	35.3	73	38.8
Heavy framing (16-50d)	2	0.6	8	3.2	62	4.7	25	13.3

When the two head types are combined, the resulting pattern is nearly identical with the Shoolbred plantation house, also built during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, on Kiawah Island (Trinkley 1993b:229). This suggests that there are identifiable proportions of nail sizes used in plantation dwellings, regardless of location or, to some degree, complexity of the structure.

The cut nails reflect a pattern not too dissimilar from the T-headed wrought nails, suggesting that they, too, were used primarily for the attachment of sheathing. There are relatively few small nails — suggesting perhaps that the plaster had been installed prior to the wide-spread availability of cut nails. Likewise, the low frequency of sizes about 12d is perhaps associated with the building techniques.

Wire nails continue to reflect a preference for the 6 to 12d size, which we believe reflects the continued efforts to maintain and repair the St. Queuntens main house. The increased (but still low) incidence of nails at both ends of the size range may reflect the need to make more substantial repairs later in time — replacing roofing and repairing heavy framing timbers.

Window glass accounts for a surprisingly small proportion of the architectural remains — only 5.3% (n=199). This is dramatically lower than found in the front yard area (where glass accounts for nearly 25% of the architectural debris).

We had hoped that it would be possible to estimate window locations, based on the quantity of glass debris. This does not seem to be the case. While the interior units produced only a single fragment, the other units offer no real assistance. The northwest, northeast, and southeast corners exhibit large assemblages, while the southwest corner revealed little. The south center produced a number of fragments, but the north center did not. Areas to each side of the center, that might be expected to yield glass, contain fairly low densities.

In fact, it appears that the distribution

[5] Nails were not only sold by shape, but also by size, the lengths being designated by *d* (pence). This nomenclature developed from the medieval English practice of describing the size according to the price per thousand (Lounsbury 1994:239). Nelson (1968:2) provides the same interpretation, although the price was per hundred. Common sizes include 2d - 6d, 8d, 10d, 12d, 20d, 30d, and 40d. It was not, however, until the late nineteenth century that penny weights were standardized.

study is unsuccessful largely because the house area was subjected to cultivation in the mid-twentieth century. We originally hoped that the plowing was limited, both by its short duration and also by the site being at the edge of the field. The presence of tabby foundation blocks immediately below the ground surface and the intact chimney blocks both suggest that plowing could not have been too intensive. Yet, it looks like small artifacts, such as glass, have been widely dispersed.[6]

What has not been dispersed, however, are the construction hardware items (n=21) and door lock parts (n=2) which are also tabulated in the architectural category. Of the 23 items, 15 (65.2%) are found along the north wall. Based on the nature of these remains, we speculate that they are in the general vicinity of where they were originally used in the plantation architecture. Similar remains are not found in the structure interior or in the north or south yard areas.

The construction hardware items recovered include five window catches or sash props, two sill catches, four drive pintles, seven shutter hinges, one spring steel shutter catch, and two slide bolts. The door lock parts include two (mending) rim lock keeper fragments. Although architectural hardware is rarely discussed in any detail, these materials are actually quite interesting and help us better understand the design and evolution, if not actually construction, of the St. Queuntens house.

The five window catches are all identical in design, reflecting their common use throughout the house. These devices were made to support open the lower movable sash, either as a replacement for cords and weights or in lieu of them. More recent, or certainly less elegant, devices are called sash props. Curiously, the window catches are not illustrated in catalogs such as Russell and Erwin from the mid-nineteenth century or the Sears catalogs from the end of the nineteenth century or beginning of the twentieth century. They were either an unusual, perhaps regional, item, or more likely they date from the first half of the nineteenth century.

The two sill catches are small metal brackets designed to be attached to the window sill and engage a blind fast to lock an exterior shutter in the closed position. Similar items are illustrated in the Russell and Erwin (1980 [1865]:111) catalog, as well as latter editions. These devices have an exceedingly long history and are probably not temporally sensitive.

The seven shutter hinges are all identical and of a special type, commonly known as "self-locking hinges." These hinges are also illustrated in the 1865 Russell and Erwin (1980 [1865]:111) catalog, although it isn't clear when they came into wide use.

The four drive pintles (also called hinge hooks) are all hand wrought and range in length from 3½ to 5¼ inches. The pivot arms range from 1¼ to 1¾ inches. Although there is a range in sizes, all were probably used to mount shutters.

A single shutter catch made of spring steel on a metal plate was also recovered. These devices were first introduced in the early nineteenth century and were of one piece construction. A catch of spring steel was mounted on the plate, which would then be mounted on the structure to retain the shutters in an open position. These are also called back catches. This item was 2¾ inches in length and ½ inch in width. Both attaching devices were still in place and included a 5d hand wrought nail with a T-head and a 7d cut nail. This suggests that both types of nails were in simultaneous use and that relatively little attention was paid to the exact size of the fastener being used.

Two slide bolts were also recovered. Both are what catalogs characterize as "Cottage and Hotel Chamber Bolts" (see Russell and Erwin 1980 [1865]:98). In other words they were relatively light weight and inexpensive. They might have been used on interior doors, or they might have been

[6] This dispersal may also partially account (along with more recent land modifications) for the inability during a recent survey (see Trinkley 1997a) to identify any of the structures shown south of the main house on nineteenth century maps.

used to lock shutters in a closed position.

The door lock parts include two fragments of a rim lock keeper, probably dating from the nineteenth century.

These hardware items tell us that not only did the St. Queuntens house have shutters (no great surprise there), but also that a number of different devices were used for their mounting, retaining, and locking. This range in hardware items reflects the continued use and maintenance of the structure over a fairly long period of time. Again, given the historical evidence and the other artifactual remains, this is also expected. That so many of the hardware items are recovered indicates that the house had not been salvaged prior to its burning. While it may be that the fire was unexpected, given the structure's survival into the twentieth century, it seems more likely that the hardware had gone out of style and there was simply no interest in salvaging materials — their salvage was simply not worth the effort. This suggests that the house was continuously used during the time when most salvage took place — shortly after the Civil War.

Furniture Group Artifacts

Six furniture artifacts were recovered from the main house excavations, accounting for 0.1% of the total assemblage. These included one fragment of lamp glass, a fragment of a glass lamp base, a brass furniture tack, two fragments of a porcelain wheel used on furniture, and a section of a fire grate, perhaps from an iron stove.

These items are not terribly diagnostic, although they do represent a range of different goods and activities within the house. A number of burning-fluid mixtures, including whale and lard oils were used from about 1783 through 1859, while kerosene began use as early as 1854 (Moss 1988).

Brass tacks were used on a range of furniture items, including trunks and upholstered items. Porcelain wheels were typically associated with heavier furniture items, like beds, bureaus, and tables.

