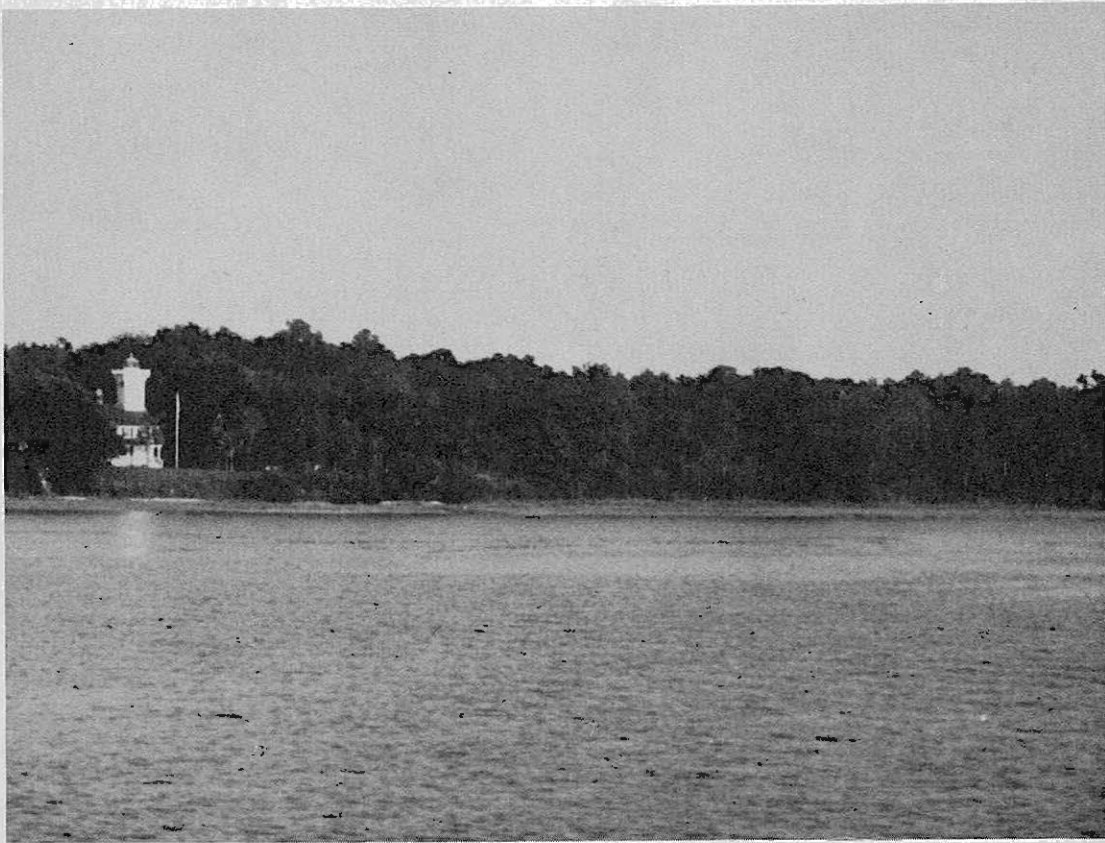


**ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT
HAIG POINT, WEBB, AND OAK RIDGE,
DAUFUSKIE ISLAND, BEAUFORT COUNTY,
SOUTH CAROLINA**



CHICORA FOUNDATION RESEARCH SERIES 15

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT HAIG POINT, WEBB,
AND OAK RIDGE, DAUFUSKIE ISLAND, BEAUFORT COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

RESEARCH SERIES 15

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CIP

Crumble, crumble
Voiceless things;
No faith can last
That never sings.

--Lacelles Abercrombie, "The Stream's
Song"

ABSTRACT

This study represents the compilation of three separate, but related, studies which examine archaeological, architectural, and historical aspects of Daufuskie Island, Beaufort County, South Carolina. The research, conducted for International Paper Realty Corporation of South Carolina, has extended over a period of three years, but this publication represents the first time that much of these data have been made widely available.

The archaeological investigations include site boundary studies for fifteen sites identified by the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office as eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places, limited additional survey of two tracts on Daufuskie Island, and intensive excavations at one late antebellum slave row (38BU634) associated with the Haig Point Plantation. The architectural studies document previous investigations at the Haig Point tabby plantation house and studies at two slave rows associated with the plantation, including 38BU634. The historical research provides important information about the Haig Point, Freeport (part of Haig Point), Webb, and Oak Ridge study tracts.

The boundary studies involved intensive shovel or auger testing to locate and establish clear site boundaries for fifteen Register eligible sites. The sites investigated include a large Irene phase shell midden (38BU135), two Middle Woodland shell middens (38BU136, 38BU623), a multicomponent aboriginal and Freedmen's site (38BU584), a series of three small aboriginal shell middens (38BU586-588), an antebellum plantation known as Haig Point (38BU591), two Black cemeteries (38BU592, 38BU619), a small aboriginal shell midden composed largely of periwinkle shells (38BU619), a freedmen's hamlet (38BU620), a probable postbellum dwelling (38BU628), and a late antebellum slave row and associated midden area (38BU630, 38BU634). As a result of this additional survey, site 38BU623 is recommended as not eligible for inclusion in the National Register. Site 38BU628 was found to have been destroyed by development activities. Site 38BU630 could not be relocated and is believed to have been subsumed by the 38BU634 site boundaries.

The limited additional archaeological survey, conducted on portions of the Webb and Oak Ridge tracts, identified four previously unrecorded sites, two of which (38BU941 and 38BU942) are considered eligible for inclusion on the National Register.

Intensive archaeological excavations were conducted at one slave row (38BU634) associated with the Haig Point Plantation as

mitigation for development activities. This study provides the first thorough investigation of plantation slavery in the Beaufort area and documents the lifeways of Daufuskie's Black slaves. Information on slave architecture, material culture remains, and subsistence is presented.

An architectural history and evaluation is presented of the elaborate tabby mansion on Haig Point, now an archaeological ruin. In addition, both standing and archaeological tabby slave structures from site 38BU153 and 38BU634 are examined and reconstructions are suggested. Recommendations regarding the stabilization and preservation of these tabby remains are offered.

This study also provides an overview of the Haig Point Plantation, incorporating the available archaeological, architectural, and historical data to examine one of the largest and wealthiest holdings on Daufuskie Island during the antebellum period.

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Dr. Patricia Cridlebaugh, Staff Archaeologist with the S.C. State Historic Preservation Office, reviewed the various research designs for this work, visited our work on the island, and offered considerable professional advise and support. I appreciate both her support and friendship. Michael Taylor, Director of The Environmental and Historical Museum of Hilton Head Island assisted in arranging for the curation of the materials from this study. Both Mike Taylor and Mona Grunden provided additional information and background on previous Daufuskie Island archaeology. Keith Derting, S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, assisted our work gathering together information on previous work conducted on Daufuskie.

I wish to express my considerable thanks to my co-authors for their interest in the project, dedication to scholarship, and willingness to meet stringent deadlines. I also wish to acknowledge the skill and dedication of my field crew, Natalie Adams, Mona Grunden, Karrie Joseph and Liz Pinckney, and my laboratory supervisor, Debi Hacker. Obviously, much, perhaps most, of this work should be credited to them. Jack Wilson, Jr. spent a week at site 38BU634, offering advice, labor, and friendship. Jack Meyer graciously examined the arms artifacts from 38BU634, providing considerable expertise and insight.

I gratefully acknowledge the review comments offered by my colleagues, Debi Hacker and Jack Wilson, Jr. Finally, I want to thank a special friend - woof.

INTRODUCTION

Michael Trinkley

Background

This investigation was conducted by Dr. Michael Trinkley of Chicora Foundation, Inc. for International Paper Realty Corporation of South Carolina (Ray C. Pantlik, Director of Engineering, Planning, and Research), developer of the 1,040 acre (421 hectare) Haig Point tract on Daufuskie Island in Beaufort County, South Carolina. This property is situated at the northern end of the island. In addition, International Paper has options on an additional 1,300 acres (526 hectares) on the island, known as the Oak Ridge and Webb tracts. Daufuskie Island is located between Hilton Head Island to the northeast and Turtle Island to the southwest. It is separated from Hilton Head by Calibogue Sound and from Turtle Island by the New River. Daufuskie is about 10 miles (16 kilometers) from both Savannah, Georgia and Beaufort, South Carolina (Figure 1).

The Haig Point tract is bounded by marsh and water to the west, north, and east. To the south it is bounded by a number of small tracts held by islanders and a large development owned by the Melrose Company (Figure 2). The Oak Ridge tract, situated on the eastern shore of the island, is bounded to the north by Melrose, to the west by small, individually owned tracts, and to the south by the Bloody Point tract (Figure 3). The Webb tract, on the western shore of the island, is bordered by small tracts to the north and south and by the Melrose development to the east (Figure 4).

The Haig Point development is currently in place and consists of the first 18 holes of a planned 27-hole golf course, other amenities, and a number of single family lots and cluster housing. The development plans for the Oak Ridge and Webb tracts are not yet complete, although similar development of these areas is anticipated. The project, therefore, has a high potential to impact archaeological sites directly road and support facility construction, golf course development, and eventually through house construction activities.

Previous Cultural Resource Studies on Daufuskie

The earliest, organized study of Daufuskie Island's cultural resources, funded by the S.C. Coastal Council, was conducted in 1981 by Rebecca Starr and Charles Lowe under the supervision of the S.C. Department of Archives and History. This work produced a

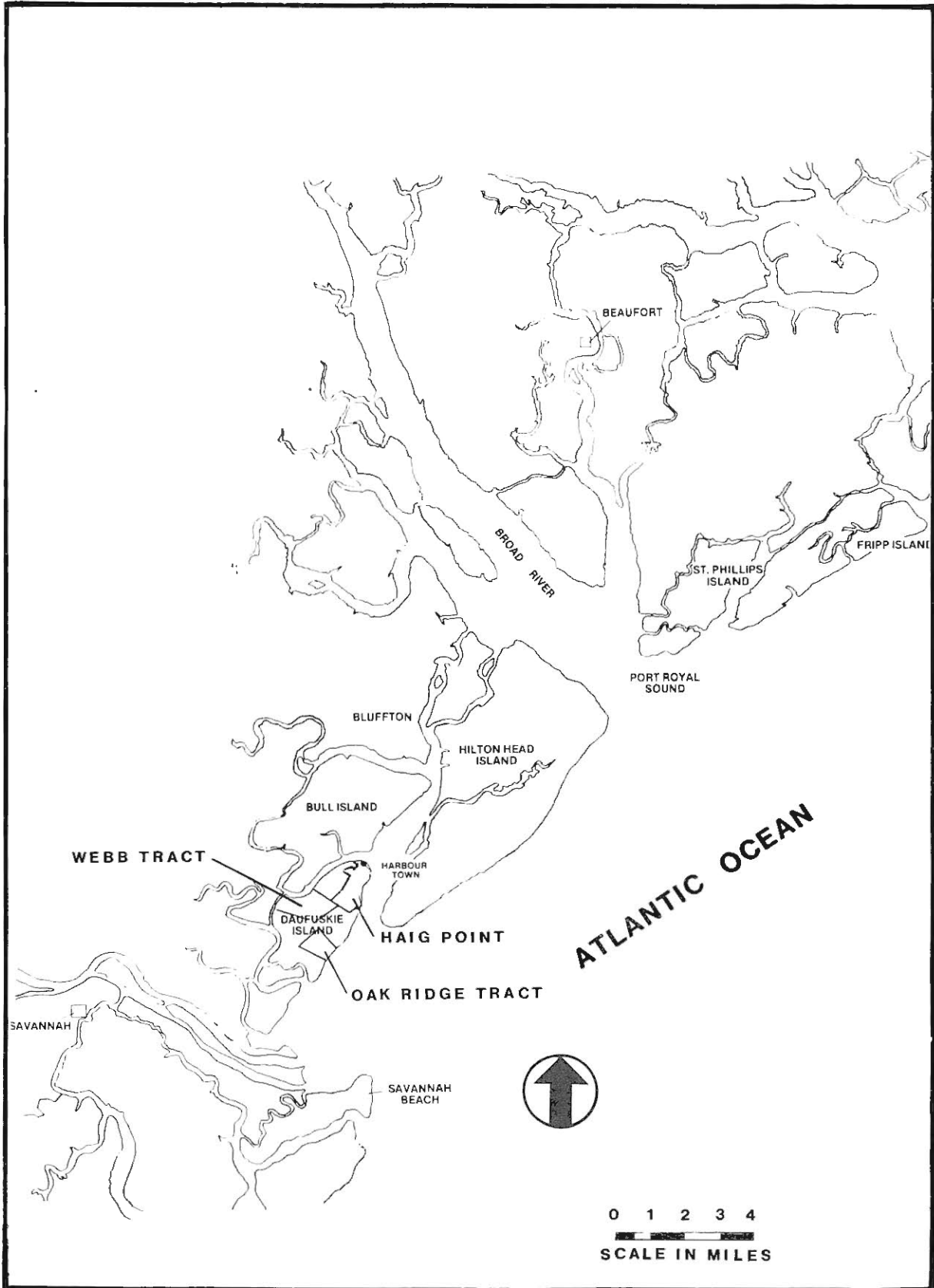


Figure 1. Daufuskie Island, Beaufort County, South Carolina.

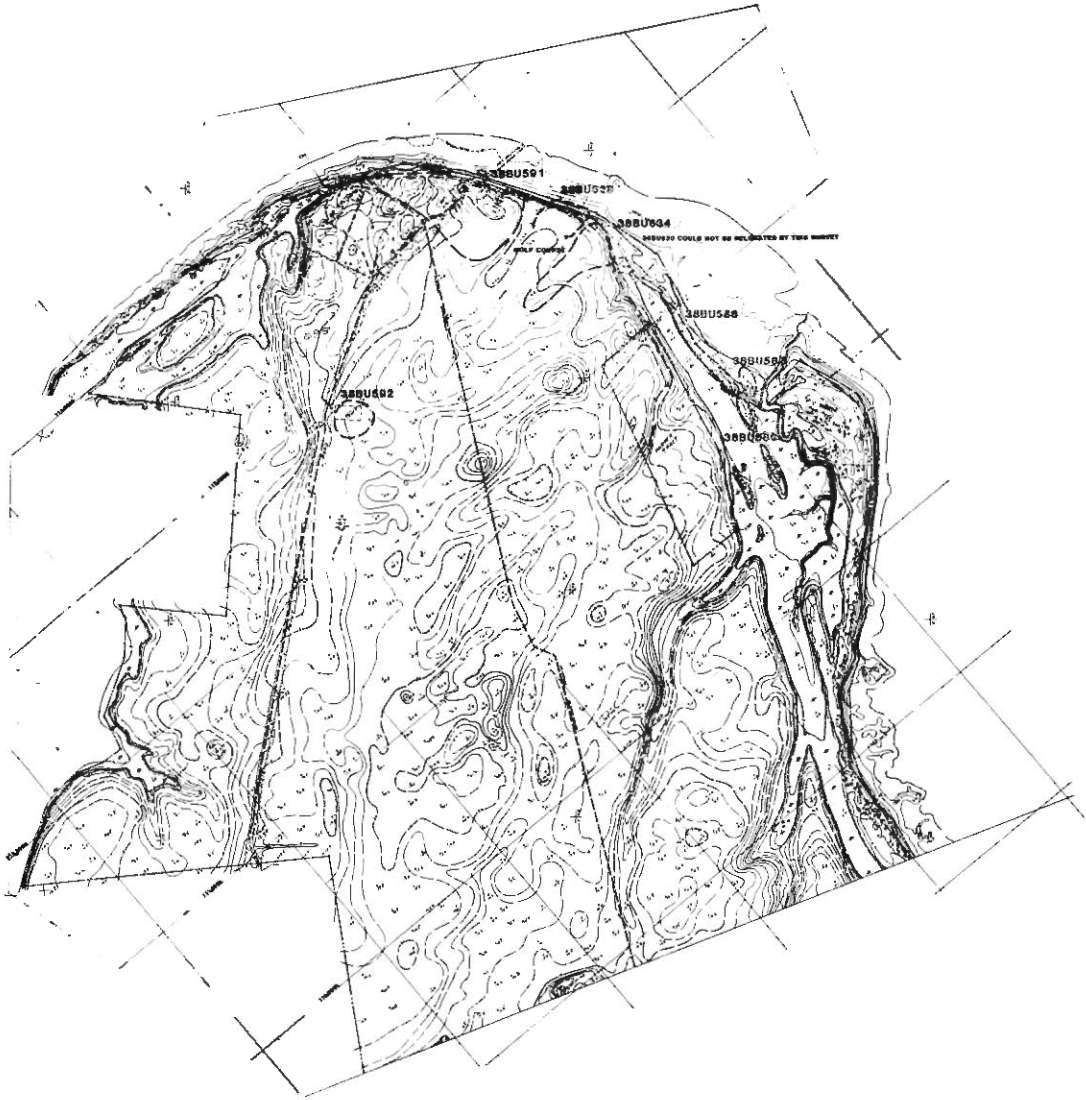


Figure 2a. Northern portion of the Haig Point tract.

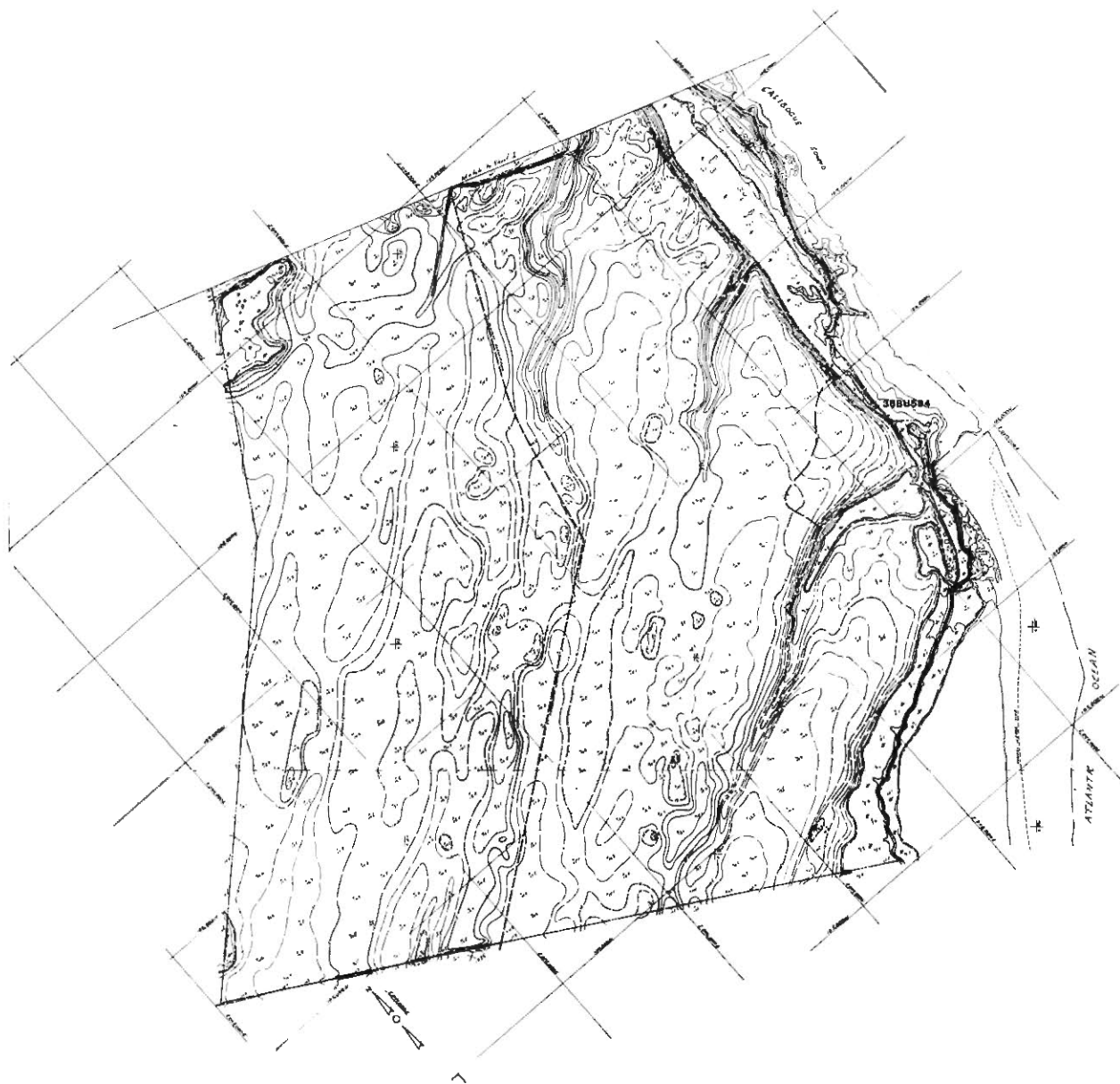


Figure 2b. Southern portion of the Haig Point tract.

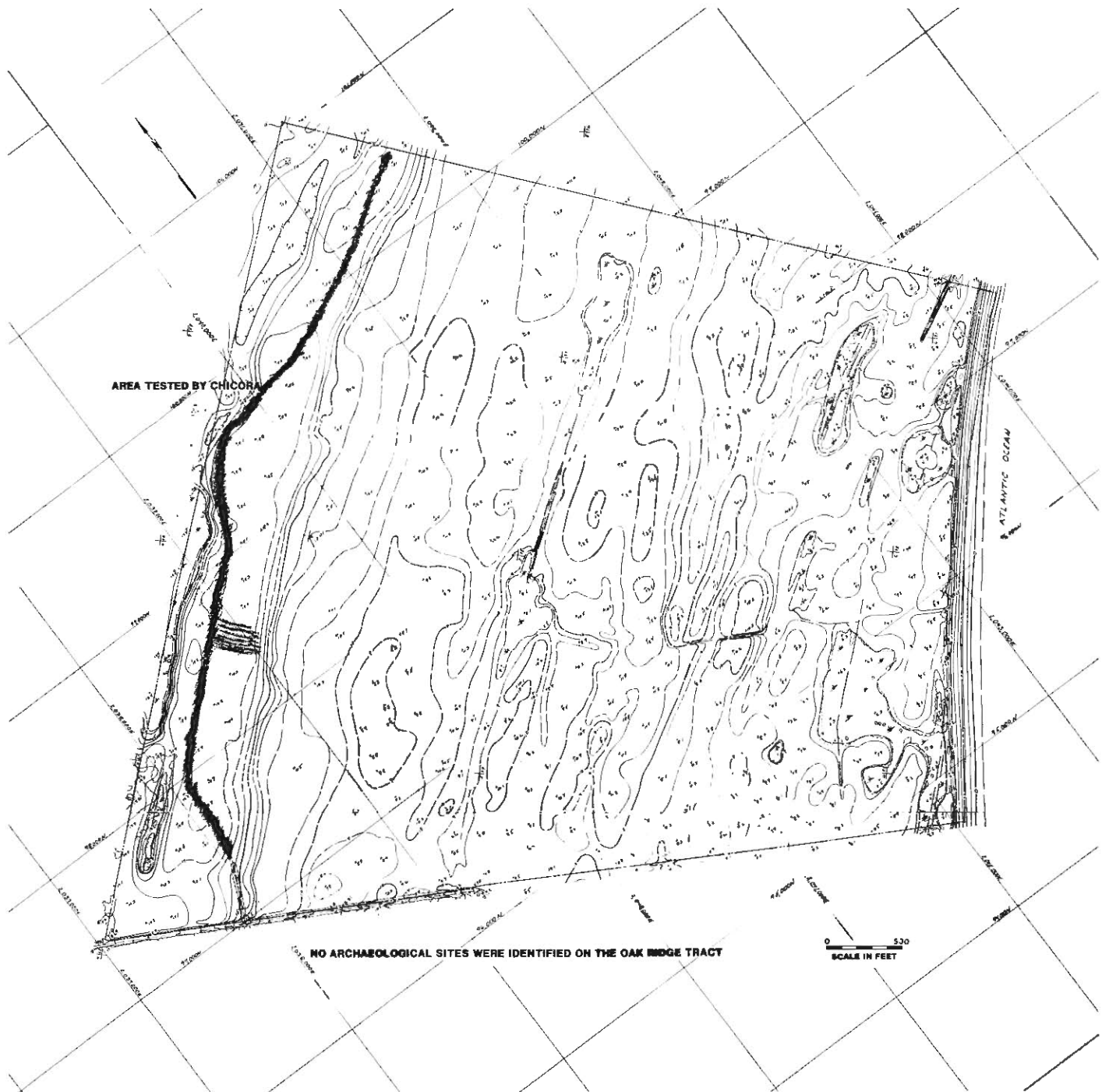


Figure 3. Oak Ridge Tract, Daufuskie Island.

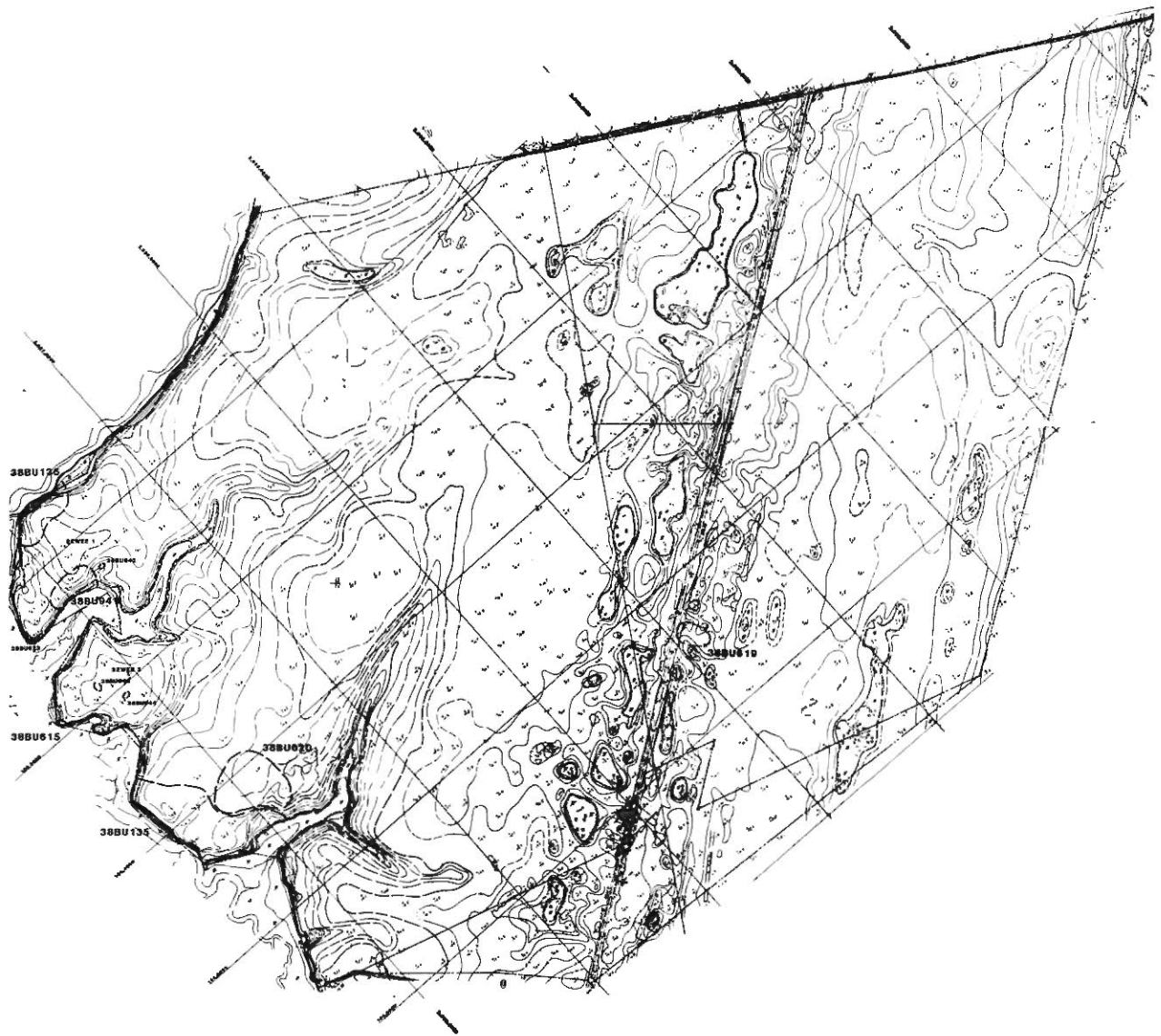


Figure 4. Webb Tract, Daufuskie Island.

"cultural resources survey" which emphasized the island's architectural structures, although a number of the cemeteries and several archaeological sites were also incorporated (Starr and Lowe 1981). The study identified seven significant architectural structures, and also recognized the existence of significant "folk" housing types on the island, including single pen, gable hatch, and hip roof varieties. Of particular interest was evidence of relic eighteenth century architectural traditions found in the gable hatch houses (Starr and Lowe 1981:9-10). The study recommended that a Multiple Resource Nomination of Daufuskie Island to the National Register be made, that measured drawings be made of the various styles of vernacular architecture, that an archaeological survey of the island be conducted, and that an oral history project be implemented.

A nomination to the National Register for the "Daufuskie Island Historic District" was prepared by Starr in 1981 and approved by the S.C. State Historic Preservation Officer in March 1982. The nomination, however, was rejected by the Keeper of the Register as being too broad. While an archaeological survey of the island was eventually performed, no additional research on the island's vernacular architecture or oral history was conducted.

In June 1982 the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology conducted a reconnaissance survey of the Haig Point, Oak Ridge, and Webb tracts for the predecessor of International Paper, The Daufuskie Company (Michie 1983). Although that work was limited, it succeeded in identifying 54 archaeological sites on Daufuskie, at least 34 of which were likely to be impacted by development activities.

A reconnaissance survey is recognized as a type of survey developed according to professional judgement regarding the possible location of cultural sites. It is normally based on knowledge of the area, including topography, soils, hydrology, and other relevant factors. All of these aspects were clearly stated in Michie's study (Michie 1983:37-39). Reconnaissance surveys can be used to validate judgements regarding site distribution and site types, provide a basis for designing and implementing future studies, and provide data relevant to site conditions, vandalism, and erosion. This level of inventory, however, will not provide sufficient data to locate all sites within the project area and hence cannot be relied on as a planning tool. In addition, reconnaissance surveys frequently cannot provide sufficient information about individual sites to determine their significance and eligibility for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

In spite of these problems, a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) was signed by the Army Corps of Engineers (the lead federal agency with cultural resource responsibility for the development

on Daufuskie), the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and the S.C. State Historic Preservation Officer in 1985. This document required that certain preservation work be performed on the standing Haig Point Lighthouse (38BU591) and the associated tabby structures (38BU153). This work has been partially completed and is detailed by Brooker (1986, n.d.). In addition, the MOA identified certain archaeological sites (38BU136, 38BU623, 38BU615, and 38BU584) as significant and requiring data recovery if they were to be developed. Further, the document specified other "significant archaeological sites" which would require similar treatment, although those sites were not defined.

The question regarding the other "significant" sites was not settled until 1987, when the S.C. State Historic Preservation Office identified the sites as 38BU135, 38BU136 (previously identified in the MOA), 38BU153, 38BU584 (previously identified in the MOA), 38BU586, 38BU587, 38BU588, 38BU591, 38BU592, 38BU615 (previously identified in the MOA), 38BU619, 38BU620, 38BU623 (previously identified in the MOA), 38BU628, 38BU630, and 38BU634. In addition, the State Historic Preservation Officer requested that limited additional survey be conducted in the Oak Ridge and Webb tracts (letter from Christie Z. Fant to Ray C. Pantlik, dated September 21, 1987).

During the two years between the approval of the MOA and the clarification of archaeological significance, the Haig Point development had been progressing. At the same time, International Paper had retained the services of Larry Lepionka to conduct a number of archaeological investigations. A recent report details the near complete excavation of the Haig Point plantation house (38BU591), the excavation of two slave structures and an associated midden at 38BU153, and some brief testing at 38BU628 (Lepionka 1988). Yet to be reported by Lepionka are the extensive tests carried out at 38BU584 and at the Melrose Plantation site (which, although not part of the International Paper property, is still a major comparative site on Daufuskie Island). The artifacts and field notes from these projects have not yet been curated by Lepionka and were not available to Chicora Foundation.

1988 Investigations by Chicora

International Paper contacted Chicora in February 1988 to request a proposal for additional survey work at the Oak Ridge and Webb tracts, and site boundary determinations for a number of the previously identified, significant sites. The original proposal was submitted on February 24 and was later revised, on April 20, to reflect specific changes requested by International Paper. Among those changes were a reduction in the level of work at the previously identified sites (i.e., the elimination of artifact density maps and a reduction in the level of subsurface testing) and a more limited survey of the Oak Ridge and Webb

tracts. The revised proposal was accepted and an agreement was signed in May 1988. This survey work was performed in June and July. A management summary of that work was submitted to International Paper on July 13, 1988 (Trinkley 1988c).

In May, International Paper also requested that Chicora prepare a detailed mitigation plan for work at the South Tabby Slave Row (39BU634) which was slated for development in the near future. A proposal was submitted on May 31 and a revised proposal, reducing work at the site from four to three weeks, was submitted on June 27. An agreement to perform the data recovery at 38BU634 was signed on July 12 and that work was performed by Chicora in July and August 1988. A management summary for the excavation project was submitted on August 26, 1988 (Trinkley 1988b).

Since these two projects have considerable overlap in scope, methodology, and importance to a full understanding of Daufuskie Island's history, approval has been granted by International Paper and the S.C. State Historic Preservation Office to prepare this overall report, rather than two separate documents. This approach will help synthesize these investigations and will also offer the opportunity to integrate previous historical, archaeological, and architectural studies of the Haig Point tract.

Scope and Goals

This project may be broken into three distinct, but obviously interrelated, research concerns: architectural, archaeological, and historical. The architectural research, directed by Colin Brooker, had begun several years earlier with the research on the Haig Point main house (38BU591) and the nearby tabby slave row (38BU153). That initial research is continued through this project, conducted by Chicora Foundation, in both the study of the tabby architecture at 38BU634, and in the preparation of a synthesis of the architecture at Haig Point. The archaeological aspect of this project, under the direction of Michael Trinkley, may be broken into three distinct activities: additional survey of the Oak Ridge and Webb tracts, the determination of site boundaries for previously identified National Register eligible sites, and data recovery at the South Tabby Slave Row (38BU6534). The historical research, of course, was concerned with identifying documentary sources which might shed additional light on the archaeological and architectural sites, but it was also oriented toward placing these sites in a wider context. This historical research was originally begun by Rebecca Starr, under contract with International Paper (Starr 1986; reprinted in Lepionka 1988), and was continued by both Michael Trinkley and Mona Grunden.

The architectural work involved essentially four goals

during the period from 1986 through 1988:

1. full recordation, using both photography and measured drawings, of the salient construction features of the Haig Point Plantation house (38BU591), the associated tabby slave dwellings (38BU153), and the South Tabby slave dwellings (38BU634),
2. full descriptive statements of these various structures associated with the Haig Point Plantation, including estimates of construction episodes and techniques,
3. assessment of structural deterioration, preservation options, and preservation recommendations, and
4. analysis of the Haig Point Plantation structural style, plantation arrangement, and relationships.

To accomplish these goals Brooker collected detailed information on the construction and condition of the various Haig Point Plantation structures, examined archival and historical references relevant to the Daufuskie area, and examined the archaeological remains from the 1988 excavations at 38BU634. Portions of his analysis in this report have been rewritten from his previous studies (Brooker 1986, n.d.), although the conclusions and synthesis offered are based on a complete reappraisal of the cultural resources at Haig Point.

The goals of the 1988 archaeological investigations on Daufuskie Island by Chicora for International Paper included:

1. a re-examination of portions of the Oak Ridge tract thought to have a high archaeological potential, specifically one high, sandy ridge which bisected the tract,
2. a more intensive examination of two areas within the Webb tract, identified by Dr. Patricia Cridlebaugh, Staff Archaeologist with the S.C. State Historic Preservation Office,
3. the determination of exact site boundaries of fourteen previously identified archaeological sites on the Webb and Haig Point tracts, and
4. the examination of the archaeological remains associated with the South Tabby slave site (38BU634).

Each of these primary goals, however, incorporated a number of secondary goals. At the Oak Ridge tract we were able to examine archaeological site probability in an environmental

setting not often the subject of intensive surveys. As a result it has been possible to refine and reformulate aspects of our model of coastal settlement. The additional survey in the Webb tract allowed us to explore the relationship between site location, site density, and soil types. The determination of boundaries for the fourteen previously recorded sites also involved a re-evaluation of their eligibility for inclusion on the National Register, and assessment of their current condition, and an evaluation of future research goals. While this boundary work was largely related to compliance and planning needs, it allowed a number of significant site specific questions to be more fully explored. In addition, the boundary work at 38BU634 has assisted the understanding of the slave's use of space at the slave row. The investigations around the main plantation area were essential to the reconstruction of the plantation complex. Finally, the excavations at 38BU634 were oriented toward a more complete understanding of slave diet, lifeways, and status on Daufuskie Island.

The goals of the historical studies included,

1. placement of Daufuskie Island in a broader context, relating the island and its economic development to the history of South Carolina and Georgia,
2. obtaining as complete a chain of title as possible for the various tracts, and
3. identifying information on the development of the island's various plantations through time and relating these developments to the archaeological record.

Rebecca Starr has made major contributions to our understanding of Daufuskie's history through her Master's thesis (Starr 1984) and her study of Haig Point (Starr 1986; reprinted in Lepionka 1988). The 1988 investigations expanded upon and refined this earlier work.

Curation

Updated archaeological site forms have been filed with the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology and the S.C. State Historic Preservation Office. In addition, archival copies have been provided The Environmental and Historical Museum of Hilton Head Island.

The field notes, photographic materials, and artifacts resulting from these investigations have been curated at The Environmental and Historical Museum of Hilton Head Island as Accession Number 1988.5. The artifacts are cataloged as ARCH-794 through ARCH-1133 (using a lot provenance system). The artifacts have been cleaned and/or conserved as necessary or are in the

process of conservation. Further information on conservation practices may be found in a later section of this report. All original records and duplicate copies were provided to the Museum in archival condition and will be maintained by that institution in perpetuity.

NATURAL SETTING

Michael Trinkley

Physiographic Province

Daufuskie is a sea island located between Hilton Head to the northeast and Turtle Island to the southwest. The island has a length of 5.0 miles (8.1 kilometers), and a maximum width, including both high ground and marsh, of 2.7 miles (4.3 kilometers), with a sandy beachfront that is 3.0 miles (4.8 kilometers) long. There are a total of 5,200 acres (2,104 hectares) of highground and 950 acres (385 hectares) of salt marsh (Mathews et al. 1980:156) (Figure 1).

Daufuskie is situated in the Sea Island section of South Carolina's Coastal Plain province. The coastal plain consists of the unconsolidated sands, clays, and soft limestones found from the fall line eastward to the Atlantic Ocean, an area of more than 20,000 square miles or about two-thirds of the State (Cooke 1936:1-3). Elevations range from just above sea level on the coast and up to 21 feet (6.4 meters) at the top of the highest beach ridges on the island, to about 600 feet mean sea level (MSL) adjacent to the Piedmont province. The coastal plain is drained by three large through-flowing rivers -- the Fee Dee, Santee, and Savannah -- as well as by numerous smaller rivers and streams. On Daufuskie Island there are several minor salt marsh drainages, including two south of Daufuskie Island, one at Bloody Point, and Freeport Creek at the south end of the Haig Point tract. In addition, there are a number of forested freshwater swales and bays situated between the beach ridges.

It is important to realize that technically the sea islands and the barrier islands are different from a historical perspective. The classic sea islands of colonial and antebellum fame (such as James, St. Helena, and Sapelo islands) are erosional remnants of coastal sand bodies deposited during the Pleistocene high sea level stands. They are crudely elongate, parallel to the present day shoreline, and rectangular in outline. Their topography is characterized by gentle slopes, and poorly defined ridges and swales. Maximum elevations typically range from 5 to 35 feet (1.5 to 10.7 meters) MSL. Typical barrier islands include Pawleys, Kiawah, and Hunting islands. There are, in addition, marsh islands, such as Morris and St. Phillips islands, composed of isolated or widely spaced Holocene sand ridges surrounded by Holocene salt marsh (Mathews et al. 1980).

Some islands, such as Hilton Head, Daufuskie, and St.

Catherines, however, have an oceanward fringe of beach dune ridges which were constructed during the Holocene high sea level stands and a core of older Pleistocene material (Mathews et al. 1980:65-71; Ziegler 1959). Unlike some other nearby islands, Daufuskie is characterized as erosionally stable. Erosion, however, has played a significant part in the island's history and there are areas on the island which today appear to be experiencing significant erosion, such as Bloody Point, the Melrose beach, and Haig Point. Our concern will be limited to the Haig Point area.

The National Ocean Services Cooperative Shoreline Movement Study, conducted in the early 1980s, revealed that the Haig Point area has retreated inland about 300 feet (92 meters) between 1859 and 1982 (NOA Shoreline Movement Study, Bluffton Quadrangle, S.C. Department of Archives and History). In addition, accounts of the 1893 hurricane report extensive storm related erosion:

One of the most remarkable effects of the beating of the seas was shown at the high bluff [Haig Point] on Daufuskie. . . . The force of the waves last Sunday night washed away the entire bluff for thirty feet back from where it stood previously as a barrier to the sea. The storm of 1881 had its effect upon this bluff. At that time its outer front was about 175 feet from the lighthouse which stands on the elevation. That fearful storm washed the bank back about 150 feet and Sunday's cyclone left only about 20 feet of land between the lighthouse and the edge of the precipice (The [Savannah] Morning News, Sunday, September 3, 1893, p. 1).

While the erosion along the Haig Point tract adjacent to the Cooper River is less extensive, and the highground is protected by marsh, at least 50 feet (16 meters) of the marsh has been lost over the past 123 years. The "Outer Banks" area of Haig Point has retreated inland about 400 feet (123 meters) over the same time.

Climate

Depending upon whose authority may be trusted, the nineteenth century Beaufort climate was "one of the healthiest" (Mills 1826:377), or it had "malaria arising from the Southern swamps" (Copp 1911:94). Linehan felt that "[m]alaria was the greatest curse of the sea coast, as all know who served there and who feel its evil affects to this day" (Linehan 1895:211). Forten wrote that "yellow fever prevailed to an alarming extent, and that, indeed the manufacture of coffins was the only business that was at all flourishing at present" (Forten 1864:588).

The major climatic controls of the area are the latitude,

elevation, distance from the ocean, and location with respect to the average tracks of migratory cyclones. Daufuskie's latitude of about 32 N places it on the edge of the balmy subtropical climate typical of Florida. As a result there are relatively short, mild winters and long, warm, humid summers. The large amount of nearby warm ocean water surface produces a marine climate, which tends to moderate both the cold and hot weather. The Appalachian Mountains, about 220 miles to the northwest, block shallow cold air masses from the northwest, moderating them before they reach the sea islands. Distance from the ocean is also significant because of the sea breeze phenomenon, which normally begins before noon and continues until late afternoon (Landers 1970:2-3; Mathews et al. 1980:46). There has been a myth, traced at least back to an early twentieth century real estate advertisement, that "cool breezes from the water in all directions in Summer" are present on Daufuskie (Christensen Realty Company Papers, South Carolina Library, Columbia).

Maximum daily temperatures in the summer tend to be near or above 90°F (32°C) and the minimum daily temperatures tend to be about 68°F (20°C). The summer water temperatures average 83°F (28°C). The abundant supply of warm, moist and relatively unstable air produces frequent scattered showers and thunderstorms in the summer. Winter has average daily maximum and minimum temperatures of 63°F (17°C) and 38°F (3°C) respectively. The average winter water temperature is 53°F (12°C). Precipitation is in the forms of rain associated with fronts and cyclones; snow is uncommon (Janiskee and Bell 1980:1-2).

The average yearly precipitation is 49.4 inches (125.6 centimeters), with 34 inches (86.5 centimeters) occurring from April through October, the growing season for most sea island crops. Hilton Head has approximately 285 frost free days annually (Janiskee and Bell 1980:1; Landers 1970).

While the temperatures on the Sea Islands are not extreme, the relative humidity is frequently high enough to produce muggy conditions in the summer and dank conditions in the winter. Relative humidity ranges from about 63-89% in the summer to 58-83% in the winter. The highest relative humidity occurs in the morning and as the temperature increases, the humidity tends to decline (Landers 1970:11; Mathews et al. 1980:46).

Along the Sea Islands severe weather usually means tropical storms and hurricanes; tornados are infrequent and waterspouts tend to remain over the ocean. The tropical storm season is in late summer and early fall, although they may occur as early as May or as late as October. The coastal area is a moderately high risk zone for tropical storms, with 169 hurricanes being documented from 1686 to 1972 (0.59 per year) (Mathews et al. 1980:56).

Geology

The Sea Island coastal region is covered with sands, and clays originally derived from the Appalachian Mountains and which are organized into coastal, fluvial, and aeolian deposits. These deposits were transported to the coast during the Quaternary period and were deposited on bedrock of the Mesozoic Era and Tertiary period. These sedimentary bedrock formations are only occasionally exposed on the coast, although they frequently outcrop along the fall line (Mathews et al. 1980:2). The bedrock in the Beaufort area is below a level of at least 1640 feet (504 meters) (Smith 1933:21).

The Pleistocene sediments are organized into topographically distinct, but lithologically similar terraces parallel to the coast. The terraces have elevations ranging from 215 feet (65.5 meters) down to sea level. These terraces, representing previous sea floors, were apparently formed at high stands of the fluctuating, although falling, Atlantic Ocean and consist chiefly of sand and clay (Cooke 1936; Smith 1933:29). More recently, research by Colquhoun (1969) has refined the theory of formation processes, suggesting a more complex origin involving both erosional and depositional processes operating during marine transgressions and regression.

Cooke (1936) found that the core of Daufuskie Island is part of the Pamlico terrace and formation, with a sea level about 25 feet (7.7 meters) above the present sea level. Portions of the island represent a recent terrace, formed during the past 10,000 years. Colquhoun (1969), however, suggests that Daufuskie is more complex, representing the Silver Bluff Pleistocene terrace with corresponding sea levels of from 8 to 3 feet (2.5 to 0.9 meters) above the present level.

Another aspect of Sea Island geology to be considered in these discussions is the fluctuation of sea level during the late Pleistocene and Holocene epochs. Prior to 15,000 B.C. there is evidence that a warming trend resulted in the gradual increase in Pleistocene sea levels (DePratter and Howard 1980). Recent work by Colquhoun et al. (1980) clearly indicates that there were a number of fluctuations during the Holocene. Their data suggest that as the first Stallings phase sites along the South Carolina coast were occupied about 2100 B.C. the sea level was about 3.9 feet (1.2 meters) lower than present. However, by 1600 B.C., when a number of Thom's Creek shell rings were occupied, the sea level had fallen to a level of about 7.2 feet (2.2 meters) lower than present levels. By the end of the Thom's Creek phase, about 900 B.C., the sea level had risen to a level 2.6 feet (0.8 meter) lower than present, but over 4.5 feet (1.4 meters) higher than when the shell rings were first occupied. Quitmyer (1985b) does not believe that the lower sea levels at 2100 B.C. would have greatly altered the estuarine environment, although drops of 10

feet (3 meters) would have reduced available tidal resources.

Data from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries suggest that the level is continuing to rise. Kurtz and Wagner (1957:8) report a 0.8 foot (0.2 meter) rise in Charleston, South Carolina sea levels from 1833 to 1903. Between 1940 and 1950 a sea level rise of 0.34 feet (0.1 meter) was again recorded at Charleston. These data, however, do not distinguish between sea level rise and land surface submergence.

Within the Sea Islands section of South Carolina the soils are Holocene and Pleistocene in age and were formed from materials that were deposited during the various stages of coastal submergence. The formation of soils in the study area is affected by this parent material (primarily sands and clays), the temperate climate (to be discussed later), the various soil organisms, topography, and time.

The mainland soils are Pleistocene in age and tend to have more distinct horizon development and diversity than the younger soils of the Sea Islands. Sandy to loamy soils predominate in the level to gently sloping mainland areas. The island soils are less diverse and less well developed, frequently lacking a well-defined B horizon. Organic matter is low and the soils tend to be acidic. The Holocene deposits typical of barrier islands and found as a fringe on some sea islands, consist almost entirely of quartz sand which exhibits little organic matter. Tidal marsh soils are Holocene in age and consist of fine sands, clay, and organic matter deposited over older Pleistocene sands. The soils are frequently covered by up to 2 feet (0.6 meter) of salt water during high tide. These organic soils usually have two distinct layers. The top few inches are subject to aeration as well as leaching and therefore are a dark brown color. The lower levels, however, consist of reduced compounds resulting from decomposition of organic compounds and are black. The pH of these marsh soils is neutral to slightly alkaline (Mathews et al. 1980:39-44).

There are eight distinct soil series on Daufuskie, including Baratari, the Capers Association, Polawana, Ridgeland, Rosedhu, Seabrook, Seewee, and Wando (Stuck 1980). These may be broken into at least three groups, based on both elevation and soil moisture. The Capers Association is typical of the marsh soils, which are periodically flooded, while the Baratari, Polawana, and Rosedhu soils all have water tables from the surface to a maximum depth of 1.0 foot (0.3 meter). These soils are poorly to very poorly drained and are found in broad low areas, adjacent to drainages, and in depressions. In general, they are considered to have a low potential for archaeological sites since they do not normally support human occupation. These areas, however, may have been used for rice cultivation.

The Ridgeland and Seewee soils are somewhat poorly drained, with seasonal water tables within 2.0 feet (0.6 meter) of the ground surface. These soils are found in nearly level areas of the island. The archaeological potential for these soils is variable, depending on other aspects, such as topography, proximity to water sources, and the type of site being considered. In general, they are more attractive than the more poorly drained soils.

The last soil types, Seabrook and Wando, are considered to be moderately well to excessively well drained. The depth of their water tables range from 2.0 to greater than 6.0 feet (0.6 to 1.8 meters) and they are found in nearly level to sloping upland areas. These soils typically exhibit the greatest potential for archaeological sites (Trinkley 1987a, 1987b). The high, well drained soils tend to be ideal locations for both prehistoric middens and historic plantation sites.

The soils in the survey area in the Webb tract consist entirely of the somewhat poorly drained Seewee series. There is a remnant creek or slough running through the tract, which suggests that prehistoric sites might be found near the interior of the tract, even though the soils are not particularly well drained. As will be discussed in a following section of this study, four interior sites were identified, all on the Seewee soils.

The Oak Ridge tract consists of ridge and trough topography, with the poorly drained Baratari, Polawana, and Rosedhu soils characterizing the troughs, while the better drained Seewee, Seabrook, and Wando soils are found on a few of the upland ridges.

The fifteen previously recorded sites are found on only three soil types: Capers Association (38BU586-588), Seewee (38BU136, 38BU615, and 38BU623), and Wando (38BU135, 38BU584, 38BU591, 38BU592, 38BU619, 38BU620, 38BU628, 38BU630, and 38BU634). The three sites found on the Capers marsh soil all appear to have been "drowned" by rising sea levels. The three sites found on the somewhat poorly drained Seewee soils are small prehistoric sites, similar to the four additional sites found on the Webb tract. The remaining nine sites, found on the excessively well drained Wando soils, are large historic sites (main plantation, slave row, freedmen's hamlet, and cemeteries) or large prehistoric sites.

Florestics

Daufuskie Island today exhibits four major ecosystems: the coastal marine ecosystem where land has unobstructed access to ocean, the maritime ecosystem which consists of the upland forest area of the island, the estuarine ecosystem of deep water tidal habitats, and the palustrine ecosystem which consists of

essentially fresh water, non-tidal wetlands (Sandifer et al. 1980:7-9).

The coastal marine ecosystem consists of that area from the dunes extending seaward to the level of extreme low spring tide so that there are both intertidal and subtidal components. Salinity consistently exceeds 30 ppt. This ecosystem shelters a number of food resources, such as sea turtles, resident and migrational species of fish, marine and pelagic birds, and several sea mammals, including dolphins, whales, and the manatee. While many of these resources are occasionally found in the archaeological record, there is little indication that the beach strand was a significant ecosystem during the prehistoric period. Even during the nineteenth century this zone seems to have provided little to interest the inhabitants of Daufuskie.

Mathews et al. (1980:155) note that the most significant ecosystem on Daufuskie 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 four 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 either the prehistoric or historic occupants and only it will be further discussed. While this subsystem is frequently characterized by the dominance of live oak 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 barrier islands may contain communities of oak-pine, oak-palmetto-pine, oak-magnolia, palmetto, or low oak woods. The sea islands, being more mesic or xeric, tend to evidence old field communities, pine-mixed hardwoods communities, pine forest communities, or mixed hardwood communities (Sandifer et al. 1980:120-121, 437).

Mills, discussing Beaufort District in the early nineteenth century, states,

[b]esides 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 cautions, however, that "[s]ome parts of the district are beginning already to experience a want of timber, even for common

purposes" (Mills 1826:383) and suggests that at least 25% of a plantation's acreage should be reserved for woods. One of the few accounts describing Daufuskie Island during the mid-nineteenth century comes from a Union soldier marching across Daufuskie from Haig Point to Bloody Point in March 1862:

On our march across the island we did not fail to observe the beauties of nature. A grove was passed through where the trees were hung with a natural draping of moss, reaching the ground. . . . A long narrow field we pass, seemingly about two miles long, had "broom grass" growing almost its entire length (Eldridge 1893:122-123).

Clearly the island contained areas of both virgin live oak and also abandoned fields.

The estuarine ecosystem in the Daufuskie vicinity includes those areas of deep-water tidal habitats and adjacent tidal wetlands. Salinity may range from 0.5 ppt at the head of an estuary to 30 ppt where it comes in contact with the ocean. Estuarine systems are influenced by ocean tides, precipitation, fresh water runoff from the upland areas, evaporation, and wind. The tidal range for Daufuskie is 7.2 to 8.4 feet (2.2 to 2.6 meters), indicative of an area swept by moderately strong tidal currents. The system may be subdivided into two major components: subtidal and intertidal (Sandifer et al. 1980:158-159). These estuarine systems are extremely important to our understanding of both prehistoric and historic occupation because they naturally contain such high biomass (Thompson 1972:9). The estuarine area contributes vascular flora used for basket making, mammals, birds, fish (over 107 species), and shellfish.

The last environment to be briefly discussed is the freshwater palustrine ecosystem, which includes all wetland systems, such as swamps, bays, savannas, pocosins and creeks, where the salinities measure less than 0.5 ppt. The palustrine ecosystem is diverse, although not well studied (Sandifer et al. 1980:295). A number of forest types are found in the palustrine areas, which attract a variety of terrestrial mammals. On Daufuskie the typical vegetation consists of red maple, swamp tupelo, sweet gum, red bay, cypress, and various hollies. Also found are wading birds and reptiles.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

Michael Trinkley

Previous Archaeology

By the late 1930s the existence of aboriginal remains along the South Carolina coast had been documented, described, and to a large extent, illustrated (e.g., Flannery 1943; Griffin 1943; Moore 1899). Emphasis had been (and would largely continue to be) placed on the highly visible: shell middens, shell rings, and sand burial mounds. Although great emphasis was placed on collection and description during this period, little concern was placed on understanding.

Depression era work on the Georgia coast, primarily by Antonio Waring (Williams 1968), formed a cultural framework that remained largely unchanged into the 1970s. Major Georgia sites included Bilbo, Deptford, Meldrim, Walthour, Oemler, and Sapelo, while the Refuge site was just within South Carolina (Caldwell 1952; DePratter 1979b; Dye 1976). During this same time Joseph Caldwell was investigating a series of sites along the Georgia coast, including a Savannah phase burial mound at the Deptford site (Caldwell 1943), the Irene site (Caldwell and McCann 1941), and various Wilmington sites in the Savannah area (Caldwell and McCann 1940).

During the 1960s Alan Calmes examined three sites on Hilton Head and one site on adjacent Jenkins Island (Calmes 1967a, 1967b). Two of these sites, the Sea Pines and Ford's Skull Creek, were shell rings, while the other two, Jenkins Island and Green's Shell Enclosure, represented Wilmington and Irene occupations respectively. These studies yielded significant comparative collections and assisted in developing a better understanding of Hilton Head's cultural history.

Shell ring studies, begun by Waring and Caldwell in the 1940s and 1950s, continued with the investigation of two sites on the Georgia coast by Marrinan (1975) and DePratter (1979b). Work at the Lighthouse Point and Stratton Place shell rings in Charleston County, South Carolina (Trinkley 1980) opened large areas and succeeded in developing considerable information on site formation and function. The sites apparently formed through gradual accumulation and represent domestic refuse from year-round village occupation.

Caldwell (1971) and Milanich (1977) have both offered revisions of Waring's (Williams 1968) basic Georgia coast

chronology. More recent work on the Georgia coast has been dominated by the research conducted by the American Museum of Natural History (Thomas et al. 1978; Thomas and Larsen 1979) on St. Catherines Island. As a result of this work and additional research, DePratter (1979a) has offered a cohesive synthesis of Georgia coastal ceramics and dates. Adams' (1985) work in the Kings Bay locality, just north of the Florida border in Georgia, provides significant subsistence and settlement data for a number of cultural periods, including the Late Archaic/Early Woodland fiber-tempered occupations.

The Beaufort area has received considerable attention since Calmes' work in the early 1960s. Surveys have been conducted of the Port Royal Sound shores (Michie 1980), Calawassee Island (Michie 1982), portions of Daufuskie Island (Michie 1983), Pinckney Island (Braley 1983; Charles 1984; Drucker and Anthony 1980), Victoria Bluff (Trinkley 1981; Widmer 1976), and Hilton Head Island (Trinkley 1987c, 1988a). Extensive excavations have been conducted at a number of prehistoric sites, including Location 22 in the Savannah National Wildlife Refuge (Lepionka et al. 1983), at two sites on Pinckney Island (Trinkley 1981), at the Calawassie Island Burial Mound (Brooks et al. 1982), and at the Fish Haul site (Trinkley 1986).

Historical archaeology in the Beaufort area, prior to South's investigations of Santa Elena and Charlesfort on Parris Island and Port Royal islands respectively (South 1979, 1980, 1982a, 1982b, 1983, 1984), was primarily a by-product of prehistoric investigations. In fact, there is only one summary article on the archaeology of several major plantations excavated in Beaufort County (Grunden 1985). Several draft manuscripts have become available for work conducted on Dataw Island (Lepionka 1987) and on Daufuskie Island (Lepionka 1988). Elsewhere, however, historical archeology has begun to focus on plantation sites and topics such as socioeconomic status and slave lifestyle. Two recent articles summarize the progress of plantation archaeology (Fairbanks 1984; Orser 1984).

Fairbanks emphasizes the slave archaeology conducted primarily on the Georgia coast by University of Florida researchers. These studies include Kingsley Plantation on Fort George Island, Florida (Fairbanks 1974), Ryefield on Cumberland Island, Georgia (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971), Cannon's Point, St. Simons Island, Georgia (Otto 1984), Hampton Plantation on Butler Island, Georgia (Singleton 1980), and the LeConte Plantation near Riceboro, Georgia (Hamilton 1980). Data from these projects have shed light on the socioeconomic status, diet, and housing of slaves. However, little has been learned about black ethnicity, burial practices, or Africanisms. Fairbanks briefly comments on excavations carried out by Theresa Singleton and Martin Dickinson for West Georgia College at a freedmen's site on Colonel's Island near Brunswick, Georgia (Singleton 1985).

Orser's (1984) review is a critical evaluation of plantation archaeology, emphasizing three areas: plantation slavery, plantation social structure, and the value of cultural resource management studies. Several of his observations are significant to a complete understanding of recent plantation research. He notes that the work at Yaughan and Curriboo plantations in Berkely County, South Carolina (Wheaton et al. 1983) addresses the process of slave acculturation as seen in the artifact patterns, architectural remains, and food preparation practices. Orser also contrasts the work of Otto (1984) and Sue Mullens-Moore (1981). Otto suggests that social status is observable in the archaeological record and notes that the archaeological remains of planter, overseer, and slave are all distinct. Mullins-Moore argues that it is perhaps economic position which is being observed archaeologically, so that the material culture of a small planter may be similar to that of an overseer at a large, wealthy plantation. The conclusion from this comparison is, of course, that history is not simple. Schlereth warns that "to enshrine any one version of the American past violates historical truth" (Schlereth 1980:215).

Work by Lepionka at Haig Point includes the partial excavation of the main plantation house (38BU591), the partial excavation of two slave cabins in the northern row (38BU153), partial excavation of one associated shell midden, and limited yard excavation around one slave structure (Lepionka 1988).

Excavations at the main house, conducted by Robin Brown, revealed very limited artifactual remains and suggest that the structure burned sometime after 1850. The construction date appears to be toward the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The 1816 mean ceramic date for the plantation house is the probable result of its occupation during a period of transition between pearlware and whiteware ceramics. The highly aberrant artifact pattern analysis from this work clearly reveals that the structure was abandoned with virtually all possessions removed at the time of its destruction.

The two slave cabins yielded mean ceramic dates of 1826 and 1828, while the midden produced a date of 1829, and the yard revealed a mean ceramic date of 1824. The combined date is 1827. The artifact patterns obtained by Lepionka are of limited value since it was not possible to separate antebellum and postbellum occupations. Not unexpectedly, the patterns obtained from the two structures appear to be intermediate between those of the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern (Singleton 1980) and the Piedmont Tenant/Yeoman Artifact Pattern (Drucker et al. 1984). They also bear a strong similarity to the pattern observed at the freedmen's village of Mitchelville on Hilton Head Island (Trinkley and Hacker 1986:264). The midden sample is similar to that identified by Garrow (1982b) as the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern, although the dominance of kitchen refuse over

architectural remains is perhaps to be expected in a kitchen midden. The yard area produced an artifact pattern with roughly equal proportions of kitchen and architectural remains. Again, it is likely that this data reflects the extraordinary mixing of antebellum slave and postbellum freedmen artifacts. This degree of mixing largely precludes the use of this data for comparative studies. Lepionka remarks that the slave cabin assemblage is sparse and consistent with a low status occupation. It is surprising that no Colono ware ceramics are reported from the site, although Lepionka admits problems separating the Colono wares from the prehistoric Savannah Burished sherds (Lepionka 1988:228-229).

Archaeological Synthesis

There is sufficient coastal research to develop a sequence of occupation and at least some information on how the prehistoric occupants in the Daufuskie Island area lived. This section is intended to provide only a brief review of the temporal periods. Several previously published archaeological studies are available for the Beaufort area that provide additional background, including Brooks et al. (1982), DePratter (1979a), and Trinkley (1981, 1986). A considerable amount of work has been conducted in the Beaufort area and these works should be consulted for broad overviews.

The Paleo-Indian period, lasting from 12,000 to 8,000 B.C., is evidenced by basally thinned, side-notched projectile points; fluted, lanceolate projectile points; side scrapers; end scrapers; and drills (Coe 1964; Michie 1977; Williams 1968). The Paleo-Indian occupation, while widespread, does not appear to have been intensive. Artifacts are most frequently found along major river drainages, which Michie interprets to support the concept of an economy "oriented towards the exploitation of now extinct mega-fauna" (Michie 1977:124).

Waring (1961) reported the discovery of three Paleo-Indian points in the vicinity of Bluffton in 1961 and Michie (1977:105) reports that two additional points have been found on Daws Island, also in Beaufort County. Although there has been considerable natural and artificial resculpturing of the Daufuskie Island area, it is possible that early Paleo-Indian remains may be found on the Pleistocene portions of the island. Sea level during much of this period is expected to have been as much as 65 feet (20 meters) lower than present, so many sites may be inundated (Flint 1971).

Unfortunately, little is known about Paleo-Indian subsistence strategies, settlement systems, or social organization. Generally, archaeologists agree that the Paleo-Indian groups were at a band level of society (see Service 1966), were nomadic, and were both hunters and foragers. While

population density, based on the isolated finds, is thought to have been low, Walthall suggests that toward the end of the period, "there was an increase in population density and in territoriality and that a number of new resource areas were beginning to be exploited" (Walthall 1980:30).

The Archaic period, which dates from 8000 to 2000 B.C., does not form a sharp break with the Paleo-Indian period, but is a slow transition characterized by a modern climate and an increase in the diversity of material culture. The chronology established by Coe (1964) for the North Carolina Piedmont may be applied with little modification to the South Carolina coast. Archaic period assemblages, characterized by corner-notched and broad stemmed projectile points, seem rare in the Sea Island region, although the sea level is anticipated to have been within 13 feet (4 meters) of its present stand by the beginning of the succeeding Woodland period (Lepionka et al. 1983:10). Brooks and Scurry note that,

Archaic period sites, when contrasted with the subsequent Woodland period, are typically small, relatively few in number and contain low densities of archaeological material. This data may indicate that the inter-riverine zone was utilized by Archaic populations characterized by small group size, high mobility, and wide ranging exploitative patterns (Brooks and Scurry 1978:44).

Alternatively, the general sparsity of Archaic sites in the coastal zone may be the result of a more attractive environment inland adjacent to the floodplain swamps and major drainages. Of course, this is not necessarily an alternative explanation, since coastal Archaic sites may represent only a small segment in the total settlement system.

The Woodland period begins by definition with the introduction of fired clay pottery about 2000 B.C. along the South Carolina coast (the introduction of pottery, and hence the beginning of the Woodland period, occurs much later in the Piedmont of South Carolina). It should be noted that many researchers call the period from about 2500 to 1000 B.C. the Late Archaic because of a perceived continuation of the Archaic lifestyle in spite of the manufacture of pottery. Regardless of terminology, the period from 2500 to 1000 B.C. is well documented on the South Carolina coast and is characterized by Stallings (fiber-tempered) and Thom's Creek series pottery (see Figure 5 for a synopsis of Woodland phases and pottery designations).

The subsistence economy during this early period was based primarily on deer hunting and fishing, with supplemental inclusions of small mammals, birds, reptiles, and shellfish. Various calculations of the probable yield of deer, fish, and

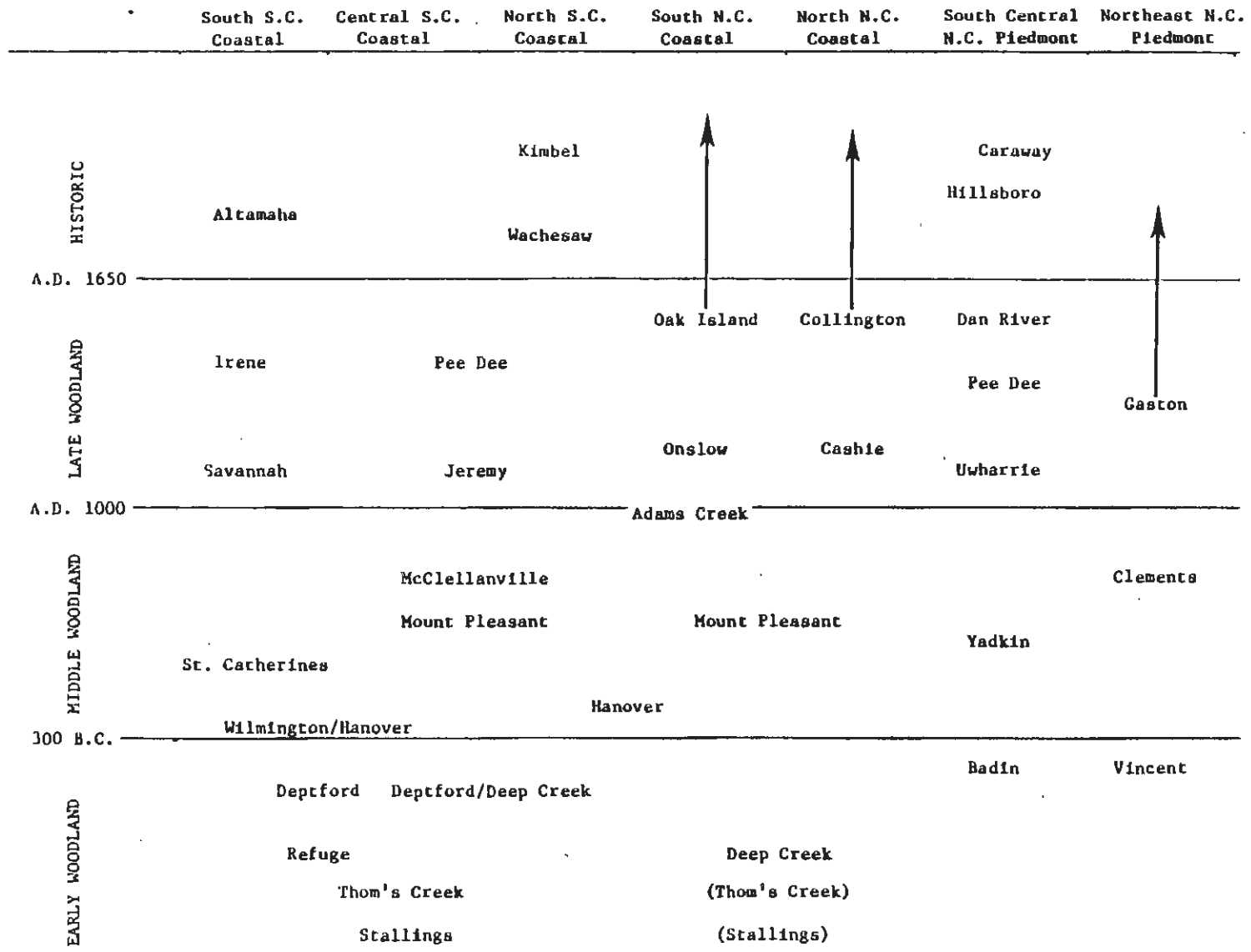


Figure 5. Chronology of the Woodland and Protohistoric periods in the Carolinas.

other food sources identified from shell ring sites indicate that sedentary life was not only possible, but probable. Recent work at sites characterized by fiber-tempered pottery on the southern Georgia coast has led Quitmyer to note that there was,

a specialized economy heavily dependent on marine resources. Marine invertebrates, primarily oyster, were the most significant of the zoological resources. Marine vertebrates, primarily drum, accounted for other important aspects of the diet. To a lesser extent sea catfishes (Ariidae) and mullet were part of the diet. Terrestrial animals, like deer, represented only an occasional resource (Quitmyer 1985a:90).

