

**CURRENT RESEARCH IN THE
HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY
OF THE CAROLINAS**



CHICORA FOUNDATION RESEARCH SERIES 4

CURRENT RESEARCH IN THE HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE CAROLINAS

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CHAPTER I

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CHARLESTON BEEF MARKET

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Shortly after the City of Charleston was moved to its current location in 1680 a market was established within the town wall. This market was known as the New Market between 1730 and the 1750s, but the name changed to Beef Market during the 1750s and 1760s. The market burned in 1796 and was relocated elsewhere in the city subsequent to this. During documentary research was found that the location of this early market was in a park maintained by the City of Charleston adjacent to City Hall, which was built on the property in 1801. Excavations were undertaken to verify the location of the market. The limited testing program undertaken proved highly productive, with physical evidence for the market uncovered along with abundant evidence of market activities. The cultural artifacts excavated from the Beef Market and those excavated from other sites within the city were examined for correlations between them. The vertebrate fauna and floral remains were examined for similar correlations.

INTRODUCTION

Prehistoric archaeologists for some time have recognized differences between areas where animals have been killed, butchered, and consumed; and developed hypotheses about the relationships existing among these different activity areas. Archaeologists working with historic samples have recognized that these differences existed in their sites as well, but have not explored the impact of these types of activities on their data as thoroughly. To a large extent this is because the focus of much historic sites excavations has been either sites where examination of foodways were incidental to the research, fortifications for example, or sites where consumption was the primary food related activity. An example of this would be excavation of a residence located on a farm. For the past several years researchers in California have demonstrated the value of exploring the entire distribution cycle of meat in the interpretation of faunal remains excavated from residential sites. Schultz and Gust

(1983) have found strong correlations between the price of cuts of meat in the nineteenth century and the types of bones found at several urban sites in Sacramento. They also found correlations between ethnicity and the cuts of meat represented by the excavated animal bones. In making their interpretation these researchers were guided by extensive post-1860s marketing literature.

Those of us working on sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth century material from southern Atlantic coast sites have not been so fortunate as to have adequate information about standard market cuts of meat or prices to guide in the interpretation of faunal remains. While some general documentary evidence is available, these data have been found too general; difficult to translate into broken pieces of glassware, crockery, and bones; or contradictory to the archaeological evidence from residential sites. For example, there are several general sources which describe British and American foodways in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the types of foodstuffs sold in markets. From these accounts it has been concluded that the southern diet was based primarily upon the consumption of pork, was fairly uniform throughout the region, and was monotonous. These accounts, however, are primarily anecdotal and the information they provide cannot be quantified or confidently applied to the interpretation of archaeological materials. Hilliard (1972) has provided ample quantified data to document the volume of pork which was shipped throughout the south, but his observations are contradicted by the archaeological evidence. Analysis of archaeological remains excavated from six Charleston and Savannah sites where residential and mixed residential/commercial activities took place indicates that generally more beef than pork was consumed, that diets included a variety of fish and wild game, and that these urban diets were not similar to diets from elsewhere on the Atlantic seaboard or elsewhere in the south (Honerkamp et al. 1982; Honerkamp et al. 1983; Reitz 1984a; Reitz et al. 1985; Zierden et al. 1982; Zierden, Calhoun, and Paysinger 1983; Zierden, Calhoun, and Punckney 1983).

It is thought that the lack of agreement between documentary evidence and archaeological data must be attributable to factors in the marketing and household level production of beef, pork, and other food products. Knowledge of markets is important to an understanding of urban archaeological sites. Fernand Braudel (1981:481) has said:

One hears a great deal about the role of the town in the development and diversification of consumption, but very little about the extremely important fact that even the humblest town-dweller must of necessity obtain his food supply through the market: the town in other words generalizes the market into a widespread phenomenon.

This generalization should be visible archaeologically in the presence of a diversity of products offered for sale (fruits, meat, ceramics, crafts, etc.) and a diversity of similar products found at many different archaeological sites. It should be possible to discuss the

market's role in the distribution of goods and in everyday life in Charleston.

There are other aspects of market activities which may be learned through the historical and archaeological study of a market. We may learn if the market was a social as well as a commercial center, not only for the town but for the region. It is known, for example, that produce from plantations was sold in town, and that itinerate merchants also were attracted to Charleston. Perhaps these were associated with the market place. The market may have been an outlet for goods raised or made by slaves and sold for their own benefit. A Charleston Grand Jury Presentment in 1742 complained of "the unlawful practice of negros buying and selling in the public market" (South Carolina Gazette, March 27-April 3, 1742). In 1746 many "well disposed poor white people" at Charleston complained of slaves who, as a result of non-regulation, forestalled the market and often vended goods "by very indirect methods." The assembly responded with a law which forbade slaves to huckster anything other than fish, oysters, and herbage (Bridenbaugh 1955:82). Most imported goods were sold through factors, but not everyone had access to a factor. Perhaps some imported goods were also sold through the market, at least on a secondary level. Some of these foreign goods might have been smuggled in or seized from foreign vessels. Through time markets may have become more specialized, being known first only as the "market" and then by a specialty term such as Beef Market, Fish Market, or Game Market. Use of markets may have been restricted to certain products or to certain groups of people. It is possible that some of the differences observed at sites where consumption was the primary activity can be accounted for by household level husbandry of livestock even within the urban setting. Pigs and chickens, for example, were known to roam the streets of many cities until very recently. Study of market debris may provide information which will help identify which products were obtained from markets, raised by the household unit itself, or obtained from other sources such as factors or hucksters. It is also probable that much of the pork which was purchased by southerners did not contain identifiable bone -- fat back and bacon being two examples.

While all of these questions cannot be addressed here, research was begun at the Charleston Beef Market with the position that materials excavated from residential areas must in some way reflect the local production and distribution system. Some of these questions may never be resolved. Nonetheless, it seems desirable to delimit in some fashion the avenues by which food and other items become part of a household's refuse. Unfortunately, published literature about markets in the south do not provide explicit, detailed information on the types of commodities circulated in terms which can be transferred to archaeological debris.

As a result of recent archaeological and documentary research in the City of Charleston, it appears that a breakthrough to this impasse may be forthcoming. The City of Charleston was founded in its current location in 1680. From 1673, the future site of City Hall and the park to its north and east were made up of lots which were never built upon and common lands which gradually came to be known as a public

square. In 1692, a public market was established. This was reconfirmed in 1710 and 1736 (Childs 1981:24; McCord 1840:2:73, 75, 351; 3:458, 516). After 1739 Charleston had two markets, one on the Bay and the other at Broad and Meeting Streets. The latter was referred to variously as the Upper Market, Beef Market, and between 1739 and the 1750s, the New Market. It was reported to be "well regulated and plentifully supplied with provisions" (Bridenbaugh 1955:82). In 1760 the commissioners of the market began construction at the Beef Market of a "neat building, supported by brick arches and surmounted by a belfry" (Bridenbaugh 1955:80). One observer noted in 1774, however, that "it is only a low, dirty looking brick market house for beef" (Merrens 1977:282). A number of eighteenth century merchants and craftsmen advertised their location as near the New or Beef Market. There were actually more craftsmen than merchants located near the market and a preponderance of these craftsmen were engaged in saddlery and other leather working activities (Calhoun et al. 1982). Based upon newspaper advertisements the market may have been an open-sided, covered area. The market burned in 1796 and subsequently was located elsewhere in the city. During documentary research evidence was found that the location of this early market was in a park maintained by the City adjacent to City Hall, which was built on the property in 1801 (Childs 1981:4). The possibility existed that the market may have been relatively undisturbed since 1801.

In the spring of 1984 a preliminary excavation was initiated in the park to test four hypotheses. The first of these was that some evidence for a market could be found. This assumed that the map was correct in the location of the market and that City Hall did not sit on top of the market. The second was that we would find materials which would be a signature for a market. Extensive excavations at colonial sites in Charleston and elsewhere had provided a pattern for the types of eighteenth century artifacts found at sites where the primary activity was either residential or a mixture of residential and commercial. We hoped that a market would somehow look different from this. The third hypothesis was that the name "Beef Market" would correspond in some way to material recovered: that we would find bone refuse at the site and that this would be primarily cattle. In the absence of public refuse collection at this early date we thought that debris would not have been carted away, but it was possible that all of the carcass was sold out of the market, leaving no refuse behind to document the enterprise. The fourth hypothesis was that additional documentary evidence could be found which would specify what was sold in the New Market and the Beef Market, by whom, and for what price.

RESEARCH STRATEGY

Some of these questions are best addressed through historical research and others through archaeological research. A combined, simultaneous effort was seen as the best way to approach these questions. Such an approach has proven fruitful at historic sites excavated not only in Charleston but throughout North America (Deagen 1983; Lyman 1979; Schulz and Gust 1983; Wilson and Southwood 1976).

The data obtained from a combined excavation and document search program was seen as potentially useful not only to the interpretation of market behavior; but also to the analysis of materials excavated from residential sites. Such information will help us understand consumer choices at residential sites as reflected in the products found at these sites which were available in the market. Comparison of residential deposits with market deposits and documentary inventories should be helpful in the interpretation of both market and residential deposits.

Field work was initiated in March 1984 in Washington Park at the corner of Meeting and Broad Streets. One 5 by 10 foot unit was excavated. According to cartographic sources most of the market stalls built by 1760 are located beneath City Hall. The unit was located to intersect the extreme eastern edge of the market and/or the earthen alley way encircling the market. The first stratum corresponded to fill deposited since 1800 to construct the park. Much of this fill was associated with the twentieth century. Below this fill were located zones dating to the early nineteenth century plus pockets of mortar, brick, and marble chips. This was probably associated with the marble facing of the City Hall structure. Below this lay 1.8 feet of market refuse, beginning with a hard packed floor. Below the floor cultural deposits were abundant. These included eighteenth century ceramics, as well as concentrations of oyster shell and animal bone. The lowest levels contained abundant animal bone deposits and ceramics from the 1720s and 1730s. Along one wall of the excavated unit, a brick feature, possibly a wall of the market, was located. In the bottom layer of the unit, swirls of water-washed sand which might have been wagon ruts were isolated. The cultural deposits stopped abruptly in Zone 9, 3 feet below the surface. The underlying soil appears to have been undisturbed humus. During field work a 1/4-inch screen was used to recover artifacts. Following field work the artifacts were curated at The Charleston Museum.

ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL MATERIALS

An initial obvious difference between the market assemblage and those from other Charleston sites was the relative quantity of faunal to cultural refuse. Following analysis the assemblage was divided into early and late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century subassemblages (Table 1-1). The cultural materials were grouped according to South's (1977) functional categories and compared to data from five Charleston assemblages recovered from dual function sites (Honerkamp et al. 1982; Zierden and Calhoun 1984; Zierden et al. 1982; Zierden, Calhoun, and Paysinger 1983, n.d.; Zierden, Calhoun, and Pinckney 1983). All sites were excavated using the same methodologies and all have similar temporal parameters, although only the market and First Trident have substantial early eighteenth century components.

In general there was little difference between the market and post-market assemblages and between market and other urban assemblages. Thus there was no strong suggestion that the cultural

Table 1-1. Comparison of Beef Market Cultural Data to Charleston Domestic Sites.

Category	% Charleston Mean	% Market, Early Eighteenth Century	% Market, Late Eighteenth Century	% Market, Nineteenth Century
Kitchen	63.10	67.35	62.65	59.76
Architecture	25.03	18.06	25.00	31.91
Arms	0.20	0.23	0.13	0.13
Clothing	1.18	0.42	0.39	0.93
Pipe	5.97	10.68	9.80	2.33
Personal	0.14	0.07	0.13	0.03
Furniture	0.08	0.15	0.22	0.23
Activities	4.44	2.99	1.63	4.66
Tableware (% of kitchen)	56.50	32.00	45.70	83.40
Wine Bottle (% of kitchen)	25.00	33.00	54.00	35.80
Colono-ware	5.00	31.70	7.50	1.80

material recovered were sold at the market. They may represent domestic refuse from those spending the day at the market, or may have been scattered from adjacent structures into the alley surrounding the market. This suggestion is strengthened if we assume the nineteenth century debris were from such sources. There was, however, a relatively large percentage of pipes in the market deposit: 10.2% compared to a Charleston mean of 5.7%. The only comparable percentages of kaolin pipes are from McCrady's Longroom, a late eighteenth century tavern, and First Trident, a colonial tannery or leather working shop. These data may suggest that the market and surrounding area was a social center in which tobacco smoking was practiced extensively. This is supported by historical data (Calhoun et al. 1984:18).

In an attempt to determine the reason for the presence of the cultural materials, the Kitchen Group was further examined. It was here that some differences from other urban sites were noted. Within the ceramic assemblage tablewares comprised 83% of the nineteenth century ceramics but only 33% of the market ceramics. Domestic sites in Charleston range from 44% in low status colonial assemblages to 71% in high status antebellum assemblages. The unusually high percentage of storage or utilitarian vessels suggests that these were being sold or, more likely, products being stored in them were being sold. This is the clearest difference between the market and other urban sites.

Another difference is a relatively large percentage of green bottle glass from the Kitchen Group: 43% compared to a Charleston mean of 25%. This suggests that green bottles and/or their contents were sold at the market. Alternately they may reflect the use of the area as a social center.

Another unusual aspect of the market assemblage is the high percentage of Colono-ware: 31% compared to a Charleston mean of 5%. This suggests that the ware was either sold or used by the vendors at the market. However, the relative percentage of Colono-ware in the market deposits decreases dramatically in the latter years of the eighteenth century. This corresponds to other data on the ware and may reflect a growing sophistication of businesses and goods in Charleston.

In general there is little difference between the market and other urban assemblages, which suggests that at least some of the refuse is from adjacent domestic activities. The higher percentages of glass and ceramic storage vessels suggests that these products or their contents were sold at the market. Certainly a larger sample is needed.

ANALYSIS OF FAUNAL REMAINS

Vertebrate remains were identified by H. Catherine Brown using the comparative skeletal collection in the Zooarchaeology Laboratory, University of Georgia. Standard zooarchaeological methods were used throughout the study (Reitz 1984b).

When the amount of bones recovered from the single excavation at this site is compared to the quantity recovered from other excavations throughout the city, the volume of bone at the Beef Market is impressive. The combined excavations at the Charleston Convention Center, McCrady's Longroom, and Lodge Alley were more extensive than that at the market. These excavations produced a total of 14,250 bones. The spatially smaller market excavation resulted in 10,378 bones. This density of bone deposits is the primary evidence to support the identification of this site as a market. While it is probable that some of the bones recovered from the market represent subsistence by market vendors, the bulk of the bones are probably the result of commercial activities.

The faunal assemblage from the market is small, containing only 78 individuals. The dominant taxon, in terms of individuals, in the market was cattle (Bos taurus), followed closely by pigs (Sus scrofa) (Reitz 1984b). Domestic mammals contributed 42% of the individuals and 94% of the biomass. The next most abundant group identified were wild mammals, in this case represented by a single species, deer (Odocoileus virginianus). Deer contributed 15% of the individuals although only 4% of the biomass. Fishes contributed 19% of the individuals, but less than 1% of the biomass. Domestic and wild birds were both minor elements of the assemblage, contributing equally to the number of individuals (9%) and to the biomass (0.3%). Chickens (Gallus gallus) were the only domestic bird identified while ducks (Anas spp.), Canada geese (Branta canadensis), and turkeys (Meleagris gallapavo) were the wild birds identified. Turtles were a minor portion of the assemblage. A pond turtle (Chrysemys spp.) and a sea turtle (Chelondae) were identified. Rats (Rattus spp., Rattus rattus) and dog (Canis familiaris) were the only commensal species identified.

The materials were studied for change through time. The twentieth century materials were represented by a single unidentified mammal bone weighing 12.9 grams. The nineteenth century was represented by 606 bones weighing 1404.8 grams and representing at least 11 individuals. The late eighteenth/early nineteenth century was represented by 2052 bones weighing 5077.9 grams and representing at least 19 individuals. The 1720s-1750s deposits contained the vast majority of the materials, with 7719 bones weighing 19,886.9 grams and representing the remains of at least 48 individuals. Zone 9 contained 129.7 grams of bone, while Zone 6 (56.4 grams), Zone 7 (26.8 grams), and Zone 8 (26.7 grams) also contained large quantities of bone. Seven of the eight caprine bones (50% of the caprine individuals); 145 of the 172 cow bones (75% of the individuals); and 55 of the pig bones (67% of the individuals), but only 11 of the deer bones (42% of the individuals) were found in the 1720s-1750s contexts.

Since so many of the faunal remains were from a single time period, it is difficult to document change through time from them. One change which can be described is that venison was a minor component in the 1720s-1750s contexts, but formed a major portion of the biomass at the turn of the century, declining shortly thereafter. Another interesting change is the apparent decrease in the use of fish from the early eighteenth century into the later part of the century. This could reflect a change in consumption habits of townspeople, or it could reflect the establishment of a fish market in 1770 (McCord 1840:403). It is also interesting that fish remains increase in the nineteenth century. When the already small sample is broken down into these temporal components, however, many of the variations seen can be attributed to sample size. Nonetheless, these changes warrant attention at some future date as additional samples from the early part of the eighteenth century are studied.

In some respects the faunal remains from the Charleston Beef Market appear to mirror what has been found on residential sites within the city. All of the taxa identified from the market excavation have also been identified from residential/commercial structures. When the summary of the market data are compared to these same categories from other urban collections, the percentages for some groups are very similar (Table 1-2). This is especially the case for fish and wild birds. The greatest areas of difference are in the quantity of domestic individuals identified in the two different types of collections, and in the presence of deer. Domestic mammals, especially cows, are more common in the market collection than in residential/commercial deposits. Deer are also more common at the market. On the other hand, chickens are more common at residential/commercial sites. Commensal species are also more common at residential/commercial sites. One possible explanation for the differences observed is that most of the urban residential/commercial samples date to the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century, the bulk of the market materials date to the early 1700s. The extent of this difference cannot be assessed without additional materials from both time periods.

It appears that the market, in spite of its name, was not exclusively for the sale of beef. This appears to have been the case

Table 1-2. Comparison of the Beef Market with Other Urban Collections*.