Arms Group Artifacts

Two arms items were recovered from the main house excavations, accounting for less than 0.1% of the total assemblage. One is a lead shot measuring .659 inch in diameter, probably reflecting a .69 cal. shot.[7] The other is a gun barrel measuring 34 inches in length with a bore diameter of about 0.65 inch. This item appears to represent a cut down .577 calibre musket barrel, bored to create a 20 gauge shotgun. These were quite common after the Civil War as obsolete weapons were sold to civilian firms, refitted, and then sold to the public as sporting weapons. The practice continued in the very late nineteenth century, with the 1897 Sear, Roebuck & Company catalog advertising "a cut-down musket for $1.95," noting they had acquired a large quantity of U.S. Springfield Model 1893 weapons for this special promotion. The absence of a mounting screw hole for the rear sight suggests that this was most likely a modified British weapon, the 1853 Enfield, which had its rear sight welded to the barrel (Dr. Jack Myers, personal communication 1998).

Tobacco Group Artifacts

Four kaolin pipe stems — one with a bore diameter of 4/64 inch and three with diameters of 5/64 inch — were recovered from the main house excavations. These account for 0.1% of the total main house assemblage.

Clothing Group Artifacts

Seven buttons represent the only clothing items recovered from the main house and the assemblage accounts for only 0.1% of the collection. Five of the buttons fall into categories previously defined by South (1964). They include one Type 19 bone button with four sewing and one center guide hole (diameter 18.9 mm), one Type 23 4-hole porcelain button with a sunken

[7] Civil War era .69 cal. round balls average .65 inch in diameter (Thomas 1997:103).

panel (diameter of 12.8 mm), two Type 21 iron buttons with fiber centers (diameters of 14.0 and 18.0 mm), and one Type 32 stamped brass button with a sunken panel (diameter of 12.0 mm).

The two buttons not fitting any previously identified number include a 13.0 mm shell button with two holes and domed brass button with two eyes (diameter of 21.7 mm).

Activity Group Artifacts

The main house excavations produced 70 Activity Group artifacts, accounting for about 1.3% of the recovered assemblage.

In the toy category are seven glass marbles. Like those from the front, or north, yard, it was not possible to determine whether they were hand or machine made. However, as indicated by the earlier discussions, these could be either children's toys or might reflect adult gaming, perhaps by soldiers stationed at the house during the Civil War.

The two tools recovered are both files. Although too corroded to determine the patterns, one was a flat file, while the other was triangular.

The storage items include six fragments of strap iron, frequently used on barrels.

The single stable/barn item is a whiffletree hook. The whiffletree, also called a swigletree, was the short bar attached to the splinter bar or crossbar shafts to which the traces were attached. The pivoting of this device reduces the friction against the chest of the horse while in draft. Hooks were placed at each end of the whiffletree for attachment to the animal's harness (Spivey 1979; Museums at Stony Brook 1986). This would have been a very common late eighteenth and nineteenth century device.

Miscellaneous hardware items, accounting for 42 specimens, include 22 staples, 17 screws, two links of chain, and one brass 4d nail. The "other" category include eight fragments of unidentifiable iron, one lead fragment, one worked bone fragment, one fragment of an iron bar, and one fragment of wire. The worked bone fragment might be a portion of a utensil handle, but so little is present that a definitive identification was not possible.

The Rear Yard

Excavations in the rear yard, which consisted of 13 2-foot units, produced a total of 752 artifacts, yielding a density of 18.4 artifacts per cubic foot. This is the highest density identified in the excavations — while some effort was made to keep the front yard clean and free from trash, no such effort appears to have been made south of the main house, in the rear yard area. Based on latter survey work, we know that the artifact density declines dramatically further south, across what is today Plantation Road.

Table 6.
Major Types of Ceramics from the Rear Yard Area

Porcelain		0	0.0%
Stoneware		5	4.0%
Brown	1		
Blue/Gray	1		
White	2		
Other	1		
Earthenware		121	96.0%
Redware	1		
Slipware	4		
Refined	1		
Coarse	2		
Delft	1		
Creamware	25		
Pearlware	49		
Whiteware	32		
Other	6		

Kitchen Group Artifacts

A total of 333 kitchen related artifacts were recovered from this area, accounting for about 44.3% of the assemblage from the south yard. Of these glass continues to be the primary contributor (n=192, 57.7%), followed closely by ceramics (n=126, 37.8%). While only four fragments of slave-made Colono ware pottery were

recovered from the rear yard, this is the only site area where the pottery accounts for more than 1% of the kitchen assemblage. This may be related to the increasing proximity of the kitchen, where Colono ware might have been more commonly used in mixing, cooking, and storage. Regardless, it remains a very small minority ware on the St. Queuntens tract.

Table 6 shows the major types of pottery recovered from the rear yard. Stonewares in this area are at their lowest proportion anywhere across the site and utilitarian wares (as opposed to tablewares) are at their lowest level (9.5%) across the entire site. The ceramic assemblage does not suggest any special activity and, in fact, appear heavily domestic.

As elsewhere on the site pearlwares and whitewares compete for dominance, followed by creamwares and only a smattering of other types. The pearlwares account for 38.9% of the assemblage and include a range of decorative motifs typical of elsewhere on the plantation. Although undecorated pearlwares are most common, high and low status decorative motifs are about evenly divided, with high status transfer printed and hand painted accounting for 12 specimens and low status edged and annular wares accounting for 11 fragments. The pearlware collection, however, leans toward higher status vessel forms. There are three plates and two cups in the collection, but only one bowl.

The whitewares comprise 25.4% of the assemblage, but are represented by only three motifs (with all but three of the examples being undecorated). The motifs present included edged and transfer printed, but in such low numbers they offer little insight. Only five vessels are identifiable in the collection, including two cups and three plates.

The creamwares, while comprising only 19.8% of the collection and consisting of only undecorated fragments, actually contribute six vessels — five plates (ranging in diameter from 8 to 9 inches) and one bowl (with a diameter of 5 inches).

Of the other wares present in the rear yard, the only materials not found elsewhere are two examples of El Morro ware. This is a lead glazed coarse earthenware originally defined by Hale Smith from excavations in Puerto Rico, but more fully described by Kathleen Deagan, based on her work at such sites as St. Augustine. She notes that the vessels are:

> wheel thrown with hand-molded appendages, and are distinctive in their granular, minimally smoothed surfaces. The paste is generally tempered with quartz sand and occasionally with red-clay inclusions. The temper is quite visible within the paste, which is irregularly compacted in many cases. . . . Glazing on El Morro vessels is usually confined to the interior surfaces. The thin, irregular, and transparent lead glaze is most commonly orange or olive green, although brown, light green, rust, and mixtures of these colors have been reported (Deagan 1987:50-51).

Similar wares are reported by (Marken 1994:196) from the 1622 *Atocha* wreck.