Toward the end of the Thom's Creek phase there is evidence of sea level change and a number of small, non-shell midden sites are found. Apparently the rising sea level drowned the tidal marshes (and sites) on which the Thom's Creek people relied.

The succeeding Refuge phase, which dates from about 1100 to 500 B.C., suggests fragmentation caused by the environmental changes (Lepionka et al. 1983; Williams 1968). Sites are generally small and some coastal sites evidence no shellfish collection at all (Trinkley 1982). Peterson (1971:153) characterizes Refuge as a degeneration of the preceding Thom's Creek series and a bridge to the succeeding Deptford culture.

The Deptford phase, which dates from 1100 B.C. to A.D. 600, is best characterized by fine to coarse sandy paste pottery with a check stamped surface treatment. The Deptford settlement pattern involves both coastal and inland sites. The coastal sites, which always appear to be situated adjacent to tidal creeks, evidence a diffuse subsistence system and are frequently small, lack shell, and are situated on the edge of swamp terraces. This "dual distribution" has suggested to Milanich (1971:194) a transhumant subsistence pattern. While such may be the case, it has yet to be documented on the coast. The Pinckney Island midden, north of Hilton Head, evidences a reliance on shellfish and was occupied in the late winter (Trinkley 1981). The Minim Island midden, on the coast of Georgetown County, indicates a greater reliance on fish, but was also apparently occupied in the fall or winter (Drucker and Jackson 1984).

The Middle Woodland Period (ca. 300 B.C. to A.D. 1000) is characterized by the use of sand burial mounds and ossuaries along the Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina coasts (Brooks et al. 1982; Thomas and Larsen 1979; Wilson 1982). Middle Woodland coastal plain sites continue the Early Woodland Deptford pattern of mobility. While sites are found all along the coast and inland to the fall line, sites are characterized by sparse shell and few artifacts. Gone are the abundant shell tools, worked bone items, and clay balls. In many respects the South

Carolina Late Woodland Period (ca. A.D. 1000 to 1650 in some areas of the coast) may be characterized as a continuation of the previous Middle Woodland cultural assemblages. While outside the Carolinas there were major cultural changes, such as the continued development and elaboration of agriculture, the Carolina groups settled into a lifeway not appreciably different from that observed for the previous 500 to 700 years. This situation would remain unchanged until the development of the South Appalachian Mississippian complex.

The Middle and Late Woodland occupations in South Carolina are characterized by a pattern of settlement mobility and short-term occupation. On the southern coast they are associated with the Wilmington and St. Catherines phases, which date from about A.D. 500 to at least A.D. 1150, although there is evidence that the St. Catherines pottery continued to be produced much later in time (Trinkley 1981). The tenacity of this simple lifestyle suggests that the Guale intrusion was relatively minor in many areas, or at least co-existed with the native inhabitants whose lifestyles were generally unchanged (Trinkley 1981). In addition, there are small quantities of pottery which resemble the more northern Middle Woodland Mount Pleasant Series (Phelps 1984:41-44; Trinkley 1983) which were classified as "Untyped" by Trinkley (1981) at the Pinckney Island midden.

The South Appalachian Mississippian Period (ca. 1100 to 1640) is the most elaborate level of culture attained by the native inhabitants and is followed by cultural disintegration brought about largely by European disease. The period is characterized by complicated stamped pottery, complex social organization, agriculture, and the construction of temple mounds and ceremonial centers. The earliest phases are named the Savannah and Irene (A.D. 1200 to 1550). Sometime after the arrival of Europeans on the Georgia coast in A.D. 1519, the Irene phase is replaced by the Altamaha phase. The ceramics associated with this period were made,

at least through the end of the Spanish Mission period in the 1680s, when the various Guale groups were either relocated to the St. Augustine vicinity or dispersed by the English (DePratter and Howard 1980:31).

The history of the numerous small coastal Indian tribes after contact is poorly known. As Mooney noted, the coastal tribes,

were of but small importance politically; no sustained mission work was ever attempted among them, and there were but few literary men to take an interest in them. War, pestilence, whiskey and systematic slave hunts had nearly exterminated the aboriginal occupants of the Carolinas before anybody had thought them of sufficient

importance to ask who they were, how they lived, or what were their beliefs and opinions (Mooney 1894:6).

Considerable ethnohistoric data has been collected on the Muskogean Georgia Guale Indians by Jones (1978, 1981). This group extended from the Salilla River in southern Georgia northward to the North Edisto River in South Carolina (Jones 1981:215). Jones suggests that the Guale may have been divided into chiefdoms, with two, the Orista and the Escaumacu-Ahoya, being found in South Carolina (Jones 1978:203). During the period from 1526 to 1586, Jones places the Escaumacu-Ahoya in the vicinity of the Broad River in Beaufort County, while the Orista are placed on the Beaufort River, north of Parris Island. By the late seventeenth century the principal town of the Orista appears to have been moved to Edisto Island, about 30 miles to the north (Jones 1978:203).

Waddell considers Orista a variant of Edisto (Waddell 1980:126-168) and places them on Edisto Island by 1666. Prior to that time they were situated in the Port Royal/Santa Elena area. The Escamacu are noted to also have lived in the Port Royal area, between the Broad and Savannah rivers (Waddell 1980:3, 168-198). Nearby were the Yoya, Touppa, Mayon, Stalame, and Kussah (Waddell 1980:3). Many of these tribes (such as the Kussah and Edisto) shifted northward as a result of the Escamacu War (1576-1579) when the Spanish sent out major expeditions. Waddell believes that the Escamacu War "probably left the area between the Broad and the Savannah rivers deserted" (Waddell 1980:3). He notes that in 1684,

the Proprietors decided to clear their title to the coast between the Savannah and the Stono rivers . . . , so they had eight separate cessions and one general cession made to give them a paper claim to all of this territory. The Witcheaught (previously unknown), St. Helena (Escamacu), Wimbee, Combahee, Kussah, Ashepoo, Edisto, and Stono surrendered all their claims (Waddell 1980:4).

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Michael Trinkley

Historical Overview of the Beaufort and Savannah Area

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

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

The Spanish Period

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

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

One of the few areas explored by Gordillo which can be identified with any certainty is Santa Elena (St. Helena). Apparently Port Royal Sound was entered and land fall made at Santa Elena on Santa Elena's Day, August 18, 1520. "Cape Santa Elena," according to Quattlebaum (1956:8) was probably Hilton Head (Hoffman 1984:423; see also Starr 1984:2-3).

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. Starr suggests that the location was "Daufuskie, Hilton Head, or Bluffton [to which] Allyon brought his colonists" (Starr 1984:3). Regardless, the colony was abandoned in the winter of 1526 with the survivors reaching Hispaniola in 1527 (Quattlebaum 1956:27).

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

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

The British Proprietary Periods

British influence in the New World began in the fifteenth century with the Cabot voyages, but the southern coast did not

attract serious attention until King Charles II granted Carolina to the Lords Proprietors in 1663. In August 1663 William Hilton sailed from Barbados to explore the Carolina territory, spending a great deal of time in the Port Royal area (Holmgren 1959). Hilton viewed the headland, which now bears his name, noting,

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

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

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

Meanwhile, Scottish Covenanters under Lord Cardross established Stuart's Town on Scot's Island (Port Royal) in 1684, where it existed for four years until destroyed by the Spanish. It was not until 1698 that the area was again occupied by the English. Both John Stuart and Major Robert Daniell took possession of lands on St. Helena and Port Royal islands, and on August 16, 1698, Hilton Head was included as part of a 4800 acre barony granted to John Bayley (Holmgren 1959:42). Shortly thereafter, lands on Daufuskie were granted to a number of Indian traders, such as Samuel Hilden, Nicholas Day, and James Cockran

(Starr 1984:7). The town of Beaufort was founded in 1711 although it was not immediately settled. In 1714 James Cockran was granted an additional 1,220 acres (494 hectares) on Daufuskie. By this time over half of the island was in the hands of Indian traders who recognized the importance of Daufuskie, at the seaward approach to the Savannah River, to the coveted Indian trade.

Swanton (1952:115) suggests that a Yemassee village may have been situated on Daufuskie and Starr remarks that "as it was customary for traders to live within the village bounds" there is support for Swanton's statement. The Indian Trade Commission Journals mention "Wonoya, a Pallachua at Dawfusky," which provides additional support for the presence of historic Indian groups on the Island (Starr 1984:10). Starr (1984:10-11) mentions several trading posts or camps which were situated on Daufuskie, although the exact location of these posts has never been identified, except for the Bloody Point lookout (Ivers 1972). Regrettably, archaeological investigations have not yet demonstrated the presence of historic Indian remains on the island and the Bloody Point area has suffered extensive erosion.

While most of the Beaufort Indian groups were persuaded to move to Polawana Island in 1712, the Yemassee, part of the Creek Confederacy, revolted in 1715. By 1718 the Yemassee were defeated and forced southward to Spanish protection. Consequently, the Beaufort areas, known as St. Helena Parish, Granville County, was for the first time 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 (Starr 1984:16). In the same year the English raid on St. Augustine succeeded in breaking the Spanish hold 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, the Indian trade was diverted from Beaufort to Savannah, and no new land grants were made on Daufuskie until 1733 (Starr 1984:18-19).

The British Colonial Period

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

While South Carolina's economic woes were far from solved by this transfer, the Crown's Board of Trade began taking steps to 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.

The Indian trade gradually returned to Daufuskie, although it was no longer in the hands of resident traders, but had shifted to absentee ownership by Charleston-based commercial concerns. In addition, a period of land speculation began in the late 1720s and early 1730s. As Starr notes, "the fact that all lands granted or purchased [on Daufuskie] in the early 1730s were acquired by commercial interests confirms trade as the principal economic pursuit on Daufuskie for that decade" (Starr 1984:22). The settlement of Georgia, with its strict laws prohibiting the importation of slaves and rum, provided additional opportunities for Daufuskie. Georgia attempted to eliminate illicit trade up the Savannah River and Daufuskie became a haven for smugglers and contraband.

By 1730 the colony's population had risen to about 30,000 individuals, 20,000 of whom were black slaves (Clowse 1971:Table 1). The majority of these slaves were used in South Carolina's expanding rice industry. In the 1730 harvest year 48,155 barrels of rice were reported, up 15,771 barrels or 68% from the previous year. (Clowse 1971:Table 3). Although rice was grown in the Beaufort area it did not become a major crop until after the Revolutionary War and it was never a significant crop on the Beaufort Sea Islands, where ranch farming was favored because of its economic returns and favorable climate (Starr 1984:26-27). In addition to cattle, Daufuskie was suited to other livestock, such as hogs, which found a ready market in the West Indies and Georgia. 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. Ship building continued to be a major activity on Daufuskie until the Revolutionary War. Henry Laurens arranged to have a ship built at Bloody Point under the supervision of Captain William Carter. His reasoning was simple, since the plantation,

lies within a few Miles of Cockspur, the entrance of Savannah River in Georgia on one side, and not very distant from Beaufort Port Royal in this Province on the other, in the Center of Rice Plantations, which will give us a good Chance of procuring early Rice, or

an early good Freight from one side or the other (Rogers and Chesnut 1979:520).

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). Starr suggests that the success of indigo on Daufuskie, however, had more to do with its extraordinary economic potential when compared to cattle production (Starr 1984:37). Indigo continued to be the main cash crop of South Carolina until the Revolutionary War fatally disrupted the industry.

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

The Revolutionary War brought considerable economic hardship to the planters. During the war the British occupied Charleston for over two and one-half years (1780-1782) and a post was established in Beaufort to coordinate forays into the inland waterways (Federal Writer's Project 1938:7). Starr noted that Daufuskie was largely occupied by Loyalists, drawn to the crown by economic ties with England and their remoteness from the "rebellious power structure at Charleston" (Starr 1984:40). Daufuskie continued to relate commercially, politically, and socially with the Georgia colony, which tended to be loyal to the crown. Starr provides additional information on the various "skirmishes" between the Whigs on Hilton Head and the Tories on Daufuskie (Starr 1984). Daufuskie's loyalty to the Crown earned it the term, "Little Bermuda." The removal of the royal bounties on rice, indigo, and naval stores caused considerable economic chaos with the eventual "restructuring of the state's agricultural and commercial base" (Brockington et al. 1985:34). The animosity between Daufuskie and the new colony government quickly dispelled and the island was brought into the new social and political order.

The Antebellum Period

While freed of Britain and her mercantilism, the new United States found its economy thoroughly disrupted. There was no

longer a bounty on indigo, and in fact Britain encouraged competition from the British and French West Indies and India "to embarrass her former colonies" (Honeycutt 1949:44). As a consequence the economy shifted to tidewater rice production and cotton agriculture. Lepionka notes that "long staple cotton of the Sea Islands was of far higher value than the common variety (60 cents a pound compared to 15 cents a pound in the late 1830s) and this became the major cash crop of the coastal islands" (Lepionka et al. 1983:20). It was cotton, in the Beaufort area, that brought a full establishment of the plantation economy. Lepionka concisely states 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; Figure 6). 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).

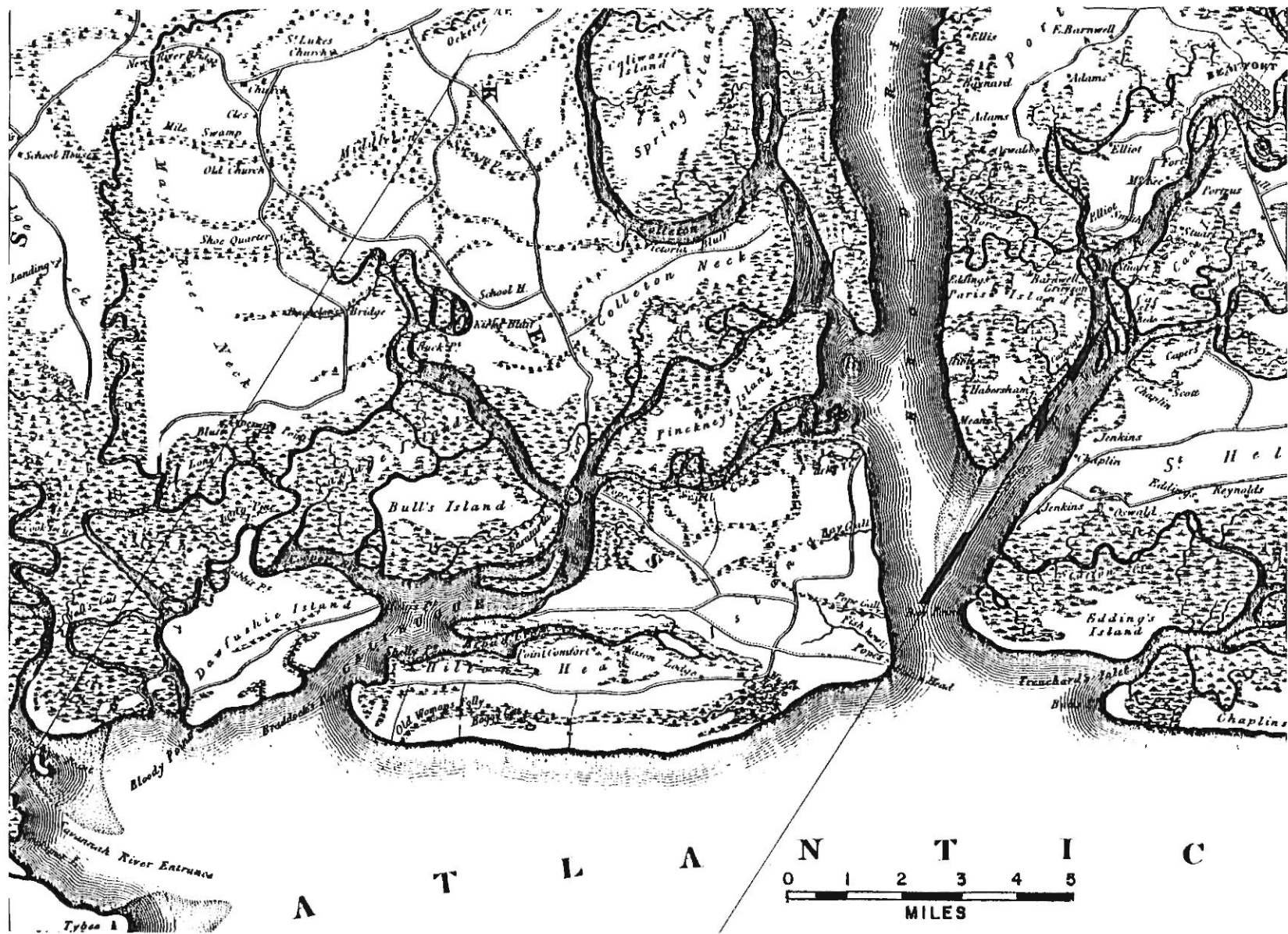


Figure 6. A portion of the Beaufort District in 1825 (from Mills' Atlas of 1825).

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

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

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

Daufuskie Island gradually came to be largely controlled by a single family -- the Mongins. By 1833 they owned at least 4,516 acres (1829 hectares) on Daufuskie, or 70% of the island. Starr records the plantations as Bloody Point (430 acres), Oak Ridge (596 acres), Egleberger (200 acres), Melrose (770 acres), Maryfield (530 acres), Cooper River (540 acres), and Haig Point (1150 acres, including Freeport) (Starr 1984:64). The 1836 "Chart of Southern Coast from Tybee Bar to Hunting Island May River" provides an excellent view of the Haig Point and Melrose plantations, as well as some information on the Bloody Point Plantation (National Archives, RG 77, Drawer 68, Sheet 5). By the 1860s there were seven recognized plantations on the island: Haig Point, Stoddard (Melrose), Bloody Point or Mongin, Dunn, Freeport (still part of Haig Point), Webb, and Oak Ridge. Several of these will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. The best map of Daufuskie for this time period is the 1859-1860 "Sea Coast of South Carolina from Mouth of the Savannah River to May River" (National Ocean Survey, Topographic Survey T-803). This survey clearly shows the settlements of Mrs. Dunn, Mongin (Bloody

Point), Stoddard (Melrose), and Pope (Haig Point). In addition, it shows a small settlement on the Cooper River (Figure 7). This unnamed plantation, situated immediately north of the modern day Cooper River Landing, appears to be the 540 acre Cooper River Plantation, owned by the Mongins. It consisted of the main house, 14 outbuildings, and at least seven slave structures.

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

Daufuskie's role in these events is poorly recorded. It appears likely that many of the island's slaves were removed from the island by their owners (Edward L. Pierce reports that in 1861 there was only one contraband on Hilton Head from Daufuskie Island) and the island was largely unoccupied territory for most of the Civil War (Moore 1866:313). Shortly after Hilton Head Island fell, General Egbert L. Viele established a post on the south end of Daufuskie and on February 10, 1862 issued his first general order from "Headquarters, United States Forces, North Bank of the Savannah" (Eldridge 1893:107). Commodore Samuel DuPont remarked that when the general's wife arrived at Daufuskie she,

finds herself on a mud bank . . . looks around for a flashy staff of officers and discovers a few forlorn individuals quite out at the elbows, whose principal costume consists of fishermen's boots, up over the knees and covered with awful-looking blue greasy mud. The only thing showing life and animation being the sand flies, at this season the avant-garde of the mosquitoes (letter to Mrs. DuPont, April 6, 1862, v. 1,



Figure 7. Daufuskie Island in 1859-1860.

p. 405).

At this time Daufuskie was the base of operations for the assault on Fort Pulaski and a number of troops, including the Seventh Connecticut Volunteers and the Forty-eighth New York Volunteers, were camped on the island (Eldridge 1893: 113; Official Records, Series 1, volume 6, pp. 150-153). Eldridge provides a brief account of a march across the island to Viele's headquarters at Bloody Point, which was "a large white house . . . on high land, overlooking the Savannah" (Eldridge 1893:121).

A January 29, 1863 expedition by Confederate troops to Daufuskie found the island essentially deserted. Captain J. H. Mickler's report states,

I succeeded in capturing 12 negroes, the only occupants of the island. As they proved to be old persons, several of them imbeciles, I did not think proper to remove them. An examination of three hours disclosed a remarkable accumulation of valuable bed furniture, clothing, provisions, dry goods, and sundries, besides silver and gold coin to the amount of \$188 I have also reported to the quartermaster's department 1 keg and 2 bags of nails, 172 pounds of bacon, 2 muskets and a shotgun, besides a small quantity of rope (Official Records, Series 1, volume 14, p. 199).

The abandonment of the island by both the Union and the black contraband in August 1862 was caused by the need to send a large contingent of cavalry from the Department of the South to aid General McClellan in Virginia. As a result, not only Daufuskie, but also Edisto and James islands were abandoned. Webster reports that 2,000 acres of corn, potatoes, and cotton were left and "fifteen hundred people were removed from these islands to Saint Helena Island, where, according to Saxton's report, there were neither proper accommodations nor adequate accommodations for them" (Webster 1916:76). In spite of this official abandonment of the island, and the Confederate reconnaissance of the island, DuPont remarks that in January 1863, "Mrs. Barton, the wife of the Colonel commanding . . . [at Fort Pulaski] had been over to Daufuskie Island and sent me a most Beautiful bunch of flowers" (letter to Mrs. Dupont, January 16, 1863, v. 2, p. 361).

In May 1864 the Union forces briefly returned to Daufuskie because they had reports that a large quantity of cotton was still to be found on the island. A contingent of 200 troops landed on the island and,

learning that there was some cotton on a plantation on the north part of the island, I proceeded there with a small party and succeeded in collecting 90 bags, weighing about 4,000 pounds None of the enemy

were found upon the island, but Colonel Hart was informed by some colored people living on one of the plantations that a party of 6 armed rebels were there last night. The only inhabitants were 3 black women and 1 man, all very aged, who remain on their late master's plantation, and who are reported as being almost destitute of food (Official Records, Series 1, volume 35, part 1, p. 393).

The records of the Freedmen's Bureau provide relatively little additional information about early Postbellum activities on the island. The February 1867 Monthly Report of Lands reports that two plantations on the island, Stoddard (probably Melrose) and Woodward, had been restored to their owners by the Tax Commission, while two others, Dunn and Webb, were in dispute. By July 1867, Daufuskie was no longer being listed in these reports (S.C. Department of Archives and History, Monthly Report of Lands, Freedmen's Bureau). The Restoration Application of John Stoddard reports that the bulk of the freedmen on the island in the early postbellum were not returning slaves, but blacks from other areas which chose to settle on Daufuskie (Starr 1986:20). It appears that very few of the island's slaves either remained on the island during the war, or chose to return in the Postbellum period.

The American Missionary Association apparently had two teachers, E.W. Douglass and F. Littlefield, on Daufuskie in April and May 1867. Stationed at Melrose Plantation, they taught from 42 to 85 pupils and there is no explanation for the closing of the school. Douglass, however, wrote to W.E. Whiting, with the Association in New York, that, "we have a pleasant home here and are beginning to see some improvement on the people, still I cannot but feel a little homesick when I think of the people we left" (AMA, H6598, May 2, 1867). Eliza Summers, also a teacher with the American Missionary Association, visited the island at least twice, commenting only on the presence of flowers and the fact that the two resident teachers were the only whites on the island (Martin 1977).

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

the 'unjust' law, the church law was the 'just' law" (Rose 1964:407). This sense of community, churches, and order, may represent one of the strongest aspects of black heritage on the sea islands.

Slaughter (1985:86) suggests that Mary Dunn distributed small parcels of land to a number of freedmen and the same apparently occurred at Cooper River Plantation. The remainder of the island, however, continued to be held by a small number of white absentee owners. The U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Chart 440 at a scale of 1:40,000, available as editions dating from 1878, shows the southern two-thirds of Daufuskie. The Mongin Bloody Point Plantation is shown with a main house, 10 outbuildings, and an old slave row of seven structures. This plantation arrangement lasts at least through 1898. The Stoddard Melrose Plantation is shown as at least 19 old slave structures, four outbuildings, although the main plantation house was destroyed by 1878. The Dunn Plantation is shown as a main house, several outbuildings, and a row of five old slave cabins, as well as a causeway to Mungin Creek. Several structures are shown in the Freeport Plantation area on the 1878 chart, but are not found on the 1898 chart. The U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Chart 155 shows all of Daufuskie at a reduced scale of 1:80,000. The earliest chart, dated 1873, shows the Melrose and Bloody Point plantation complexes, the small settlement at Freeport, the Dunn Plantation, as well as a small settlement on the Cooper River, probably representing either a freedmen's settlement or the remnants of the Cooper River Plantation. On the Haig Point Plantation the northern slave row is shown, as are a scatter of additional structures. These features remain basically unchanged through the 1901 edition. No noticeable settlement outside of these plantation complexes is seen on the charts.

The 1890 Beaufort County Geological and Agricultural Map (Figure 8) shows five Postbellum settlements on the island by name. Webb is shown in an area vacant on the various U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey charts, Stoddard is shown at the Cooper River settlement, Woodward is shown for the Haig Point area, and two additional Stoddards are shown for Melrose and Bloody Point.

By the first half of the twentieth century, however, there were between 600 and 1000 blacks living on Daufuskie. They obtained their living from fishing, the oyster industry, the cultivation of cotton and home gardens (Slaughter 1985:89-90). In addition, there were at least two periods of timbering activity on Daufuskie, the first from 1914 through 1916, and then again in the 1940s. After the introduction of the boll weevil on Daufuskie in 1919 the island's agriculture turned to truck farming, with produce being shipped to Tybee Island or Savannah markets. During the early twentieth century Daufuskie enjoyed regular contact with the "outside" world through a steamship line running from Savannah and Beaufort several times a day (Slaughter

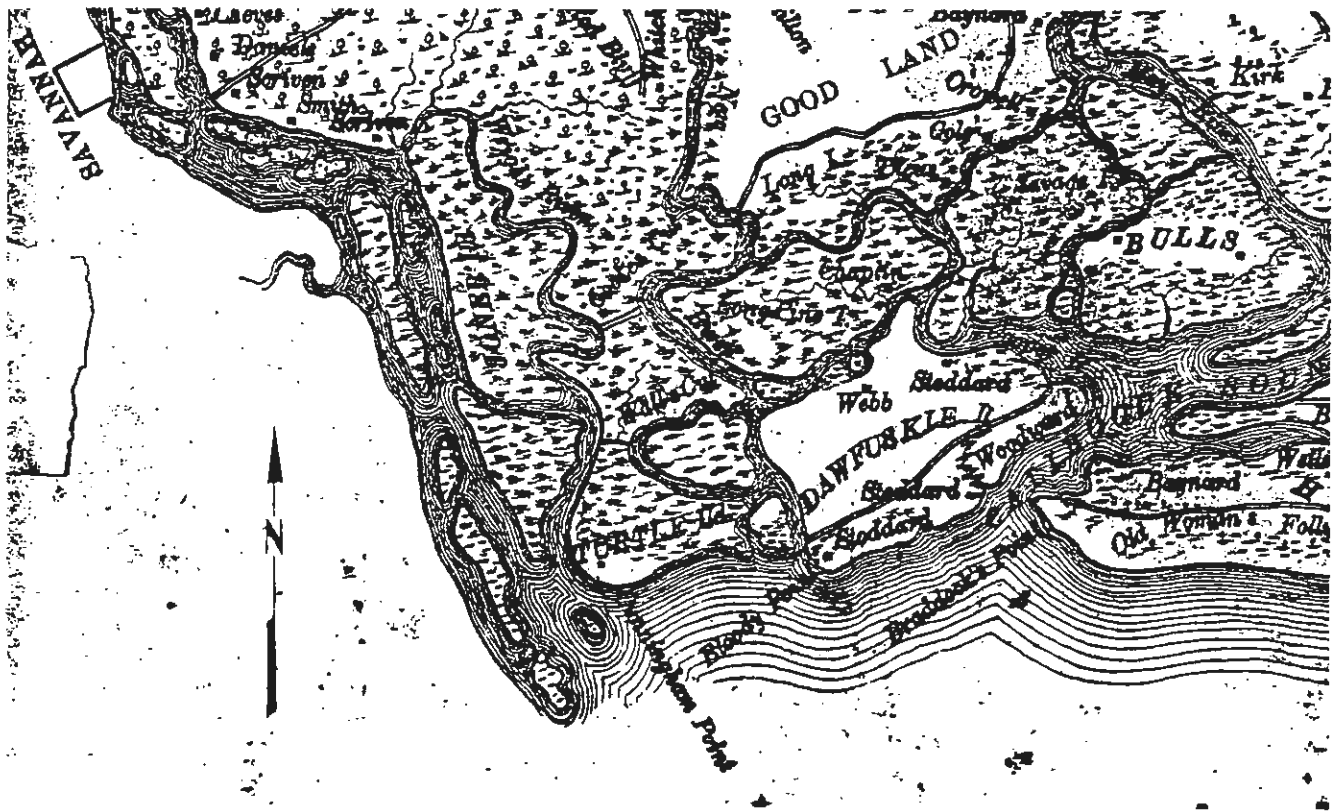


Figure 8. Daufuskie in 1890, from the Stroeber Geological and Agricultural Map.

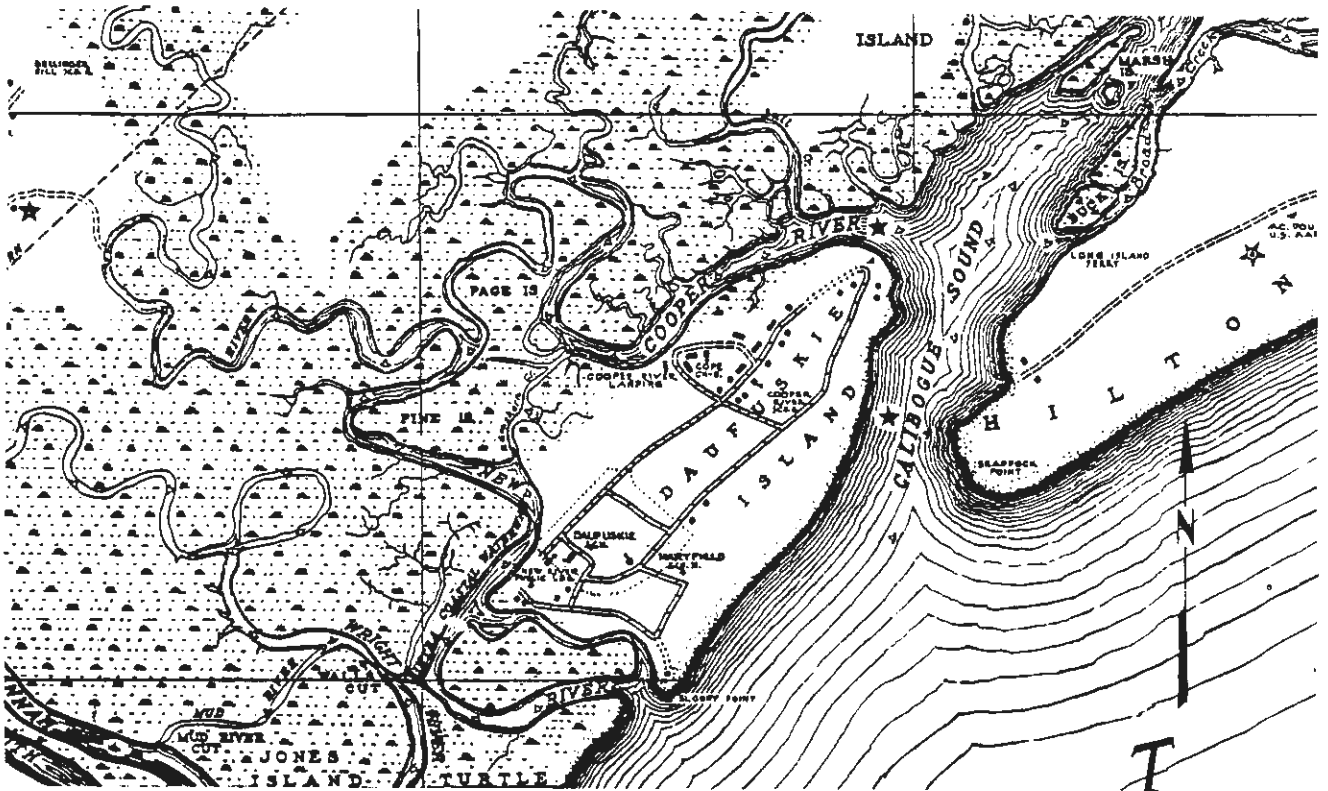


Figure 9. Daufuskie in 1937, from the Beaufort County General Highway and Transportation map.

1985:92). The 1937 Beaufort County General Highway and Transportation map shows the general population pattern for the period (Figure 9). Reference to Michie (1983: Figures 14 and 15) also demonstrates the gradual growth from 1920 through 1945, although neither of the two U.S. Geological Survey maps show any evidence of remnant plantation complexes.

By 1950 the population on Daufuskie dropped to 370 and continued to drop to the 1980 census of 90 people, 80 of whom were black. Most of these residents were the very young, the elderly, or the widowed. Slaughter remarks that "many of the black residents are direct descendants of the enslaved blacks who worked the plantations on Daufuskie" (Slaughter 1985:96). While certainly these people represent descendants of sea island slaves, it seems unlikely, based on nineteenth century accounts, that the island was repopulated with the original slave population.

Haig Point Plantation

Starr (1986) has prepared a brief land use history for the Haig Point Plantation, which has been reprinted by Lepionka (1988). That document serves as the basis for much of this synopsis, although additional information has been collected and will be presented in this study. Michie (1983) also presented some preliminary information on the plantation.

Starr notes that the present day Haig Point Plantation, which encompasses about 1100 acres (446 hectares), was formed from two grants. The first, in 1711, was to an Indian trader and planter, James Cockran for 500 acres (S.C. Department of Archives and History, Records of the Secretary of the Province, v. 1711-1715, p. 231). This tract forms the southern edge of the plantation and includes Freeport Plantation. The bulk of the plantation, however, was surveyed in 1735 for Archibald Neile, another trader, and included the entire northern tip of Daufuskie (S.C. Department of Archives and History, Colonial Plats, v. 3, p. 336). While the grant has not been located, the plat includes nominally 500 acres.

By 1716 Cockran owned at least 2,200 acres on Daufuskie Island and Starr (1986:4) suggests that trade was the prime motive behind this land acquisition. There is no evidence regarding any activities on Cockran's holdings during this time. When he died about 1724 the land passed to his son and heir James Cockran, the younger (S.C. Department of Archives and History, Memorials, v. 3, p. 167; v. 9, pp. 298, 301). Upon his death, the lands passed to the children of his two married sisters--Mary Ash and Elizabeth Peronneau. The 500 acre tract which forms part of Haig Point fell to Richard Cockran Ash, son of Richard and Mary Ash (S.C. Department of Archives and History, Memorials, v. 9, p. 298; Charleston County RMC, DB W-2, p. 184). By 1761

Richard Cockran Ash had purchased the lands devised to Peronneau and combined the holdings into a single 2,000 acre tract. During this time Starr (1986:8) speculates that the cash crop was indigo, although no historical documents for the plantation or its activities have been identified. By 1782, and probably prior to the Revolution, a plantation structure was constructed on this plantation (S.C. Department of Archives and History, "Map of Hilton Head Island, 1782"; Figure 10).

Ash devised his holdings to his four sons: Joseph, John, Richard, and Algernon Sidney, but the lands were not actually divided until 1795. Starr notes that the division was postponed because of "the disruption of the American Revolution, followed by a severe economic depression . . . family deaths, marriages, and, in one case banishment for choosing the British side in the conflict" (Starr 1986:6). Prior to the division, John Ash sold his share in the property (equal to one-third since Algernon Sidney had previously died) to family members John Catel Livingston and William West Livingston (Charleston RMC, DB W-6, p. 22). The Court ordered survey for the final division of the property revealed 2,951.5 acres, not 2,100 acres while the one-third ownership purchased by the Livingstons from John Ash in 1785 contained 983.75 acres, not 500. This tract is shown in a March 3, 1795 plat, which corresponds to the Freeport tract and portions of the later Melrose and Cooper River plantations (Charleston RMC, DB W-6, p. 22; Figure 11). This plat shows the same structure identified on the 1782 map (Figure 10). Since the Court of Equity papers are not extant the exact division of the property is unknown, but Starr (1986:9) concludes that John Livingston continued to operate the plantation, shifting from indigo to cotton.

Starr (1986:9) reports that in 1803, the year of Livingston's death, his Daufuskie property produced 122 bales of cotton and the plantation included 106 slaves. Livingston, according to Starr,

led an eccentric but not unheard of life style with his concubine slave Mag and her children Mary Ann, Paul, Rose, Lydia, and Salina. At his death Livingston executed a deed of emancipation and provided handsomely in land and money for Mag and her children (Starr 1986:9).

The rest of his Daufuskie holdings were to be divided among his four nephews, sons of Mary Ash Fraser. Apparently in an attempt to break Livingston's will, Mary Ash Fraser petitioned the Court of Equity in 1807 to include all her children in the division (Charleston District Court of Equity, 1807, Bill 3). The results of this division are not well documented, although it apparently stayed in the Ash family until incorporated into the larger Haig Point holdings by Mongin.

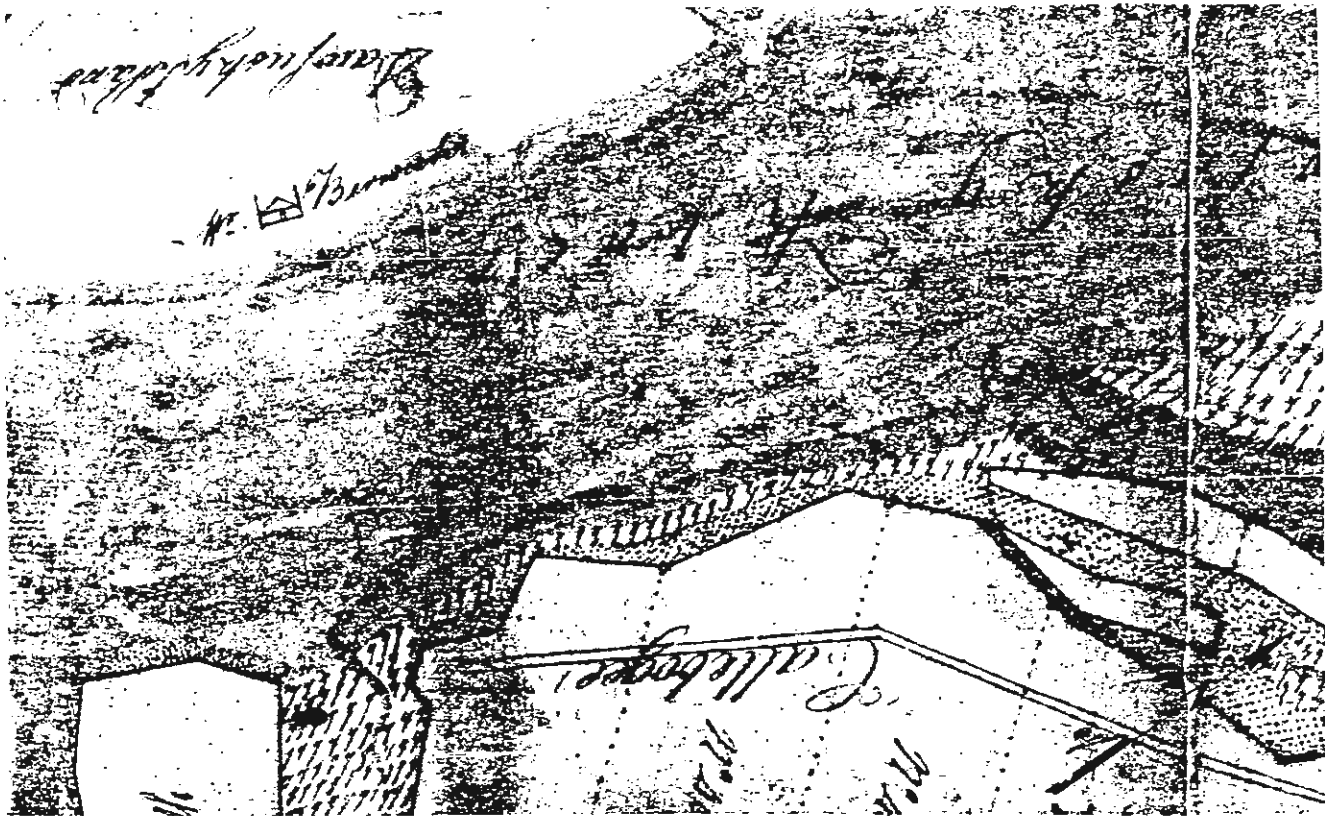


Figure 10. Map of Hilton Head Island in 1782, showing the Freeport Tract on Daufuskie Island.



Figure 11. Plat showing the Freeport tract, dated March 3, 1795.

As previously mentioned, the larger segment of the Haig Point Plantation was surveyed for Archibald Neile in 1735. Starr (1986:11) suggests that the property was acquired for speculation and was never occupied by Neile. The land was sold the same year to George Haig I, a Scots merchant in Charleston who specialized in the Indian trade (Starr 1986:11). By 1740 Haig was attempting to sell his Daufuskie property, having moved inland to the Congarees area. The advertisement stated that the 500 acre tract possessed a "richness and fertility of the soil which is capable of producing any grain whatsoever [and is] convenient to the market both at Savannah in Georgia and Beaufort in this province, and not above a tide of Flood from either" (South Carolina Gazette, April 19-26, 1740).

George Haig I did not find a buyer before he was killed by Indians in 1748. The land passed to his son, George Haig II, who in turn tried unsuccessfully to sell the land in 1768, saying that it was "exceedingly good for corn and indigo" (Georgia Gazette, March 8, 1768). Starr suggests that again, these comments reflect possible, rather than existing, use of the land and it is unlikely that the property was actually occupied (Starr 1986:12). Haig II, however, owned three rice plantations in Saint Paul's Parish and two plantations in the Congarees, worked by 233 slaves. In addition, his Charleston townhouse was staffed by 15 slaves (Starr 1986:13).

The Daufuskie lands were left to his minor son, George Haig III in 1790. If he died without lawful issue the lands were to be sold and divided between another son and his two daughters. Starr speculates that George Haig III did die and notes that the property was offered for sale in 1810. The advertisement states,

For Sale: 400 acres (more or less) of valuable COTTON LAND, situate on the island of Daufuskie, known by the name of Haigs Point. The situation, healthiness, and quality of these lands preclude the necessity of further description. Possession may be had on [illegible] January, 1811. Application to be made to WILLIAM ALLEN, ESQ. (Burke's Wharf, Charleston) until 10th December 1811 (Columbia Museum and Savannah Advertiser, November 15, 1810).

Starr, based on the term "cotton land," rather than "cotton plantation," continues to speculate that the property still had not been improved. The acreage, however, indicates that a portion of the original 852 acre tract had been sold during the tenure George Haig II and Starr (1986:15) suggests that the Cooper River Plantation was made a distinct plantation during this period.

The property was apparently purchased by John David Mongin for his son, David John Mongin, who was a minor in 1810. Starr

(1986:16) emphasizes that Mongin "shifted Daufuskie out of Charleston's trading orbit, and into that of Savannah." Mongin was the son of a Huguenot family which settled in Purrysburg in the 1730s. By 1789 he owned the Spanish Wells Plantation on Hilton Head and by 1797 he had built a "capital dwelling house" in Savannah, where he also opened a store to receive produce from sea island plantations. Eventually, John David Mongin acquired Bloody Point (his principal seat on Daufuskie), Oak Ridge, Eigleburger, Melrose, Mary Field, Cooper River, Freeport, and, of course, Haig Point which he gave his son, David John. The Freeport tract was acquired, sometime in the early nineteenth century from the Livingston descendants, although the transaction has not been clearly documented (Starr 1986:16).

Mongin's wealth was extraordinary, but there is very little information on his Daufuskie activities. David John is listed on the 1820 census as owning 93 slaves, 44 of which were engaged in agriculture, while his father owned 214 slaves, 131 of which were engaged in agriculture (Starr 1986:17). The most notable event during this period was the 1822 visit of a Mr. Eddy and the Reverend Jeremiah Evarts with David John Mongin and his wife Sarah. At this time they were living at David John Mongin's Bloody Point Plantation. A number of observations were made during this visit which are recorded in the "Diary of Jeremiah Evarts" (Georgia Historical Society, typescript). Significant portions of this journal have been reproduced in Starr (1984:68-70) some of which are repeated here.

I have resided now three days on a sea-island plantation, where I was treated with all the hospitality, which the owner was master of. The house was large, the rooms airy, the furniture costly, the provisions of the table profusely abundant. I had a horse to ride, and spent my time principally alone and with Mr. Eddy. The master of the house was incapable of society from drinking brandy, and consequent stupidity and ignorance. He had been educated at Princeton College, and is probably somewhat under 40. Every evening he is so far overcome with strong drink, as to be silly; every morning, full of pain, languor, and destitute of all appetite. The state of the slaves, as physical, intellectual, and moral beings, is abject beyond my powers of description; yet the state of the master is more to be pitied, as it exposes him to a more aggravated condemnation.

The furniture of this mansion was expensive, but was little attended to. The general aspect of things indicated slackness, and listlessness. There seemed to be no enjoyment in the place. Nothing like cheerfulness was seen.

Mr. Eddy says, that the negroes on the islands are generally through their tasks by 2 o'clock. That they have as much land as they can till for their own use, and that they might be in very comfortable circumstances if they were industrious. Everything, which they can carry to market, is sold for liquor.

Twice Evarts took rides from Bloody Point around the island, neither time mentioning a house at Haig Point. This seems unusual considering Brooker's remarks that "the house must have formed a striking landmark" (Brooker n.d.:71). This suggests that the Haig Point house was not built during David John Mongin's life and that he and Sarah may have resided at Bloody Point. This does not seem unlikely since the elder Mongin had a fine home in Savannah and may rarely have visited the island. His son, in spite of his drinking problem, may have been in charge of the Daufuskie properties. The young Mongin seems to have been incapable of envisioning, much less implementing, the grand building plan necessary for the Haig Point house.

David John Mongin died in 1823 and the Haig Point property passed to his wife, Sarah. In 1825 she remarried to the Reverend Hiram Blodgett. Starr reports that at the time of her marriage Sarah had two tracts on Daufuskie, Freeport with 600 acres and Haig Point with 358 acres, and 33 slaves. In addition, she was the sole guardian of her children and the sole administrator of David John's estate (S.C. Department of Archives and History, Marriage Settlements, Book 9, pp. 149-153). The 1830 Census lists two properties which belong to her deceased husband's estate. Although Starr (1986:18) is equivocal, it seems likely that the one listed simply as "Mongin, David John, Jr., Est." probably represents Haig Point. If so there were 85 slaves on the plantation at that time. The other property, with 89 slaves, is listed as "Blodgett, Herman & Mr. Webb & Mr. Coe" and seems to represent Freeport.

The 1838 "Chart of Southern Coast from Tybee Bar to Hunting Island May River" is the first representation of the Haig Point Plantation identified. This map shows the main house and a slave row to the north, consisting of nine structures. No additional outbuildings are shown, nor is there a second slave row to the south (Figure 12). An earlier account of the main house comes from Sarah's death notice which indicates that she died on Haig Point (Savannah Daily Georgian, October 11, 1833). By 1833 the main house had been built and it seems likely that Blodgett, using the Mongin fortune, had the house constructed in the eight years since his marriage to Sarah. Starr notes that the Mongin family felt Blodgett was an opportunist "who took advantage of Sarah's absolute guardianship of her children to sell the Haig's Point tract out of the family" (Starr 1984:70). It may be that the Mongin family's dislike of Blodgett was also associated with his expensive building plans.

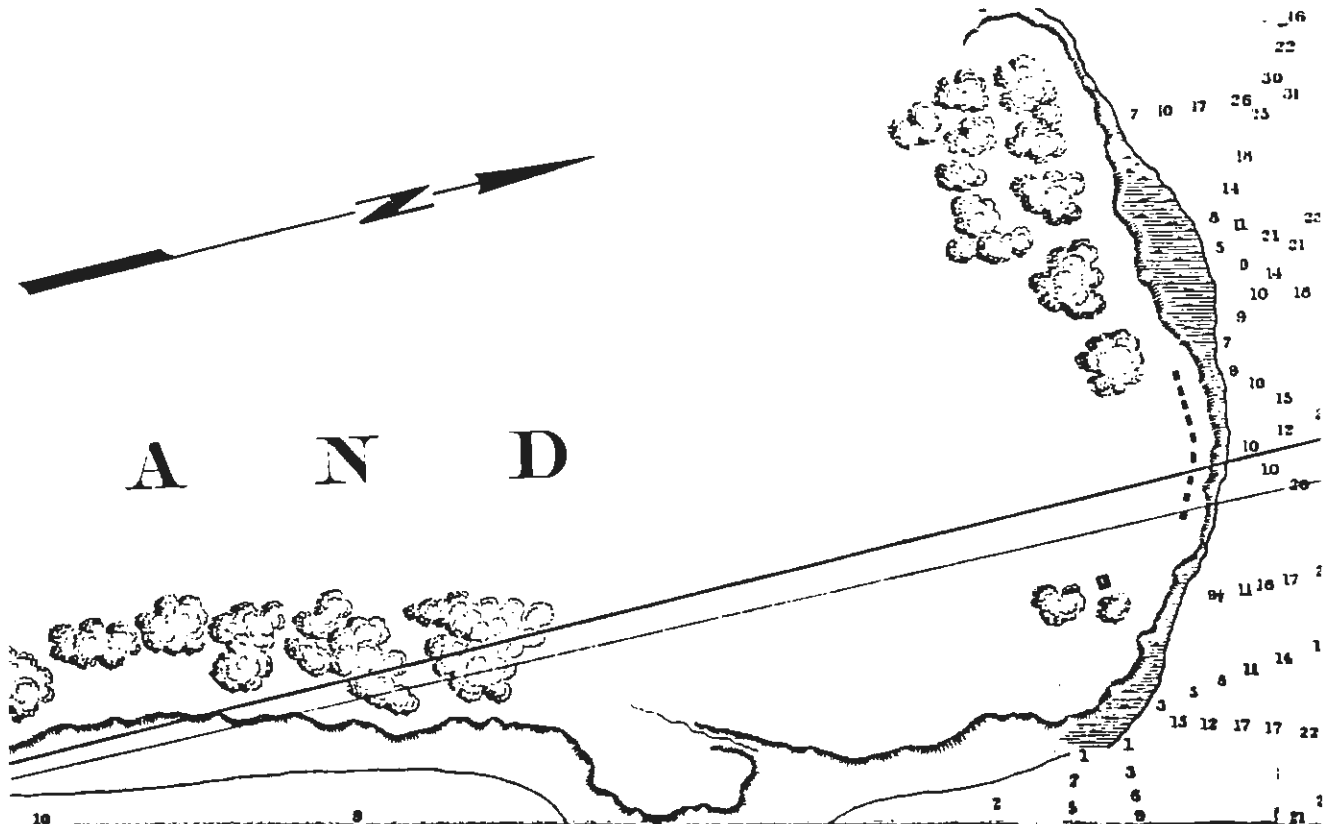


Figure 12. Haig Point Plantation in 1838.

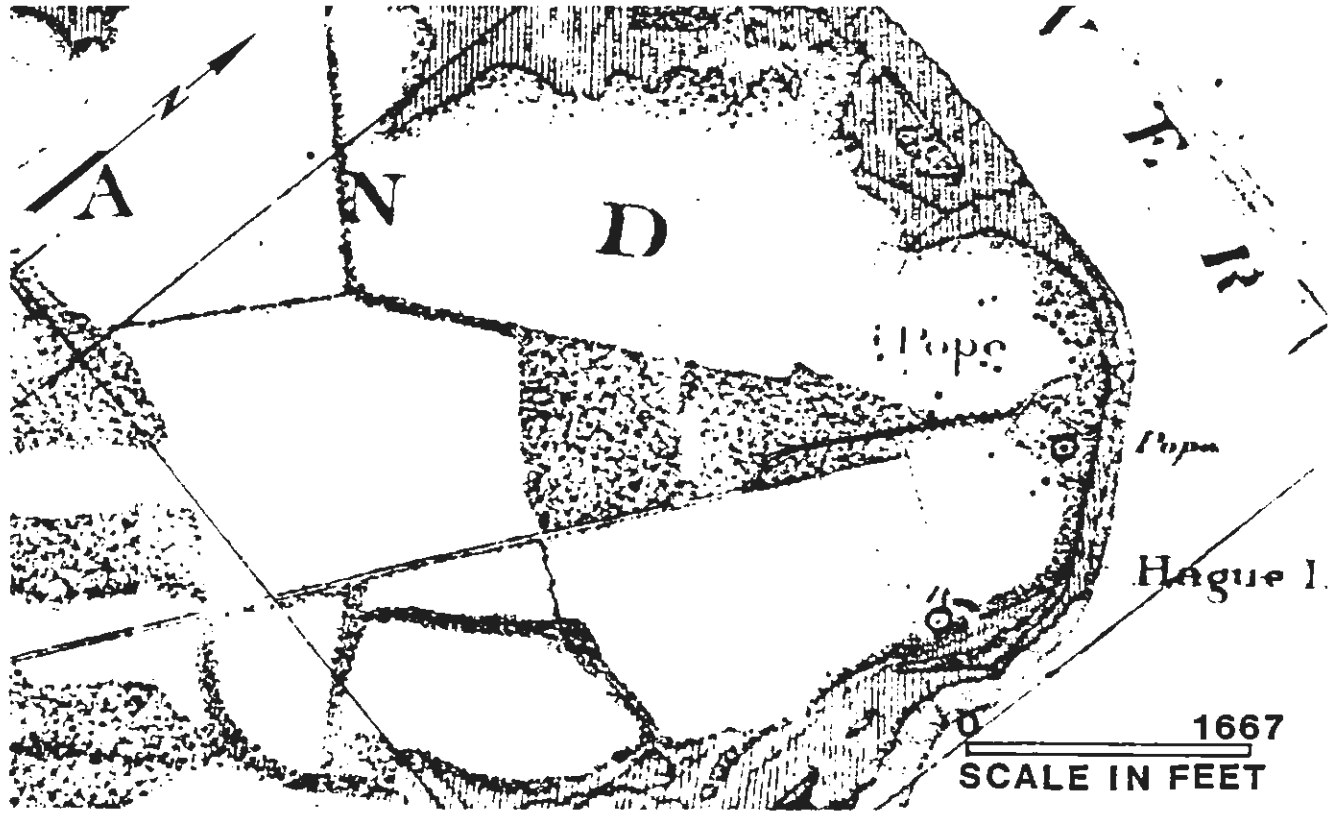


Figure 13. Haig Point Plantation in 1859-1860.

Blodgett continued to live at Haig Point until 1850 and the 1840 census reveals 109 slaves on the tract (Starr 1986:18). If one of the nine structures shown on the 1838 map was a kitchen, then the 109 slaves would have been housed in eight structures, with 13.6 individuals per unit, clearly too high a number. This suggests that additional slave cabins had been constructed prior to 1840.

In 1850 Blodgett sold the Haig Point tract to William Pope, also known as Squire Pope, of Hilton Head Island. An absentee owner, Pope seems to have had very little interest in this property. The 1850 Agricultural Census for St. Lukes Parish lists four William Pope properties, varying in size from 550 to 1700 acres. While it may seem a simple matter to match these properties to the tracts owned by Pope (including Coggins Point, Cotton Hope and Point Comfort on Hilton Head and a fourth property inland), this has been difficult. In any event, Haig Point, purchased in 1850, does not appear to be enumerated in the agricultural census. By 1860, Pope's properties are lumped together and it is impossible to abstract out his operations on Daufuskie. While there is some Pope correspondence at both the South Caroliniana Library and the S.C. Historical Society, none of the letters discuss Daufuskie, again suggesting that this plantation was relatively insignificant in the Pope holdings. In fact, one letter dated January 23, 1859, written by William Pope from Hilton Head, provides some useful information regarding the productivity of his Hilton Head holdings,

I assure you I have been greatly discouraged at my want of success in planting for some years past - instead of improving, I seem to do worse. The last year U thought I had the best prospect of a crop I had for years at the three plantations on H.H. down to August. I shall realize less than half of what seemed to be a very moderate calculation - were it not for breaking up old cherished associations, and almost destroying home affections, it would be to the interest of my family to sell out my whole property, if I could get the proceeds judiciously & safely invested - negroes are selling so high, would be a great inducement, but I doubt if my Lands would bring half what they cost me (S.C. Historical Society, Pope Correspondence File 11-550).

Although Starr comments that the Daufuskie plantation "remained a productive cotton plantation" until the Civil War (Starr 1986:19), there seems to be no evidence to support a conclusion about the tract's economic value or productivity. Its failure to be mentioned in any of the Pope correspondence suggests it was of marginal importance and may simply have been a retreat.

The 1859-1860 map of the "Sea Coast of South Carolina from the Mouth of the Savannah River to May River" reveals that the

Pope plantation consisted of the main house, six slave structures to the north, three outbuildings to the south, and five additional structures to the west. There is no evidence of a second slave row to the south. Also there is no evidence of a plantation complex in the Freeport vicinity (Figure 13).

When Hilton Head fell to Union forces in 1861 it is likely that the bulk of the slaves on the island were removed, based on Pierce's comment that there was only one Daufuskie slave among those that sought shelter on Hilton Head (Moore 1866:313). Pope himself took refuge in Sandersville, Georgia, where he died in 1862 (Bailey et al. 1986:1296). A March 20, 1862 letter from Gertrude Pope Woodward in Sandersville, Georgia informed Heppy (Heph J. Pope), one of Pope's granddaughters, of his death, remarking, "his health was bad for a long time - but the loss of his property, & the loss of his grandchildren, all coming upon him at once, was more than he could bear, [and] he soon sunk under the weight of his afflictions" (S.C. Historical Society, Pope Correspondence File 11-550). Starr comments that the Pope property was confiscated by the Federal government after Pope's death. Actually, the process of confiscation was involved and took place only after the lands were advertised by the Direct Tax Commission and no Pope came forward to claim the lands and pay the taxes (National Archives, RG 217, Records of the Beaufort, S.C. Tax District, Valuation Volume; Sale of Lands for Unpaid Direct Taxes in Insurrectionary Districts, State of South Carolina 1863).

The "Hague Point Place" on "Dawfuskie," comprising 1,100 acres, was valued at \$4,400 and was assessed taxes, penalties, interest, and costs of \$170.81. It was purchased by the Federal government for that amount and was held throughout the war (Senate Documents, 1st Session, 47th Congress, v. 4, no. 82, p. 13). As previously discussed, Daufuskie was temporarily occupied by Federal troops preparing for the attack on Fort Pulaski, but the only mention of the plantation comes from a March 1862 reconnaissance by Lieut. Col. John H. Jackson, Third Regiment, New Hampshire Volunteers, who remarks that he both landed on the island and left from "Egg Point" (Haig Point), but there is no mention of the plantation house or other activities (Eldridge 1893:126). The failure to mention the large, unusual tabby structure is strange, but the negative evidence is of limited usefulness. The May 1864 reconnaissance of the island mentions "some cotton on a plantation on the north part of the island," but does not identify the plantation more fully (Official Records, Series 1, Volume 35, Part 1, p. 393). The various military operations on the island, however, suggest that it was largely depopulated, partially by the removal of slaves by owners at the outbreak of hostilities and partially by the forced Federal evacuation in August 1862.

Blacks probably began to filter back to Daufuskie after the

Civil War and some undoubtedly took up residence in the northern Haig Point slave row (based both on the recent archaeological investigations by Lepionka [1988] and the available cartographic documentation). Starr reports that,

an 1866 field report filed with the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (Freedmen's Bureau) . . . listed ten families at Haigs Point consisting of thirty adults and eleven children. All except two had come in the spring of that year (Starr 1986:20).

At least by 1868 Pope's wife, Sarah, had returned to the Beaufort area and was living in Bluffton. In one letter Sarah Pope remarks,

our village is very dull, everybody seems discouraged at the times and finding it so hard to live - It is a great pity for this is such a pleasant place to live at, if it was only the same that it was before the war (S.C. Historical Society, Pope Correspondence File 11-550).

None of her letters, however, mention any of the former plantations. The restoration application and certificate for Haig Point has not yet been identified, although the process was apparently handled by the law firm of Jeffries & Earle in Atlanta, which corresponded with Eliza C. Woodward (one of the Pope heirs) in 1891 regarding other Pope properties (S.C. Historical Society, Pope Correspondence File 11-550). The February 1867 Monthly Report of Abandoned Lands reveals that the "Woodward" property, probably Haig Point, had been "Restored by the Tax Commissioner (S.C. Department of Archives and History, Monthly Report of Lands, Freedmen's Bureau). Curiously, the 1881-1882 report by the Tax Commissioner to the Senate still shows the plantation as owned by the Federal government (Senate Documents, 1st Session, 47th Congress, v. 4, no. 82, p. 13).

Yet, the restoration of the property was certainly complete by 1872 when the Pope heirs (his wife, Sarah L.; and granddaughters, Anna S. Pope, Heph J. Pope, and Eliza Woodward) sold two tracts to the U.S. Coast Guard for the construction of the lighthouse keeper's dwelling and range beacons at Haig Point (Starr 1986:20-21). Additional improvements, including a boathouse, landing, wharf, fireproof oil house, and cistern were made in the period from 1875 through 1895. The lighthouse operated until 1924, at which time it was sold to M.V. Haas. The following year the property was sold to a group of investors who used the house as a hunting lodge (Starr 1986:21-22).

William Scouten acquired the main tract and a modern dwelling was built inland from the lighthouse, in the area that is today the site of the Haig Point stables and horse paddock.

There are two extant photographs of this structure, which has been demolished (South Caroliniana Library, Christensen Realty Company Papers). In addition, this file provides a view "looking north showing an old Summer house, beach and bluff" (Figure 14). This photograph appears to be the area south of the lighthouse, probably in the vicinity of 38BU628.

Regrettably little is known of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century use of the Haig Point Plantation. Starr reports that,

the fields continued in cotton cultivation until the advent of the Boll Weevil in the early twentieth century. Blacks rented acreage, lived in the old tabby slave quarters, and buried their dead in a cemetery just north of the main field [38BU592]. In 1880 Moses Spain, Tina Whig, Mary Jenkins, and other blacks had built additional houses south of the lighthouse (Handwritten account by Mrs. William Scouten, Sr. of conversation with Mose Grant, 17 January 1932; 1880 Agricultural Census of Beaufort County, p. 41; Starr 1981:2) (Starr 1986:21).

William Scouten,

farmed a portion [of Haig Point], and rented the remainder of the old cotton fields to black tenants. He rented the Freeport tract, which had a small dwelling near the mouth of Freeport Creek, to a succession of white tenants (Records of the Christensen Realty Company, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia; interview with Mrs. Billie Burn, 1982).

The earliest Soil Conservation Service aerial photographs for Daufuskie are from October 1939. At that time the Lighthouse area (38BU591) is cleared, although the area to the south (including 38BU624 and 38BU628) is in heavy woods. The northern tabby slave row (38BU153) is in a cleared field. The Freeport tract is entirely cultivated and there is no evidence of any structure (U.S.D.A., Soil Conservation Service, CDU 4 115-116). These conditions were basically unaltered in the 1941 aerials (U.S.D.A., Soil Conservation Service, December 1941 index). By 1955 the Lighthouse tract had been overgrown, although the field to the north was still in active cultivation. The Freeport tract was no longer being cultivated and was densely overgrown (U.S.D.A., Soil Conservation Service, CDU 3P 194).

By 1961 the Haig Point plantation had been purchased by George Bostwick, an absentee owner. The following owner, the Daufuskie Island Trust, began the process of private development, continued through the activities of International Paper Realty Corporation (Starr 1986:22-23).



Figure 14. Early twentieth century photograph of a "summer house" in the vicinity of 38BU628.



Figure 15. Site 38BU135, interior shell middens.

It appears that the earliest development on Haigs Point began in the late eighteenth century at the Freeport tract by John Ash (although the structure is labeled, "Mr. Berwick's"). This plantation development continued at least through 1795 and was apparently the home of John C. Livingston. No convincing evidence of this colonial plantation has been found in the archaeological record, although on occasion eighteenth century ceramics are found in the vicinity of 38BU584. It is unlikely that any development took place on the remainder of the Haig Point tract until ownership was acquired by John David Mongin in 1810. It was during this time that the Freeport tract was incorporated into the Haig Point Plantation.

The construction of the Haig Point house and the northern slave row took place at least by Sarah Mongin's death in 1833 and is clearly recorded on several early nineteenth century maps. It seems likely that the structure was built between 1825 and 1833 by Sarah and her second husband, Hiram Blodgett. The mansion probably continued to be occupied by Blodgett, after his wife's death, although perhaps at a reduced level of interest and efficiency. After Blodgett's sale of Haig Point to William Pope in 1850 the mansion was probably deserted, suggesting a mean occupation date of 1839.5 (using 1829 as the construction date). The southern slave row fails to be found on any of the various maps of Haig Point, suggesting that it was constructed after 1838 and had been destroyed by the Postbellum era. Using beginning and ending dates of 1850 and 1862, the mean occupation date for the southern slave row is 1856.

The failure to find a mention of the plantation house in the Civil War accounts may simply be an indication that once abandoned, the house quickly lost its grandeur. By 1872, however, the house had been removed for the construction of the Lighthouse. During the Postbellum the plantation appears to have been only moderately successful, both because of the disrupted economy and the reluctance of the freedmen to enter into work agreements with local whites (e.g., Kirk Family Papers 1803-1868, S.C. Historical Society 34-474; Schafer 1928).

In addition to the construction of the Scouten house in the early twentieth century, it is possible that Woodward constructed a summer cottage on the bluff south of the Lighthouse. Both were destroyed by the mid-twentieth century.

Webb Tract

As sparse as the historical accounts are for the Haig Point and Freeport plantations, the Webb tract is even less well understood. The earliest account of the tract is found in the Agreement of Division of Estate of John Mongin, recorded on November 23, 1868 (Beaufort RMC DB 3, p. 71). That document specified that of Mongin's Daufuskie property, the 770 acre

Melrose Plantation was to be given to A.H. Stoddard, the 596 acre Oak Ridge tract was to become the property of John and Helen Stoddard Hardee, the 200 acre Eigleburger tract was to be given to Isabelle Stoddard Greene, the Cooper River Plantation was to be given to H.M. Stoddard, and J.J. Stoddard was to receive the 806 acre Maryfield Plantation and the "Est. of Webb," with no specified acreage.

The 1850 census for St. Luke's Parish does enumerate a John Webb, whose occupation was that of a planter. He was 50 years old, he had a 28 year old wife, three female children, and a five month old infant. He had real estate valued at \$11,500 (Beaufort County, S.C. Census, St. Luke's Parish, S.C. Department of Archives and History). By 1860 John Webb is no longer listed and it is possible that his property was purchased by John Mongin's estate. Alternatively, this may represent property acquired by Mongin before his death in 1833.

The Webb tract was confiscated by the Federal government during the Civil War and the tract, valued at \$1,200 was sold to the government for \$46.58. The Webb tract was listed in the 1881-1882 report to the Senate as still in the possession of the government (Senate Documents, 1st Session, 47th Congress, v. 4, no. 82, p. 13). In spite of this, the property had been sold to W.D. Brown on December 31, 1875 for \$260 and the deed was recorded on January 28, 1880 (Beaufort RMC, DB 12, p. 28; Certificate of Land Sale No. 114). The description was simply "The Webb Place . . . formerly belonging to Stoddard" and was listed as "300 acres, more or less." The 1890 Streber map, however, continues to show Webb in this area, testifying to the tenacity of antebellum ownership names in the postbellum (Figure 8).

William D. Brown was born in 1854 and came south from Massachusetts to operate a grocery on Hilton Head Island. During his life he amassed a large acreage in the area, primarily for speculation. The timber rights on his Daufuskie property were leased to Laurence E. Ackerman in 1910 for five years (Beaufort RMC, DB 28, p. 388), but the property must also have been farmed by local tenants. Upon his death in 1923 the property eventually passed to his two surviving daughters, Fannie B. Campbell and Helen B. Holmes. They held the property until 1960, when it was sold to Inland Corporation for \$22,590 (Beaufort RMC, DB 102, p. 245). In 1961 the property was sold by Inland Corporation to George H. and Dolly von Stade Bostwick (Beaufort RMC, DB 107, p. 224), who also purchased Haig Point Plantation in the same year.

During the late 1930s the Webb tract was extensively cultivated and a 1939 aerial shows the vicinity of 38BU620 as a cultivated field with several possible structures on the north edge of the field (U.S.D.A., Soil Conservation Service, CDU 4 196). Agricultural activities continued in this area through the

1950s and probably ceased with the purchase of the property by Bostwick in 1961.

Oak Ridge Tract

Like the Webb tract, Oak Ridge has not been traced back further than the division of John David Mongin's estate in the late antebellum. At that time the 596 acre Oak Ridge tract was given to John and Helen Stoddard Hardee (Beaufort RMC, DB 3, p. 71). The tract, on the 1859-1860 "Sea Coast of South Carolina from the Mouth of the Savannah River to May River" map, is shown as entirely wooded, with no evidence of either agricultural activities or occupation (Figure 7).

During the Civil War this tract fails to appear as a distinct land parcel in any of the Tax Commission records examined during this study. In 1889 the property is conveyed by John and Helen Hardee to William Diller (Beaufort RMC, DB 16, p. 487). Diller is shown as residing in New York and it appears that the property was a speculation or hunting preserve holding. On November 14, 1914 the property is transferred to Elizabeth A. Diller by William Diller (Beaufort RMC, DB 32, p. 371). Upon Elizabeth Diller's death the property is conveyed to Mary E. McConnell (Beaufort County Will Book 6, p. 418-419). McConnell sold the property to Lafayette McLaws on April 27, 1945 (Beaufort RMC, DB 62, p. 468). In 1961 this tract was also acquired by the Bostwicks (Beaufort RMC, DB 108, p. 12).