	Market		Residential	
	MNI	Percentage	MNI	Percentage
Domestic Mammals	33	42.30	167	28.90
Domestic Birds	7	9.00	114	19.70
Wild Mammals	12	15.40	47	8.10
Wild Birds	7	9.00	44	7.60
Aquatic Turtles	2	2.60	32	5.50
Fish and Sharks	15	19.20	114	19.7
Commensal Species	2	2.60	60	10.40

*—Data from Charleston Convention Center (Honerkamp et al. 1982), McGrady's Longroom (Zierden et al. 1982), First Trident (Zierden et al. 1983a), Lodge Alley (Zierden et al. 1983b), and Savannah-Telfair (Honerkamp et al. 1983).

throughout its history. Although a variety of meats were sold at the market, beef, pork, and venison were the primary products. Allowing for individual variations among the residential/commercial sites excavated elsewhere in the city, it appears that the proportions of these products found at these consumer sites reflect the quantities sold in the market itself. The variations probably reflect the degree of access enjoyed by residents at each of the sites to meat from the market (i.e., socio-economic status). The differences in the number of cattle, pig, and deer individuals identified in the market collection and in the collections from other urban sites may indicate that quite a large quantity of meat left the market without bone. Small animals such as domestic birds may have been raised by the individual household rather than purchased, or they may have been purchased complete with bones. Fish may have been purchased at the market either with or without heads since the percentage of fish recovered from the market reflects that recovered from other sites in the city. Most of the fish were identified primarily from cranial fragments and the MNI was generally determined from paired cranial fragments. The low incidence of rats may be evidence that few grains or vegetables were sold in the market.

The large quantity of teeth identified from household lots in Charleston has led to the interpretation that some of the large livestock were slaughtered by the household at the domestic site. However, the same large quantity of teeth was found at the market. It seems more likely that the teeth found at household sites reflect the purchase of skulls by the household. Since a variety of dishes could be made from the heads of hogs this has always been an alternative explanation.

ANALYSIS OF FLORAL REMAINS

Floral remains were studied by Michael Trinkley, Chicora Foundation. Goals of the ethnobotanical study were similar to those of the faunal study. By learning what types of plant foods were marketed in Charleston we hope to understand better the range of plant materials recovered from urban domestic sites. While the market apparently emphasized the sale of meat cuts there is evidence that other types of items were handled at the market. Further, the 1796 fire occurred in the summer, enhancing the potential that produce might have burned and subsequently been preserved in the archaeological record. consequently an ethnobotanical study might reveal evidence of other activities at the market, specifically the sale of plant foods and herbs.

Both hand picked and floated samples were examined. The samples proved somewhat disappointing in terms of plant foods; however, it must be remembered that no tangible evidence of the fire was found. The single plant food was a corn kernel (Zea mays) collected from the hardpacked floor. Unidentified seeds were recovered from the zone immediately beneath this. Trinkley suggests that this particular portion of the market may have been cleaned for reuse following the fire, thus removing the ethnobotanical evidence. It is likely, though, that not all of the site was kept this clean and more substantial ethnobotanical deposits may be found in other sections of the market.

Analysis of the wood charcoal suggests some differences from other Charleston sites. Specifically the abundance of hard woods, such as hickory, oak, and maple, over pine. Previous efforts at ascribing status to various fuel woods have met with little success (Trinkley 1984); the Beef Market data may be useful in refocusing this study of fuel woods from status to function. Trinkley suggests that it is unlikely that the woods represent solely heating fuel given the probability that the market was open-sided. It is more likely that they were used in some cooking activity related to the sale of beef. A second aspect of this research is the presence of coal and its ratio to wood charcoal. Trinkley has proposed several avenues of further research dependent upon larger samples.

SUMMARY

More work at the Charleston Beef Market is planned for the future; however, the work already accomplished has provided new data for the interpretation of early Atlantic coast materials. Most of the original goals of the program were accomplished. The first of these was to ground test the documentary evidence for the location of the market. On the basis of this analysis we feel that we have located the eighteenth century Charleston Beef Market. While some specialization is evident in the Charleston Beef Market, a variety of non-food items were offered for sale there. The second was to see if any of the carcass remains would have been discarded at the site. It

was possible that all of the bones were sold either with the cuts of meat, or independently. It appears that at least some bones were discarded on the market floor. Markets were not tidy places and much debris was left where it fell. It also appears that not all bone was sold out of the market in cuts of meat. Much of the skeleton was left to rot on the floor of the market. The market was, however, not the slaughterhouse (the historical equivalent of the kill site) and may not have been the butchering site either. All of the bones which were found at the market could also be found at residential/commercial sites. The third purpose was to see if there was any correspondence between the market debris and debris from other sites in Charleston. Larger samples need to be obtained from both market and non-market contexts; however, it appears that there is a degree of similarity as well as some interesting areas of dissimilarity in the ceramic and faunal assemblages found at the market and elsewhere. Differences between the market and non-market sites may provide evidence for behavior such as livestock raising and socializing within the town. If the evidence found at the market is confirmed through additional work both at the market and at other residential sites, it may mean that the market played a significant social and subsistence role in Charleston. The brief excavation at Washington Park has already provided interesting information about early activities in Charleston. We expect that as work continues the results will be even more rewarding.

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CHAPTER II

CHARLESTON AND THE LOWCOUNTRY: RECENT RURAL INVESTIGATIONS

Martha A. Zierden
The Charleston Museum

The Charleston Museum recently conducted limited excavations on two plantation sites in the South Carolina Lowcountry. Investigations at Campfield Plantation focused on a slave settlement occupied in the nineteenth century. Excavations at Archdale Plantation in Dorchester County focused on the main house site, occupied from 1680 to 1886. Both plantations were engaged in tidal rice production. The assemblages are examined in terms of socioeconomic ties to Charleston, the major urban center of the lowcountry. Several approaches to examining rural/urban connections and contrasts are proposed.

INTRODUCTION

The Charleston Museum has recently expanded its research domain from urban archaeology in Charleston to include rural studies of lowcountry plantation sites. This is not such a radical step as it may seem, in that the primary research question we are addressing is comparing and contrasting life in the city with life in the country. Our long term goal is to examine the similarities and differences between urban and rural life on a range of socioeconomic levels. In addition to comparing the city life and country life of the well-to-do planter, we plan to explore the archaeological manifestations of differences between urban and rural slavery (Zierden and Calhoun 1984). Because all of our projects, whether urban or rural, have been conducted under a CRM framework and have been limited in scope, we have not had the opportunity to choose sites based on their research potential. Consequently, there are gaps in our present data base and our research efforts are preliminary. As we continue this research, we hope to fill these gaps and present a holistic view of urban and rural life in the lowcountry.

I previously have discussed various aspects of our urban research (Reitz et al. this volume; Zierden 1982, 1984). It is appropriate, therefore, to present at this time a summary of the recent plantation investigations we have been able to conduct. A discussion of the rural/urban contrasts documented to date follows the summary.

ARCHAEOLOGY AT CAMPFIELD PLANTATION

In February 1983 we conducted limited testing at a slave settlement associated with Campfield Plantation (see Zierden and Calhoun 1983). Campfield was a rice plantation located on the Black River, 8 miles north of Georgetown, South Carolina (Figure 2-1). The plantation was first occupied in the late eighteenth century and it was owned by a number of individuals. In 1886, the plantation was merged with the neighboring Greenfield plantation, which is currently still used for farming, hunting, and timber production.

The site is characterized by rolling sand knolls adjacent to the marsh. Brick piles indicate that the structures were clustered atop one rise, with a cemetery, still used by local residents, on an adjacent knoll. The presence of a brick foundation adjacent to the marsh suggested some integrity to the site. There was also a standing, open well. We began with shovel tests to define the site boundaries, then excavated six 5 foot squares. The excavations revealed a sparse scattering of refuse on the top of the knoll, but a greater concentration adjacent to the marsh. This suggested a refuse disposal pattern of deposition into a convenient swamp, rather than deliberate subsurface interment. Such a pattern has been discussed by Theresa Singleton for slave sites on Butler Island, Georgia (Singleton 1980). Artifacts recovered suggest that the occupation began around 1830 and continued into the postbellum era. Luxury items were sparse; subsistence and shelter items comprised 96% of the assemblage, again corresponding to the pattern noted by Singleton (1980). The only "luxury items" present were a brass buckle and chain link, and porcelain doll dishes. The most intriguing material recovered from the site were the ethnobotanical samples (Trinkley 1983). The floated and hand picked samples produced little in the way of plant foods, but a variety of charred seeds from wild plants were discovered. Many of these plants were part of folk remedies, and Trinkley suggests that these may have been used for medicinal purposes by the slaves or freedmen.

The assemblage from this site was compared to data from slave sites at cotton and rice plantations in coastal Georgia and South Carolina. The Campfield data were most similar to the Georgia sites, in that architectural artifacts, specifically nails, dominated the archaeological collection (Table 2-1). This is attributed to the probable frame construction of the structures (see Singleton 1980). Likewise, the lack of architectural artifacts at South Carolina sites is attributed to their probable mud wall construction (Drucker and Anthony 1979; Wheaton et al. 1983). These construction technique differences, and the resulting differences in the relative percentages between the Kitchen and Architecture groups, are possibly due to the temporal differences between the two groups of sites.

One feature that the Campfield assemblage shared with the South Carolina sites, to the exclusion of the Georgia sites, is the presence of Colono-ware. Although the source of this ware remains uncertain, its extensive use by slaves for food preparation, and probably consumption and storage, cannot be denied. The extensive presence of

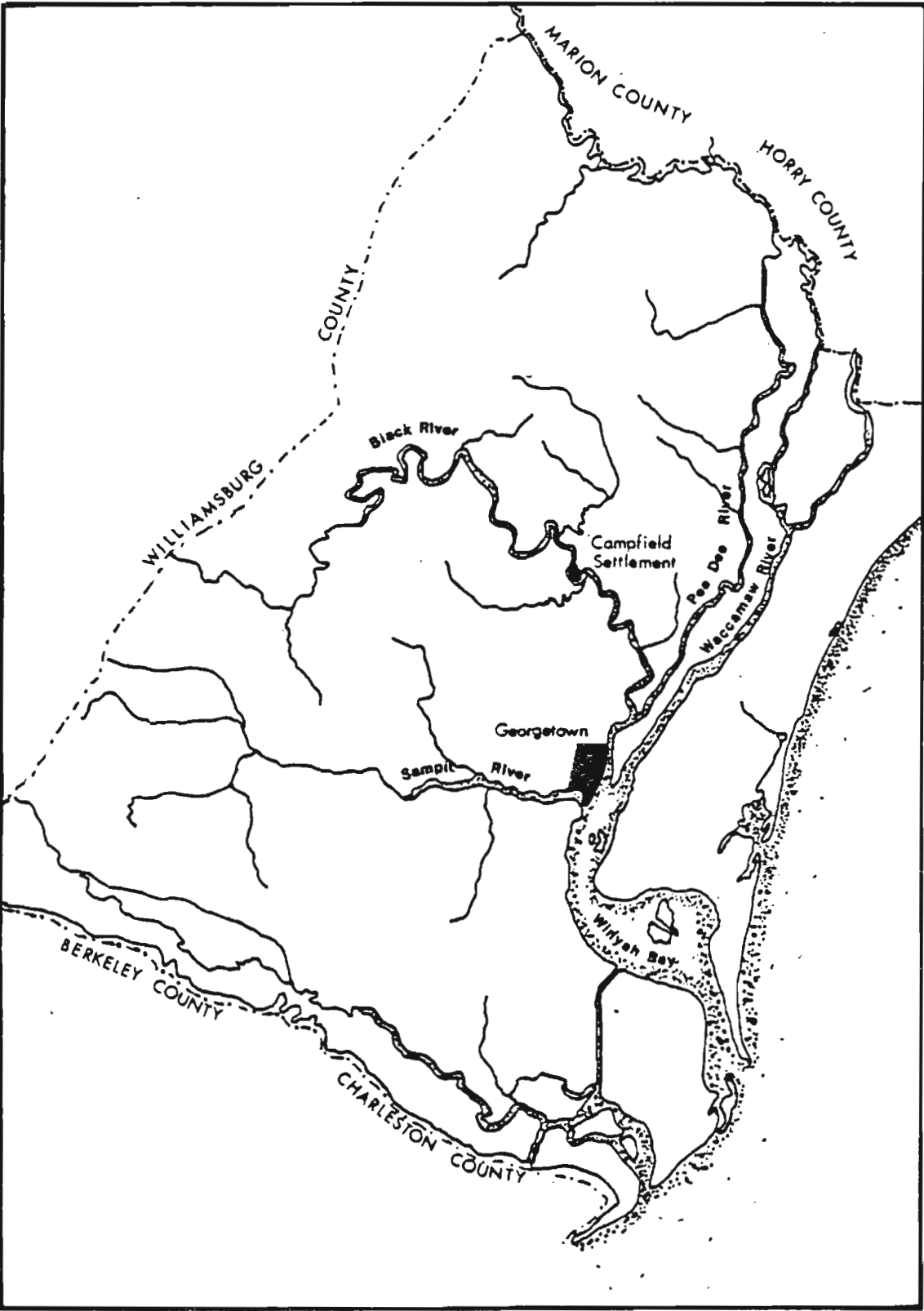


Figure 2-1. Location of Campfield Plantation.

Table 2-1. Comparison of the Campfield and Archdale Assemblages to the Carolina Artifact Pattern.

	Carolina Pattern	Charleston Mean	Campfield	Archdale 18th C.	Archdale 19th C.
Kitchen	63.10	63.10	24.33	43.16	34.42
Architecture	25.50	25.03	71.77	50.30	62.02
Arms	0.50	0.20	0.05	0.17	0.11
Clothing	3.00	1.18	0.22	0.17	0.18
Personal	0.20	0.14	0.11	0.26	0.04
Furniture	0.20	0.08	0.05	0.09	0.14
Pipes	5.80	5.97	0.55	1.65	1.21
Activities	1.70	4.14	2.91	4.00	1.88

this locally made ware on slave sites is indicative of the low status of the sites' inhabitants.

In general, the Campfield assemblage, and the other South Carolina assemblages, conform to the general slave artifact pattern proposed by Singleton (1980:216). Antebellum slave sites on the Georgia and South Carolina coast contain a predominance of architectural artifacts, suggesting that, in the archaeological record at least, houses were the primary material aspect of slave life. A large percentage of kitchen artifacts suggest that the cabins were central to food preparation and consumption activities. Furniture and personal items are scarce. Clothing and tobacco items are also scarce, but are more variable than the personal category. This may suggest status differences, or variation in distribution of supplies by the planter. Firearms are consistently present in small amounts, suggesting that slaves had limited access to guns. In general, the pattern indicates a material poverty, centered on subsistence and shelter.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT THE ARCHDALE PLANTATION

Our second plantation project focused on the remains of a planter family. The historical and archaeological investigations of Archdale Plantation were funded by a private developer interested in preserving and interpreting the main house site (Zierden et al. 1985). Investigations were conducted at the site in the winter of 1984.

Archdale is located on the Ashley River, roughly 6 miles northwest of Charleston (Figure 2-2). The site was granted to the Baker family in 1680, and it remained in the possession of this family until 1962. The financial heyday of the Bakers seems to have occurred in the eighteenth century; the family was in financial trouble prior to the outbreak of the Civil War. The plantation tract is now an upper middle class subdivision. Current plans call for the development of the avenue of oaks that lead to the main house. One

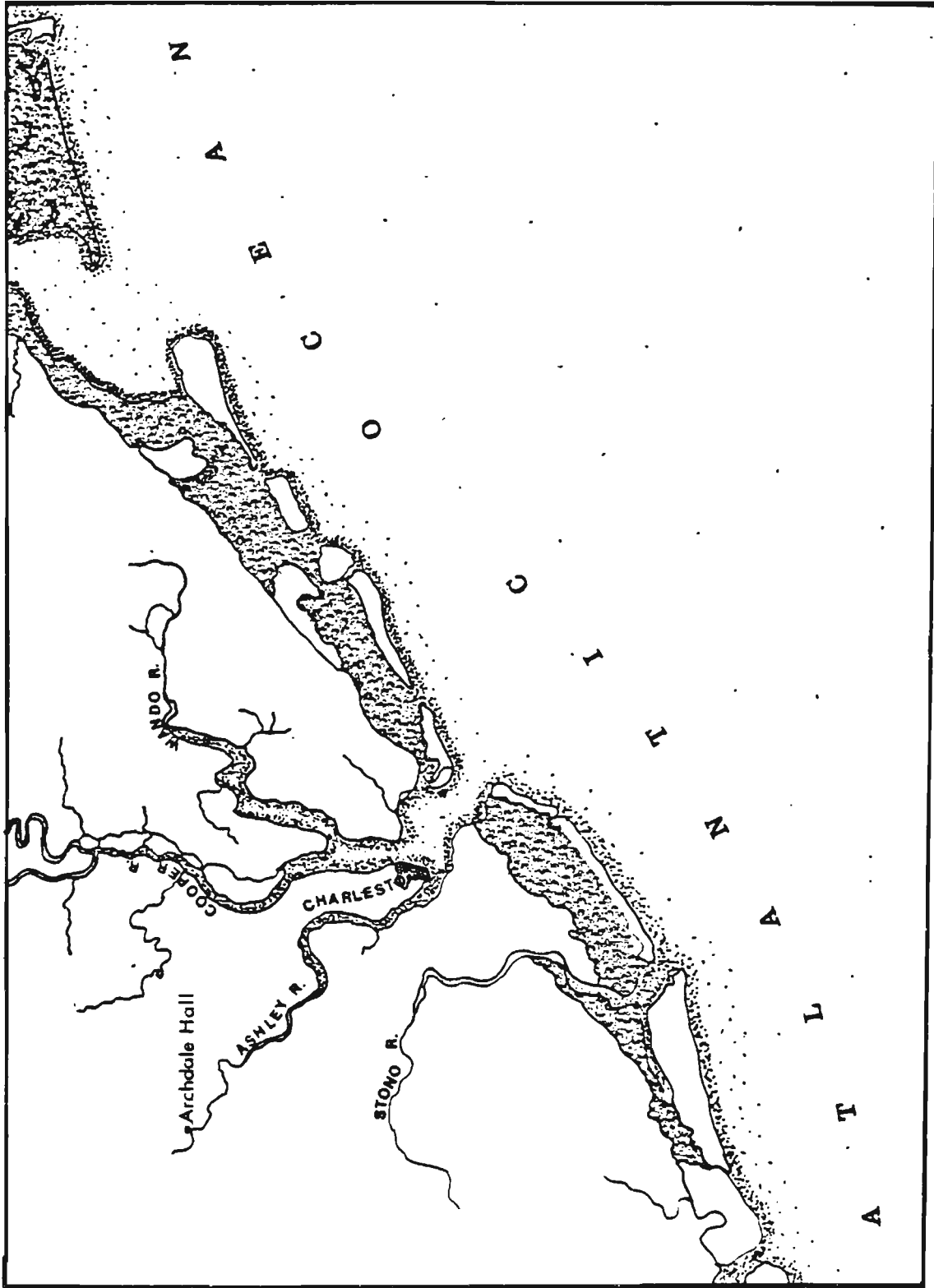


Figure 2-2. Location of Archdale Plantation.

half of the main house complex remains wooded, while the southern half has already been cleared and developed. The foundation of the main house is still visible. The house was destroyed in the earthquake of 1886. Photographs taken at the time of the disaster have been examined by historical architects, who call it one of the greatest examples of Georgian architecture in the lowcountry (Stoney 1938:44). The terraces, ditches, and formal gardens are still visible in the photograph, as is the double avenue of oaks.