Martha Zierden (personal communication 1995) typically uses a mean date range of about 1650 to 1750, although Deagan suggests ranges from 1600 to perhaps 1780. It is likely that the ware arrived slightly later in Carolinas, so we are retaining Zierden's date range. Nevertheless, there is typically so little recovered that its exact date range may not be a significant issue, at least in terms of mean dating.

Looking at the mean date, the ceramics from this portion of the site yield a date of 1812.3 (Table 7) — not as early as the main house excavations, but earlier than the front yard. The bracket dates suggest an earlier occupation — 1750 — than either of the two previous areas, since we adjust the beginning date to encompass the ending date for the El Morro wares. The terminal bracket

Table 7.
Mean Ceramic Date the Rear Yard Area

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	# (fi)	fi x xi
White SGSW	1740-1775	1758	1	1,758
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	4	6,932
Plain Delft	1640-1800	1720	1	1,720
Buckley Ware	1720-1775	1748	1	1,748
El Morro Ware	1650-1750	1700	2	3,400
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	25	44,775
Pearlware, poly hand painted	1820-1840	1805	4	7,220
blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	4	7,200
blue transfer printed	1795-1840	1818	4	7,272
edged	1780-1830	1805	6	10,830
annular	1790-1820	1805	5	9,025
undecorated	1780-1830	1805	16	28,880
Whiteware, blue edged	1811-1880	1853	1	1,853
blue transfer printed	1831-1865	1848	2	3,696
undecorated	1820→	1860	29	53,940
Yellowware	1826-1880	1853	1	1,853
			106	192,102

192,102 ÷ 106 ≈1812.3

date of 1825 is close to that derived for the main plantation excavations of 1830, although both are far earlier than the 1900 date derived for the north yard (and which is likely a more accurate indicator of activities at the site).

Container glass accounts for 57.7% of the kitchen group artifacts. Like in the main house area, "black" glass dominates the collection, accounting for 36% of the kitchen glass (n=69). None, however, provide basal measurements so no functional assessments are possible. The aqua glass accounts for an additional 21.9% (n=42) of the collection. Although several panel bottles are represented in the collection, they are too fragmentary to allow any identification of contents.

Thirty-nine fragments of clear glass (20.3%) were also recovered, although no vessel forms are identifiable.

The remainder of the glass includes examples of brown, blue, green, manganese, light green, and milk glass.

The tableware items include five tumbler examples. One is of manganese glass, while the remaining four are clear. One of these four evidences a commercial anchor closure and was originally a food container. This example almost certainly dates from the twentieth century. Of the remaining three, two are plain and one, of very thin glass, has an etched or engraved pattern. This specimen most likely dates from the late eighteenth century.

Kitchenware items include two kettle fragments, both having a 6 inch rim diameter, three container fragments, and a portion of an iron pan.

Architecture Group Artifacts

A total of 391 architectural specimens (excluding brick) was recovered from the front yard excavations, representing about 52.0% of the area's total assemblage.

The singe largest category is that of nails, with 248 specimens recovered (representing 63.4%) of the architecture group collection). Included are wrought, cut, and wire nails, as well as a category of unidentifiable fragments, heavily corroded and often little more than spalls.

The hand wrought specimens, which range in size from 2d to 20d, account for only 27.2% of the identifiable nail fragments. While both "rose head" and "T-head" examples are present, the former account for the bulk of the measurable wrought nails (77.5%, n=31). As was the case with the main house collection, the rose headed nails are concentrated in the smaller sizes, with 2d through 5d sizes accounting for 93.5% of the assemblage. These nails are most commonly associated with the attachment of lath or shingles. In contrast, the T-headed nails range from 4d up

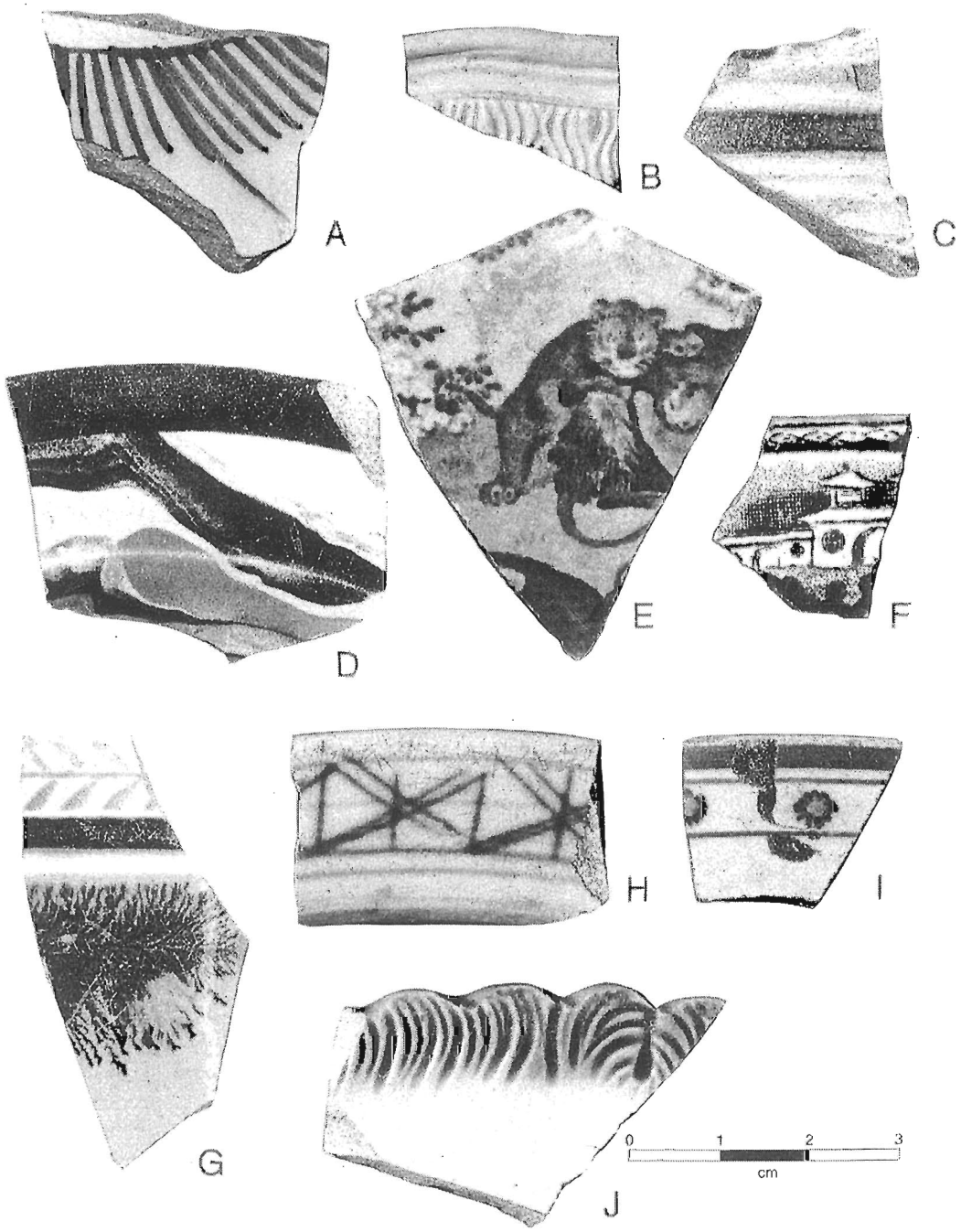

Figure 18. Kitchen Group Artifacts. A, decorated delft; B, white salt glazed stoneware; C, Westerwald; D, creamware, cable decorated; E, blue transfer printed pearlware; F, brown transfer printed pearlware; G, annular and mocha pearlware; H, blue hand painted pearlware; I, polychrome hand painted pearlware; J, green edged pearlware.