Both the 1878 and 1898 editions of the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Chart 440 show this tract as wooded, with no evidence of development. By 1920, the U.S.G.S. Bluffton 15' topographic map shows several structures along the road which forms the northwestern property boundary. Additional structures are shown in the 1945 edition (see Michie 1983: Figures 14 and 15).

ADDITIONAL SURVEY ON DAUFUSKIE

Michael Trinkley

One aspect of Chicora's work on Daufuskie for International Paper Realty Corporation was to conduct additional survey on the Oak Ridge and Webb Tracts. This survey, limited to very specific areas of both tracts, was to be at an intensive level. The work was undertaken to examine areas previously suggested by Michie (1983) to warrant further investigation. Sites identified by this work were to be recorded with the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology and were to be evaluated for their eligibility for inclusion on the National Register. They were to be flagged in the field and recorded on development maps. Work in the Webb tract was conducted by a crew of four on June 23 and 24, for a total of 64 person hours. The work in the Oak Ridge tract was conducted on June 20 and July 7, for a total of 40 person hours.

Webb Tract

Soils in the Sewee 1 and 2 parcels on the Webb tract, as previously discussed, consist entirely of the somewhat poorly drained Seewee series. The presence of a remnant creek or slough separates the two parcels and suggests that prehistoric sites might be found on the interior of the tract as well as along its marsh edges. The bulk of both parcels are within 400 feet of the marsh and there are about 4000 linear feet of marsh bank (Figure 4). Additional survey work in these areas was conducted in response to Michie's suggestion that the area should be more intensively investigated.

Chicora proposed to conduct intensive, systematic shovel tests of the bluff edge of both the Sewee 1 and 2 tracts. These tests were to be at 50 foot intervals placed about 25 feet from the bluff edge. In addition, both tracts were bisected by north-south transects placed 100 feet (30 meters) apart with shovel tests excavated every 100 feet (30 meters). All soils would be screened through 1/4-inch mesh and all recovered cultural material (excluding shell, which was to be subjectively quantified) would be retained. If archaeological remains were discovered during this testing procedure, the spacing of the tests would be decreased to no greater than 25 feet (both parallel and perpendicular to the shore) in order to better identify the limits of occupation. These shovel tests would assist not only in determining site boundaries, but also in determining site integrity, artifact density, and temporal

periods of occupation. This survey technique should be particularly effective in identifying the location of prehistoric middens, although it would also reveal the location of historic remains if they exist.

Survey of the Sewee 1 and 2 parcels was conducted as originally outlined by the proposal. A total of 75 shovel tests were excavated in the Sewee 1 parcel and 74 shovel tests were excavated in the Sewee 2 parcel. All tests were screened through 1/4-inch mesh. As a result of this work four additional archaeological sites (38BU941-38BU944) were identified (Figure 4).

38BU941

This site, situated on the Sewee 1 area of the Webb tract, was identified during the shovel testing operations. It measures about 350 by 150 feet (107 by 46 meters) and consists of a series of irregular shell middens adjacent to a tidal creek slough. The UTM coordinates for the site are E510900 N3554270. The site was investigated by 18 shovel tests. These tests were conducted at 50 foot (16 meter) intervals along north-south transects placed 100 feet apart. Additional tests were conducted at 25 foot intervals (8 meters) to determine site boundaries. Site depth ranged from 0.5 to 1.2 feet (0.2 to 0.4 meters) based on these shovel tests. This work suggests a potential for feature preservation and site integrity is judged to be high. Materials recovered include six Deptford Plain sherds, six Deptford Cord Marked sherds, two Deptford Check Stamped sherds, one eroded Deptford sherd, one Thom's Creek Plain sherd, one unidentified (UID) sherd, and one animal bone. This site is recommended as eligible for inclusion on the National Register since it has the potential to provide information on early Middle Woodland settlement and subsistence systems. Future mitigation should include an intensive auger survey of the site, at 25 foot (8 meter) intervals to obtain data suitable for computer generated artifact and shell midden density plotting. These data should then be used to select an area of the site for more intensive excavation to explore this Deptford phase occupation site.

38BU942

This site is also situated on the Sewee 1 section of the Webb tract, but consists of a single positive shovel test which produced five Stallings Plain sherds. This test, coupled with an additional four negative tests placed 25 feet (8 meters) in cardinal directions from the original positive test, is situated at the head of a small slough flowing into the marsh. Site size is estimated to be 25 feet in diameter (8 meters). The UTM coordinates for the site are E510980 N3554270. Although the presence of the early fiber-tempered pottery is an important attribute, the low artifact density and limited spatial

distribution of the site indicates that additional work at this location has a low potential for yielding significant data. As a result, this site is evaluated as not eligible for inclusion in the National Register and no additional work is recommended at the site.

38BU943

This site is situated on an interior, level plain about 250 feet (77 meters) from the marsh in the Sewee 2 portion of the Webb tract. The UTM coordinates are E510890 N3554190. A series of seven shovel tests were used to determine the site location and boundary, including five tests at 25 foot (8 meter) intervals along a north-south transect and an additional two tests to the east and west, also at 25 foot (8 meter) intervals. The four peripheral tests were all negative, while the central three tests along the north-south transect produced one Savannah Cord Marked sherd and two UID sherds. These tests revealed a site depth no greater than 0.9 foot (0.3 meter) and site limits of 50 by 25 feet (16 by 8 meters). The small site size, low artifact density, and apparent absence of site integrity suggest that this site is not eligible for inclusion on the National Register and no additional work at this site is recommended.

38BU944

Situated on the Sewee 2 portion of the Webb tract, 38BU944 represents a small, prehistoric site situated inland from the marsh edge. Its topographic and environmental situation is similar to 38BU943. The UTM coordinates are E510920 N3554150. A series of four shovel tests, at 25 foot (8 meter) intervals along an east-west transect, and two shovel tests placed 25 feet (8 meters) to the north and south, were used to determine the site boundaries and depth of cultural materials at the site. The central two tests on the east-west transect produced two UID sherds, while the remainder of the tests were negative. Materials were found in the upper 0.7 foot (0.2 meter) of the site and the site boundaries are estimated to be no greater than 50 feet (16 meters) east-west and 25 feet (8 meters) north-south. Very sparse shell was identified in several of the tests, although no shell midden was encountered. The low density of artifacts and failure to identify clear site integrity indicates that this site is not eligible for inclusion on the National Register and no additional archaeological investigations are warranted.

Oak Ridge Tract

The amount of previous archaeological attention directed to the Oak Ridge Tract is not well known. Although Michie (1983) does not record any sites from this tract, his survey methodology clearly indicates that a peripheral edge survey was conducted in

the Oak Ridge Tract (Michie 1983:37) and it also appears that the well drained interior area of this tract adjacent to an intermittent pond was intensively examined (Michie 1983:38).

Certain problems are encountered when Michie's (1983:Figure 6) soil survey maps are used to identify additional potential survey areas. Michie has lumped the poorly drained Baratari soils with the moderately well drained to excessively well drained Sewee, Seabrook, and Wando soils. If the Baratari soils are placed with the very poorly drained Polawana and Rosedhu soils, then the areas of high archaeological probability in the tract are reduced to a ridge of Sewee and Wando soils at the northwestern edge of the tract overlooking an intermittent pond and a ridge of Seabrook soils about 1600 feet to the south.

Chicora proposed to briefly investigate both of these two areas (Figure 3). The well drained soils adjacent to the intermittent pond may have been previously examined by Michie, but absent clear evidence that an examination has taken place we proposed to excavate a series of shovel tests parallel to the pond at 50 foot intervals. All soil was to be screened through 1/4-inch mesh and if cultural remains were identified additional tests would be conducted to determine boundaries. All information necessary to complete site inventory forms would be collected in the field.

The small ridge to the south, which represents the second area of concern, would be examined in a similar fashion. Again, all soil was screened and the intervals between tests would be decreased if cultural remains were found. These investigations are actually quite significant since few archaeological studies have examined interior ridges or moderately well drained soil surrounded by areas of poorly drained soil.

The archaeological survey of the Oak Ridge Tract emphasized the first high (15-19 feet MSL), well drained (Wando soils) ridge running northeast-southwest through the tract, parallel to the ocean beach ridge system. Once we received topographic maps from International Paper we found that the second ridge had elevations of only 10 to 12 feet and no further work was conducted in that area. The research was conducted at the first ridge as planned and a total of 104 shovel tests were excavated and screened through 1/4-inch mesh. This transect through the ridge followed a dirt road, although the tests were placed off the road. Where positive shovel tests were encountered, additional tests at 25 foot intervals were excavated in order to determine boundaries.

As a result of this survey, three shovel tests were found that produced cultural materials. Shovel Test 14 produced a crude flake, Shovel Test 18 yielded a fragment of black bottle glass, and Shovel Test 32 produced a single eroded Mount Pleasant sherd. At each locus additional tests were excavated in cardinal

directions from the positive test at 25 foot (8 meter) intervals. In no case were additional remains identified. Because of the sparse remains, none of these loci were designated as archaeological sites. In addition, during the shovel tests, one surface find, of a manganese pint alcohol bottle, was made. No additional remains were found in the vicinity of this bottle.

The International Paper Realty topographic mapping of the Oak Ridge tract identified a possible structure on the southeastern edge of the ridge, about 1900 feet (585 meters) from the tract's southern boundary (Figure 3). A series of eight northwest-southeast transects at 50 foot (16 meter) intervals were walked in an effort to identify this structure, without success. Efforts to locate this structure in the past have also failed and it is thought that its identification, based on aerial photography, is in error (Ray Pantlik, personal communication 1988).

Although very sparse remains were found by this survey, the results of the work verify Michie's (1983) earlier conclusions that the Oak Ridge tract was not attractive to prehistoric occupation. Although the ridge is relatively dry and is in close proximity to a freshwater pond, apparently the area was only occasionally used by aboriginal groups. Its isolated location, distant from flowing water, may explain this apparent anomaly. The absence of eighteenth and nineteenth century occupation has been suggested by historical documents. While this tract may have been occasionally planted, several of the maps show it as wooded, apparently of very marginal importance to the economic history of Daufuskie. It is only in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century that black yeoman farmers began to settle on the road which borders the tract to the north. The property line is such that these sites, which may have archaeological and historical significance, are not situated on the Oak Ridge tract. No further archaeological research is recommended for this tract, although as development continues sites may be identified which should be evaluated prior to construction.

SITE BOUNDARY DETERMINATIONS

Michael Trinkley

This phase of Chicora's work on Daufuskie involved the relocation of a series of fifteen archaeological sites, previously determined by the S.C. State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. These previous determinations were made solely on the basis of the limited information available from Michie's (1983) reconnaissance survey of portions of Daufuskie Island. Of the sites to be investigated, seven were primarily prehistoric middens, six were primarily historic occupations, and two were historic cemeteries. Once relocated by Chicora, the sites were to be tested at a level of effort sufficient only to establish site boundaries. Only very limited surface collections were permitted and International Paper reduced the scope of the original proposal, limiting the testing to intervals of no less than 50 feet (16 meters). Each site, once boundaries were determined, was to have those boundaries marked in the field and were to be recorded on 1:2400 scale topographic maps. All revisited sites were to have updated S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology site forms filed with that institution and the S.C. SHPO.

Since all of the sites appeared to be wooded, some heavily, it was obvious that some form of subsurface testing technique would be required. Given the terrain and possible depth of deposits, Chicora proposed to use a two-person power auger with a 10-inch bit. At each of the sites we proposed to establish a simple grid, with points at 50 foot intervals. This grid would be tied into reasonably permanent markers (such as development markers if nearby or iron stakes set for this purpose) so that future work could take advantage of the findings. Soil from the tests would be screened through 1/4-inch mesh and notations would be made on the stratigraphy of the tests. All auger tests were to be backfilled prior to leaving the site. Site boundaries, established by the auger test studies, would be marked in the field using double bands of survey flagging tape.

Cemeteries were to be treated in a slightly different manner and were not to be auger tested. At each cemetery a site datum would be established in a convenient, central area. Only the sunken depressions at the outer edge of the cemetery would be located in relation to the datum. Grave goods at individual depressions, if readily observed during this study, were to be recorded and photographed.

These procedures were followed with only minor variations. Rather than auger testing, some sites were shovel tested. This change was the result of access and time restrictions. Many of the sites were quickly identified as much larger than originally anticipated and it was not possible to establish the grids necessary to perform auger tests. At many sites the transects were increased from 50 foot intervals to 100 foot, again because of time restrictions. This change does not affect our ability to establish realistic site boundaries. At cemeteries we found that the vegetation prevented the proposed survey technique and it was modified to a "dog leash" technique where all depressions were flagged using increasing spirals outward from the estimated center of the cemetery. This modification actually allowed more of the cemeteries to be carefully examined and more grave goods to be recorded.

Another change involved the level of effort at the Haig Point Plantation (38BU591). Although Lepionka (1988) had conducted extensive excavation at the main house site, very little survey had been conducted around the main house and it became apparent that additional remains were associated with the plantation complex. Since that area was planned for future development, International Paper requested that Chicora expand its research in that area, with testing sufficient to produce computer generated density maps showing areas of specific concern (such as possible structures or middens associated with the main house).

The boundary determination work was conducted by a crew of four on June 21 through June 22, June 27 through July 7, and on August 11, 1988. A total of 280 person hours were spent in the field on this work.

This chapter details the work and boundary determinations for each of the sites, except the South Tabby Slave Row (38BU634), which is discussed with the chapter detailing mitigation efforts at that site.

38BU135, Bluff Site

This is a very well preserved and dense Irene phase shell midden on the Webb tract adjacent to a tributary of Ramshorn Creek (Figure 4). The UTM coordinates are E51099 N3552800. The soils are the excessively drained Wando series and the site elevation is 12 feet (3.7 meters) mean sea level (MSL). Previous work at the site includes Michie's (1983) survey and the salvage of several cremation burials (Taylor 1983). In addition, the site has been collected by a number of individuals and there is evidence of continuing site vandalism. The bluff edge is being eroded by the creek, with constant exposure of shell midden and associated cultural material.

A series of 65 shovel tests were excavated at 50 foot (16 meter) intervals along eight east-west transects (the distance between Transects 1 and 2 was 50 feet [16 meters], thereafter the distance was increased to 100 feet [32 meters] because of the site size). Each transect was continued inland (eastward) until either two negative tests occurred, or until the density of historic materials (from nearby 38BU620) was greater than the density of prehistoric remains. This work found that the two sites tended to blur together in some areas, but discrete site boundaries have been established for both sites.

The site was found to consist of a relatively thin sheet midden adjacent to the bluff edge and a series of at least nine dense shell middens inland from the bluff. These middens are of particular interest. They range in size from about 20 feet (6 meters) in diameter to linear ridges 40 feet (12 meters) in length and 15 feet (4.6 meters) in width (Figure 15). Vertical site depth was found to range from 0.9 to 1.5 feet (0.3 to 0.5 meter). Since none of these tests were placed in the central area of the dense shell middens, it is possible that site depth may be as much as 3.0 feet (0.9 meter) in some areas. Shovel tests placed in the middens reveal a dense accumulation of cultural remains, including sherds, flakes, animal bone, and charcoal. In addition, there appears to be a buried shell midden at the south edge of the site adjacent to the marsh. This midden, while not extensively examined in this work, probably represents a discrete Early Woodland occupation which has been partially inundated by the rising sea levels.

Site boundaries were found to be 900 feet (277 meters) north-south and 400 feet (123 meters) east-west. The south and west boundaries are the waters and marsh of the Ramshorn tributary, while the inland boundaries (to the north and east) are based on the shovel tests. These dimensions are considerably larger than previously established by Michie's (1983) reconnaissance survey, but incorporate all areas of the site. Recovered materials include a range of Early Woodland through historic remains, although the dominant assemblage is from the Irene phase (Table 1). The historic remains represent scatter from nearby site 38BU620 and are not a major component of the shell midden. Their density steadily increases toward 38BU620 in the east. The Irene materials suggest an occupation about A.D. 1200. The historic remains, which will be fully discussed with site 38BU620, suggest a mid to late nineteenth century, low status occupation.

This site is well preserved and exhibits a high degree of site integrity. It is likely that significant Irene settlement and subsistence data are present in the shell middens. In addition, there appears to be considerable intra-site variation, particularly between individual middens and between the interior middens and the sheet midden adjacent to the bluff edge. Since

<u>Material</u>	<u>Quantity</u>
Prehistoric	
Stallings Plain	4
Deptford Check Stamped	1
Deptford Cord Marked	2
Wilmington Cord Marked	1
Mount Pleasant Cord Marked	2
Mount Pleasant Net Impressed	1
St. Catherines Plain	1
St. Catherines Cord Marked	1
Savannah Complicated Stamped	5
Savannah Cord Marked	3
Savannah Check Stamped	1
Savannah Burnished	1
Savannah Plain	1
Irene Complicated Stamped	112
Irene Incised	6
Irene Burnished	46
Irene Plain	21
Irene UID	28
UID sherds	56
Daub	17
Flakes	3
Irene disk	1
Animal bone	283
Historic	
Creamware, annular	1
Pearlware, annular	1
Pearlware, blue transfer printed	2
Whiteware, cable	1
Salt glazed stoneware	1
Black glass	1
Aqua glass	5
Spoon fragment	1
Cut nails	8
Buttons	1
Pipestems, 5/64"	2
Pipebowls	1
UID iron	2

Table 1. Artifacts recovered from 38BU135.

this is one of the most significant prehistoric sites identified on Daufuskie, the preferred mitigation should be protection in place through green spacing or the use of protective easements. Such an approach, however, requires that considerable areas of the site, both on the bluff and on the interior, be left intact. If such a program of preservation is not possible, then research at this site should involve detailed excavation in at least three

of the large inland middens, at two areas on the bluff edge, and at the buried midden along the marsh. This approach would ensure that representative samples were obtained from the significant site areas. The work might be expected to require up to eight weeks of excavation and sixteen weeks of analysis and report production.

38BU136, Rabbit Point Shell Midden

This site represents a Middle Woodland shell midden and is located on the Webb tract adjacent to an unnamed tributary of the Cooper River (Figure 4). The UTM coordinates are E511000 N3554450. The site is situated on Seswee soils at an elevation of about 10 feet (3 meters) MSL. Previous work includes Michie's (1983) reconnaissance survey, which notes that the site is seriously eroding and that the beach has been extensively collected. In addition, Michie notes that a house has previously eroded into the river, resulting in an admixture of late nineteenth and early twentieth century materials (Michie 1983:49). This survey verified the extensive erosion and at the time of the survey several shell pit features were observed profiled in the bank (Figure 16).

The site was examined using a series of five north-south transects placed at 100 foot (32 meter) intervals, parallel to the bank. Shovel tests along these transects were placed at 50 foot (16 meter) intervals. A total of 19 shovel tests were excavated, revealing that much of the site has been destroyed since the 1983 survey. Of these tests, only seven were positive. One above grade shell midden was encountered during the survey and the site boundaries were established as 500 feet (154 meters) east-west and 200 feet (62 meters) north-south.

Prehistoric materials recovered from the shovel tests include six Deptford Cord Marked sherds, two Mount Pleasant Net Impressed sherds, one St. Catherines Cord Marked sherd, one St. Catherines UID sherd, and three UID sherds. The historic remains were limited to a single nail fragment and eight fragments of unidentifiable iron. The surface collection, entirely from the beach area, produced seven St. Catherines Cord Marked sherds, one Savannah Complicated Stamped sherd, four UID sherds, one chert core, one undecorated Whiteware, one stoneware ceramic, one fragment of manganese glass, and one fragment of emerald green glass. The site components include late Early Woodland through Middle Woodland occupations and a probable early twentieth century occupation.

The presence of the above grade shell midden and the several features observed in the bank profile indicate that this site has the potential to yield information significant to our understanding of small, probably temporary Woodland period camp sites. As such, the site's eligibility to the National Register is confirmed. This site, however, is continuing to suffer



Figure 16. 38BU136, features exposed by erosion.



Figure 17. 38BU584, golf course development.

extensive erosional damage, which limits mitigation options. Green spacing is not appropriate since the site is being gradually destroyed. Excavation is the preferred option, but should be limited to an examination of exposed features and the intensive testing of the above grade midden. Excavation at the site might be expected to require two weeks of field work and up to four weeks of analysis and report production.

38BU584, Lower House Site

Site 38BU584 is situated on a bluff of Wando soils overlooking the Calibogue Sound to the east and Freeport Creek to the south at the southern edge of the Haig Point tract (Figure 2). The site elevation is about 10 feet MSL and the UTM coordinates are E515000 N3554000. The area includes hardwood vegetation and an area which has been developed as a golf course (Figure 17). This site was originally reported by Michie (1983) as a "plantation settlement" and while some limited testing was conducted during that survey, the field notes have been lost. Additional, more extensive, investigations were conducted by Lepionka (Ray Pantlik, personal communication 1988; Michael Taylor, personal communication 1988), but these investigations have not been published and no further information regarding methodology or findings are available. Immediately east of a dirt road which bisects the site there is a rubble pile which may represent structural remains dating from the postbellum period. This material does not represent tabby and is not associated with any plantation development at the site.

The current work incorporated 51 auger tests in the site area originally defined by Michie (1983). These tests, tied into the S.C. Geodetic Survey Station 7024 (1981), are oriented N22°30'E (grid north). Tests were placed at 50 foot (16 meter) intervals, except where proximity to the Calibogue bank would not allow. These tests were designed to investigate an area 325 feet (100 meters) north-south by 400 feet (123 meters) east-west. This work failed to identify the boundaries to the north, south, or west, although Calibogue Sound defined the eastern boundary. To establish boundaries, an additional 25 shovel tests were excavated (six tests to the north to establish a northern site limit; five tests to the west in the central site area to establish a western boundary; and 14 tests parallel to Freeport Creek to establish the presence of the site in this area, as well as to fix the southwestern boundary). As a result of this work, the site boundaries have been determined to incorporate an area measuring 900 feet (277 meters) north-south and 700 feet (215 meters) east-west. This includes an area approximately 2.4 times larger than originally reported by Michie (1983:61). The site depth ranges up to 1.0 foot (0.3 meter).

The materials recovered from these investigations are detailed in Table 2. This investigation revealed that the

<u>Material</u>	<u>Quantity</u>
Prehistoric	
Deptford Check Stamped	2
Deptford Cord Marked	5
Deptford Plain	1
Deptford UID	2
Mount Pleasant Cord Marked	1
St. Catherines Cord Marked	4
Savannah Complicated Stamped	2
Savannah Check Stamped	11
Savannah Cord Marked	41
Savannah Incised	1
Savannah Burnished	19
Savannah Plain	10
Savannah UID	12
Irene Complicated Stamped	6
Irene Plain/Burnished	4
Irene UID	15
UID sherds	52
Flakes	5
Historic	
Porcelain, Canton	1
Creamware, undecorated	2
Pearlware, undecorated	4
Pearlware, poly hand painted	2
Pearlware, blue edged	1
Whiteware, undecorated	1
Whiteware, purple trans printed	1
Salt glazed stoneware	1
Blk. lead glazed	1
Colono ware	10
Black glass	21
Blue glass	1
Clear glass	3
Manganese glass	1
Nails, UID	3
Nails, machine cut	2
Nails, hand wrought	1
Window glass	1
Lead ball	1
Pipebowl fragment	1
UID iron	5
Surface	
Hoe	1
Axe	1
Lock box	1

Table 2. Artifacts recovered from 38BU584.

historic material at the site is a relatively minor component, probably representing remnants of the colonial Ash and Livingston plantation (Figures 10 and 11) which was occupied through at least 1795 and a much later, early twentieth century, occupation by a tenant. The historical research has failed to find evidence of a freedmen's village at this point on Freeport Creek and the archaeological evidence fails to support such a contention. The major site component is a dense Late Woodland Savannah phase occupation which seems to be concentrated adjacent to Freeport Creek and its confluence with Calibogue Sound.

This site is fairly well preserved, although it has been damaged by golf course development. There is evidence of intact, subsurface prehistoric shell midden deposits and there is a high potential for intact prehistoric features. It is less likely that either the eighteenth century plantation complex or the twentieth century tenant occupation will exhibit clear integrity. As a result, the significant component at the site should be the Late Woodland Savannah phase middens. The preferred alternative is avoidance, through either green spacing or protective easements. If such an approach is impractical, then the site must receive additional archaeological investigations. Minimally, this work should involve two phases. The first involves the examination and analysis of previous work conducted by Lepionka. It is essential to ensure that this existing documentation is incorporated into the study. The second phase involves the excavation of at least four small blocks at different site areas in order to examine intra-site variation and ensure that representative samples of cultural materials are collected prior to development. Such investigations will probably require up to four weeks of field work and an additional eight to ten weeks of analysis and report production.

38BU586-38BU588, Shell Midden Complex

These three sites, all within 40 feet (12 meters) of one another, could legitimately be considered one site with three distinct loci and are therefore treated together here. They are located on the eastern edge of the Haig Point tract, separated from the mainland by marsh and overlooking Calibogue Sound (Figure 2). The soils in this are classified as Capers Association, although Michie (1983:50) notes that they are probably situated on an old dune system of sandy soil. Their elevation is about 6 to 8 feet (1.8 to 2.5 meters) MSL. The central UTM coordinates are E515550 N3556520. The sites were originally recorded by Michie (1983) and since that time at least one midden has been partially impacted by golf cart path and utilities construction related to the Haig Point Beach Club development.

Investigation of these sites consisted of the excavation of shovel tests at 50 foot intervals along a series of three north-

south transects which bisected each of the middens. 38BU586 received four tests, 38BU587 received three tests, and 38BU588 received eight tests. In each case a dense shell midden, varying in depth from 0.5 to 1.0 foot (0.1 to 0.3 meter) was encountered. Each site is essentially a linear ridge of shell midden at least partially exposed on the surface and consisting of oyster, and occasional whelk and ribbed mussel. Site 38BU586 was found to measure about 150 feet (46 meters) north-south and 50 feet (16 meters) east-west. This midden grades into the Calibogue Sound marsh. Site 38BU587 was found to measure about 200 feet (62 meters) north-south and 50 feet (16 meters) east-west. Site 38BU588 was found to be considerably longer than originally recorded by Michie, measuring 700 feet (215 meters) north-south and 50 feet (16 meters) east-west.

The only artifact recovered from the 16 shovel tests was a single eroded Deptford sherd. While it is difficult to assess the temporal occupation of these middens based on one sherd, this does document the Early Woodland use of the site area. The shovel tests failed to document the presence of subsurface features or subsistence data. The middens, however, appear to retain considerable integrity and they are representative of a fairly common site type in the Beaufort area. As such it is reasonable to accept the determination of eligibility. It is unlikely that additional development will take place in this area, which is within the S.C. Coastal Council Critical Zone. Consequently, it seems possible to ensure the future preservation of the sites. Should additional work be necessary, including repair or replacement of underground utilities or additional work on the golf cart path, it will be necessary to conduct limited archaeological investigations prior to earth disturbing construction.

38BU591, Haig Point Plantation

This site, also known as the Haig Point Lighthouse, is situated on a relatively high bluff overlooking Calibogue Sound on the Haig Point tract (Figure 2). The site is situated on excessively drained Wando soils and the central UTM coordinates are E515400 N3556260. The site elevation ranges from 15 to 20 feet (4.6 to 6.2 meters) MSL. Portions of this site were first examined by Michie (1983:63-67). Michie's excavation "to the rear" of the lighthouse was placed in the old plantation house, although this was not immediately recognized. Additional excavation units were placed in the lighthouse privy to the northwest of the lighthouse structure. While Michie suggests that the foundations were tabby extensively remodeled during the lighthouse occupation, Brooker has identified the tabby-looking material as concrete with shell additions (Colin Brooker, personal communication 1988). Michie also identified two shell middens south of the lighthouse, although these middens were not tested. Brown conducted additional work at this site in 1985 and

1986 (Lepionka 1988), identifying the various archaeological components of the main Haig Point plantation house. At the same time Lepionka apparently conducted some very limited testing south of the main house site, concentrating on an area he refers to as 38BU591 South. This locus was located approximately 210 feet (65 meters) south of the lighthouse and Lepionka reports finding a thin scatter of artifacts and brick rubble (including a possible brick chimney section), but no in situ architectural remains or features were encountered.

This previous work by Brown and Lepionka has yielded mean ceramic dates of 1809 for the area south of the lighthouse and 1816 for the main house (Lepionka 1988:174). Both dates are clearly too early by as much as 20 years. The artifact pattern analyses offered by Lepionka (1988:173) clearly reveal that the main house was largely abandoned before its destruction, while the area south of the main house fails to correspond to any previously established patterns. Additional investigations, begun in 1989 by Chicora, will be required to begin to understand these anomalies.

Regardless, this previous work has not fully investigated the entire plantation complex and none of the support structures shown on the 1859-1860 map of the plantation (Figure 13) have been identified. The main goal of the Chicora work was to establish definite boundaries for the main plantation complex and also to isolate areas within the plantation, in addition to the main house, which require protection or further investigation. These investigations included the placement of five transects running east-west south of the main house at 50 foot (16 meter) intervals with a total of 70 shovel tests excavated at 25 foot (8 meter) intervals. To the north of the main house six transects, running north-south parallel to the shore, were established at 50 foot (16 meter) intervals with a total of 50 shovel tests, placed at 50 foot (16 meter) intervals. The materials recovered from this work are detailed in Table 3, while Table 4 provides the Mean Ceramic Date for the site based on the limited collection. The Mean Ceramic Date is of particular interest since it reveals a late eighteenth century or early nineteenth century occupation, which, while similar to those obtained by Lepionka, is still clearly 30 to 40 years too early. While it is possible that there was a considerable amount of heirloom curation among the Mongins, it seems more likely that this site was occupied in the mid-eighteenth century. The historic accounts, while not providing clear support, do indicate that a number of small trading posts were established on the island.

This work established general site boundaries by combining the shovel test data with both topographic features and arbitrary limits. The northern boundary has been placed about 100 feet (31 meters) south of the eastern most north tabby slave chimney (38BU153A), 50 feet (16 meters) east of the horse paddock fence.

Material	North Area	South Area
Canton porcelain		2
Overglazed enamelled trade porcelain		1
Salt glazed stoneware		5
White salt glazed stoneware		3
"Scratch blue" white saltglazed sw		1
Lead glazed slipware		8
Jackfield ware		1
Delft		2
Creamware, undecorated	1	5
Pearlware, blue transfer printed	1	5
Pearlware, blue hand painted		2
Pearlware, cable		1
Pearlware, non-blue transfer printed		2
Pearlware, edged		1
Pearlware, undecorated	1	3
Whiteware, annular	2	
Whiteware, cable		1
Whiteware, undecorated		8
Colono ware		2
Black glass	5	29
Lt. green glass	1	4
Green glass		3
Clear glass	1	10
Aqua glass		5
Brown glass	1	1
Milk glass	2	
Manganese glass	2	
Window glass	6	21
Machine cut nails	4	6
UID nails	9	27
Hinge		1
Gun flint		1
Eye glass lens fragment	1	
Pipestems, 5/64"	1	2
UID metal	6	12
Screw		1
Copper scrap		1

Table 3. Artifacts recovered from 38BU591.

Table 3. Artifacts recovered from 38BU591.



Figure 18. 38BU620, western chimney.

Ceramic	Mean Date		fi x xi
	(xi)	(fi)	
Canton porcelain	1815	2	3630
Overglaze trade porcelain	1808	1	1808
White SGSW	1758	3	5274
"Scratch blue" Wt. SGSW	1760	1	1760
Lead glazed slipware	1733	8	13864
Jackfield	1760	1	1760
Delft	1750	2	3500
Creamware, undecorated	1791	6	10746
Pearlware, blue tp	1818	6	10908
Pearlware, blue hp	1800	2	3600
Pearlware, cable	1805	1	1805
Pearlware, edged	1805	1	1805
Pearlware, undecorated	1805	4	7220
Whiteware, annular/cable	1866	3	5598
Whiteware, undecorated	1860	8	14880
Totals		49	88158

tp= transfer print hp= hand painted

$$\text{Mean Ceramic Date: } 88158 \div 49 = 1799.1$$

Table 4. Mean ceramic date for 38BU591.

In addition, this work reveals four loci south of the main house. The first is somewhat sparse and poorly defined, but is situated at the southern edge of the boundary about 150 feet (46 meters) inland from the bluff edge. The second is better defined, measuring about 50 feet in diameter, and is situated about 100 feet (31 meters) from the southern boundary and 400 feet (123 meters) inland. The third locus is clearly defined and measures about 80 feet (25 meters) in diameter. It is situated in the central portion of the tract south of the main house, about 280 feet (86 meters) from the bluff edge. The fourth and most dense locus originates in the lighthouse tract and extends south in the southern tract about 60 feet (18 meters). To the north of the main house there are no clear loci which relate to the Haig Point Plantation. To the west, remains associated with the Scouten House (38BU625) have been identified, while to the south, remains associated with the late nineteenth century lighthouse occupation have been identified. Otherwise, the artifact density north of the main house is very low and there is no evidence of plantation buildings.

These findings compare favorably with the 1859-1860 map of Haig Point (Figure 13) which shows no support structures between the northern slave row and the main house, only woods. The main house has a formal garden area to both sides and the west-southwest, which corresponds with the very low density of antebellum artifacts found in these areas. At least four support structures are shown to the south of the main house, which may

generally correspond with those identified in the testing program. The support structures shown 800 to 1200 feet (246 to 369 meters) to the west and southwest of the main house are in the area of the fourth fairway and the Haig Point Road relocation.

The Haig Point plantation complex is clearly eligible for inclusion in the National Register as an example of a large plantation on Daufuskie. In addition, the site's history makes this plantation distinct from other plantations on the island, such as Bloody Point or Melrose. There is evidence of good site integrity and there is the potential to recover additional architectural and archaeological information at the various loci. These support structures are at least as important to our understanding of the plantation as the main house and they may, in fact, reveal more about the plantation's economic focus than the abandoned and demolished main structure. The preferred preservation technique would be green spacing to avoid the known loci, while also ensuring that the visual landscape around the main house is preserved. Such an approach might require setting aside up to 4 acres (1.6 hectares). If this is not possible, then archaeological mitigation will be required at each of the various loci. This work will involve about three weeks of field work and eight weeks of analysis and report production.

38BU592. Haig Point Cemetery

This site, within the Haig Point tract on the east side of the paved Haig Point Road, appears to represent a nineteenth century black cemetery with use continuing into the twentieth century. The cemetery is situated on Wando soils at an elevation of 18 feet (5.5 meters). The UTM coordinates are E514960 N3556140. This site was first recorded by Starr and Lowe (1981), although at that time no headstones were reported. Michie (1983:77-78) reported six stones, some grave goods, and an undetermined number of graves. It has been reported that Lepionka, fearing removal of grave goods by visitors to Haig Point, collected the surface goods and buried them somewhere in the cemetery (Ray Pantlik, personal communication 1988; Michael Taylor, personal communication 1988). International Paper, however, does not have a report on this work, any documentation on the goods, or a map showing the burial location. The area, like many black cemeteries, is heavily overgrown, although recently International Paper has begun to clear some of the underbrush in order to construct a nature walk through the area.

The work by Chicora identified a minimum of 34 grave locations and a total of 11 markers. In addition, a few grave goods, such as a whelk shell, a screw top bottle, a screw top medicine bottle, a molded jar, two spice bottles, and metal clock frame, were still present, apparently overlooked by Lepionka. Most of the grave goods reported by Michie (1983:78, Figure 39).

such as pitchers, vases, medicine bottles, a tea pot, and a coffin handle, were no longer visible and had probably been removed by Lepionka. The site, based on the grave locations, appears to measure about 180 by 280 feet (55 by 86 meters) and is larger than originally reported by Lepionka. The 11 marked graves are discussed in Table 5.

Marker	Comments
1. marble marker	oriented E-W, "May Hamilton/Co. B/21 U.S.C.I."
2. cement marker	oriented E-W, "Anne R Mills/Born 1886/Died August 17, 1917," foot stone is blank
3. iron wreath stand	associated with clock mechanism, bottle, whelk shell
4. aluminum name plate	oriented E20°N, "Mr. Samuel Holmes/Died June 8, 1969," associated with two red clay flower pots and a metal flower stand
5. granite marker	oriented E20°N, "Kate Holmes/Born Barnwell, S.C./July 4, 1868/Dec. 19, 1945," foot stone is blank
6. unidentified stone	Oriented E20°N, "John Staford/1888-1944/He Has Kept The Faith," blank foot stone
7. sandstone table top	leaning against metal pipe
8. stone marker	"In Memory of/Kattie Byers/1889-1950," foot stone "K.B."
9. aluminum name plate	no writing; two clay flower pots
10. sandstone table top	oriented N-S, no writing
11. sandstone table top	oriented E-W, scratched "M R ANDres/HORP DIE JUNE/the 9 1919 25 YRS of [age]"

Table 5. 38BU592 grave stone inscriptions.

This site previously has been determined eligible for inclusion in the National Register and these investigations support that determination. This cemetery is a significant anthropological resource and it represents a significant aspect of black heritage on Daufuskie. Chicora understands that International Paper Realty Corporation intends to green space this cemetery, but if this approach is not possible, the cemetery should be treated in accordance with State law and should be investigated using archaeological and physical anthropological techniques (see Rathbun 1985).

38BU615, Periwinkle Midden

This site represents a small, eroded probable Early Woodland shell midden, composed almost entirely of periwinkle shells. The

site is situated on a small spit of Seewee soils adjacent to the Ramshorn marsh on the Haig Point tract (Figure 2). The approximate UTM coordinates are E510840 N3554120. The site elevation is about 4-5 feet (1.2-1.5 meters) MSL and the vegetation is primarily cedar, yaupon, and wax myrtle. The site was first reported by Michie (1983), who found a biface fragment, a scraper, and a quartz hammerstone.

The current investigations relocated the site and excavated a series of four shovel tests on an east-west transect bisecting the site. None of these tests produced diagnostic remains or shell middens. It appears that the site has suffered considerable erosion since the 1983 investigations and the only remaining midden is a thin fringe around the marsh edge of the spit. Site dimensions are estimated to be about 50 by 30 feet (15 by 9 meters) and the midden depth at the marsh edge is about 0.6 foot (0.2 meter).

The site, while small and damaged by erosion, appears to be an unusual example since it is composed almost entirely of periwinkle shells. No features or dense midden areas away from the marsh edge were identified, but the site remnants appear intact and the site still appears eligible for inclusion on the National Register. Given the potential for additional destructive erosion, the preferred site mitigation is excavation. This work, given the site size, could probably be limited to a week of field work, followed by up to three weeks of analysis and report production.

38BU619, Webb Tract Cemetery

This site is immediately southeast of the Haig Point Road at the intersection of an abandoned dirt road in the central portion of the Webb tract (Figure 4). The soils are the excessively drained Wando sands and the UTM coordinates are E511900 N3553380. Being inland, the site elevation is 19 feet (6 meters) MSL and the vegetation is mixed pine and hardwoods with a dense understory. The cemetery was first recorded by Starr and Lowe (1981), who indicate that no gravestones were found and that it was no longer being used by the island blacks. In 1983 Michie reported the site as the "Robert Bryan Cemetery," stating that there was a single inscribed stone (Michie 1983:78).

Additional investigations revealed at least 48 depressions, four with stones and an additional three with concentrations of grave goods. Isolated goods were found throughout the area, although they no longer appear to be associated with specific graves. These isolated remains include an enamelled tin kettle, an aluminum pot, a blue transfer printed whiteware bowl, a manganese glass candy jar, a clear glass jar, and two manganese glass jo-jo flasks. The seven graves with stones or grave goods are detailed in Table 6.

Marker	Comments
1. marble marker	oriented N60°W, "Robert Bryan/July 18,1892/July 1, 1960," foot stone blank; grave goods include two red clay flower pots, aluminum foil, two brown glass medicine bottles, clear glass tumbler with painted decorations, blue glass jar, clear glass jar, enamelled tin cup, metal talcum powder can, clear glass bottle, and a milk glass jar
2. sandstone table top	oriented N45°W; grave goods include manganese pressed glass tumbler fragment
3. no marker	grave good concentration includes a whiteware wash basin, tortoise shell pitcher, two clear glass jars, whiteware pitcher, and a milk glass flower vase
4. no marker	depression oriented N70°W; grave goods include two red clay flower pots
5. sandstone table top	oriented N75°W
6. sandstone table top	scratched "Virginia Jinknes Di/ed March/16,1935"
7. no marker	grave good concentration includes a red clay flower pot, three clear glass medicine bottles, stainless steel spoon, two clear glass jars, three clear glass bottle fragments

Table 6. 38BU619 grave stone inscriptions and grave goods.

The cemetery, based on the distribution of the grave goods and identifiable depressions, measures about 150 by 250 feet (46 by 77 meters). Like 38BU592, this site reflects the mortuary behavior of the Daufuskie Island black population and represents a significant anthropological resource. The site has previously been determined eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. The preferred mitigation technique is green spacing and avoidance. Coupled with this should be regular patrols of the cemetery and signage to inform visitors of the mortuary practices in order to protect the visible grave goods. If avoidance is not possible the site should be removed as provided by State law, with detailed physical anthropological and archaeological investigations (see Rathbun 1985).

38BU620, Webb Freedmen's Site

This site, which is thought to represent a well preserved freemen's hamlet, is located in the Webb tract, on the west side

of the Haig Point Road (Figure 4). The UTM coordinates are E511050 N3553600 and the soils are the excessively drained Wando series. The site elevation is about 14 feet (4 meters) MSL. Previous work at the site by Michie (1983) included at least six tests, but the field notes have been lost. At that time the site was thought to represent "part of an old plantation system" (38BU620 site form, S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology). Recently the site has been vandalized, with digging in a number of locations.

A series of 20 shovel tests were excavated at the site during these investigations. Eleven tests were placed along a north-south transect which bisected the site, while an additional nine tests were excavated along an east-west transect. The eastern shovel tests at site 38BU135 produced additional materials from this site and assisted in separating the two.

The site was found to consist of two chimney footings and a series of seven shell middens. The chimney footings are crudely constructed of tabby and evidence considerable inclusions of stone rubble or brick as filler (Figures 18 and 19). The middens are composed primarily of oyster and are relatively small (ca. 20 to 30 feet [6 to 9 meters] in diameter and up to 2 feet [0.6 meter] in depth). Site boundaries, based on the shovel tests, are 500 by 500 feet (154 meters). The western boundary is shared with 38BU135, the southern boundary is the slope toward a small marsh tributary, and the northern and eastern boundaries lack clear topographic definition. The historic remains are shown in Table 7 and the prehistoric remains include a Morrow Mountain projectile point fragment, a chert flake, eight unidentified sherds, one St. Catherine's Cord Marked sherd, and eight Irene sherds with adhering tabby.

While the remains bear some similarity to the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern (Garrow 1982), the inclusion of both shovel test and surface data skews the percentages in favor of the kitchen artifacts. If these surface items are removed, the kitchen and architecture percentages are equal (42.1%), placing the pattern within the range of the Piedmont Tenant/Yeoman Artifact Pattern (Drucker et al. 1984) and the artifact pattern is similar to that found at the freedmen's village of Mitchelville (Trinkley 1986). The mean ceramic date for the site (Table 8) is 1839.5. This relatively early date may be attributed to the continued use of antebellum ceramics, necessitated by the poverty of the freedmen. The possibility of an antebellum occupation has been discounted because the historic research has failed to indicate occupation of the tract prior to the Civil War.

This site contains both intact architectural and archaeological remains representative of the early postbellum black farmers on Daufuskie. The site integrity is high and

further research can contribute to an understanding of a period of extraordinary importance to Afro-American history. The preferred mitigation alternative is avoidance of the site. If this is not possible then the second alternative is preservation of the site core with intensive auger testing and excavation of peripheral concentrations. This approach should require two to four weeks of field time, depending on the extent of the site selected for preservation, and up to four weeks of report production. If none of the site can be preserved then at least six weeks of field time, with an additional eight weeks of analysis and report production will be necessary.

<u>Kitchen Group</u>	
Ceramics	26
Colono ceramics	1
Blk. bottle glass	20
Aqua bottle glass	10
Brn. bottle glass	8
Blue bottle glass	1
Lt. green bottle glass	3
Green bottle glass	3
Manganese bottle glass	2
Lt. blue bottle glass	1
Glassware	2
Tableware	1
Kettle/pan frags.	1
	<hr/>
	79 60.3%
<u>Architecture Group</u>	
Window glass	4
Cut nails	4
Cut nail frags.	23
Spikes	1
Construction hardware	1
	<hr/>
	33 25.2%
<u>Clothing Group</u>	
Shoe fragments	1
	<hr/>
	1 0.8%
<u>Tobacco Group</u>	
Tobacco pipe stems, 5/64	1
Tobacco pipe bowls	1
	<hr/>
	2 1.5%
<u>Activities Group</u>	
Storage items	3
Misc. hardware	1
UID iron	11
Copper/brass scrap	1
	<hr/>
	16 12.2%

Table 7. Artifacts recovered from 38BU620.

Ceramic	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Stoneware	1866	2	3732
Pearlware, blue tp	1818	3	5454
edged	1805	1	1805
cable/annular	1805	2	3610
undecorated	1805	2	3610
Whiteware, annular	1866	1	1866
undecorated	1860	7	13020
Yellow ware	1853	1	1853
		19	34950

tp=transfer printed

$$\text{Mean Ceramic Date} - 34950 \div 19 = 1839.5$$

Table 8. Mean Ceramic Date for 38BU620.

38BU623. Prehistoric Midden

This site is situated on a point of Seewee soils within the Webb tract overlooking the marshes of the Cooper River (Figure 4). The site, which consists of a thin shell midden eroding into the marsh, is at an elevation of 5 to 6 feet (1.5 to 1.8 meters) MSL. The UTM coordinates are E510850 N3554380. Originally identified by Michie during the 1983 survey, the site failed to produce diagnostic remains (Michie 1983:54).

A series of seven shovel tests, placed on three north-south transects at 50 foot (15 meter) intervals 25 feet (8 meters) inland from the bluff edge, failed to yield any remains. Additional probing immediately adjacent to the bluff edge verified Michie's earlier assessment that the site "covers an area approximately ten feet long and five feet wide, ranging in depth from six inches at the edge to twenty-four inches at the center" (Michie 1983:54). As a result of this work the site area is estimated to be 50 feet (15 meters) by 25 feet (8 meters), which provides a buffer for the site. This work, however, has failed to produce diagnostic material, evidence of features, or evidence of clear site integrity. The site appears to have suffered additional erosion since the original survey. These considerations are sufficient to recommend that the site be re-evaluated as not eligible for inclusion on the National Register. No further work is recommended at this site.

38BU628, Woodward House Site

The Woodward House site, occasionally mistakenly referred to

as the "Woodland" House site, is situated on the bluff south of the Haig Point main house and lighthouse (38BU591) overlooking Calibogue Sound on the Haig Point tract (Figure 2). The soils are Wando sands and the elevation is 15 to 20 feet (4.6 to 6.2 meters) MSL. The UTM coordinates are E515500 N3556120. When identified by Michie the site consisted of "a brick and mortar rubble mound with two adjacent historic period shell middens" (Michie 1983:71). Some field work was conducted at the site, but the notes have been lost (38BU628 site form, S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology). Materials recovered from Michie's work were suggestive of a late nineteenth century occupation, although no readily datable remains were found. Subsequently, Lepionka reports that the site was "destroyed in an early phase of land clearing," although he notes that structural remains were still present, as well as one "intact midden" (Lepionka 1988:65). Lepionka reports that at least one 10 foot (3 meters) and nine 3 foot (0.9 meter) squares were excavated at the site, for a total of 181 square feet (16 square meters). The work identified a fireplace base, but no other evidence of intact structural remains (Lepionka 1988:65).

As a result of this work Lepionka speculates that the site is,

the location of a former residence occupied during the latter part of the 19th century. . . . The postulated fireplace/chimney structure . . . had evidently been removed, possibly for recycling of its brick. The large quantity of cut nails (66% of the total artifacts) indicates a frame structure, probably built on piers (though no evidence for pier foundations was found) (Lepionka 1988:68).

At the time of the current survey the site area had been largely destroyed by the construction of the fifth green of the Haig Point Golf Course. Remnants of one shell midden were found adjacent to the bluff edge and a series of seven shovel tests were excavated at 50 foot intervals along the edge of the bluff on a north-south transect. The first five tests, in the immediate vicinity of the site, produced a single Irene Complicated Stamped sherd, one black glass fragment, an undecorated creamware ceramic, and a cable decorated whiteware ceramic. The six tests further south, toward the edge of 38BU634, produced one Irene sherd, one unidentifiable sherd, one annular whiteware, one black glass fragment, two cut nail fragments, one wire fragment, and four unidentifiable metal fragments. Several of the tests in the immediate vicinity of the surface shell deposit yielded intact shell midden deposits, although it was not possible to determine if the midden has been truncated by construction activity. This work has established site boundaries running approximately 200 feet (61 meters) along the sound, although it is impossible to establish boundaries inland because of the golf course.

Based on the damage and the small area still extant, it is unlikely that the site remains eligible for inclusion in the National Register. The additional historical research suggests that this site may be that of the late nineteenth century summer house known to exist in the general vicinity (Figure 14). While research at this site prior to construction would have provided significant data, no further research is recommended.

38BU630, Historic Midden Site

This site was originally reported by Michie as a "cluster of five historic period shell and refuse middens" which were situated "approximately one thousand feet south of the lighthouse" (Michie 1983:71). Two figures are provided to show the location and relationship of the various middens, although the landmarks used could no longer be identified in the field at the time of this survey (Michie 1983:Figures 36 and 37). Apparently three test pits were excavated at the site, although the field notes have been lost (38BU630 site form, S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology).

These investigations determined that the middens identified as 38BU630 are actually associated with the slave row, assigned site number 38BU634. While the site number has been retained, the cultural remains from the middens are discussed with the excavation and analysis of the slave row, 38BU634.

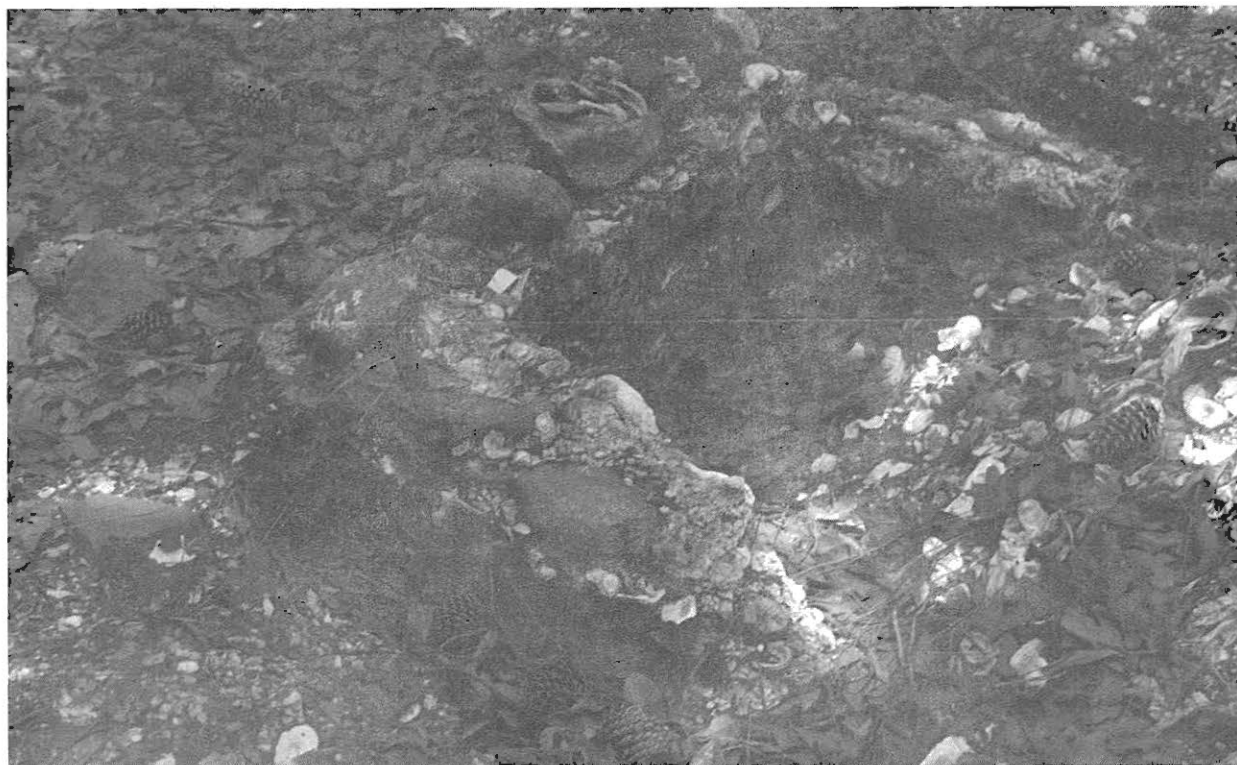


Figure 19. 38BU620, eastern chimney.

ARCHITECTURE OF THE HAIG POINT HOUSE

Colin Brooker

Background

Previous Investigations

Describing an archaeological reconnaissance survey of Haig Point and adjacent tracts on Daufuskie Island, Michie wrote,

[Haig Point Plantation] is represented by thirteen tabby structures . . . traditionally identified as slave quarters accompanying a plantation belonging to General Haig (Michie 1983:37).

On the basis of preliminary testing Michie proposed a date between 1826 and 1846 for these structures (a period postdating the Haig family's ownership) and continued,

during the course of the survey, extensive testing was conducted to locate evidence of a plantation "big house" that should have accompanied the tabby quarters. The primary focus for this search was the area between the tabby structures and Haig's Point Lighthouse (38BU591). Approximately one hundred fifty "posthole" test units were excavated in the area. Although an early to mid-twentieth century site (38BU525) was recorded no substantial 19th century material was recovered (Michie 1983:37).

Slightly north-west of the Lighthouse, Michie excavated a small test square which produced "large quantities of architectural materials, including shell and brick rubble, cut and stamped nails with fewer quantities of ceramics and domestic refuse" (Michie 1983:53). He concluded the material represented an association with a kitchen forming part of the late nineteenth century Lighthouse complex. Broken and burned shell tabby was also noted, but no explanation was offered for this occurrence. Beyond excavation of a nearby twentieth century privy, investigation seems to have been discontinued.

While conducting measured surveys of standing tabby structures at Haig Point during May 1985, I reopened questions concerning an associated plantation house, having observed that the slave cabins (which are carefully organized in an almost regular arc following the northern shoreline) apparently focus on an area now occupied by the Haig Point Lighthouse. A new

examination was undertaken of the lighthouse and its immediate vicinity.

Haig Point Lighthouse

The Haig Point Lighthouse originally formed one of a pair of range beacons erected "to mark the entrance into Calibogue Sound and facilitate the passage from Port Royal Harbour to Savannah River" (National Archives, RG 26). In their 1870 Annual Report, the U.S. Coast Guard observed,

this interior channel is used by the passenger steamers plying between Charleston, South Carolina and Savannah, Georgia and by some sailing vessels. The entrance of Calibogue Sound passes between the Grenadier breakers on the west and a long series of shoals and breakers to the east It is to be remarked also this bay is open and exposed to the full force of the Atlantic Ocean (National Archives, RG 26).

By an Act of Congress dated March 3, 1871, \$15,000 was appropriated for "two small lights on or near Daufuskie Island, Savannah River" and in consequence plans were made for their construction. Purchase of a five acre site located "at the north eastern end of Daufuskie Island" (after evident difficulties caused through loss of title records) was approved by the Attorney General on August 3, 1872. In the Coast Guard Annual Report for 1872, the beacon system is described, "the front beacon is to be an open frame structure; the rear one [the present Haig Point Light] a small tower built on the keeper's dwelling" (National Archives, RG 26).

Construction suffered delays resulting from transportation of materials to the site and "afterwards by the sickness (incidental to the climate) of the contractor and his workmen"; however, the beacons were finished in the fall of 1873, the lights being "first exhibited October 1st, 1873" (National Archives, RG 26). As built, timber framed construction of the surviving rear light closely follows drawings (probably contract documents) (National Archives, RG 26; Figure 20). Minor modifications are recorded during 1887 when ceiling plaster (already cracked through vibration transmitted by wind loading on the tower) "was brought down by the earthquake" and replaced with timber boards. All remaining wall and ceiling plaster was later removed, tongued and grooved boarding being installed in its place (National Archives, RG 26). A brick cistern with a 5,000 gallon capacity, designed to collect rain water, was built on the northern side of the Lighthouse during 1898 (National Archives, RG 26).

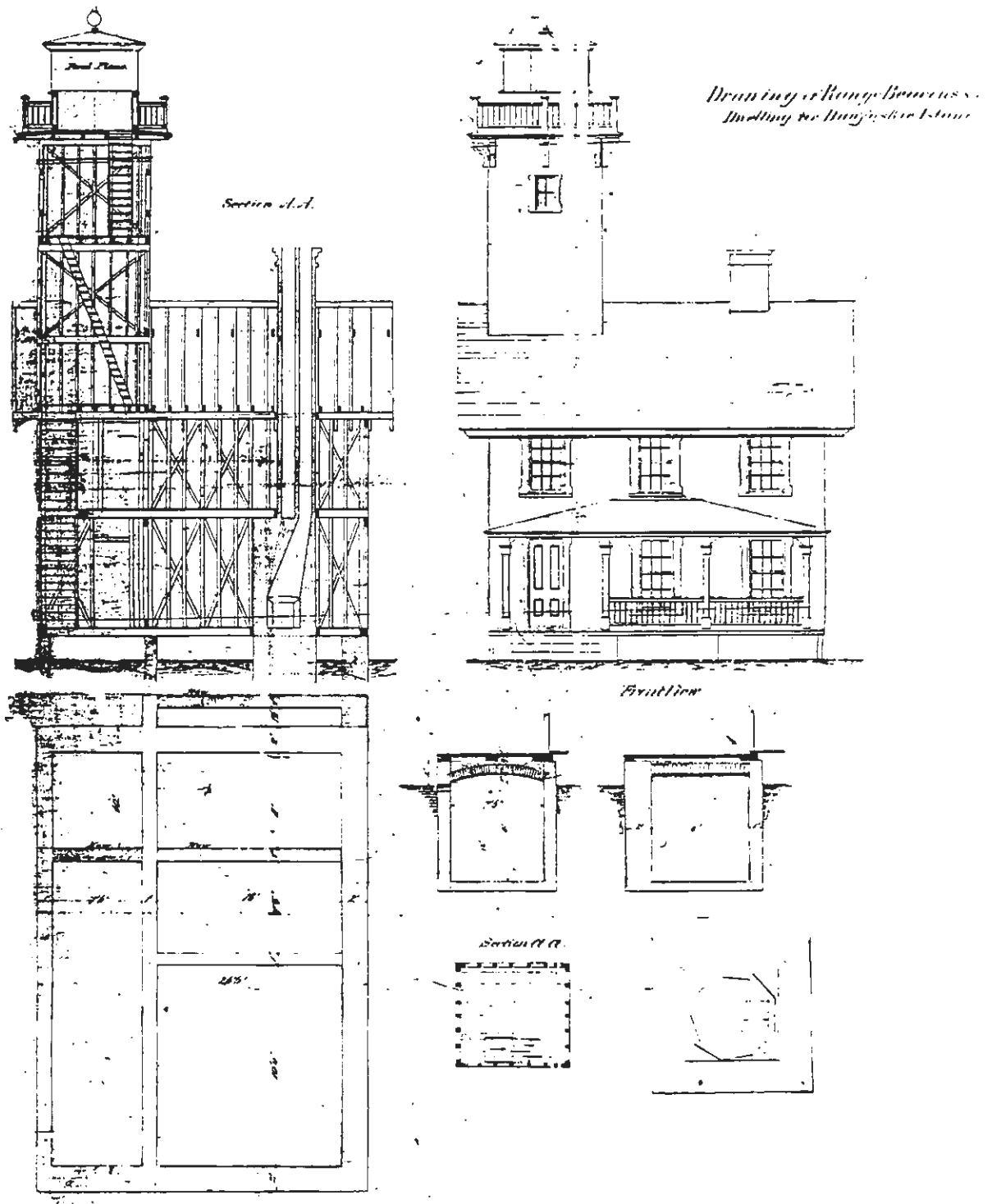


Figure 20. 1871 Haig Point Lighthouse drawing.

Preliminary Structural Investigation of the Lighthouse

Structural investigation at the Haig Point Lighthouse, conducted in May 1985, showed extensive tabby fragments are incorporated into the building's fabric. Preliminary investigations indicated that a) the north timber sill is bedded on a tabby foundation wall 2 feet wide by 30 feet long; b) the east sill was founded on a similar feature, 2 feet wide by 26 feet long; and c) the east porch rests on continuous raised tabby foundations, measuring 2 feet 6 inches wide at the base by 25 feet 4 inches long. Beneath the Lighthouse floor, a narrow transverse tabby wall (aligned north-south) could be glimpsed, closely paralleling brick foundations elements supporting the first and second floor framing.

From a construction perspective, this discovery presented anomalies. The tabby foundations appeared extravagantly overscaled for the structural loads involved, while similar use of tabby from late nineteenth century contexts was unknown. Foundation discontinuity (the south and west sills rest on brick rather than tabby supports), coupled with the obvious redundancy in transverse partitions, suggested that the Lighthouse planning was determined by pre-existing tabby elements, fragments of which had been reused.

An untitled foundation plan included among the original Lighthouse construction documents (Figure 20) provided some confirmation of this hypothesis. The drawing shows a rectangular layout subdivided by internal features into two adjoining areas flanked (to the south) by a long, narrow space (corresponding to the present Lighthouse side hall). Across the entire plan (north-south) appears a foundation wall shaded and annotated as "new." Further "new" work, closely paralleling a wide feature (with 2 foot dimensions) is indicated to the west. No further material identification occurs on the drawing.

On the basis of the albeit ambiguous documentary information it was provisionally concluded that,

1. all unidentified foundations shown on the 1871 plan in fact represent tabby,
2. the earlier building must have been larger than depicted by the drawing, since the plan form illustrated is without precedent among known tabby structures,
3. the earlier tabby structure was of a locally prevalent through-hall plan type,
4. the present Lighthouse hall is founded over an earlier central hall, fragments of tabby walls being

reused to the north, and

5. spaces south of the earlier through-hall had been abandoned or demolished at the time of the Lighthouse construction.

In order to test these suppositions, a small test excavation (4 feet square) was made 17 feet south of the Lighthouse, on line with its eastern facade where, assuming symmetry, the earlier building's southeast corner was expected. At an immediately subsurface level, a tabby corner was found, demonstrating that indeed a structure larger than the extant Lighthouse once existed on the site, planned about a central axis.

Subsequently, full archaeological investigations (Brown 1985) were initiated under contract with International Paper Realty Corporation, designed to complement an ongoing Lighthouse restoration and rehabilitation program.

Description

General Descriptive Summary

Excavation immediately south and west of the Lighthouse partially uncovered extensive walls which proved to be part of a house, "T" shaped in plan, organized about a central axis oriented slightly north of due east-west, with its longer facade (west elevation) facing inland, its river facade overlooking Calibogue Sound. Overall structural dimensions are: 75.5 feet for the west elevation, 75 feet 3 inches for the total length of the east-west facade (including porches), 57.5 feet for the length of the east-west facade (excluding porches), and 21.5 feet for the width of the east-west wing.

Sections of tabby wall, preserved as falls (principally along the exterior south and west building faces) indicate that the house was probably three stories high, its plan arranged as two main floors over an elevated basement. Upper floor levels were approached from the west by way of a wide colonnaded porch supported on brick piers, and from the east, paired staircases gave access to a "U" shaped porch enclosing the main house block on three sides. Few details survive for this feature; however, exceptionally broad tabby foundations (2.5 feet wide) following the central-east house elevation suggest overscaled columns (two or perhaps three stories high) constituted a major compositional element.

Internal Plan

Massive fills beneath the present Lighthouse precluded detailed investigation of the pre-existing building's internal plan, while it is clear that during the Lighthouse construction

phase, internal tabby partitions were altered or cut down differentially. Soundings were excavated through the fill (which consists of densely compacted, partially decomposed tabby rubble) and this evidence allows a generalized picture of internal planning arrangements to be drawn.

At basement level the house was apparently organized about a 7.5 foot wide central through-hall, aligned east-west. Entry from the exterior was by way of a 4 foot wide door located about the central axis of the west facade. At the hall's eastern extremity there is evidence for a somewhat narrower opening (3 feet 9 inches wide) which suggests a window rather than door; however, this feature is obscured by fill and late nineteenth century alterations making interpretation of its purpose uncertain.

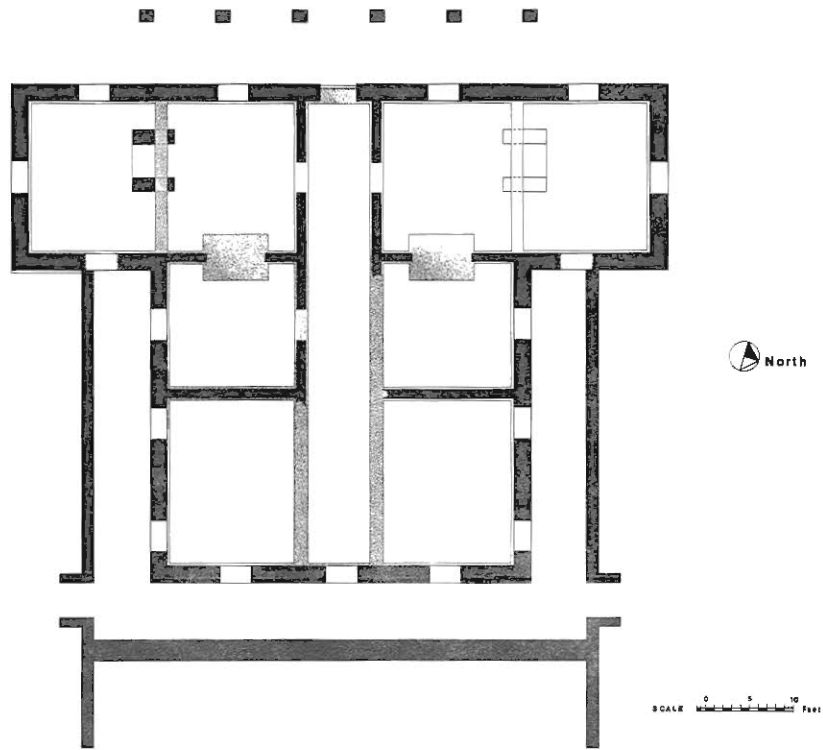
Within the narrower (east) plan segment, foundation elements define four spaces paired symmetrically about the central circulation area, designated Rooms D, E, F, and G (Figure 21). Allowing for 1 foot wide tabby partition walls, approximate room dimensions are: Rooms D and E, 15 feet 3 inches by 14 feet 9 inches; Rooms F and G, 19 feet 3 inches by 14 feet 9 inches.

A narrow foundation strip aligned east-west defines two further spaces, arranged as communicating rooms, within the southwest wing, designated Rooms B and C (Figure 21). Room B is approximately 14 feet 9 inches by 17 feet 5 inches and Room C is 15 feet 9 inches by 17 feet 5 inches. A doorway 3 feet 8 inches wide links Room C with the central hall. The northwest wing was not fully excavated but, assuming symmetry, was probably similar in plan to the southwest wing.

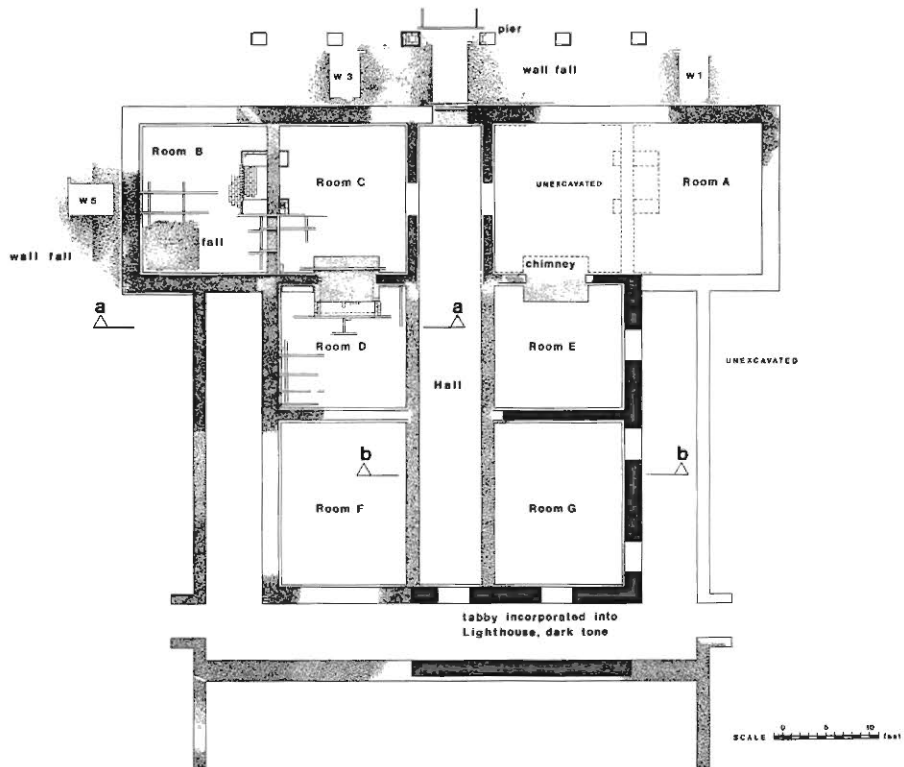
Between central spaces of the main block (i.e. Rooms D and E) and internal rooms to each wing (Rooms F and G), footings are widened (but not thickened) into broad chimney bases measuring 7 feet 6 inches by 5 feet 3-1/2 inches. Traces of brick superstructure survive, but whether the chimneys originally operated at basement level is uncertain. During a secondary building phase, crudely built brick hearths extended each chimney base 1 foot 7 inches to the east.

Perhaps at the same time, an "H" shaped brick chimney (measuring 5 feet by 7 feet 3 inches) was inserted over an earlier transverse footing in the southwest wing (Figure 22) and a roughly constructed brick hearth, opening into Room B, was added.