Based on cartographic data and above ground features, we began by gridding the site and excavating a number of shovel tests. From the resulting information base, we excavated five 5-foot test squares. Later work expanded the excavated area to 550 square feet.

Our excavation efforts concentrated on an adjacent outbuilding (Block A). The structure had a brick floor and wall foundation. Among the evidence of activity outside the structure were a series of square post molds.

Our second block (B) revealed a wall trench adjacent to a partially filled drainage ditch. Because of excessive rains, we were never able to completely excavate this feature. Block C was located in the southern half of the occupation area. Although the area had been bulldozed, intact structural foundations were encountered. The size, location, and correspondance to historical sources led historian Jeanne Calhoun to suggest this may have been the slave hospital erected by Richard Bohun Baker in the mid-eighteenth century.

Block D was placed so as to intersect the partially filled drainage ditch. In contrast to the rest of the site, the ditch contained a concentration of cultural and faunal refuse. The problems with excessive rain made further excavation of this feature impossible.

Other than the ditch concentration, refuse was sparsely distributed in sheet deposits over the site. We believe that the lack of refuse, particularly faunal material, is due to the proximity of the units to the main house and formal gardens; perhaps these areas were kept relatively clean. We suspect that, unfortunately, much of the refuse was deposited on the south side of the house, which has already been destroyed.

The site contained two sheet deposits, dating to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Material from the nineteenth century included both personal and architectural items. Portions of a carved brick pediment are among these architectural remains. Materials recovered from the eighteenth century deposits include oriental porcelain, table glass, personal items, and agricultural tools.

Analysis of the Archdale material is still in progress, so the results presented here are preliminary. Our basic goal was to compare the eighteenth with the nineteenth century deposits to detect what changes occurred in the activities at Archdale. We expected that the high status of the Baker family would be reflected in the material

culture. Further, we expected that the declining financial status of the family would be reflected in the material culture.

The high status of the Bakers was reflected in the relative quantity of such items as tablewares, glassware, clothing, and personal items. The declining economic status was not, however, reflected archaeologically (Table 2-2). Instead, there was a greater quantity of these sociotechnic items. This suggests that while the Bakers' economic status was declining, they continued to display their social status, perhaps using older items.

Table 2-2. Relative Percentages of Various Artifact Classes at Archdale.

Artifact Class	18th Century	19th Century
Clothing	0.17% of total	0.18% of total
Personal	0.26% of total	0.04% of total
Tableware	47.89% of kitchen	66.12% of kitchen
Utilitarian Wares	52.11% of kitchen	33.88% of kitchen
Table Glass	0.43% of kitchen	2.37% of kitchen
Colono-ware	39.16% of kitchen	17.60% of kitchen
Porcelain	12.95% of kitchen	9.00% of kitchen
Greenware	19.87% of kitchen	15.80% of kitchen
Transfer Print Pearlware	—	9.61% of kitchen

An examination of the Colono-ware revealed a heavy dependence on the ware in the eighteenth century (39% of the ceramics), declining in the nineteenth century (17.6%). This follows the pattern suggested by other researchers (Ferguson 1980; Lees 1980). By comparing the relative percentages of Colono-ware to other ceramic wares, it appears that Colono-ware was replaced by refined earthenwares. This suggests that the Colono-ware served as a tableware, although it seems unlikely that such a crude ceramic graced the planter's table. It is more likely that Colono-ware served as a storage vessel, to be replaced later by inexpensive European wares. Comparison of the Archdale assemblage to other rural and urban sites is under way.

RURAL/URBAN CONTRASTS

Although our present understanding of urban/rural contrast is based on preliminary archaeological investigations, both in Charleston and on lowcountry plantations, the hypotheses we are testing were generated from historical research conducted by Jeanne Calhoun and myself (Zierden and Calhoun 1984). This research shows that the connections between the town and the plantation were extensive for wealthy and influential planters. As plantations developed into producers of profitable staple crops, so too did Charleston develop as an important colonial marketing center for handling these products. The merchants of the city mingled freely with the lowcountry planters

and were, in the eighteenth century at least, considered their social equals. Many merchants invested their profits in plantation land, thus becoming planters themselves. The planters, in turn, had extensive business ties in Charleston and spent a good portion of their time there.

The social activities of the city proved attractive to these planters, anxious to establish or maintain a place in society. To escape the health problems and isolation of plantation life, wealthy planters built imposing townhouses and divided the year between the city and country residences. The social season spent in the city was a time of displaying one's wealth and importance, one of conspicuous consumption. This trend escalated as the antebellum period progressed; as Charleston's economy declined, society became more rigid. Based on this model, we expect more high status items at the townhouse site of a planter than at the plantation site (Radford 1974; Rogers 1980; Zierden and Calhoun 1984).

The differences between urban and rural slave life may be even more marked. Urban slaves usually lived in cramped quarters behind the townhouse, but, unlike their plantation brethren, were often given the opportunity to "live out" away from their master's compound (Wade 1964). The greater amount of freedom enjoyed by slaves living out encouraged economic initiative and the accumulation of personal possessions. This economic initiative was further influenced by the frequent opportunity to "hire out" one's own time, and therefore earn money, however small the amount. In contrast to the general trend of supplying goods to plantation slaves, urban slaves, due to their increased freedom and proximity to the commercial center, were often able to choose articles for themselves. There are several historical anecdotes commenting on the relatively elaborate clothing worn by the urban slaves (Wade 1964). Because of the greater degree of individual freedom afforded the urban slave, urban slave sites are expected to show more intersite variability and to contain more sociotechnic, or status-related, artifacts.

CONCLUSIONS

The questions posed above cannot be answered at the present time. We have no data from urban slave sites and only limited data from plantation slave sites. Our urban samples are small and poorly documented. Nonetheless, we have begun to see some general differences between rural and urban sites. The first, and most obvious, is spatial patterning. Urban sites, regardless of the social status of the inhabitants, tend to be characterized by long narrow lots, frontage of the house directly on the streets, privy in a back corner, and a well and various outbuildings at mid-lot (Honerkamp et al. 1982; Zierden 1984). This is in contrast to rural sites, with front as well as rear yards, and a more dispersed pattern of building and activity loci. In the city, refuse is often recycled into large subsurface features, while rural sites are often characterized by scattered sheet deposits, although both types of sites are usually characterized by a combination of these refuse disposal practices.

As a result of several years of research, Elizabeth Reitz (1984) has proposed some general differences in urban and rural diets on the southern coastal plain. In comparison to rural diets, urban diet is characterized by more domestic meat and a wider range of domestic species. This is complemented by a more restricted use of wild species. These differences most likely reflect the way eighteenth and nineteenth century market systems functioned. We hope that our continued research at Charleston's Beef Market will answer some of these questions (see Reitz, et al., this volume).

We are expecting comparable differences in the artifactual assemblages, but our research is too preliminary to elaborate on these now. At the present time, the major difference is a reduction in the importance of arms material on urban sites (Honerkamp et al. 1982; Zierden et al. 1983). This no doubt reflects the reduced importance of hunting and self protection in the city. We are looking forward to greatly expanding these preliminary ideas. Our extensive work on the Daniel's Island plantation will provide a large rural data base (see Drucker and Zierden, this volume). Future work in the city will expand our urban data base. We hope to advance this research in the years to come.

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CHAPTER III

THE JOSEPH MONTFORT HOUSE, HISTORIC HALIFAX, HALIFAX, NORTH CAROLINA: ARCHAEOLOGY OF AN EIGHTEENTH-NINETEENTH CENTURY TOWN HOUSE

Jack H. Wilson, Jr.

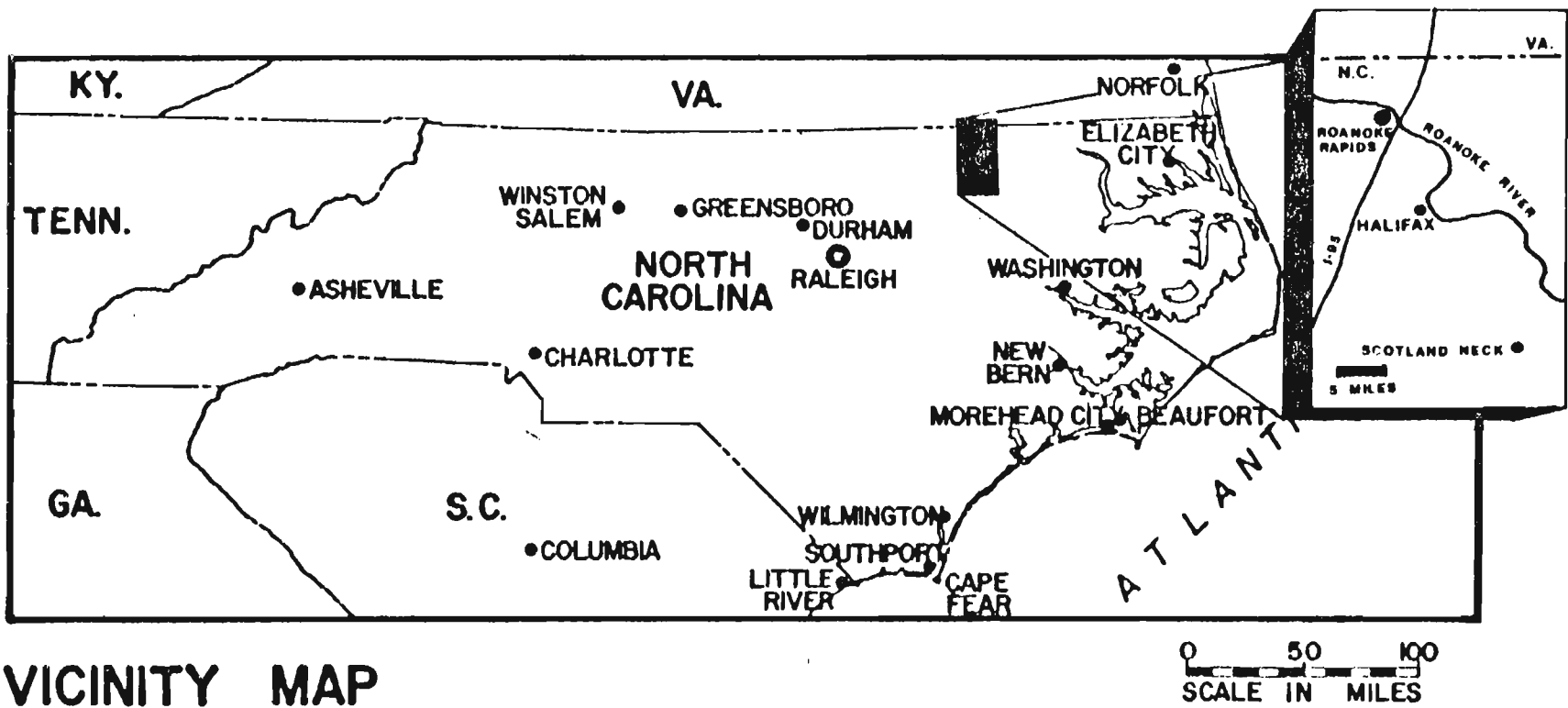
Historic Sites Section, Division of Archives and History
North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources

The results of eight years of archaeology at the Joseph Montfort House are summarized. Details of the work performed in the area of the main house, associated kitchen and well, and a formal garden are presented. The archaeology at the site has resulted in the construction of an interpretative archaeological structure that houses an exhibit on historical archaeology in general and the archaeology of the Joseph Montfort House in particular.

INTRODUCTION

Historic Halifax is one of 23 state historic sites maintained by the Historic Sites Section of the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources. The historic site comprises portions of the historic district of the town of Halifax (Figure 3-1). Halifax was established in 1757 by an act of the legislature to provide an administrative center for the rapidly growing northeast coastal plain of the colony of North Carolina. The town was actually founded in 1758 when the sale of public lots began. The site of Halifax was chosen as it lay at the fall line on the Roanoke River, which made it the head of river navigation. Also, Halifax was located at the crossing of major east-west and north-south roads. Shortly after it was founded, Halifax was made the seat of government for the newly formed county of Halifax, with a jail and the district court for four royal counties being located in the town (Knapp 1978:11-12). A map drawn by C. J. Sauthier in 1769 for the Royal Governor of North Carolina (Figure 3-2) showed Halifax to be a prosperous town with a courthouse, jail, race track, playhouse, warehouses, inns, taverns, shops, and numerous dwellings with outbuildings and gardens (Figure 3-3).

The heyday for Halifax was to last through the Revolution into the 1830s. At that time, the area began to lose its political power in the state legislature, and the railroads bypassed Halifax as a major stop. The Civil War brought to an end the plantation system that had served as the backbone of the region's economy, and continued Halifax's decline. This change in fortune has yet to be arrested, although the town continues to serve as the county seat for Halifax County (Knapp 1978:13-18).



VICINITY MAP

Figure 3-1. Location of Historic Halifax, Halifax, North Carolina.

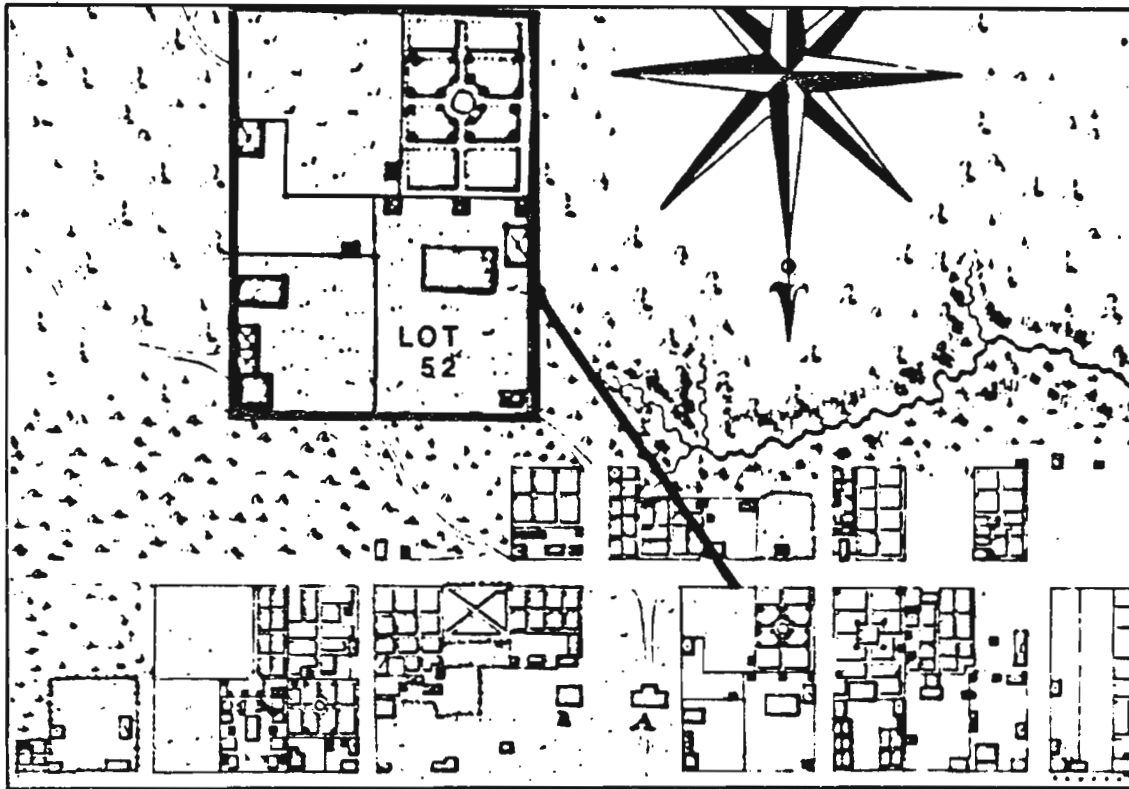


Figure 3-2. Section of Sautier's Map of Halifax Showing Joseph Montfort's House at Lot 52.

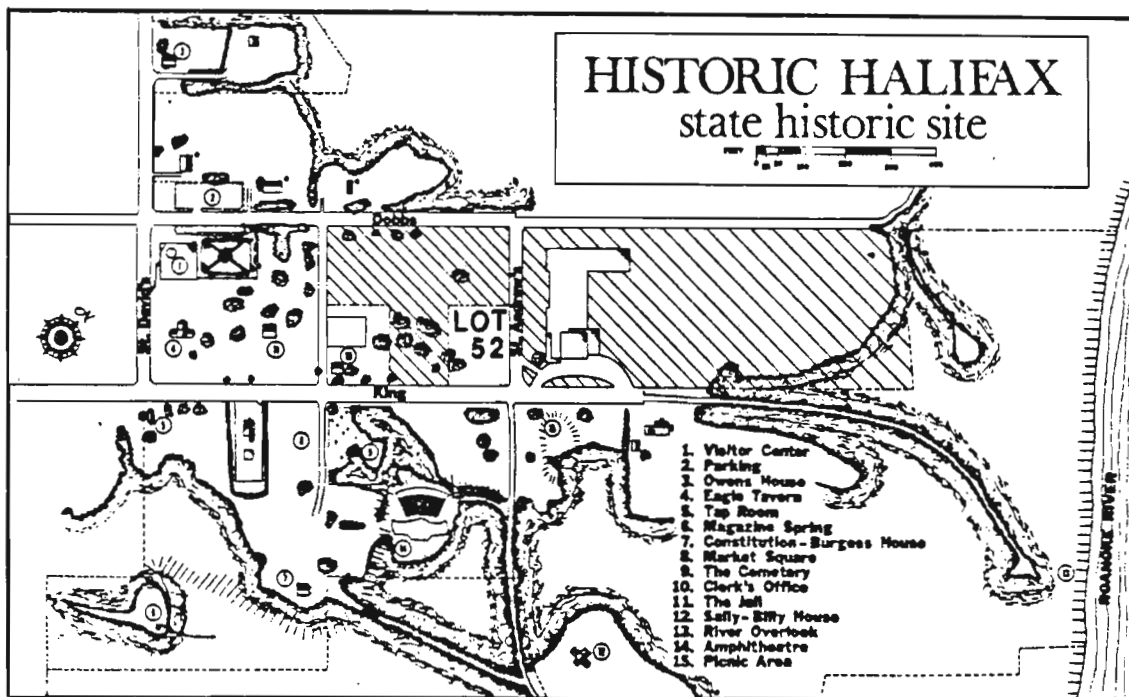


Figure 3-3. Historic Halifax in 1980.