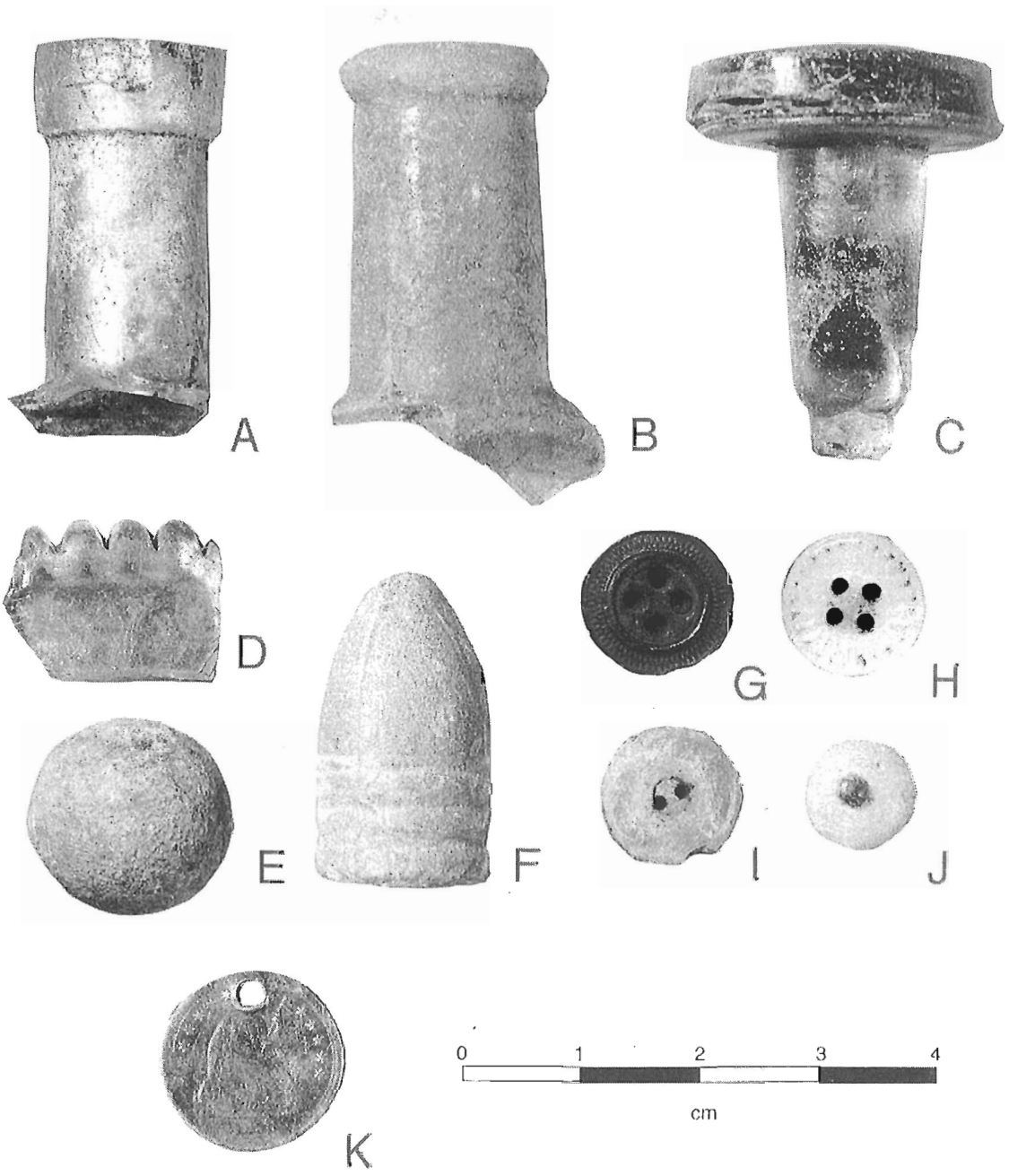

Figure 19. Kitchen, Furniture, Arms, Clothing and Personal Group Artifacts. A, aqua bottle neck with a patent lip finish; B, clear bottle neck with a rounded lip finish; C, manganese club sauce type stopper for a small-mouthed commercial bottle; D, "pie-crust" decorated lamp chimney rim; E, .69 cal. lead shot; F, .54 cal. three-ring minie ball; G, Type 21 iron and brass button with a fiber center; H, Type 23 porcelain button; I, two-hole shell button with central depression; J, milk glass button with brass wire shank; K, half-dime with punched hole for wearing.

to 16d, but are not concentrated.

Machine cut nails account for the majority of the collection (54.9%, n=101), although only 40 (39.6%) are sufficiently intact to allow penny weight measures. Sizes range from 2d to 40d, with a cluster at the 6d to 8d range — typical of those used to attach sheathing.

In addition, 33 wire nails were recovered, ranging in size from 3d to 12d. Wire nails have been present in all of the different assemblages, suggesting maintenance of the structure into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The next most common architectural remains are fragments of flat glass — accounting for 142 specimens (representing 36.3% of the artifact group). The bulk of the specimens are fairly thin and light green in color, suggesting they are almost certainly window glass. Curiously, glass comprises a larger percentage of the architectural assemblage in the rear yard than in either the front yard or even in the house itself. The density declines dramatically as you move south from the structure, suggesting that the glass found in the rear yard all originated in the main house and has been only slightly dispersed, probably by agricultural activities once the house was demolished.

The only other architectural item recovered from the rear yard was a section of a cross garnet hinge, or what is today called a T-hinge. This is the type of hinge that might have been used in a late shutter repair. While its size is adequate for use on either exterior or interior doors, butt hinges would have been more common for that purpose.

Furniture Group Artifacts

Two furniture items were recovered in the rear yard excavations, accounting for 0.2% of the assemblage. These include a small brass escutcheon for a drawer pull, measuring about ⅝ inch in length, and a brass tack.