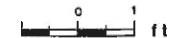
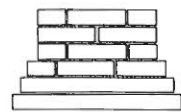
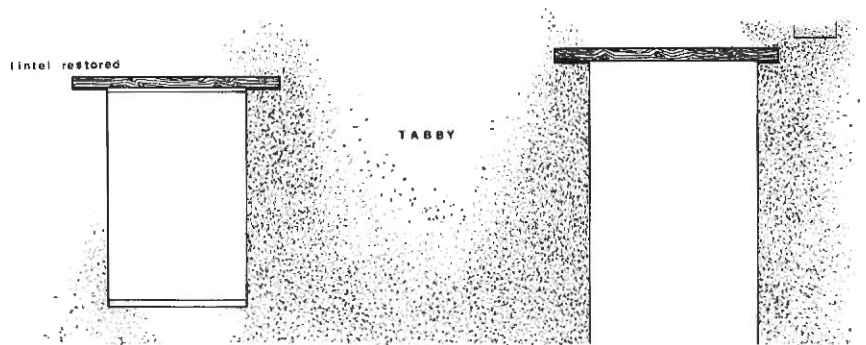
The degree to which basement planning reflects upper house levels is uncertain, but structural evidence suggests first floor rooms were arranged on a different configuration. No staircase was discovered at the basement level, indicating that entrance must have been gained solely from the exterior.



38BU591, Main House Excavations



38BU591, Restored Main House
 Figure 21. Haig Point Plantation drawings.

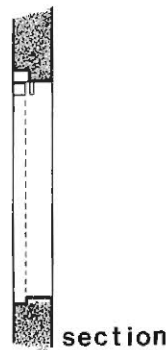
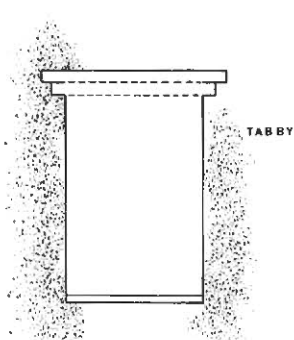


West Porch pier, elevation



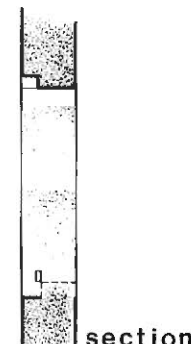
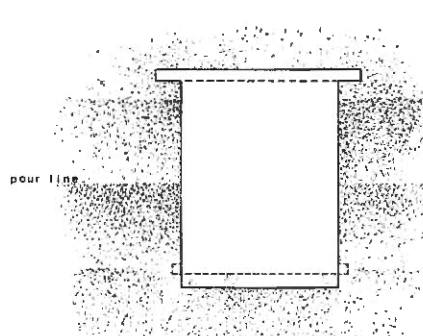
window 3 & door, internal elevation; plan

94

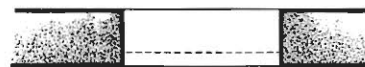


section

window 1, internal elevation



section



window 5, internal elevation; plan



Figure 22. Haig Point Plantation House, wall falls.

Footings and Basement Walls

Where incorporated into Lighthouse construction, sections of exterior tabby wall survive in situ to a maximum height of 6 feet 1 inch above founding level and retain (although now blocked) remains of original window openings. Over the remainder of the house site, external walls have been deliberately cut down, more or less uniformly, their height being reduced to that of the first construction lift. All external basement walls are 2 feet wide and bear upon a footing constant in depth (1 foot), but variable in width according to location and loading. West and probably east facades are symmetrically founded on footings 2 feet 9 inches wide, a ledge thus being formed at the base of both exterior and interior wall faces. Beneath the south facade of the southwest wing, footing width is narrowed to 2 feet 4-1/2 inches and the wall is positioned to maintain an internal ledge only. In all areas investigated, interior ledges are continuous and were used in a secondary building phase as supports for timber floor members.

Beneath the present Lighthouse, tests revealed a pair of east-west transverse tabby foundations supporting nineteenth century brick bearings for the Lighthouse side hall. Each tabby feature is 1 foot 7 inches wide, 1 foot deep and exactly corresponds in level to external wall footings. Limited excavation west of the Lighthouse revealed a continuity for the northern feature; subsequent clearing (conducted before consolidation) showed both footings extend the entire depth of the plantation house and reflect a central through-hall planning arrangement. Each originally supported a 1 foot wide tabby partition, preserved as fragments associated with Rooms C, A1, and D. Between Rooms F and D, and Rooms D and C, further tabby remnants indicate north-south transverse partitions (1 foot wide) were also carried on footings identical in size to those of the central hall.

Between Rooms B and D of the southwest wing extends a relatively slender tabby footing (1.5 feet wide by 1 foot deep) over part of which is built a brick chimney base. East of the chimney, the footing supports a 4-1/2 inch wide timber framed partition (preserved as fragments) plastered on both faces (see Brown 1985:24).

East Porch

Enclosing the main house block on three sides, tabby foundations are arranged as a "U" shaped configuration distanced 7 feet 11 inches off the north, south, and east facades. Conceived as a single structural unit, the feature was cast after completion of the external wall footings (being less deep at foundation level) and in concert with initial wall pours. Ground beam-like elements north and south (1 foot 9 inches wide), are

each interrupted by an opening 3 feet 2 inches wide defined by short spurs oriented at right angles to the main foundation alignment. Paralleling the building's east (riverside) front, foundations are widened into a massive tabby platform 2 feet 3 inches wide and 56 feet 4 inches long. Beyond, two more tabby spurs continue north and south porch lines eastward toward the nearby bluff edge.

Location and plan arrangements suggest that these features represent a porch base, but differential foundation width normally implies differences in height or loading, factors difficult to reconcile with conventional porch construction. No elements from upper building levels were recovered during excavation; however, given foundation mass, double storey height columns may have played a role in the elevational composition. Foundation spurs may represent supports for steps providing access to first floor spaces.

West Porch

Fragments of six rectangular piers, planned symmetrically about the building's central axis, on a line paralleling the west facade, almost certainly represent an entrance porch.

Constructed from well fired, hand-made brick, 1 foot 9 inch by 1 foot 5-1/5 inch piers are distanced 8 feet 10 inches apart on center. Each rests on stepped brick footings, three courses high measuring approximately 2.5 feet by 2 feet 2 inches at base.

Piers have been deliberately cut down to a point just below present ground level; therefore nothing can be said with certainty concerning original height, construction, or design. At a minimum, the porch measured 46 feet by 8.5 feet on plan and judging by fragmentary excavated timbers, was approached by a central wooden access stair, perhaps 6.5 feet wide.

Floors

Incomplete excavation of Rooms B, C, D, and the central hall exposed evidence for two distinct flooring systems.

Rooms B and C preserve badly eroded patches of a tabby-like material 4 to 6 inches deep, fabricated from lime mortar containing oyster shell inclusions. Poured directly onto yellow sand, the original floor surface appears to have been 1/2 to 1 inch below the level of the wall/flooring junctions. Similar tabby floors are known from at least two other major antebellum houses -- Marshlands in Beaufort (ca. 1810) at basement level and the Sams House on Dataw Island (ca. 1825) at the ground floor level.

Subsequently, during a single constructional operation Rooms

B and C were provided with timber-boarded floors, supported on slender wooden battens. Surviving fragments are heavily carbonized and incomplete, but battens appear arranged with primary members (typically 2-1/2 inches wide by 1 foot deep) spanning north-south, supporting secondary members (typically 2 inches wide by 2-3/4 inches deep) spanning east-west with their extremities notched over foundation ledges. All visible examples have a variable batten spacing. Heart pine boards, 1 inch thick and variable in width (4 to 10 inches wide) were fixed to secondary members using 3 inch long finishing nails.

Room D and the central hall showed similar timber floor construction, but no evidence for tabby sub-flooring. Primary battens were set directly on yellow sand.

That new floors were inserted during a secondary alteration phase is demonstrated by careful trimming of battens in Room D around the roughly executed brick extension to the tabby chimney base between Rooms D and C (cf. Brown 1985:29). In Room C, battens and floor boards extend over the same original chimney base.

Basement Windows

Recovery of evidence for location, dimension, and constructional detail of wall openings was considered a priority during excavation. Among the massive tabby deposits uncovered, no basement fenestration elements could be distinguished. Minor soundings along the north and east Lighthouse faces suggested that brick panels inserted into re-used tabby walls blocked early windows. This hypothesis was confirmed by exposure of undoubted window openings from upper house levels preserved as falls on the west side of the plantation building. Center lines drawn through upper windows of the west facade align almost exactly with centers of blocked openings on the east elevation at basement level.

Brick infill, coupled with late nineteenth century adjustments obscure most details for basement window openings, but a width of 3.5 feet and sill height of 2 feet 3-1/2 inches above the foundation ledge can be determined. No trace of lintel bearings are visible; however, comparison with lower windows of two local tabby structures indicate the present opening height of 2 feet 9-1/2 inches may be close to the original.

Tabby wall height as re-used for Lighthouse construction does not correspond with a pour line (Figure 21); therefore, some other factor determined the height of the tabby retained. It is possible that walls were cut down to the level of lintel seatings in which case, making an allowance for lintel depth, structural openings would originally have been about 3 feet high.

Room G is provided with two windows on the north and a single window opening to the east; Room E possesses a single, north facing window. Assuming a symmetrical fenestration pattern, windows to the southeast rooms (Rooms D and F) would have matched their northeastern counterparts. While no direct evidence was discovered for basement windows either in the northwest or southwest wings, the probable organization can be restored on the basis of openings recovered from the upper levels (Figure 21).

Upper Levels, Walls, and Openings

Fallen exterior wall fragments encountered during excavation present considerable interpretative difficulties. Fall material proved to be discontinuous, poorly preserved, and extremely friable. A relative slenderness (compared with in situ basement walls) distinguished all recognizable features and therefore falls almost certainly originated from an upper house level. Differential thickness indicates more than one level is involved, while the distribution of fall material suggests the house was ultimately destroyed either by a catastrophic event (such as a hurricane), or more probably, during a deliberate demolition program. Structural and post-occupational implications of the falls are considered later; excavated elements are described below.

A coherent, though badly eroded and partially fractured tabby fall extends southward (for an undetermined distance) from the outer building face at an immediately subsurface level. Investigation was confined to partial wall exposure and articulation of a window opening aligned about the facade's center. This opening punctures a wall 1 foot 3 inches to 1 foot four inches thick, is 3 feet 9 inches wide with a height of 5 feet 2 inches including the lintel. The lintel (surviving as carbonized fragments) measures 3 inches deep by 4 inches wide with 7 inch bearings. Fixings (preserved as tabby impressions) show the window frame was cast in place as a complete unit and provided with a 4 inch internal sill. Tabby pour lines are visible, demonstrating casting to have been executed in 2 foot high increments at upper floor levels.

In the southwest corner of the southwest wing, excavation exposed approximately 50 square feet of incompletely preserved tabby wall fall, 11 inches thick, resting on brick fill. Tabby surfaces are badly eroded; the wall appears fractured along a pour line on its western edge and disassociated about a window opening to the north. No opening measurements can be determined, but a well preserved bearing (7-1/2 inches wide) shows a lintel 3-1/2 inches deep and at least 8 inches wide originally extended through the entire wall thickness. Judging from the present alignment, material originated from the building's southeast facade.

A heavily eroded tabby wall fall, 11 inches thick, apparently extends along the entire length of the building's west facade along its outer face. Excavation was limited to an area located near the elevation's center line; once the fenestration rhythm had been established, test squares were opened to the north and south.

About the central axis, the wall is punctured by a door opening 4 feet wide by at least 7 feet high, spanned on the inner face by a timber lintel 3 inches high and 4 inches deep with bearings 6 inches (north) and 10 inches (south) wide.

South, a flanking window has an internal opening measuring 5 feet 2 inches high (including the sill) by 3 feet 9 inches wide; spanned (again on the inner face) by a timber lintel 3 inches high by 4 inches deep with 10 inch wide bearings. The distance from the center line of the door to the center line of the window measured 16 feet 2 inches. Tabby impressions show the window originally was furnished with an internal timber sill 2 inches high by 4 inches deep.

The northern test square revealed an almost identical, although badly weathered, window opening which preserves impressions of an internal frame seating (3-1/4 inches high by 4 inches deep) immediately below the lintel. The distance from the center line of the door to the center line of this window measured 28 feet 3 inches.

Extrapolating from dimensional evidence (and accepting that an underlying symmetry governed design), the west facade must have been sparsely fenestrated, composition at each floor level centering on an entrance door flanked on each side by two widely spaced windows in a five bay arrangement.

Construction

As a building material, tabby imposes a specific structural discipline distinct from that employed in alternative forms of masonry construction (such as stone or brick) although standardized techniques evolved in the context of multi-storey brick dwellings probably formed an empirical basis for large-scale tabby design.

The Haig Point House is (for a tabby structure) of exceptional size and must have taxed the ingenuity, skill, resources, and even courage of its builder. The degree to which structural innovation found expression is obscured by almost total destruction of upper floor levels; however, enough remains to indicate constructional details, while stemming from a locally developed technological tradition, include otherwise unique features.

The following section describes the constructional methods insofar as these can be reconstructed; reviews the structural implications of wall falls and surviving partitions; and, in an effort to interpret fragmentary excavated building elements, introduces comparative material drawn from surveys of large-scale tabby buildings located along the South Carolina and Georgia coastal plain.

Tabby

At the Haig Point house, tabby is composed of an exceptionally dense lime mortar containing heavy concentrations of whole oyster shell. Horizontal alignment shows shell was placed directly into forms as a thin, regular layer, mortar added, the whole well compacted and the procedure repeated until the forms were filled. Adhesion at construction lift junctions (a potential point of structural weakness) is excellent, indicating formwork was struck after the initial mortar set had been achieved, but before the tabby was completely dry. Formboards would then have been re-positioned at the next vertical level and casting operations resumed.

Overall, minimal dimensional variation and skillful arrangement at structural junctions show the work was executed by an experienced labor force. Casting of extended wall lengths required close co-ordination between individuals occupied with various tasks such as shell burning, lime slaking, formwork construction, mortar mixing, and material placement. Some sense of the magnitude of the casting process can be grasped by calculating material volumes fabricated. Assuming a total height of 10 feet from the base of the footings to the first floor level and making an allowance for structural openings (e.g., doors and windows), an approximate total of 5,010 cubic feet of tabby (with a dry weight of at least 576,000 pounds) was manufactured for basement exterior walls alone (this figure is based on data provide by Mr. W. Rettew, Consulting Engineer, derived from samples collected at the Sams House, Dataw Island, Beaufort County, South Carolina).

The labor force was obviously much greater than Thomas Spalding's "six men and two boys" who produced 135 cubic feet of tabby per week in 1805; nevertheless, the operations involved were essentially similar. Working on Sapelo Island, Georgia, Spalding's slaves,

collected their own shells, burnt their own lime, mixed their mortar, consisting of equal parts of oyster shells, sand, and lime (Spalding 1830:619).

As to the source of the shell, Spalding continues, "the shell I have used were old shells from ancient Indian Barrows" (Spalding 1844 in Coulter 1937:73). Prehistoric ceramics occur

as tabby inclusions at Dataw and Spring Island demonstrating that local middens were extensively quarried, but sifting of wall-falls at Haig Point produced few prehistoric artifacts. Charles Drayton collected oysters for lime production from the mouth of the Edisto River "which by the surfs are driven high up on the sandbanks, and therefore may be gathered in the ebb" (Historic Charleston Foundation, Diaries of Charles H. Drayton Sr., February 11, 1799). Natural shell deposits around Daufuskie and neighboring islands were perhaps similarly utilized.

Apart from tabby mixes, lime derived from oyster shell was the principal ingredient for plaster used inside the house and a stucco outer facing, but, despite the scale of production necessary, archaeological surveys have failed to locate lime burning sites (except for 38GE294, Oatland Plantation, Georgetown County, South Carolina, and 38BK---, Berkeley County, South Carolina). Charles Drayton was experimenting with a reverberatory furnace at Drayton Hall, Charleston County in 1801 (Historic Charleston Foundation, Diaries of Charles H. Drayton Sr., May 8, 1801); on Daufuskie lime was probably produced by the simple expedient of piling shell directly over log stacks and firing the entire mass.

Footings

Initial construction must have been a near continuous operation during which, subsequent to the excavation of narrow foundation trenches, relatively thin tabby strips were cast defining the entire house plan, exclusive of porches. Apart from providing necessary bearing capacity, the footing created a firm, level base for wall forms and, as demonstrated by variation of ledge width, allowed minor adjustments in setting out before narrower wall-pours were commenced. Similar construction principals were employed for extensions at the ca. 1825 Sams House, Dataw Island, South Carolina where 11 to 12 inch deep footing strips support more narrowly sectioned external walls, two stories high.

Formwork

Well preserved impressions show formwork was made up from 1 foot wide timber boards, tightly fitted together perhaps using a tongued and grooved joint. Each "mould" comprised two panels, 2 feet high, distanced apart (the width varying according to location) by 1-1/4 inch square, removeable timber pins. No vertical construction breaks can be observed, suggesting that the forms (except where interrupted by wall openings) were continuous for entire wall lengths. Given the weight of the material involved (estimated at 450 pounds dry per foot run; see Porcher and Rettew 1985:25), formwork must have been braced externally with battens to prevent bowing.

Excavation revealed that before positioning formwork, corners were laid up (at least to the first lift height) with a short length of brick, thus providing both a true right-angled junction and protecting vulnerable tabby edges when forms were struck. Prefabricated window and door frames were cast in place as the appropriate level was reached.

Form heights between 2 feet and 2.3 feet are common among early nineteenth century tabby structures throughout Beaufort County. From Georgia, mid-eighteenth structures including Fort Frederica Barracks (ca. 1750) and Wormslow Plantation, Chatham County (ca. 1750), demonstrate that the use of 2 foot high lift levels was widespread (Kelso 1979:62). Thomas Spalding describing his "first tabby house" on Sapelo Island (ca. 1805) states, "the boxes [forms] are taken to pieces in a few minutes, at every round of a foot" (Spalding 1830:618). At his Sugar Works on Sapelo Island (ca. 1805) Spalding used forms 11 inches high (Crook and O'Grady 1977).

No exact counterpart for brick corner reinforcement has been observed; however, a photograph of the now demolished Talbird House, Beaufort, South Carolina (ca. 1825) taken after fire destroyed the building's interior, shows tabby with brick at the corners and around openings (T. Reeve Sams collection, Beaufort, South Carolina).

Scaffolding

It is usually assumed that tabby formwork was struck immediately after each lift had set and then re-used at successively higher building levels. The method offered material economics and obviated the need for heavy shoring, forms being supported directly on the walls as they rose higher. Clearly scaffolding would have facilitated placement of semi-liquid casting mixes while providing a working platform when it came time to re-position heavy or unwieldy shuttering.

No certain evidence for scaffolding was discovered during excavation at the Haig Point house, although two post holes (each with a diameter of 0.5 foot), located adjacent to the building's south facade may represent such temporary structures.

Early nineteenth century scaffolding has received little scholarly attention; a simple pole type with standards (i.e., vertical members) lashed rather than nailed together so as to support narrow platforms, has a continuous history from medieval to recent periods. Normally scaffolding was not freestanding but tied back to the building face (see Fitchen 1961:15-17, Figures 4 and 5). It is possible that holes left through tabby walls after formwork ties had been removed might have been used for this purpose.

External Structural Skin

With an area of 3,203.62 square feet (excluding porches), ground coverage at the Haig Point house exceeds that known for any domestic tabby building from South Carolina. Size, especially when long, unsupported multi-storey walls are involved, is a significant and structurally limiting factor. The absolute theoretical length possible for multi-storey tabby walls cannot be calculated, but here the west facade, having a length of 75.5 feet (assuming two or three stories), probably closely approached a safe structural limit.

That heavy loads were envisaged from the start of building operations is indicated by footings and foundation walls of exceptional width, while relatively substantial tabby partitions suggest an independent support was planned for certain interior features. Interpretation of structural evidence is hindered through loss of coherent upper floor elements, but concerning external tabby walls, Kelso (1979:66) documents a relationship between total building height and wall thickness, an observation which underscores the importance of wall-falls at Haig Point as indicators for architectural massing.

During excavation, falls were found disassociated; nevertheless, comparison with local late eighteenth and nineteenth century tabby houses allows conjectural conclusions regarding original wall construction to be made.

Large scale tabby building is characterized by relatively slender exterior skins, relying on the even distribution of load through timber floors (which act as diaphragms) and the tying action of roof members for stability. With multi-storey construction, wall thickness almost invariably diminishes at successively higher floor levels. By thus reducing mass, a material economy is achieved on principles recognized by building regulations issued throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The London Building Acts (1696, with major revisions in 1707, 1709, and 1774), largely through the medium of builder's handbooks, strongly influenced English and eastern North American craft practice. Among detailed specifications, the Acts required walls for a two storey house (with a basement and an attic) to be "2 bricks thick (i.e., 18 inches) at basement and ground floor levels and "1-1/2 bricks thick" (i.e., 13-1/2 inches) above. For a house containing a basement, three upper floors and an attic, the basement and ground floor walls were to be "2-1/2 bricks thick" (i.e., 22-1/2 inches), first floor "2 bricks thick" (i.e., 18 inches), and construction above, "1-1/2 bricks thick" (i.e., 13-1/2 inches) (Cruikshank and Wyld 1975:22-33).

A cross section through the Habersham House, Beaufort, South

Carolina (ca. 1825) illustrates the structural method adapted to tabby construction. Here walls are stepped internally, providing progressively reduced thickness (closely approximating standard brick dimensions) and support for floor joists. With minor exceptions (such as a timber plate introduced to spread floor loads more efficiently at the Sams House, Dataw Island, South Carolina and at the Edwards House, Spring Island, South Carolina), similar wall systems are found among all major tabby houses of Beaufort County.

At Haig Point, excavated exterior walls are of three distinct thicknesses. Assuming construction conformed to prevailing local practice, then by analogy with the examples cited, these originated from distinct building levels, pointing toward a house three storeys high (including a raised basement). Foundations of unprecedented width (2 feet 4 inches and 2 feet 9 inches) reinforce the hypothesis, while a common width to all exterior walls at basement levels, indicates a uniform facade height.

If this interpretation is correct, exterior wall elements can be assigned to one of the following building levels:

1. basement - wall width 24 inches - located in situ
2. first floor - wall width 16 inches (eroded) - located as fall at the southwest wing and the south facade
3. second floor - wall width 11 to 12 inches - located as fall at the west facade and southwest wing, and as a fragment as the south facade.

Considering the disassociated and fragmentary nature of archaeological evidence, a three-storey interpretation cannot be confirmed. Nevertheless, alternative models produce conditions irreconcilable with the concept of structural economy distinguishing tabby construction elsewhere. Restored as a two-story form for instance, the house would possess massively oversized foundations and display irrational patterns of differential wall thickness.

A unique structural system is not impossible; extreme size may have dictated caution and an experimental design approach. Given a local trend among tabby building toward innovation within traditional construction parameters, the possibility seems unlikely.

Regarding depositional evidence, the distribution and location of falls can be explained by assuming a catastrophic incident or systematic demolition. That demolition occurred is strongly suggested by the brick piers of the west porch. These

were probably of full storey height (shown by mortar impressions on top surfaces) and are now uniformly reduced to a level just above the footings. Wall falls rest on the truncated features, the brick presumably having been removed (for re-use) before the major demolition was commenced.

In position and alignment the falls are consistent with a three storey building demolished by means of:

1. a two stage razing process in which the upper floor was overturned to the west and subsequently ground and first floor walls were overturned to the east; or,
2. a single stage operation in which by accident or design, walls split along a pour line at second floor level, with the upper and lower sections falling in opposite directions.

Massive volumes of fill (consisting of compacted tabby rubble) over the surface of the site and beneath the Lighthouse represent, at least in part, missing wall elements.

Reconstructed as two stories over an elevated basement, the Haig Point House resembles the form, massing, and constructional detail of surviving three-storey tabby structures, including the Barnwell-Gough House (ca. 1780) and Tabby Manse (ca. 1785), Beaufort, South Carolina. Somewhat smaller (with a ground cover of 2,355 square feet, excluding porches), the Beaufort examples differ most notably from the Daufuskie house in their access arrangements, being approached by a double height portico and being provided with a subsidiary entrance porch at the rear.

Among local tabby, domestic structure basement spaces are generally undefined. For example, the "T" planned Barnwell-Gough House, Beaufort, South Carolina, has a discontinuous tabby spur wall (which incorporates chimney bases) extending the line of lateral wings internally across an otherwise open ground floor area. Paired central beams, spanning from the back to the front of the building, carry joist loads with an intermediate support provided by the spurs.

By contrast, at the Haig Point House, 12 inch wide tabby partitions originally defined both a central hall and a series of symmetrically planned adjacent rooms. Original partition height is unknown; therefore, the structural implications of the basement arrangement are uncertain. Restoring upper floor levels to reflect the basement plan results in functional idiosyncracies. With a central hall 7.5 feet wide, any staircase would be narrow and ill-proportioned compared with the generous porch areas. A lack of fireplaces in Rooms F and G, while perhaps related to storage functions at basement level, leaves corresponding living spaces below without heat.

It is possible that at the entrance level, the central hall was widened into a stairwell (a planning device observed in both timber framed and tabby structures elsewhere in Beaufort County) and basement partitions supported heavy shifting first floor loads, such as generated by sliding doors. Alternatively basement partitions may have been load bearing, leaving questions concerning the original building height and overall planning disposition open.

Style and Architectural Relationships

Despite extensive exposure during excavation, many spatial, organizational, and functional aspects of the Haig Point House remain elusive or uncertain. Nevertheless, the schematic picture which can be deduced for overall massing, taken with evidence for unconventional disposition of lower floor spaces, suggests links with a series of local houses built during the period from about 1780 through 1830.

Seen against this group, the Haig Point House (Figure 23) presents both analogous and distinct, perhaps unique, architectural features. The "T" shaped plan as recovered indicates a process involving re-interpretation of traditional organizational formulae governed its design, a factor of considerable significance for dating and identification of planning trends among the generally inadequately documented sea island plantations.

Origin of the "T" Shaped Domestic Plans

Mills Lane (1985) has described a group of more than 20 Federal Period farm houses from North Carolina characterized by "T" shaped plans where,

typically each had a two storey central block, with its gable end facing forward to form a temple-like pediment, flanked by one storey wings. Each . . . has a wide hall across the front of the central block and a stair tucked into the corner of the hall" (Lane 1985:111).

Examples include the Hermitage (after 1753), Wilmington vicinity (now demolished); the William Bethel House (ca. 1790), Rockingham County; the Thomas Blount House (ca. 1793), Tillery County; The Grove (ca. 1790), Halifax County; and a particularly well detailed dwelling, the Reid-Williams Macon House (ca. 1810), Airlie County.

Slightly later North Carolina houses, including Montmerenci (ca. 1810), Warren County (now demolished) and an unexecuted scheme for Duncan Cameron's House (ca. 1829), Raleigh, employed a common elevational height, bringing central block and wings into

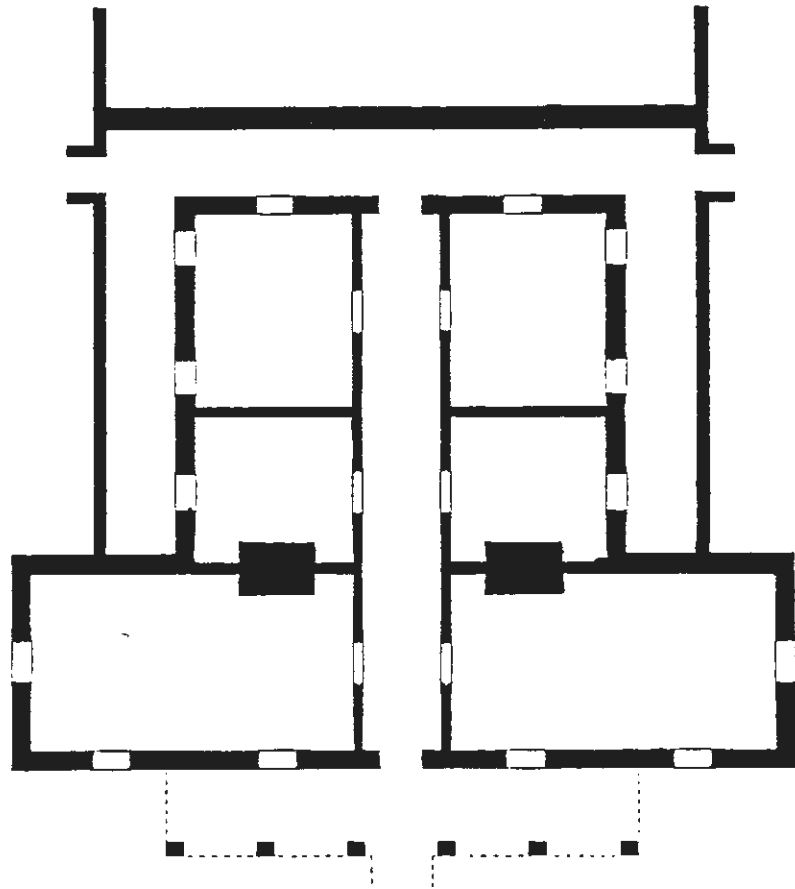


Figure 23. Haig Point House, basement plan, restored.

a distinctive, unified relationship (see Lane 1985:137).

Lane sees the influence of Morris' (1757) Selected Architecture and William Halfpenny's (1752) Useful Architecture in the generation of these plans; ultimately, all derive from designs of Andrea Palladio, such as that for his villa at Piobino Dese (Padua) illustrated in Quattro Libri (Venice, 1570).

For Beaufort County, South Carolina, two tabby structures already mentioned, the Barnwell-Gough House (ca. 1780) and Tabby Manse (ca. 1785), are among the earliest surviving examples of the "T" shaped plan developed from a ubiquitous eighteenth century through-hall dwelling type. In each building, rear rooms are extended laterally on three stories to ensure cross ventilation and take advantage of the prevailing breezes. Halls are widened toward the rear, accommodating a single stair which, above an intermediate landing (lighted by a Venetian window), divides into two flights "returning to the upper storey against opposite sides of the hall" (Lane 1985:134). At the second floor level, a broad landing gives access to paired lateral rear rooms and two principal spaces extending across the entrance front (Figures 24-25).

Elevations rely on studied proportion, rather than detail, for effect. A raised basement, set slightly forward of upper wall lines, serves as a plinth. Above, facades are governed by a simple modular system, the distance between windows being one and one-half times the porch width. Gable ends are lighted by tripartite windows, original in the case of Tabby Manse, the result of alterations (ca. 1820) at the Barnwell-Gough House. An unaltered, generously planned porch extends over part of the Barnwell-Gough entrance front. This element is treated as a three-storey, pedimented portico approached by splayed brick steps, with stuccoed brick Tuscan columns raised on arched piers and similar, though more slender timber columns above. Both Beaufort houses have hipped roofs (extended as gables over wings) while exterior walls are finished using an oyster shell stucco scored to simulate stone.

Planning Developments, ca. 1780-1830

On relatively restricted town sites, the compact "T" shaped plan, as typified by the two examples described, remained popular (with variants) locally until at least 1865. In plantation contexts, however, during the period 1780-1830, a series of related, experimental plans evolved, distinguished by a marked linear expression and complete or almost complete separation between the central block and flanking wings.

Rosehill on the Combahee (ca. 1800) shows a small overlap between three timber framed building masses; Whitehall (ca. 1780) near Grahamville (now in ruins), comprised a main brick

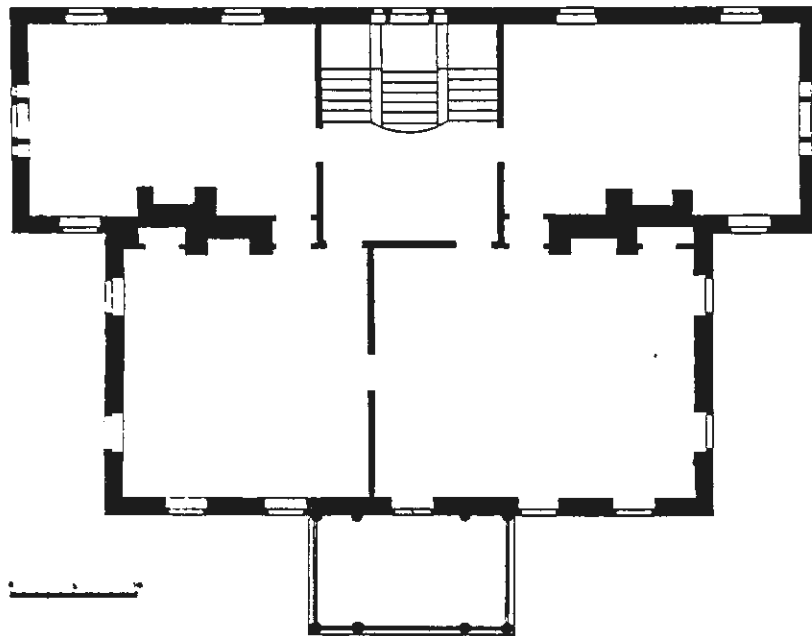
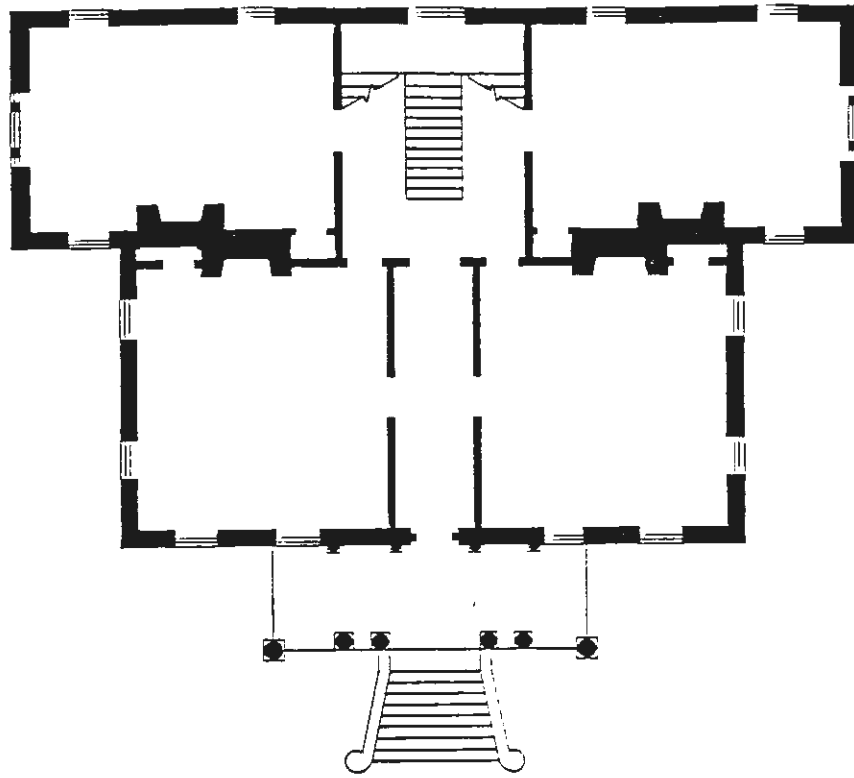


Figure 24. The Tabby Manse, first and second floor plans.

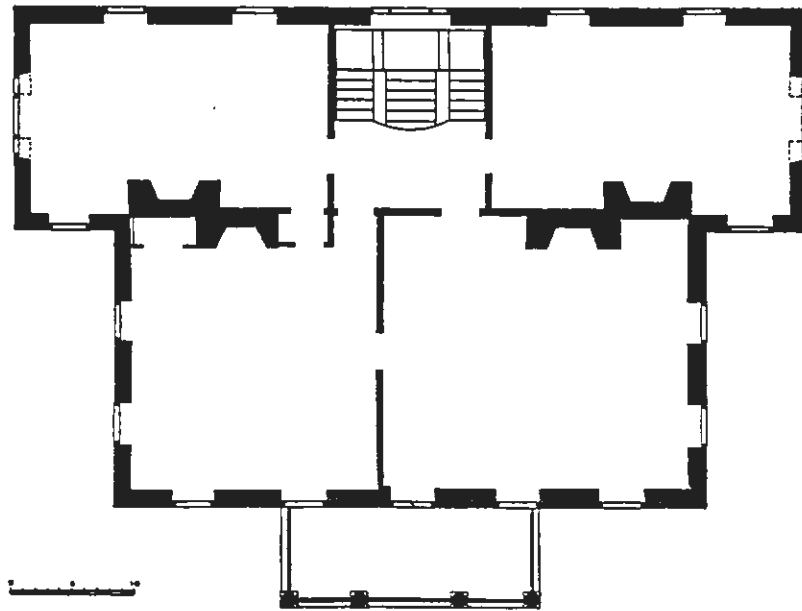
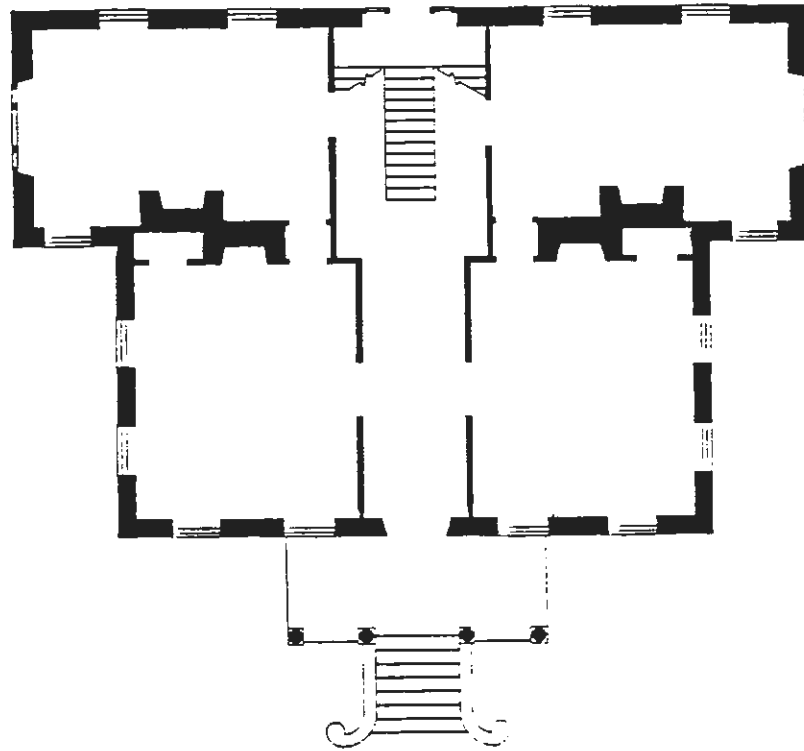


Figure 25. Barnwell-Gough House, first and second floor plans.

unit, perhaps three stories high, touching, but otherwise separate from paired tabby wings. At the Edwards House, Spring Island, secondary construction (ca. 1820) linked two, new double storey extensions to a pre-existing tabby house by means of screen walls. The resulting open court-yard like assemblage was furnished with a linking "U" shaped porch, overlooking river approaches (Figure 26).

Such plans represent radical departures from conventional through-hall types. An economical central circulation pattern is sacrificed for extended external linkage while (as demonstrated by the Sams House, ca. 1825, Dataw Island) the separate identity of individual building masses is emphasized. Resulting practical inconveniences are offset by reduced roof spans (always desirable in tabby construction) and significantly improved cross-ventilation. Describing domestic architecture of South Carolina, the Duke of La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt observed:

everything peculiar to the buildings of this place is formed to moderate the excessive heats; the windows are open, the doors pass through both sides of the houses. Every endeavor is used to refresh the apartments within with fresh air. Large galleries are formed to shelter the upper part of the house from the force of the sun's rays; and only the cooling north-east wind is admitted to blow through the rooms. In Charleston persons vie with one another, not who shall have the finest, but who the coolest house (La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt 1797-1799:2:376).

From coastal Georgia, Belleview (ca. 1820) shares with the Beaufort County plantation group a linear planning emphasis. Here two long, narrow tabby blocks intersect at right angles, producing a "T" shape form, the central element of which is fronted by an apparently unique tabby, elliptical porch.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, English domestic architecture came to reflect a neo-classical predilection for geometric clarity, plain unadorned surfaces and reticent monumentality. Aspirations "towards architectural primitivism and neo-classical elegance" (DuPrey 1982:292) merge in John Soane's designs for Saxlingham Rectory, Norfolk, a modestly scaled, spatially complex building fronted by a three-storey facade.

William Jay (who practiced as an architect surely in Soane's London circle), with the Scarbrough House (ca. 1816), introduced to Savannah, Georgia an emergent Regency style which exercises considerable influence over local builders until at least the 1840s.

With the Scarbrough House, Jay transforms conventional "T"

SPRING ISLAND S.C. THE EDWARDS HOUSE

Surveyed 1985 by Colin Brooker

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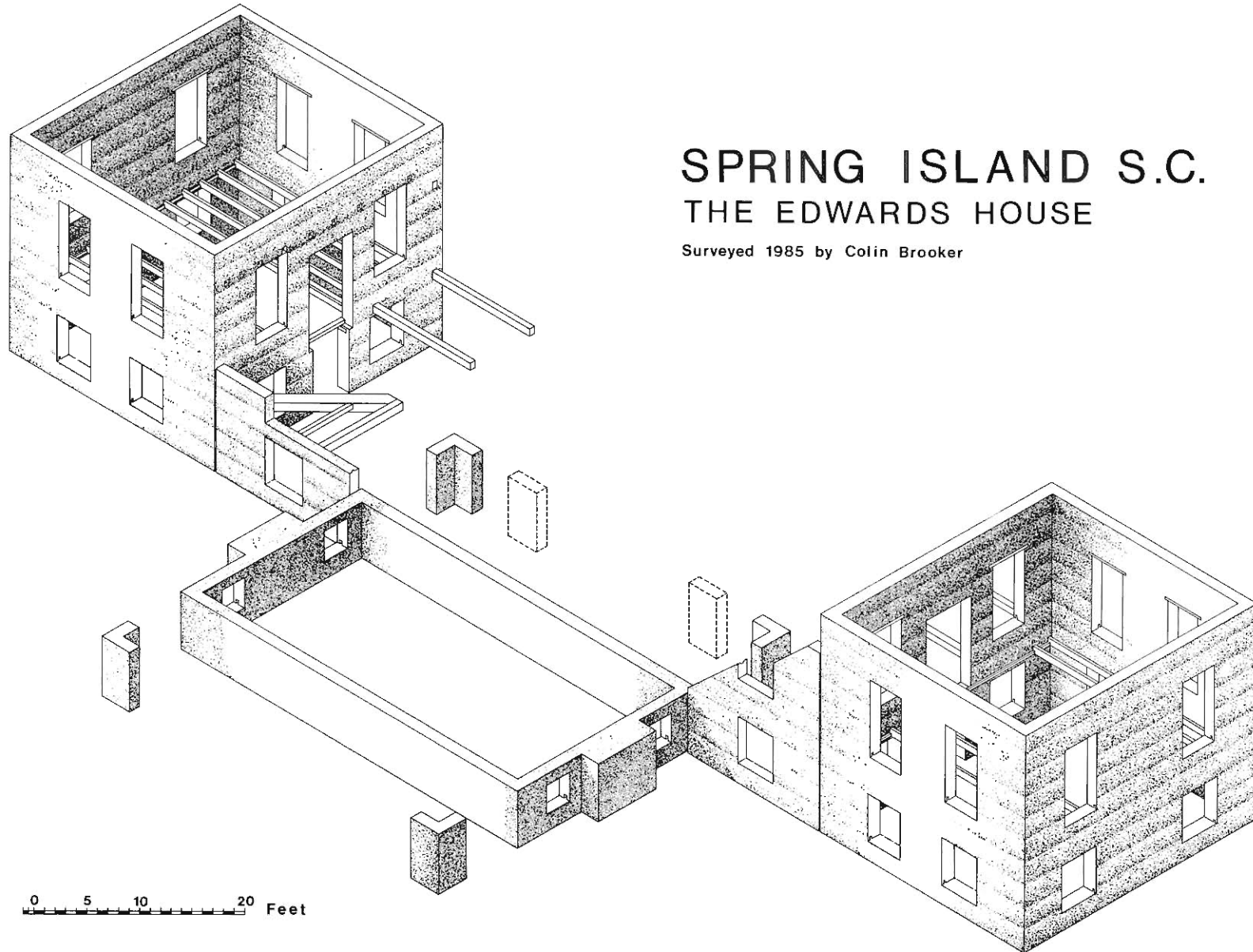


Figure 26. Edwards House, Spring Island.

plans by introducing a double height atrium of Doric grandeur, in place of the normal central hall. Two stories high over an elevated basement, the three bay entrance front is dominated by a monumental Doric portico and overscaled central Diocletian window. Flanking first floor windows are contained within shallow arched openings (a favorite Soanian motif) while above a heavy string course, upper windows punctate otherwise severely plain wall surfaces.

Similar fenestration occurs among designs for the Beaufort County Courthouse (ca. 1820), but here Jay returns to a non-heroic scale. Drawings from the Pendleton Jail, South Carolina (ca. 1820) strikingly illustrate the architect's penchant for three-bay facade patterns of the utmost clarity.

Finally, a vernacular example, displaying analogous, though diluted architectural themes should be mentioned. Less sophisticated (as perhaps befits the plantation setting), The Launch (ca. 1830), Edisto Island is formulated with masses of differing heights (see Stoney 1964:228). The two storey central block (raised on a basement) is partially enclosed by single storey wings supported on piers. Across the river front, single storey elements open into a loggia incorporating Roman Doric columns. Otherwise gaunt facades are softened by an effusion of tripartite windows, particularly effective when seen from the land side where they flank a timidly handled Doric entrance porch. Internally there is none of the spatial excitement of Jay's work, but linked rooms produce an usual enfilade emphasizing the length of the two wings.

In summary, two major planning trends can be observed among the local "T"-shaped dwelling schemes. Around 1800 compact plans with porticoed fronts (derived ultimately from Palladio's Villa Cornaro, Piombino Dese), such as are employed at the Barnwell-Gough House and at the Tabby Manse, Beaufort, were in plantation contexts transmuted to produce characteristically fragmented linear forms, strongly emphasizing horizontal massing and extended external circulation patterns. Siting and elevational organization resembles the later villas of Palladio, but details are almost wholly simplified and vernacular in character.

Between 1820 and 1830, neo-classically inspired preference for geometric shapes and smooth planes initiated more rigorous facade design, diversity of internal spatial composition, and a return to compact planning. Details frequently include direct quotations from scholarly studies, though Greek ornamentation is often treated as little more than a fashionable veneer over traditional forms.

Haig Point and Local Planning Traditions

The variety of organizational motifs discernible at the Haig

Point House suggest that the structure occupies a transitional position with respect to local developments in the Federal style. The skill with which the house is placed for maximum visual impact high on the bluff overlooking Calibogue Sound; the wide "U" shaped porches spread across river fronts; and the use of tabby (an essentially vernacular building material) provide thematic links with, for example, the Edwards House on Spring Island. Alternately, monumental scale, coupled with sparsely fenestrated facades, suggests design derivation from radical architectural models exemplified by the Scarbrough House, Savannah. This interplay, between local vernacular, traditional, and rationalistic themes is evident from site planning, internal organization, and external expression.

Located on a high, exposed bluff at the northeastern extremity of Daufuskie Island, the Haig Point House, with its long eastern porches, was clearly oriented to take advantage of every ocean breeze. Beyond practical utility, however, through site planning the house functioned as a dominant element of a carefully orchestrated landscape composition, embracing riverine views to the east and an inland scheme laid out on "picturesque" principles to the west. Seen from Calibogue Sound or neighboring Hilton Head Island (with a river frontage at least 76 feet long), the house must have formed a striking landmark. Organized as a series of receding planes, rigorously controlled facades emphasized building mass, while perhaps double height porch columns accentuated scale. Details are enigmatic, but associated features, extending porch lines almost to the present bluff edge, were possibly landscape devices (such as low walls or terrace abutments) further reinforcing a formal connection between the house and its setting.

An emphasis on almost scenographically planned building assemblages as seen over estuarine approaches, occurs elsewhere among Beaufort County plantations. The principal elevation at the Sams House, Dataw Island (finished ca. 1825) is expressed as an exaggerated linear form made up from three building masses linked by porches. From these, creeks and neighboring islands could be seen over an impressively scaled garden enclosure. On Spring Island, skillful use of perspective brings the Edwards House (ca. 1820) into visual relationship with paired, tabby pavilions creating a grouping 240 feet long beside the Chechesee River. In both examples, distance lends illusion, disguising the fact that for all their length, buildings are relatively narrow, enclosed spaces modest in area and apparent stone construction merely a scored stucco facing on tabby.

At Haig Point, detailed archaeological surveys (reported in this volume) have revealed that the house was not the focus of a formalized group of outbuildings. Evidence does survive suggesting that there were several structures to the south and that to the west the house looked into radial avenues penetrating

internal island areas. To the northwest, structural remains show slave cabins followed the Calibogue Sound shoreline for some considerable distance in a wide arc, creating diagonal (rather than axial) vistas.

As far as can be judged from archaeological evidence, internal planning effected a compromise between traditional and innovative features. The "T"-shaped massing ensured cross ventilation, but contrary to local practice, basement spaces were utilized, perhaps (given low levels of natural illumination) for storage or possibly (considering timber floors and hearths inserted during a secondary building phase) as a work area.

The plan adopted is of the through-hall type (thus avoiding impractical external circulation seen at the Edwards House on Spring Island), however, rather than a locally prevalent four-room scheme, here at basement level, eight spaces are grouped about the central hall. Wings are each divided into two connecting rooms, an arrangement reminiscent of first floor planning at The Launch on Edisto Island.

Little can be said with certainty concerning upper floor levels; possibly load-bearing basement partitions may indicate spatially complex arrangement once existed above. As previously mentioned, first floor rooms to the north and south of the east central hall were perhaps linked by sliding doors, a conjecture based on structural evidence coupled with interpretive problems associated with chimney locations. Internal organization of this type became popular locally during the 1830s, although earlier the Scarbrough House in Savannah, drawing on English models, had demonstrated the spatial potential inherent in "T" shaped plans.

On the exterior, a conventional five-bay organizational pattern is retained for the landward (west) facade. Exceptional elevational length, coupled with narrow windows at Basement and First Floor levels, results in an unusually high wall to opening ratio, spaces between openings being 2-1/2 times that of window width. If interpretation of wall-fall evidence is correct, then the six-bay west porch (two stories high supported on storey height brick piers) represented a unique feature, perhaps softening the otherwise stark west facade.

On the east facade of the main block, similar wall to window spacing is resolved compositionally with a three-bayed arrangement. Again archaeological evidence is deficient, but, if a common dimension was used for all windows at upper levels, small openings seem curiously at odds with ventilation and lighting of the deep room plans involved. It is possible either practical convenience was abandoned in favor of academic stylistic discipline (suggesting the rigor of early neo-classical design), or alternatively, the rooms to the west were lighted by

tripartite windows, a solution found at the Smith-Joyner House (ca. 1820) in Beaufort; at the Vanderhoof House (ca. 1830), Charleston; at the Governor William Aiken House (altered ca. 1833), Charleston; and at The Launch (ca. 1830) on Edisto Island. In either case, the three-bay principal facade firmly links the Haig Point House with rationalist architectural trends current locally during the 1820s.

Too little is known concerning the east porch to offer comparable examples, but it should perhaps be noted that double height columns support a "U" shape porch fronting a three-bay river facade at the Smith-Joyner House in Beaufort.

The first quarter of the nineteenth century saw an international architectural movement, dominated by a fundamentalist search for aesthetic ideals. Work by Robert Mills (principally from South Carolina) and William Jay (principally from Savannah, Georgia) epitomize an architectural process involving critical re-assessment of classical idioms that ultimately evolved into the Greek Revival style.

Initially an urban phenomenon, this new academicism was rapidly incorporated into rural vernacular buildings as an organizational mode or decorative fashion. The Haig Point House illustrates a stage in such stylistic transition demonstrating:

1. relationships with indigenous plantation planning traditionally in response to climate and available materials (i.e., "T" shape, long porches, linear site organization, and tabby construction), and
2. assimilation of Rationalist themes derived from fashionable urban models (i.e., fenestration patterns, and interior spatial diversity).

In constructional terms, realization of the design involved an almost heroic expenditure of labor and materials, extending vernacular building techniques to the limits of structural safety.

Neither wholly traditional nor entirely original, the resulting house is without direct parallel, a fact which emphasizes its transitional position. Conceptually the design offered a re-interpretation of traditional form, a characteristic shared with William Jay's plan for the Scarbrough House (1819) in Savannah.

The unknown designer of the Haig Point House was, however, unlikely to have perceived Neo-Classical form (exemplified by Jay's Regency inspired buildings) before 1818, or have been insulated from their influence after 1825, circumstances which narrow questions concerning date and attribution.

Construction Date and Attribution

Elsewhere in this study it has been suggested that,

the construction of the Haig Point house and the northern slave row took place at least by Sarah Mongin's death in 1833 and is clearly recorded on several early nineteenth century maps. It seems likely that the structure was built between 1825 and 1833 by Sarah and her second husband, Hiram Blodgett (Trinkley 1988:55).

From a stylistic viewpoint, any suggested terminal date prior to the mid-1820s would seem to be too early. If indeed the house was built before 1820, then a professional architect familiar with the latest urban fashions perhaps provided drawings. Architectural and archival evidence is better reconciled by assuming that construction was begun around the time of David Mongin's death in 1823.

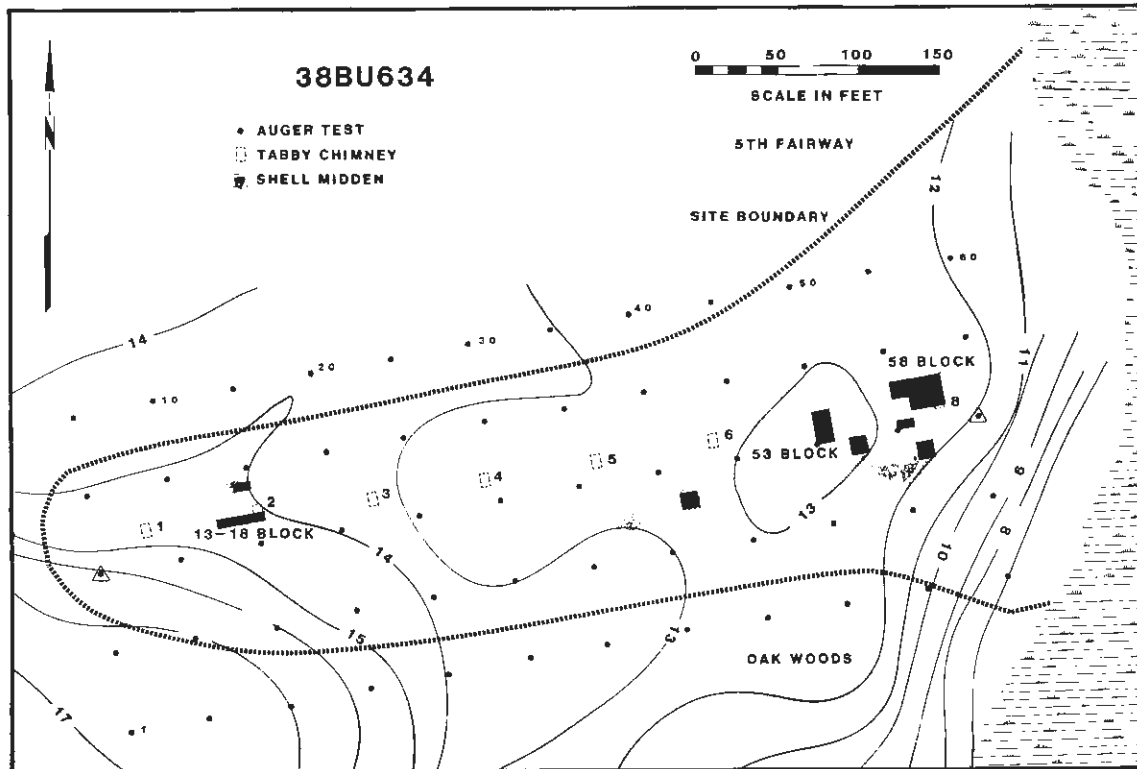


Figure 27. Site 38BU634.

EXCAVATIONS AT 38BU634

Michael Trinkley and Debi Hacker

Background

Site 38BU634 (Figure 27) is situated on the northern end of Daufuskie Island in the Haig Point Development tract (Figure 2). The site is an area of open hardwoods and a golf cart path has been constructed on the site's northern edge. The site is contained within Parcel 8, overlooking Calibogue Sound and is about 500 feet (154 meters) south of 38BU628. The UTM coordinates are E515550 N3556030 and the site is also referred to as the "South Tabby Site." The soils are Wando sands and the site elevation is 15 to 20 feet (4.6 to 6.1 meters) MSL. Site 38BU634 was recorded by Jim Michie during a reconnaissance level survey of portions of Daufuskie Island in 1982 and was identified as "two spatially distinct tabby ruins and four apparently associated shell refuse middens" (Michie 1983:75). Michie associates this site with a slave row observed on an 1860 plat, although he notes that many of the structures must be below ground level (Michie 1983:Figure 13, 75). Remains from the site were representative of a low status occupation during the nineteenth century. More recent work by Larry Lepionka (1988) at the site has identified the presence of at least eight tabby chimney footings, forming a line perpendicular to Calibogue Sound. The shell middens have not been carefully plotted, but at least five middens are thought to be associated with structures.

This site was one of 16 determined to be eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Sites and incorporated into a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) between International Paper Realty Corporation, the Army Corps of Engineers, the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO), and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. This MOA requires that if eligible sites cannot be avoided a plan "for archaeological data recovery will be developed and implemented in consultation with the South Carolina SHPO."

The archaeological investigations undertaken by Chicora at the site involve two distinct phases of research. The first involved site boundary determinations similar to those undertaken at other sites on the island and previously discussed. The purpose of this work was to more precisely determine the boundaries of this slave row, verify its significance and eligibility for inclusion on the National Register, and provide information necessary to develop a mitigation plan. Additional information on this phase of the investigations is provided in

the following section of this discussion.

International Paper Realty Corporation devised a development plan for Parcel 8, on which 38BU634 is entirely located, involving the construction of golf cart roads, subdivision into 31 lots, and construction of underground utilities. This plan will incorporate five of the eight known tabby ruins into common property adjacent to the golf paths (basically a right of way or easement). The final three tabby chimney footings will be destroyed by road construction. Three of the five shell middens will be on one lot and will be subject to damage from house construction, one midden will be destroyed by road construction, and one midden will be within the common area. This plan does not specify the location of the underground utilities. The second phase of Chicora's research at 38BU634 was undertaken in response to these development plans and involves data recovery at the structures and middens to be destroyed.

The original mitigation plan, submitted to International Paper and the SHPO on May 30, 1988, called for excavations at the structures and middens over a four week period. The amount of fieldwork was subsequently reduced to three weeks by the SHPO and was detailed in a proposal addendum dated June 27, 1988. Chicora's approach to the excavation of 38BU634 involves a program of research necessary to (1) satisfy the requirements of the SHPO and collect the information necessary for compliance with the signed MOA, and (2) address the broad research questions of historic site settlement, subsistence, and artifact patterning typical of this region. This research framework is an essential aspect of the compliance procedure.

There is exceedingly little published information on nineteenth century slave archaeology from Beaufort County (cf. Grunden 1985) and little of Lepionka's work from Datha, Callawassie, or Daufuskie (Lepionka 1988) is available. As a result, this site assumes extraordinary importance to our understanding of nineteenth century slave lifeways at low country cotton plantations. Of particular research concern is the development of a more thorough understanding of slave subsistence patterns and intra-site patterning (including the use of space among black slaves). In addition, this research has the potential to reveal information concerning slave artifact patterns, useful for comparison with the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern developed by Singleton (1980). Daufuskie Island, being a remote location, may reveal unusual patterning and the retention of Africanisms. The further study of nineteenth century black slavery in the Beaufort area will also provide a baseline for freedmen studies previously conducted at Mitchelville (Trinkley 1986). The results of this data recovery operation are discussed in following sections of this discussion.

Site Boundary Research

Lepionka has previously conducted limited site boundary work at this site, noting that at the time of Michie's (1983) original survey the site was densely vegetated and had been defined on the basis of two isolated tabby fireplaces. Subsequently, "the area had been bushhogged (resulting in some slight surface damage to above grade middens but having no effect on subsurface deposits) [and] it was reinvestigated" (Lepionka 1988:68). Lepionka continues,

taking advantage of the clear line of site, the area between the two above grade tabby structures was walked, and areas of shell and tabby fragment concentration were found. The distance between the closest ones was measured at 70'. On the assumption that this distance represented the unit of regular house spacing, it was measured out along the line established by the two above grade fireplaces. At each interval the ground was examined for evidence of shell or tabby fragments and probe rod tests were made. The assumption proved to be correct, and a series of eight tabby fireplaces (including the two known above grade structures) were found (Lepionka 1988:68-69).

Additional investigations were undertaken to the north and south to ensure that a double row of slave cabins was not present, but no additional remains were identified. Lepionka, however, fails to provide information on the actual physical extent of surface scatter associated with these structures and no site boundaries were established, beyond the location of the individual structures.

As at previous sites investigated by Chicora, the first activity at 38BU634 was to establish permanent datums, useful if additional work was eventually necessary. Two 1/2-inch (1.2 centimeter) iron rods were driven flush to the ground 550 feet (169.2 meters) from each other to establish a base line oriented W9°S. From this base line (grid east-west) the grid was extended 100 feet (31 meters) to the north and south, which allowed an area measuring 200 feet (62 meters) north-south by 550 feet (169 meters) east-west to be sampled. A series of 50 sample points, established at 50 foot (15 meter) intervals, were consecutively numbered from north to south and east to west. Each of these points was sampled using a power auger with a 10-inch (0.25 meter) bit and all soil was screened through 1/4-inch (0.6 centimeter) mesh. All artifacts, excluding brick, mortar, tabby, and shell (which were qualitatively noted), were retained. Each test was immediately backfilled.

The site was found to consist, as reported by Lepionka (1988), of eight tabby fireplace ruins (numbered 1 through 8 from

west to east). In addition a series of at least six above grade middens were noted. Disturbance was evident in the vicinity of Structure 1, which appeared to have been damaged by bushhogging, and Structure 3, which was damaged by recent road and golf cart path construction. Artifact density was uniformly low, with the greatest density of remains found in those auger tests immediately adjacent to a structure or midden (i.e., Auger Test 23). The absence of yard trash or sheet middens suggested that the area around the dwellings was swept or otherwise kept clean and that the associated middens represented accumulations of household trash, rather than simply stockpiling of shell for future tabby construction. In addition, it is possible that the adjacent marsh was used for trash disposal, although this option was not explored by this research. These results also suggested that data recovery operations might most profitably concentrate on the structures and middens, ignoring adjacent yard areas. Admittedly, a more refined picture of the spatial distribution of yard trash would have been provided by using a 25 foot (8 meter) auger test interval, but this option was rejected by International Paper.

Site boundaries were established, on the basis of the auger tests, as extending 150 feet (46 meters) north-south and 550 feet (169 meters) east-west. It is probable that the north-south boundary flared at the eastern edge of the site, adjacent to the marsh, although extensive disturbance in this area makes that assessment equivocal.

Remains recovered from these tests are listed in Table 9. The data from the auger tests, because of the low artifact density, do not appear reliable for pattern analysis studies, although they clearly suggest a low status occupation with little material culture diversity. In addition to the historic remains four prehistoric sherds were also recovered, including a single Deptford UID sherd, and three Irene sherds. Table 10 provides information on the mean ceramic date of 1315 from this small collection. As will be discussed in more detail later, this date is unacceptably early and has probably been skewed by the presence of ceramics handed down to the slaves from the master's house and also by the presence of early whitewares which are difficult to separate from late pearlwares.

Although the auger tests failed to reveal evidence of subsurface features, these investigations did establish clear site boundaries and also confirmed the site's integrity. The auger tests provided the first indication that artifact density, outside the individual structures and the associated middens, was low and that trash disposal practices had failed to produce sheet midden around the individual houses.

	Auger Tests	Surface	Total
<u>Kitchen Group</u>			
Ceramics	9	8	17
Stoneware	1	8	9
Bottle glass	4	101	105
Kettle/pan frags.	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	15	117	132
<u>Architecture Group</u>			
Window glass	1	2	3
Cut nails	14		14
Hand wrought nails	1		1
Spikes	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	17	2	19
<u>Tobacco Group</u>			
Tobacco pipe stems, 5/64"	1		1
Tobacco pipe bowls	<u>2</u>		<u>2</u>
	3		3
<u>Activities Group</u>			
Farm tools		1	1
UID iron	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
	1	2	3

Table 9. Artifacts recovered from 38BU634 during the site boundary research.

Ceramic	Mean Date		
	(xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Creamware, annular	1798	2	3596
undecorated	1791	1	1791
Pearlware, annular	1805	2	3610
blue trans print	1812	4	7272
edged	1805	1	1805
undecorated	1805	3	5415
Whiteware, green edged	1828	1	1828
undecorated	1860	<u>2</u>	<u>3720</u>
		16	29037

$$\text{Mean Ceramic Date: } 29037 \div 16 = 1814.8$$

Table 10. Mean ceramic date for 38BU634 (auger tests and surface material).

Archaeological Excavations

As previously discussed, the site areas subjected to more intensive investigation as part of the data recovery plan were selected on the basis of the anticipated development activities. Three of the eight structures (numbers 1, 2, and 8) were to be destroyed by road construction, while at least four of the six

middens were to be destroyed by either road or house construction. Hence, the site areas to be sampled were selected not on the basis of the auger tests or as part of a sampling scheme, but were chosen because of their impending destruction. The archaeological investigations were undertaken by a crew of four from July 25 through August 17, 1988 and a total of 536 person hours were devoted to work at the site. Each structure was investigated by a block excavation and four middens were investigated with single units. As a result of this work 1250 square feet (116.3 square meters) of site area were opened and 1007.5 cubic feet (28.2 cubic meters) of soil and shell were moved in primary excavations, all screened through either 1/4 or 1/8 inch (0.6 or 0.3 centimeter) mesh screen.

Methods

The auger test grid, oriented W9°S, was tied into several topographic features and the South Carolina Plane Coordinate System in order to maintain long-term horizontal control. Two iron rebar points were established for this work, although the proposed development activity is expected to destroy these stations. The site had been marked out in 50-foot (15 meter) grid units for the auger survey, with each point numbered (Figure 27). These numbers were used to identify the 50-foot (15 meter) square blocks, with each block designated by its southeast corner auger test number. Within these blocks a modified Chicago 10-foot (3 meter) grid was established, with each square designated by its southeast corner, from a OR0 point at the southwest corner of the 50-foot (15 meter) block. Thus, square 12-10R10 would be located in the 50-foot (15 meter) square auger test block number 12 and the southeast corner of the unit would be north 10 feet (3 meters) and right (or east) 10 feet (3 meters) from the OR0 point (or the block's southwest corner).

Vertical control at the site was maintained through the use of elevation datums established by Chicora. Elevations are expressed in feet above mean sea level (MSL) as determined by reference to the established datums. The primary datum, 13.52 feet (4.12 meters) MSL, is a nail in the base of an oak tree at the eastern site edge. This system allows widely separated areas of the site to be precisely compared and the vertical controls can be easily re-established in the future.

Soil from the structure excavations was screened through 1/4-inch (0.6 centimeter) mesh using mechanical sifters. Soil from the shell middens was screened through 1/8-inch (0.3 centimeter) mesh to improve the recovery of small faunal remains. Wing and Quitmyer (1985:57) reveal that the percentage of fish, relative to other organisms, increases from 34% with the use of 1/4-inch (0.6 centimeter) mesh to 76% with the use of the finer 1/8-inch (0.3 centimeter) mesh. While ideally water screening through 1/16-inch (0.15 centimeter) mesh would be used for faunal

recovery, this approach was not logistically feasible at 38BU634.

A two foot (0.6 meter) square sample of each shell midden was weighed prior to sifting and the shell, collected for analysis, was weighed after screening. This provided a quantified statement of shell density for each of the middens, and also provided a uniform shell midden sample for specialized analysis. Bricks, mortar, shell, and tabby rubble were quantified by weight in the field and discarded.

Units were troweled at the top of the subsoil, photographed in black and white and color film, and plotted. Excavation was by natural soil zones and soil samples were routinely collected. Features were usually bisected, with both small soil samples (2 quart) and flotation samples (5 gallon) collected. Features were excavated by natural soil zones and were separately photographed, plotted, and profiled during their removal. The feature fill was dry screened through 1/8-inch (0.3 centimeter) mesh to improve the recovery rate of faunal materials.

Field notes were prepared on archival paper and photographic materials were processed to archival standards. All original field notes, with archival copies, are curated at The Environmental and Historical Museum of Hilton Head Island, as Accession Number 1988.5. All specimens have been evaluated for conservation needs and have been treated prior to curation (this process is discussed in greater detail in a following section of this discussion).

Stratigraphy

Stratigraphy at the site was relatively uniform. Zone 1 designates the shell midden or tabby rubble frequently found overlying the lower zones of either old humus or shell mixed with humic sand. No effort was made to distinguish between midden and rubble in the zone assignments because the two were frequently mixed. Each of the four shell middens appeared to be equally dense, but qualitative statements such as "dense" are relatively meaningless. In reviewing current local shell midden (both historic and prehistoric) research we were unable to find any reference to a quantitative assessment of midden density. As a result, a 2 by 2 foot (0.6 by 0.6 meter) column was weighed in the field prior to screening through 1/8-inch (0.3 centimeter) mesh. The resulting artifacts, shell, and other inclusions were weighed, with this weight subtracted from the gross weight to determine the proportion of shell in each sample. The results of this study, shown in Table 11, reveal considerable variation in the middens, with one midden (42-25R20) containing between a third and twice the shell as the others investigated, yet all would probably have been described simply as "dense." The average from the four middens is 1.43:1.00, or about 1.5 times as much soil as shell. This soil may represent either wind blown

sand gradually filtering through the midden, or it may represent humic soil gathered up with the midden trash. While grain size analysis has not been conducted, the dispersion of the soil uniformly through the shell suggests that the middens are

provenience	column wt.	shell wt.	soil wt.	artifact wt.	other wt.	soil:shell
13-40R50	376	162	212	0.5	1.5	1.31:1.00
42-25R20	329	165	158	2.0	4.0	0.96:1.00
52-40R30	324	100	218	4.0	2.0	2.18:1.00
57-30R20	420	183	235	1.0	1.0	1.28:1.00

Table 11. Shell midden density at 38BU634; weight in pounds. with each column sample volume standardized at 2x2x1 foot.

secondary deposits, being gathered up with humic soil, perhaps from around the individual structures. This research clearly demonstrates the need for more detailed shell midden analysis at other sites.