Historic Halifax was designated a state historic site in 1965, and acquisition of land in the historic district of the original town was initiated. Currently, Historic Halifax State Historic Site is composed of 60 acres of land, and six standing structures (Figure 3-3). Among the structures are two eighteenth century taverns, an eighteenth century house, an early nineteenth century house, a nineteenth century jail, and a nineteenth century clerk of court office.

The earliest archaeology at Historic Halifax consisted of a series of surveys and test excavations conducted by Stanley South (1965a, 1965b, 1967) in the 1960s. In 1973, archaeological testing was initiated at what was known as lot 52 according to deed records of the town (Babits 1974a, 1974b). This archaeology was to evaluate the cultural resources present to determine if the lot was a suitable site for the relocation of one of the extant eighteenth century taverns. A major foundation was discovered that corresponded with a large dwelling shown by Sauthier on his 1769 map of Halifax. Additional testing was conducted in 1974, after which the State Archaeologist judged the foundation to be a significant cultural resource and recommended that it be preserved as part of an archaeological exhibit (Babits 1974a, 1974b). The open excavations were covered with plastic and sand, to await further archaeology. Work was not renewed until the summer of 1978, when a Heritage, Conservation, and Recreation Service grant and state monies provided funds to complete the archaeology (Garlid 1978). Excavations in the area of the main house itself were finished by 1979 (Harper 1984). Archaeology has continued at Lot 52 in a sporadic fashion, depending on the level of funding by the state, since 1979 in an effort to preserve the archaeological remains in place and to interpret them and the art of archaeology to the public.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF LOT 52

The earliest dwelling, associated structures, and formal garden that are located on Lot 52 by Sauthier's 1769 map (Figure 3-2) belonged to Joseph Montfort. Montfort was born in England in 1724, and emigrated to America as a young man. The 1740s found him in Edgecombe County, North Carolina, where he built a large plantation near Conocannara Swamp. When Halifax County was formed, Montfort's plantation was included within its boundaries. The first clerk of court for Halifax County was Joseph Montfort, a post that he held until his death in 1776. Other offices Montfort held included membership in the Colonial Assembly, Colonel of the Militia, Treasurer (or tax-collector) of the Northern Province of North Carolina, and the first and only Provincial Grand Master of America of the Society of Free and Accepted Masons (Cross et al. 1973:1-2; Harper 1984:3-4).

With his increased public responsibilities, Montfort moved from his plantation to Halifax sometime between 1762 and 1765. In 1762 Montfort purchased Halifax Lot 52, and by 1765 he had acquired the adjoining three lots -- numbers 53, 31 and 32. Records suggest that by 1765 Montfort had built a large house on Lot 52. Certainly, as

indicated by Sauthier's map, Montfort had a large house, another structure that was possibly a kitchen, and a formal garden on two of his four town lots by 1769 (Cross et al. 1973:2; Harper 1984:4).

Following Montfort's death in 1775, the town house remained the residence of his family and his descendents until 1785. Following this date, a number of people owned the property and either resided there or rented it to others until the 1860s. Sometime between 1862 and 1868, the original house burned. The remains were leveled and the foundations covered with fill. Until 1916, the area was used as a cotton field. In 1916, Lot 52 was purchased by Frank and Cosy Fenner, who constructed a house on the property. The State of North Carolina acquired the land from Cosy Fenner in 1972 and incorporated it into Historic Halifax State Historic Site (Cross et al. 1973:2-4; Harper 1984:4-6). It was shortly thereafter that archaeology revealed the long-forgotten foundations of the town house that Joseph Montfort had constructed over 200 years before.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF LOT 52

Results of the archaeology conducted during the initial tests at the site in 1973 remains sketchy at best (see Babits 1974a, 1974b). The foundations of the house were encountered and the surrounding area bulldozed to determine its dimensions. The overburden on the exterior foundations was removed and the northwest quarter of the structure explored.

In 1974, five 5 foot squares were excavated within the structure. A brick robbers trench that post-dated 1823 was discovered in the northeast section of the foundation wall. The southwest corner of the interior foundation was found to have been whitewashed. The charred remains of a board and batten shutter or door with an H and an L shaped hinge was uncovered and left in situ. Remains of other charred doors and one large sandstone door stoop were also excavated (Babits 1974a, 1974b).

The 1978 and 1979 excavations at Lot 52 were conducted using a field school operated in conjunction with North Carolina Wesleyan College in 1978, and paid work crews in both 1978 and 1979 (Garlid 1978:i-ii, 1-2; Harper 1984; 7-8). A new grid was established for the entire four lots that had originally been owned by Joseph Montfort. A series of 27 60-foot by 40-foot rectangles called operational units were laid out (Figure 3-4). These units were assigned numbers 101-109, 201-209, and 301-309. Each operational unit was then divided into 24 10 by 10 foot sub-operational units. The 10-foot sub-operational squares were assigned a letter of the alphabet beginning with A and ending with Z, omitting the letters "I" and "O" to avoid confusion. The site base line was laid out paralleling St. Andrews Street. North was arbitrarily pointed in the direction of Dobbs Street. All soil was excavated by natural zones and sifted through 1/4 inch mesh screen. Artifacts were bagged by provenience, and all features were mapped and photographed.

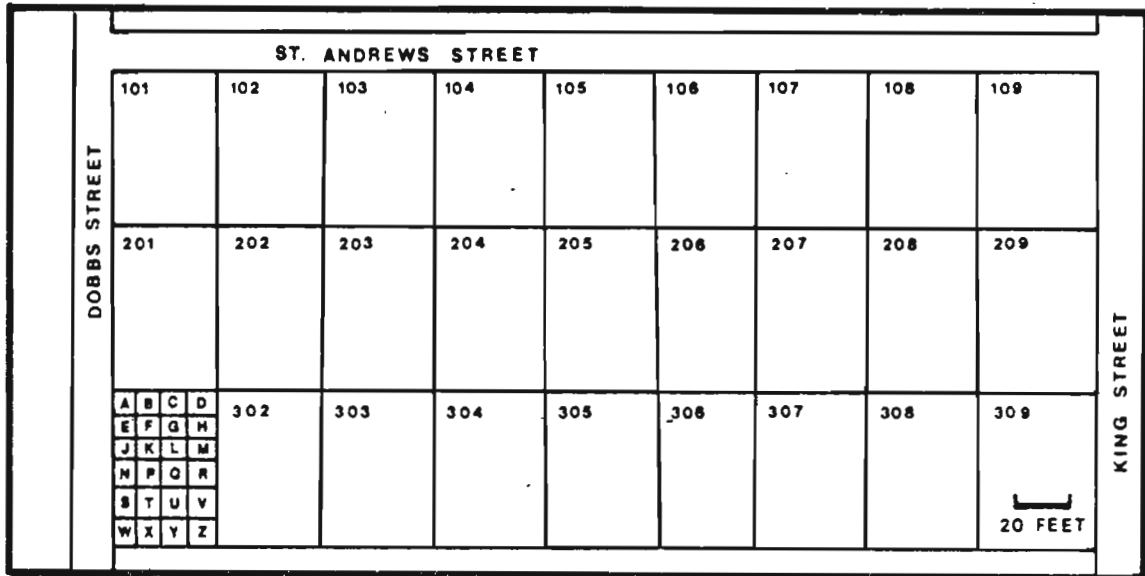


Figure 3-4. Grid System Employed for the Lot 52 Excavations.

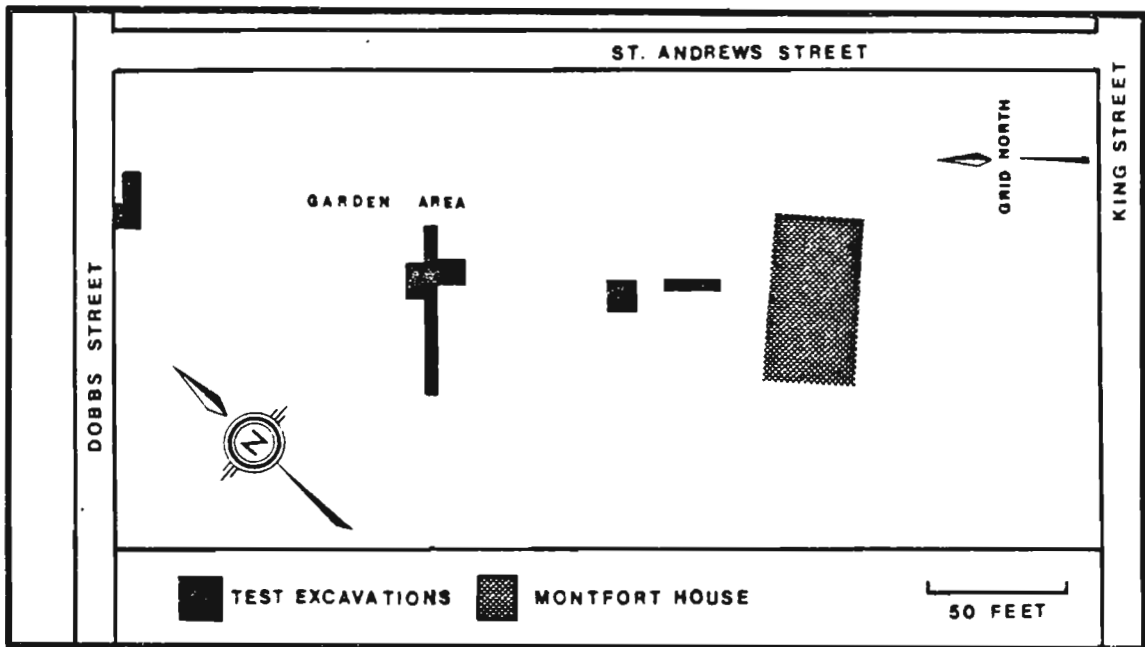


Figure 3-5. Location of Main House and Other Excavation Units at Lot 52.

The 1978 and 1979 archaeology concentrated on uncovering all of the Montfort House, the adjacent kitchen and well areas, and exploring the location of the formal garden shown on Sauthier's map (Figure 3-5). Excavations conducted during the winters of 1982-83 and 1983-84 have been confined to the area immediately surrounding the main house.

THE MAIN HOUSE STRUCTURE

The stratigraphy overlying the Montfort house consists of four distinct zones of fill. The most recent zone is the sod/recent humus that has accumulated over a gray plowzone. This in turn overlies a brown sandy loam that apparently was brought in to fill the depression created when the structure burned. Under this fill is a mixed layer of brick rubble, mortar, and ash that represents the burnt remnants of the structure. The brick rubble appears to be more heavily concentrated in certain areas indicating that the chimneys either fell during the fire or were later pushed inward. Within certain areas of the structure, a compact brown loam lies directly on top of the orange clay subsoil. The foundation walls uncovered measure 35 by 55 feet, with the long axis facing King Street, the major thoroughfare of Halifax. Both interior and exterior segments of the original builder's trench are present. The interior of the structure is divided by a brick foundation that is not tied to either of the exterior walls it abuts. Bricks are laid seven to ten courses high in English bond.

The lowest house level (the basement) possesses a center hall, a general storage area, a cold storage area, servant's quarters, and an interior kitchen/food preparation room (Figure 3-6). The center hall is denoted by a break in the top course of bricks in the approximate center of the interior foundation. A break in the brick of the front foundation is approximately centered on the interior break, suggesting that entrance to the basement could be gained under or behind the front steps into the main levels of Montfort's house. The burnt remains of two wooden beams that served as supports for the floor of the hall and the adjoining front rooms were uncovered. These beams divide the front half of the basement into three compartments--the servant's quarter, which is approximately 20 by 18 feet in size, the center hall, which is about 12 feet wide, and the kitchen/food preparation area which measures 18 by 16 feet. A large hearth is located in what would have been the approximate center of the interior wall of the kitchen. A break in the upper courses of the brick that comprise the eastern exterior foundation wall suggest the presence of a door that gave entrance to the interior kitchen. Such a door would have lead to the exterior building thought to be a kitchen and the area of the well. A large room that may have served as quarters for servants was located west of the center hallway along the front half of the basement. During the 1979 excavations, remains of whitewashing were found on sections of the interior walls of the rooms thought to be servants quarters. None of the other rooms in the basement possesses such evidence. Also, the servants quarters and the kitchen are the only rooms in the basement that possessed functional fireplaces that evidenced use.

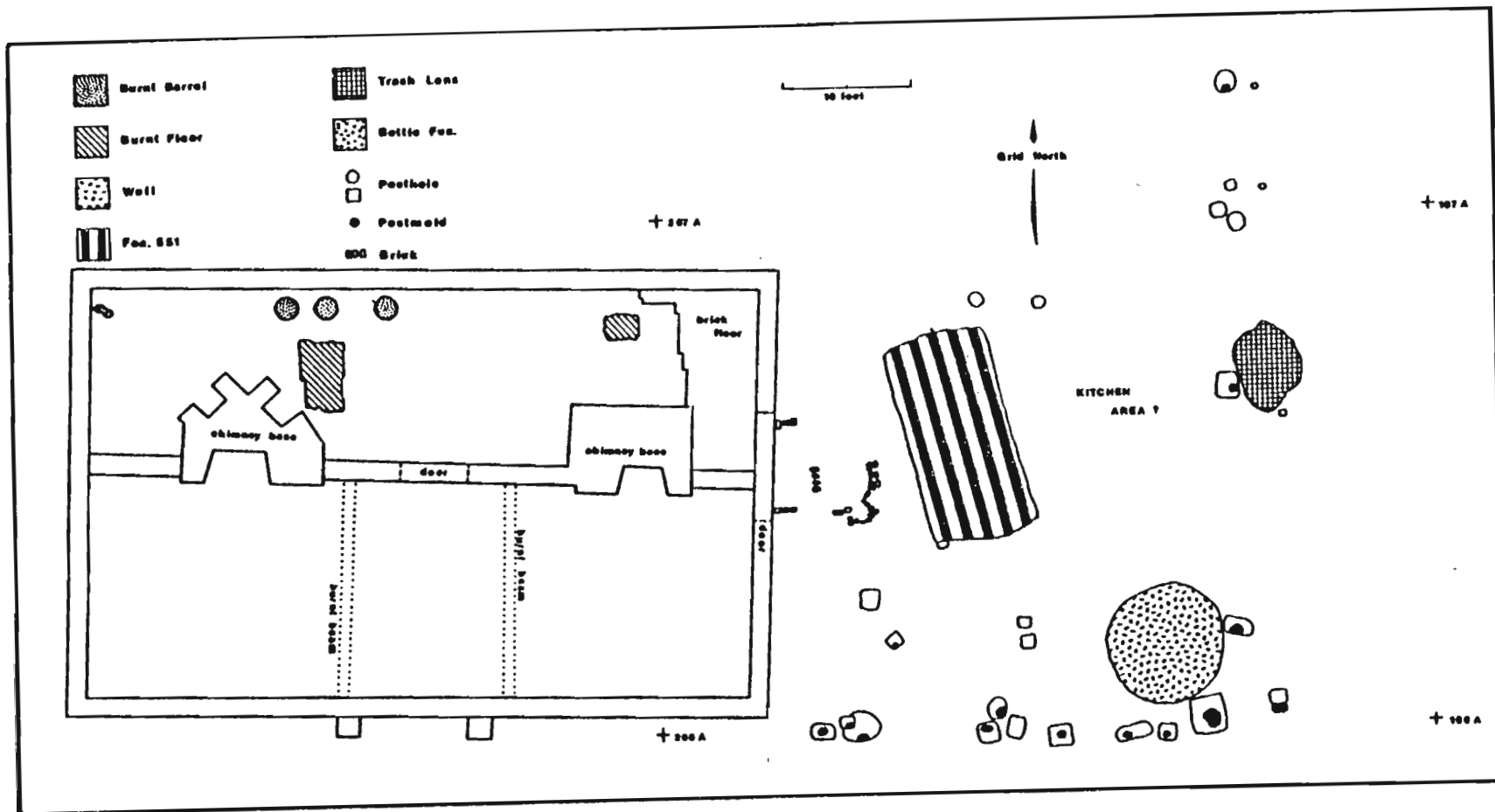


Figure 3-6. Excavation Plan of Montfort's House and Surrounding Area.

The north half of the basement is divided into at least two rooms. The northwest room is apparently for general storage. The floor in this room consists of a compact sandy clay layer that overlay the clay subsoil. The remains of what may be a door to the central basement hall lies on top of the compact sandy layer directly north of the break in the top course of the interior foundation wall. The charred remains of three barrels that had been partially buried in the floor were also found in the northwest storage room. In the northwest corner of this large storage room were found the remains of three bottles that had been buried in a shallow pit that was intrusive into the interior builder's trench. These bottles contain a number of cherry pits, indicating that the bottles had been buried to age their contents. The bottles are mold made and probably date to the middle of the nineteenth century.

A room thought to have been used for cold storage comprised the northeast section of the basement. A brick floor, that was intruded by the robber's trench, covered this area. The absence of windows in this section of the foundation also provides evidence that the room was used for cold storage.

KITCHEN AND WELL

Sauthier's map shows a structure, thought to have been a kitchen, to the east of the main house along St. Andrews Street (Figure 3-2). Unfortunately, this area has been extensively disturbed over the years. Most recently, a cinderblock structure that housed a small store occupied the area. Its foundations were easy to see in the archaeological record. The features associated with the supposed kitchen, however, were more difficult to discern. A total of 3000 square feet were excavated in the area of the kitchen and well. It is thought that a rectangular area that possessed few features and artifacts may represent the spot where the kitchen once stood. This area is immediately adjacent to a large feature, numbered 551 (Figure 3-6). Feature 551 measures approximately 17 feet in length by 8 feet in width and 1.5 feet in depth. Fill consists of brick rubble, and brown sand. It is possible that the brick in this feature represents the remains of the kitchen's chimney, and the pit formed by Feature 551 a cellar or storage area for the kitchen. Numerous trash lenses and postholes lie between the kitchen area around Feature 551 and St. Andrews Street to the east.