Tobacco Group Artifacts

Four tobacco artifacts were recovered, including three pipe stem fragments (all having bore diameters of 5/64 inch) and one plain kaolin pipe bowl fragment. One of the 5/64 inch stems is marked "___STEAD" on one side. Although this seems likely to be a location, it has yet to be identified in the available pipe literature. These items account for about 0.5% of the total rear yard assemblage.

Clothing Group Artifacts

Five clothing artifacts were recovered from the rear yard, including one button and four other items. Together these account for 0.7% of the total assemblage.

The single button is not included in South's (1964) typology, but is a molded frosted glass with a diameter of 14.1 mm. The other items include one iron heel plate, measuring about 2⅜ by 2¼ inches, an iron buckle fragment, and two brass shoe grommets.

Activity Group Artifacts

Seventeen specimens were recovered, accounting for 2.3% of the rear yard assemblage. Included are tools, fishing gear, stable/barn items, miscellaneous hardware, and "other" items.

The tools include one axe head, one hoe fragment, and a wrench head. The axe head, 7½ inches in length, is a "Yankee" pattern (see, for example Russell and Erwin (1980 [1865]:203) and it represents a fairly heavy-duty head. This style is common in the nineteenth century, but is not particularly time sensitive. The hoe is too fragmentary for any further identification. So, too, is the wrench, although the extant portion appears to be a specialized item, perhaps associated with a cotton gin or some item of farm equipment.

The one fishing item is a lead weight. The brass buckle placed in the stable/barn category measures about 2 inches in length and about ½ inch in width. In miscellaneous hardware are three

staples, one fragment of wire, and what appears to be a hand wrought cotter pin. In the other category is a lead fragment, three lead puddles, one unidentifiable iron fragment, and two iron container fragments.

Patterns, Status, and Dating

Dating the Plantation Occupation and Construction of the Main House

Reflecting on the historic research, it is likely that the earliest occupant of St. Queuntens was Henry Middleton, who acquired the property in 1762. Occupation became less frequent after 1830, when the property likely passed out of the Fickling hands. This suggests a mean historic date of perhaps 1796. If, however, the terminal historic date is extended to 1904, when Cole's heirs sold the property, then the mean historic date becomes 1833.

The mean ceramic dates for the three different areas — front yard, rear yard, and main house — cluster between 1800 and 1820. These suggest that perhaps neither historic scenario is entirely right, or entirely wrong. The dates suggest that while occupation may have continued into the postbellum, through Cole's ownership, its contribution to the archaeological record was perhaps significantly less than that from the earlier owners.

This tends to be supported by the bracket dates. All three suggest relatively intense occupation by the second half of the eighteenth century — during the Middleton ownership. And each suggests that occupation declined by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century — corresponding to the end of the Fickling's ownership. The front yard bracket date, along with the presence of late materials in all of the proveniences, however, indicates that some level of activity continued at the plantation into at least the first or second decade of the twentieth century. This, in turn, seems to correspond with the cartographic evidence that reveals the main house being demolished by the 1920s.

As a result, the artifact assemblage from St. Queuntens, taken with the historical evidence, suggests that the main house may have been built by 1770 and was certainly in place by 1790.

When all of the nail assemblages are combined to reflect, we believe, something approaching what was present before being dispersed by plowing, the results are interesting. Tables 8 and 9 reveal the distribution of these nails by size range and type (Table 8 provides examines the contribution of each type to the different size ranges, while Table 9 provides the percentage of each size range within a given type of nail).

The relatively modern wire nails are found in all size ranges, but their contribution to each size range increases as the size range increase. While they contribute only 9.7% of the 2d to 5d nails, they represent fully a third of the largest nails, 16d and up in size. This correlates, we believe, with the nature of repairs necessary on the main house through time. There were relatively few repairs to the roof (which we believe was replaced or repaired with roll roofing[8]) or the plaster lath. When we consider repairs to the framing or the heavy framing of the building — repairs which likely occurred toward the terminal period of its use — wire nails were most frequently used because they were most commonly available.

When we examine Table 9 and the percentage of wire nails by size range, we see that the bulk of the wire nails were used for repairs to the sheathing. This, of course, makes sense, as the exterior cladding would be subjected to weathering and decay. Its replacement is virtually a given, especially as a building is less used and receives less preventative maintenance.

Looking at the "other end" of the nail chronology, the wrought nails tell us an equally interesting story. Rose headed nails are found almost exclusively in the smallest size range (2d-5d), representing nails used in shingling and

[8] This is based on the recovery of asphalt fragments, as well as a few roofing tacks, which we did not incorporate into the artifact tabulations.

Table 8.
Intact Nails Recovered from the Rear Yard, Main House, and Front Yard, with Percentages Shown by Nail Size

	Wrought				Cut		Wire		
	Rose		T-Head						
Function	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	Totals
Lath, shingles (2-5d)	331	63.2	44	8.4	98	18.7	51	9.7	524
Sheathing (6-8d)	26	2.3	89	7.9	860	76.0	156	13.8	1131
Framing (10-12d)	7	0.9	129	16.6	494	63.6	147	18.9	777
Heavy framing (16-50d)	3	2.4	11	8.7	70	55.6	42	33.3	126

installing wood lath. Their number steadily decreased by size. When Table 8 is examined, it becomes clear that the rose headed wrought nails were preferred for these particular functions.

Table 9
Intact Nails Recovered from the Rear Yard, Main House, and Front Yard, with Percentages Shown by Nail Type

	Wrought				Cut		Wire	
	Rose		T-Head					
Function	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Lath, shingles (2-5d)	331	90.2	44	16.1	98	6.4	51	12.9
Sheathing (6-8d)	26	7.1	89	32.6	860	56.5	156	39.4
Framing (10-12d)	7	1.9	129	47.3	494	32.5	147	37.1
Heavy framing (16-50d)	3	0.8	11	4.0	70	4.6	42	10.6
Totals	367	100.0	273	100.0	1522	100.0	396	100.0

T-headed or clinch nails are found dominating a size range typically associated with framing, but which we believe were likely used for attachment of sheathing. The distribution of T-heads, however, suggests that they may have been more acceptable for a range of uses than the rose heads. This makes sense; the T-heads were largely intended to be less obvious and, hence, their use was not strictly regulated.

Within the category of sheathing and light framing, however, Table 8 suggests that neither style of wrought nail was particularly important. Instead, cut nails were most heavily relied on. While these numbers may be influenced by nineteenth century repairs using cut nails, we are more inclined to wonder if the wrought and cut nails — by 1780 or 1790 — were equally available.

This is important since, as we have previously noted, there is good reason to believe the house was built by at least 1790 and perhaps even by 1770. At these dates, however, the conventional wisdom is that wrought nails should dominate the collection, especially for shingling and the application of sheathing, both of which are relatively "nail-intensive." Yet, wrought nails, comprise a relatively small proportion of the sheathing category. This is likely the result of two factors.