Zone 1 varied in the four middens from 0.5 to 1.2 feet (0.1 to 0.4 meter) in depth, although several of the middens appeared to be at least 2 feet (0.6 meter) deep in their central areas. The midden consisted almost entirely of oyster shell, with minor amounts of clam and whelk. Occasional ribbed mussel and barnacles were also recovered from the shell zone. No lensing or "basket loading" was visible and the profiles were uniform. Additional information concerning the shellfish recovered from these middens is presented in a subsequent section of this report. Artifact density within the middens varied considerably, although at least one midden produced ceramic cross-mends with the adjacent structure. The variable artifact density may relate to differential status, or may simply indicate differences in trash disposal activities by structure or through time.

The Zone 1 designation was also used for the tabby rubble overlying several of the structures in the vicinity of the fire places. In these areas the rubble varied from 0.3 to 0.5 foot (0.1 to 0.2 meter) and consisted of shell, tabby chunks, and black humic soil. The tabby rubble, in each case, was thoroughly disarticulated and appeared to represent intentional demolition of the chimney stack by pushing it inward, into the structure; as a result, rubble tended to be deepest in the area overlying the fire box. Incorporated in the rubble were minor quantities of tabby brick, and even less common, fired clay brick. Artifacts, while present, tended to be architectural, with the remainder representing lost or discarded items. There was no evidence that the structures were demolished while occupied.

Zone 2 consists of tan humic soil with shell or tabby rubble

inclusions and represents a transition between midden or rubble zones and the underlying Zone 3 humic soil. Zone 2 varies in depth from 0.2 to 0.7 foot (0.1 to 0.2 meter). The Zone 3 soil is a brown humic sand which represents the site's old humus. While not uniform in depth, it was present in most areas of 38BU634 (the exception being at the west edge of the site where agricultural disturbance was documented). The old humus varies in depth from 0.1 to 0.4 foot (0.1 meter). Underlying the site is a sterile zone of light tan to yellow sand, at which point excavations were terminated.

13-18 Block - Structure 2

Structure 2, at the western edge of the site, was investigated by the 13-18 Block and was found to have been extensively plowed, probably in the early twentieth century. This block consists of a series of three 5 by 10 foot (1.5 by 3 meter) units which formed a 30 foot (9 meter) trench bisecting (east-west) the posited structure (units 13-15R5, 13-15R35, and 13-15R25). This block was laid out in an attempt to locate the structure and obtain information on its length. Excavations, however, revealed that the chimney footing was heavily damaged and plow scars (oriented northwest-southeast) were present throughout the block. Very little information was recovered from the excavation and artifacts, including faunal remains, were very sparse, probably as a result of the extensive disturbance. The plow disturbed Zone 1 soils were 0.8 foot (0.2 meter) in depth and overlaid the sterile yellow subsoil. This block produced a total of 329 pounds (149 kilograms) of tabby rubble, with the density gradually decreasing from 163 pounds (74 kilograms) in 13-15R5 to 47 pounds (21 kilograms) in 13-15R25.

53 Block - Structure 7

Structure 7 was investigated by the 53 Block, which consisted of two 10 foot (3 meter) units forming a north-south trench (units 53-0R10 and 53-10R10). This block fully exposed the at-grade chimney footing (designated Feature 2) associated with Structure 7 (Figure 28). The stratigraphy in this block consisted of Zone 1 tabby rubble about 0.4 foot (0.1 meter) in depth overlying the dark brown humic sand of Zone 2, which was 0.3 foot (0.1 meter) in depth. The western profile of this block clearly revealed that the tabby rubble from the chimney fell to the west, within the structure. A total of 932 pounds (422 kilograms) of tabby rubble were recovered from the two units.

Within the 53 block three square post holes were recorded; one to the east of the chimney and two within the structure in front of the firebox. No function has been determined for any of these posts. Two large tree disturbances were found in the southern half of the block, one of which had damaged the southern wall of the tabby fire place. In addition, a small cedar tree

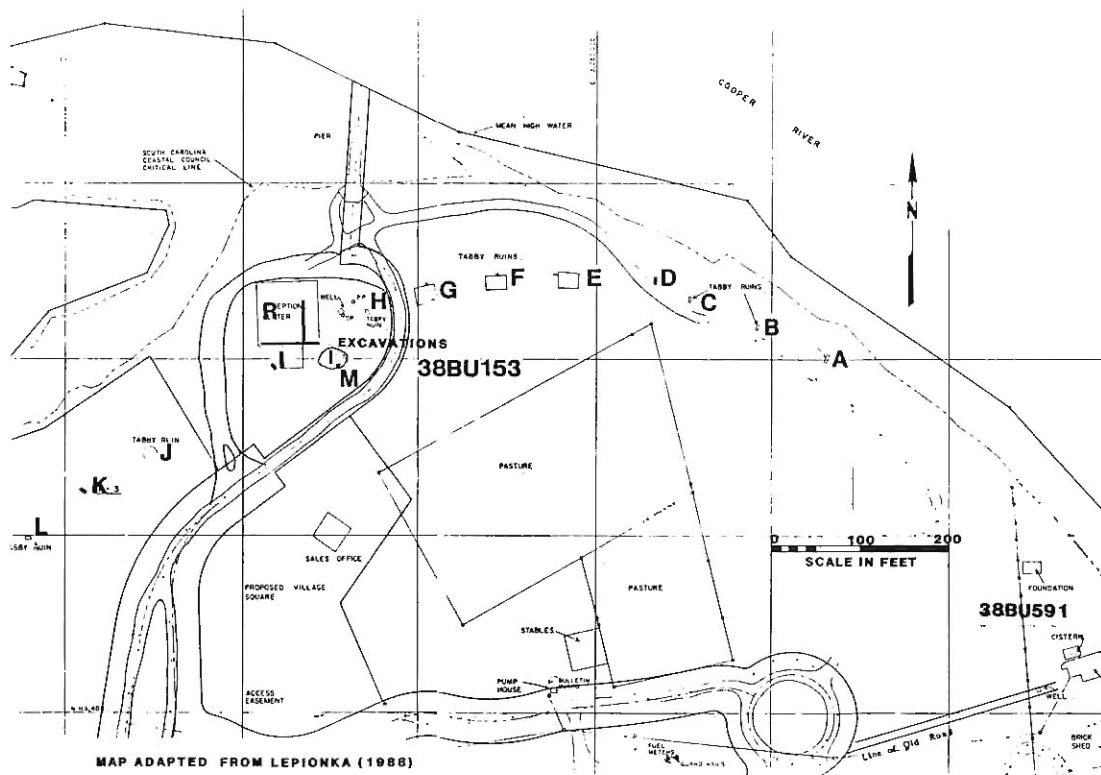


Figure 28. 53 Block excavations.

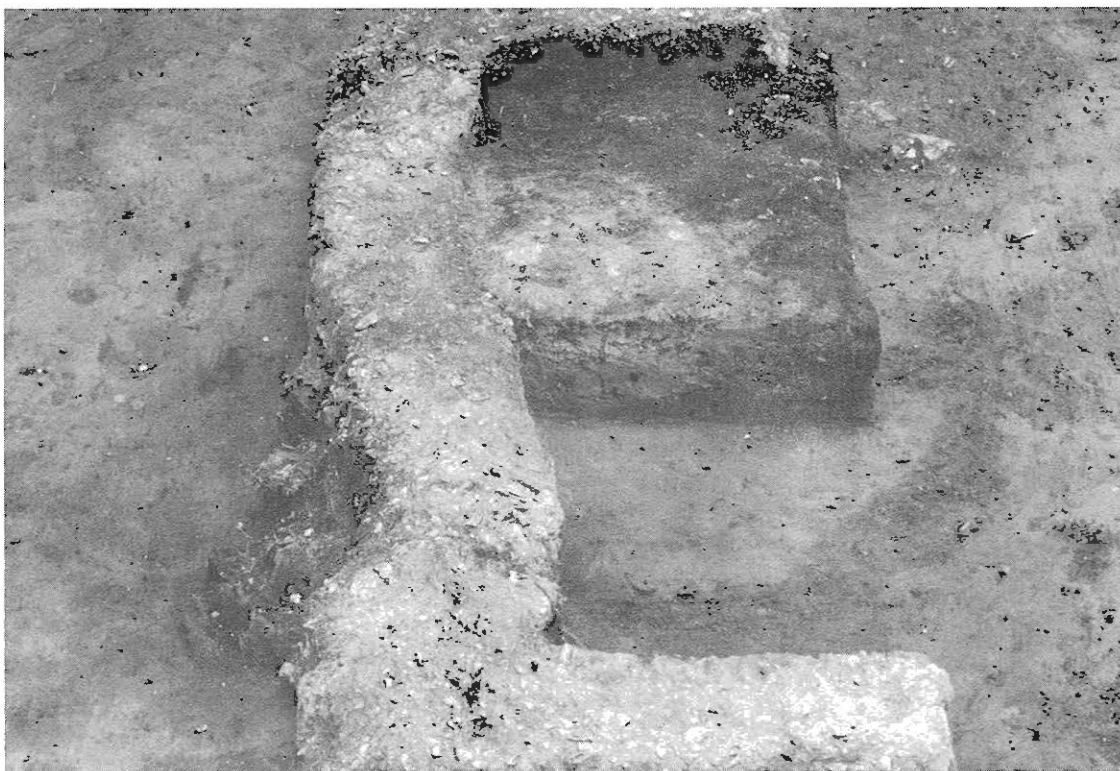


Figure 29. Feature 2, after excavation, view to the south.

had been growing from the back wall of the chimney, causing additional disturbance. No drip line or other indication of the north or south structure walls was found, although the tabby rubble from the chimney was found to be contained within an area measuring about 16 feet (5 meters) north-south. This is thought to offer an approximation of the structure's width.

Feature 2, within the 53 Block centered at 53-13R5, represents the base of a tabby fireplace associated with Structure 7 (Figure 29). Because detailed information on construction and measurements are offered by Brooker in a subsequent section of this report, only very general information is presented here. The back (east) wall of the firebox measures 7 feet (2.2 meters) in length and 1 foot (0.3 meter) in width. The side walls vary in length from 2.8 to 3.0 feet (0.86 to 0.9 meter) and are 0.7 foot (0.2 meter) in thickness. The remaining height of the feature is 1 foot (0.3 meter) since it had been sheared off at the present ground level. The feature was bisected east-west, with the north half removed in two zones. Zone 1 consists of a dark brown to black sand mixed with rubble which surrounds the centrally located Zone 2 deposit of burnt reddish-white sand. Both zones were removed and screened through 1/8-inch (0.3 centimeter) mesh, with soil and flotation samples retained. Analysis of this feature, coupled with extensive discussions with Brooker, have suggested that after construction the tabby fire box was filled with rubble and sand to raise the hearth level. As the fireplace was used, the heat burnt the underlying sand. The absence of a hearth floor (either poured tabby or brick), coupled with the absence of charcoal lenses or ash deposits, suggests that the original hearth level was at, or slightly above, the modern grade. Additional information on the tabby fireplaces is also found in the discussion of excavations in the 58 Block.

58 Block - Structure 8

The largest block excavation, centered on Structure 8 at the eastern edge of the site, opened 550 square feet (51 square meters) and is designated the 58 Block (Figure 30). Incorporated in this block are units 58-0R10 (5 by 10 feet [1.5 by 3 meters]; all of the remaining units were 10 foot [3 meter] squares), 58-10R20, 58-10R30, 58-20R10, 58-20R20, and 58-20R30. These units exposed all but the southeastern corner of the structure. Recovered were 2531 pounds (944 kilograms) of tabby rubble and 257 pounds (96 kilograms) of shell (much of which is suspected as being from tabby construction).

The stratigraphy within the block varied considerably, but generally involved either a zone of tabby rubble (centered around the at-grade chimney footing) or a brown humic sandy loam (both designated Zone 1). The tabby rubble, as in the 53 Block, was found to be contained within the posited structure boundaries.

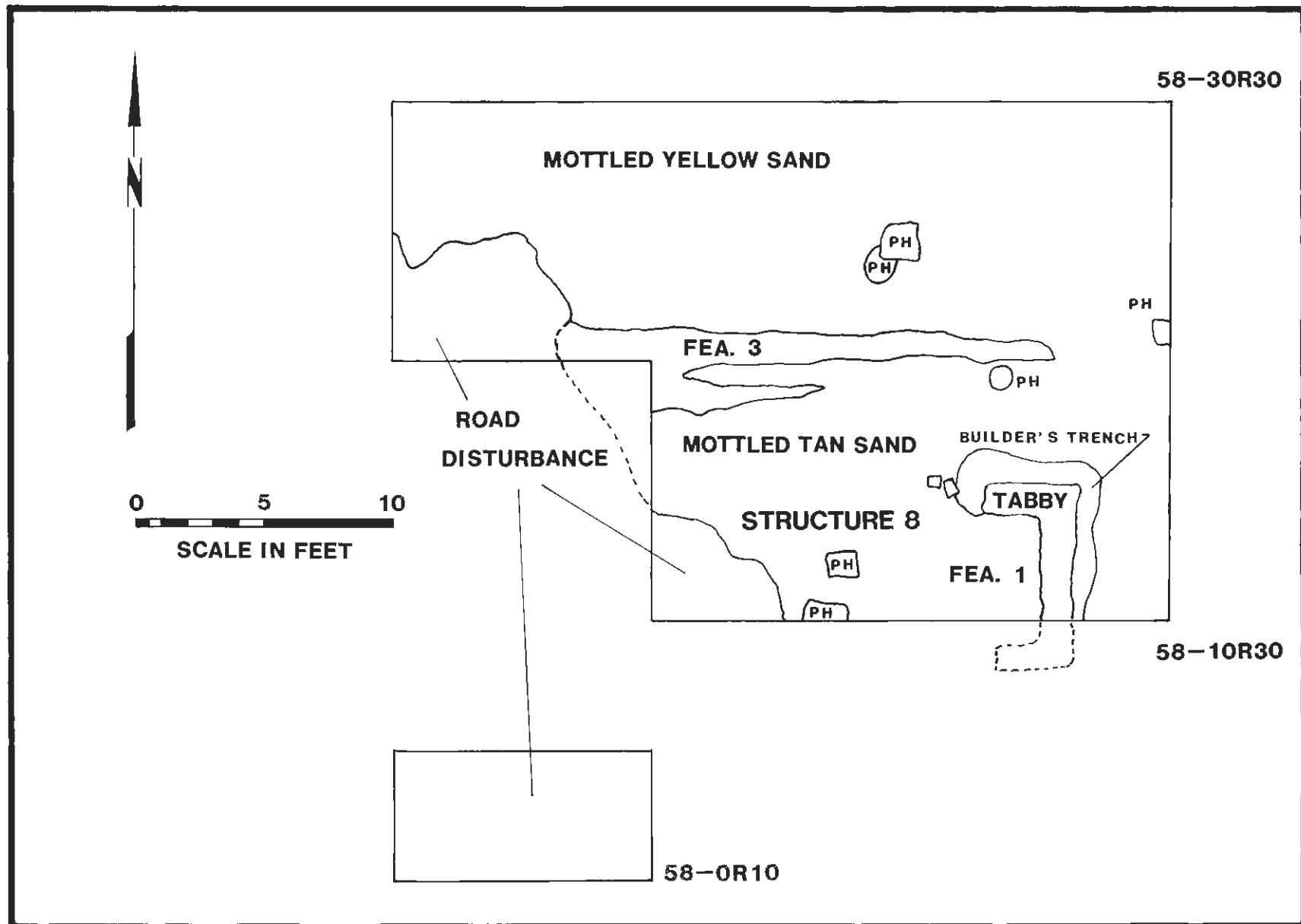


Figure 30. 38BU634, Block 58 excavations.

This suggests that the structure was demolished, with the tabby chimney being pushed into the structural remains. Under the tabby rubble or the mixed sand and tabby in several of the units, was a zone of brown humic sand with reduced quantities of rubble and shell (designated Zone 3), while elsewhere the Zone 1 rubble overlaid the yellow subsoil. There is no evidence of agricultural disturbances, although tree stains are common and a relatively recent dirt road has been constructed through the southern edge of the structure, causing considerable damage.

In spite of the disturbances within this block, Structure 8 provides the best information concerning the 38BU634 slave structures. During excavations two significant features were intensively examined. Feature 1 represents the structure's tabby fire box, while Feature 3 represents a drip line along the northern edge of the structure. In addition, while removing Zone 1 within the structure, portions of an in situ poured tabby floor were isolated. These flooring fragments were commonly 0.1 to 0.2 foot (0.03 to 0.06 meters) in thickness and consisted of a layer of shell underlying a tabby slurry. It appears that the floor had broken up prior to the abandonment of the structure and no effort was made to repair or replace the floor. This flooring was found at elevations between 11.54 to 11.59 feet (3.55 to 3.56 meters) MSL, about 0.5 foot (0.15 meter) lower than the structure's hearth. Excavations within the structure have yielded a small quantity of architectural hardware (including nails and two pintles), window glass, and a single mortar fragment with adhering blue pigment.

Feature 1, centered at 58-11R25, is the remnant of the tabby chimney base for Structure 8 (Figure 31). In most respects it is identical to Feature 2, previously discussed with the 53 Block, although only the northern two-thirds of the base was exposed by these excavations. The back wall is estimated to have measured about 7 feet (2.2 meters), while the northern side wall measures 2.8 feet (0.9 meter). The feature, found about 0.1 foot (0.03 meter) below the extant ground level, was 0.9 foot (0.3 meter) in height. The back wall thickness was 1.0 foot (0.3 meter), while the side wall was 0.8 foot (0.2 meter) thick. Additional information on the construction features is presented by Brooker in a following section. The feature was bisected east-west, with the profile photographed and drawn before the second half was removed. All fill was screened through 1/8-inch (0.3 centimeter) mesh, with soil and flotation samples retained. The stratigraphy of this feature was identical to that found in Feature 2; the central core was a burnt reddish white sand, surrounded by a dark brown sand. Around the exterior of the feature was a shallow dark brown stain, representing the remnants of the builder's trench for the chimney footing. Evidence of the original hearth, constructed of poured tabby, was isolated at the north edge of the hearth, at an elevation of 11.80 feet (3.63 meters) MSL. The bulk of the hearth, however, had been destroyed.



Figure 31. Feature 1, view to the west.



Figure 32. Stratigraphy in 57-30R20, view to the west.

probably through use of the fireplace rather than demolition, since the hearth floor was slightly below grade. No in situ evidence remained of any brick which might have been used to edge the hearth adjacent to the structure floor.

Feature 3 represents a drip line found along the north edge of Structure 8 in the 58 Block. The dark brown stain was irregular in outline and was identified at the base of Zone 1. The feature originated at 58-20R25.5 and continued westward to intersect with the road disturbance in unit 58-20R10. The maximum length of the feature is 20 feet (6 meters), while the depth varies from 0.11 to 0.22 feet (3 to 6 centimeters).

This feature provides some additional clues to the appearance and construction of Structure 8. Unfortunately, the road disturbance has not allowed the length of the structure to be determined, although the extension of the drip line to the center of the tabby chimney documents a roof overhang at the gable ends of the structure. Assuming that the chimney was constructed at the edge of the structure, the drip line suggests a structure at least 15.5 feet (4.8 meters) in length (and probably slightly longer). Assuming a roof overhang of 1.0 foot (0.3 meter), with a symmetrically placed chimney at the gable end, the structure would have been 15 feet (4.6 meters) in width. This structure, estimated to have been 15.5 by 15 feet (4.8 by 4.6 meters), fails to match the "ideal" slave cabin dimensions (Otto 1975:103) or that of the slave cabins at 38BU153 (Brooker 1986:4-5). Because, however, the actual length of the structures could not be determined, such comparisons are inappropriate. The irregular appearance of the drip line is suggestive of a board roof, rather than more uniform shingles. While the feature at the base of Zone 1 is rather shallow, its presence suggests considerable impact into original ground level and a steep roof characteristic of an upper loft. The presence of window glass, discussed later in this chapter, clearly indicates that some glazed openings were present, although the glass distribution fails to document even approximate locations. Building hardware is sparse, consisting only of nails and two pintles. The single fragment of painted mortar suggests that the interior was crudely plastered and painted with blue pigment. This color closely resembles blue indigo, made with indigo dye, although additional shades of blue could be obtained using prussic acid and iron, copper precipitated on chalk, and cobalt (Reese 1847:75).

Several post holes were identified both within and outside the structure. Of greatest interest, however, is a large post hole at 58-9.5R23.4, 4 feet (1.2 meters) north of the northwestern edge of the tabby fire place. This location is on the posited northeast corner of the structure. The post hole was found to be 1.1 feet (0.3 meter) in diameter, 1.9 feet (0.6 meter) in depth, and tapering toward its base. The size suggests a major support post, although its function is not clear since

there is clear evidence that the structure's floor was not raised, but was at grade.

Structure 2 Midden

This midden, situated about 20 feet (6 meters) north of Structure 2, was investigated by a 5 by 10 foot (1.5 by 3 meter) unit, 13-40R50, oriented east-west and intersecting the eastern edge of the midden. The midden measured about 20 feet (6 meters), although it was somewhat oval in shape. The stratigraphy within this unit consisted of a dense Zone 1 shell midden in the western half of the unit, while the eastern half at the toe of the midden, consisted of a mix of shell and black humic soil designated Zone 1a. The Zone 1 midden was screened through 1/8-inch (0.3 centimeter) mesh, while Zone 1a, being more humic, was screened through 1/4-inch (0.6 centimeter) mesh. The Zone 1 midden was up to 1.67 feet (0.5 meter) in depth, and contained 927 pounds (346 kilograms) of shell and 26 pounds (10 kilograms) of brick and mortar rubble. Zone 1a, which extended under Zone 1 to cover the entire unit, was up to 0.9 foot (0.3 meter) in depth and contained 36 pounds (13 kilograms) of shell. This mixture of humic soil and shell rested on the sterile yellow sand and represented an old humic zone into which the shell had been trampled. The soil to shell weight ratio in this unit was 1.31:1.00. Artifact density was very low (n=69, or 1.1 artifacts per cubic foot [54 per cubic meter]).

Structure 6 Midden

This midden, situated approximately 30 feet (9 meters) southwest of Structure 6, measured about 25 feet in diameter. The investigations consisted of a single 10 foot (3 meter) unit, 42-25R20, placed at the eastern edge of the midden. Stratigraphy consisted of a shell midden, designated Zone 1, overlying dark brown humic soil representing the old humus level at the site (Zone 3). The midden varied in depth from 0.2 to 1.0 foot (0.06 to 0.3 meter), while the Zone 3 old humus ranged from 0.3 to 0.9 foot (0.1 to 0.3 meter). Zone 1 was screened through 1/8-inch (0.3 centimeter) mesh for improved faunal recovery, while Zone 3 was screened through 1/4-inch (0.6 centimeter) mesh. The shell midden yielded 3452 pounds (1288 kilograms) of shell, and 34 pounds (13 kilograms) of brick and mortar rubble. The midden was composed primarily of oyster, although whelk were common (approximately 4 specimens per 70 pounds [26 kilograms]), and occasional clams were also found. Zone 3 yielded 192 pounds (72 kilograms) of shell, and 3 pounds (1 kilogram) of brick and mortar rubble. Artifact density was high (n=1904, or 10 artifacts per cubic foot [353 per cubic meter]). The soil to shell weight ratio for this unit was 0.96:1.00; this unit represents the densest midden investigated.

Structure 7 Midden

A 10 foot (3 meter) unit, 52-40R30, was used to investigate the shell midden located 20 feet (6 meters) southeast of Structure 7. The midden was oval in form and measured about 30 by 20 feet (9 by 6 meters). The Zone 1 midden, which was screened through 1/8-inch (0.3 centimeter) mesh, varied in depth from 0.3 foot (0.1 meter) at the toe to 0.5 foot (0.2 meter) toward the center. This midden, composed largely of oyster with minor amounts of whelk and clam, overlaid Zone 2 which consisted of dark brown soil mixed with shell. Zone 2 ranged in depth from 0.2 foot (0.1 meter) to 0.8 foot (0.3 meter) and overlaid the yellow sand subsoil. This zone probably represents a mix of the site's old humus with the shell midden, similar to Zone 1a in unit 13-40R50. Zone 1 produced 1306 pounds (487 kilograms) of shell, and 2 pounds (0.8 kilograms) of brick and mortar rubble. The soil to shell weight ratio was 2.18:1.00, making this one of the least dense middens investigated at 38BU634. Artifact density was low, with 1.5 artifacts per cubic foot (53.6 artifacts per cubic meter) (n=134). This is within the range observed for the Structure 2 midden.

Structure 8 Midden

The midden associated with Structure 8 is amorphous in shape, covering an area about 35 by 20 feet (11 by 6 meters) 40 feet (12 meters) south of the structure. Surface collections suggest that the midden originally extended even closer to Structure 8, but that road construction has destroyed portions. These investigations involved the excavation of a 10 foot (3 meter) square, designated 57-30R20, on the eastern edge of the midden. The stratigraphy consisted of Zone 1 shell midden, 0.3 to 1.0 foot (0.1 to 0.3 meter) in depth, overlying the mixed brown sand and shell of Zone 2, which was 0.2 foot (0.1 meter) in depth. Underlying Zone 2 was a 0.3 foot (0.1 meter) deep old humus, designated Zone 3 (Figure 32). While similar to the other middens in most respects, this midden appears to have preserved an area of old humus (Zone 3) which contains an unusual, although not great, amount of prehistoric material dating to the Irene phase (ca. A.D. 1200). A series of three stains at the base of Zone 3, originally thought to represent aboriginal pits, were partially excavated and determined to represent tree stains. The unit, however, did produce a series of four, apparently random, post holes. The Zone 1 midden yielded 1615 pounds (602 kilograms) of shell, and 24 pounds (9 kilograms) of brick and mortar rubble. Zone 2 produced 8 pounds (3 kilograms) of shell, and 3 pounds (1 kilogram) of brick and mortar. Zone 3 produced 17 pounds (6 kilograms) of shell. The increase in shell identified in Zone 3 represents scatter from the aboriginal occupation. The soil to shell weight ratio for this unit is 1.28:1.00, similar to that found in the Structure 2 midden (13-40R50). Artifact density, however, most closely resembles the Structure 6 midden. There

were 8.2 artifacts per cubic foot (292.9 per cubic meter) (n=1318) from the 57-30R20 unit.

Analysis of Material Culture

These excavations at 38EU634 have produced 10,990 historic period artifacts, the bulk of which date from the early to mid-nineteenth century (in addition, 239 prehistoric specimens were also recovered). These remains reflect the occupation of this site by slaves working on the Haig Point plantation, probably from the 1840s through 1861. There is no evidence for postbellum occupation and the few specimens from this later time period probably reflect accidental inclusions in the archaeological record. This section of the report will provide both descriptive and interpretative comments on the collections; following these, information on the topics of dating, patterns, and status is offered. In each case, observations are offered by structure and midden, or by site totals, as is appropriate.

The historic artifacts will be discussed using South's (1977) artifact groupings (i.e., kitchen, architecture, etc.), since such an approach is not only convenient, but also allows the quantification and discussion of artifacts in a broad functional framework. Several modifications of South's original classificatory scheme are incorporated into this work. First, following the lead of Garrow (1982b:57-66), Colono and Catawba ceramics will be discussed with (and tabulated in) the Kitchen Artifact Group. In addition, the stub stem pipes have been included in the Tobacco Artifact Group. Second, for the purpose of this site, military buttons are included in the Clothing Group, rather than the military objects class of the Activities Group. This is done largely based on the historical research for the Hilton Head and Daufuskie region which documents the use of military clothing by Sea Island blacks (see Trinkley 1986). Third, buttons and twisted copper wire have been included in the Personal Group, rather than the Clothing and Activities groups respectively. The rationale for this has been discussed at length previously (Trinkley 1987c), but involves the use of these artifacts by both slaves and freemen as part of personal adornment.

The cleaning and cataloging of artifacts was conducted at the Chicora laboratories in Columbia during September and October, 1988. All artifacts except brass and lead specimens were wet cleaned. Brass and lead were dry brushed and evaluated for further conservation. Brass items, if they exhibited active bronze disease, were subjected to electrolytic reduction in a sodium carbonate solution with up to 4.5 volts for periods of up to 72 hours. Hand cleaning with soft brass brushes or fine-grade bronze wool followed the electrolysis. Afterwards, the surface chlorides were removed with deionized water baths and the items were dried in an acetone bath. The conserved cuprous items were

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

As previously discussed, the materials have been accepted for curation by The Environmental and Historical Museum of Hilton Head Island as Accession Number 1988.5 and have been cataloged using that institution's accessioning practices (ARCH 1064 through ARCH 1118). Specimens were packed in plastic bags and boxed. Insect control is maintained through the use of vaponal, which is not allowed to come into direct contact the specimens.

Kitchen Artifact Group

Unit excavations produced 3261 Kitchen Group artifacts, while the three features contributed an additional 18 specimens, for a total of 3279. These included 1927 ceramics (58.9% of the group total), 37 Catawba sherds (1.1% of the group total), 1167 glass bottle fragments (35.6% of the group total), 7 fragments of melted glass, 15 glassware specimens (0.5% of the group total), eight tableware specimens (0.2% of the group total), 73 iron kettle or pan fragments (2.2% of the group total), 36 tin container fragments (1.1% of the group total), 5 miscellaneous utilitarian fragments (Figure 33).

The ceramics included a variety of primarily nineteenth century types. Earlier ceramics include two fragments of delft (mean ceramic date of 1750) (South 1977:211). In addition, 38 creamware ceramics (including 22 undecorated, 11 annular, three hand painted, one cable, and one blue transfer printed), dating from the late eighteenth into the early nineteenth century were also identified. These ceramics are recognized by an off-white (cream colored) paste and a distinctive yellowish glaze which exhibits a greenish color where thickly puddled (Brown 1982:15-

16; Noel Hume 1970:124-128; Norman-Wilcox 1965:139).

Pearlware, characterized by a cream colored paste and a blue to white glaze, was perfected by Josiah Wedgwood in 1779 (Noel Hume 1970:128; Price 1979; South 1977:212). The most common type is undecorated (n=302; mean date of 1805, range of 1780-1830), followed by blue transfer printed (n=87; mean date of 1818, range of 1795-1840), blue hand painted (n=73; mean date of 1800, range of 1780-1820), annular and cable decorated (n=61; mean date of 1805, range of 1790-1820), edged (n=53; mean date of 1805, range of 1780-1830), and polychrome hand painted (n=50; mean date of 1805, range of 1795-1815). A single example of molded creamware was also recovered (mean date of 1810, range of 1800-1820). As Brown notes,

pearlware blends into whiteware, resulting in difficulty . . . identifying ceramics in transition zones. Whiteware was never "invented," it simply evolved, probably in response to changes in taste (Brown 1982:19).

Many of the pearlware ceramics appear to be heavier than typically associated with that ware and appear to be transitional into whiteware.

The edge decorated wares were primarily the shell-edge motif, although additional motifs, such as plumes, were also present (Price 1979:17). The bulk of the pearlware edge decorated wares were poorly painted, suggestive of a late (ca. 1800 to 1830) date range (Brown 1982:18). The blue transfer printed specimens include both dark and light blues, although neither the "Chinoiserie" or the "willow" pattern is common. The annular wares exhibit an earthen palette and are suggest of an early date range (Noel Hume 1970:131; Price 1979:18). The hand painted specimens, likewise, tend to exhibit earthen or pastel colors. No maker's marks were recovered.

A single example of yellow-glazed earthenware with a red transfer print was recovered from unit 52-40R30. Miller describes this ware as "a type of creamware or pearlware distinguished by an overall yellow glaze (Miller 1974:1). These wares date from about 1785 to 1835 (mean ceramic date of 1810) (Miller 1974:59) and are found in nearly all the common creamware and pearlware forms except complete dinner services. The most common form was the jug or pitcher, while next in popularity was the mug, which was frequently transfer printed (Miller 1974:44). This pottery is often called "canary yellow" by collectors because of its background color.

The largest category of ceramics from 38BU634 consists of whiteware (n=663). The difficulty distinguishing between whiteware and ironstone has been previously discussed by South

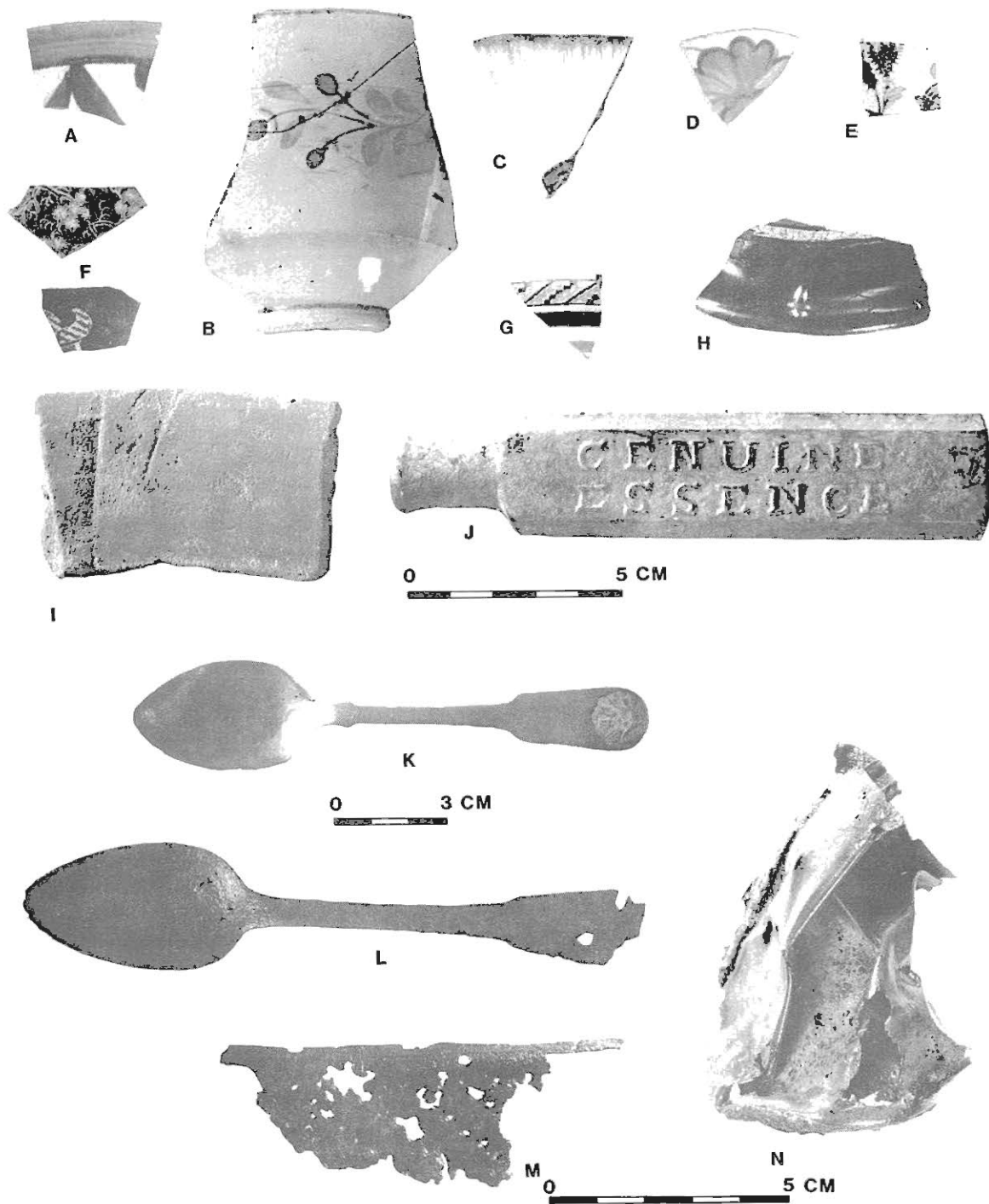


Figure 33. Kitchen Artifact Group. A, blue hand painted pearlware; B, polychrome hand painted pearlware; C, blue edged whiteware; D, polychrome hand painted whiteware; E, black transfer printed whiteware; F, unidentified earthenware; G, annular whiteware; H, luster whiteware; I, colono ware; J, "Genuine Essence" bottle; K, brass spoon with white metal decoration; L, iron spoon; M, punctated box lid fragment; N, can.

(1974:247-248). who uses an "ironstone-whiteware" category, and Price (1979:11), who uses a "whiteware" category which includes both whiteware and ironstone. Both researchers point out that differentiating between the two using vessel hardness (or degree of vitrification) is an uncertain or even invalid approach (cf. Worthy 1982). This study uses this later approach, classifying all ceramics with an off-white paste and clear glaze as whiteware. As noted by Brown (1982:19), some of these whitewares are observed to have a very slight blue tint, somewhat similar to pearlware.

Undecorated whiteware includes 291 specimens. Although Price (1979:22) comments that undecorated whiteware peaked in popularity during the period following the Civil War, many of these specimens probably represent undecorated portions of otherwise decorated vessels and hence are not temporally sensitive. Rather than using the broad category of "whiteware" for dating all specimens, regardless of decoration, we have chosen to use the dates offered by Bartovics (1978), which are generally similar to those suggested by Orser et al. (1982). Undecorated whiteware therefore has a mean date of 1860, and a range of 1820 to 1900+ (South 1977:211). Other decorative motifs include green edged (n=29; mean date of 1828, range of 1826 to 1830), blue edged (n=79; mean date of 1853, range of 1826 to 1880), polychrome hand painted (n=22; mean date of 1848, range of 1826 to 1870), blue transfer printed (n=63; mean date of 1848, range of 1831 to 1865), non-blue transfer printed (n=26; mean date of 1851, range of 1826 to 1875), annular and cable decorated (n=146; mean date of 1866, range of 1831 to 1900), metallic luster (n=1; mean date of 1831, range of 1811 to 1850), sponge decorated (n=2; mean date of 1853, range of 1836 to 1870), tinted glaze (n=2; mean date of 1941, range of 1911 to 1970), mocha decorated (n=1; mean date of 1860, range of 1831 to 1900), and blue applique (Wedgwood)(n=1). These motifs are discussed in detail by Brown (1982) and Price (1979), although a few motifs bear further comment.

The non-blue transfer prints at 38BU634 include purple, red, and, most commonly, black. The polychrome hand painted wares include primarily bright floral designs, typical of the post-1830 period (Noel Hume 1970:179; Price 1979:21). The single metallic luster ceramic is silver, probably formed through the addition of platinum to the glaze. This example, however, is not confined to a band around the vessel rim, but appears to cover a sizable portion of a lid fragment. Comstock (1965:158) indicates that this ware was more common after the mid-1820s.

The absence or infrequent occurrence of several popular early twentieth century whiteware ceramics is useful in providing an indication of the site's terminal date. No polychrome decal or decalomania wares, with a beginning date of 1901 are found. There are only two examples of tinted glaze whitewares, one from

the Structure 7 midden and the other from the 58 Block. This strongly suggests that the site was not occupied into the twentieth century.

A distinction is made between the whitewares and the semi-porcelains or "Hotel Ware," which is stronger, more vitrified, but still opaque and hence not a true porcelain. These semi-porcelains post-date 1870 (George Miller, personal communication 1985; Ramsay 1947:109). The 15 examples recovered from the site were found thinly scattered among a number of units, with no more than three examples in any one block. While postbellum in date, these wares are so infrequent that they suggest occasional use of the site or accidental inclusion in the archaeological record, rather than reoccupation.

Yellowware, distinct from the yellow-glazed earthenware of the eighteenth century, is simple kitchen and tableware with a buff or yellow paste and a clear glaze (Ramsay 1947:7). Both plain specimens and sherds decorated with bands of white, pink, and blue are recovered (the total collection is 69 specimens). Foshee (1984:100) suggests a date range of 1830 to 1880, while Bartovics (1978) suggests a range of 1830-1880, for a mean date of 1853. Typical vessel forms include round rim oval bakers, square bakers, nappies (shallow, open serving dishes with flat bottoms, bowls, lipped bowls, chamber pots, pie plates, covered butter pots, bed pans, custard cups, and mugs (1903 Robinson Clay Product Company catalog reprinted in Blair 1965).

The collection contains 54 examples of redware, an early form of low fired earthenware made from red colored clays. Glazes may be on one or both surfaces, or absent. Present at 38BU634 are 11 examples of clear (lead) glaze, 19 specimens of black (iron and manganese oxides with lead glaze), and 23 sherds of unglazed ware (Brown 1982:20-21; Lasansky 1979:5; Ramsay 1947:128). These redwares were locally produced during the entire nineteenth century and are therefore difficult to date.

Other earthenwares include 257 burnt specimens and six unidentified specimens. The burnt ceramics are all refined earthenwares, probably pearlwares and whitewares, but the paste and glaze have been damaged. The unidentified items have a red colored, hard paste with a thick off-white interior glaze and a thin clear exterior glaze. The decoration is a very fine yellow underglaze transfer print, frequently with Chinese motifs.

Two major categories of stoneware are present at 38BU634: alkaline glazed (n=24) and North American salt glazed (n=120). There are an additional 15 examples representing slip glazes and a single example of what appears to a stoneware with a thick black lead glaze. The alkaline glazed stonewares are discussed by Burrison (1975) and Greer (1977, 1981). This glaze, distinctively Southern, was developed about 1810 in Edgefield

District. South Carolina and it spread into North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Texas. The glaze consists of an alkaline flux (such as wood ashes or slaked lime) combined with silica (such as clay, sand, or broken glass) and water. The colors range from cream to browns in oxidized vessels and from pale yellow greens to deep olive in the vessels fired in a reducing atmosphere. The glaze, which is hard and durable, exhibits a variety of textures depending on firing conditions, temperature, and preparation techniques.

Salt glazing was introduced in England during the late 1600s, but all of the examples from Daufuskie appear to represent nineteenth century samples or probable industrial, wheel thrown pottery. The process and types of salt glazed pottery are discussed by Greer (1981:180-192). The texture of salt glazing may vary from a very fine salt texture to an extremely heavy salt texture with runs and accumulations. Colors (reflecting impurities in the clay) include gray, brown, light brown, yellowish and greenish brown.

The examples include probable cream pans and storage crocks. Several examples of the gray salt glazed stoneware are decorated with cobalt slip. In addition, several examples of bottles, used for the transportation of ale, were also identified.

The last category, that of clay or slip glazes, includes only those pieces having no evidence of salt glazing, e.g., Albany and Bristol slips. Greer notes that these slips were becoming significant by the beginning of the nineteenth century, with Albany slip appearing in 1825 (Greer 1981:194).

The 37 sherds of Catawba pottery bear special, if only brief attention. The most cogent published discussion of the Colono and Catawba wares is provided by Wheaton et al. (1983:225-250), who suggest that the low fired earthenwares were produced by both black slaves for their own use and by Indians for sale or trade. Colono and Catawba may be distinguished typologically, with the slave made pottery called Colono and the Indian made pottery called Catawba (cf. Ferguson 1985). While there are a number of attributes separating the two wares, thickness and paste are of primary utility given the small specimens from Daufuskie. The Colono sherds tend to be thicker and to have a coarser paste than the Catawba sherds, which are very similar to the paste of modern or dated Catawba vessels.

If Wheaton et al. (1983) are correct in their assessments, as we believe they are, then it may not be unexpected to see the use of Catawba vessels at slave sites. Terry notes that,

since the eighteenth century the Catawba had relied upon the production of their unique style of pottery as trading implements. As the fur trade declined, pottery

production increased in economic importance. By 1900 the pottery trade was the principal means of income for many Catawbas living on the reservation (Terry n.d.:3).

Wheaton et al. (1983:225, 239) note that Colono pottery appears late in the seventeenth century, peaks in popularity (or at least abundance) during the eighteenth century, and appears to die out by about 1830. Catawba ceramics, which may in some cases be attributed to specific Indian groups (including non-Catawba groups), appear at least by the seventeenth century and continue into the twentieth century.

The specimens from 38BU634 include three with interior red pigment or slip. Vessel forms include bowls and plates. None of the recovered specimens could be classified as Colono.

The next collection to be considered in the Kitchen Artifact Group is container glass. There are 1167 specimens of bottle glass, representing examples of alcohol, medicine (including proprietary medicines), and non-alcoholic soda and mineral water containers. Wine or ale bottles are represented by fragments of olive green glass which appears black in reflected light. Relatively few of the specimens had thick walls and kick ups, typical of champagne, wine, or brandy bottles. Several examples of square or case bottles were also recovered. While these became associated with gin and schnapps in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it is probable that the bottles held a variety of products, such as aquavita and brandy (Alyluia 1979:10). Most had thinner walls, a pronounced shoulder, and a flat base. These probably represent ale or stout bottles (Wilson 1982). The amber or brown glass identified from several areas of the site may represent whiskey bottles, although like most of the glass recovered from 38BU634, the material is very fragmentary.

The aqua and light green bottle glass includes several fragments clearly recognizable as panel bottles. These bottles generally held 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 (particularly among slaves) were such that there were a "plethora of fevers and aches" to which proprietary medicines were routinely applied (Wilson 1981:39). Identified are body and neck fragments of panel bottles, as well as patent/extract lip finishes. The identified panel bottles all lack evidence of lettering.

Only one lettered bottle was identified, marked "GENUINE/ESSENCE." This specimen is aqua in color, measures 4-7/8 by 1-1/8 by 5/8 inches (12.4 by 2.7 by 1.7 centimeters), has a globular flare neck finish, the base form is that of a fluted oblong, and the sides are plain (i.e., not recessed). There is a

diagonal mold line across the shallow base and the specimen was blown in a two-piece mold. It is in all respects, except for the spelling, identical to the specimen reported by Fike (1987:117). Alyluia (1979:32-33) reports a similar bottle, suggesting that the specimen may be dated only to the nineteenth century.

The clear glass identifiable to vessel form and function are entirely specimens of pharmaceutical vials, also known as druggists' dispensing bottles. Alyluia notes that these bottles,

were used to convey pre-measured and pre-packaged prescription medicines to an individual. The preparations would take the form of fluids, ointments, powders or pills, and would be packaged in containers suited to their specific properties (Rosewarne 1972:1). . . . The earliest form of prescription bottle was the single-dose, or long vial. Used at a time when a large segment of the population was illiterate, it proved a safe and accurate method of dispensing potentially dangerous medicines. Acting as a liaison between the physician and patient, the druggist would prepare a medicine according to the doctor's specifications and dispense it to the patient, along with the proper verbal or written instructions. In this way, the customer could get several vials at once, each vial containing one dose to be emptied individually. Mixing the pre-measured contents of a vial with some form of liquid, such as beer or water, was the common procedure (Alyluia 1979:22).

Alyluia (1979:24) indicates that this type of medicine bottle continued to be used into the 1850s, being gradually replaced by multiple dose bottles. The specimens found at 38BU634 are of clear, very thin glass.

The recovered blue glass may represent either medicine or soda bottle fragments, while the small quantity of milk glass was probably used for cosmetics, toiletry, or specialty items and probably postdates the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Fike 1987:13). No fragments identifiable to food or condiment containers were recovered.

The glassware from 38BU634 contains 15 examples of clear glass, the bulk of which represent fluted tumblers (n=11). These specimens are manufactured of lime metal and are pressed. The style, however, is traditional and is typical of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (McNally 1982:124). One tumbler, of similar design, is hand blown of lead metal. The excavations have yielded four examples of stemware feet, each of pressed glass. The specimens were too badly fragmented to allow stylistic analysis.

The eight tableware specimens from 38BU634 include two iron utensil handles, one iron knife blade fragment, one silver plated spoon, two bone handle fragments, one iron fork handle fragment, and a tin cup handle. The iron utensils are representative of typical nineteenth century specimens found at low status sites. The one exception is the spoon, which is silver plated brass, with a white metal seal or medallion on the stem. The specimen has a downturned fiddle handle, chamfered shoulders, and an oval bowl. The reverse reveals a broad drop, but the specimen is not marked. The length is 5-3/16 inches (14 centimeters). This form is common throughout the nineteenth century (Fales 1970:60-62; Noel Hume 1969:183; Wade 1979:117).

A total of 73 kettle, pot, and pan fragments were identified in the collections. Most represent body fragments, although examples of feet are also present. While most of the items are thick, heavy kettle fragments, at least four appear to represent pans. No examples of sheet metal cooking utensils were found, which correlates with the mid-nineteenth century date of the site. Woodhead (1981:5) notes that in the late nineteenth century, when stoves and ranges become more common, the heavier wares are replaced by the lighter, and less expensive sheet metal utensils.

Tin container fragments, while not abundant, are present in small quantities (n=36) in several block excavations. As discussed by Rock (1984), cans may be useful temporal indicators for the mid- to late nineteenth century. This collection, however, produced only one can sufficiently intact to allow typological analysis. The recovered specimen has a hand soldered side seam and stamped or flanged ends. It provides a TPO of 1847. The scarcity of specimens is probably related to the expense of canned goods prior to the 1880s. During the mid-nineteenth century goods as diverse as sweet corn, chickens, turkeys, ducks, and geese were being canned (Rock 1984:102).

The five specimens described as "utilitarian" represent light weight tin metal containers, such as might be used for food storage. One container (represented by three specimens) was perforated for ventilation.

Architecture Artifact Group

Excavations at 38BU634 produced 6952 Architectural Group artifacts, 6345 from block excavations. These remains include primarily nails (n=6646; or 95.6% of the group total). Other remains include 228 fragments of window glass, 23 spikes, 44 spike fragments, eight construction hardware specimens, and three lock fragments. Not included in the totals, but briefly discussed, are examples of the tabby and fired clay bricks.

Two types of nails have been recovered from 38BU634--

machine cut (n=5692) and hand wrought (n=9). The hand wrought specimens, which range in size from 7d to 10d, date from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries and Nelson notes that, "it is not uncommon to find a few hand-wrought nails used well into the nineteenth century" (Nelson 1968:3; Priess 1971:32-33). The shanks are rectangular in cross-section and the heads are the round "rose head" form.

"Modern" machine cut nails account for the overwhelming majority of the collection, although only 488 are sufficiently intact to allow penny weight measures. These nails were first manufactured in the late 1830s and have uniform heads and shanks with burrs on the edges (Nelson 1968:7; Priess 1971:33-34).

Because different size nails served different functions, it is possible to use the relative frequencies of nail types to indicate building construction details. Nails were early designated by their penny weight, which compared the weight of a nail to that of a silver penny. Gradually the term came to designate length rather than weight, but the equivalence varied over time and it was not until the 1890s that penny weights were thoroughly standardized (Orser et al. 1982:675). To avoid confusion, Table 12 lists both the penny weight size, Standard Average European (SAE) size, and metric range for the nails which were sufficiently complete for analysis. Only specimens from the 58 Block (Structure 8) will be considered in this analysis, since the remaining blocks represent either midden deposits or very small excavations with small samples.

Table 12 provides only limited information, revealing peaks at the 7d, and 10-12d sizes. One of the few commonly accepted rules in nail length is "to have the nails a full three times as long as the sheeting Board is thick" (Bettesworth and Hitch 1981:2:n.p.). Within certain broad limits the size of nails used to perform a certain task is flexible, depending on the craftsman and the supply of nails. This variation is reflected in Orser et al. (1982:677). A rough guide, however is provided by Table 13.

Penny Weight	SAE	Metric Range (in mm.)	Structure 8
5d	1-3/4"	42-47	2
6d	2"	48-53	14
7d	2-1/4"	54-59	31
8d	2-1/2"	60-65	11
9d	2-3/4"	66-72	19
10d	3"	73-79	30
12d	3-1/4"	80-85	24
16d	3-1/2"	86-95	20
20d	4"	96-108	1
30d	4-1/2"	109-120	1

Table 12. Intact machine cut nails from the 58 Block.

<u>Function</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
small timber, shingles (2-5d)	2	1.3
sheathing, siding (6-8d)	56	36.6
framing (9-12d)	73	47.7
heavy framing (16-40d)	22	14.4

Table 13. Intact machine cut nails from the 58 Block, by function.

The low quantity of nails (153 intact machine cut nails and 2635 machine cut nail fragments) from the 58 Block suggests that Structure 8 was not of frame construction. A freedman's structure, interpreted to be of frame construction, from Mitchelville (38BU805) yielded 924 intact nails and 2909 machine cut nail fragments (not including unidentifiable nail fragments), nearly a third more nails and six times more intact specimens. Of perhaps even greater significance, nearly half of the nails in the Mitchelville sample represent sizes used to attach siding, compared to only a third of the Daufuskie sample.

Based on this, we interpret the Daufuskie structure to be of log construction, with framing and sheathing used to fill in the gable ends. The structure was probably roofed with boards, rather than shingles based on the low quantity of nails suitable for shingles (alternately, shingles may have been held in place using poles attached to the rafters and purlins [see Otto 1984:38]). The nails were distributed around the periphery of Structure 8, with relatively few specimens being found in the building interior. Additional details on construction are offered in a following chapter by Brooker.

The category of window glass includes 228 fragments of primarily light green rolled glass. These specimens were classified as window lights based on thickness, degree of clarity, color, and lack of curvature. Window glass distribution appears to be fairly uniform, suggesting the presence of several openings. Previous work in the region (see, for example, Trinkley and Hacker 1986:241-242 and Michie 1987:120-130) has attempted to use window glass thickness to determine mean construction dates. The major shortcoming of this technique is that the regression formulae have a number of correction factors (for a detailed discussion see Adams 1980 and Orser et al. 1982). Recent studies by Jones and Sullivan (1985) have cast considerable question on the validity of this dating technique. They comment that, "the very nature of window glass suggests that one should take great pains to avoid using it for dating except under special circumstances" (Jones and Sullivan 1985:172). Based on this advise and the generally poor results obtained in previous studies, no effort has been made to date the recovered window glass from Daufuskie.

The 23 spikes recovered from the excavations range in size from 4-3/4 to 7-3/4 inches (11.9 to 19.4 centimeters). The smaller specimens were distinguished from machine cut nails on the basis of shank thickness, which is about twice that of machine cut nails. A total of 44 spike fragments were also recovered.

The category of construction hardware (n=8) includes three hand wrought pintles (hinge hooks), two hasp fragments, one strap hinge fragment, a drive ring (ring pull), and a drive eye. The pintles range in size from 8-3/8 to 3-1/2 inches (21.0 to 8.9 centimeters) and the larger examples may have supported doors, while the smaller specimen was probably used with a shutter. There was no evidence of door knobs or other "finishing" hardware. The door lock parts (n=3) identified from the site include a dead bolt fragment from a rim lock and hasp fragments from two padlocks. The padlocks are included in the Architecture Group because of their probable association with particular structures.

Furniture Artifact Group

Only eight specimens from 38BU634 could be placed in the Furniture Artifact Group, including five brass furniture tacks and three fragments of dressed sandstone. The dressed stone fragments, all recovered from the Structure 6 midden, appear to represent a table or dresser top.

Arms Artifact Group

This group includes a total of nine specimens, including two lead shot, three gun flints, three lead flint wraps, and a single modern shell casing (Figure 34). The lead shots were 12 and 17 millimeters in diameter. The larger specimen is probably a .69 caliber shot, typically used in muskets during the early nineteenth century, while the other ball is close in size to the common .50 caliber sporting rifle shot (Johnson and Haven 1943; Jack Meyer, personal communication 1988). Two of the three gunflints are honey colored and are similar in many respects to those produced in France. Examination of their edges reveals that both are new and have probably not been used. Their size indicates intended use in sporting guns. The third flint, which has been burned, is the size commonly used in either pistols or small sporting guns (Jack Meyer, personal communication 1988).

The presence of flints, shot, or even gun parts, at slave sites is frequently interpreted as evidence of slaves owning, or having access to, firearms (see, for example, Joyner 1984:100; Otto 1984:44; Singleton 1980:166). Yet, the simple presence of these items fails to support such assumptions since all of these items could be lost, stolen, or adapted for alternate uses. Gunflints in particular are useful to start

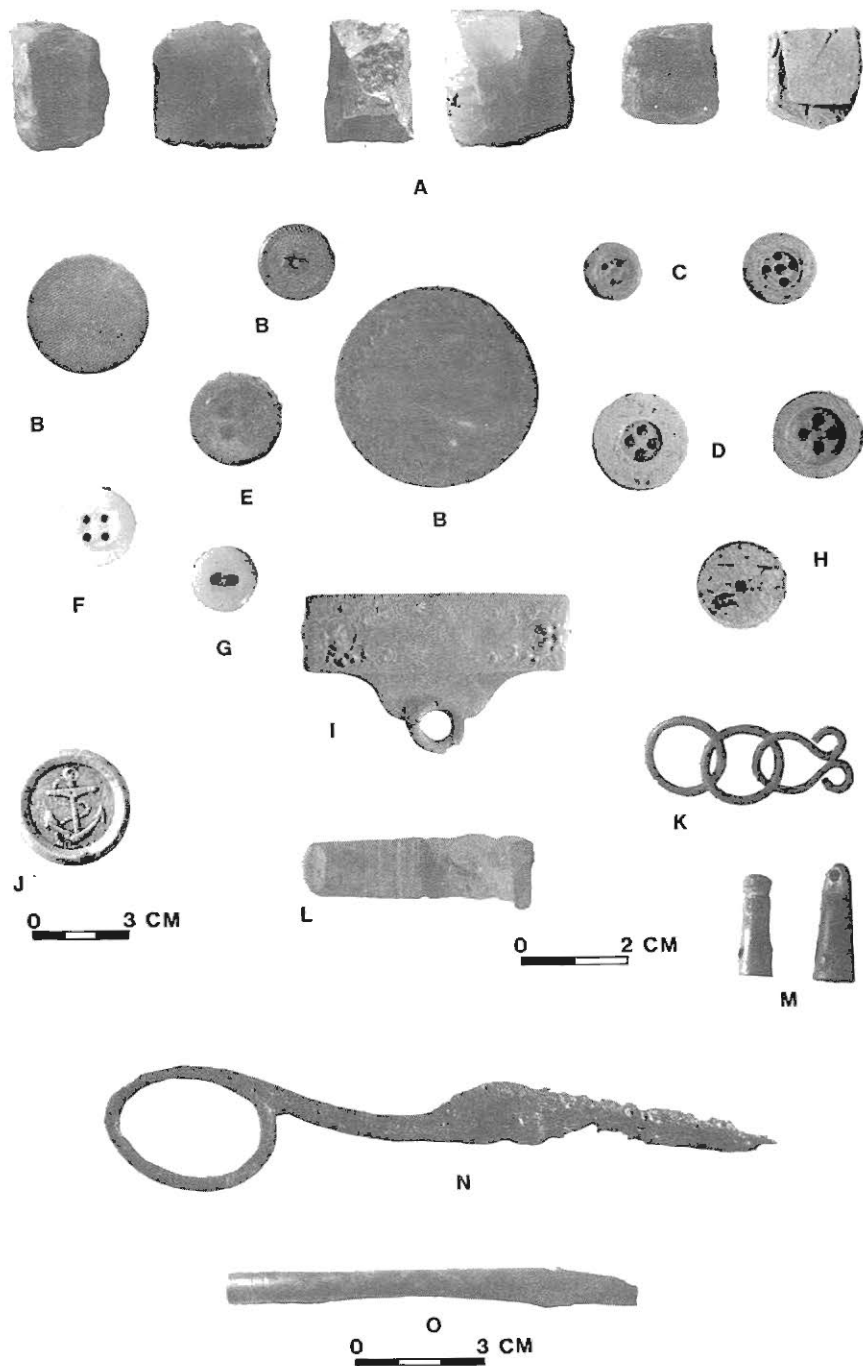


Figure 34. Arms, Clothing, and Personal Artifact Group. A, gunflints; B, South's Type 9 brass buttons; C, South's Type 19 bone buttons; D, South's Type 20 bone buttons; E, South's Type 21 iron button; F, South's Type 23 porcelain button; G, two-hole porcelain button; H, South's Type 15 bone button; I, brass suspender clip; J, possible military button; K, brass watch chain; L, brass pocket knife bolster; M, brass aglets; N, iron scissor fragment; O, brass pencil holder.

fires. Lead, being malleable, could be used for a variety of purposes, including fishing or net weights, as well as decoration. Singleton cites a historical account to document the availability of firearms, although the account states,

I have sometime since taken all firearms from them as I think they have forfeited their charter from the swamps and their conduct. I am often glad my philanthropy in allowing them to have guns did not extend further than this (Roswell King, Jr., 28 June 1829, cited in Singleton 1980:166).

Meyer (personal communication 1988) suggests that it is difficult, in the absence of a complete gun, to historically reconcile the Southern paranoia of slave revolt (see Kemble 1984:38-39, 342 for examples) with the presence of weapons at slave sites. We are inclined to agree with his caution.

Clothing Artifact Group

Recovered from the excavations at 38BU634 are 101 clothing items (99 from the block excavations and two from feature excavations). Included in this are four buckles, a single thimble, 91 buttons (including military buttons removed from the Activities Group because of their possible use by blacks after 1861), two scissor fragments, one hook (and eye) fastener, one brass show grommet, and one suspender clip (Figure 34).

Buttons from 38BU634 include 82 specimens which may be placed in South's button taxonomy (South 1964), two military buttons (which are not placed in South's taxonomy because of their specialized nature), five buttons which cannot be assigned to any of South's classifications, and two buttons which are unidentifiable.

The non-military buttons are detailed in Table 14 and it may be seen that two types (# 19, 5-hole bone and #20, 4-hole bone) account for 41% of the collection. Other common styles include Type 9 (brass with a stamped face design), and Type 23 (4-hole porcelain). It is likely that these button types served different functions, with the porcelain styles used on shirts and undergarments, the bone buttons used on roughly made outerwear and some undergarments (Luscomb 1965:25), and the brass buttons accompanying discarded clothing from a higher status site. Type 21 buttons (4-hole iron) were probably associated with pants. The different sizes reflect the different functions both between and within groups.

Buttons, as a rule, provide only limited temporal control. The early work on button type seriation, conducted by South (1964), provide some limited assistance. Most of the collection from 38BU634 falls into South's 1800 to 1830 context, although

South's Type	Description	#	Other
7	spun white metal, eye cast in place	5	1.4, 1.7, 2.0 (WATERBURY BUTTON CO.), 2.4, 2.5
8	cast white metal, eye in boss	2	1.5, 3.0 (with cast face design)
9	brass, stamped face design	8	1.1, 2-1.3 (1 - PLATED), 1.5 (STRONG/GILT/ LONDON), 2.3 no face design), 2.5 (no face design), 3.6, ?
15	one hole bone disk	6	2-1.1, 2-1.5, 1.6, 1.9
16	two piece, crimped	1	1.5
18	stamped brass	4	1.3 (RICH/ORANGE), 1.8 (BEST QUALITY), 1.8 (IMPERIAL/EXTRA RICH), 2.0 (WARRANTED BEST QUALITY), ? (ORANGE/- OTO-)
19	5-hole bone	25	2-1.1, 1.2, 1.4, 2-1.5, 2-1.6, 3-1.7, 5-1.8, 2- 1.9, 3-2.0, 3- frags
20	4-hole bone	9	1.1, 3-1.4, 1.6, 1.7, 1.8, 1.9, frag
21	two piece iron, 4-hole	5	1.7, 2-1.8, 1.9, 2.0
22	4-hole shell	2	2-1.0
23	4-hole white porcelain	8	3-1.0, 4-1.1, 1.5
23	4-hole blue porcelain	1	1.2
27	domed, embossed brass	4	2-1.8 (EXTRA QUALITY), 1.9, 3.0
27	domed, without embossing	1	1.2
32	4-hole, stamped brass	1	1.1
--	brass	1	1.7 (CHANDLER SMITH & CO./NEW YORK)
--	brass, 2-piece	1	1.9, reverse stamped with wreath
--	brass with gilt; similar to Type 26, but eye soldered	1	reverse has crown, stars, and wreath; stamped FINE
--	brass face, iron back	1	1.7
--	2-hole white porcelain	1	1.2
--	UID bone button	1	fragment
--	melted brass button	1	

Figure 14. Non-military buttons recovered from 38BU634.

both earlier (i.e., Types 7 through 16) and later (i.e., Types 27 and 32) specimens are recovered. In fact, only Types 8 and 9 fail to occur in South's sample dating from 1837 through 1865. Some back-mark designations provide additional temporal information. The "WATERBURY BUTTON CO." impression on the back of a Type 7 button indicates a manufacture date after 1844, when the company changed its name from Benedict and Burnham to Waterbury. This designation, however, was used until 1944 (Luscomb 1965:220). The use of the terms "GILT," "RICH/ORANGE," and so forth signals a post-1800 date. The plain gilt buttons, such as Type 18, probably predate 1830, while the more elaborate gilt buttons, such as Type 9, possibly post-date 1830 (Luscomb 1965:78-79). The firm of Chandler Smith & Company, identified on an untyped button, could not be identified in Luscomb (1965), McGuinn and Bazelon (1984), or McKinstry (1984).

The two military buttons both represent Union forces. One (South's Type 27) is a General Services button with a spread eagle and shield (Albert's [1969] Type GI 94) which postdates 1854. The other (no South type number) is a possible Naval button with an upright fowl anchor with a raised border. An identical button is not illustrated by Albert (1969), although it is generally similar to his type NA 17C. While this specimen may represent a civilian button with a maritime motif, Albert reports (1969:87) that little information exists on regulation Naval buttons. Both specimens are thought to represent either uniform loses when Union troops visited the island, or perhaps the remnants of donated, traded, or scavenged uniforms. There are too few military buttons, compared with the Mitchelville freedmen assemblage to suggest military occupation of the site during the Civil War.

While a small quantity of additional clothing items were recovered, most are not useful for dating, and represent utilitarian objects. The buckles, for example, are all iron, and probably were used with belts (see Johnson 1980). However, as Stone (1974:25) cautions, functional assessments are largely subjective and the specimens included here may actually represent harness or even spur buckles. The single brass thimble is utilitarian and typical of the nineteenth century (Johnson 1982:5). The scissor fragments, both portions of the shank and bow, are iron and are characteristic of the nineteenth century (Wade 1979:119). The suspender clip is stamped brass and is embossed "H & M MFG Co/PATENTED 1850."

Personal Artifact Group

This artifact category consists of 22 specimens, all from the block excavations. Included are one coin, one key fragment, eight beads, one umbrella rib, one fragment of twisted copper wire, two aglets, a possible brass pencil holder, a black "vulcanite" comb fragment, a brass pocket knife fragment, three

specimens of mirror glass, a gold plated brass watch chain, and a fragment of an eye glass lens (Figure 34).

The coin, an 1859 penny, was recovered from Zone 2 of unit S3-OR10, within Structure 7. The single key is represented by a fragment of a bow; the size suggests that it was used in a padlock. The single intact rib is rather heavy and has therefore been termed an umbrella. Johnson (1980:26) notes that it was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that fashions changed and women began to carry longer, more elaborate parasols. As previously discussed, the twisted copper wire is included in this category because of its possible use as a decorative element by the slaves (see Trinkley 1987c). The comb, made from a hard rubber, postdates 1851 when Goodyear obtained a patent for the improvement on the manufacture of hard rubber (Luscomb 1965:170). It is likely that the specimen dates after 1860. The knife fragment is an example of clasp knife with only the brass bolster found. The nature of the covering is unknown, as is the blade shape and length (because the blade is missing).

The three fragments of mirror glass were all found in the 58 Block (within Structure 8). Although the specimens were not chemically examined, prior to 1865 most reflective backings were either a thin sheet of tin amalgam or a sheet of tin foil attached to the glass by means of an amalgam of mercury. Even after silvering was perfected, tin continued to be used through the nineteenth century.

Perhaps the most significant artifact category within the Personal Group is that of beads. Otto notes that beads in general, but especially faceted hexagonal beads, "may prove to be reliable indicators of slave status on Old South plantation and farm sites" (Otto 1984:74). Beads continued to be an important, perhaps even integral part of the freedmen's world (see Trinkley 1986, 1987c).

The recovered specimens, listed in Table 15, include six faceted drawn beads (four of which are blue) and two drawn tubular beads. Several specimens are similar to beads recovered by Otto (1984:Table 3.19) from Cannon's Point, by Singleton (1980:190) from Butler's Island, and from the recent work at Mitchelville (Trinkley and Hacker 1986:25-251).

Tobacco Artifact Group

The Tobacco category includes 341 items, 337 of which were recovered from the Block excavations. These remains include 94 pipe bowls, all of which were ball or kaolin clay, and 247 ball clay pipe stem fragments (Figure 35).

All of the pipe bowls are of the Irish style made in standard molds from about 1850 through 1910 (Ayto 1979). The

Davidson pipe is useful for dating since Davidson purchased the Murray Company in 1862. Walker states that "there seems no possibility that a Davidson marked pipe could date before 1862 at the earliest" (Walker in Humphrey 1969:15). The "RR" mark is virtually impossible to identify. Atkinson and Oswald (n.d.:63) identify two London pipemakers with the initials "RR" operating during the first half of the nineteenth century, while Oswald (n.d.:52) identifies an additional four pipemakers with the same initials working outside of London during the nineteenth century. The last specimen, "INCOU-/SPARNAAY," could not be identified in the literature.

Activities Artifact Group

The Activities Group, which contains 272 specimens, is one of the more diverse categories within the collection. Examples of construction tools, farm tools, toys, fishing gear, storage items, stable and barn items, miscellaneous hardware, unidentifiable iron fragments, lead scrap, copper and brass scrap, and red clay flower pots have been identified (Figure 35). These items are detailed in Table 16. Most are self explanatory and few are temporally sensitive, so little discussion will be offered.