A filled well was uncovered immediately south of the kitchen area and east of the main house (Figure 3-6). Excavation of the well was accomplished by the use of corrugated steel conduit lowered down a newly dug shaft until the original wooden wall was encountered. A total of 13 zones of fill were present in the well (Figure 3-7). The diameter of the well ranges from five feet at the top, to 3.8 feet at a depth of 17 feet, before narrowing to 3.25 feet at the bottom. The well is 31.9 feet deep. The upper 17 feet of the well was probably lined with brick that were later robbed. The bottom 14.9 feet of the well is lined with wooden planks. Handwrought nails used to construct this portion of the well attest to its construction in the eighteenth

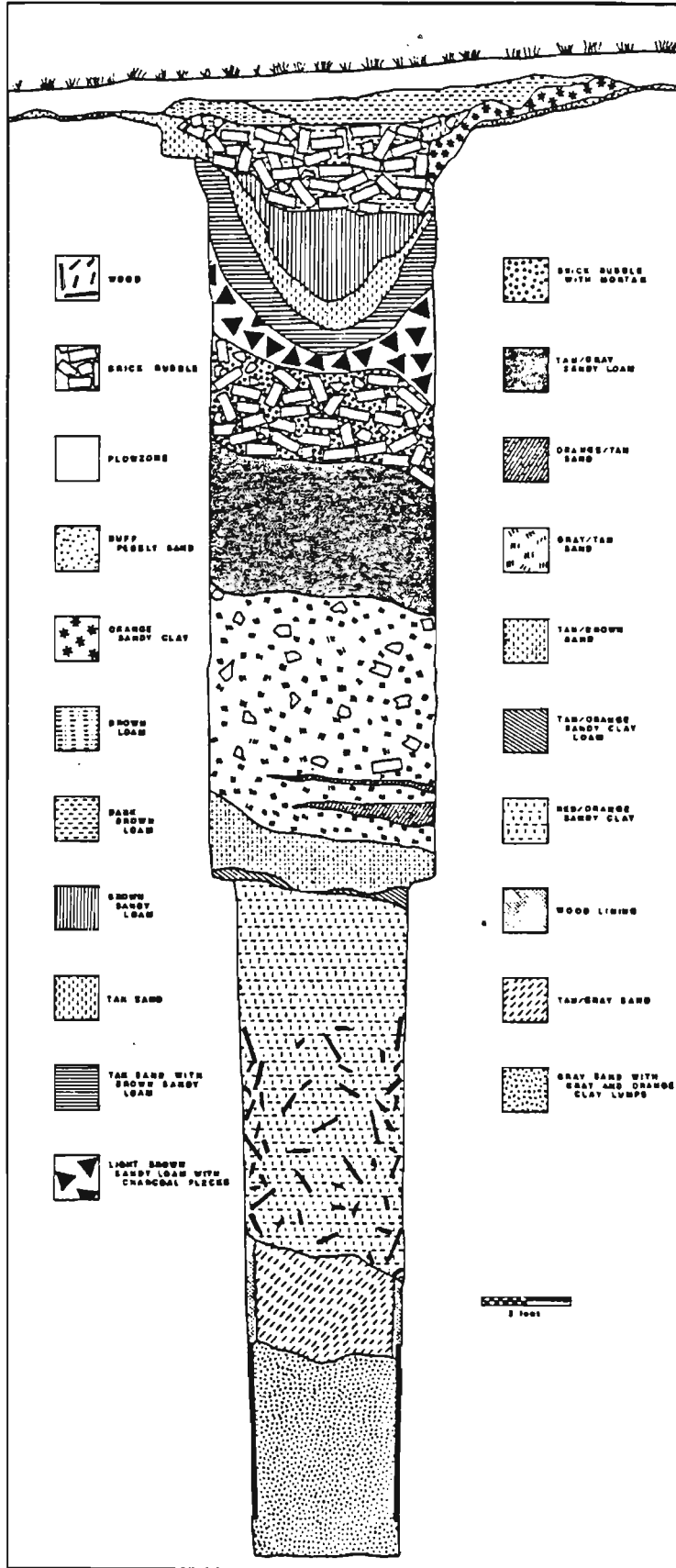


Figure 3-7. Profile of the Filled Well at Lot 52.

century. Among the artifacts recovered from the well fill are an intact leather harness with associated hardware, a coconut dipper with a wooden handle, coins, and portions of ceramic vessels. Given the presence in the uppermost zone of well fill of an 1829 Liberty penny and two pearlware teapots that date to around 1830, it is probable that the well was filled sometime in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

THE FORMAL GARDEN AREA

Two areas were tested in what appeared to have been the location of a formal garden (Figure 3-5). A 60 by 3 foot trench was laid out in Operational Unit 203, 120 feet north of the house foundation. Later two additional units, one 7 by 10 feet and another 10 by 10 feet, were removed adjacent to the center of this trench in what was considered to have been the area of a dipping well supposedly shown on Sauthier's map. Although the dipping well was not found, postholes and postmolds dating to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were uncovered. Also, a number of trash lenses that date to the nineteenth century were noted. A total of some 362 square feet were excavated to the top of subsoil in the area of the undiscovered dipping well.

The second section of the formal garden tested was located in Operational Unit 101 along Dobbs Street, 240 feet north of the main house foundation. An area totaling 90 square feet was uncovered. A number of postholes that date to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were also uncovered in this section.

In summary, only a small portion of the area indicated by Sauthier's 1769 map to be a formal garden located north of Montfort's town house has been excavated to date. The documentation of eighteenth and nineteenth century features by the limited archaeology conducted in the formal garden suggests that further work would prove profitable. Such an endeavor would require that a large area be opened to allow a full investigation of the various activities that occurred in the garden, the spatial arrangement of the garden, and how this arrangement changed through time.

CONCLUSIONS

It is a tribute to the perseverance of archaeologists that find themselves working within a bureaucratic framework that over 10 years have elapsed since the Montfort house foundations were first discovered and declared to be a significant cultural resource. Five different archaeologists have possessed responsibility for the overall preservation and interpretation of these remains during this period. Finally, under the direction of Terry Maureen Harper of the Historic Sites Section, a structure has been erected to both protect and interpret to the public the archaeological resources that constitute the remains of Joseph Montfort's original town house (Figure 3-8). As no information was available concerning the above-foundation appearance

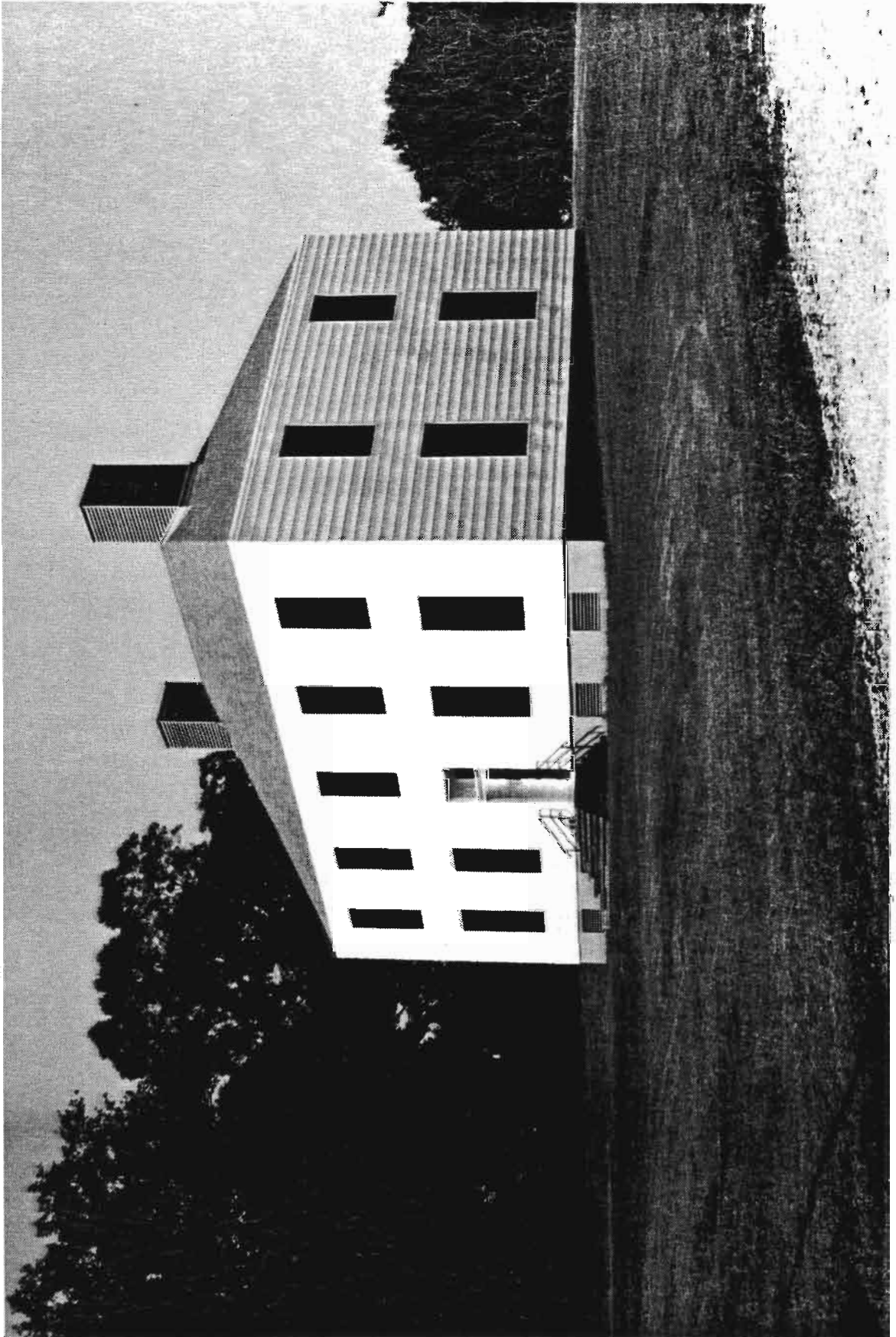


Figure 3-8. Joseph Montfort Interpretive Structure at Lot 52.

of the house, a reconstruction of a typical Georgian structure would have been historically correct only in form, not in detail. Instead a shadow Georgian structure, that mimicked in style a typical Georgian house, was erected to contain the interpretive exhibits. Such an approach will hopefully give the typical visitor some feel for the symmetry inherent in Georgian architecture of the eighteenth century and a realization that the interpretive structure is not a reconstruction of the original Montfort house.

The opening of the Joseph Montfort Archaeological Exhibit and Interpretive Structure does not bring to a close the archaeology of the four town lots that once comprised Montfort's town house. Analysis of the material remains recovered from the many years of archaeology at the site is currently being completed by Mr. Carl Steen, who is under contract to the Historic Sites Section. Finishing this analysis will hopefully remove the last major hurdle in the way of publishing the data accumulated on the archaeology of the site. Vagaries in the level of funds available from the state will dictate the final schedule that can be followed in this process, as it has governed the archaeology associated with the Montfort house remains since work was started there in 1973. Even then, more archaeology is possible at the Montfort house complex in the area of the formal garden, which has as yet only been investigated in the most preliminary manner, and in other sections of Montfort's four town lots that housed various commercial structures. Until such work is finished, the complete story of Joseph Montfort's town house complex will remain untold. This short presentation represents only a beginning in bringing this story to light.

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CHAPTER IV

ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY ON DANIEL ISLAND: A PRELIMINARY REVIEW OF PLANTATION STUDIES IN BERKELEY COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

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This paper discusses the preliminary results of six months of fieldwork at two eighteenth century sea-island cotton plantation sites on the lower Wando River of South Carolina. Lesesne and Fair Bank plantations were located on Daniel Island, 6 miles north of Charleston Harbor. This mitigation study is being conducted under an integrated multidisciplinary research design using federal and state highway funding, and represents a joint research effort by Carolina Archaeological Services and The Charleston Museum. Using a combination of systematic surface collection, remote sensing, intensive and dispersed block testing, historical documentation, map overlay and interpretation, and microbiotic specimen analysis, the study of Lesesne and Fair Bank plantations seeks to define and interpret the patterns of behavior which existed at these island farmsteads during the Colonial and Antebellum periods. The paper will focus on the initial results of the investigations of both upper and lower status dwelling/activity areas, and will preliminarily discuss internal site structure and artifact patterns.

INTRODUCTION

Recovery of significant historic and prehistoric data from a large seventeenth through nineteenth century plantation site (38BK202) was conducted from March through October of 1984. During this 6 1/2 month period, a joint venture formed by Carolina Archaeological Services and The Charleston Museum conducted historical investigations and large-scale archaeological data recovery within the proposed Mark Clark Expressway (I-526) highway corridor. Under mandate for the protection and preservation of significant cultural resources affected by federal highway construction, the South Carolina Department of Highways and Public Transportation contracted with the joint venture to mitigate adverse construction effects to 38BK202, which had been previously determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.

Daniel Island is a large body of river-deposited sands located at the juncture of the Wando and Cooper Rivers, approximately 6 river miles upstream of Charleston Harbor (Figure 4-1). The Wando River margins of the island form a large system of brackish saltmarsh. Several Rank 1 streams drain the island, supplemented by an extensive series of man-made drainage ditches. Plantations on Daniel Island formerly produced long-staple, or sea island, cotton, as well as subsistence and garden crops.

Site 38BK202 is situated in agricultural fields and adjacent wooded marsh fringes overlooking the Wando River, on the east side of Daniel Island. On-site elevations range from 2.2 to 3.4 meters above mean sea level (roughly 7 to 11 feet above mean sea level). As defined by the National Register nomination, the site encompasses approximately 51 acres. Crops grown on-site within the past 10 years include corn, soybeans, winter wheat, and tomatoes.

The study of Lesesne and Fair Bank plantations, which comprise 38BK202, seeks to define and interpret the patterns of behavior which existed at these inland river farmsteads during the colonial, antebellum, and postbellum periods. On-going analysis will also attempt to discern relationships and differences between rural and urban lifestyles, material culture associated with planter families in the immediate Charleston vicinity, material correlates of socioeconomic status differences on colonial plantations, rural versus urban allocation and organization of living and work space, and the role of Daniel Island during the American Revolution and the War of 1812.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Daniel Island is named for Landgrave Robert Daniel, to whom the property was granted in the late seventeenth century. Little is known of the Daniel occupation, although his settlement is shown on an early plat. The area was apparently regranted prior to 1700. Isaac Lesesne, a French Huguenot, received 283 acres, as measured and recorded on July 2, 1699. In 1706 the baptismal record of Martha Simons refers to "Mr. Isaac Lesesne, a young man, cooper." Years later, he refers to himself as a planter. At his death in 1736, his wealth was considerable.

During the colonial period, the Lesesnes apparently had a sawmill on Daniel Island and dealt in skins, a lucrative trade item during this period. Agricultural products grown on the property during the eighteenth century are presently unknown. An advertisement in 1839, however, describes the Lesesne plantation as a valuable and highly efficient sea-island cotton plantation; other sources indicate that subsistence crops were also raised on the property (Figure 4-2).

Lesesne and the adjacent Fair Bank plantation were connected first by affection, then by marriage. In 1799, Paul Pritchard, a well-known shipbuilder, bought Fair Bank and built ships on the Wando River. Census records list him as a shipwright and planter,

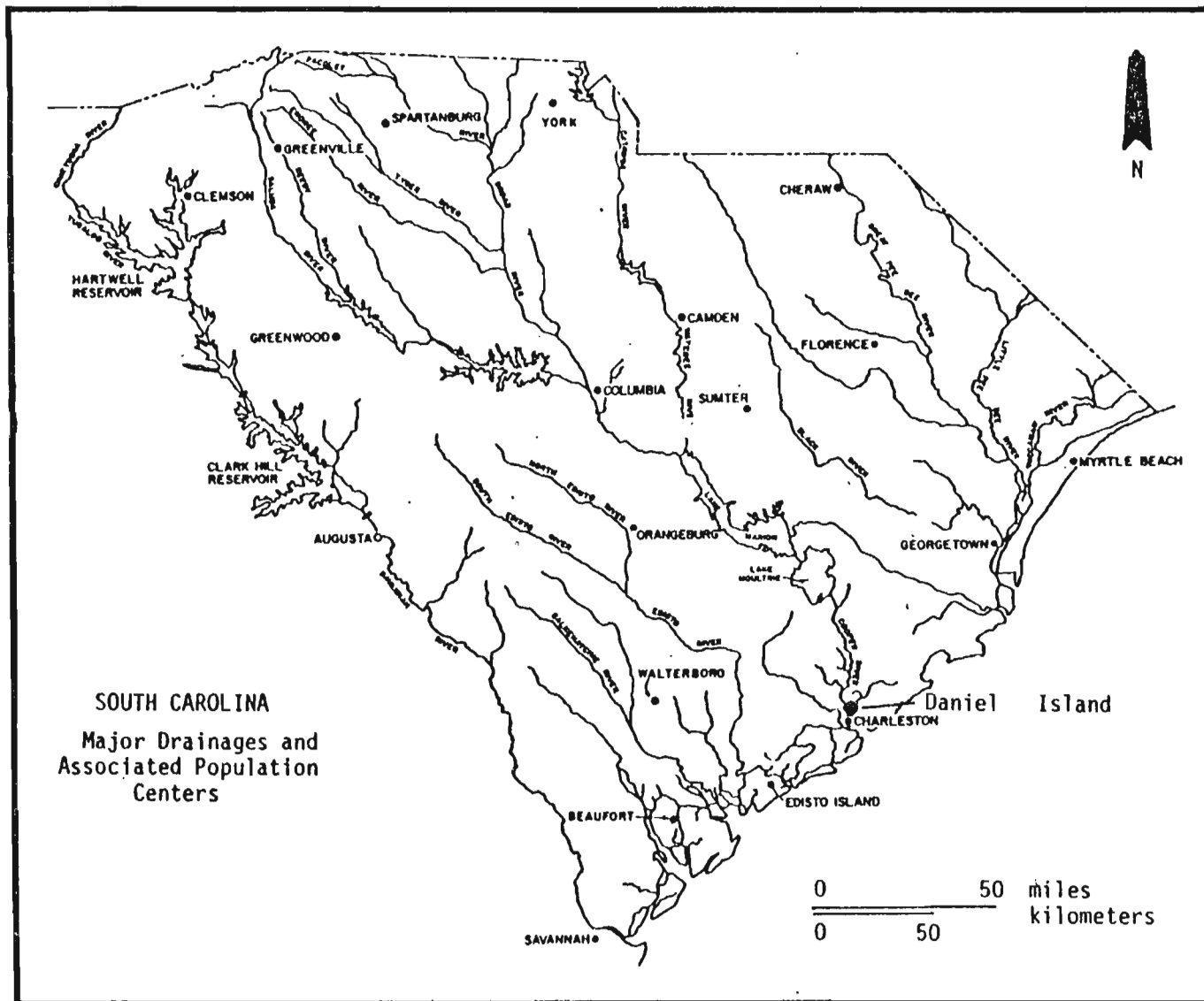


Figure 4-1. Location of Daniel Island in Relation to Charleston, South Carolina.