First, and perhaps most fundamentally, the information concerning the availability of cut nails is woefully imprecise. Although the conventional wisdom is that cut nails weren't widely available prior to 1830, yet Lounsbury (1994:108, 239) provides several accounts of cut nails being widely distributed, in the South, during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Wells, from research in Louisiana, dates the widespread use of cut nails to 1791 (Wells 1998:92). The sad truth is that the lowly nail has not received a great deal of archaeological attention and it is impossible to place a very accurate date on the use of cut nails in Carolina.

Second, over the life of the building, placed conservatively at 120 years, there must have been considerable repair and replacement of sheathing and similar features. It seems likely that, through time, the proportion of the wrought nails would decline, as more and more repairs and renovations were conducted using cut nails.

Table 10.
Shape and Function of Identified Vessels

Shape	#		%
Tablewares	86		80.4
Plates	47	54.6	
Bowls	38	44.2	
Serving	1	1.2	
Tea and Coffeeware	15		14.0
Utilitarian	6		5.6

Consequently, we are not terribly concerned by the dominance of cut nails in the sheathing category and don't see them as conflicting with a 1770 - 1790 construction date for St. Queuntens. In sum, the nails tell us a story of the construction and repair of St. Queuntens that is entirely consistent with other lines of evidence using archaeological and historical information.

Examining the Status of the Owners

Throughout the discussions, the status of the St. Queuntens occupants as indicated by the artifacts, has been ambiguous. It may be helpful to combine the data from the three different areas, again assuming that this combined assemblage gives some approximation of the main house settlement. Table 10 shows the vessel forms present in the assemblage, revealing that tablewares dominate the collection, comprising 80.4% of the total. Teawares account for about 14.0% of the collection. While the tablewares are far more common here than at Cannon's Point, Otto's observation concerning the importance, or prominence, of both tablewares and teawares in the planter's assemblage appears to characterize our collection as well (Otto 1984:68).

Within tablewares at St. Queuntens, however, plates have only a modest advantage over bowls (54.6% of the tablewares compared to 44.2%). This is far different than the planter's house at Cannon's Point. Otto (1984:67-68) observes, as has other archaeologists, that bowls are far more common in slave assemblages than in the owner's. This is likely associated with dietary habits — owners ate a wide variety of dishes, requiring both plates and bowls. Slaves, in contrast, were provided provisions, and had the limited time, that favored preparing stews or one-pot meals. These, of course, required bowls, not plates.

The quantity of bowls at the St. Queuntens main house suggests, at first glance, a dietary pattern more like that of slaves and less like that of high status owners. While this approach may be useful in comparing whites and blacks as masters and servants, it does little to help understand the degrees found within each group. Nor does it acknowledge either the plebeian origins of the planter class or the fact that not all owners were very far removed from small or yeoman farmers.

It is also possible to examine the decoration of the creamware, pearlware, and whiteware vessels. As previously discussed, it is thought that the status of the owner will be reflected in the proportion of the more costly motifs such as transfer printing and hand painting. More inexpensive motifs, such as edged or annular wares reflect less wealth and likely a lower social status.

Table 11.
Motif of the Decorated Vessels, by count

Type	CW	PW	WW	Total
undecorated	13	-	23	36
annular	1	2	-	3
edged	-	13	3	16
hand painted	-	8	-	8
transfer printed	-	11	2	8
gilded	-	-	1	1

Table 11 illustrates the proportion of the different motifs among the major types of decorated ceramics. Overall, it is clear that both expensively decorated and inexpensively decorated vessels occur in about the same proportions. Ignoring the undecorated examples, annual and edged wares account for about 46.3% of the assemblage, while hand painted, transfer printed, and overglazed gilded vessels account for about 53.7%. This is a far cry from Otto's owner at Cannon's Point, where 77% of the wares were

transfer printed (Otto 1984:64).

This pattern is also relatively stable for both the pearlwares and whitewares. In other words, there doesn't seem to be any indication that the wealth of the owner when down or up through time — it seems to remain relatively stable.

Table 12.
Artifact Patterns for St. Queuntens Plantation

Artifact Group	Front Yard	Main House	Rear Yard	Combined	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern
Kitchen	36.7	26.9	44.3	30.9	51.8 - 65.0
Architecture	59.1	71.4	52.0	66.6	25.2 - 31.4
Furniture	-	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2 - 0.6
Arms	0.1	0.1	-	0.1	0.1 - 0.3
Tobacco	0.6	0.1	0.5	0.2	1.9 - 13.9
Clothing	0.7	0.1	0.7	0.3	0.6 - 5.4
Personal	0.1	-	-	0.1	0.2 - 0.5
Activities	2.7	1.3	2.3	1.7	0.9 - 1.7

Patterns

Table 12 lists the artifact patterns for the three areas investigated. Also shown is the pattern resulting from a combination of the three different areas.

Even a quick glance reveals several details. First, and perhaps most fundamentally, the pattern is heavily weighted toward architectural remains, especially from the main house area where the excavations were dominated by nails and other architectural debris. However, even the yard areas reveal substantial architectural collections.

Another observation is that the main house excavations were poor producers of tobacco, clothing, and personal objects. All of these small items are more commonly found in the surrounding yard areas, where they were either lost or entered into sheet midden as refuse. Within the main house, however, it seems that relatively few of these items had the opportunity to enter into the archaeological record. We believe that this be related to the nature of the architecture. Certainly tobacco, clothing, and personal items are commonly found inside slave structures. There, however, the buildings are less well built and more poorly maintained. In a weathertight, relatively well constructed house, there would be few opportunities for such items to drop through floors.

Their absence under the main house also suggests a range of sweeping activities. While at times trash is swept under structures as part of keeping the yard areas tidy, this doesn't seem to be the case at St. Queuntens. Although the yard was likely swept, trash was moved away from the house — not toward it.

Although there are some differences between the front and rear yard, these differences seem minor, especially compared to the main house collection itself.

While the individual area patterns are useful in these contexts and may help future work identify specific site areas, it is likely that the combined pattern is more likely representative of the site as a whole and better for comparison to existing patterns, most especially the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern, also shown in Table 12. Originally developed by South (1977) and later revised by Garrow (1982), this pattern is intended to reflect lifeways at British colonial domestic sites.

Reference to Table 12 reveals that the St. Queuntens data bear virtually resemblance to the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern. Kitchen and architecture ratios are switched, the frequency of tobacco artifacts is very low, and the frequency of furniture, clothing, and personal items are all low. In fact, a causal inspection might suggest that the assemblage bears much greater similarity to the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern (Singleton 1980) in which kitchen artifacts comprise a lower proportion than the architectural remains. A closer examination, of course, would reveal that the St. Queuntens percentages are outside the established ranges in not only the kitchen and architecture groups, but also for tobacco and activities.