Both of the hoe fragments are identical and represent broad hoes (measuring at least 8-1/4 inches or 210 millimeters across the intact blade). The spine is very heavy and broad to serve as a reinforcement to the blade, which is attached by three rivets. This style is similar to the "planters' hoe" illustrated in 1880 by Sargent & Company (Egloff 1980:58). The sickle is similar to those illustrated as "bush or briar scythes" in the 1865 Russell and Erwin catalog (Russell and Erwin 1980:297).

The lead net weights are round and range in size from 1/2 inch to 11/16 inch (1.3 to 1.7 centimeters), with a central hole. These specimens are similar to weights used in cast nets. Such nets are used to capture small fish and shrimp. Joyner comments on fishing and the use of nets, particularly to catch mullet (Joyner 1984:99, 130). Singleton (1980:166) notes the presence of weights at Butler's Island and Lepionka (1988:199) mentions their occurrence at the northern slave row on Daufuskie (38BU153).

There are a total of seven file fragments, six of which represent small triangular files while the last is a larger mill file. These specimens were found in three different loci, including Structures 7 and 8. They appear to be a common household tool and may have served a variety of functions. Seven brass nails were collected and these specimens probably relate to plantation boat building activities (as may the other miscellaneous brass hardware items). Kemble notes that several slave carpenters on Butler Island had constructed a boat for a

<u>Construction Tools</u>	
triangular files	6
flat files	1
axe head	1
UID tool fragment	<u>1</u>
	9
<u>Farm Tools</u>	
hoes	2
sickle	<u>1</u>
	3
<u>Toys</u>	
jews harp	<u>1</u>
	1
<u>Fishing Gear</u>	
lead net weights	<u>10</u>
	10
<u>Storage Items</u>	
strap metal	45
container frags	<u>2</u>
	47
<u>Stable and Barn Items</u>	
buggy axle	
attachment	1
wagon step	<u>1</u>
	2
<u>Miscellaneous Hardware</u>	
wood screws	8
staples	3
bolts/nuts	2
wing nut	1
chain	4
wire	6
iron rod stock	3
threaded brass rod	1
brass nails	7
brass rivet	1
brass washer	<u>2</u>
	38
<u>Other</u>	
UID iron frags	138
lead scrap	13
copper and brass	
scrap	<u>10</u>
	162

Table 16. Activity Group Artifacts from 38BU624.

neighboring plantation in their leisure time (Kemble 1984:62).

Dating Synthesis

The previous discussions have indicated that a number of the artifacts recovered from the southern slave row at Haig Point may be useful for dating the occupation of the site. Ceramics, in particular, have been shown to be temporally sensitive indicators and South (1977) has demonstrated the usefulness of the mean ceramic date concept. Other artifacts, while often providing additional dating information, frequently are not found in sufficient quantities to provide adequate confidence in their associations. Some specimens are useful for providing terminus post quem (TPQ) dates, or a date after which the assemblage was deposited. Many specimens, however, provide only a general time frame, such as "typical of the nineteenth century." Regrettably, the historical documents fail to provide any evidence on which to base a mean historical date, although it has been suggested that the slave row dates to the period immediately prior to the Civil War and was not re-occupied afterwards.

Leaving consideration of the ceramics for last, the other artifacts tend to support a mid-nineteenth century date. The absence of lettered panel bottles and the presence of only one lettered bottle, suggests a pre-1867 date. Likewise the single dose medicine vials are more typical in the first half of the nineteenth century than in the second half, when they are replaced by multi-dose bottles. Rural medicine, however, probably continued to use this system, particularly with illiterate blacks, long after the multi-dose bottles had become popular elsewhere. The single complete tin can provides a TPQ of 1847.

The "modern" machine cut nails postdate the 1830s and the near absence of hand wrought nails, which continued to be used for several decades after the introduction of cut nails, suggests an even later date. Most of the buttons suggest an early nineteenth century date, at least in terms of their popularity, although some are more typical of the second quarter of the nineteenth century and the Waterbury Button Company back mark provides a TPQ of 1844. The presence of at least one Union military button provides a TPQ of 1861-1862. The use of buttons for dating must be cautious since it is likely that slaves would have received outdated clothing and notions, and would have retained older items for long periods of time. The suspender clip provides a TPQ of 1850 based on its patent date.

The single coin provides a TPQ of 1859, while the hard rubber comb yields a TPQ of at least 1851. The occurrence of a marked Davidson pipe stem provides a TPQ of 1862.

This overview indicates a collection dating from the first half of the nineteenth century, and most likely from the second quarter of the nineteenth century. While the presence of items

dating from the 1860s may indicate occupation during portions of the Civil War, the sparseness of the assemblage tends to suggest that a few items continued to be lost or discarded in the area by Union troops. The historical accounts confirm that Daufuskie was only sparsely populated by blacks during the Civil War.

Turning to the ceramics, it first becomes apparent that the collections contain a small quantity of eighteenth century pottery (such as the delft), as well as a few twentieth century ceramics (such as the tinted glaze whiteware). These specimens, however, may simply represent accidental inclusions in the assemblage and are inconsequential to the calculations of the mean ceramic dates. A few of the blocks, specifically those associated with Structures 2 and 6, contain small quantities of creamware. The more western blocks, however, do not. In terms of the total assemblage, the eastern site area does not appear to be appreciably earlier and the skewed distribution of creamware is interpreted as sampling error.

The mean ceramic dating technique (South 1977) is applied to the various block excavations in Tables 17 through 23. Given the noticeable presence of both creamware and pearlware, it is not unexpected that the derived dates uniformly fall toward the beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth century. We have previously revealed that the composite mean ceramic date for the site is 1824.9 and the variation on this site mean is only +3.6 -14 years, for a total mean ceramic date range of 1820.9 through 1838.5 (17.6 years).

When the mean ceramic dates for structures are compared to the dates of associated middens, there is a difference of 1.2 to 9.7 years, with the largest sample (from Structure 3) yielding the lowest variation. This indicates that the middens and the structures are contemporary.

As previously mentioned, we believe that the dates are uniformly early by as much as 20 to 30 years. Similarly skewed dates were reported by Lepionka (1988:174), although his explanation was the use of South's mean dates, rather than modified dates proposed by Bartovics (1978). While Lepionka fails to provide his mean ceramic date calculations, it seems unlikely that any changes proposed by Bartovics would make a substantial difference. Hence, the early dates seem to be uniform throughout the Haig Point property.

At least at 38BU634 the most reasonable explanation seems to be a pattern of owner disposal directed "downward" to the slave population and a pattern of slave retention. As will be discussed below, the assemblage (particularly the pearlwares) appear to be cast-offs from the main house, rather than sets purchased for the exclusive use of the slaves. Such a practice would, of course, result in mean ceramic dates earlier than the

actual or historic mean occupation date. In addition, in a "culture of poverty" it seems likely that ceramics would be retained by the slaves as long as possible, with the result that motifs long out of style would continue to be used as long as they were serviceable. The alternate explanation, being that the slave row actually dates from the early nineteenth century,

Ceramic	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
NA Salt Glazed Stoneware	1866	1	1866
Creamware, annular	1798	1	1798
undecorated	1791	5	8955
Pearlware, blue hand paint	1800	9	16200
blue trans print	1818	5	9090
edged	1805	4	7220
annular/cable	1805	7	12635
undecorated	1805	11	19855
Whiteware, green edged	1828	1	1828
blue edged	1853	3	5559
blue trans print	1848	1	1848
non-blue trans	1851	2	3702
undecorated	1860	11	20460
Yellow ware	1853	2	3706
Total		63	114722

Mean Ceramic Date: $114722 \div 63 = 1820.9$

Table 17. Mean ceramic date for Structure 2.

Ceramic	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
NA Salt Glazed Stoneware	1866	1	1866
Creamware, undecorated	1791	3	5373
Pearlware, blue hand paint	1800	3	5400
edged	1805	3	5415
undecorated	1805	1	1805
Whiteware, blue edged	1853	2	3706
poly hand paint	1848	1	1848
undecorated	1860	2	3720
Yellow ware	1853	7	12971
Total		23	42104

Mean Ceramic Date: $42104 \div 23 = 1830.6$

Table 18. Mean ceramic date for the Structure 2 midden.

Ceramic	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
NA Salt Glazed Stoneware	1866	24	44784
Delft	1750	1	1750
Creamware, cable	1805	1	1805
annular	1798	10	17980
hand painted	1805	3	5415
blue trans print	1790	1	1790
undecorated	1791	13	23283
Pearlware, poly hand paint	1805	20	36100
blue hand paint	1800	8	14400
blue trans print	1818	8	14544
eged	1805	8	14440
annular/cable	1805	9	16245
molded	1805	1	1805
undecorated	1805	45	81225
Whiteware, green edged	1828	1	1828
blue edged	1853	9	16677
poly hand paint	1848	4	7392
blue trans print	1848	16	29568
annular	1866	8	14928
metallic luster	1831	1	1831
undecorated	1860	54	100440
Total		245	448230

Mean Ceramic Date: $448230 \div 245 = 1829.5$

Table 19. Mean ceramic date for the Structure 6 midden.

Ceramic	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
NA Salt Glazed Stoneware	1866	5	9330
Delft	1750	1	1750
Pearlware, poly hand paint	1805	4	7220
blue trans print	1818	10	18180
edged	1805	4	7220
annular/cable	1805	16	28880
undecorated	1805	37	66785
Whiteware, green edged	1828	3	5484
blue edged	1853	5	9265
poly hand paint	1848	1	1848
blue trans print	1848	9	16632
non-blue trans	1851	3	5553
annular	1866	10	18660
undecorated	1860	21	39060
Yellow ware	1853	1	1853
Total		130	237720

Mean Ceramic Date: $237720 \div 130 = 1828.6$

Table 20. Mean ceramic date for Structure 7.

Ceramic	Mean Date		
	(xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
NA Salt Glazed Stoneware	1866	3	5598
Pearlware, poly hand paint	1805	1	1805
blue trans print	1818	11	19998
edged	1805	2	3610
annular/cable	1805	1	1805
undecorated	1805	7	12635
Whiteware, blue edged	1853	3	5559
poly hand paint	1848	1	1848
blue trans print	1848	1	1848
tinted glaze	1941	1	1941
undecorated	1860	5	9300
Total		36	65947

Mean Ceramic Date: $65947 \div 36 = 1831.9$

Table 21. Mean ceramic date for the Structure 7 midden.

Ceramic	Mean Date		
	(xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
NA Salt glazed Stoneware	1866	65	121290
Creamware, undecorated	1791	1	1791
Pearlware, poly hand paint	1805	25	45125
blue hand paint	1800	43	77400
blue trans print	1818	39	70902
edged	1805	17	30685
annular/cable	1805	18	32490
undecorated	1805	148	267140
Whiteware, green edged	1828	14	25592
blue edged	1853	34	63002
poly hand paint	1848	14	25872
blue trans print	1848	24	44352
non-blue trans	1851	9	16659
annular	1866	95	177270
sponge	1853	2	3706
tinted glaze	1941	1	1941
undecorated	1860	159	295740
Yellow ware	1853	48	88944
Total		756	1389901

Mean Ceramic Date: $1389901 \div 756 = 1838.5$

Table 22. Mean ceramic date for Structure 3.

Ceramic	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
NA Salt Glazed Stoneware	1866	21	39186
Pearlware, blue hand paint	1800	10	18000
blue trans print	1818	13	23634
edged	1805	14	25270
annular/cable	1805	10	18050
undecorated	1805	52	93260
Whiteware, green edged	1828	10	18280
blue edged	1853	23	42619
poly hand paint	1848	1	1848
blue trans print	1848	12	22176
non-blue trans	1851	4	7404
annular	1866	33	61578
mocha	1866	1	1866
undecorated	1860	38	70680
Yellow ware	1853	11	20383
Total		253	464834

Mean Ceramic Date: $464834 \div 253 = 1837.3$

Table 23. Mean ceramic date for the Structure 8 midden.

would necessitate explaining the number of much later TPO dates from other artifact assemblages. While the former interpretation is logical, it is not based on clear archaeological data. An examination of ceramic status, however, makes the interpretation more compelling.

Pattern Analysis

Up to this point we have used South's artifact groups and classes as simply a convenient and logical means of ordering data, clearly recognizing that other methods are available (e.g., Sprague 1981). In this section we will use these functional categories for an "artifact pattern analysis" developed by South (1977), who believes that the patterns identified in the archaeological record will reflect cultural processes and will assist in delimiting distinct site types. South has succinctly stated that, "we can have no science without pattern recognition, and pattern cannot be refined without quantification" (South 1977:25). The recognition of patterns in historical archaeology is not an end in itself, but rather should be one of a series of techniques useful for comparing different sites with the ultimate goal of distinguishing cultural processes at work in the archaeological record.

There can be no denying that the technique has problems (see, for example, Joseph 1987), some of which are very serious, but no more effective technique than South's has been proposed.

Garrow (1982b:57-66) offers some extensive revisions of South's original patterns, which will be incorporated in this study. Even at the level of a fairly simple heuristic device, pattern analysis has revealed five, and possibly seven, "archaeological signatures" -- the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern (Garrow 1982b; South 1977), the Revised Frontier Pattern (Garrow 1982b; South 1977), the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern (Garrow 1982b; Wheaton et al. 1983), the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern (Singleton 1980; Zierden and Calhoun 1983), and the Public Interaction Artifact Pattern (Garrow 1982b); as well as the less developed or tested Tenant/Yeoman Artifact Pattern (Drucker et al. 1984) and the Washington Civic Center Pattern (Garrow 1982b) which Cheek et al. (1983:90) suggest might be better termed a "Nineteenth Century White Urban Pattern." Recent work at the freedmen's village of Mitchelville on Hilton Head Island has revealed a loose clustering of artifact patterns midway between that of the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern and the Tenant/Yeoman Artifact Pattern (Trinkley and Hacker 1986:264-268). Several of these are summarized in Table 24. A careful inspection of these patterns suprisingly reveals no overlap in the major categories of Kitchen and Architecture, which suggests that these two categories are particularly sensitive indicators of either site function (including intra-site functional differences) or "cultural differences" (see Cheek et al. 1983:90; Garrow 1982a:4; South 1977:146-154).

Table 25 presents the artifact patterns for the structures and middens excavated at 38BU634. Of these various areas, we believe that the data from Structure 2 is the most reliable, simply because of the larger sample size and the larger areal extent of the excavations.

A comparison of Table 25 with Table 24 reveals that the collections from 38BU634 fail to fall within the range of any previously established artifact pattern. While there is a similarity with the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern, the Daufuskie material exhibits collections with greater quantities of kitchen artifacts and reduced architectural remains. In addition, the activities artifacts are considerably higher than expected for the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern.

Curiously, when Lepionka's excavation data from the northern slave row (38BU153) on Haig Point Plantation are examined, the structures (from which it is reasonable to expect the best information) have yielded very similar patterns. He suggests a general match with the proposed Tenant/Yeoman Artifact Pattern, which seems to be reasonable, since the northern slave row was occupied into the postbellum. This mixing of both slave and freedmen material culture might well resemble a yeoman pattern, although it also resembles the pattern analysis obtained from the freedmen's village of Mitchelville. In any event, this explanation is not suitable for the southern slave row, which saw

Artifact Group	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern ^a	Revised Frontier, Artifact Pattern ^b	Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern ^c	Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern ^d	Piedmont Tenant/ Yeoman Artifact Pattern ^e
Kitchen	51.8-65.0%	35.5-43.8%	70.9-84.2%	20.0-25.8%	45.6 (40.0-61.2)
Architectural	25.2-31.4%	41.6-43.0%	11.8-24.8%	67.9-73.2%	50.0 (35.8-56.3)
Furniture	0.2-0.6%	0.1-1.3%	0.1%	0.0-0.1%	0.4
Arms	0.1-0.3%	1.4-8.9%	0.1-0.3%	0.0-0.2%	-
Clothing	0.6-5.4%	0.3-1.6%	0.3-0.8%	0.3-1.7%	1.8
Personal	0.2-0.5%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1-0.2%	0.4
Tobacco	1.9-13.9%	1.3-14.0%	2.4-5.4%	0.3-9.7%	-
Activities	0.9-1.7%	0.5-5.4%	0.2-0.9%	0.2-0.4%	1.8

Sources:

^aGarrow 1982^dSingleton 1980:216^bGarrow 1982^eDrucker, et al. 1984:5-47 (no range was provided, but has been partially reconstructed for the Kitchen and Architectural Groups)^cGarrow 1982

Table 24. Various archaeological pattern comparisons.

	Str 2	Str 2 Mid	Str 6 Mid	Str 7	Str 7 Mid	Str 8	Str 8 Mid	Features		
								1	2	3
<u>Kitchen Group</u>										
Ceramics	75	27	280	162	45	835	274	2	2	2
Burnt ceramics						222		1		4
Catawba			2		7	28				
Blk. bottle glass	57	26	350	38	16	289	168		2	1
Aqua bottle glass						30	2			
Brn. bottle glass			11			29	4			
Blue bottle glass				12						
Clear bottle glass	8		18	4		7	1			
Lt. green bottle glass			14	8	1	14				1
Green bottle glass			3	8	6	38				
Milk glass				1						
Glassware	1	1	5	2		6				
Melted glass						4	2			1
Tableware			2	1	2	3				
Kettle/pan fragments	10		1	4	3	50	5			
Container fragments			23	11		2				
Utilitarian items			3							2
Subtotal	151	54	712	251	80	1557	456			
%	36.8	78.3	37.4	15.5	58.8	31.8	34.6			
<u>Architecture Group</u>										
Window glass	14	1	19	11	2	162	19			
Cut nails	17	2	202	24	8	153	74	4		4
Cut nail fragments	190	5	326	1148	22	2635	704	146		28
Hand wrought nails	1		1	2		4	1			
UID nail fragments			528			1		240	176	
Spikes	3		7	2	1	9				1
Spike fragments			5	3		23	5	8		
Construction hardware			3	1		4				
Door lock parts				2	1					
Subtotal	224	8	1091	1193	34	2991	803			
%	54.9	11.6	57.3	73.8	25.0	61.2	60.9			
<u>Furniture Group</u>										
Furniture hardware				1		3	1			
Dressed stone			3							
Subtotal	0	0	3	1	0	3	1			
%	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1			
<u>Arms Group</u>										
Shot						2				
Flints				1		4				
Flint wraps			2			1				
"Modern" ammunition	1									
Subtotal	1	0	2	1	0	7	0			
%	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0			
<u>Clothing Group</u>										
Buckles	2		1							1
Buttons	2		22	17	1	42	5	1		1
Scissors				1		1				
Hook & eye fasteners						1				
Shoe grommets				1						
Suspender clip			1							
Subtotal	4	0	24	19	1	44	5			
%	1.0	0.0	1.3	1.2	0.7	0.9	0.4			
<u>Personal Group</u>										
Coins				1						
Keys	1									
Beads				2		5	1			
Personal items				3		5	1	1		
Umbrella parts			1							
Copper wire			1							
Subtotal	1	0	2	6	0	10	2			
%	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.2			
<u>Tobacco Group</u>										
Pipe stems	14	4	36	29	3	132	27			2
Pipe bowl fragments	4		3	13		67	5	2		
Subtotal	18	4	39	42	3	199	32			
%	4.4	5.8	2.0	2.6	2.2	4.1	2.4			
<u>Activities Group</u>										
Construction tools			1	2		6				
Farm tools			1	1	1					
Toys							1			
Fishing gear				1		8				1
Storage items		1	13	8	2	11	11			1
Stable & barn items		1				1				
Miscellaneous hardware	1		6	3		21	5	1		1
UID iron	7	1	6	90	15	15		1		3
Lead scrap	2		1	1		8	1			
Copper & brass scrap			2	1		6	1			
Flower pot			1							
Subtotal	10	3	31	107	18	76	19			
%	2.4	4.3	1.6	6.6	13.2	1.6	1.4			
Totals	410	69	1904	1620	136	4887	1318			

Str = structure, Mid = midden
Site Totals (excluding features): Kitchen 3261 (31.5%), Architecture 6345 (61.3%),
Furniture 8 (0.1%), Arms 11 (0.1%), Clothing 97 (0.9%), Personal 21 (0.2%), Tobacco 337
(3.3%), Activities 264 (2.6%)

Table 25. Artifact patterns at 38BU634.

no postbellum occupation.

Another explanation may be inherent in the sites upon which the two slave patterns have been based and used with success. The Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern is late eighteenth century in temporal context and has been based on structures of insubstantial (wall trench) construction. The Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern, on the other hand, is based on nineteenth century sites which are of substantial frame construction. It is reasonable that both date and construction techniques are going to affect the pattern analysis, even when the base line is slavery. Hence, very late antebellum slave cabins, of either tabby or log construction, may exhibit a pattern different from either of those previously developed. At 38BU634 we believe that part of the explanation involves the use of log, rather than frame, construction. This technique would result in a diminished architectural category, with a resultant proportional increase in the kitchen category.

A second explanation for the reduced quantity of architectural items might be salvage of the buildings in the postbellum period, prior to their demolition. Brocker (personal communication 1988) suggests that there is a pattern of salvage among many of the Beaufort area plantation structures after the Civil War. In addition, there is evidence at the freedmen's village of Mitchelville, on nearby Hilton Head, of extensive re-use of architectural items such as brick.

Examining the remaining categories, the 38BU634 data are essentially identical to that expected from a slave settlement, and they closely resemble the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern. The Furniture Group is very low for the site, with only four specimens recovered from Structure 8 and the associated midden. The Clothing Group is represented primarily by buttons, including a range of styles and dates which evidence both second hand use and low status materials. The Personal Group is largely made up of beads, an artifact typical of slave sites. Tobacco pipes, also typical of slave sites, are common. The black attitude regarding tobacco may be best stated in a WPA slave narrative from Virginia,

Tain't no fun, chile. But it's a pow'ful lot o'easeament. Smoke away trouble, darter. Blow ole trouble an' worry 'way in smoke (quoted in Genovese 1972:644).

The two remaining categories, Activities and Arms, are of particular interest. The Activities Group from 38BU634 is unusually large, accounting for 1.5% of the Structure 8 assemblage and 2.6% of the site total. These figures resemble the Revised Frontier or Tenant/Yeoman Artifact Patterns and the high proportion of activity items may be related to the isolation

of Daufuskie and the difficulties associated with obtaining goods from off the island. The Arms category is low, but certainly within the range of the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern. What is important, we believe, is to again sound the caution that access to fire arms is not necessarily implied by the presence of arms artifacts. The archaeological data from this study fails to provide convincing evidence that slaves on Haig Point Plantation were using fire arms. This, of course, does not rule out slaves augmenting their diet by hunting small mammals since many species, such as raccoon and opossum, are easily caught in traps.

Status and Lifestyle Observations

Not unexpectedly, the artifacts recovered from the southern slave row at Daufuskie evidence a meager existence lacking many items of comfort. The situation at Butler Island Plantation in Georgia was described by Kemble in 1838:

such of these dwellings as I visited today were filthy and wretched in the extreme, and exhibited that most deplorable consequence of ignorance and an abject condition, the inability of the inhabitants to secure and improve even such pitiful comfort as might yet be achieved by them (Kemble 1984:68).

Whatever furniture might have been present in the Daufuskie cabins must have been nailed or pegged wood, although the presence of brass furniture tacks and dressed stone suggests that cast-off furniture from the main house may have been used. Clothing items are largely represented by simple and inexpensive bone and porcelain buttons, or by scavenged out-of-style brass and white metal buttons. Over a third of the personal items are glass beads, which have been suggested to be a significant Afro-American trait (Otto 1984:174-175).

Miller (1980) has suggested a technique for the analysis of ceramic collections to yield information on the economic value of the assemblage which, as Garrow notes, "theoretically provides a means of roughly determining the economic position of the household that used and discarded the ceramics" (Garrow 1982b:66). While this technique could revolutionize our perception of the economic status of historic peoples, it has not been embraced by all historical archaeologists. It is limited to the cream colored wares (and a few other ceramics) of the nineteenth century, its methodology has not been perfected, and index values do not exist for all of the decoration/ware types for all of the time periods. In spite of these problems it, like South's pattern analysis, provides another significant analytical technique.

This technique has been used for the Structure 8 assemblage (combining both the midden and the structure) at 38BU634, but it

is appropriate to mention some of the biases or problems which may be reflected in the outcome of the study. First, sample size is not as large as that used by Miller (1980) at his test sites or as large as that used by Garrow (1982b) at the Washington, D.C. Civic Center. At the present time we have no controls for sample sizes. Second, as has been noted by other researchers, it is often necessary either to use different years' indices for a single collection or to make other assumptions about the pricing of unlisted decorative techniques (Cheek 1986).

Application of Miller's technique to the Structure 8 assemblage is shown in Table 26. The index values for this collection form a tight range from 1.33 to 1.44. This range, in

Plates	Index Value		Product
	Assigned (date)	Number	
hand painted	2.36 (1838)	7	16.52
edged	1.29 (1838)	42	54.18
transfer printed	2.45 (1839)	14	34.30
undecorated	1.00 (1838)	<u>32</u>	<u>32.00</u>
		95	137.00

Average Value = 1.44

Bowls	Index Value		Product
	Assigned (date)	Number	
annular/cable	1.20 (1838)	38	45.60
hand painted	1.60 (1838)	13	20.80
transfer printed	2.80 (1846)	7	19.60
undecorated	1.00 (1838)	18	18.00
yellowware	1.00	<u>8</u>	<u>8.00</u>
		84	112.00

Average Value = 1.33

Cups/Saucers	Index Value		Product
	Assigned (date)	Number	
hand painted	1.23 (1846)	4	4.92
transfer printed	2.45 (1846)	1	2.45
undecorated	1.00 (1846)	<u>1</u>	<u>1.00</u>
		6	8.37

Average Value = 1.40

Table 26. Ceramic index values for Structure 8.

fact, is tighter than any of the sites examined by Miller (1980) or Garrow (1982b). The bowls from the Daufuskie sample exhibited the greatest disparity in value, a situation similar to the results obtained at a nineteenth century middle class urban site by Garrow (1982b). This situation will be addressed below. These results are slightly higher than Miller's mid-nineteenth century tenant farmer sample and comparable to the frontier

Jonathan Hale Log Cabin site of the early nineteenth century. Comparable data from southern coastal slave sites is not available, although the indices are higher at Daufuskie than from the freedmen's collection at Mitchelville (Trinkley and Hacker 1986:270-273). This suggests that the overall collection, while possessing some high status ceramics such as the transfer prints, is clearly at the low end of the economic scale. This, of course, is not surprising and additional research is needed at other, documented antebellum slave sites before the question of relative economic status can be addressed.

Table 27 examines the percentages of flatware, hollowware, serving pieces, and utilitarian items from the Structure 8 assemblage, while recognizing that the tea and coffeewares can serve a variety of functions in a low economic setting. The

<u>Shapes</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Tableware	192	88.1
Plates	95	49.5
Bowls	84	43.7
Serving	13	6.8
Tea and Coffeeware	6	2.7
Utilitarian/Storage	20	9.2

Table 27. Shape and function of ceramic vessels from Structure 8.

profile that emerges is an assemblage dominated by tablewares, with these almost equally divided between plates and bowls. Serving vessels, teaware, and storage containers are uncommon. When compared to Otto's (1984) work, the Daufuskie sample is seen to have a significantly greater percentage of tableware (primarily at the expense of teaware), although the tableware items occur in almost exactly the same percentages. Bowls are typically much more common at slave sites than at the main house, presumably because of the nature of slave foodways, which are thought to emphasize "one-pot" meals. Regrettably, it is not possible to compare the assemblage at the southern slave settlement to that from the main Haig Point house because Lepionka (1988:178) chose to combine plate and bowl forms, hence merging two potentially significant ceramic forms.

Another potentially revealing analysis concerns the surface decoration of ceramics at the slave row. Otto (1984:64-67) found that at Cannon's Point the slaves tended to use considerably more banded, edged, and hand painted wares than the plantation owner, who tended to use transfer printed wares. Part of the explanation, of course, involves the less expensive cost of annular, edged and undecorated styles compared to transfer printed wares. And while transfer printed specimens were present in the slave assemblage at Cannon's Point, they represented a variety of patterns and Otto (1984:66) suggests that either the

planter purchased mixed lots of ceramics for slave use, or the slaves themselves occasionally made such purchases. An additional, often advanced, explanation involves the use by slaves of discarded ceramics from the main house. At Daufuskie, a somewhat different situation is evident. Table 28 provides information on the identified surface decorations from 38BU634.

Type	#	%
Annular/cable	38	20.0
Edged	42	22.1
Hand painted	25	13.2
Transfer printed	30	15.8
Undecorated	55	28.9

Table 28. Surface decoration of ceramic vessels from Structure 8.

While the transfer printed styles are less common than the more inexpensive wares such as annular and edged, they are still much more common than would be suggested by Otto's work. In contrast, there are a variety of different transfer printed styles, as forecast by Otto. Grunden (Mona Grunden, personal communication 1987), based on the examination of several ceramic collections from the Beaufort area, has suggested that the apparent status of slave ceramics will be inversely proportional to the status of their owner. That is, wealthy owners would be inclined to purchase bulk lots of inexpensive (i.e., annular, edged, and hand painted) ceramics for slave use, while the less wealthy owners would tend to pass on to slaves those ceramics (representing a mixed lot) found unsuitable for main house use.

This may be the case at Daufuskie, where there are a variety of very high status ceramics (such as the quantity of transfer printed wares) found in the collection. This situation would also explain the difference in index value of the plates (which largely represent higher status items originally used in the main house) and the bowls (which typically are not used by the planter and would therefore have been purchased). Additional support of this idea is provided by examining the proportion of transfer printed plates compared to transfer printed bowls. While 14.7% of the plates have this high status decoration, only 8.3% of the bowls are so decorated.

The implication for 38BU634 is that the plantation owner, apparently of moderate means, was supplying the slave row inhabitants with the bulk of their ceramics from the discards of the main house. The only major exception to this pattern were the bowls, which because they were less common in the main house, were being purchased for slave use. The suggestion that the plantation owner was of moderate means is consistent with the degradation of construction styles seen at Haig Point through

time and the relatively small percentage of transfer printed ceramics reported from the main house by Lepionka (1988:176).

Prehistoric Assemblage

The excavations at the southern slave row produced a small collection of aboriginal remains (n=239), dating from about 7000 B.C. to A.D. 1200, although the bulk of the collection falls into the late end of this range. The presence of these remains indicates that the bluffs overlooking Calibogue Sound were a popular location for brief occupations through much of the past.

A total of 139 sherds were recovered from the excavations, primarily from Zone 3 (the old humus). These included two Stallings Plain, two Refuge Net Impressed, one Mount Pleasant Cord Marked, one St. Catherines Cord Marked, 31 Irene Plain, 42 Irene Complicated Stamped, and 60 unidentifiable or small sherds. While this assemblage documents the use of the site in the Early through Late Woodland periods, the major utilization apparently came during the South Appalachian Mississippian period (characterized by the Irene pottery), about A.D. 1200 through 1500.

The lithic assemblage is comparatively large, and includes 16 projectile points, 22 bifaces, 10 cores, seven used flakes, 39 flakes, one ground stone celt, three hammerstones, one fragment of petrified wood, and one fragment of unidentified stone. The category of projectile points includes one LeCroy, three Savannah River Stemmed, five Small Savannah River Stemmed, four Caraway, and three stem fragments, documenting a range from the Early Archaic through the South Appalachian Mississippian. Of particular interest is the LeCroy projectile point fragment. These points tend to be restricted to a temporal span of about 6800 to 6000 B.C. and their distribution is generally restricted to the eastern deciduous forest region. The Savannah River Stemmed points are characteristic of the Late Archaic, while the Small Savannah River Stemmed points bridge the Late Archaic and the Early Woodland. The Caraway points are expected to be associated with the Irene occupation at the site, dating to about A.D. 1200. The celt dates from the same period.

The bifaces are interesting in the extraordinary wear observed on their edges. Virtually every specimen evidences heavy use, with accompanying wear. Hinge fractures are common and the edges are uniformly dulled. Each specimen appears to have been resharpened until the biface was exhausted and discarded. While beyond the scope of the current project, this collection reveals a diversity of both tool forms and wear patterns that is worthy of additional study.

FAUNAL REMAINS FROM 38BU634

Jack H. Wilson, Jr.

Introduction

The vertebrate faunal collection from 38BU634, the South Tabby Slave site, Haig Point, Daufuskie Island, South Carolina analyzed for this study consists of more than 4609 bone elements and fragments that weight 7435.5 grams. The faunal collection is from one component at the site which is associated with structures that originally formed a black slave row dating to the antebellum period. The faunal material was recovered from squares excavated within structures and within associated shell middens, and from the three features and three post holes identified at the site. The faunal collection was obtained by passing soil through either 1/4 or 1/8-inch mesh screens. This report provides a description of the animal species found in these bone samples, the results of the zooarchaeological analysis of the remains, and a comparison of the data obtained from this site with that for other sites of the appropriate time period from the coast of the Carolina Province,

The Carolina Province, the transitional zone between the tropical fauna of the southern Atlantic and the temperate fauna of the northern Atlantic, lies between Cape Hatteras, North Carolina and Cape Canaveral, Florida (Briggs 1974; Ekman 1953). Daufuskie Island, on which the South Tabby site is found, is part of the Sea Island section of the coast that lies south of the Santee River into northern Florida, with the area north to Cape Fear, North Carolina forming the northern embayed section (Emery and Uchupi 1972). Along the edge of the Continental Shelf, the warm Florida Current flows northward, bringing tropical marine species north as far as Cape Hatteras. Closer inshore, the cold Labrador Current flows southward, and temperate marine species may be found in these cool waters as far south as Cape Canaveral.

The Sea Islands possess a relatively uniform temperature, rainfall, topography, and vegetation cover. The seaward side of each of the Sea Islands is usually lined with coastal beaches and dunes which sometime reach a height of 7 or 8 meters (Johnson et al. 1974; Mathews et al. 1980). Maritime oak forests and some pine forests grow behind the dunes. Freshwater creeks and ponds are occasionally found on these islands. The fringes and sometimes the interiors of the Sea Islands often possess salt marsh systems. The mainland side of the typical Sea Island usually has extensive salt marshes cut by tidal creeks that drain into large sounds, which in turn flow into the ocean between the

Sea Islands. The maritime forests, freshwater creeks, salt marshes, and sounds define a number of diverse habitats that could be exploited by the Historic period inhabitants of the area, if they chose or were permitted to do so.

Analytical Techniques

The faunal collection from the South Tabby site was studied using standard zooarchaeological procedures and the comparative faunal collections possessed by Chicora Foundation and the Museum of Natural History in Raleigh, North Carolina. The bone material was sorted to class, suborder, or species, and individual bone elements were identified. The bones of all taxa and other analytical categories were also weighed and counted. The Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) for each animal category was determined using paired bone elements and age (mature/immature) as criteria. A minimum distinction method (Grayson 1973:438) was used to determine the MNI for the collection at 38BU634. This method provides a conservative MNI estimate based on the total faunal assemblage from a component at a site.

As a measure of zooarchaeological quantification, MNI has a number of problems (Grayson 1973:438, 1984:28-92; Klein and Cruz-Urbe 1984:26-32). How one aggregates the MNI will affect the number of individuals calculated. If MNI is calculated based on the entire site, the number will be smaller than if it is calculated for each excavation unit and totaled for the site. Use of MNI emphasizes small species over large ones. For example, a collection may have only a few large mammals, such as deer, and scores of fish. Yet, the amount of meat contributed by one deer may be many times greater than that contributed by a score or two of fish.

Given the problems associated with MNI as a zooarchaeological measure, an estimate of biomass contributed by each taxa to the total available for use by the inhabitants of the site is also calculated. The method used here to determine biomass is based on allometry, or the biological relationship between soft tissue and bone mass. Biomass is determined using the least squares analysis of logarithmic data in which bone weight is used to predict the amount of soft tissue that might have been supported by the bone (Casteel 1978; Reitz 1982, 1985; Reitz and Cordier 1982; Reitz and Scarry 1985; Wing and Brown 1979). The relationship between body weight and skeletal weight is expressed by the allometric equation $Y = aX^b$, which can also be written as $\text{Log } Y = \text{Log } a + b(\text{Log } X)$ (Simpson et al. 1960:397). In this equation, Y is the biomass in kilograms, X is the bone weight in kilograms, a is the Y-intercept for a log-log plot using the method of least squares regression and the best fit line, and b is the constant of allometry, or the slope of the line defined by the least squares regression and the best fit line. Table 29 details the constants for a and b used to solve

Faunal Category	log a	b	r ²
Mammal	1.12	0.90	0.94
Bird	1.04	0.91	0.97
Turtle	0.51	0.67	0.55
Snake	1.17	1.01	0.97
Chondrichthyes (Shark)	1.68	0.86	0.85
Osteichthyes (Boney Fish)	0.90	0.81	0.80
Non-Perciformes	0.85	0.79	0.88
Siluriformes (Catfish)	1.15	0.95	0.87
Perciformes (Sea Bass, Bluefish, etc.)	0.93	0.83	0.76
Sparidae (Forgy)	0.96	0.92	0.98
Sciaenidae (Drum)	0.81	0.74	0.73
Pleuronectiformes (Flounder)	1.09	0.89	0.95

Table 29. List of allometric values used in this study to determine biomass in kilograms based on bone weight expressed in kilograms (derived from Reitz 1985:Table 4). These variables are used to solve the formula $Y = aX^b$ or $\log Y = \log a + b(\log X)$; where Y is the biomass in kilograms, X is the bone weight in kilograms, a is the Y-intercept, b is the slope, and r² is the proportion of total variance explained by the regression model (Reitz 1985:44; Reitz and Scarry 1985:67).

the allometric formula for a given bone weight X for each taxa identified in the archaeological record.

Biomass and MNI were used to identify the 10 species/taxa that probably contributed the greater part of the total meat available for consumption by the inhabitants of the South Tabby site. Likewise, the identified species for the nineteenth century Historic faunal collection were summarized into faunal categories based on vertebrate class. Other studies conducted include examination of selected mammal bone elements for evidence of butchering (i.e., saw, cut, and chop marks), and burning; and analysis of the distribution of selected mammal bone elements by location as part of the skeleton.

Identified Fauna

Before considering the results of the zooarchaeological study of the faunal remains recovered from the South Tabby site, the general use and habitat preference for each identified species will be considered. Table 30 lists the various animal species identified in the archaeological collection recovered from the excavations within the identified structures, shell middens, and features.

Species	MNI		Number of Bones	Weight gm	Biomass	
	#	%			kg	%
Cow, <u>Bos taurus</u>	4	6.25	184	2920.8	34.583	43.24
Pig, <u>Sus scrofa</u>	3	4.69	211	701.6	9.581	11.98
Caprine, Sheep/Goat	2	3.13	7	64.2	1.114	1.39
White-tailed deer, <u>Odocoileus virginianus</u>	2	3.13	7	27.8	0.524	0.66
Raccoon, <u>Procyon lotor</u>	10	15.63	56	108.9	1.792	2.24
Rabbit, <u>Sylvilagus</u> spp.	4	6.25	39	19.1	0.374	0.47
Opossum, <u>Didelphis</u> <u>virginiana</u>	1	1.56	3	1.5	0.038	0.05
Eastern Gray Squirrel, <u>Sciurus carolinensis</u>	2	3.13	7	2.2	0.053	0.07
Hispid Cotton Rat, <u>Sigmodon hispidus</u>	1	1.56	2	0.3	0.009	0.01
Rice Rat, <u>Oryzomys</u> spp.	3	4.69	10	1.4	0.036	0.05
Deer Mouse, <u>Peromyscus</u> spp.	1	1.56	1	0.3	0.009	0.01
Unidentified mammal	-	-	1396	2461.3	29.646	37.07
Subtotal	33	51.60	1923	6309.4	77.759	97.20
Chicken, <u>Gallus gallus</u>	4	6.25	55	23.4	0.360	0.45
Canada Goose, <u>Branta</u> <u>canadensis</u>	1	1.56	2	1.8	0.035	0.04
Duck, <u>Anas</u> spp.	1	1.56	2	2.2	0.042	0.05
Mourning Dove, <u>Zenaida</u> <u>macoura</u>	1	1.56	2	0.6	0.013	0.02
Bobwhite Quail, <u>Colinus</u> <u>virginianus</u>	3	4.69	7	1.8	0.035	0.04
Unidentified Bird	-	-	111	32.3	0.482	0.60
Subtotal	10	15.60	179	62.1	0.967	1.20
Carolina Diamondback Terrapin, <u>Malaclemys</u> <u>terrapin centrata</u>	2	3.13	86	76.9	0.580	0.73
Mud Turtle, <u>Kinosternon</u> spp.	1	1.56	1	0.6	0.022	0.03
Subtotal	3	4.70	87	77.5	0.602	0.80
Black Drum, <u>Pogonias</u> <u>cromis</u>	2	3.13	6	3.9	0.107	0.13
Catfish, <u>Ictalurus</u> spp.	8	12.50	40	7.1	0.128	0.13
Gar, <u>Lepisosteus</u> spp.	6	9.34	118	16.0	0.279	0.35
Unidentified Fish	-	-	62	6.4	0.132	0.17
Subtotal	16	25.00	226	33.4	0.647	0.80
Eastern Ribbon Snake, <u>Thamnophis</u> spp.	1	1.56	6	0.4	0.007	0.01
Southern Toad, <u>Bufo</u> <u>terrestris</u>	1	1.56	3	0.4	0.003	0.01
Crab	-	-	130	98.9	-	-
Unidentified	-	-	2055	853.3	-	-
Total	64	100	4609	7435.5	79.985	100

Table 30. Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), weight, number of bones, and estimated meat yield by species.

Domestic Mammals

Three animal species, cow (Bos taurus), pig (Sus scrofa), and domestic Caprines, either sheep (Ovis aries) or goat (Capra hircus), are the only domestic mammals identified in the collection that could have been used as food resources. No dog (Canis familiaris) or domestic cat (Felis domesticus) remains are present.

Pigs are one of the most important domestic mammals used for food in the Southeastern United States (see Hilliard 1972:92-111). Pigs require little care, as they can be allowed to roam free, or they can be penned. Their diet can consist of a variety of food resources, including seeds, roots, fruits, nuts, mushrooms, snakes, larvae, worms, eggs, carrion, mice, small mammals, kitchen refuse, feces, and grain. Pigs store about 35% of the calories they consume, and can gain about 2 pounds for every 15 to 25 pounds of feed (Towne and Wentworth 1950:7-8). Within 18 months, a pig can gain up to 200 pounds, of which about 120 pounds can be consumed. Dressed, a pig carcass can yield between 65% and 80% meat. An idea of the possible size of the pigs that were available to the inhabitants of Haig Point can be gained from the average weight of 140 pounds for 4,000 southern pigs slaughtered in 1860 (Fogel 1965:206 in Reitz and Scarry 1985:70). Pork preserves very well, is satisfying due to its high fat content, and is a good source of thiamine (Towne and Wentworth 1950:249).

Although cattle have been an important meat source during the history of the Southeastern United States (and were a principal product of Daufuskie during the eighteenth century), they are in many ways a more burdensome meat resource to raise than pigs (Hilliard 1972:112-140; Rouse 1973; Towne and Wentworth 1950, 1955). Cows provide less of a return for the energy input provided to raise them (Towne and Wentworth 1950:7-8). Cows feed on grain and grasses, and will not produce good weight gains without quality and quantity sources for either. Also, cattle store only 11% of the calories they consume and yield only 50% to 60% of their weight in dressed meat. Balanced against the greater labor to raise cattle above that required for swine and the fact that beef does not preserve as well as pork (Tomhave 1925:275), there was a demand for fresh beef, cattle hides, cattle horn, tallow, and a number of other foods made from milk products, such as whole milk, buttermilk, cheese, and butter, that can be obtained from cattle (see Hilliard 1972:119-135; Rouse 1973; Towne and Wentworth 1955).

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The third domestic mammal which may have served as a food resource are the Caprines. Distinguishing between goat and sheep bone elements in an archaeological collection is an extremely difficult task (Reitz and Scarry 1985:71) and no attempt is made in this study to do so. In any event, Caprines were only minor

food resources for Southern populations during the nineteenth century (Hilliard 1972:141-144). Goat milk is the only notable food product that was a part of Southern diet other than the flesh that the Caprines produced (Hilliard 1972:144). Sheep, of course, were a source of wool that could be used to make clothing, primarily for home use (Hilliard 1972:141-142).

Wild Mammals

A considerable number of wild mammals are present in the South Tabby faunal sample. These include the smaller wild mammals -- raccoon, rabbit, opossum, and squirrel -- and white-tailed deer.

Raccoon (Procyon lotor) bones are present in fairly large numbers in the faunal assemblage. Raccoons served as a food resource for both whites and blacks, although its meat was apparently less prized than that of the opossum (Hilliard 1972:80). Gathering raccoons could be done using firearms and hunting dogs, to which blacks would presumably have had less access than whites prior to the later portion of the nineteenth century, or they could be obtained by trapping (Hilliard 1972:80). This nocturnal mammal is able to adapt to a variety of habitats, although it prefers wooded areas near water.

Two rabbit species are common to the study area, the Eastern cottontail (Sylvilagus floridanus) and the marsh rabbit (S. palustris). Presumably, both the white and black inhabitants of the Haig Point Plantation used rabbits as a food resource. Because rabbits could be taken relatively easily through the use of traps, slaves without access to firearms could readily harvest them for food (Hilliard 1972:78-79). Rabbits occupy a number of different habitats, but are usually found in marshes, thickets, overgrown fields, and forest edges. Important to rabbits in their choice of habitats is access to escape cover offered by thickets, weed patches, and dense high grass. The marsh rabbit generally prefers damper ground than does the Eastern cottontail, and is somewhat more likely to be found in locations near marshes.

The Eastern gray squirrel (Sciurus carolinensis) was a common food source in the area throughout the antebellum period (Hilliard 1972:79). Both whites and slaves prized squirrel as a food resource, although it was less accessible to slaves who had limited access to firearms. However, squirrel could also be taken by traps and snares (Hilliard 1972:79). The Eastern gray squirrel is found in heavily forested habitats with large stands of mature hardwoods and an understory of smaller trees and shrubs.

The remains of the opossum (Didelphis virginiana) are present in only very small quantities in the faunal sample from the South Tabby site. The opossum was generally preferred over the raccoon as a food source. Opossums could be kept, fattened,

and "cleaned out" by "penning and feeding them for several days on milk and bread or roasted sweet potatoes" (Hilliard 1972:80). The preferred habitat of the opossum, a nocturnal animal, is wooded areas near water, but they are often found in and around human settlements.

The largest wild mammal identified in the South Tabby faunal collection is the white-tailed deer (Odocoileus virginianus). Apparently deer remained widely available in most areas of the Southeast into the middle of the nineteenth century (Hilliard 1972:74-78). The preferred method of hunting deer was with firearms, which restricted the availability of this food resource for slaves. Permission from the slave owner or overseer would be required for slaves to hunt deer and other animals with firearms, and firearms would also have to be available for use by the slaves to hunt. The latter situation would not be common among slave populations (Hilliard 1972:75-76) and the artifact studies by Trinkley and Hacker suggest that firearms were not available to the slaves at the South Tabby site on Daufuskie. In general, the deer's preferred habitat is the edge of deciduous forests and open forests, although they will move to mudflats around marshes to feed on the grasses found there.

Domestic Birds

Chicken (Gallus gallus) is the sole domestic bird identified in the South Tabby site faunal sample. The only other possible domesticated bird present is the Canada goose, which is discussed below. Chickens, like pigs, can be raised either by letting them run loose or by penning them. The meat of the chicken enjoyed a high status as a food item for both whites and blacks during the nineteenth century. Also, besides serving as a meat resource, chickens supplied eggs that could be consumed or used to prepare other food dishes (Hilliard 1972:46-47). Of interest is the recovery of several egg shell fragments from the archaeological investigations at this site.

Wild Birds

A total of four wild bird species -- Canada goose, ducks, mourning doves, and bobwhite quail -- are present in the collection. Canada goose (Branta canadensis) is a migratory waterfowl that, as a wild species, winters along the Carolina coast where fresh water sources are present (Potter et al. 1980:79). The Canada goose was also domesticated during the late 1800s, and by the end of the century standards of excellence for wild Canada geese as a poultry breed had been established (Johnson and Brown 1903). It would not be determined by examining the bone elements present in the 38BU634 faunal assemblage if the specimen was wild or domesticated. Therefore, the Canada goose remains (two bone elements) present were placed in the wild bird category, lacking any evidence of domestication.

Evidence of another migratory waterfowl, duck (Anas spp.) is also present in the faunal assemblage from the South Tabby site. A number of duck species, including the mallard (Anas platyrhynchos), black duck (A. rubripes), common teal (A. crecca), and American wigeon (A. americana), commonly winter along the Carolina coast, and a small number may live year-round on the coast (Potter et al. 1980:89-90).

A total of two bone elements in the collection could be identified as mourning dove (Zenaida macroura). Mourning doves are a valuable game species that are also an important consumer of weed seeds. The bird is a permanent resident throughout the Carolinas, and is found in open country habitats such as fields, forest edges, and areas disturbed or used by humans. It is only rarely found in wooded areas (Potter et al. 1980:189).

Bobwhite quail (Colinus virginianus) is another important small game bird present in the faunal sample. Quail are found in open areas, especially old fields, where slaves would have an opportunity to collect them. This game bird could be obtained in large numbers at one time through the use of a trap (Hilliard 1972:83), which would have been well within the means of the slave population.

It is notable that no turkey (Meleagris gallapave), which was apparently a valued food resource for antebellum whites and blacks (Hilliard 1972:80-81), is present. Although hunting with firearms is one method used to acquire wild turkeys, there is little likelihood that slaves, who had limited access to firearms, would have been able to use this technique to hunt the animal. Another common way to take wild turkeys was by trapping (Hilliard 1972:80). However, because wild turkeys tend to avoid inhabited areas, there would have been less chance for slaves to encounter them.

Reptiles: Turtles

A total of two different species of turtle are present in the faunal collection from the South Tabby site -- Carolina diamondback terrapin and mud turtles. The diamondback terrapin (Malaclemys terrapin) is a turtle usually found in brackish lakes and marshes along the coastal strip or in the brackish estuaries of rivers (Obst 1986:113). The subspecies Carolina diamondback terrapin (Malaclemys terrapin centrata), which inhabits the Atlantic coast from North Carolina to Florida (Obst 1986:214), is probably the turtle represented in the faunal collection. The diamondback terrapin was an important food resource in the Southeast (Hilliard 1972:89) that became an accepted delicacy throughout the United States during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Obst 1986:113, 183). The taste of diamondback terrapin flesh is considered to lie between that of

chicken and fish. It was only the enactment of protective legislation 60 years ago that prevented the extinction of the diamondback terrapin (Obst 1986:113).

The other turtle present in very small quantities in the faunal collection is the mud turtle (Kinosternon spp.). This turtle also dwells in the water, and it is usually found near freshwater sources (Obst 1986:109). Mud turtles were possibly used for food (see Hilliard 1972:89).

Pisces

Remains of fish are an important part of the faunal assemblage at the South Tabby site. The great majority of the fish present are found in freshwater habitats, or are fish that inhabit both freshwater and the tidal creek habitats. It is notable that a number of marine fish species -- including flounder (Paralichthys spp.), shark (Chondrichthyes), silver perch (Bairdiella chrysoura), seatrout (Cynoscion spp.), and spots (Leiostomus xanthurus) -- are absent from the faunal sample (in spite of the use of 1/8-inch mesh and the examination of the 1/16-inch mesh heavy fraction from flotation samples).

Catfish (Ictalurus spp.) is a predominately freshwater fish identified in the faunal assemblage. Catfish are found in pools and backwaters of sluggish streams, usually in areas of heavy vegetation (Lee et al. 1980:442). The most common freshwater catfish found in the sluggish waters and low salinity areas of South Carolina is the white catfish (I. catus) (Wenner et al. 1981). Hilliard (1972:85-86) notes that catfish were a very important food fish throughout the South, and they could be taken with a variety of techniques including traps, trot lines, and set hooks that could be left untended.

Gar (probably longnose gar, Lepisosteus osseus) is one of the identified fish that could have been taken from a freshwater habitat or a tidal creek. Longnose gar are commonly found up to 150 centimeters in length and inhabit both fresh and brackish waters of larger streams and coastal inlets throughout the Coastal Plain of the Carolinas (Wiley 1980:49-50). Gar remains present in the bone sample consist primarily of scales and cranial fragments. These fish were probably taken as individuals with a hook or line, or possibly in traps.

The only identified fish species that is primarily marine in nature, that is they spawn in the estuary or use the area as a nursery, is the black drum (Pogonias cromis) (Boschung et al. 1983). This species is commonly found over sand or sandy mud in bays and estuaries (Boschung et al. 1983:623).

Commensals

Commensal species are animals such as pests, vermin, animals which prey on pests and vermin, and pets that are commonly found in the vicinity of human occupations. These animals would include the rats, mice, snakes, and toads present in the South Tabby faunal collection. The rats identified are the hispid cotton rat (Sigmodon hispidus) and the rice rat (Orvzomys spp.). The one mouse species present is the deer mouse (Peromyscus spp.). The one snake species identified is probably the Eastern ribbon snake (Thamnophis spp.), which is usually found in the marshes and other damp areas of the coast (Martoff et al. 1980:235). The other commensal present is the Southern toad (Bufo terrestris), which is a common inhabitant of the Carolina Coastal Plain (Martoff et al. 1980:109).

Results of the Faunal Analysis

The mid-nineteenth century antebellum faunal collection from the South Tabby site consists of 4609 bone elements and fragments that weigh 7435.5 grams. These totals include 130 crab claws that weight 98.9 grams. The Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), number and weight of bone, and estimated meat yield (biomass) for the faunal sample are presented in Table 30. A summary of the MNI and biomass calculations for each faunal category is listed in Table 31, and Table 32 ranks 10 species/taxa by the biomass each contributed to the total biomass computed for the sample and by MNI.

Faunal Category	MNI		Biomass	
	#	%	kg	%
Domestic Mammals (cow, pig, caprine)	9	14.06	45.278	91.06
Domestic Birds (chicken)	4	6.25	0.360	0.72
Domestic Taxa Total	13	20.30	45.638	91.80
Wild Mammals (deer, raccoon, rabbit, opossum, squirrel)	19	29.69	2.781	5.59
Wild Birds (Canada goose, duck, mourning dove, bobwhite quail)	6	9.38	0.125	0.25
Aquatic Reptiles (turtles and terrapins)	3	4.69	0.602	1.21
Fish (black drum, catfish, gar)	16	25.00	0.514	1.03
Wild Taxa Total	44	68.80	4.022	8.10
Commensal Species (rats, mice, toads, snakes)	7	10.94	0.061	0.01
Total	64	100	49.721	100

Table 31. Summary of faunal categories expressed as counts and percentages for MNI and biomass.

Species	Biomass Rank	MNI Rank
Cow, <u>Bos taurus</u>	1	4
Pig, <u>Sus scrofa</u>	2	7
Raccoon, <u>Procyon lotor</u>	3	1
Sheep/Goat, Caprine	4	10
Diamondback terrapin (<u>Malaclemys terrapin centrata</u>)	5	10
Rabbit, <u>Sylvilagus</u> spp.	6	4
Chicken, <u>Gallus gallus</u>	7	4
Gar, <u>Lepisosteus</u> spp.	8	3
Catfish, <u>Ictalurus</u> spp.	9	2
Black drum, <u>Pogonias cromis</u>	10	10
Bobwhite quail, <u>Colinus virginianus</u>	-	7
White-tailed deer, <u>Odocoileus virginianus</u>	-	10
Eastern gray squirrel, <u>Sciurus carolinensis</u>	-	10

Table 32. Rank of the ten most prominent potential food faunal species by biomass and MNI.

As would be expected, domestic vertebrates -- pig, cow, sheep/goat, and chicken -- account for a vast majority of the total biomass calculated for the sample. Although cow represents over 43% of the total biomass, only 6.25% (N=4) of the total MNI identified are cow. Pig accounts for almost 12% of the total biomass, but less than 5% of the MNI (N=3). Chicken has a different pattern, providing less than 0.5% of the total biomass, while possessing 6.25% of the total MNI for the site (MNI=4).

Wild mammals are the second most important faunal category in the faunal collection according to biomass, and the most important in terms of the minimum number of individuals present (N=19). Wild mammals present include raccoon, rabbit, squirrel, and opossum. Raccoon and opossum are common scavengers that are drawn to crops, trash deposits, hen houses, and the like that are found around human settlements. Rabbits would be found in the marshes or in the fields and forest edges adjacent to fields on the island. Squirrels are usually present only in forested areas. Deer, while usually found in forests, along forest edges, and occasionally in the marshes, also are drawn to certain crops grown by people.

The third ranked faunal category in the collection according to biomass (0.602 kilograms), although they have a MNI of only three, are aquatic reptiles. The Carolina diamondback terrapin and mud turtles are the two species identified in this category. Carolina diamondback terrapins are found in the estuarine/marsh areas adjacent to the site. Diamondback terrapin apparently comprised a good portion of the slave diet in coastal areas long before the nineteenth century (Quitmyer 1985:20). During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the diamondback terrapin

became a gourmet item, as well as continuing as a part of the diet of more "common" folk (Obst 1986:183). Although they are occasionally found in estuaries, mud turtles are usually found in freshwater areas. Mud turtles are diurnal, that is they are most active during the day, they enjoy basking in the sun, and they tend to sleep in mud bottoms (Obst 1986). These turtles could be caught by handlines, traps, or by hand.

The fourth most important faunal category according to biomass (with 0.514 kilograms) are the fish, which are second in the total MNI (N=16) identified for the faunal collection. Fish identified are black drum, catfish, and gar. The catfish is predominately a freshwater fish, the gar is found in either estuarine or brackish/freshwater habitats, and the black drum is found primarily in the deeper waters of the estuarine system or in the bays and sounds around Daufuskie Island (Cain 1973). The black drum does not occur in quantities sufficient to warrant a supposition that they were procured by nets or seines. Rather it was probably obtained as individuals by use of hook and line. The catfish and gar are present in quantities that do not preclude their being taken by nets, seine, trot lines, or by hook and line.

Although the biomass contributed by wild bird species is quite low, only 0.125 kilograms, there are a number of individuals present for the four identified species/taxa (MNI=6). Canada goose accounts for only a small portion of the number of identified individuals (1.56%, MNI=1) and of the total biomass (0.04%, 0.035 kilogram). Also, there is only one individual duck present with a biomass contribution of 0.042 kilograms (0.05% of the total biomass). The two game birds present are the mourning dove (MNI=1, biomass=0.013 kilograms) and the bobwhite quail (MNI=3, biomass=0.035 kilograms).

The Canada goose and duck are migratory waterfowl usually present on the Carolina coast between September and May, although an occasional individual has been noted in the summer. Presumably, these migratory waterfowl would have been gathered from the marsh. The two game birds, the mourning dove and the bobwhite quail, would have been found in the fields of the plantation and could have been captured by traps.

The true commensal species include the rice rat, the hispid cotton rat, the deer mouse, the Southern toad, and the eastern ribbon snake. It is not known if these were used as food resources by the inhabitants of the site, but the small numbers of individuals (MNI=5) and the small amount of biomass that they comprise (0.156 kilograms, 0.39% of the total biomass) argues against their use as food resources. The various houses and structures that comprised the Haig Point Plantation and the marsh areas surrounding the plantation would have served as good habitation sites for these commensal species both during and

following the plantation's occupation by humans.

Although crabs are not a vertebrate fauna, they are present in the faunal sample from the South Tabby site. A total of 130 claw fragments that weight 98.9 grams were noted in the collection. Crabs are found on mud, shell, and sand bottoms in the salt marsh and brackish waters, especially in the estuaries and mouths of tidal creeks around sea grass. Most are taken between March and November (Freeman and Walford 1976). Most of the specimens are blue crab (see Turner and Johnson 1972:182).

Table 32 summarizes the 10 most prominent fauna species/taxa with respect to their contribution to the total biomass for the faunal collection and according to MNI calculations. Two domestic species cow and pig rank one-two, although cow ranks only fourth when MNI are considered, as compared to pig's seventh place. The other domestic mammal, sheep/goat (Caprine), ranks fourth on the biomass list and tenth (along with four other species) on the MNI list. Another domestic species, chicken, ranks seventh on the biomass list and fourth when MNI are examined. Fish species take the eighth (gar), ninth (catfish) and tenth (black drum) positions in the biomass rankings. The Carolina diamondback terrapin, an aquatic reptile found in the marsh, is the fifth ranked species based on biomass, and the tenth ranked according to MNI. Two wild mammals -- raccoon (third) and rabbit (sixth) --are the other two species that place in the 10 species ranked according to biomass. Raccoon also ranks first on the MNI list, while rabbit ranks fourth on this list, and deer and squirrel rank tenth according to MNI.

Diversity and equitability indices calculated for the total biomass and MNI present in the faunal collection from the South Tabby site using the Shannon-Weaver index of diversity (Shannon and Weaver 1949:14) and the Sheldon formula for determining equitability (Pielou 1966; Sheldon 1969) are listed in Table 33. The diversity scale ranges to a high of 4.99, which indicates great diversity. Equitability is measured on a scale that ranges from 0.0, which indicates that one or a few species account for the diversity, to 1.0, which indicates an even distribution of species that approaches a normal pattern of a few abundant species, a moderate number of common species, and many rare species. The diversity measure for biomass is low (1.0484) and the equitability is below 0.50 (0.3392). For MNI, the diversity (2.7831) is in the midrange of the scale, and the equitability (0.8876) is toward the high end of the scale. This is interpreted to indicate that a few species contributed the greatest portion of the total biomass, but that a number of wild species were regularly utilized as a food resource in addition to the four domestic species of cow, pig, caprine and chicken. The most important faunal categories after the domestic taxa are the wild mammals (primarily raccoon and rabbit), fish (primarily catfish and gar), and aquatic reptiles (diamondback terrapin).

	Diversity	Equitability	N
MNI (64)	2.7831	0.8876	23
Biomass (49.721 kg)	1.0484	0.3392	22

The Shannon-Weaver formula for determining the diversity of a sample is:

$$H = -\sum p_i \ln p_i$$

where H is the measure of diversity, and p_i is, in this case, either the MNI or the Biomass of each species, i, divided by the total MNI or total Biomass for the sample. Thus, for each identified species that has a MNI count, p_i is calculated by dividing the MNI for that species by the total number of MNI from the sample. The diversity measure H is the sum of all the p_i multiplied by the natural log (ln) of each p_i . A similar procedure is used to calculate the Diversity index for the Biomass, substituting the Biomass figures for MNI in the calculations.

The Sheldon formula for determining the equitability of a sample is:

$$H' = H/\ln N$$

where H' is the measure of equitability, H is the Diversity measure calculated for the sample, and N is the total number of cases, observations, or, in this case, species for which MNI or Biomass were calculated in a sample. Equitability is simply the Diversity measure divided by the natural log (ln) of N, the number of species for which MNI or Biomass calculations were made.

Table 33. Diversity and equitability of the MNI and biomass for the identified faunal species.

The bone modifications exhibited by the pig and cow bones in the faunal collection were examined for evidence of sawing, cutting, chopping, and burning (Table 34). Of the four pig bones that had been modified, all evidenced cut marks. There were no examples of identified pig bones that had been sawed, chopped, or burnt. For the 13 cow bones that had been modified, five had been sawed, five had been cut, and three had been chopped. The modified pig bone represents only 1.9% of the total number of pig bones identified in the assemblage, and the 13 modified cow bones represent 9.8% of the identified cow bones present.

The distribution of identified bone elements by body segment for the cow, pig, caprine, and deer remains from the South Tabby

Bone Element	Sawed	Cut	Chopped	Burnt
<u>Pig, <i>Sus scrofa</i></u>				
Thoracic vertebra spinous process	-	1	-	-
Rib fragments	1	3	-	-
Total	1	4	-	-
<u>Cow, <i>Bos taurus</i></u>				
Scapula body fragments	-	-	2	-
Rib fragments	2	4	-	-
Right proximal radius	-	1	1	-
Left femur shaft	1	-	-	-
Left femur head	1	-	-	-
Left acetabulum & ischium	1	-	-	-
Total	5	5	3	-

Table 34. Bone modifications present on the pig and cow bones.

site is shown in Table 35. For cow 83% (N=38) of the skull elements consist of teeth and teeth fragments. Also, 30 of the 38 vertebra, sternum, and ribs category (80%) are ribs. Given the distribution of cow bone elements shown in Table 35, it would appear that most of the beef remains are jaw/jowl cuts, rib cuts, shoulder roasts, and rump roasts.

Bone Element Group	Cow		Pig		Caprine		Deer	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Skull, 1st & 2nd cervical vertebrae	46	38.33	146	74.49	-	-	3	50.00
Vertebrae, sternum & ribs	38	31.67	33	16.84	-	-	-	-
Forelimbs	10	8.33	10	5.10	1	25.00	-	-
Forefeet	3	2.50	1	0.51	1	25.00	2	33.33
Hindlimbs	11	9.17	4	2.04	1	25.00	-	-
Hindfeet	5	4.16	-	-	1	25.00	1	16.67
Feet	7	5.83	2	1.02	-	-	-	-
Total	120	100.00	196	100.00	4	100.00	6	100.00

Table 35. Bone element distribution for the cow, pig, caprine, and deer remains.

For the pig bones, 121 of the 146 skull bone elements (83%) are miscellaneous teeth. The bone elements for the pig bones are distributed among the cranial segments, sides of pork that possess ribs and/or vertebrae, forelimbs, hindlimbs, feet, and forefeet in descending order. This would appear to indicate that the pig meat available consisted primarily of jaw/jowl cuts, rib cuts, and shoulder roasts.

The composition of the skull bone element category for the South Tabby site contrasts with that noted for the faunal collection from the Mitchelville site, a postbellum freedmen's

village on Hilton Head Island, immediately north of Daufuskie Island. In the Mitchelville faunal collection, which also totals 196 identified pig bone, only 15 of the 79 pig skull bone elements (19%) are miscellaneous teeth (Wilson and Wilson 1986:303). Likewise, the distribution of the bone elements at Mitchelville (Wilson and Wilson 1986:305) shows that skull elements total 40.3% (n=79) of the identified pig bone; the vertebrae, sternum, and ribs 25.5% (n=50); feet 16.3% (n=33); hindlimbs 10.7% (n=21); forelimbs 5.1% (n=10); forefeet 1.0% (n=2); and hindfeet 1.0% (n=2). The importance of the Mitchelville pig bone element distribution (and bone modification) is that the majority of the pig assemblage is thought to have been homegrown, that is raised by the freed blacks for their own consumption (Wilson and Wilson 1986:303). The distribution of the bone elements at the South Tabby site certainly contrasts with the bone element pattern at Mitchelville.

The identified cow bone elements in the Mitchelville faunal collection only totals 68 (Wilson and Wilson 1986:305). The skull elements comprise only 16.2% (n=11) of the identified bone elements, and nine of the 11 (81.8%) are teeth fragments. Three categories that possess the better cuts of beef -- the vertebrae, sternum, and ribs category (42.6%, n=29), the forelimb category (2.9%, n=2), and the hindlimb category (26.5%, n=18 -- comprise 72% of the identified bone elements. Forefeet (4.4%, n=3) and feet (7.4%, n=5) complete the assemblage. Once again, the Mitchelville assemblage contrasts with the South Tabby collection, primarily as a result of the cow skull element category (and large number of teeth) in the latter assemblage. The vertebrae, sternum, and ribs category, the forelimb category, and the hindlimbs category for the South Tabby cow bone elements still comprise almost half of the collection, 49.2% (n=59). However, this is considerably less than at Mitchelville.

The Caprine bone elements are from limbs that are associated with the lower legs, not the shoulder or rump areas of sheep/goat. The three deer bone skull elements are all teeth, which would be from jaw/jowl cuts of meat. The other three deer bone elements are from the lower legs.

The patterns exhibited by the South Tabby cow bone element modification (Table 33) and distribution (Table 34) appear to indicate that the beef available to the inhabitants of the South Tabby slave row came from two sources. First, the sawed and chopped rib, shoulder, and rump meat cuts could represent purchased beef that was distributed as rations to the slaves. The jaw/jowl cuts could also represent purchased ration beef, although it could also be from a locally available beef supply. If the latter is the case, then it would appear that the better cuts of beef available on the plantation usually went to other segments of the plantation's population, and the poorer cuts, as

indicated by the jaw/jowl distribution, tended to go to the South Tabby people.

The pig bone element modification (Table 33) and distribution (Table 34) indicate that it is doubtful if pork was obtained from sources other than the plantation. This is indicated by the absence of sawed and chopped pieces of pork. Again, it would appear that the South Tabby slaves tended to have poorer (i.e., jaw/jowl) cuts of pork, with the better ones apparently tending to go to other segments of the plantation's population.

The distribution of the Caprine and deer bone elements tentatively supports the generalization that lower quality cuts of meat tended to be available to the South Tabby slaves. Other segments of the plantation's population to which the better cuts of meat would tend to go include the plantation's owners, overseers, and house slaves. Alternatively (or in addition), the better cuts may have been sold off the plantation. This observation is one of degree only, because some of the better cuts of pork and beef were available to the South Tabby slaves. However, it does appear that they did have only limited access to these better cuts. This proposition will have to remain unsubstantiated for now, because information on the faunal resources present at other locales within the plantation (see Quitmyer and Bosworth 1988) is not available in a form that permits comparison with the results listed here. Comparison of the South Tabby collection with the freedmen faunal assemblage from nearby Mitchelville, however, does tentatively support this proposition.

Comparisons

Given that the mid-nineteenth century antebellum archaeological remains at the South Tabby site are from the slave row of a plantation (here used to include planter, overseer, and slave habitations), it is probable that the faunal collection will more closely resemble faunal samples from other plantation slave sites or rural sites rather than urban sites. As already noted earlier, the South Tabby faunal collection appears to differ from the assemblage identified at the freed black community of Mitchelville on nearby Hilton Head Island.

Reitz (1984:14-15; 1986) proposed a number of hypotheses about the vertebrate faunal composition of the diet of Carolina urban and rural sites that date from the late eighteenth into the middle of the nineteenth century. In general, urban residents apparently utilized more domestic meat than did rural people and they used a wider range of different species, especially domestic birds. As a consequence, wild animals were utilized to a lesser extent at urban sites and fewer wild species were exploited.