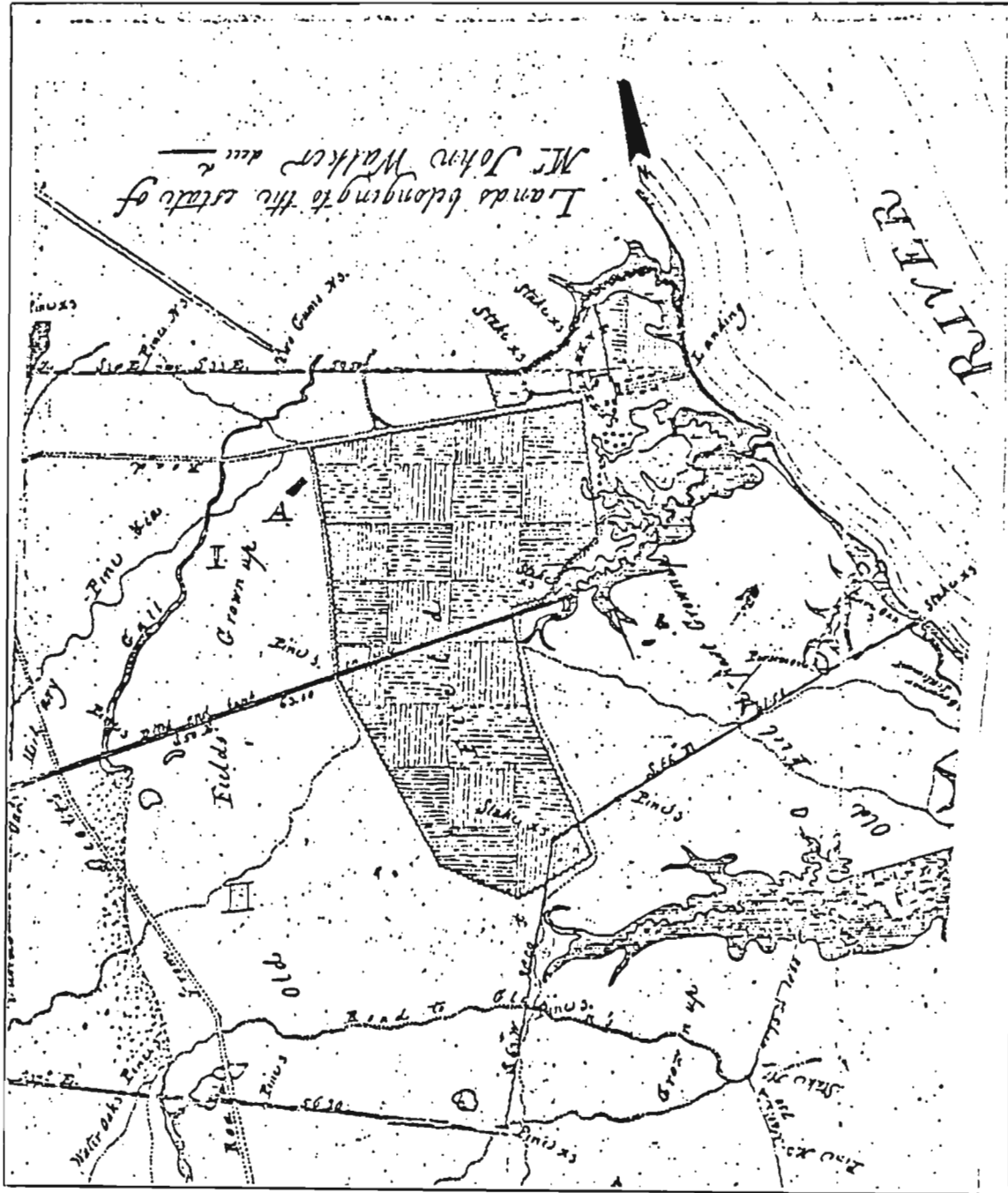


Figure 4-2. Detail of 1784 Plat of the Lesesne Plantation on Daniel Island, showing the main domestic and slave settlement complex (upper right) flanked by cultivated fields to the west and the Wando River to the east.

indicating that he followed the Charleston tradition of combining his profits from business and land.

In the 1880s, George Cunningham consolidated the formerly separate Lesesne and Fair Bank plantations into Grove plantation. By the early twentieth century Daniel Island was used for truck farming, and was divided into small farm tracts. In 1946, Harry Guggenheim purchased most of the island, which continued to support truck farming subsistence cropping, and livestock. Daniel Island remains today under the administration of the Guggenheim Foundation, which oversees rent-cropping and wildlife management on the property.

STRATEGY OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROGRAM

Archaeological investigations on-site were initiated with the gridding and systematic surface collection of the entire site area. A series of 5 by 5 meter collection units were randomly selected from a 20 by 20 meter base grid, according to a stratified systematic unaligned random sampling strategy. A 64.9% sample (218 collection units) was taken of the designated highway corridor (648 collection units). This strategy strove to insure both concentration of effort within the direct impact zone, and maximum objective dispersion of the collection effort in associated site areas peripheral to the impact zone. A supplemental general surface sample was also collected from the site where diagnostic or otherwise unrepresented artifacts were observed.

A corollary field method used to locate, identify, and define occupational loci and possible structure areas was the use of soil resistivity readings. Dr. Mark Williams of the University of Georgia conducted a resistivity survey within eight 20 by 20 meter blocks of the site grid: four within and four outside the highway corridor. Six of these strata also received systematic surface collection, in order to compare the mapping results obtained by the two approaches. The surface collection and resistivity survey were completed in approximately four weeks.

Artifact cluster mapping was generated using standard SYMAP and trend surface analysis computer programs to confirm and refine previously observed artifact loci and detect new clusters. Cluster mapping was used to guide the placement of excavation blocks within the corridor, which focused on eighteenth century domestic loci, a late nineteenth/early twentieth century domestic locus, and a prehistoric locus.

Individual density maps were generated for the following classes of artifacts: 1) overall, 2) historic and prehistoric, 3) Early and Late Woodland prehistoric, 4) historic, 5) structural, 6) kitchen, 7) activities, and 8) Colono-ware. For comparative analysis of the relative ability of different size samples to detect "high-density occupation areas", both 10% and 60% samples were run on the highway corridor for six of these classes. The results of these cluster programs and comparisons are still under study.

Subsurface Investigations

The installation of a total of 175 dispersed 2 by 2 meter tests was initiated in late April and completed by June 15, 1984. This stage of operations also included placement of a supplemental series of 65 0.5 by 0.5 meter units within and adjacent to the highway corridor. Together, these dispersed tests intensively sampled the five major site loci to detect features and intact subsurface deposits beneath the plowzone.

Testing of the site confirmed the major occupational loci identified through cluster mapping and historical documentation: the Lesesne plantation homesite complex and slave settlement (Locus 1), a Lesesne plantation outlier (Locus 2), and the Fair Bank plantation homesite complex and tenant area (Loci 3 and 4). Two additional loci associated with late nineteenth/early twentieth century tenant farming were identified archaeologically; their locations were subsequently verified by reference to early twentieth century maps.

Large-scale data recovery concentrated block excavations within the highway corridor over a period of 4 months. A total of 717 square meters were opened to study the following major features and structures:

1. Wall trench structure (Feature 28 block)
2. Brick-lined well (Feature 4/106 block)
3. Brick foundation (Feature 40/115 block)
4. Small discontinuous aboriginal features
5. Tenant farmstead features
6. Five historic burials
7. Ditches and discrete postholes

Specialized Field Methods

A key element of the field recovery design was the collection of microbiotic data from all feature proveniences. Floral, faunal, and charred materials were recovered using a water flotation system designed to reduce inter-sample contamination as well as facilitate subsequent lab sorting. The prototypes for this system have been previously perfected during large-scale federal mitigation projects in Missouri, Arkansas, and Tennessee.

Graduated screen sizes used in the agitation flotation system-- which consisted of a 55-gallon drum with inserts, spouts, and plumbing--captured light, medium, and heavy fraction float from each fill sample in a totally enclosed system. Initially, feature excavation contributed 12-liter samples for flotation. However, interim analysis of ethnobotanical specimens recovered by this process indicated that larger samples were needed, and therefore 20-liter samples were collected during the remainder of the project.

While heavy equipment was not an integral part of the plowzone stripping operations on-site, a motor grader was used to expose historic burials within a small area of the site. Other specialized procedures used in support of data recovery at 38BK202 included installation of a well point assembly for sub-water table excavation.

SELECTED PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

Lesesne Well and Privy

The Lesesne well appears to have been constructed in the 1760s and abandoned during the 1850s. At a depth of 2 meters, the well construction pit exhibited shovel marks and stepping. The well shaft was brick-lined and approximately 1 meter in diameter, extending to a depth of 3.2 meters below present ground surface. A well point system was installed to facilitate feature excavation. Since the bottom 80 centimeters of the well lay below the water table, a substantial quantity of waterlogged, and therefore excellently preserved, plant remains, and metal and wooden artifacts were recovered. These included planks, buckets, an implement handle, fabric, leather, and leaves.

A moderately deep feature (1.12 meters below present ground surface) was located approximately 50 meters southwest of the plantation well, and yielded redeposited structural debris, a small quantity of glazed and unglazed eighteenth century ceramics, and a bone fragment. Its roughly circular shape, size, and lensed deposits suggest its possible use as a privy.

Lesesne Brick Foundation

This intact and sizeable brick-enclosed feature, probably reflecting an early eighteenth century springhouse or possibly a dwelling, measured approximately 5 meters east-west by 6.5 meters north-south. The structure was located 30 meters north of an extensive scatter of domestic and structural refuse believed to reflect the location of the Lesesne "big house." The interior of the brick foundation was literally packed with kitchen midden, consisting of up to 19 stratified zones of faunal refuse, oyster shell, and artifacts. This deposit extended about 1.5 meters below the modern surface. No firm evidence of a chimney or hearth could be found.

Based on preliminary temporal analysis of a single unit within this feature block (N29/E188), the deposit exhibits an overall Mean Ceramic Date (after South 1977) of 1729.3. Stratified dates from this unit range from 1686.5 at the bottom to 1739.1 at the top. A substantial builder's trench was present on all sides of the foundation, but yielded little temporal data concerning the initial construction period. However, it is clear that occupation, destruction and refuse backfilling of this structure all pre-date 1750.

The brick-based structure may have had a wooden floor above the clay floor base. At least part of a brick superstructure appears to have fallen inward, with subsequent secondary deposition of kitchen refuse (including oyster shell) and general household debris over the brick rubble.

An immense quantity and variety of items used by inhabitants of early eighteenth century plantations were recovered from this feature. The assemblage includes goblets, medicinal and toiletry bottles,

etched and pressed glass, wine bottles, Colono-ware bowls and unrestricted jars, tin-enameled, lead-glazed, slipped, sgraffito, white saltglazed, and porcelain tablewares, bellarmine and other stoneware storage vessels, straight pins and thimbles, beads, hat pins, buckles, kaolin pipes, French and English gunflints, brass furniture tacks, door locks and fishhooks.

Lesesne Wall Trench Structure

A large wall trench structure with inset postholes was located 30 meters north of the Lesesne well. The wall trench itself measured roughly 5 by 8 meters. A later episode of rebuilding was also indicated, and was oriented slightly northeast of the original wall trench. A total of six individual postholes and four small features were directly associated with the wall trench.

Based on a single dateable feature within the original structure outline, a Mean Ceramic Date of 1774.0 was obtained, although other evidence suggests an earlier occupation date for this structure. Architectural artifacts, such as brick, mortar, and nails, form the major material assemblage associated with this structure; it is probable that much of this material reflects secondary refuse disposal from nearby brick structures. While the wall trench structure may have been inhabited--based on the presence of a few fragments of bottle glass, faunal bone, a single gilded metal band, and kaolin pipes--it appears more likely that its major function was a non-domestic outbuilding, perhaps a storage barn. A cotten storage structure, similar in basal size and shape, is known to have existed on a late eighteenth through nineteenth century sea island cotton plantation at Datha, Beaufort County, South Carolina (Drucker 1982).

Lesesne Slave Settlement

Secondary investigation of the Lesesne slave settlement area revealed the remnants of at least two structures. The settlement, according to overlay of the modern landscapes on a late eighteenth century plat, was located approximately 200 meters southeast of the main Lesesne dwelling. Although presently heavily wooded and partially channeled for drainage, the former settlement area was archaeologically verified during the present study.

A relatively high density of Colono-ware and historic Catawba ware characterized the settlement area. Several diagnostic eighteenth and early nineteenth century artifacts, together with a Mean Ceramic date of 1826.6 for one of the located structure remnants (S87/E159), suggest that this settlement may have been built and occupied almost a century later than the establishment of the planter homesite. If so, this suggests either that the eighteenth century slave population was much smaller before the advent of cotton monoculture and was not housed in a settlement, or that a slave settlement was located elsewhere on the plantation.

A single structure exposed within the slave settlement (S87/E159) yielded a surprisingly high density and diversity of material goods, including European and Colono-ware ceramics, South Carolina dispensary

bottles, wine bottles, ground glass, cutlery, tubular and gemstone beads, kaolin and earthenware pipes, buttons, lead sprue and bullets, a brass rifle cartridge, lead net sinkers, ballast, window glass, and a lamp wick-winder. A large quantity of faunal food refuse was also recovered from this structure. Much of the animal bone exhibited both saw and cut marks, suggesting that the settlement inhabitants enjoyed a variety of meat cuts (Miller 1979). It is as yet unclear whether or not this deposit represents post-occupational refuse accumulation as at the Lesesne brick structure, or sheet midden contemporaneous with settlement habitation.

These materials reflect striking differences from the sparser, less diverse slave assemblages recovered from other plantations in Berkeley County, such as Yaughan and Curriboo (Wheaton et al. 1983), and Spiers Landing (Drucker and Anthony 1979). Since each planter's treatment of and provision for his slave population was highly individual, and therefore quite variable, such inter-site differences are not unexpected. Further comparative study of both lower status and upper status artifact patterns and profiles for eighteenth and nineteenth century lowcountry plantations will be conducted in the coming months.

Tenant Ash Pit

This large, circular subsurface feature was associated with a relatively small concentration of late nineteenth/early twentieth century debris. The ash pit measured slightly more than 2 meters in diameter at its top, tapering to a cone-shaped bottom at a depth of 1.58 meters. A burnt sand/clay "skin" characterized all sides of this feature.

Although the ash pit yielded a sizeable quantity of charred wood, branches, and ethnobotanical materials, few artifacts were recovered. Melted container glass and burnt earthenware ceramics, along with a handful of cut and wire nails, comprised the feature assemblage, and appear to corroborate the surface indications of late historic habitation. It is likely that this feature is associated with occupation of a late historic tenant farmstead depicted by a 1902 geodetic map of the property. Its most likely function, given its shape, size and content, is presently thought to be a production area for ash, a raw material for the home manufacture of lye and soap.

SUMMARY

The foregoing has been a summary of this season's field program, including a very preliminary look at some of the most diagnostic and interesting features associated with the colonial, early antebellum, and postbellum occupation of Lesesne and Fair Bank plantations. Excavations at 38BK202 have provided an extremely rich data base on early colonial plantations within the lower Coastal Plain of after South Carolina. It is expected that these data will provide important new information on the beginnings of the plantation system in the Carolina lowcountry.

Acknowledgements. We would like to thank Jeanne Calhoun, Susan Krantz, Susan Jackson, Joe Davis, Debi Hacker-Norton, and Joe Bartolini for assistance in tabulating the specific analytical data that are contained in this paper.

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CHAPTER V

A COMPARISON OF NINETEENTH CENTURY-LOW-STATUS SITES IN DIVERSE PLANTATION CONTEXTS

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University of South Carolina at Beaufort

Large ceramic collections have been obtained from controlled contexts at two slave quarters and one tenant site on Dataw Island, South Carolina. The general date range is mid-nineteenth century. A major emphasis in plantation studies has been status differentiation; this study reviews ceramics from the proveniences noted above from this perspective. The meaningfulness of status differentiation analysis is reviewed in light of the leveling influences of excavation techniques, site formation processes, and the effects of idiosyncratic behavior on the perception of monothetic artifact patterns.

INTRODUCTION

Controlled conditions are seldom possible for inter-site comparisons. Excavations were conducted at three low-status sites in different sectors of one South Carolina sea island. These sites present an opportunity to test a number of variable factors that can influence inter-site comparisons and artifact patterns.

The investigations were conducted on Dataw Island, Beaufort County, South Carolina (Figure 5-1) by Dr. Larry Lepionka of the University of South Carolina at Beaufort. Dataw was a sea island cotton plantation until 1861 when Union troops captured the Sea Island region of Beaufort County. After the Civil War, the island was owned by a series of investors and occupied by black tenant farmers. Tenant farming ended on Dataw Island in 1928, when a new owner had the tenants and their structures removed (Mary Sams Collection).

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBLEM AND DATABASE

Those involved in research at low-status sites recognize a number of variable factors that can affect inter-site comparisons. These include temporal and regional differences, excavation methods, construction techniques, and site configurations. Other factors that have potential to affect inter-site comparisons will be mentioned later.