The St. Queuntens pattern does bear some resemblance to those encountered at demolished sites. For example, at portions of the Stoney/Baynard plantation on Hilton Head Island, the artifact pattern reveals kitchen artifacts accounts for 23.4% of the assemblage, compared to the architectural remains, which contributed 73.9% (Trinkley 1996:40). This collection comes from excavations revealing demolition levels and it was observed:

> the patterns from the east elevation and from Zone 1 of the south elevation tell us relatively little except that the plantation suffered demolition — a fact readily apparent. In other words, the patterns are so influenced by the large quantity of architectural remains resulting from the demolition that this single event masks all other information which might be present (Trinkley 1996:40).

In fact, a similar situation is also apparent at the Shoolbred mansion on Kiawah Island in Charleston County, where architectural remains ranged from 62.5 to 87.1% of the assemblage and kitchen remains accounted for only 10.2 to 33.1% of the collection (Trinkley 1993b:244).

So, it is possible that what we are seeing at St. Queuntens is nothing more than the pattern of neglect and eventual demolition. Yet, it seems that if the pattern is so easily explained, then there ought to be more main settlements at eighteenth and nineteenth century plantations exhibiting a similar pattern.

In addition, the pattern at St. Queuntens plantation also resembles that obtained for sites which suffered other fates, where the archaeology didn't focus as exclusively on the architectural remains. An example is the Oatland Plantation (38GE294) on the Waccamaw Neck (Trinkley 1993a:165).

The settlement was probably established in the late eighteenth century and continued to be occupied through the Civil War, probably being abandoned in the postbellum. Although initially a very valuable, and profitable, holding, focusing on rice production. By 1860, however, it ranked toward the bottom of the economic scale for the plantations in All Saints Parish — probably because it was no longer considered a prime holding, but was being used to support the widow of its previous owner. Excavations at the plantation included a large block at the main house and another at a probable overseer's house or slave quarter/kitchen. The combined artifact pattern reveals that kitchen artifacts account for 29.1% of the assemblage, while architectural remains (window glass and nails) account for an additional 67.8% of the collection. Activity Group Artifacts account for 1.1% and Clothing items account for 0.5%. In almost every respect the artifact pattern for the Oatland settlement parallels that for St. Queuntens.

It seems that rather than simply dismissing St. Queuntens' artifact pattern as a relic of architectural decay and the archaeological strategy of focusing on the main house ruins, we should explore other reasons why this pattern may be found at a variety of sites. In fact, given the evidence previously discussed concerning status and lifestyle, perhaps the St. Queuntens pattern is reflective of middle to lower middle status owners?

CONCLUSIONS

Our research at St. Queuntens focused on four broad topics: delimiting the main house, understanding and exploring its architectural details, collecting information on rear yard deposits (especially those that will be sealed by the new house construction), and exploring the remainder of the front and rear yards in an effort to better understand the plantation development. A week was allotted for this work, using a crew of four individuals and the field director.

As we realized the artifact density was greater than anticipated, we increased the crew size, so that the invested field time was actually 46% greater than originally planned. Although not every goal was met in as great a detail as we hoped, our knowledge of St. Queuntens is far greater than before and the work has helped broaden our appreciation of the variety inherent in low country plantations. Each of the various topics and the results of our work is briefly summarized below.

Delimiting the Main House and Exploring Its Architectural Details

As a result of these excavations, we have determined that the St. Queuntens main house measured about 36 feet east-west by 20 feet north-south. It was of frame construction with clapboard siding and exterior, gable end chimneys. The roof was of wood shingles and the building, while perhaps two stories in height, may only have been 1½ stories. It was raised up only a few feet off the ground on narrow tabby piers that carried the weight of the structure. There is no indication that the area beneath the house was used for any type of storage — probably because it was raised only enough for ventilation.

The house had glassed windows, protected by exterior shutters or blinds. Although the chimneys were supported on tabby blocks, the stacks were a combination of tabby (or mortar) bricks and fired clay bricks, most of which had been salvaged with the abandonment of the house in the early twentieth century.

Architectural details were spartan. There was no archaeological evidence for the front or rear entryways, suggesting that whatever porches or piazzas which might have been present were probably small and lacked any substantial formality. Although the house was plastered, it lacked heavy ornamentation or moldings. The floor plan was probably equally simple — a through hall design with a single room on either side and stairs to either the floor or garret above. We estimate a maximum floor space of 1,440 square feet, assuming that some form of upper floor was entirely usable.

The combination of historical documentation and archaeological data suggest that the house was built at least by 1790 and possibly as early as 1770. This is a relatively early date, but we believe that it is consistent with all of the available evidence.

Although we learned much about the house, we were unsuccessful in some areas. For example, we found that plowing after the demolition of the structure was too severe to allow us to determine window locations based on the distribution of flat glass. We also did not find sufficient materials in the structure's interior to offer any specific analysis on internal divisions or use of rooms. Nevertheless, our understanding of the St. Queuntens house was dramatic and lead us to find parallels.

This structure bears little resemblance to the massive mansions often associated with low country plantations. Leafing through Stoney's (1938) *Plantations of the Carolina Low Country* one gets the feeling that only "Taras" existed or provide the true feel of eighteenth century architecture. Yet a little more careful reading and observation

will point out structures such as El Dorado, which represent a central eighteenth century core with nineteenth century additions. This core is two rooms, with end gable chimneys. Only success and wealth brought the additions that gave the plantation its "mansion" status. In fact, similar observations are offered for such structures as the main house on Spring Island (see Trinkley 1990).

Digging a little further, we come upon Stoney's photograph of The Bluff, built about 1790. Apparently it wasn't worthy of having floor plans included, although Stoney observes, that The Bluff was a "subsidiary" plantation and "hence the simplicity, which give it, however, all the charm that comes with a close attention to the functional needs of a region" (Stoney 1938:71). The photograph of the structure reveals what today might be called a "farmhouse," a clapboarded structure with end chimneys, 1½ stories, and set on low piers (Stoney 1938:191). A simple porch wraps around two sides and it appears that over time several additions had been added. Yet, this is very close to the structure seen archaeologically at St. Queuntens.

Even closer, perhaps, is Somerton, built by Frederick Adolphus Porcher in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Again, Stoney fails to provide us with a floor plan, but he again describes the house as having "simple delicacy of its detail" (Stoney 1938:85). His photographs, however, reveal an extraordinarily simple building which was of frame construction, 1½ stories with dormer windows on the roof line, interior gable end chimneys, and a very simple (and small) porch. The roof, at the time of the photograph, perhaps 1910, had wood shingles and the windows were all shuttered. The house set on low brick foundations (Stoney 1938:231-232). The only deviation from the St. Queuntens house is that while Somerton appears to have had a through hall, there also appear to have been four rooms on the ground floor, giving the house a somewhat square shape.

It appears that while larger, grander houses have been better preserved, and while architectural historians have traditionally been more attentive to grand architecture, the low country was filled with more modest houses. Built small and compact, their owners were either not sufficiently successful to enlarge them or they remained "subsidiary" to other, larger holdings.