Table 36 compares the MNI percentages determined for each of the seven general faunal categories (domestic mammal, domestic bird, wild mammals, wild birds, reptiles, fish, and commensals) at the South Tabby site with composite percentages computed by Reitz (1984:24; 1988) for Urban, Rural, and Slave contexts in the southern Atlantic Coastal Plain. As expected, in only one category, commensals, is the MNI percentage from the South Tabby site similar to the urban pattern. However, the South Tabby data are similar to the Rural pattern in none of the faunal categories. For domestic mammals, reptiles, and fish, the South Tabby figures are substantially less than either the Urban or Rural percentages. For domestic birds, wild mammals, and wild birds, the South Tabby faunal assemblage categories are higher than the Rural pattern. In commensals the South Tabby percentage is noticeably higher than the Rural figure.

Faunal Category	38BU634	Urban	Mitchelville	Rural	Slave
Domestic Mammals	14.1	28.9	19.1	17.2	20.5
Domestic Birds	6.3	19.7	12.8	4.1	3.0
Wild Mammals	29.7	8.1	10.6	19.2	24.7
Wild Birds	9.4	7.6	8.5	3.0	2.1
Reptiles	4.7	5.4	12.8	13.7	10.4
Fish	25.0	19.7	25.5	38.4	36.6
Commensals	10.9	10.6	10.6	4.3	2.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 36. Comparison of the 38BU634 faunal categories by MNI percentages with various faunal category patterns. Data for the Slave pattern are derived from Reitz (1984:Table 7). Percentages for the Urban and Rural patterns are from Reitz (1988) and are for materials from late eighteenth and early nineteenth century coastal contexts. The Mitchelville pattern percentages are from Wilson and Wilson (1986:Table 39).

Comparison of the South Tabby faunal category percentages with the pattern defined by Reitz for Slave faunal assemblages (Table 36) also shows few congruences. Only for wild mammals are the MNI percentages similar, although the South Tabby figures are higher. For all other categories -- domestic mammals, domestic birds, wild birds, reptiles, fish, and commensals -- the South Tabby data and the Slave pattern are different.

Comparison of the freedmen Mitchelville faunal category MNI pattern with the South Tabby pattern also shows few congruences. In the wild bird, fish, and commensal categories the two patterns exhibit similar percentages. The South Tabby domestic mammal, domestic bird, and reptile figures are less than those for Mitchelville, and the wild mammal figure is substantially more.

The South Tabby faunal assemblage can also be compared with that from another postbellum site, a hypothesized freedmen/ex-slave site at Colonels Island, Georgia, that was located on a former plantation (Singleton 1985:299-302). This site is definitely a rural site, and has a faunal sample with 46 individuals. A diet derived from foraging is indicated, as nondomestic foods, including deer, raccoon, opossum, fish, and sea turtle, contributed 98% of the meat to the diet based on biomass computations (Reitz 1978:342 in Singleton 1985:302). The South Tabby biomass data certainly does not compare favorably with Colonels Island, as 91.8% of the meat total at the South Tabby site was supplied by domestic species. The South Tabby biomass percentage is slightly higher than the percentage contribution of domestic species, 85.7%, in the Mitchelville faunal collection (Wilson and Wilson 1986:293).

In summary, the composition of the mid-nineteenth century antebellum faunal assemblage at the South Tabby site does not conform to any of the faunal assemblage patterns noted for urban, rural, or slave sites of the south Atlantic Coast. Also, although there are some similarities between the South Tabby site and the postbellum Mitchelville faunal patterns, there are noticeable differences for domestic mammals, domestic birds, wild mammals, and reptiles. There are additional differences in the two collections when the composition of some of the faunal categories is examined. For the fish category, the South Tabby collection is composed primarily of gar and catfish, both freshwater/brackish water species. Only a limited number of marine fish found in the surrounding estuarine habitats and bays are present in the South Tabby assemblage. In contrast, the vast majority of the fish identified in the Mitchelville assemblage (eight of the 12 MNI) are marine species found in estuarine habitats (Wilson and Wilson 1986:300).

Likewise, the wild bird faunal category for the two collections is composed of different species. The Mitchelville wild bird assemblage consists of turkey (MNI=1) Canada goose (MNI=1), duck (MNI=1), tern (MNI=1), and rock dove (MNI=1) (Wilson and Wilson 1986:300). Turkey, tern, and rock dove are absent from the South Tabby collection. The Daufuskie collection, however, contains two small gamebirds, bobwhite quail and mourning dove, which the Mitchelville collection fails to evidence.

The contrast that the South Tabby faunal collection makes with the other faunal category patterns, especially the Mitchelville and Slave patterns, is interpreted to indicate that the slaves who were inhabitants of the site had lower "status" compared to other slaves in general and to postbellum freedmen. Of the two, only the latter generalization is not unexpected.

Support for the lower status of the South Tabby slaves

compared to other slaves is drawn from the following factors. The South Tabby cow bone element distribution and bone modification patterns discussed earlier suggest that the beef available as rations for the slaves possessed a greater proportion of less desirable meat cuts than might be expected to be available. Also the pig, caprine, and deer meat available tends to be from the less desirable cuts of the animal. Add to this general pattern the paucity of marine fish food resources at the South Tabby site, which starkly contrasts with the Mitchelville faunal assemblage, and the overall disparity in the availability of what might be considered to be preferred or "better" food resources is underscored. This general observation cannot be examined in detail at this time, primarily because the faunal collection from the excavation of the slave row adjacent to the main house compound at Haig Point (Quitmyer and Bosworth 1988) is not in a form that permits comparison to the South Tabby analysis. This faunal collection from the northern slave row, adjacent to the main house, however, appears to generally resemble that found at Mitchelville, especially in the variety of marine fish species present. If this is true, the main house compound slave row inhabitants would appear to have had a status different from (and apparently "higher" than) the South Tabby slaves. This difference may reflect status differences within a slave population that parallels a rough division between house slaves/overseers/specialists and field hands.

A second factor worthy of consideration is the overall composition of the wild species that comprise the South Tabby faunal collection. The make-up of the fish faunal category has already been mentioned. The two small wild game birds (quail and dove), rabbits, opossums, squirrels, and the two non-marine fish species (catfish and gar) could all have been taken in traps. Raccoons could also have been taken in traps. This technique of capture would not have interfered with the normal work-day of field hands. Gathering the two nocturnal wild mammals -- raccoons and opossums -- would also have not interfered with a slave's work-day. However, if raccoons were hunted, the meat from this mammal, and the less desirable cuts from other mammals hunted such as deer, could have been given to the South Tabby slaves to supplement their diets. This would be in keeping with these slaves receiving the less desirable meat resources, because, as Hilliard (1972:80) notes, the tough and stringy raccoon meat was considered to be less palatable than the flesh of other wild mammals, including the opossum. The better cuts of meat and the more highly prized wild meat resources would have tended to go to other segments of the plantation's population.

Conclusions

In general, faunal samples that do not contain at least 200 individuals or 1400 bones are usually deemed too small for reliable interpretations (Grayson 1979; Wing and Brown 1979).

Although the number of individuals present in the mid-nineteenth century antebellum faunal collection from the South Tabby site does not number at least 200, the collection does possess 64 individuals and 4609 bone elements and fragments, of which 950 could be identified to species. While not eliminating all doubt about the interpretations set forth for this faunal collection, there is probably a good basis for accepting the findings derived from the analysis of this material at the very least as a preliminary assessment.

Although it was originally expected that the faunal assemblage would exhibit a pattern similar to that found in other slave faunal assemblages of the southern Atlantic Coast, a pattern that differed from the generalized Slave faunal patterns in addition to the Urban and Rural patterns was defined. Not so unexpected is the difference noted between the South Tabby and Mitchelville faunal assemblages. It is suggested that this divergence from the Slave and the Mitchelville faunal category patterns reflects a "lower" status for the South Tabby slaves at Haig Point compared to the freed slaves who inhabited Mitchelville, and the house/overseer/specialist slaves who occupied the slave row adjacent to the main house at Haig Point. The implication for future zooarchaeological research is that it should be possible to investigate status differences within the various segments of the slave population resident at a plantation, at least at the level of house/overseer/specialist slave versus field hand. This, in turn, requires that the slave population of a plantation not be considered as a homogeneous group.

ETHNOBOTANICAL REMAINS FROM 38BU634

Michael Trinkley

Introduction

These ethnobotanical samples were collected in July and August 1988 by the author during data recovery at the South Tabby site, 38BU634 on Daufuskie Island, South Carolina. While it is important to consult the remainder of the data recovery report for details concerning this site, a brief overview will be presented, with emphasis on the site context as it may affect the botanical record.

The South Tabby site is a late antebellum slave row situated on the Haig Point Plantation, south of the main house. Analysis of the material remains and examination of the limited historic documentation suggests that the site was constructed either in the late 1840s or early 1850s and was abandoned by the early 1860s, probably as a result of the Civil War. It is likely that the site was occupied by slaves of relatively "low" status, perhaps field hands.

The site is situated on the edge of Calibogue Sound, in an area today dominated by second growth hardwoods. Previously, the island is expected to have consisted of a mixture of fields cultivated in both cotton and subsistence crops, old fields in varying stages of second growth vegetation, pine lands, and hardwoods (such as the common oak-pine maritime forest; see Mathews et al. 1980 and Sharitz 1975). While there is no historic documentation, it is likely that the area immediately surrounding the slave row consisted of cleared land, with a number of commensal or weedy species pioneering in the disturbed habitat. The site is very close to an estuarine environment and palustrine areas are only a short distance to the west.

Research at the site included block excavations around three of eight structures, and test excavations in four refuse middens, largely composed of oyster shell, associated with the structures. Soil samples were collected from three of the four middens and from two of the features associated with the structures. No flotation samples were collected from within the structures because the soils failed to suggest a high organic content and appeared to be heavily trampled. Each soil sample was 5 gallons (19 liters) in volume and was gently prescreened through 1/4-inch mesh to remove large artifacts and the abundant shell. This step, while perhaps damaging fragile ethnobotanical remains, was deemed necessary to ensure obtaining sufficiently large soil

volumes while reducing the bulk of the samples since it was necessary to transport the soil off the island for flotation. On-site flotation was not possible for both logistic reasons and the necessity to maintain site appearance in the development area. The flotation was conducted at the Chicora laboratories in Columbia at the conclusion of the project using a pressurized water system.

Three of the five flotation samples were sufficiently large to require subsampling. This was done because samples over 10 to 20 grams frequently result in redundancy and the analysis of large samples is very time consuming. The 5 gallon (18 liter) sample from 42-25R20 produced a flotation sample weighing 45.07 grams, of which a subsample of 10.91 grams was analyzed. The 58-10R20 sample weighed 29.83 grams and a subsample of 22.55 grams was examined. The Feature 1 flotation sample consists of 99.57 grams of material, of which 31.59 grams were randomly selected for complete examination. Clearly, the flotation sample size at Daufuskie was adequate for a thorough, representative study.

Two of the samples selected for analysis represent midden contexts (42-25R20 and 58-10R20), while the remaining three represent features. Feature 1 is the fill from a tabby chimney base from within Structure 8, while Feature 2 (excavated in two zones) represents the fill from a tabby chimney base associated with Structure 7. The midden remains probably represent primarily discarded oyster shell retained for future tabby construction projects or the production of lime mortar. They, however, contained variable amounts of domestic refuse and appear to have functioned as convenient areas for household trash. The fill from the chimney bases contained quantities of charcoal interpreted to represent the remains of fireplace usage.

In addition to the flotation samples, a series of 26 handpicked charcoal samples were also examined for charcoal species identifications. These samples were randomly collected from both 1/4 and 1/8-inch screens during structure, midden, and feature excavations.

Procedures and Results

The five flotation samples were prepared in a manner similar to that described by Yarnell (1974:113-114) and were examined under low magnification (7 to 30x) to identify carbonized plant foods and food remains. Remains were identified on the basis of gross morphological features and seed identification relied on Martin and Barkley (1961), and Montgomery (1977). All flotation samples, as previously discussed, consisted of 5 gallons (18 liters) of soil, although several yielded such large quantities of carbonized materials that subsampling was necessary to avoid redundancy. The results of the analyses are provided in Table 37.

Provenience	Wood Charcoal		Uncarb. Organic		Shell		Bone		Seeds		Total
	wt.	%	wt.	%	wt.	%	wt.	%	wt.	%	
Shell Middens:											
42-25R20, Zone 1	6.19	56.7	2.77	25.4	1.94	17.8	-	-	0.01	0.1	10.91
58-10R20, Zone 1	14.67	65.1	7.48	33.2	0.34	1.5	-	-	0.06	0.2	22.55
Features:											
Fea. 1	28.07	88.9	2.39	7.6	1.12	3.5	-	-	0.03	<0.1	31.59
Fea. 2, Zone 1	15.92	76.3	4.84	23.2	0.11	0.5	-	-	<0.01	<0.1	20.87
Fea. 2, Zone 2	6.58	79.3	1.49	17.9	0.05	0.6	0.15	1.8	0.03	0.4	8.30

195 Recovered Seeds:

- 42-25R20
 1 unidentified seed coat fragment
- 58-10R20
 2 unidentified seed coat fragments
 1 chenopod (Chenopodium spp.)
 1 grape (Vitis spp.)
- Feature 1:
 1 unidentified seed coat fragment
 1 unidentified seed fragment
 1 spurge (Euphorbia spp.)
- Feature 2, Zone 1:
 1 unidentified seed fragment
- Feature 2, Zone 2:
 1 unidentified seed coat fragment

Table 37. Analysis of flotation samples from 38BU634, weight in grams.

The weight of examined samples ranged from a low of 5.30 grams to a high of 31.59 grams. Confidence in each of the examined samples is high; that is, the size of each sample is sufficient to provide a reliable indication of plant foods and food remains, within the parameters of Historic period food preparation and disposal practices. In all of the samples wood charcoal represents the majority constituent, ranging from about 57% to 89% of the samples. Uncarbonized organic material, including rootlets and uncarbonized seeds (assumed to be modern intrusions) account for about 8% to 33% of the samples, while shell is a noticeable inclusion in only one sample (42-25R50, 17.8%). Seeds, while found in each of the samples, never account for more than 0.4% of the total sample weight. Unidentifiable seed fragments or seed coat fragments accounted for seven of the 10 seed specimens. The three identified specimens include single examples of grape (Vitis spp.), spurge (Euphorbia spp.), and chenopod (Chenopodium spp.). The grape seed is probably a food remain, the chenopod may possibly be either a food or accidental inclusion, while the spurge probably represents a weedy plant near the settlement.

Twenty-five hand picked charcoal specimens yielded charcoal fragments capable of identification to the genus level, using comparative samples, Panshin and de Zeeuw (1970), and Koehler (1917). The charcoal was broken in half to expose a fresh transverse surface. One hand picked sample produced a peach (Prunus persica) pit. Quantification of the sample weights was not felt to be useful given that the major concerns were habitat reconstruction and wood use; hence the specimens examined were simply identified to species and counted. The results of this analysis are shown in Table 38.

Pine (Pinus spp.) is found in all of the samples and is the dominant species in 23 samples (92%). Oak (Quercus spp.) is found in 13 samples (52%) and is tied with pine for dominance in one sample. Cedar (Juniperus silicicola) is dominant in one sample (4%) and found in two additional samples. Other identified species include maple (Acer spp.), sassafras (Sassafras albidum), palmetto (Sabal spp.), and willow (Salix spp.). In addition, a small quantity of wood could be identified only as diffuse porous.

Discussion

Zierden and Trinkley (1984) and Trinkley et al. (1985) have previously discussed the significance of ethnobotanical research at Historic period sites, as well the biases in the archaeological record which result from food preparation and refuse disposal activities. Basically, many plant foods were prepared or cooked in ways which will not provide an opportunity for their preservation in the archaeological record. While ethnobotanical analyses from antebellum plantation sites in the

Proviencie	Pine	Oak	Cedar	Maple	Sassafras	Palmetto	Hickory	Willow	Dif. Por.	UID
42-25R20, Z1	7	1	1	1						1
42-25R20, Z3	6	1								
42-25R20, trow	3	2							1	
52-40R30, Z1	8	1			1	1				1
52-40R30, Z2	3	2								1
53-0R10, Z1	2									
53-0R10, trow	3	1								
53-10R10, Z1	5									
57-30R20, Z1	13	2								
57-30R20, Z2	7	1							1	
57-30R30, trow	1	1	2							
58-0R10, Z1	9									1
58-10R20, Z1	5									1
58-10R30, Z3	1	1					1			1
58-20R10, Z1	4									1
58-20R20, Z1	5	1	1							1
58-20R20, trow	4									
58-20R30, Z1	12	3								
Fea 1	3									1
Fea 1, N1/2	5									
Fea 1, S1/2	5	1								
Fea 2, N1/2	2							1		
Fea 3	5									
Fea 4, W1/2	5									
Fea 4, trow	1									

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1 peach pit recovered from 53-10R10, Zone 2 is not included in this table

Table 38. Wood Species identification from 38BU634.

South Carolina Coastal Plain are uncommon, the few available comparative studies document the low incidence of carbonized plant foods.

Previous work by Trinkley (1983) at the Campfield slave settlement, a rice producing antebellum plantation in Georgetown County, South Carolina, yielded both black walnut (Juglans nigra) and hickory (Carya spp.) nutshells, squash (Cucurbita spp.), china-berry seeds (Melia azedarach), and a variety of weedy seeds. While the nuts and squash represent probable food sources, the china-berry seeds are most likely medicinal, being used as a vermifuge. The weedy plant seeds from the Brassicaceae (Cruciferae), Polygonaceae, and Fabaceae families are indicative of a disturbed habitat. At the late eighteenth century Yaughan-Curriboo slave rows in Berkeley County, Gardner (1983) identified a small quantity of cultigens, including corn (Zea mays), rice (Oryza sativa), and peach (Prunus persica). Other, native fleshy fruit, species were also identified, such as hawthorn (Crataegus sp.), blackberry (Rubus sp.), sumac (Rhus sp.), and legume seeds. Again, "weedy" plant seeds were documented from the collection. Finally, Gardner (1986) has examined the flotation collections from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Lesesne and Fairbank plantations in Berkeley County on the Wando River. These remains, however, were collected from both "high" and "low" status areas within the plantation. Recovered were examples of corn, rice, peach, watermelon, peanuts, and cotton (the latter three species being identified from a waterlogged well deposit). Seeds of native fleshy fruits, such as blackberry, grape, blueberry (Vaccinium spp.), hackberry (Celtis spp.), persimmon (Diospyros virginiana), and maypops (Passiflora incarnata), were also recovered. In addition, this site also produced quantities of ruderal or "weedy" seeds.

More recently, Newsom (1988) examined a collection of ethnobotanical materials recovered from the North Tabby slave row (38BU153) on Daufuskie Island. This site, however, represents both antebellum and postbellum occupation and so comparisons must be cautiously advanced. Identified cultigens include corn and peach; wild plant foods include hickory, pecan, acorn, grape, hackberry, peppervine (Ampelopsis arborea), and cabbage palm (Sabal palmetto). Medicinal plants include china-berry and wax myrtle (Myrica spp.), while several "weedy" species were again noted. Unfortunately, most of these seeds were uncarbonized and their association with either the antebellum or postbellum occupation must be questioned since no "unusual" preservation conditions, such as waterlogged strata, were present.

The literature is replete with both primary and secondary sources discussing Low Country foodways (see Trinkley et al. 1985 for a discussion), but Jeremiah Evarts' 1822 visit with David John Mongin on Daufuskie Island is worthy of brief mention. These discussions consistently mention a number of meats, but all

of the plant foods are processed (i.e., waffles, buck wheat cake, hominy, toast, wheat bread, corn meal, and wheat flour). The slaves "have as much land as they can till for their own use," but they "rarely tasted flesh" and "the fare of plantation slaves is coarse and scanty" (Diary of Jeremiah Evarts, Georgia Historical Society, typescript).

The low incidence of cultigens at the South Tabby site, when compared to previous archaeobotanical studies, is unusual, although differences in the time periods, geographic location, and plantation economics must be considered. Rice and corn were dietary staples of most slaves during the antebellum period, although corn was commonly dispensed as a milled product (Hilliard 1972:48, 157) and rice was commonly used only on rice plantations where the damaged grains were given to the slaves as foodstuff (Hilliard 1972:169). Hence, the absence of corn may indicate careful grinding and the absence of rice is not unexpected since the Daufuskie-Hilton Head area produced very little rice. The peach is usually considered a cultigen and was abundant on coastal plantations. In fact, peaches were occasionally fed to hogs and were often a dietary supplement of slave populations (Hilliard 1972:60-61). The peach would fruit from June through July (Radford et al. 1968:566).

Grape was commonly exploited as a dietary supplement and was occasionally grown on the plantation in small quantities. The single specimen recovered from the South Tabby site is at the small end of the seed size range for native scuppernong (Vitis rotundifolia), but may also represent one of the smaller native grapes found at wood edges and stream banks. Grape fruits from September through October (Radford et al. 1968:695-697).

The spurge (Euphorbia spp.) is a large and variable genus of annual or perennial herbs, trees, and shrubs, several of which are found in the Beaufort area (e.g., E. polygonifolia, E. maculata). They fruit from May through October and are found in waste areas, disturbed habitats, and on sand dunes.

The work by Newsom (1988) found that pine was consistently dominant, although 12 wood species were identified, representing hydric to mesic hardwoods, pinelands, and disturbed or successional associations. The South Tabby site produced eight wood species, including four from the northern settlement (pine, oak, hickory, and maple). Four additional species, cedar, sassafras, palmetto, and willow, were not reported by Newsom. Identified by Newsom, but not present at the South Tabby site are ash (Fraxinus spp.), holly (Ilex spp.), bayberry (Myrica spp.), elm (Ulmaceae family), cherry (Prunus serotina), and the toothache tree (Zanthoxylum chava-herculis).

The tree species identified from the South Tabby site are consistent with an oak-pine maritime forest. The maple, hickory,

oaks, willow, and palmetto are typical of the hydric to mesic hardwood stands typical of the coast. The pine and oaks are often found associated with these other species, while the sassafras is typically a successional species. All of the species represented were probably found within a short distance of the slave row. The presence of burnt palmetto is unusual, since the wood is not a good fuel. Sassafras may have been procured for its medicinal qualities. While the use of its roots and bark for tea is common knowledge, the twigs were also dried, powdered, and used "for flavoring and thickening soups, forming a mucilage like that of okra" (Morton 1974:140).

While some hardwoods, such as hickory, produce a hotter fire than pine, the difference is not great (hickory produces about 24 million BTUs per cord, while a cord of pine yields about 20 million BTUs). Apparently, the abundance, availability, and easy ignition of pine more than made up for its slightly less efficient heating. In spite of the minor difference in BTU output between hard and softwoods, Reese stated that "the heavy and dense woods give the greatest heat, burn the longest, and have the densest charcoal" (Reese 1847:116), perhaps establishing an association between wood type and "status". If so, it is unlikely that the slaves would have had access to relatively scarce fuelwoods favored by the plantation owner.

Summary

The ethnobotanical record from the South Tabby site fails to provide evidence of cultigens, such as corn, in the slave diet, although this absence is readily attributable to processing and food preparation techniques. Evarts noted that while garden space was available to Mongin's slaves, they were not industrious and "everything they can carry to market, is sold for liquor" (Diary of Jeremiah Evarts, Georgia Historical Society, typescript). At Butler Island, Georgia, Kemble noted that "attached to each hovel is a small scrap of ground for a garden, which, however, is for the most part untended and uncultivated" (Kemble 1984:67-68). Peaches, often a major dietary supplement, appear to be uncommon at the South Tabby site, although as Gardner (1986:F-8) points out, fresh fruits such as peaches are warm weather crops and might therefore be less commonly carbonized.

The failure to identify more wild foods, such as fleshy fruits or nuts, coupled with the recovery of only a single peach pit, however, suggests that such items were not readily available, or less likely, were not desired. Coupled with the faunal evidence, it is tempting to speculate that slave access to wild plant foods was limited.

The commensal or "weedy" plant seeds found in the collection suggest that the slave row received minimal attention. Given the

number of "weedy" species usually identified from slave sites (including the northern slave row at Haig Point), this situation does not appear unusual, but is probably the result of both the adjacent cleared areas and also the use of dried grasses for bedding and kindling.

The charcoal identified from the site represents species common to the Haig Point Plantation, with pine dominating the fuelwood assemblage. Sassafras may represent a medicinal plant, although its low incidence may also indicate its incidental inclusion with fuelwood.

OYSTERS FROM 38BU634

David R. Lawrence

Introduction

This report is an analysis of valves of the Atlantic oyster, Crassostrea virginica (Gmelin) from the South Tabby Site (38BU634) on Daufuskie Island, supplied to the author by Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia, South Carolina. The samples came from shell middens associated with a late antebellum slave settlement. From such archaeological contexts, oysters can reveal evidence concerning the environments utilized by occupants in oyster gathering, human behavior during and after the gathering process, the uses to which the oysters were put, the season of oyster gathering, and possible manipulation of local aqueous environments by the settlers, through such means as fish weir-building. A summary of the lines of evidence supporting these reconstructions has recently been published (Lawrence 1988) and a modified version of the inferences and criteria is included in this report as Table 39. The oysters from the South Tabby Site were examined with all of these possibilities in mind.

Materials and Methods

All samples came from Zone 1 horizons as mapped by Trinkley and all had been screened through a 1/8 inch mesh screen prior to this oyster analysis. The Unit 52-40R30 sample (hereafter sample 52) originally represented all of the material from a 2 by 2 by 0.5 foot block and consisted of 99 intact oyster right valves, 217 intact left valves, 143 broken right valves, 313 broken left valves, plus other fragmentary oyster debris. At my request, only the intact left valves were submitted for analysis. The Unit 13-40R50 sample (hereafter sample 13) originally represented 40% of the material from a 2 by 2 by 1 foot block, and included 627 intact right valves, 390 intact left valves, 150 broken right valves, 341 broken left valves, and additional small oyster debris. Again, at my request, only the intact left valves were submitted for interpretation. Left valves are commonly better preserved, more typically contain oyster associates critical to source area evaluations, are sensitive indicators of numbers of valves collected dead, and contain the better ligamental areas for seasonality studies. Hence³ they are emphasized when time or resources do not allow the handling of numerous or bulk lots of oysters. The sample from Unit 42-25R20 (hereafter sample 42) originally represented 40% of a 2 by 2 by 1 foot block and was submitted for oyster analysis in bulk, after only artifacts and rubble had been removed from the screened

INFERENCE

Evidence

Comments.

References

SOURCE AREA INTERTIDAL; CREEK BANKS

Elongate, thin valves; large left valve attachment areas; few preserved epibionts/endobionts.

SOURCE AREA SUBTIDAL; CREEK OR RIVER/BAY BOTTOMS

More ovate, thicker, evenly cupped valves; smaller attachment area; more numerous preserved oyster associates. Subtidal shapes with few associates suggest open estuaries with lowered salinities; local variations exist; establishing details of living, nearby oyster communities can strengthen arguments.

Battle 1891; Dean 1891; Lunz 1941; Hartman 1958; Galtsoff 1964; Lawrence 1969; Kent 1988

UNWANTED OYSTERS REMOVED DURING PROCESSING; TRASHED BY FIRE

Gray to black shell hues.

Other shell characters (e.g. small size) lend support, as does presence of additional, non-oyster, burnt refuse; hues not to be confused with grays produced by long (geologic) residence time of valves within muds.

Lawrence, 1986

DEAD SHELL REMOVED AT SITE DURING PROCESSING

Significant fraction of shells with valve interiors penetrated or encrusted by other organisms.

In intertidal clusters, dead shells commonly serve as substrate for live, perhaps desired oysters.

FOODSTUFFS USE; SHUCKED RAW

Marginal valve notches oriented toward adductor muscle scar, indicating forceful entry by stabbing; straight ventral margin fractures indicating entry by cracking.

Not always preserved; can be taphonomically modified; not to be confused with chippings of non-human predators.

Ingersoll 1881; Galtsoff 1964; Kent 1988

FOODSTUFFS USE; BAKED/ROASTED

Valves darker shades of brown than others from equivalent levels at same site; exteriors may be recrystallized.

Recognition of appropriate baking or steaming pits supports the interpretation.

Lawrence 1986; Kent 1988

USE AS LIME OR MORTAR

Calcium-rich, chalky soil horizons; kilns or burning pits preserved.

Finch 1824; Eckel 1907; Loughlin et al. 1921; Wheaton et al. 1987

USE AS STRUCTURAL FRAMEWORK ELEMENTS

Tabby buildings; shell rings/crescents and the like rings or crescents may represent features constructed of refuse, with oysters originally or primarily used otherwise.

Gilman 1839; Crum 1940; Manucy 1962; Hemmings 1970; Puckette 1978; DePratter 1979; Trinkley 1985

USE AS TEMPER

Lamellar fragments preserved within ceramics; pitted ceramic surfaces due to decomposition of shell calcium carbonate during firing.

Taxon of shell temper may be difficult to establish.
Shepard 1956

USE OR GATHERING AS OBJECT OF CURIOSITY

Eye-catching traces of other organisms upon or within the valves.

Inference never very strong yet possibility exists.

FALL/WINTER (VS SPRING) SEASON OF LIVE SHELL GATHERING

8-12 major lamellae (vs 1-4 for spring) added since last-formed relatively narrow, significant topographic high (elevated ridge) in mid-cardinal (resilifer) area of valves.

Requires recognition of previous year's growth unit and, normally, 2+ year old oysters. Growth units quite variable; necessary sample size may be 50+, with 6+ definitive of particular season for strong inference. Left valves most useful.

Nelson 1942; Haskin 1954; Stenzel 1971; Palmer and Carriker 1979; Kent 1988

HUMAN-FABRICATED STRUCTURES PRESENT INTERTIDALLY/SUBTIDALLY

Left valves displaying growth, in constant orientation. attached to object(s) to which natural and non-human origins cannot be assigned.

Nelson 1942

Table 39. Types of archaeological reconstruction which can be made through oyster shell analysis. Adapted from Lawrence 1988. Some aspects (source areas, seasonally, for example) developed for specific use in the Carolinian Biogeographic Province (Cape Hatteras, North Carolina - Cape Canaveral, Florida).

materials. This scrutiny of one bulk sample, including valve fragments, allows evidence from right valves to be added to interpretations of oyster use and permits a better understanding of left versus right valve natures in the samples. Because of differences in interpreting intact vs broken valves, and my own emphasis upon the larger, older individuals in the requested seasonality determination, oysters from sample 42 were merely sorted into left vs right valves. For each of the three samples, all left and the available right valves were examined for maximum sizes and other useful criteria; sixty entire left valves having a height in excess of 7.5 cm (the minimum marketable size for present-day South Carolina oysters) were chosen at random from each sample and carefully scrubbed for more detailed analysis of features such as seasonality records.

Results and Interpretation

Except for left vs right valve preservation, no significant differences were found among samples 52, 13, and 42. Thus, for convenience and clarity, the results and their interpretation are presented for the three samples collectively, using the general sequence of inferences developed in Table 39.

The oysters from the South Tabby Site, with their very common extreme elongation, relatively thin valves, typically small left valve attachment areas, and lack of significant oyster associates, are classic examples of those found in intertidal mud flat or sound environments (Lawrence 1988). Even the types of oyster clusters present in the samples are to be found in these environments. The original nearby source areas were very similar to those pictured by Galtsoff from the Brunswick area of Georgia (Galtsoff 1964: Figure 365, see also Figures 19 and 21) and such settings persist in the Daufuskie Island area today. Maximum heights of left valves are similar in the three samples (sample 52, 15.6 cm; sample 13, 16.8 cm; sample 42, 16.9 cm); there is no unequivocal evidence that oyster resources were over utilized during any period of time represented by the samples; the samples cannot be put in chronological sequence using resource depletion arguments. Some efficiency in the gathering process, perhaps including on-gathering-site sorting, is indicated since very, very few of the larger, intact left valves show even suggestions of being collected dead.

The oysters were shucked raw for use as foodstuffs. The valve discolorations and recrystallization fabrics which may indicate major heating, hence baking or roasting, are notably absent in the samples. Valve separation was achieved through a combination of cracking and stabbing. In stabbing, a knife or knife-like tool is inserted between the valves to sever the adductor muscle and, sometimes, also cut the dorsal ligament. In cracking, the ventral shell (one or both valve edges) is broken and then a knife or knife-like object is inserted through this

opening to complete shucking (Kent 1988; Table 39 herein). Cracking may be accomplished via the use of stones or, in quite fragile valve margins, through the rotation and prying of a partially inserted knife-like object. The relatively straight and broken ventral margins indicating right valve cracking are quite numerous in the 370 right valves examined from sample 42, and are most prominent in the thinner, extremely elongate valves and fragments. Notches indicating knife insertion are present on a few of the cracks but, in the most elongate oysters, truly marginal notches indicating stabbing are most evident on the lateral margins of right valves, especially adjacent to the ligamental area. In the few more ovate (typically thicker) right valves, cracking is less evident and stabbing notches, including multiple notches on a valve, are relatively more common. Gouges on right valve interiors, adjacent to the ligamental area and adductor muscle scar, indicate that shucking tools included ones with a quite narrow, bladed, knife-like margin. Left valve observations, in all three samples, complement the interpretations from the sample 42 right valves. Although ventral cracks occur, notches (including common multiples) are more prevalent in this area than they are in right valves. Some lamellar losses, on left valve interiors, could represent the points of leverage for cracking right valves with an object inserted into the oyster. Thus there is no evidence to demand that a hammering stone was used with those elongate oysters opened at least in part by cracking, even though this shucking technique was apparently used through much of the nineteenth century (Ingersoll 1881). Knife rotation and prying of relatively fragile valves could account for at least some of the cracking observed in these oysters. Available lithic artifacts, and detailed knowledge of utensils available to the slave inhabitants of the South Tabby Site, may help to sort out these final details of the shucking process.

Given the more fragile nature of these oysters' right valves, the high percentage of right valves in sample 13, and the presence of numerous, juvenile, entire valves in sample 42 suggest that at least these two middens accreted through time, basically as kitchen refuse, without being walked upon or trampled continually. This interpretation could be strengthened through on-site observations, including the lack of midden microstratigraphy based upon fragmented horizons, and the like. With the materials at hand, the reason(s) for the preponderance of left valves in sample 52 cannot be determined; again, on-site observations and a more detailed accounting of the oysters may help to resolve this uncertainty. The left valve ligament analyses (Table 40) suggest the strongest inference for collecting during the fall-early winter period of time. Although sample 42 oysters seem to cluster about a somewhat earlier time of the year, interpretations (which are subjective in part) are not sufficient in number to make any distinctions between this and the other two samples.

Month	52-40R30 #	13-40R50 #	42-25R20 #	Total #
January	3	2		5
February				0
March				0
April	1	1		2
May				0
June	1	1		2
July	1	1	2	4
August		1	1	2
September	1	1	2	4
October	3	2	1	6
November	3	4	2	9
December	4	3		7

Table 40. Season of oyster gathering, as determined from left valve ligament area analysis. Data as number of valves indicating the particular month; for limitations and uncertainties, see Table 39 and Lawrence 1988:Figure 1.

One additional feature of these oysters warrants notice. In all three samples, valves occur which display, on parts, a distinctive moderate reddish brown to light brown coloration (10R4/6 to 5YR5/6, Munsell system). In sample 42, oysters these hues have been noticed on the very dorsal (umbonal) edges of right valves; in the other two samples, the coloration has been observed on left valve interiors. Possible origins of these features are manifold, and include residence of the valves in a reducing zone of the intertidal muds (with later oxidation) and also the presence of surveying paint recently used in the area. The left vs right valve placement differences suggest one other intriguing possibility. The left valves may have been used as receptacles (mortars) and the right valves as stirrers (pestles) during the production of pigments/dyes in the solid or liquid state. Because detailed analysis would be object-destroying, these oysters have been bagged separately and returned as found to Chicora Foundation for further consideration.

In summary, oysters from the South Tabby Site were collected from nearby intertidal mudflat/sound environments and provide no evidence of depletion of that environment's oyster resources. Quite possibly, the larger valves of dead oysters were culled at the collecting sites. Times of collection included the fall to early winter period, and the oysters were shucked raw for use as foodstuffs. They were shucked by both stabbing and cracking techniques, and knives alone may have been used in these processes. Most likely, the preserved middens accreted as mere kitchen refuse and were relatively undisturbed during the late antebellum period of site occupation.

ARCHITECTURE OF THE HAIG POINT SLAVE ROWS

Colin Brooker

Introduction

The two settlements at Haig Point provide an unusually complete slave housing assemblage which dates from the first half of the nineteenth century. In their organization, the North and South Settlements (38BU153 and 38BU634 respectively) exhibit broad typological similarities with slave communities known elsewhere from the Southeastern United States. Construction, however, presents a more localized pattern, exhibiting material use specific to the Atlantic coastal plain of northern Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina.

Documentary evidence concerning Haig Point Plantation's slave population is slight. Beyond somewhat ambiguous census data which provide a total slave count, very little has been discovered which hints at the activities in which the slaves engaged. Similarly, detailed evidence for plantation management is lacking and there are no certain indications that ownership changes brought shifts in land use, although structural findings suggest the north slave row (founded during the late 1820s or early 1830s) underwent enlargement after 1838 (perhaps suffering partial abandonment before 1850) and the south row was established during the 1840s or even early 1850s. The historic record therefore leaves the two assemblages isolated, divorced from communal, organizational, and institutional associations. All that can be inferred through the architectural setting are attitudes toward slave management on the part of the plantation owners. The slaves, as is so often the case, are figures without names or testimony. While fragments of dwellings in which their daily routines were spent survive, questions concerning the most fundamental domestic arrangements (such as internal spatial utilization and external site exploitation) remain largely unanswered.

This chapter is divided into three related sections which provide an overview of the slave architecture within the two settlements, the problems raised by often incomplete structural evidence, and issues concerning preservation of the visible architectural features. The first section is descriptive, offering summary accounts of individual buildings and interpreting, where necessary, the relevant archaeological or architectural findings. The second part is analytic, introducing comparative data, exploring settlement development over time, and discussing dwelling typology and the structural characteristics

of the Haig Point Plantation slave housing. The final section examines preservation, isolating those factors which have contributed toward the deterioration of tabby features, and detailing operational procedures designed to stabilize eroded or otherwise impaired building fabrics.

This study is based on the author's field work (including measured drawings and structural recordation) carried out prior to or during the excavation of 38BU154 by Lepionka in 1986 and during the investigations of 38BU634 undertaken by Chicora Foundation in 1988. The Chicora Foundation has generously furnished various unpublished materials (field notes, site forms, documentary sources, etc.), information which has both amplified and modified the following account.

The Haig Point Slave Settlements

The South Settlement - 38BU634

Site 38BU634 is occupied by fragments of eight buildings (designated structures 1-8; see figure 36) aligned as a row, the row ordered with its main axis oriented almost exactly east-west. All structures have suffered considerable mechanical damage, the principal surviving feature in each case being remnants of a tabby chimney base. During July and August 1988 three (Structures 2, 7, and 8) were partially excavated by Chicora Foundation.

Structure 1, the most southerly building of the group, is represented by a tabby chimney base preserved to a height of approximately 4 feet 4 inches above the present ground level. Measuring 6 feet 7 inches (north-south) by perhaps 2 feet 6 inches (east-west), the base originally opened on its western face into a hearth spanned (judging from seatings visible on the very similar and better preserved Structure 1 at 38BU153 discussed below) by one or possibly two timber lintles.

Tabby impressions show chimney base construction above its foundation involved three successive pours of varying height. Formwork was probably made up from horizontal timber boards which defined the overall chimney shape, the inner and outer form faces being distanced 10 inches apart by 1-1/2 inch diameter metal or wooden dowels. The lowest construction level is partially concealed by accumulated soil. The intermediate level measures 23 inches in height, while the upper most lift takes the form of a capping 9 inches high. Even allowing for severe weathering, the tabby seems of poor quality, there being little evidence for compaction, which suggests an unusually liquid mix (containing lime, sand, and whole oyster shell) was used. The resulting material can have possessed only limited bearing capacity and was further weakened by clumsy execution: On the chimney's north face, for instance, four irregularly shaped tabby bricks were placed at the bottom of the second level forms prior to casting,

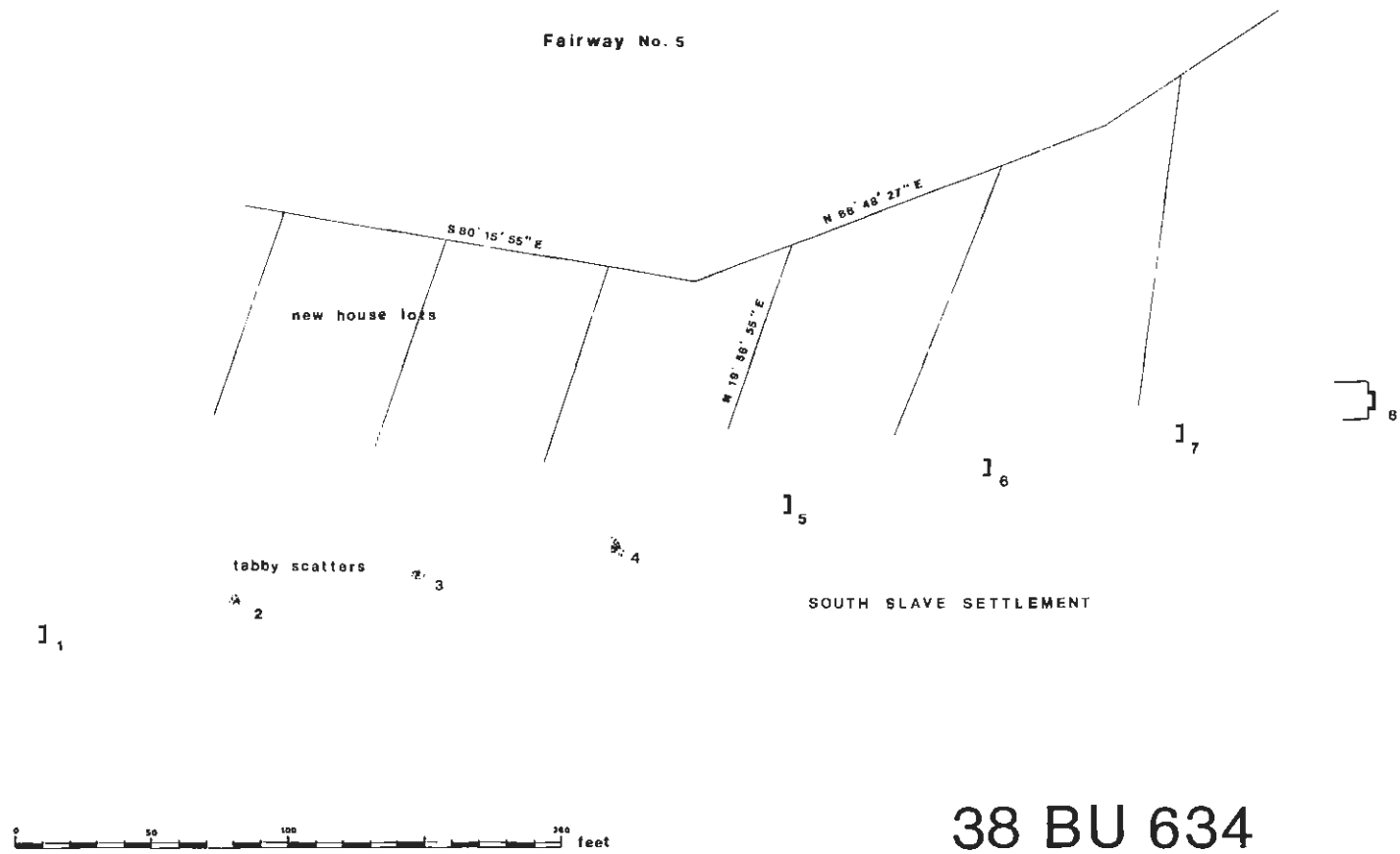


Figure 36. Arrangement of the South Tabby Settlement (38BU634).

perhaps to make good structural deficiencies caused by over hasty removal of formwork below. But the attempt was makeshift at best, adding only minimal extra strength (Figure 37).

Nothing survives in situ of the chimney stack proper, although scattered fragments nearby suggest that the construction used tabby brick, a sample of which measures 9-7/8 inches by 4-1/4 inches by 2-7/8 inches, and weighs 8 pounds.

Structure 2 has been plowed, with the damage being sufficient to prevent any assessment of building dimension or construction detail. The chimney bases of Structures 3, 4, and 6 are now represented by pieces of tabby rubble and/or scattered oyster shell. Nothing can be said concerning their dimensions or construction details.

With minor variations the visible elements of Structure 5 resemble those of Structure 1. Again, the only features preserved above ground are fragments of a tabby chimney base which measures 6 feet 6-1/4 inches (north-south) by 2 feet 8-1/2 inches (east-west). Dimensional discrepancies coupled with slightly altered dowel positions indicate the chimney base was cast using forms distinct from those employed for Structure 1, but, as with the latter building, construction here is characterized by the use of three successive pour levels and relatively slight material compaction. Only the eroded intermediate lift level is visible (height preserved is 1 foot 7 inches). Above, the original capping has almost completely disappeared. As with Structure 1, form faces were distanced 10 inches apart using 1-1/2 inch diameter dowels.

Excavation at Structure 7 exposed a badly eroded tabby chimney foundation which measured approximately 6 feet 11 inches (north-south) by 2 feet 9-3/4 inches (east-west), with the hearth opening on the west side. Existing features are preserved to a height of approximately 1 foot 1-3/4 inches. Above this all elements have been destroyed. Foundations are roughly cast and somewhat variably dimensioned, averaging 9 inches in width. Tabby impressions indicate that during construction an initial pour about 4-1/2 inches deep was made directly into narrow trenches (defining the overall chimney plan) probably without the use of form boards. Once the first ground pour had achieved firmness, formwork for the next level was placed in position and casting operations resumed.

Partial excavation of Structure 8 produced valuable, although incomplete, evidence for overall building form, the structural implications of which are examined below. Principal surviving elements include badly eroded portions of the chimney base, a drip line apparently defining the building's north side, and flooring fragments.

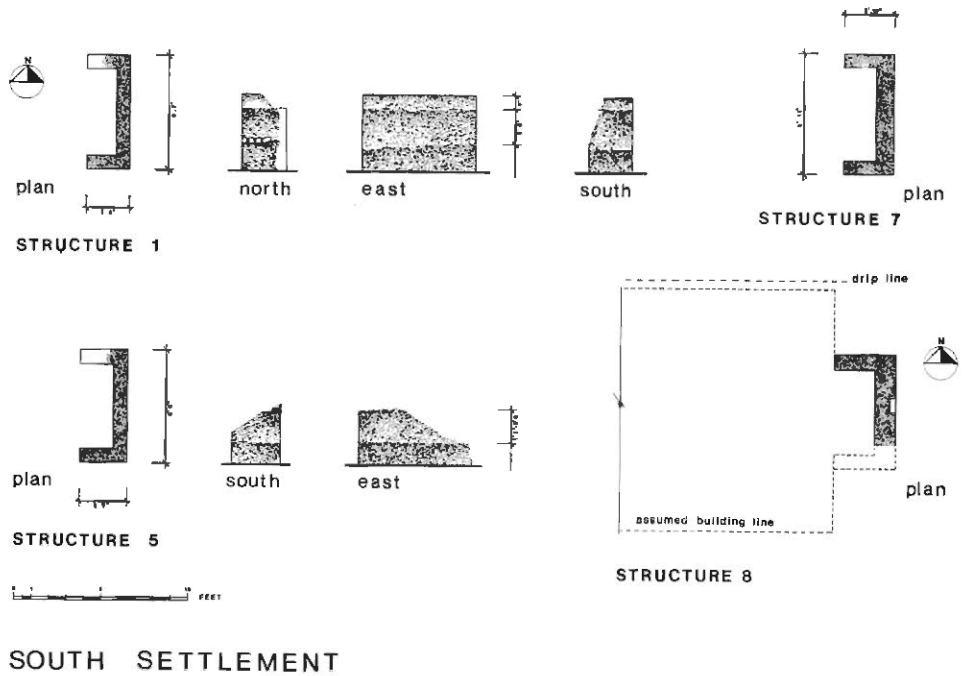


Figure 37. South Tabby Settlement, tabby features.

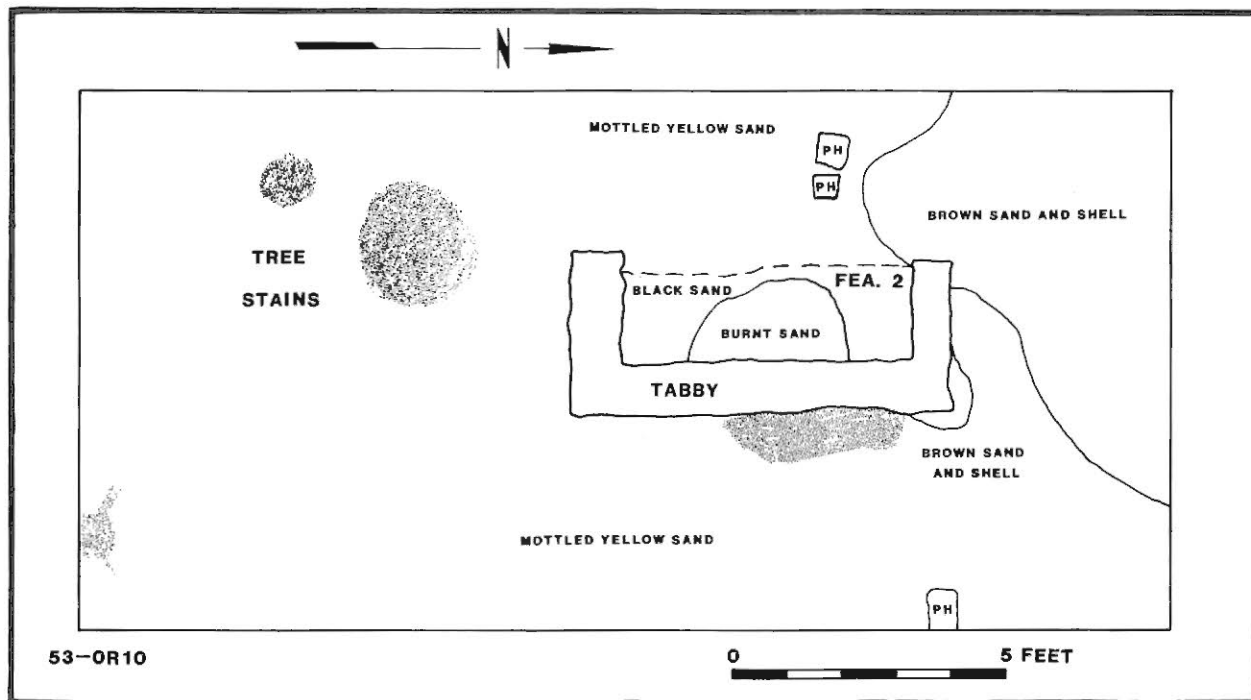


Figure 38. Arrangement of the North Tabby Structures, 38BU153.

The tabby chimney base has suffered some disturbance by tree roots and had been deliberately cut down to a foundation level just below the present grade. Only the east-west overall dimensions (measuring 3 feet 6 inches) is known since excavation was discontinued before full exposure had been achieved. As with Structures 1, 5, and 7, it is clear that the chimney base opened into a hearth on its west side. The rear (i.e., east) wall measured 1 foot to 1 foot 1-1/2 inches in width at the lowest foundation level. To the north, the foundation is 9 to 10 inches wide.

Hearth construction used lime mortar 3-1/2 inches thick bedded upon oyster shell, its present surface being elevated 7/34 inch above the lowest tabby foundation level. Several fired brick fragments were found associated with the hearth. Tabby brick was also discovered nearby, probably originating from the now lost chimney stack.

Approximately 4 feet 2-1/2 inches north of the chimney base's north face, an incompletely preserved drip line extended toward the west. This feature has been partially destroyed by road construction. Similarly, flooring materials have suffered extensive damage, with fragments of only lime mortar, 3 to 4 inches thick, surviving in situ.

Individual structures from the South Settlement present considerable interpretative problems. Despite partial excavation of three dwellings (Structures 2, 7, and 8), plan form, dimension, and construction remain inadequately understood.

Considering planning first, the most significant evidence relating to house typology is provided by the drip line discovered during excavation of Structure 8. This feature approximately defined one side of the dwelling's roof, its configuration permitting restoration of a gabled form, the ridge (aligned east-west) centering on an external chimney (now reduced to foundation level) at its western end. While road construction has destroyed the eastern extremity of Structure 8, the evident gabled roof indicates a rectangular structure (hipped construction being the more appropriate roofing solution had the building been square). Assuming such conjecture is correct, then extrapolating from the relative position of the drip line to the chimney base and allowing for an eave overhang of 6 inches, Structure 8 measured approximately 14 feet in width (i.e., north-south). Building length (i.e., east-west) cannot be determined, but the picture that emerges of a rectangular structure with an end chimney, allows typological analogy with houses from the north slave row (38BU154). The latter dwellings are of the central through plan type (see below). Although at the present stage of investigation it would be unwise to press analogies, a similar planning arrangement is consistent with the disposition of slave houses making up the 38BU634 group, these almost

certainly being entered at the east or west (i.e., on their conjectured long elevation), from the slave "street".

House construction presents more uncertainties. From the descriptions given above it will be clear that each house was furnished with a chimney fabricated using tabby at its base and probably tabby brick above. No trace was found during the excavations of any associated wall structure. Lack of foundation trenches or appreciable quantities of fired brick shows that dwellings must have been timber rather than masonry built. The absence of any coherent post hole or pier patterns (Structure 7 and 8), and the respective levels of floor (Structure 8) or hearth (Structures 7 and 8) surfaces, makes it obvious that foundation sills were laid directly on the ground, possibly having a depth of 7 to 8 inches in order to trim neatly around the hearth. In situ fragments from Structure 8 suggest floors were cast from lime mortar poured over a leveling layer of oyster shell retained by the ground sills. Originally hearths were of tabby, again bedded on oyster shell possibly edged on their inner faces by fired brick. As this tabby surface disintegrated under the action of heat, it was filled with sand.

Regarding building superstructure, archaeological and architectural evidence allows only general comments. Foundation arrangements indicate either lightly framed or, alternatively, log walls. Trinkley (herein) considers the large pentles recovered during excavation, coupled with the site's relative scarcity of nails, as arguments against conventional timber framing, concluding that log construction is the more likely of the two possibilities.

Analysis of cut nails recovered intact from Structure 8 shows that 49% would be appropriate for use in structural framing, 37% with sheathing or siding, 1% with finishing (i.e., roof or internal fittings), and 13% with use in heavy framing. Additionally, Structure 8 produced 10 complete spikes ranging in length from 5 to 7-3/4 inches. Even taking account of incompletely preserved nail and spike fragments recovered (but not included in the above totals), the evidence demonstrates very limited metal fixing usage.

This finding is consistent with a log framed structure, framed roof, and perhaps weather boarding at the gable ends. However, it should be mentioned that even as late as the 1850s local building illustrates the persistence of traditional craft practice relying on pegged, rather than nailed, joints. While scantling size is often reduced among framed structures after 1840 and metal fixings (notably cut nails) became more prevalent, framing techniques predicated on the partial elimination of time consuming carpentry skills did not assume widespread local importance until about 1870. Thus, while log construction at the South Settlement is clearly possible, relative nail scarcity

alone does not necessarily exclude timber framed walls using predominately pegged mortise and tenoned or lapped jointing systems.

The North Settlement - 38BU153

Remnants of at least 12 structures (designated from east to west as Structures A through L) extend along the Cooper River shore, just below the 10 foot contour line somewhat to the west of the Haig Point Lighthouse (Figure 38). The site was first investigated by Michie (1983) and was subsequently reinvestigated by Lepionka (1988), who partially excavated Structures G and H.

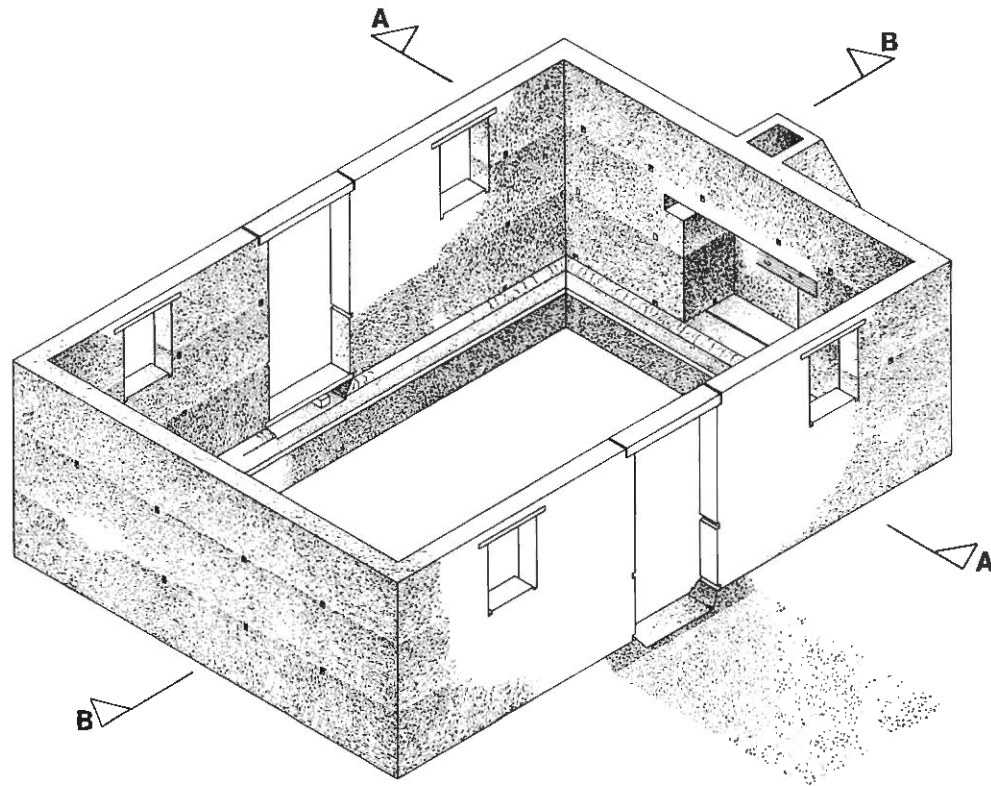
Lepionka gives the following general description,

the site as a whole occupies a linear distance of between 900' and 1000'. Its buildings are set in an arc that is convex towards the shore and follows high ground. . . . Beginning at the west House A, B and C are about 90' apart, but between House C and E there is a gap of 125'. This is irregularly filled by House D, the oversized fireplace of which is closer to C than it is to E. . . . Beyond House D, Houses E through H are more or less regularly spaced. There is a broader gap between H and I (Lepionka 1988: 61, 230).

With the possible exception of Structure D, buildings apparently possess marked typological affinities, although showing differences in building technique and material usage. The extent to which such variation may be relevant to chronological or functional issues is addressed in a following section. For purposes of discussion, five building categories are identified, on the basis of structural and dimensional characteristics. It must be stressed that the majority of buildings are imperfectly known, therefore categories proposed here are subject to modification in the event that further archaeological excavation takes place.

Category I Structures. Measured surveys show three adjacent dwellings, Structures E, F, and G, which occupy positions toward the center of the assemblage, to be identical aside from minor dimensional discrepancies. Buildings are represented by tabby walls (roofs having entirely disappeared) standing in various states of preservation to eaves level. The most complete, Structure G, was investigated by Michie (1983) and partially excavated by Lepionka (1988) (Figures 39 and 40).

Plan. Each of the three buildings is rectangular, with an external chimney centered against its eastern wall. Exclusive of the chimney, the structures originally measured 24 feet 1 inch by 16 feet overall, with the long plan axis aligned more or less east-west, following the site's gently curved development



STRUCTURE 38 BU 153 G

Restored Isometric

Figure 39. North Tabby Settlement, Structure G, isometric view.

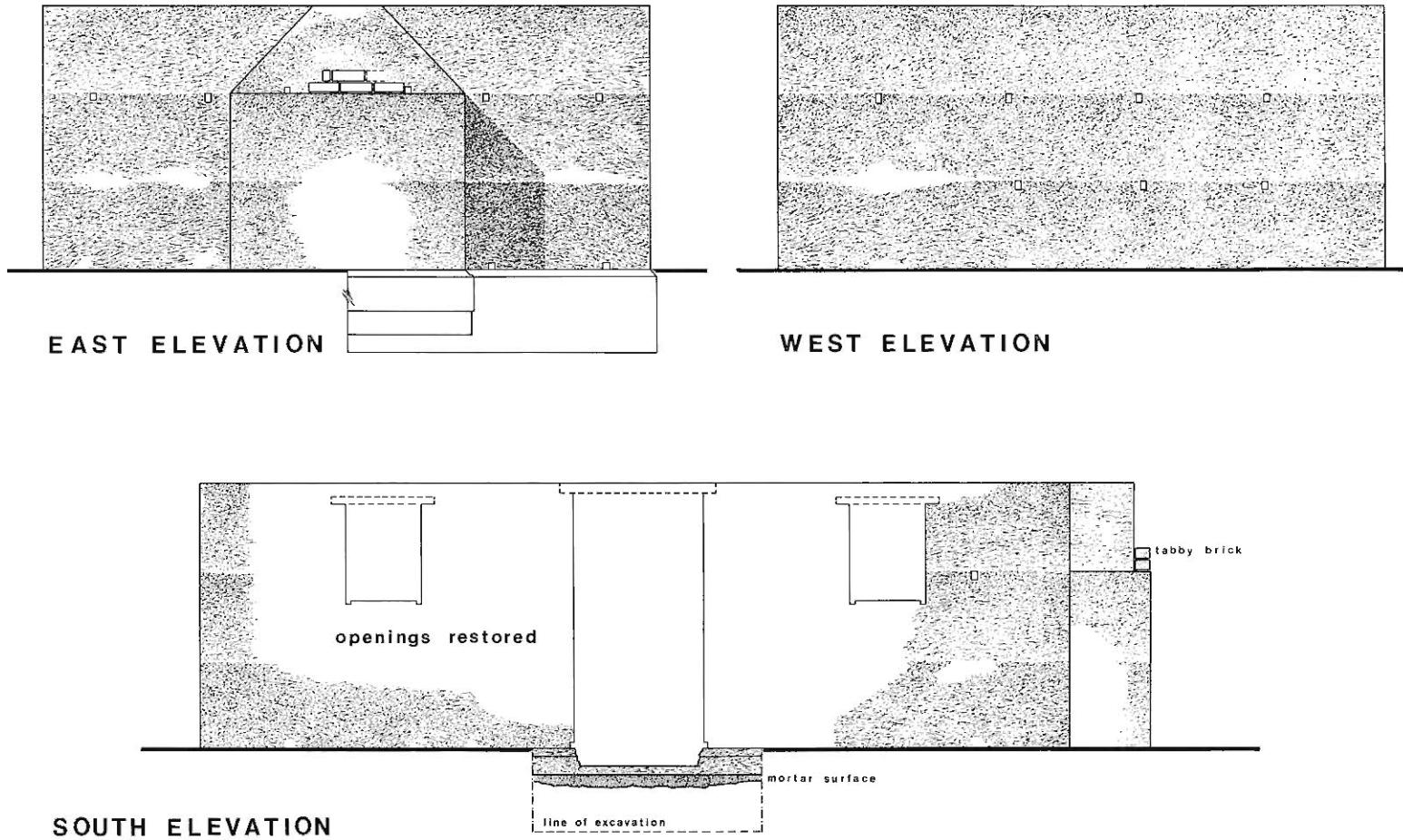


Figure 40. Structure G, plan and elevations.

pattern. Fenestration is confined to north and south elevations, each long facade being organized about a central doorway and flanked east and west by a single, small window. This compositional arrangement implies a through-passage plan (see Brunskill 1971:100-101), but no unambiguous feature remains of an internal partition traditionally associated with this plan type. A compacted lime mortar and oyster shell surface, 2 to 4 inches thick, was found extending in front of Structure G's south entrance, but excavation failed to uncover evidence for any associated timbers, suggesting that the house was planned without porches.

Construction. Excavation revealed that 8-1/2 inch wide exterior walls, 6 feet 8 inches high, are symmetrically founded upon roughly constructed tabby footings, 1 foot 2-3/4 inches wide by 2 feet 1-1/2 inches deep. Foundations were cast during a single operation which defined the ultimate building shape, excluding the chimney (which was independently supported). Traces of 9 inch wide foundation trenches show form boards were used for at least chimney wall footings. Elsewhere constructional irregularities may mean that an initial tabby pour was cast directly into the foundation trenches. At footing/wall junctions, foundations are stepped out by 1-1/2 inches. Five inches below this a further 1-1/2 inch step occurs.

Walls were cast in three successive construction lifts, continuous for the entire building perimeter at each level. Form work ("molds") for the two lower sections had a height of 2 feet 4 inches, while the uppermost level was reduced in height to 2 feet. Dimensional correspondence between formwork cross-ties ("needles") (now preserved as rectangular holes piercing the walls) prove one set of forms was used during construction of all three Category I buildings. Generally construction is of indifferent quality. Compaction of semi-fluid tabby was slight and material quantities required to fill the "molds" were inadequately gauged, resulting in structural discontinuities.

Chimneys. End chimneys of all three structures are incompletely preserved. Surviving elements include heavily eroded, truncated tabby bases of shouldered form. Judging by structural remains, each base originally supported a stack, almost square on plan, probably constructed using tabby brick. One of the best preserved surviving examples of such construction is the chimney of the Sams House Kitchen (ca. 1825) on Dataw Island. Tabby brick seems to have been produced by pouring oyster shell lime slurry into wooded molds and allowing the material to slowly set. Respecting height (6 feet 8 inches) and the formwork dimension, the chimney base construction follows that of adjoining tabby walls. However, footings provide an independent foundation for the chimney as a whole, thereby avoiding potential cracks associated with differential structural settlement. Where excavated, footings are 1 foot 8 inches deep and slightly

stepped. Above the top footing level each chimney base measures approximately 6 feet 2 inches (north-south) by 2 feet 1-1/2 inches (east-west). Commencing at the second pour line, sloping offsets gradually reduce the north-south dimension to about 1 foot 10 inches. Also above the second pour level, the east-west chimney dimension is reduced by 5 inches, producing a ledge supporting tabby brick facings.

Internally, the fireplace openings (typically 4 feet 9 inches wide by 3 feet 8 inches high) were each spanned by a rectangular timber lintel (6-1/2 inches deep by 8 to 9 inches wide) with ends bedded 9 to 10 inches into tabby wall surrounds. Hearth details are obscure. Where investigated (Structure G), the internal hearth edge is defined by inner faces of footings of the east wall. Between the outer footing face and the chimney back, lime mortar is bedded on 3 inch thick tabby over an oyster shell fill. Whether or not construction was intended to produce a firm base for hearth linings is unclear. Fragments of fired brick found in the immediate vicinity suggest this may be the case; however, no such bricks survive in situ.

Windows. Only one window opening, from the northwest facade of Structure G, preserves its original configuration, although associated timber elements are lost. Elsewhere fragmentary evidence shows that within insignificant dimensional tolerances (maximum of 1 inch), all window openings were uniform. The remaining example is 2 feet wide by 2 feet 6 inches high and was once spanned by a single or perhaps double timber lintel 2 inches deep with 4-1/2 inch end bearings. The lintel must have originally supported a shallow strip of tabby above, which has now disappeared. Slave cabins at Kingsley Plantation, Fort George Island, Florida, show very similar arrangements over window openings, lintels being relatively slender (the restored depth is 2-5/8 inches) in section. Given wall widths involved, double lintels seem most likely at Daufuskie. This system is frequent among large scale early nineteenth century tabby structures from the Beaufort County area. Tabby impressions at Structure G preserve traces of slender timber window frames (perhaps 2-1/2 inches on face) set in place before surrounding wall materials were cast. It is not known if windows were glazed or protected by timber shutters. Single side hung shutters would be a logical solution for openings of this dimension (see Brooker 1980).

Doors. Surviving doorways are severely damaged, the tabby having disassociated or collapsed around the openings. The north entrance of Structure G is 3 feet 4 inches wide and retains a badly weathered lintel bearing, which gives an original door height of perhaps 6 feet. Further details are uncertain. North and south entrances were furnished with timber thresholds 1-5/8 inches thick by at least 9 inches wide, supported on a fired brick base. Details for door frame construction, doors, and associated hardware are not known.

Finishes. During excavation neither the nature or exact level of the original floor could be determined since Structure G was extensively disturbed by post-occupational activity. Irregular pieces of lime mortar found lying over shell fills (containing both prehistoric and historic materials) probably represent a plastered floor, but the mortar is too fragmentary to reach an absolute conclusion on this point. Lepionka (1988) speculates that House G may have been floored using timber, but his argument explaining the absence of any evidence for necessary supporting joists is unconvincing. Wall finishes were not discovered in situ, although plaster was encountered during excavation. On the basis of comparison with late eighteenth and early nineteenth century practice, plastered interiors and stucco or lime washed exteriors may be conjectured for all Category I structures.

Category II Structures. Category II is represented by a single example -- Structure H -- which was partially excavated by Lepionka (1988). Preserved elements include eroded tabby footings and badly damaged portions of an external end chimney. Dimensional discrepancies (reflecting the use of a different formwork set) distinguish this chimney base from those described under Category IV and Category V Structures; the evident timber (rather than tabby) walls are distinct compared with Category I buildings (Figure 41).

Footings, cast as continuous strips (1 foot 1 inch to 1 foot 5-1/2 inches wide by 1 foot 5-1/2 inches to 1 foot 11-1/2 inches deep), define a rectangle measuring 23 feet 2 inches by 16 feet 5 inches (incorrectly reported by Lepionka as 16 by 23 feet), oriented with its short axis aligned N30°E. Internally no evidence was found to suggest any spatial divisions.

The external chimney base, centered about the building's east wall and constructed independently, measures approximately 6 feet by 3 feet 1 inch on plan. Numerous fragments scattered around the chimney base suggest that the now lost stack was originally fabricated from tabby brick. The imperfectly preserved hearth (4 feet 9-1/2 inches wide by perhaps 2 feet 3-1/2 inches deep) seems floored with kiln fired brick.