Although the Dataw sites were not excavated with this comparison in mind, they present an excellent opportunity to test the effect of the above mentioned variables. One of the sites (38BU507) is part of

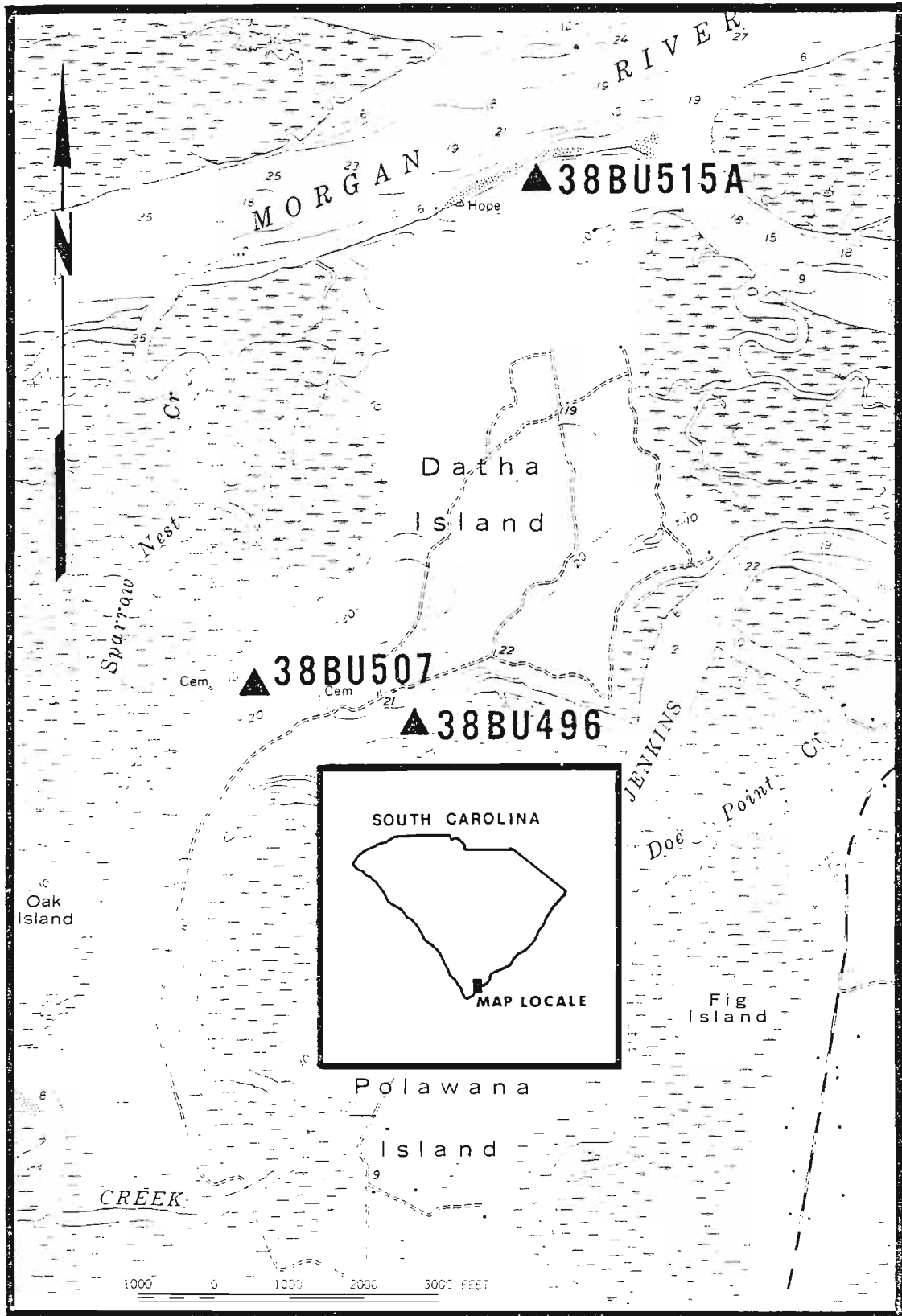


Figure 5-1. Location of 38BU496, 38BU507, and 38BU515A on Datha Island, Beaufort County, South Carolina.

a larger, documented slave settlement, another (38BU515A) is probably ante-bellum in origin but is considered primarily a tenant site. The third (38BU496) is assumed to be primarily a slave site with a short-term post-bellum occupation. All three sites contain fireplace remnants with associated shell/kitchen middens. At two of the structures (38BU496 and 38BU515A) only the fireplace interior was excavated. An extensive area of the third was excavated, but only artifacts recovered from the fireplace interior were considered in the comparisons. The fireplaces were constructed of tabby, and one was lined with brick. The structures attached to the fireplaces were almost certainly frame buildings on low risers. Each midden is within 15 feet of its respective fireplace, and approximately 20% of each of these middens, which vary in size and depth, was excavated.

Consequently, three sites on one island, with similar structures and refuse disposal patterns, occupied in slightly different but overlapping periods of time were sampled in a consistent manner. The artifacts recovered from each site were grouped according to function, following South's (1977) Carolina Artifact Pattern. Relative percentages of the functional categories in each assemblage form the basis of the comparison. In order to investigate possible bias between backyard and architectural excavations, the midden and structure assemblages were tabulated separately for each site. Table 5-1 shows quantification and relative frequencies of the midden,

Table 5-1. Artifact Patterns Derived for Assemblages from 38BU515A, Loci 6 and 7 of 38BU507, and 38BU496.

	38BU515A			38BU507			38BU496		
	Fireplace	Midden	Combined	Locus 7 Fireplace	Locus 6 Midden	Combined	Fireplace	Midden	Combined
Ceramics	28	236	264	16	77	93	22	124	146
Bottle Glass	18	161	179	21	107	128	29	101	130
Kitchen Group Total	46	397	443	37	184	221	51	225	276
Nails	50	400	450	618	325	943	198	262	460
Window Glass	0	8	8	0	17	17	2	6	8
Architecture Group Total	50	408	458	618	342	960	200	268	468
Clothing	1	5	6	8	6	14	5	9	14
Tobacco	4	12	16	5	14	19	3	5	8
Personal	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	2
Arms	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Activity	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0
TOTALS	102	826	928	671	547	1218	260	508	768
RELATIVE PERCENTAGES*									
Kitchen Group	45.09	48.06	47.73	5.51	33.63	18.14	19.61	44.29	35.93
Architecture Group	49.01	49.39	49.35	92.10	62.52	78.81	76.92	52.75	60.93
All Others	5.88	2.54	2.90	2.38	3.83	3.03	3.46	2.95	3.12

*-Percentage of total assemblage represented by each group, in percent.

fireplace, and combined assemblages from each site. Table 5-2 compares the data from the Dataw sites with previously established patterns.

Table 5-2. Comparison of Artifact Patterns from the Three South Carolina Sites with Four Other Artifact Patterns.

GROUP	Pattern						
	a Carolina	b Frontier	c Slave	d Tenant	e 38BU515A	38BU496	38BU507 Loci 6 & 7
Kitchen	63.10	27.60	24.34	72.30	47.73	35.93	18.14
Architecture	25.50	52.00	70.78	22.10	49.35	60.93	78.81
Furniture	0.20	0.20	0.02	-	-	-	-
Arms	0.05	5.40	0.14	-	-	-	-
Clothing	3.00	1.70	1.03	1.50	0.64	1.82	1.14
Personal	0.20	0.20	0.09	0.03	0.10	0.26	0.08
Tobacco	5.80	9.10	3.32	-	1.72	1.04	1.55
Activities	1.70	3.70	0.28	3.80	-	-	0.24

a—South 1977

b—South 1977

c—Singleton 1980

d—Trinkley and Caballero 1983

Loci 6 and 7

Loci 6 and 7 are part of 38BU507, a documented slave settlement site. This pair was chosen for comparison with the other sites because Locus 7 is the slave settlement's only undisturbed fireplace with an associated midden. A considerable portion of Locus 7 was excavated in an attempt to uncover further structural remains, but only artifacts recovered from the fireplace interior are considered here. The fireplace is made of brick with tabby mortar and a tabby facing on the outside. It is approximately 5.5 feet wide and 1 foot high.

The assemblage from Locus 7 consists primarily of nails, which comprise over 90% of the assemblage. The nails are machine-cut, and most appear to be a common siding variety. No window glass was recovered. The Kitchen Group contains ceramics, primarily undecorated whiteware, and bottle glass, including green, clear and amber. Other groups represented are Clothing, which contains only buttons, and Activities, which consists of lead net weights.

Locus 6 is 15 feet south of Locus 7. It measures 9 by 18 feet, and is oriented east-west. The assemblage from Locus 6 exhibits more variety than Locus 7, although the Architectural Group still represents over half the assemblage. The Kitchen Group is composed of bottle glass and ceramics. Panelled patent medicine bottle fragments were found, as was a ceramic fragment with a maker's mark bearing the date 1852. The Clothing Group contains buttons and a buckle; the single personal artifact is a brass escutcheon small enough to belong on a jewelry box.

The relative percentages of the combined Loci 6 and 7 assemblage compare more favorably to the Slave Pattern (Singleton 1980) than to the Carolina (South 1977) or Tenant Patterns (Trinkley and Caballero 1983), with more emphasis on the architectural group. The combined ceramic assemblage produces a mean date of 1856.3 (after South 1977). The scant documentary evidence corroborates this date (Sams Family Papers), keeping in mind the panelled and embossed medicine bottle fragments, which suggest a post-bellum occupation (cf. Lorrain 1968:44). The absence of amethyst glass indicates that occupation ended before the 1880s.

38BU496

This site is a standing tabby fireplace with an associated shell midden. The site is identical in configuration to those at 38BU507, in that the fireplace faces west and a longitudinal midden lies south of it. The fireplace is 6 feet wide and 4.5 feet high. The midden measures 6 by 12 feet in size.

Architectural artifacts dominate the fireplace assemblage, although not as completely as at Locus 7. The Kitchen Group is primarily undecorated whiteware and green bottle glass. Buttons and a "paste" stone in a copper setting complete the assemblage.

The 38BU496 midden assemblage is more balanced than the others; architectural artifacts comprise only slightly more than half the assemblage. The midden's kitchen assemblage contains larger quantities of the same ceramic and glass types found in the fireplace. Clothing is represented by buttons and a shoe grommet. An 1819 large cent is the single personal artifact.

A mean ceramic date of 1860 was derived from the combined assemblage (after South 1977). The machine-cut nails support an ante-bellum building date, while the glass indicates a short-term post-bellum occupation. Two of the bottles recovered were finished in a snap-case, a method not introduced until 1857 (Jones 1971:10). Also present are panelled patent medicine bottles and a "French square" bottle, both introduced after 1860 (Lorrain 1968:40, 44).

The relative percentages of the combined 38BU496 assemblage resemble the Slave Pattern (Singleton 1980), with over half the artifacts belonging to the architectural group, but the actual figures are closer to those of the Frontier Pattern (South 1977).

38BU515A

This site is on the north shore of Dataw Island, approximately 150 feet west of 38BU515 proper. Discovered after the initial survey of the island, it was given the 515A designation due to its proximity to 38BU515 and the similarity of the artifact contents. 38BU515 and 38BU515A both contain fireplace remnants, although 38BU515 does not possess a midden and is not under consideration in this study.

The 38BU515A fireplace is 1 foot high and 4 feet wide, and faces east, unlike those at 38BU496 and Locus 7 of 38BU507. The midden is

15 feet south of the fireplace and roughly circular in shape, with a diameter of 15 feet at its widest.

These are not the only differences between 38BU515A and the other sites. The midden and fireplace assemblages compare well with each other, and architectural artifacts comprise less than half the assemblage. Window glass is minimally present, the bulk of the architectural artifacts are machine-cut nails. The Kitchen Group at 38BU515A is more diverse, although undecorated whiteware is still the principle ceramic type. Bottle glass of green, aqua, clear, amber, and amethyst is present in both the midden and the fireplace. The four artifacts from the Arms Group are gunflints. A metal key and buttons complete the assemblage.

As at 38BU496, a calculated mean ceramic date of 1860 (after South 1977) cannot be verified, and is probably too early. The presence of machine-cut nails suggests either an ante-bellum building date or the use of scavenged materials. Fragments of amethyst South Carolina Dispensary bottles were recovered, including several with the entwined SCD monogram introduced in 1899 (Lewis and Haskell 1981:64). Another indication of post-bellum occupation comes from a 1912 U.S.G.S. survey that depicts a structure in the vicinity of 38BU515A.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Three sites on one island, with similar structures and refuse disposal patterns, occupied in slightly different but overlapping periods of time were sampled in a consistent manner and yet do not compare well with each other. There are other variables that can affect inter-site comparisons, especially at slave sites. Was cooking done in communal kitchens or individual cabins? How much do tobacco and clothing allotments vary from one plantation to another? Can we determine a difference in the material wealth of house and field servants from artifactual remains? Does post-bellum occupation at an ante-bellum site substantially alter the artifact assemblage?

The post-bellum occupation at 38BU515A is a logical explanation for its difference from the other Dataw sites and with the Slave and Tenant Patterns. The almost even division of the Kitchen and Architectural groups suggest that 38BU515A is a transitional occupation.

38BU496 and Loci 6 and 7 of 38BU507 can be seen as the opposite extremes of the Slave Pattern. A conjectural explanation for the difference between the two is that Loci 6 and 7 are part of a slave settlement, while 38BU496 is not.

Inter-site comparisons and artifact patterns are used with the assumption that they will illustrate behavioral patterns for different economic groups. The existence of variable factors in inter-site comparisons should be seen as one more behavioral trait. Patterns and comparisons may depict trends in low status sites, they never depict standards to which every site must conform.

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CHAPTER VI

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF SOMERSET PLACE PLANTATION

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Somerset Place, located near the Albermarle Sound, was one of the largest and most productive plantations in North Carolina. Founded on the shore of Lake Phelps, Somerset Place was owned by the Collins family from the late eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century. Its location in a swamp required a complex system of canals, dikes, and ditches to transform the land into arable soil. The labor of hundreds of slaves was used to dig and maintain this canal system. Many of these slaves were brought directly from Africa to work on the canals and the plantation. Archaeological excavations and historical research conducted in 1981 and 1982 have begun to reveal details about the canal system and the lifeways of the slaves that made the establishment of Somerset Place possible. The results of this preliminary work is discussed in this paper.

INTRODUCTION

On August 23, 1755, members of a hunting party from Edenton, North Carolina were the first recorded Englishmen to "discover" the lake known as Scuppernong to the local Indians. One Benjamin Tarkinton claimed to be the discoverer, as he had been the first to view the lake from a perch in a nearby tree. A rival claimant was Josiah Phelps, who was the first member of the party to actually set foot into the water of the lake (Collins 1902:89-90). Apparently, the latter action has been upheld as the legitimate discovery of the lake, as it currently bears Josiah Phelps's last name.

As Lake Phelps was located in the center of a vast cypress swamp, similar in nature to its more well-known neighbor, the Great Dismal Swamp of Virginia and northeastern North Carolina, little interest was shown in the body of water until after the end of the Revolution, it being considered nothing more than a "haunt of beasts" (Tarlton 1954:1). The 16,000 acre freshwater lake is essentially landlocked, with no water channels leading to it, nor are there any dry land ridges that provide access. Beginning in the middle 1780s, plans to drain the lake and the surrounding swamp were put forth by several groups of prominent Edenton citizens. These schemes were fueled by a survey that showed the lake and its surrounding environs to be higher in elevation than the Scuppernong River, located some miles distant (Figure 6-1). It was thought that the construction of a hydraulic system connecting Lake Phelps and the Scuppernong River

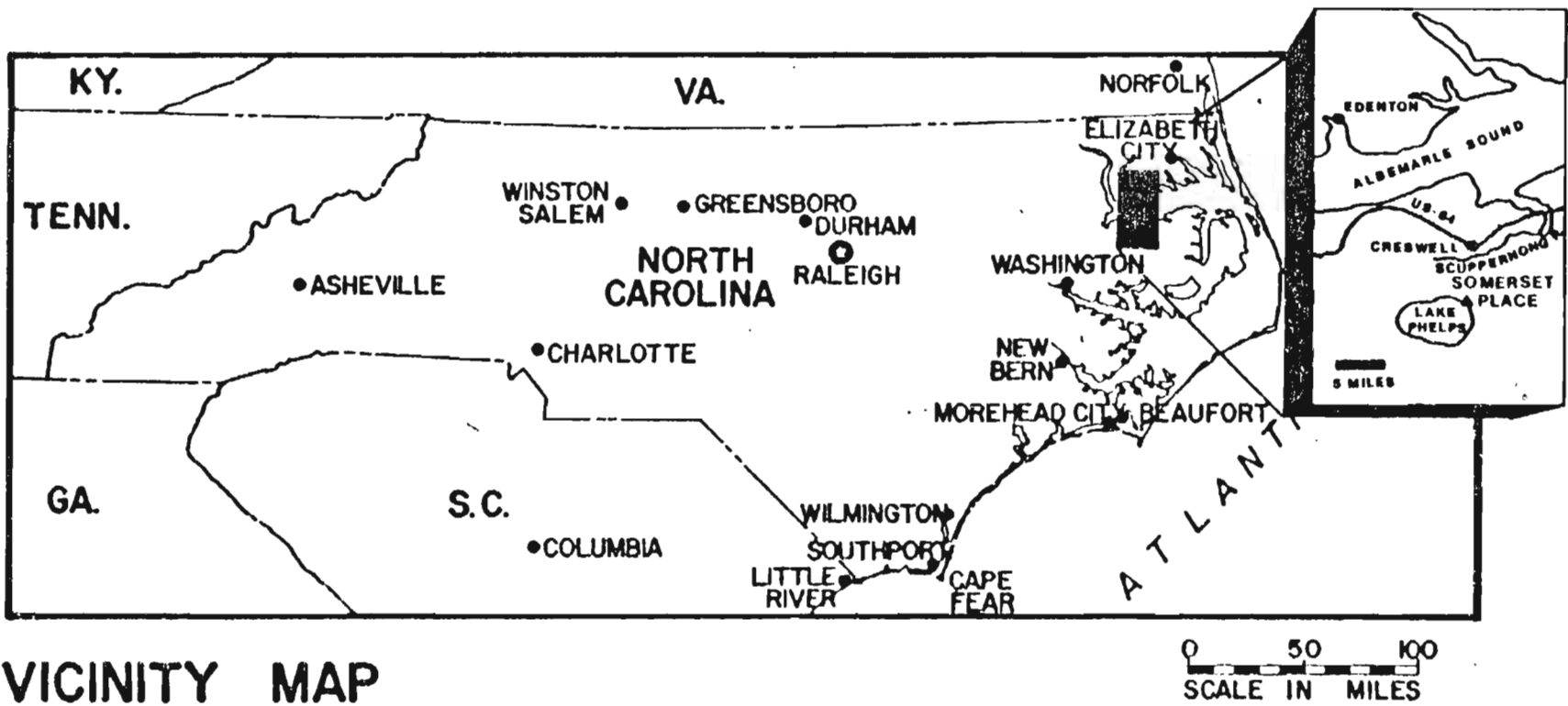


Figure 6-1. Location of Somerset Place and Lake Phelps, North Carolina.

would make the area ideal for rice cultivation. Thus was born the Lake Company, comprised of Josiah Collins, Nathaniel Allen, and Dr. Samuel Dickinson, all residents of Edenton. Plans called for the construction of a major canal to connect the lake and the Scuppernong River, and a system of smaller connector canals and shallow ditches (Figure 6-2). These would control the water-levels in the rice fields surrounding Lake Phelps and drain other areas to serve as habitation sites and as fields for growing corn and wheat (Tarlton 1954:1-9).