As a result, only archaeological investigations such as these at St. Queuntens have the ability to help us fill in the gaps in the architectural record for the Carolina low country. Another such example is the work conducted by Chicora Foundation at Rose Hill Planation in Prince William's Parish (Adams et al. 1995). There research revealed a very modest structure:

> The house measured 24 by 28 feet in size with a gable end chimney and a front porch about seven feet in depth. The front door was centered on the southwest wall. The internal layout was probably a simple two room plan, with the larger room (18 by 24 feet) containing the fireplace and front door and a smaller room (10 by 24 feet) possibly divided into two rooms. In addition, it is possible that the house contained a loft. The foundation and chimney were built out of brick and the superstructure was wooden and framed using peg construction (Adams et al. 1995:51).

Containing only 672 square feet (not counting any space provided by the loft), the Rose Hill house was actually smaller than the St. Queuntens 720 square feet (again, excluding the loft area). Another Prince Williams Parish structure has been projected to have only 1,000 square feet (Kennedy and Roberts 1993). An eighteenth century plantation structure in Christ Church Parish, just north of Charleston, is though to have only perhaps 600 square feet (Trinkley and Hacker 1996:49).

These studies are documenting that small planters were, in fact, masters of very small worlds. More importantly, they begin to show us the range and variation (of not only architecture, but also cultural remains) we should routinely expect at

plantations.

Artifacts and Yard Areas

Our investigations of different yard areas offered both excitement and disappoint. We were, for example, disappointed to discover that the new house construction had caused more damage than originally though. As a result, the area under the new house contributed relatively little information and the disturbance probably prevented us from identifying any evidence of a front porch.

On the other hand, the excavations revealed that some aspects of the front and rear yard assemblages were different. For example, in the rear yard — where special activities might take place and in closer proximity to the kitchen than the front yard, we anticipated finding more stonewares and a greater incidence of utilitarian wares. This was not, however, the case. In fact, the rear yard produced lower numbers of stoneware vessels and utilitarian wares than the front yard. If anything, the assemblage from the rear yard appeared even more domestic, perhaps suggesting that the rear yard was a favored location for trash disposal.

This seems to be supported by artifact density levels which increase from the front yard to the main house, and then again from the main house to rear yard. Trash was somehow finding its way to the rear yard on a fairly regular basis, while the front yard appears to have been kept fairly clean.

Of course, this increase in density may be directly related to the burning, and collapse, of the main house. There are some indications that the house fell largely southward. This not only suggests that the fire began in the rear of the building, but also that at least some of the debris in the rear yard may relate to this event.

While some aspects of the front and rear yard assemblages are different, and while there are certainly differences in artifact density, the artifact patterns for the two areas are almost identical. They appear to represent a "background" pattern which might be consistent across the site area, regardless of the proximity to a demolished structure.

The artifact assemblage also told us that while the main house was likely abandoned (or at least not occupied, at the time of the fire, it had not been stripped of salvageable material — far too many useful hardware items were found in the archaeological excavations. Combining the archaeological and historical evidence, it is likely that the main house was occupied through the postbellum — the time when salvage of architectural items was most aggressive. Having survived this episode intact, by the early twentieth century, when the house was abandoned, the architectural items were no longer considered sufficiently valuable to warrant salvage.

Better Understanding the Lives of Small Planters

One of the most important contributions of the research at St. Queuntens is the additional insight it provides concerning the lifeways of small planters. After years of focusing on mansions and the wealthy elite of the Carolina low country, data from sites such as this are especially important to help us balance our perspective.

Our previous discussion concerning shape and function of the ceramics recovered at St. Queuntens revealed that plates had only a modest advantage over bowl forms. While this is perhaps not the situation expected at the table of a wealthy planter, it is also not as extreme as seen at some sites, such as John Whitesides' plantation in Christ Church Parish, where nearly 62% of the tableware consisted of bowls (Trinkley and Hacker 1996:64).

This points out what we should know intuitively — that just as the range of wealth varies, so too will that apparent status of the ceramic collection. In addition, it is likely that there are temporal variables. John Whitesides was a very small planter of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries — there were no whitewares in the collection. Foodways changed dramatically in the late eighteenth century, and Bushman observes that with these changes, "the line that

once divided gentry from the rest of society now dropped to a lower level and separated the middle class from workers and marginal people" (Bushman 1992:xv).

At St. Queuntens there are 41 decorated vessels, with edged and annular wares accounting for 46.3% of the collection. Hand painted, transfer printed, and overglazed vessels, in turn, account for 53.7% of the assemblage. These, like the proportion of plates and bowls, don't suggest great wealth or status, but still reflect a noticeably higher proportion of expensive wares than John Whitesides, where expensive wares account for only 40% (Trinkley and Hacker 1996:64). The St. Queuntens assemblage is more similar to the collection found at Rose Hill, another middling status nineteenth century plantation, located in Prince William's Parish, where higher status decorative motifs comprise about 55.6% of the decorated wares (Adams et al. 1995:40).

How wealthy was Fickling, owner of St. Queuntens for much of its antebellum history? We know that in 1824 his wealth was valued at perhaps $7,560. Although we have no similar data for the remainder of St. Helena, McCurry does provide data on the distribution of wealth for St. Peter's Parish in 1860. So, accepting that we have about 35 year's difference, and are comparing different parishes, Fickling falls between the third and fourth decile of real and personal property wealth. Rowland and his colleagues offer similar data, noting that:

> the great planters almost always had real estate whose value exceeded twenty thousand dollars. Overall in the district, fifty-five of the 881 plantations, or 6.2 percent, were valued in excess of twenty thousand dollars in 1850. On the other end of the economic scale, 415 planters, or 47 percent of the planters, had plantations or farms valued at less than fifteen hundred dollars (Rowland et al. 1996:387).

In St. Helena Parish, only 11% of the plantations were valued at less $1,500, compared to as many as two-thirds in St. Peter's and over half in Prince William's.

Clearly not a major planter, but also not a yeoman farmer, Fickling seems to be a solid, "middle class" plantation owner, falling midway, but toward the bottom, of the various scales.

As McCurry has observed,

> hostage to a powerful tradition of regional representation that extends from the antebellum period to the present day, historians of the Low Country have found it impossible to see even the outlines of yeoman households, let alone to cross the thresholds (McCurry 1995:37; cf. Rowland et al. 1996:387-391).

We would argue that archaeologists, too, have been captive to the idea that the low country was either planter or slave, that the architecture was either grand or mud hut evolving into clapboard cabin, that the ceramics were either high status or low status. Studies such as the one at St. Queuntens begin to provide a more three-dimensional view of the low country planter class, showing it with greater depth and diversity. It also cautions against simplistic archaeological interpretations of wealth, status, and power.

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