Internal planning and external appearance can only be deduced from incomplete or disassociated features. Toward the center of the south footing a short length (2 feet 1 inch long) of roughly bedded, kiln fired brick defines an exterior threshold marking the position of the dwelling's south entrance. No similar element survives on the building's heavily damaged north face; nevertheless, a through-passage plan seems likely. As with Structure G, numerous pieces of oyster shell mortar were encountered within the building by Lepionka, who concludes that these originally constituted an internal wall finish over timber framing (Lepionka 1988:167). Almost 4 inches thick, mortar would

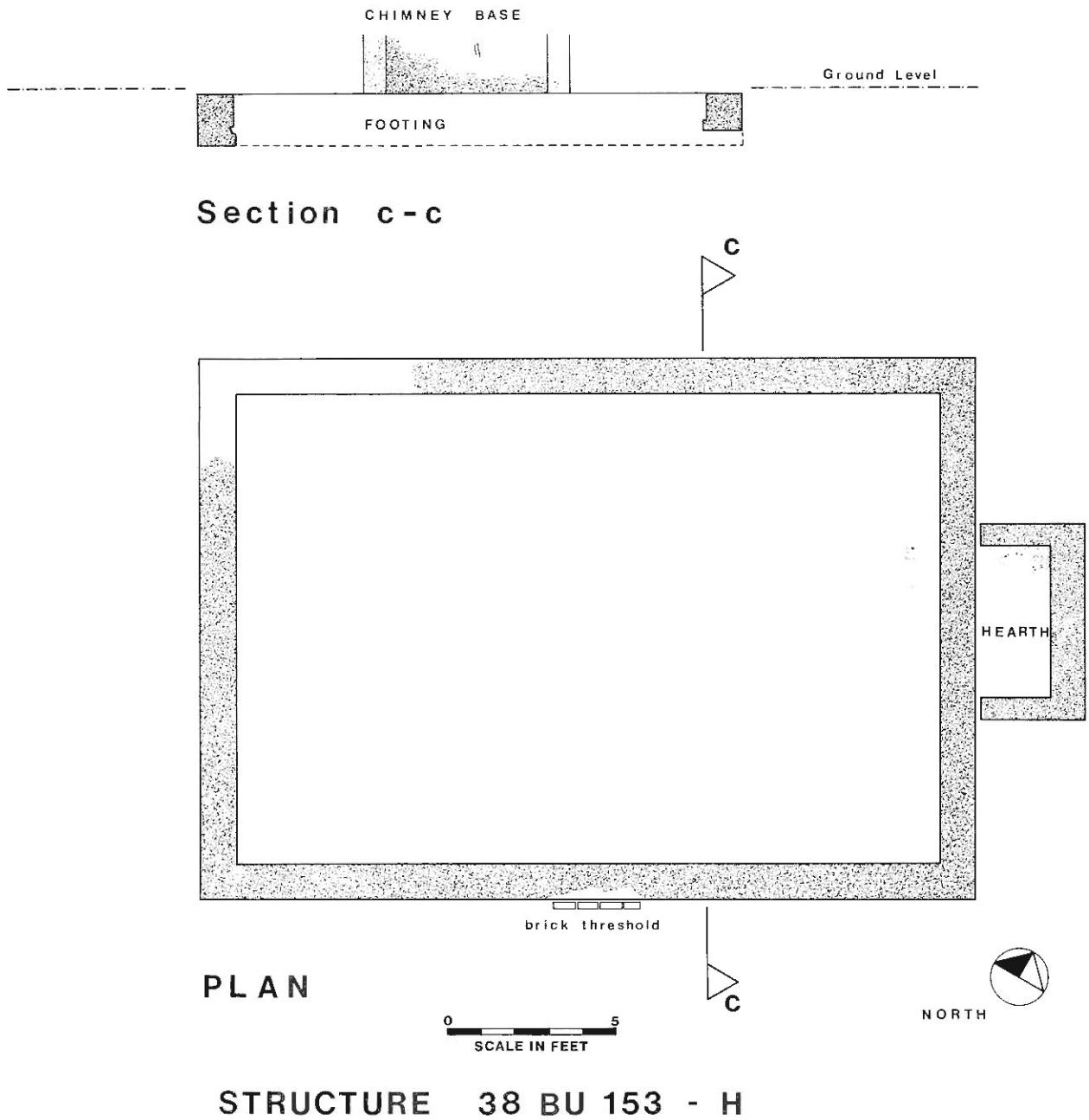


Figure 41. North Tabby Settlement, Structure H, plan and section.

be of unprecedented weight for such an interior coating. A floor surface therefore seems more plausible as the source for the material in question.

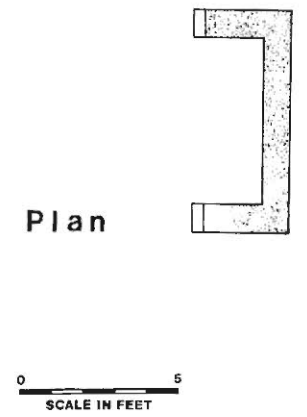
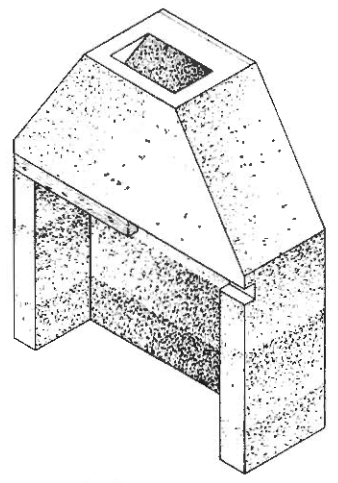
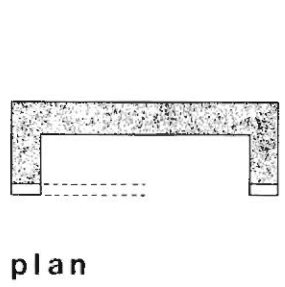
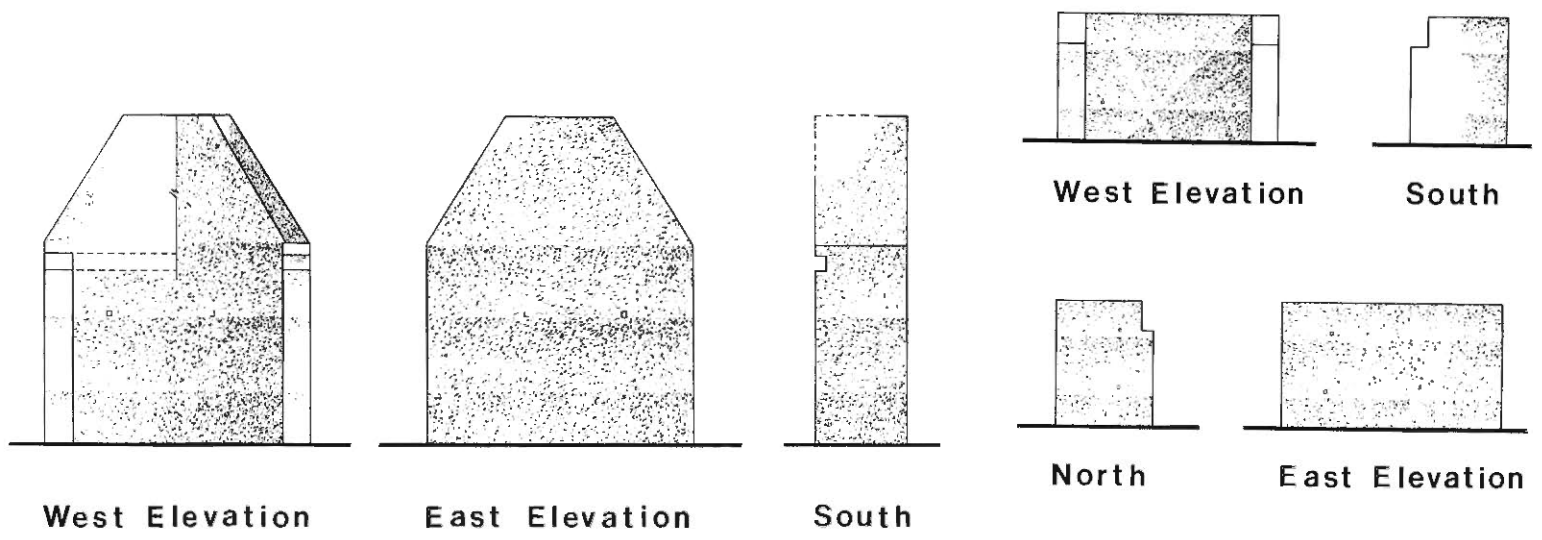
Above top foundation level, the dwelling's superstructure has disappeared. Nail concentrations discovered along the foundation lines (Lepionka 1988:167) may indicate board finished frame or log construction. Unfortunately, beyond mentioning that nails are "cut," Lepionka gives no further details concerning size or manufacturing technique. Lepionka (1988:166) also lists small quantities of window glass and a metal window prop (date undetermined) found around the structure's south elevation.

Category III Structures. This category consists of a single example -- Structure D, which is represented by an eroded tabby chimney base, shouldered in form, located immediately east of Structure E. Associated building elements remain unexcavated. Size and construction of the chimney base are unique for the site. Overall the feature measures 8 feet 5 inches by 2 feet 11 inches in plan, incorporating a hearth (opening to the west) originally vented through a tabby fire hood (Figure 42). The hearth opening was once spanned by a timber lintel measuring at least 4 inches by 5-1/2 inches (preserved as tabby impressions). Only fragments of fire hood survive. No trace remains of the chimney stack, which presumably has been robbed of tabby brick.

Category IV Structures. Almost identical formwork impressions identify Structures A, B, and C, the most easterly of the North Settlement components, as pertaining to a single construction phase. All are known solely from tabby chimney bases (the maximum height preserved is 3 feet 8 inches). Structure C, described here, may be considered typical.

The chimney base is rectangular, measuring 6 feet 6-3/4 inches by 2 feet 9 inches on plan, with the hearth opening on the long, west side. Construction involved three successive tabby pours of unequal height using "molds" distanced 10 inches apart by 1-1/4 inch diameter timber or metal dowels. The lowest pour level is partially concealed, the intermediate pour measures 1 foot 10 inches in height, and the uppermost pour has a height of approximately 12 inches. Rectangular bearings indicate the hearth was spanned by a timber lintel about 6-1/2 inches high by 5 inches wide, yielding an opening approximately 3 feet 3 inches high.

Nothing remains above ground to suggest original building form, structure, or material, other than scattered tabby brick which are probably derived from a fallen chimney stack. Shallow trenches opened for sprinkler lines in the immediate vicinity disclosed quantities of thick wall or floor plaster, but no signs of tabby wall foundations.



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STRUCTURE D

STRUCTURE 38 BU 153 - I

Figure 42. Structures D and I, plans and elevations.

Category V Structures. Southwest of Structure H extend four (Structures I - H) unequally spaced tabby chimney bases which, judging by their formal organization, belong to a single building episode. With the exception of Structure I, all are poorly preserved, reduced in the case of Structures J and L to tabby surface scatters. The building sequence is interrupted between Structure I and Structure J. Lepionka (1988:230) investigated this intervening area by probe and post hole tests, but found no evidence for additional structures. It should be remarked that recent disturbance within the vicinity has been heavy and building elements may have been destroyed prior to Lepionka's incompletely reported survey. Of the assumed group, only the tabby chimney base of Structure I retains its original form, measuring approximately 7 feet by 3 feet 1 inch overall, thus being slightly larger than Category IV bases (Figure 42). Like the Category IV building, the base opened into a hearth on its western side and was originally spanned by a timber lintel. Tabby construction involved three successive lifts, the lowest of undetermined height, the intermediate measuring 1 foot 10 inches in height, with a 1 foot 1 to 2 inch capping. Forms were distanced by circular sectioned timber or metal dowels. The chimney stack is probably represented by the tabby brick scatter. Nothing is known of the dwelling's plan, dimension, or superstructure.

Discussions

Slave Settlement Organization

Toward the close of the eighteenth century, under pressure from critical observers or faced with appalling mortality rates, plantation owners of the South and British West Indian colonies gradually adopted various measures designed to ameliorate slave living conditions. Increasingly slave settlements from the two geographical areas were ordered in linear or, more rarely, grid fashion with dwellings typically being "grouped compactly in rows along short roads or in a rectangle of buildings . . . distanced more or less from the main plantation house" (Lewis 1979:25,109-112; see also Higman 1984:218-223; Singleton 1980). This development of linear or grid settlement plans brought several benefits. For the planter, organization of dwellings along "streets" fostered efficiency, ensuring orderly expansion as slave holdings increase, while at the same time, facilitating inspection, cleaning, and disposal of refuse. For the slave, often forced into communal barracks during the eighteenth century, individual dwellings "strengthened the sense of family" (Genovese 1972:528). Cultivation of adjacent garden plots may have occasionally supplemented slave income and nutrition.

Both slave settlements at Haig Point exemplify these developmental trends, each comprising groups of single dwellings grouped linearly. Site 38BU634 is the simpler of the two.

Distanced south of the main house, slave dwellings apparently formed a single row of structures exhibiting little constructional or spatial differentiation.

Dimensional similarity of tabby chimney bases indicate one major building episode which, on the evidence of the various maps of Haig Point, took place between 1838 and emancipation. A mean historic or occupation date of 1851 has been suggested elsewhere in this report by Trinkley.

Single row slave streets are commonplace from the Southeastern United States, with local examples being illustrated by Diamond's survey in 1824 of "lands belonging to the heirs of John Morrison" located on Coosahatchie Swamp (Charleston RMC, McCrady Plat 4535) and the 1862 Coast and Geodetic Survey map of Hilton Head Island (Trinkley 1988:Figure 7). The surviving Beaufort County plats most often show linear (both single and double row) slave settlement planning, although occasionally more scattered developmental patterns occur.

By contrast, the North Settlement presents a group of several building types employing various constructional methods, somewhat loosely arranged following high ground along the Calibogue Sound. While organization is fundamentally linear, the curved site configuration has no published parallel from South Carolina. The closest formal analogy for site planning comes from Kingsley Plantation, Fort George Island, Florida, where 24 individual tabby house are ordered on an almost semi-circular plan, bisected at its mid-point by an avenue leading to the main plantation administrative complex. Singleton states,

the arc shaped arrangement of slave dwellings at the Kingsley Plantation and a horseshoe shaped arrangement [unidentified] recently uncovered in coastal South Carolina are suggestive of traditional African village layouts (Singleton 1980:113).

Such an observation, intimating survival of African planning modes, is highly speculative. Where left to build their own houses (frequently throughout Jamaica), slaves of African origin typically produced (during the first half of the nineteenth century) compounds surrounded by fences. Within these "yards" dwellings were clustered, European observers finding the arrangements haphazard (see Higman 1984:218-223). At Kingsley Plantation, a considered balance between larger and smaller structures within the settlement group (larger buildings are positioned at either end of the two plan segments), together with the relationship established between slave dwellings and the main house approach, imply an aesthetic device conceived by the plantation owner.

Haig Point's North Settlement planning is less rigorous,

buildings roughly being centered on three tabby houses and an unidentified structure furnished with a large chimney. East and west, slave dwellings were either timber or possibly log walled. Differences in constructional type show that unlike slave housing at Kingsley Plantation, the layout was almost certainly the product of more than one building phase, a conclusion supported by the 1838 "Chart of Southern Coast from Tybee Bar to Hunting Island, May River" (Figure 12), which illustrates nine structures rather than the 12 individual buildings known. Lepionka is equivocal concerning the North Settlement's chronology, observing that, "no definite statements can be made concerning the phasing of [slave] house construction" (Lepionka 1988:231).

Considering the North Settlement's planning development in more detail, Category I Structures conform to prevailing building practices documented locally for the period from about 1780 through 1835, being fabricated using formwork 2 feet to 2 feet 4 inches high, and the "molds" distanced by rectangular wooden "needles." Analysis of artifacts recovered from Structure G gave a mean ceramic date of 1828 (Lepionka 1988:174, 231). Although ceramic dates for the North Slave Settlement must be treated with caution, given the quality of Category I Structures, erection during the late 1820s or early 1830s, when major building operations were in progress at the Haig Point Plantation house seems likely.

Category IV and V structures are very imperfectly known, but compared with Category I buildings, tabby chimney bases show marked distinctions since they employ a reduced and irregular formwork height with the formwork tied using 1-1/4 inch metal or timber dowels. Similar constructional techniques are recorded from Thomas Spalding's Sugar Works, Sapelo Island, Georgia, where formwork had a height of 1 foot, almost invariably tied using circular sectioned dowels (with a diameter of 1 inch) or metal clips (Crook and O'Grady 1980).

Spalding's experimental buildings received widespread attention through an article published by the Southern Agriculturalist in 1830 (Spalding 1830). His techniques were subsequently adopted by a number of coastal planters. When precisely the technological change occurred locally is uncertain, no conclusive documentation having been found for surviving examples (see Brooker 1988:79). Nevertheless, a date after 1830 is likely for both Category IV and V structures, dimensional distinctions further indicating that each category represents a distinct building episode.

The temporal position of Category V Structures can perhaps be narrowed by reference to Figure 12, which is dated 1838. As has been mentioned, depiction of the North Slave Settlement indicates the presence of nine buildings, the northernmost five being arranged on a straight line and the remainder describing an

arc. If it is assumed there once existed (as suggested above) a dwelling located between Structure I and J, the chart disposition conforms well with the configuration of Category V structures (apparently ordered on an almost straight, linear plan), plus the more southerly curved site arrangement of Structures D through H.

This circumstance taken with the structural evidence may mean that Category V Structures were built after 1830, but before 1838 and that some time after 1838 the North Settlement underwent expansion, with Category IV Structures (not shown on the 1838 chart) belonging to the site's final developmental phase. Too little is known concerning the Category V Structures to determine whether, as the closeness of proposed dating indicates, that they and tabby walled dwellings constituted part of the same building cycle. Constructional distinctions argue otherwise, but without archaeological investigation the possibility cannot be excluded.

Structure H and Structure D are difficult to place within a chronological context. Lepionka (1988:231) obtained a mean ceramic date of 1827 at Structure H. Proximity and massiveness lead me to believe that functional associations may have existed between Structure D and Category I Structures. Available evidence then points toward the following stages in the growth of the North Settlement:

Phase I, from about 1826 to 1833. Initial settlement associated with construction of the main plantation house, components of the assemblage include Structures E - G, Structure H, and possibly Structure D, aligned following the nearby shore line.

Phase II, from about 1830 to 1838. Extension of the settlement to the east on an almost linear plan. Components include Structures I - L.

Phase III, after 1838. Extension of settlement to the west, following an arc-like plan predetermined by Phase I building. Components include Structures A - C.

If this provisional interpretation is correct, judging by the Census returns for 1830, which indicate probably 85 slaves on the Haig Point property, there was then insufficient accommodation at the North Settlement for the plantation's total work force. Even assuming Phase I and Phase II buildings had been completed by that year, excluding Structure D (which was probably a communal building), allowing an estimated six persons per dwelling, the North Settlement's population in 1830 would have been about 48 individuals. One explanation for the discrepancy may be offered by the 1820 Census returns, which indicate that John David Mongin owned 93 slaves perhaps living at Haig Point. This circumstance implies an, as yet, undiscovered but substantially large settlement predating the main plantation

house construction. This being the case, it seems likely that before 1830 and for some years thereafter a substantial proportion of the population was probably occupying older settlements.

The stimulus triggering conjectured enlargements and subsequent diminution of the North Settlement can only be a matter for speculation, with shifts in land use or changes in ownership being among the most probable causal factors. By 1859 only six of the North Settlement's 12 known structures are still shown (Figure 13). Occupation of Structures E - G continued into the late nineteenth century (Lepionka 1988:170), perhaps only being interrupted by the forced Federal evacuation of Daufuskie Island in 1862.

House Typology and Construction

Genovese has noted that during the first half of the nineteenth century, along with standardization of slave settlement plans went an improvement in building quality and spatial allotment, stating, "by the 1850's the majority of southern planters were building single slave houses, measuring sixteen by eighteen (or twenty) feet" (Genovese 1972:525).

At Haig Point the slave assemblages illustrate that relative criteria were subject to considerable variation over the period from about 1828 through 1850, reflecting changing management patterns and/or slave status within the plantation's operational hierarchy.

Regarding the typology of Haig Point's slave housing, insofar as is known, dwellings were of the single family variety, each comprising a one story unit, furnished with an end chimney. Through passage plans can be inferred from Structures E - G, Structure H and possibly Structures 1 - 8, although definite evidence for subdivision of internal spaces is absent. Fenestration details are only preserved from Category I Structures, where windows were relatively small, possibly furnished with shutters and unglazed. Trinkley has suggested that the South Settlement contained glazed windows, based on the quantity of window glass present. Roofing must be deduced by analogy, original elements (apart from nails) having disappeared. The relatively slender tabby walls of Structures E - G suggest these dwellings were enclosed by light timber roof frames of either gabled or hipped form. Configuration of drip lines associated with Structure 2 from the South Settlement points toward a pitched roof with gabled ends.

Structure D, with its massive tabby chimney is best interpreted as a communal building rather than individual dwelling. Functional possibilities include a kitchen serving the domestic needs of the main plantation house, or alternatively an

infirmary supervised by the plantation owner.

Single story dwellings, with internal or external end chimneys and interiors partitioned into two or three separate spaces so as to give one large living area and often two smaller sleeping places, constitute one of the most prevalent nineteenth century slave housing types (see Linley 1982:154-164). Typologically the form derives from English vernacular and colonial antecedents, houses of Savannah's earliest settlers differing little in plan arrangement (Nichols 1976:22).

Locally, few intact examples of slave houses survive, the most complete assemblage (including timber framed and tabby construction) occurring at Hobonny Plantation, on the Combahee River (38BU1121), where tabby cabins (see Cole 1977:74) share a very similar plan form and elevational treatment with Haig Point's Category I Structures.

Evidence that standardized dwellings of the constructional type exemplified by Category I Structures were nevertheless widely distributed along the southeastern coastal plain during the early nineteenth century, is furnished by the Kingsley Plantation slave settlement on King George Island, Florida. Links with Haig Point include material usage (notably tabby walls), spatial organization, elevational design, detail, and dimension. A drawing of Kingsley's slave dwellings published by Harper's Magazine (November 1878:843) furnishes a useful analogy for any hypothetical restoration of Structures E - G. At Kingsley, roofs are shown as simple gabled structures with timber shingled finishes; the supporting rafters rest directly on exterior tabby walls and the gabled ends appear infilled using lapped timber weather boarding. Buildings from both sites share through-passage, single storey plans, organized about internal (Kingsley) or external (Haig Point) end chimneys. Category I Structures and Kingsley's larger slave dwellings are very similar in size, the latter measuring 24 feet 11 inches by 18 feet 7 inches. The majority of Kingsley Plantation's tabby slave dwellings are, however, smaller, measuring 19 feet 11 inches by 12 feet 1 inch overall.

Concerning size, definite information is available only for Structure H (measuring 23 feet 3 inches by 16 feet 5 inches overall) and Structures E - G (each measuring 24 feet by 16 feet 1 inch). Compared with figures given by Genovese (1972:525), floor areas are thus greater than average, indicating either concerns on the part of the owner for slave welfare or that dimensions of Category I structures were governed by traditional proportional systems based upon 8 foot modular multiples (see Nichols 1976:22). The South Settlement dwellings were probably smaller, with a conjectured width of 14 feet.

Construction provides a good measure of building quality.

Among the various available material options, tabby ranked high, an observer describing Hamilton Plantation on St. Simons Island, Georgia noting,

we were much pleased with the construction and arrangement of the negro houses, they are built in parallel rows, facing one another and extending some distance forming a wide avenue or street. . . . In the rear of the houses are the small gardens and hen houses of the occupants. The old buildings are of wood, but all of those recently erected, are of tabby, which adds much to the neatness of appearance, and the comfort of the inhabitants. They are constructed by the plantation hands at leisure time (Editor, Southern Agriculturalist, April 1830, page 167).

At Haig Point, the three Category I Structures are the only known tabby walled slave dwellings. Whether restricted use of the constructional mode employed has occupational significance is an open question. Quality, location, and probable association with construction of the main plantation building suggests accommodation for a small group occupying privileged positions. Given the well known aversion of Southern planters to sharing their living accommodations with slaves, it is possible that Structures E through G were built as dwellings for domestics, either house slaves or other individuals intimately connected with management of the plantation owner's daily affairs.

Alternatively, if Category V Structures (timber framed?) extending northwest prove contemporary, it might be conjectured that Structures E - G housed especially valued members of the plantation's agricultural work force such as drivers or foremen, superior accommodation situated at the head of slave rows being attested locally from Rosehill-on-the-Combahee (Heyward 1937:102).

Elsewhere among Haig Point's two known slave settlements, use of tabby is limited, occurring principally as the medium for chimney base construction. Tabby fire boxes with tabby brick flues were an obvious improvement over the wattle and daub or mud chimneys commonly found among slave housing during the nineteenth century (see Genovese 1972:525; 773, note 11), although ultimately tabby will dissociate under extreme heat (as is evidenced by the heavily damaged chimney bases in Structures E-G). Comparable construction is widespread locally, examples being recorded (but not published) from Spring and Hilton Head islands.

With the exception of Structures E-G, very little is understood concerning the superstructure of slave dwellings other than that the majority were timber walled. Details are elusive, although it does appear that all dwellings rested directly on the ground, rather than being raised on piers. Structure H preserves

1 foot deep tabby foundation strips. Conversely, the lowest structural members of Category V structures and buildings from the South Settlement were bedded on subsoil.

Lack of permanent foundations (aside from Structures E - H) or elevated floors displays indifference to problems associated with adequate ventilation and ground water penetration not uncommon among slave housing. Indeed, similar constructional practice earned the castigation of reformist observers. An anonymous letter describing slave conditions prevailing in 1856, stated,

no attention is paid to ventilation and shading, nor anything else with reference to the health and comfort of the occupant. They are usually placed so near the ground that, in a few years, the lower timbers rot and sink quite down into the earth. But nothing better is provided and the negro is obliged to remain in this uncomfortable and unhealthy situation just as long as it will afford the nearest excuse for shelter (Southern Cultivator, volume 14, page 17, cited in Smith 1973:90).

Above the foundation level, no dwellings apart from Structures E-G are preserved sufficiently well to draw conclusions regarding materials employed in wall construction. As has been remarked above, Trinkley believes archaeological evidence may indicate log building at the South Settlement, a hypothesis which, if proved correct, would have considerable bearing on interpretation of the plantation's management during its later phases, especially since house size compared with Category I Structures was probably diminished.

In South Carolina log building traditions are best documented from frontier or sparsely settled regions of the "back country" where they served as "the houses of the poorer sort of people" (John Drayton 1802 cited in Lane 1984:88-89) including land owners, tenants, and slaves from the mid-eighteenth century until the 1850s (Lane 1984:86-91).

On the coastal plain, log construction during the same period appears, based on historic sources, to have been less prevalent. Readily available milled timber provided a more versatile, and sometimes less expensive, domestic building material (Weslager 1969:113). Log structures normally housed specialized agricultural processes, such as the temporary sugar "boiling and curing" house built by J.M. Couper (1829:103) at Sapelo Island, Georgia or tobacco curing sheds, abundant until recently near Myrtle Beach and Georgetown, South Carolina (Weslager 1969:320).

Data concerning local slave house construction is very

limited. Scattered evidence concerning the South Carolina and Georgia Sea Islands during the first half of the nineteenth century shows preferences (as with elite building) for conventional timber framing, tabby, and occasionally fired brick. Smith (1985:121) asserts, "slave buildings made of logs were not the style along the Georgia coast," yet, while the statement may be true for the more prosperous plantations, the general abundance of log construction for slave housing elsewhere (see Genovese 1972: 524, 772 note 2; Weslager 1969:113) argues against requisite building techniques being totally unknown to local slave populations.

Charles Coffin, in 1866, reported that "contraband negroes" at the freedmen village of Mitchelville on Hilton Head Island were building,

about twenty houses, - or cabins rather, - of the rudest description, built of logs, chinked with clay brought up from the beach, roofs of long split shingles, board floors, windows with shutters, - plain board blinds without sash or glass (cited in Trinkley 1986:84).

Thus, the possibility of Structures 1 - 8 being log built is not necessarily excluded on the basis of available skills, given first the familiarity with such building among local blacks attested by Coffin and second, the near temporal coincidence between Mitchelville's initial construction episode (1862) and Haig Point's South Settlement. Nevertheless, caution must be exercised before concluding Structures 1 - 8 were of log construction. From an architectural stance dwellings with tabby or tabby brick end chimneys, lime mortar floors, and log walls would be without known parallel, while archaeological findings are capable of several alternate interpretations. Scarcity of nails, for instance, may reflect post occupational looting or pegged frame construction.

One significant fact concerning construction of the South Settlement does emerge. Tabby chimney bases are poorly and carelessly cast, with barely adequate foundations. Speed therefore was valued over quality during the fabrication process. Tabby manufactured using badly compacted semi-liquid slurries offers little resistance to either moisture penetration or fire, indicating that the dwellings were seen as having a strictly limited life and that slave welfare was receiving scant attention at the time of the South Settlement's inception. These inferences can be correlated with Trinkley's supposition that by the 1850s, the Haig Point Plantation was of marginal or declining economic importance.

The most striking characteristic of Haig Point's slave housing is the use of adaptive technologies exploiting

specifically coastal resources. Tabby and its variants form the most distinctive material, employed where permanence or incombustibility was a functional requirement. Fired brick appears rarely, mold made tabby brick universally acting as a substitute in chimney flue construction. Lime mortar, derived through burning oyster shell, occurs as a flooring medium, giving (although short-lived) more serviceable surfaces than compacted earth. Oyster shell lime also constituted an important ingredient for finishes, being used over tabby as stucco (externally) and plaster (internally). Discarded shell, occurring as middens associated with many structures, was possibly used for lime washes, an anonymous "planter" recording,

being situated where my negroes procure many oysters, I make them save the shell, which they place in one pile, of which I burn lime enough each year, to whitewash my negro houses, both outside and inside. This not only gives a neat appearance to the houses, but preserves the boards of the same & destroys all vermin which might infest them (Letter, Southern Agriculturalist, November 1836, pages 580-584).

Summary and Conclusions

Despite the architectural and archaeological uncertainties surrounding Haig Point's two slave settlements, several points invite comment. One primary issue concerns the use of the slave assemblages as indicators of managerial practice. As has been detailed, spatial and constructional criteria as applied to the slave housing appear variable over time. The earliest conjectured dwellings from the North Settlement (Structures E - H) are, by contemporary early nineteenth century standards, the best built, with above average floor areas and use of tabby for walls and foundations. Archaeological evidence tends to confirm chronological linkage between Structures E - H (and probably Structure D) with erection of the main plantation house, itself a remarkable example of multi-storey tabby building executed on an almost unprecedented scale. Phase I of the North Settlement may have had direct functional associations with the main house, providing accommodation for domestic slaves. Whether this was the case or not, the impression remains that building at Haig Point during the late 1820s or early 1830s reflected prosperity or at least an ample cash flow coincidental with the marriage of Sarah Mongin to the Reverend Hiram Blogett in 1825.

The last years of Sarah's first husband, David John Mongin (who died in 1823) have been previously described. Specifically, Evarts describes Mongin as "incapable of society from drinking brandy and consequent stupidity and ignorance," adding significantly, "the state of the slaves, as physical, intellectual, and moral beings is abject beyond my powers of description" (Diary of Jeremiah Evarts, Georgia Historical

Society, typescript). Thus while it is tempting to picture Blodgett as an adventurer, without social connection, undertaking or perhaps promoting building schemes using Sarah Mongin's fortune, the truth may have been different.

Judging from Phase I of the North Settlement (assuming the chronological interpretation put forward here is correct), dwellings association with construction of the main house were models of their kind, amply laid out, carefully sited so as to catch sea breezes and adequately proportioned. This suggests Blodgett, during the late 1820s or early 1830s, partially rectified the former pitiable condition of Haig Point's slave population, putting into practice management and planning principles advocated by the more enlightened slave owners of the period. How lasting or indeed how universal Blodgett's conjectured "improvements" were, cannot be determined. Slave holdings slowly increased in the late 1840s, yet the North Settlement (despite two probable extension phases) was never sufficiently large to house the plantation's total slave population, a fact implying the existence of other, yet undiscovered slave settlements, possibly dating from David John Mongin's tenure, which were possibly less coherently planned.

By the late 1840s or early 1850s the South Settlement demonstrates that an orderly layout was still considered desirable, but slave welfare was of secondary importance, dwellings almost certainly being somewhat less than average in size. Diminution of spatial allotment seems accompanied by carelessly executed construction. Trinkley's arguments concerning log building are persuasive and relevant in this context. Use of essentially pre-industrial building modes would imply that either geographic isolation or, alternatively, a lack of financial return forced a reliance on local material resources.

The date of the South Settlement is uncertain. If built during the 1840s, then it possibly shows Blodgett had overreached himself, ultimately, despite economies, selling the entire Haig Point tract to William Pope in 1850. Alternatively, if built by William Pope, the South Settlement can be interpreted as reflecting lack of concern on the part of an absentee landlord, intent upon minimizing his capital outlay. Either way, the South Settlement, like the North Settlement, illustrates one of the obvious, yet fundamental, aspects of slavery. Slaves, collectively and individually, were perpetual victims of circumstance, their wellbeing fluctuating with the owner's prosperity or caprice.

A second point raised by Haig Point's slave assemblage centers on relationships between building modes employed and the physical setting against which building operations were predicated. It must be emphasized that notwithstanding the size and apparent grandeur of the Haig Point Plantation house, its

tabby construction was based on highly labor intensive activities. Contemporary (i.e., 1826-1833) buildings from nearby cities (notably Savannah and Charleston) relied much more heavily on organized industrial production. Brick and machine cut timber were increasingly prevalent, while tabby, always a material of necessity, was becoming outdated (except for minor projects such as garden walls).

Construction at Haig Point is by no means unique, oyster shell derived materials being frequent throughout the sea islands of South Carolina and Georgia, sometime employed on an exceptionally large scale (such as the Edwards House on Spring Island and the Sams House on Daufuskie). Construction tied to locally developed technologies does, however, underscore the distance geographic isolation placed between island and urban building until the very end of the Antebellum period.

The architecture of the North and South Settlements shares with the main plantation house dependence on vernacular, near indigenous building techniques. Use of tabby and its derivatives (such as tabby brick, and oyster lime mortar and finishes) point toward a self sufficiency, minimizing problems associated with supply of industrially processed building products. Fired brick particularly must have presented almost insurmountable transportation difficulties for an island plantation, no matter how closely linked by commercial activities with urban distribution or production centers.

Structural evidence suggests that the enclosed world of the coastal plantation may have allowed for survival, innovation, and even regression among vernacular building techniques. Form casting of Category I Structures exhibits little departure from mid-eighteenth century practice, the only minor variation being a subsequent introduction of metal dowels tying framework during the 1830s. Tabby brick offered economies never outweighed by the greater efficiency of fired brick owing to transportation costs involved with the latter material. Again, lime mortar floors has a limited life, yet timber boarded alternatives demanded more expensive hand or machine finishing.

Log construction would fit this pattern well, maximizing available labor (of which, at Haig Point, there seems to have been no shortage), while eliminating material importation. It has been argued that conventional framing was a less expensive option than log construction during the first half of the nineteenth century along the southeastern coastal plain, with log structures being characteristic of frontier or sparsely settled areas. But, could island sites have resembled frontier areas in their isolation and lack of access to road networks, the resemblance increasing as investment costs were trimmed under the pressure of diminishing capital returns?

Given the fragmented evidence of the North and South Settlements, definite conclusions regarding dominant constructional modes would be premature, it being impossible to reach an unequivocal position regarding the overall configuration of incompletely exposed or missing building elements. Nevertheless, unexpected combinations (such as log and tabby), cannot be excluded, such being a logical evolutionary outcome of constraints imposed by Daufuskie Island's physical environment. The full character of Haig Point's slave settlements will perhaps only become clear as investigations of neighboring sites proceed and comparative data for slave housing from the Sea Islands is amplified.

Structural Conditions and Tabby Preservation

Condition

Impairment of standing tabby structures at Haig Point ranges from minor surface friability to partial building collapse and almost total disintegration. For the most part, tabby is heavily eroded except for the North Settlement Structures A, C, and I which were fabricated from a fairly dense tabby which, unless damaged mechanically, has retained structural integrity. All surfaces among this group preserve traces of original stucco facings. Structure B is reduced almost to rubble by root penetration; Structure I has split vertically on its eastern face through root action. Chimney bases of Structures J - L are almost completely destroyed above ground level.

The three tabby walled buildings, Structures E - G, show various stages of progressive structural failure. In all cases, external walls have partially collapsed and the remaining tabby surfaces exhibit exposed oyster shell matrices.

A variety of processes have contributed toward deterioration of Category I Structures. Most significantly, walls were originally built in haste. Interrupted casting operations caused structural discontinuities, bonding inadequacy, and ultimately, internal cracking. Post-occupational roof loss, together with destruction of timber lintels and frames, has further aggravated an inherent structural weakness. Without support, shallow tabby sections over window openings, for example, collapsed and adjacent wall areas, increasing waterlogged, separated at points of maximum stress, such as horizontal pour lines.

Chimney bases create a buttressing effect against the east facades and have retained some structural integrity, but timber lintel loss over hearths has induced shear cracking. Chimneys, being adequately founded, have not settled appreciably, nevertheless they have sustained substantial damage. Stacks are missing (perhaps robbed for tabby brick) and chimney bases have suffered fire damage, being badly holed at lower levels.

Before clearance in the Summer of 1986, all Category I structures were densely overgrown by trees (primarily hackberry) and vines (grape, trumpet vine, and smilax) which obscured details. Roots have penetrated low wall and footing levels, contributing toward the splitting and overturning of tabby, while vines have accelerated abrasion on upper wall surfaces.

Structure D has retained, despite heavy surface leaching, fundamental structural coherence. Substantial structural loss has been sustained at upper levels (i.e., chimney stack collapse, fire-hood disintegration), but bearings for a lintel spanning the hearth opening are preserved. Surface friability is marked and erosion has exposed oyster shell matrices. All remaining traces of stucco finish are loose and powdery. Unchecked, erosion is likely to rapidly efface structurally significant detail.

The South Settlement tabby chimney bases are poorly preserved, most elements having been extensively damaged or deliberately cut down below surface level. Structure 8 is preserved more or less intact, but here erosion has destroyed surface integrity. Structure 2 has suffered extensive mechanical damage, with all surviving tabby surfaces being highly friable.

Tabby Consolidation

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

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

Tabby preservation involves intervention first, to minimize further moisture penetration to break the cycle of deterioration and second, to stabilize eroded or damaged surfaces.

Preservation Options

The protection of prehistoric and historic sites is a primary goal of development plans formulated for Haig Point.

Preservation programs currently being implemented are designed to ensure that the future integrity of historic fabrics, completed work including rehabilitation of the Haig Point Lighthouse and consolidation of the earlier tabby plantation house over which the beacon is built.

Standing structures are seen as the nucleus about which a permanent site exhibit will focus, offering an interpretation of the site's role in local and regional history. The two slave settlements under discussion, with their range of building types, clearly represent a significant component for interpretation of plantation life and black history on Daufuskie Island.

As has been pointed out, the tabby elements forming both the North and South Slave Settlements are structurally impaired. Category I Structures must be considered endangered. Their continued deterioration is likely to involve substantial structural loss and erosion of important detail. Elsewhere on the North Settlement site, tabby elements are not at immediate risk although attrition, if unchecked, will progressively destroy evidence for lintel bearings and original surface finishes. From the South Settlement site, Structures 1 and 5 require immediate intervention; other structures will either be destroyed by development activities (and have therefore been partially excavated), or are too badly decayed to warrant preservation.

Two major preservation options are available -- surface consolidation and reconstruction.

Consolidation techniques include capping of vulnerable horizontal tabby planes (such as tops to walls) and patching friable or otherwise damaged vertical surfaces. While procedures evolved over the last two decades can give satisfactory results, over the long term it has proved impossible to arrest continued deterioration of tabby ruins. Stabilization must therefore rely on continuous maintenance programs, including periodic patching and even reconstruction. Where tabby ruins are heavily weathered (as at Haig Point) problems arise concerning the appearance and authenticity of the conserved structure. Ideally, any visible material employed for conservation should approach the original fabric in terms of color, texture, and finish, while still being identifiable as an intrusive element. Where the scale of required patching is extensive, a balance must be struck between conservation needs and the veracity of the completed project. The degree to which consolidant materials can be matched to eroded tabby is uncertain and either a frank distinction between old and new work has to be accepted, or the use of new materials limited.

Given the fragility of external walls among Category I Structures, long term viability cannot be assured through surface consolidation alone. The patching necessary to remedy horizontal splitting along tabby pour lines and the quantity of material

required for infilling, coupled with the extreme friability at window and door openings (where these survive) are all factors which suggest that an alternative preservation approach should be considered.

A previous report submitted to International Paper Realty Corporation of South Carolina therefore discussed reconstruction of one Category I Structure since such a course of action would offer the opportunity to re-instate lost finishes (i.e., stucco and plaster) and provide a new roof, furnishing future protection for surviving structural features.

Authenticity is an especially taxing issue with respect to extensive restoration. Current conservation practice discourages reconstruction when structural features incorporated are based not on actual evidence, but rather conjecture or analogy. For a badly damaged tabby building, replacement of lost roofing elements may offer the only prospect for long term stability. If documentation is slight, as in the present instance, then a resolution must be sought between conflicting demands set by interpretative goals and strictly archaeological values. The reader is referred to the proposal mentioned above (which also examines the architectural basis for reconstruction and the necessary operational procedures) for discussion of these issues (Brooker 1986).

Recommendations

To ensure protection of tabby elements from the North and South Slave Settlements and provide a permanent site exhibit focusing on plantation settlement, it is recommended that:

1. All cracked, or holed tabby surfaces be patched using suitable consolidant materials,
2. Top surfaces to Structures E - G be capped with lime mortar based consolidants,
3. Lost timber lintels over hearths to Structures E - G be replaced with new timbers exactly replicating originals,
4. Reconstruction of Structure 38BU153-G be considered, and
5. Regular (at least annual) maintenance programs be instituted for remedial work (minor patching) and vegetation control at the remaining structures.

Surface Consolidation and Capping

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

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

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

Experiments with various mortar mixes indicates, however, that portland cement used in conjunction with lime has the durability and flexibility necessary for tabby conservation. Extensive exterior surface consolidation (under the author's direction) at the Barnwell-Gough House in Beaufort, shows some minor surface erosion but no cracking after nine years of weathering and two record breaking frosts. This mix was composed of one part of portland cement, one part of lime, 8-3/4 parts of sand, and 1/4 part of oyster shell. Capping, mixed from one part portland cement, two parts lime, 8-3/4 parts sand, and 2 parts oyster shell, employed for tabby ruins at the Sams House on Dataw Island and the Edwards House on Spring Island, has also proved effective over the short term.

In all three projects considerable efforts were expended to match the appearance of consolidant mixes with the original fabric color and texture. Heavy concentrations of oyster shell decreased the mix workability and adversely affected adhesion. The texture of eroded tabby proved almost impossible to reproduce. Color was successfully matched through the use of white portland cement, or for stucco, pigment additives. At Fort Frederica, Georgia, the National Park Service used generally harder mixes in a 1:1 lime/portland cement ratio and has experienced some cracking on vertical tabby surfaces. Lamp black

is frequently added for cosmetic purposes.

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

Operational Procedures. Once suitable consolidant materials have been determined, it is recommended that cracks and fissures in the tabby chimney bases of Structures 1, A, B, C, and I be filled, following careful brushing away of loose fabric and organic matter. Considerable care must be taken to preserve fragments of original stucco and these areas should be conserved as necessary using a suitable "weak" lime mortar/sand mix. Where tabby is relatively coherent and retains structural integrity, patching should be minimized. In the case of Structure 5 and Structure B, which have suffered severely from root penetration, more extensive patching plus minor reconstruction will be required. Here, after removal of vegetation, it is suggested that remaining tabby fragments be consolidated in such a way as to produce even, horizontal surfaces, and then a continuous capping be applied. The cap should have a thickness of 4 inches and be fabricated using a suitable consolidant mix. Similarly, the fragmented tabby chimney base of Structure H requires consolidation and capping.

All category I Structures need extensive patching and capping. Especially vulnerable areas include tabby pour lines showing evidence of separation and holed chimney bases. It is recommended that voids be filled with a suitable consolidant mix, re-using broken tabby bricks in conjunction with consolidant materials where tabby loss is particularly severe (notably chimney bases).

Following consolidation, it is recommended that horizontal wall surfaces are capped, again using a suitable consolidant mix to a depth of 4 inches, the capping to be continuous.

Structure D presents difficulties. The feature as a whole appears structurally stable, but shows marked surface fragility and erosion. Surface patching around lintel bearings will, over the short term, preserve these elements, but not ensure their survival. It is recommended that intervention be limited to minor surface consolidation around lintel bearings; that erosion be monitored and, if maintenance at some future date proves ineffective, then complete rehabilitation (including introduction of new stucco coatings) be considered.

Hearth openings to Structures E, F, and G were originally spanned by timber lintels. To arrest deterioration of adjacent walls it is recommended that new timber lintels be introduced, exactly fitting the existing bearings (preserved as tabby impressions). Following consolidation of bearing surfaces, new members, fabricated from heart pine, should be installed and any cavities or voids around lintels firmly packed using a suitable consolidant mix.

SUMMARY AND SYNTHESIS

Michael Trinkley

While the major concern of this study has been with the Haig Point Plantation on Daufuskie Island, and particularly the South Tabby Slave site (38BU634), it has also dealt with additional archaeological survey of the Webb and Oak Ridge tracts, as well as the relocation and determination of boundaries for a number of previously recorded archaeological sites on Daufuskie. Prior to discussions of the Haig Point Plantation, it is appropriate to briefly return to these other considerations.

Survey of the Webb and Oak Ridge Tracts

The purpose of the additional survey in the Oak Ridge tract was to examine two areas of Seewee soils which had not been intensively surveyed by Michie in 1982. The Seewee soils are somewhat poorly drained, but in the Webb Tract are found on a small "peninsula" of land bordered by estuarine marsh on three sides. Separating the two areas is a remnant slough or creek. The potential to identify archaeological sites on similar soils overlooking the marsh had been demonstrated from a number of surveys in the Beaufort area (e.g., Michie 1983; Trinkley 1987c), and similar research in the Charleston area (e.g., Scurry and Brooks 1980) also suggested that sites would be found in fairly close proximity to water sources, particularly the marsh. There is, however, little research on the archaeological potential of more interior areas. One exception is the brief examination of soils and relic drainage patterns in the vicinity of Marrett Mound (38CH110) on Edisto Island. This study demonstrated that the shell midden, situated in an interior area of the island, was actually located on a relic marsh inlet (Trinkley 1976). Hence, there was reason to believe that further research into this topic might be productive.

The archaeological survey of the Webb Tract identified four previously unrecorded archaeological sites, two of which have been recommended as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. These two sites represent relatively large sites situated on the edge of high ground overlooking marsh. The location of these sites is to be expected, based on currently available predictive models and the failure to identify them in 1982 (Michie 1983) is a result of the reconnaissance level survey employed by that investigation. Had a more intensive survey of the marsh edge been conducted it is entirely probable that these sites would have been recorded. Two additional sites, however, were found on the interior, somewhat

poorly drained, Seewee soils of the Webb Tract. Both sites appear to be associated with the relic drainage and one site represents an Early Woodland Stallings occupation, while the other appears to represent a Late Woodland occupation. While neither site was judged to be eligible for inclusion on the National Register because of sparse remains, the presence of these sites provides additional information concerning site locations in the Low Country.

These findings are particularly relevant to future cultural resource management studies in the area. First, reconnaissance level, "peripheral edge" surveys are going to record only a small number of the archaeological sites of an area. While this is a truism, it is important to realize that the highly visible sites which will usually be found during such an initial study may represent either very large sites or sites which have suffered extensive erosion and hence have been made more visible. In the former case, the sites may fail to represent the complete settlement system, and in the latter case the sites may have suffered such extensive erosion that they can no longer make significant research contributions.

Second, even an intensive survey which fails to carefully consider relic soils and the presence of filled-in sloughs will fail to locate potentially significant archaeological sites. While there is ample reason to consider poorly drained soils as having a lower archaeological potential, it is essential that the presence of relic sloughs and marsh inlets be considered in the research design. Research at the Webb Tract suggests that transects spaced 100 feet (30 meters) apart, with tests along the transects at every 100 feet (30 meters) is the minimal level of survey which will identify interior sites.

Recent research by Kintigh (1988) offers some potential for researchers in the Low Country to obtain a more realistic understanding of site survey effectiveness. In particular, his work offers the potential to realistically assess the thoroughness of varying subsurface survey strategies. For his approach to be useful, however, it is essential that additional small, low density sites similar to those found in the Webb Tract be identified so that parameters of site size and density in the coastal area may be established.

The initial survey of the Oak Ridge Tract by Michie was based on an assessment of soils and their potential to support prehistoric or historic occupation. Michie chose several high sandy ridges interspersed among low, poorly drained soils as having relatively high archaeological potential. No archaeological sites, however, were identified in these areas by Michie (1983).

Because the level of survey effort in the Oak Ridge Tract

was not specified, additional testing was conducted by Chicora. Specifically, the highest sand ridge, at the northern interior edge of the tract, was selected for additional investigation. This ridge is bordered to the south by low, poorly drained soils supporting hardwoods, and is bordered to the north by a small pond. Based on topography, vegetational analysis, and the soils, this ridge appeared to have a relatively high archeological potential. It offered access to fresh water and to the lowland areas which would support a variety of game species, including deer. Surprisingly, no archaeological sites were identified.

The failure to identify prehistoric sites on this ridge requires further research into site choices. One possible explanation is that while it meets the criteria of soil drainage, and access to fresh water and game, it is too distant from the estuarine systems. If this explanation is correct, then it implies a threshold distance to the marsh and an extraordinarily strong attraction to marsh resources throughout the Prehistoric period on Daufuskie.

The failure to identify Historic period sites on the ridge is best understood by reference to period maps and the primary historical documents. While this tract was frequently mentioned and subsumed within the Haig Point Plantation, it was apparently left largely wooded and used only for cultivation. Postbellum occupation tended to organize along pre-existing major roadways on the island, none of which bisect this ridge.

Site Boundary Determinations

Another significant goal of the work on Daufuskie was to relocate and establish justifiable boundaries for fifteen previously recorded sites that had been determined eligible for inclusion on the National Register. The locations of these sites were known with varying degrees of accuracy, although the previous reconnaissance survey was not intended to establish definitive boundaries. The Scope of Work specifically required the minimization of artifact collection, since the intent was to carefully develop mitigation plans for each site and extensive testing at this stage might jeopardize long term research values.

This work relied on both shovel and auger testing of the sites using established transects. While funding did not allow computer density mapping of the sites, the data collection techniques were designed to allow such work at a future date. In addition, the transects are relocatable, so that future work can rely on the artifact density results. Site boundaries were established in the field based on best judgement approximations of declining artifact density. Each site was flagged in the field using surveyor's tape and the location was placed on detailed development maps. Copies of revised S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology site forms were placed on file with

that institution, the S.C. Department of Archives and History, and The Environmental and Historical Museum of Hilton Head Island.

With few exceptions, the site boundaries established based on this work cover a greater area than previously established for each site based on the limited knowledge available through reconnaissance survey techniques. This finding is not surprising since, again, reconnaissance surveys are not intended to accomplish more than obtaining an overview of an area's cultural resources. Unfortunately, International Paper had attempted to rely on these previous boundary estimates for their development planning.

Since this work was accomplished, data recovery excavations have been undertaken at 38BU634 and similar research is being planned for 38BU591. Site 38BU630 was found to be part of 38BU634 and also received data recovery. Of the remaining twelve sites previously determined by the SHPO as eligible, two should be re-evaluated as no longer possessing sufficient integrity for inclusion on the National Register (38BU623 and 38BU628), and two sites are black cemeteries which should be preserved in place. If these cemeteries eventually require relocation, not only will South Carolina law regarding cemetery relocation be applicable, but archaeo-physical anthropological studies will be required. Three sites (38BU586, 38BU587, and 38BU588) are within the S.C. Coastal Council Critical Line and will probably not receive any additional development impact. The remaining five sites all require either preservation in place through green spacing (the plans for which are required to be reviewed by the SHPO) or data recovery. Data recovery recommendations include eight weeks at 38BU135, two weeks at 38BU136, four weeks at 38BU584, one week at 38BU615, and six weeks at 38BU620.

While all of these sites are significant (and are eligible for inclusion on the National Register), two sites are of particular importance to the prehistory and history of Daufuskie Island. Site 38BU135 represents a major South Appalachian Mississippian site on Daufuskie which is capable of providing information on settlement and subsistence patterns for that time period. Site 38BU620 represents a small freedmen's hamlet which is of special importance to understanding the postbellum history of Daufuskie's freed black slaves. In addition, two of the sites recorded for the Webb Tract's Seewee survey are also judged to be eligible for inclusion on the National Register and must be evaluated by the SHPO.

Finally, this work has revealed the need to have all previous research on Daufuskie Island completed and adequately curated. In particular, excavations conducted by Lepionka at 38BU584 should be written up and made available to other researchers. This is essential prior to any further data

recovery operations at the site. In addition, all artifacts from Lepionka's previous excavations at Haig Point should be professionally curated.

Haig Point Plantation

While ownership of the two tracts which today comprise the 1,100 acre Haig Point Plantation can be traced back to the early eighteenth century, it was not until 1810 that the plantation took its current form under the ownership of John David Mongin of Savannah. Sometime prior to the Revolution the southern portion of the tract, known as Freeport, had a plantation constructed on it, perhaps by Richard Cockran Ashe, while the northern, and larger, tract was probably unoccupied.

By 1820 David John Mongin, son of John David Mongin, had at least 93 slaves on the Haig Point Plantation, although it is clear from Jeremiah Evarts diary that he was an ineffectual plantation owner and was living at his father's plantation, Bloody Point, on the south end of the island. Regrettably, the historical documents provide little information about this period, except that in spite of Mongin's wealth, his life centered on alcohol and,

the general aspect of things indicated slackness, and listlessness. There seemed to be no enjoyment in the place. Nothing like cheerfulness was seen (Diary of Jeremiah Evarts, Georgia Historical Society, typescript).

It may have been this drinking problem which caused John David Mongin to place his son on Daufuskie, perhaps in charge of not only Haig Point, but also his own numerous plantations. There is no evidence that the Haig Point Plantation house was constructed at this time and it seems unlikely that David John Mongin had either the ability or the vision to construct a grand mansion.

In 1823 David John Mongin died, leaving his widow Sarah Mongin, apparently as the sole heir to Freeport, Haig Point, and 33 slaves. The reduction in the slave population from the 1820 census is unexplained. In 1825 she remarried to the Reverend Hiram Blodgett and the 1830 census reveals a slave population of about 85, a more reasonable figure in light of the 1820 census. Sarah Mongin died in 1833, at her Daufuskie home, which is interpreted to mean the newly constructed Haig Point Plantation house. It seems likely that sometime after 1825, Blodgett choose to use some of the Mongin wealth to construct the large tabby house on the high bluffs overlooking Calibogue Sound.

Blodgett remained at the Haig Point Plantation after his wife's death and in 1840 the plantation boasted 109 slaves. In 1850, however, Blodgett sold the tract to William Pope, an

absentee owner. This sale may have been brought on by the economic slump in cotton prices that began in 1845 and continued through 1848. In fact, some planters did not participate in any significant economic revival until the 1850s. There is virtually no historic information on Pope's operation of the plantation between 1850 and 1861, when the Civil War reached the Port Royal area. The Haig Point Plantation is never mentioned in any of Pope's scanty correspondence, although Pope repeatedly complains of his poor returns and economic problems. That Pope was doing so poorly at a time when cotton prices were extraordinarily high suggests that the problem lay with his lands, his management, or both.

Apparently the Federal troops were sufficiently slow in occupying the Port Royal area that the Southern owners had the opportunity to remove the bulk of their slaves from Daufuskie Island. The Haig Point Plantation was confiscated by the Federal Government for failure to pay back taxes and was sold to the government for \$4,400. It is curious that in spite of the grandeur of the tabby Haig Point mansion, the structure is not mentioned in any regimental histories or official accounts from this time period. This suggests that with Pope's absentee ownership in 1850, the house was abandoned and allowed to fall into disrepair.

It appears that most of Daufuskie was depopulated throughout the war years and it was only in the late 1860s that blacks began to gradually filter back to the island. In 1866 there were only 10 black families known by the Freedmen's Bureau to be living on the island.

Haig Point was restored to the Pope heirs by 1872 when two tracts were sold to the Federal government for the construction of the Haig Point light. It was at this time that whatever remained of the main house was torn down and the area leveled for the construction of the lighthouse keeper's dwelling and range beacons.

Even this limited historical documentation offers some interesting implications for the architectural and archaeological examination of Haig Point Plantation. First, it would appear that the earliest intensive high status occupation of Haig Point came after the construction of the main house, sometime between 1825 and 1833, perhaps ca. 1829. It is likely, however, that the first slave dwellings, for at least 93 slaves, were built sometime between 1810 and 1820. In general, the slave population seems fairly static, hovering between 85 and 109.

Second, it is likely that the plantation went through a series of at least three economic stages. The first, spanning the fifteen years between 1810 and 1825, represents the founding of the plantation. While this might normally be expected to be a

period of rapid growth, it seems likely that given David John Mongin's inability to function this period represented one of stagnation and limited profitability. The second stage, corresponding to Blodgett's early tenure, dates from 1825 through the late 1830s. It was during this period that the main house was built and other areas of the plantation were expanded. Given the architectural and engineering expertise obvious in the main house, it is likely that Blodgett was either very knowledgeable, or sought out expert advise. There is every reason to believe that the same could be said for his overall plantation management. Beginning in the early 1840s and continuing through the sale of the plantation to Pope until the Civil War, the tract fell on difficult economic times. Blodgett, no matter how successful his agricultural tendencies, was surely crippled by low cotton prices in the 1840s. Pope, on the other hand, was not only an absentee owner, but perhaps also an ineffectual planter. During this period it is likely that capital expenditures on the plantation were curtailed and the standard of living among all of its inhabitants fell.

Third, the main house was abandoned after Blodgett's departure and allowed to fall into ruin. It is likely that Blodgett removed all of his personal belongings from the house upon leaving. It is unlikely that Pope, living on Hilton Head, ever lived in the structure, even on a seasonal basis. Therefore the structure, upon its demolition in the 1870s, contributed little beyond architectural remains, to the archaeological record.

Plantation Organization

Brooker has suggested that the main house, based on architectural details and design, dates to the late 1820s. This seems entirely consistent with the historical documentation. These sources seem more trustworthy than the 1816 mean ceramic date obtained by Lepionka for the main house or the 1799 date obtained by this study for yard trash associated with the main house. The reason for the disparity is unknown, but may involve problems in the analysis, the extensive disturbance to the archaeological record caused by site abandonment and subsequent leveling operations, by unknown aspects of the Blodgett lifestyle, or by a thus far undocumented earlier occupation.

Brooker suggests that there was a major construction episode in the late 1820s which involved not only the construction of the main house, but also the construction of four tabby slave houses and a communal structure to the north of the main house following the shoreline. It is likely that these structures, of more durable construction and slightly larger than typical slave cabins, represent housing for domestic servants. Lepionka's mean ceramic dates for these two structures are appropriate for their initial construction, but not for their mean occupation period,

which continued into the twentieth century. Again, I am at a loss to explain this situation.

During this early period of plantation expansion, from the mid-1820s through the mid to late 1830s, Blodgett continued to add slave cabins on line with the tabby structures to the north. It is possible that this represents plans to gradually replace existing slave dwellings and establish a new order in the plantation. Brooker notes that an additional four units were constructed between 1830 and 1838, with three more added during the late 1830s and early 1840s.

A major part of the plantation organization was the visual design of the main house and associated outbuildings. Whether flanking structures were planned is unknown, although it is known from archaeological research that none were constructed. The main structure was clearly the focal point of the plantation and Brooker notes that the house "functioned as a dominant element of a carefully orchestrated landscape composition" (herein, page 112). An 1859-1860 chart of Daufuskie shows the main house with a formal garden or orchard on its inland side and access roads skirting the garden to the south and the north, with the northern road leading to the slave row on the bank. There are several outbuildings to the south and a large number of structures scattered around to the northwest. This chart, unfortunately, fails to show the South Tabby slave settlement. Also missing from the chart is a third slave row which must have existed in order to house over a hundred slaves.

There is no archaeological, architectural, or historical evidence for an overseer once the plantation was sold to William Pope and it seems likely that daily plantation operations were handled by slave drivers. This emphasizes the remoteness of Haig Point from outside contact during the decade before the Civil War and the lack of constant, personal attention to plantation details may be one reason that Pope failed to prosper.

Slavery on the Plantation

Our knowledge of slavery on Haig Point is almost entirely dependent on archaeological evidence. The North Tabby slave settlement was occupied into the twentieth century according to oral history and this is supported by the archaeological data. Such a blending of slave and freedmen lifestyles is common along the coast and makes interpretation very difficult. We are therefore fortunate that the South Tabby settlement seems to have been constructed in the late antebellum period and was not re-occupied in the postbellum, providing a brief temporal picture of slavery on the Haig Point Plantation. This analysis has suggested that the South Tabby site was occupied only by field hands, who composed the lowest tier of plantation society.

The actual construction date of the South Tabby slave row is difficult to assess, although the architectural style and generally careless attention to detail points to a relatively late date. Based on the available architectural and archaeological evidence a date from the late 1840s or early 1850s is tentatively offered for its initial construction. Thus, the site was occupied for perhaps 10 to 13 years before its abandonment.

The structures appear to be rectangular in plan, slightly smaller than the latest ones constructed at the North Tabby settlement, perhaps measuring about 14 by 16 to 18 feet with a gabled roof and an end chimney. The chimneys were poorly constructed from tabby and the floors were poured tabby mortar laid on grade. The structures apparently had some glassed windows, although placement and quantity could not be determined. They were roofed with either shingles or boards. It has not been possible to resolve problems surrounding construction, although there is a strong possibility that these structures were log, rather than frame.

Regardless, it is clear that the South Tabby slave row was hastily and poorly constructed. The dwellings exhibit all of the major faults cited by reformers of slave housing: lack of air circulation, very limited floor area, construction on the ground, and small chimneys. In a period known for reformation in slave housing, the South Tabby structures stand out as striking examples of what not to build. Whether these structures were built because the plantation owner could not afford better, or because the owner chose not to provide better, is unknown. In either event, these structures were at the very low end of the slave housing scale.

While it is probable that the structures, laid out in a single row, faced a street, or pathway, it has not been possible to determine if that street was to the north or south. Artifact density is very low in all directions around each cabin area, which suggests that the yards were swept, or otherwise kept clean from sheet midden. The one exception to this is the presence of a number of shell middens found in the yard area of the structures. In several cases ceramic cross mends were found between a midden and a structure, suggesting that each midden represents trash from a specific structure. These middens, composed of shell and domestic trash, are found both to the north and south of structures, lacking any clear organization. Brooker has cited one plantation owner who required that his slaves retain shell for the production of lime. Kemble also notes the presence of shell middens, but provides an alternative perspective. She stated,

I as nearly as possible fell over a great heap of oyster shells left in the middle of the path. This is a

horrid nuisance, which results from an indulgence which the people here have and value highly; the waters around the island are prolific in shellfish [which are] a considerable article of the people's diet, and the shells are allowed to accumulate, as they are used in the composition of which their huts are built . . . , but, instead of being all carried to some specified place out of the way, these great heaps of oyster shells are allowed to be piled up anywhere and everywhere, forming the most unsightly obstructions in every direction. Of course, the cultivation of order for the sake of its own seemliness and beauty is not likely to be an element of slave existence; and as masters have been scarce on this plantation for many years now, a mere unsightliness is not a matter likely to trouble anyone much (Kemble 1984:257-258).

This view that the discarded shell and refuse is piled wherever convenient seems to describe the situation at the South Tabby site. Further, it is likely that this row was occupied during the period that the plantation had an absentee owner.

The ethnobotanical analysis suggested that the slave row evidenced nearby "weedy" or commensal plant species. The bulk of the organic trash was probably thrown either on the shell midden accumulations, or in the nearby marsh.

An examination of the artifacts from the South Tabby site provides a glimpse of the material culture of field slaves. The Kitchen Group artifacts consist largely of ceramics and black bottle glass. The ceramics are heterogenous, with a number of relatively high status transfer printed and hand painted wares included. This suggests that the slaves received discarded ceramics from the main house, rather than purchased lots. The one exception to this seems to be the bowls, which may have been purchased expressly for slave use. This pattern is consistent with a plantation owner of moderate means, or of one who is attempting to minimize capital expenditures on the plantation. The use of discarded ceramics might explain the generally early mean ceramic dates obtained for the site. The abundance of black glass is suggestive of relatively heavy use of alcohol (primarily ale or stout) among the slaves at Haig Point. This may also be in response to an absentee owner, but even during Mongin's tenure, Evarts remarked that the slaves sold everything they could carry to market for "liquor."

The remainder of the artifact classes document the extreme poverty of the Haig Point slaves. Furniture hardware is rare and, like the ceramics, may represent items discarded from the main house. Personal items are equally rare, with the exception of glass beads. As Otto (1984:174) has discussed, blue faceted beads are typical of Afro-American slave sites. Clothing items,

except for buttons, are uncommon. The buttons largely represent either very inexpensive bone or porcelain styles, or appear to be cast-offs from more expensive clothing. Like the ceramics and furniture, clothing may have gradually worked its way down the plantation hierarchy to the slaves. While pharmaceutical vials are often common at slave sites (see Otto 1984:174), they are uncommon at Daufuskie. Given the overall poor standard of living exhibited by the structures, it seems unlikely that the Daufuskie slaves were healthier than others and it is more likely that the Haig Point slaves received little medical attention.

It is also unlikely that the South Tabby slaves possessed firearms, in spite of the occurrence of arms artifacts. Flints may be used as fire starters and could be purchased or stolen. Both flint wraps and lead balls, being malleable, have a variety of functions, such as being recast to form net weights. The absence of firearms is entirely consistent with the types and quantities of faunal remains present at the site.

The investigations at 38BU634 have also provided considerable insight into the Haig Point slave diet. The faunal remains indicate a focal diet, centering on the generally poorer cuts of beef and pork, although a number of wild taxa were regularly used. Curiously, it appears that the South Tabby slaves received even the poorer cuts of many wild animals, such as deer. This suggests that either the slaves were receiving unwanted meat cuts of the main kitchen, or that these less desirable cuts were their reward or share of the successful hunt. Virtually all of the wild taxa represented at the site could have been taken in traps, eliminating the need for firearms and emphasizing that these resources could have been obtained even while the slaves were working. It is of interest that few marine fish are represented in the faunal collection and most of the specimens are "garbage" fish which traditionally are considered low status. The faunal collection, when compared to various patterns, ranks even lower than was typical for slave sites, which indicates that the slaves at the South Tabby settlement were considered low in the plantation hierarchy.

The ethnobotanical study failed to document the presence of any cultigens except peach. While typically food preparation and disposal practices at historic sites mitigate against the recovery of many foods, items such as corn and rice are frequently found carbonized. Their absence at the South Tabby site may indicate the presence of thoroughly processed meal, rather than kernels. The absence of plant foods may also suggest the absence of individual gardens. Wild plant foods, except for a single grape, were absent from the collection. This evidence, coupled with that from the faunal collection, suggests that the South Tabby slaves may have had only limited opportunities to supplement their diet with wild floral and faunal species.

The examination of the oyster shell reveals that they were collected during a fairly narrow range of the year -- late fall and early winter. In addition, the oysters were apparently shucked raw. This suggests that the oysters were either being collected and prepared by the slaves for use in the main house, or else were only very occasionally collected. Given the relatively limited reliance on either wild floral or vertebrate faunal taxa, it seems reasonable that oysters, in spite of their availability, were only rarely used by the South Tabby slaves.

The picture of the slave diet that emerges is considerably less healthy and satisfying than is often advanced. There was a heavy reliance on purchased rations of beef and plantation grown pork, although in both cases the cuts tended to be poorer (i.e., jaw and jowl). There is little documentation concerning vegetable rations, although they likely consisted of meal rather than whole grain. There was almost no use of wild plant foods and only very limited use of shellfish. Wild animals were routinely captured, but only in small numbers. The fish used by the slaves included species that could be caught on lines and very few marine species were identified. The net weights found at the site are typical of cast nets, yet few fish have been identified which could be caught using this type of net. It is possible that the nets were used to collect shrimp, which are difficult to identify in archaeological collections. Apparently slave diet on Daufuskie changed little from 1822 when Evarts remarked,

it was not a pleasant thought, that while such unlimited profusion reigned on the table of the master, a large portion of his slaves rarely tasted flesh. At Christmas, indeed, all are feasted, but generally the fare of plantation slaves is coarse and scanty (Diary of Jeremiah Evarts, Georgia Historical Society, typescript).

The view that emerges of slave life on Haig Point Plantation, at least for the field hands, is one of poverty, poor food, and dilapidated housing. From the Georgia coast, Kemble remarked on similar conditions, wondering if they were the result of plantation economics,

the cotton crop is now, I believe, hardly as valuable as the rice crop, and the plantation here, which was once the chief source of its owner's wealth, is becoming a secondary one, and so not worth so much care or expense in repairing and constructing Negro huts and feeding and clothing the slaves (Kemble 1984:227).

This seems a plausible explanation at Haig Point, where, after 1850, the plantation was a small and relatively insignificant holding of William Pope. Even if Pope was making a good profit from his other holdings (which is doubtful), Haig Point was a

remote tract which was probably managed to maximize return while minimizing investment. The result of this practice, of course, was felt most keenly by those with the least amount of control over the situation -- the plantation slaves (see Orser 1988).

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