The foundation for this endeavor rested firmly on the availability of abundant, cheap labor -- in this case slaves. The first load of 80 African slaves destined to work the plantation arrived in Edenton in June of 1786. By the end of 1788, a canal some 20 feet wide and six feet deep had been constructed between Lake Phelps and the Scuppernong River. Work then commenced on digging the connecting canals and associated shallower ditches. Water from the lake was available to flood the rice fields before planting, and the canals could drain the water from the rice fields to the Scuppernong River when harvest time arrived. By 1794, some 125,000 acres of land comprised the holdings of the Lake Company, and two saw mills, a grist mill, a large warehouse, a barn, and dwelling houses for the overseers and Negro slaves had been erected (Tarlton 1954:6-8).

Over the ensuing years, numerous changes were wrought in the management of the plantation. Josiah Collins proceeded to buy out his two partners and by 1816 had acquired all of the original holdings of the Lake Company. Collins renamed the plantation Somerset Place, after his birthplace in England. At about the same time corn replaced rice as the plantation's primary cash-crop. A contributing factor to this replacement was the sickness rice cultivation, with its standing water, was thought to cause among the slaves (Ruffin 1839:108). Dwellings continued to be built for use by the slaves and overseers, and buildings necessary to support the plantation's economy were added as needed. At the height of the plantation's importance in the mid-nineteenth century, over a hundred buildings were in use, and the slave population reached 300 (Knapp 1979:16; Tarlton 1954:8-21).

During the plantation's formative years, the Collins family resided in Edenton, apparently visiting Somerset Place only for business reasons. During their stay at the plantation, family members used the Colony House, which was probably built in the 1790s (Figure 6-3). This structure, its outbuildings, the overseers house, the slave quarters, and the buildings associated with the slave quarters were oriented parallel to the shore of Lake Phelps, just west of the main canal (Tarlton 1954:6-20).

This alignment was changed by Josiah Collins III in 1829 and 1830 when he became the first Collins to permanently reside at Somerset Place. In 1829, this Collins heir arrived at the plantation with his new bride of six months, Miss Mary Riggs of Newark, New Jersey. Residence was maintained at the Colony House, until the main plantation house was completed in 1830. The main house faced the canal, with the lake being located to the southwest (Figure 6-3). Outbuildings that served the main house, including a kitchen, smoke house, ice house, dairy, bath house, and various store houses were

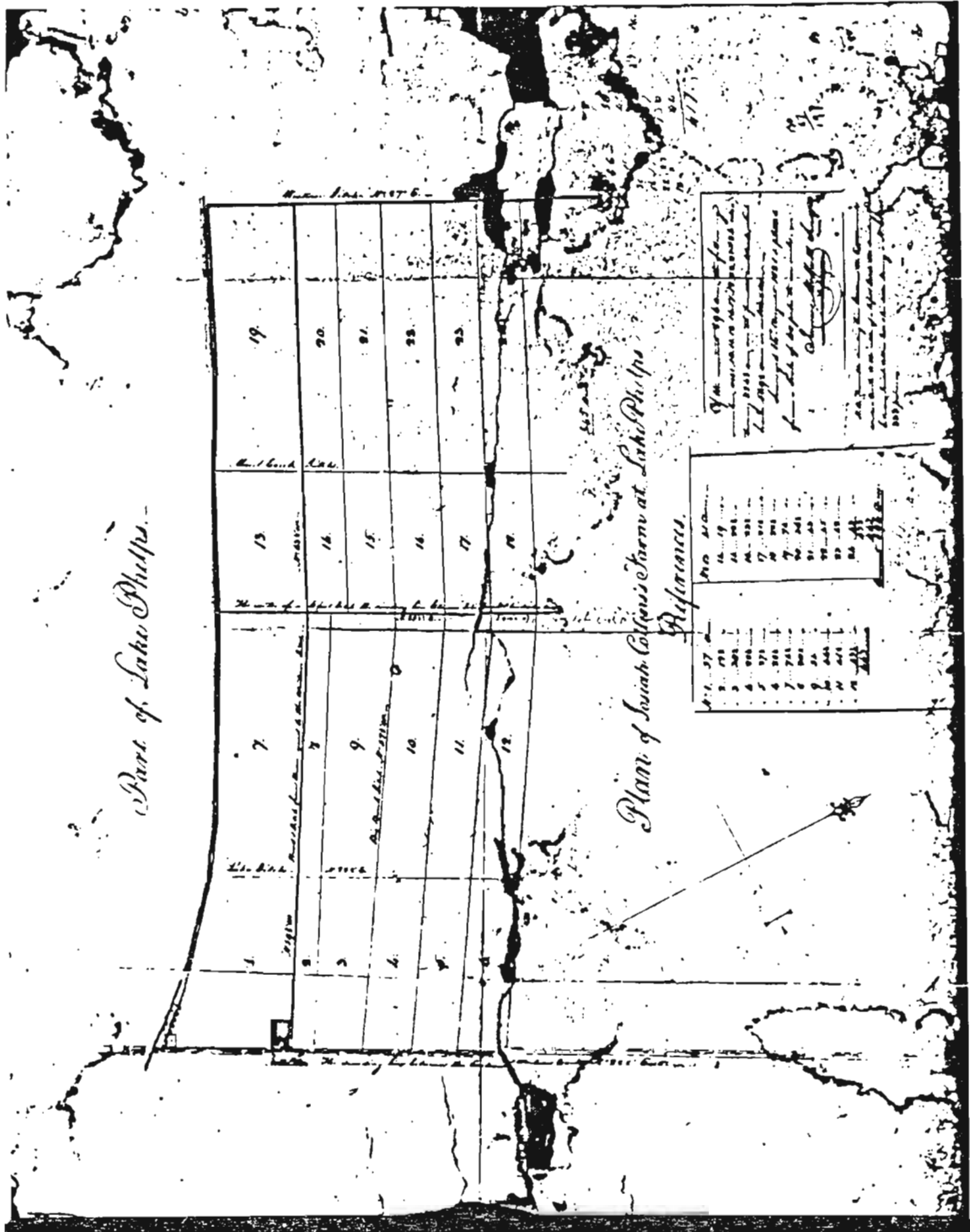


Figure 6-2. An 1821 Map of Somerset Place Showing the Main Canal and Connecting Field Canals.

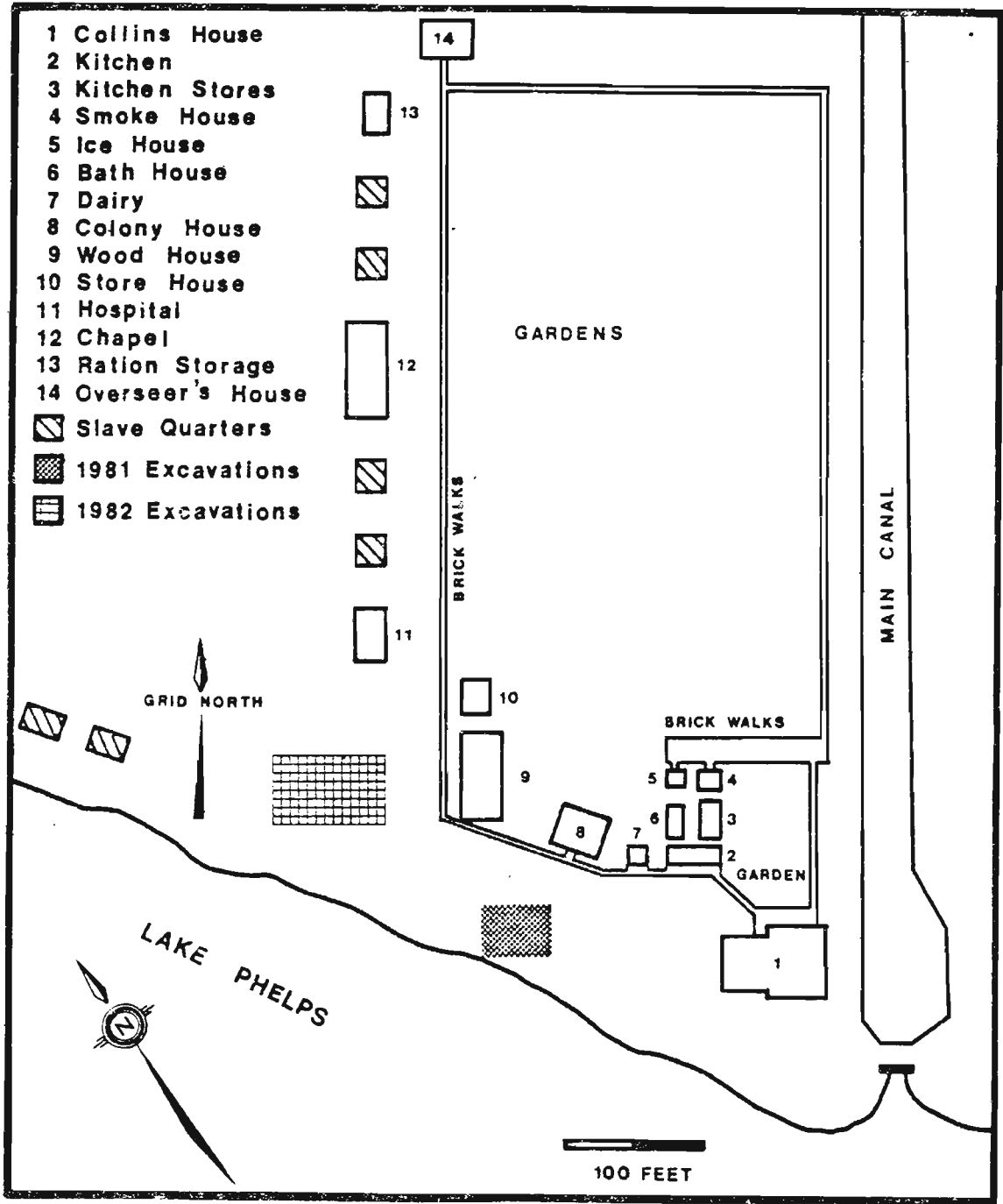


Figure 6-3. Post-1830 Main House Compound, Slave Quarters, and Location of 1981-1982 Excavations at Somerset Place.

constructed to the north toward the Colony House. A garden area was laid out northeast of the main house compound. An overseer's house was situated just beyond the northern corner of the house garden. New slave quarters, and support buildings for the slaves that included a hospital, chapel, and ration storehouse, were placed behind the northwest side of the house garden area in a line that paralleled the main canal. The existing slave quarters continued in a line northwest from the main house compound along the shore of Lake Phelps (Durrill 1981; Tarlton 1954:18-21).

THE CANAL SYSTEM AT SOMERSET

The economic base that supported the lifestyle enjoyed by the Collins family was the cultivation of corn, primarily for sale in the markets of the northeast United States. In 1839 Edmund Ruffin described in The Farmer's Register the water management system at Somerset Place that allowed great quantities of corn to be grown for this export. Approximately 1400 acres of arable land was under cultivation utilizing some 130 miles of canals and secondary ditches. Figure 6-2 represents the appearance of the plantation and the canal system in 1821. Five small canals 8 feet wide crossed the land parallel to the main canal. These were crossed at right angles by "leading ditches" some 6 feet wide that were spaced about 1/4 mile apart from each other. The rectangular spaces thus created were intersected by 3 foot wide ditches, which in turn had small, shallow "tap ditches" that branched off them at 50 yard intervals. The land between the tap ditches was plowed into ridges in 4 and 6 foot sections, with water furrows between each section. Thus, the water furrows collected all surface and rain water, emptied it into the shallow tap ditches, which discharged into the deeper 3 foot wide ditches, that connected to the 6 foot wide leading ditches, that emptied into the 8 foot wide small canals, that finally emptied into the main canal. The tap ditches were only about 4 inches lower than the water furrows, the 3 foot ditches were 2 feet deep, and the 6 foot ditches and the 8 foot small canals were between 3 and 4 feet deep. The 6 foot ditches and the 8 foot small canals also served to transport flatboats loaded with corn and other produce such as hay and wheat from the fields to the barns along the main canal for storage.

A major problem associated with this water management system was keeping the various ditches and canals clean. This duty was a year round chore for the slaves on the plantation. The tap ditches were cleaned in the early spring just before plowing so that the 4 and 6 foot furrow plots could be maintained. After planting the various ditches and canals were cleaned as part of the regular work routine of a group of slave women. In addition, the tops of the canal banks, which also served as farm roads, were serviced by groups of male and female field hands periodically. In the fall, the canals were cleaned and dug out as required. The only times that a number of slaves were not working on the waterways were during planting, harvesting, and the winter months of late December, January, and February (Durrill 1981).

This way of life came to an end, along with much of the plantation economic system of the southern United States, following the Civil War and the freeing of the slaves. In 1870, the Collins family was forced to sign over 4000 acres of land surrounding the main house to one William B. Shephard to satisfy a \$10,000 obligation owed him. The rest of the plantation was sold off piecemeal during the last quarter of the nineteenth century to satisfy various debts. The section of Somerset Place that included the main house changed hands a number of times until 1937, when the Federal Farm Security Administration acquired the land. The FSA divided the land into single-family farms for sale with 40-year mortgages to former tenant farmers. In 1939, the State of North Carolina obtained a 99-year lease on the Collins mansion and adjacent lands. This land was permanently incorporated into Pettigrew State Park in 1947. Various research and restoration efforts were conducted by the state on the Collins mansion and the immediate environs of the main house compound in the early 1950s. In 1967, the mansion and standing main house outbuildings were turned over to the Division of Archives and History as Somerset Place State Historic Site (Knapp 1979:22-23).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH AT SOMERSET

Archaeological research has been conducted in two distinct phases at Somerset Place. In the early 1950s, William S. Tarlton (1954:49-64) explored the suspected locations of missing main house outbuildings, traced brick walkways found in front of the main house, in the garden area, and in the vicinity of various outbuildings, and excavated the site of an overseer's house, that of the supposed slave ration storage house, and the slave hospital (Figure 6-3). In addition, a formal garden, said to be complete in all details of arrangement (Tarlton 1954:56), was uncovered in the yard area north of the mansion. During the excavations and following their completion, the area around the main house and garden was bulldozed to what was thought to have been the original ground level identified by the archaeology. The only data concerning this early work that survives to this day is an account of the archaeology written by Tarlton (1954). From this work, the overseer's house was reconstructed for use as a site manager's residence. When the area was turned over to the Division of Archives and History in 1967, the bathhouse was reconstructed. The original buildings of the main house complex that are still standing include the Colony House, the Kitchen, the Kitchen-Storehouse, the Smokehouse, the Icehouse, and the Dairy, all of which are thought to date to the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century, and the Main House, built in 1830 (Knapp 1979:26-40).

The second phase of archaeological investigations conducted at Somerset Place occurred in the summers of 1981 and 1982. The focus of this work was the slave compound located northwest of the main house complex, and the pre-1830 occupation of the area. The entire site of the state historic site was gridded in a series of 60 x 40 foot operational units aligned with the main canal. Each operational unit was sub-divided into 24 10 foot squares that served as the primary excavation unit. The soil was removed by natural level whenever

possible and screened through 1/4 inch mesh screen. Stratigraphy at the site consists of topsoil (a brown sandy loam), and a mottled tan and white or dark gray sand over a mottled gray clay subsoil. The gray clay subsoil is generally encountered at a depth of approximately 1.5 to 2 feet below ground surface. It is this gray clay, which does not absorb water, that necessitates the use of drainage ditches to cultivate the land.

The 1981 excavations (Smart 1982) concentrated on the location of a structure shown on the 1821 map of the plantation. This structure is adjacent to the original shore of Lake Phelps some 150 feet northwest of the main canal (Figure 6-3). Although the exact function of this structure within the plantation system is presently unknown, it is thought to possibly have been a slave commissary. The dimensions of the excavated structure measure 32 x 20 feet (Figure 6-4). A corbeled chimney base is located at the north end of the structure. A mottled tan and white sand zone that contained charcoal and brick rubble is thought to date to the use and subsequent dismantling of the building. Ceramics from this zone were analyzed by Ann M. Smart (1982) as part of an independent study project with the Department of History at Duke University. Using South's (1977) Mean Ceramic Dating Formula, a mean date of 1820 was derived for the ceramics from this structure. Historical evidence tentatively suggests that the structure was constructed about 1796 and removed or demolished around 1830, when the plantation was realigned from the lake shore to the main canal. This implies a median occupation date of 1813 based on the assumed location and use of the structure at this locale between 1796 and 1830. If these remains are a slave structure, the seven year lag between the mean ceramic date and the median occupation date can be attributed to the phenomenon noted by both Fairbanks (1972) and Otto (1977) --ceramics used by slaves may often be cast-offs that have filtered down through the plantation socio-economic system to the lowest status occupants present, which would produce an earlier mean ceramic date for the material remains from structures associated with the slave compound.

The archaeology conducted in 1982 (Figure 6-5) had as its goal the study of the slave quarters aligned along the lakeshore northwest of the main house (Hughes 1983). Two types of quarters were documented. Closest to the main house compound were three 20 feet wide by 40 feet long two story "I" houses with two story chimneys at the southeast and northwest ends. It is thought that these were divided into two downstairs and two upstairs rooms, each housing an extended slave family. Excavations during 1982 were concentrated on the first of these "I" houses encountered, which was located at the intersection of a line parallel to the lake shore through the Colony House and a line through the post-1830 slave compound that was laid out parallel to the main canal. Continuing northwest from these three large "I" houses, foundations for two dozen single story, one room quarters with a single chimney in the southeast wall were documented through excavation and probing. Each smaller quarter measures about 18 feet by 18 feet, with roughly 20 feet separating them. As these 27 quarters are oriented with the lake shore, they probably comprise part of the original slave compound constructed in the late eighteenth century.

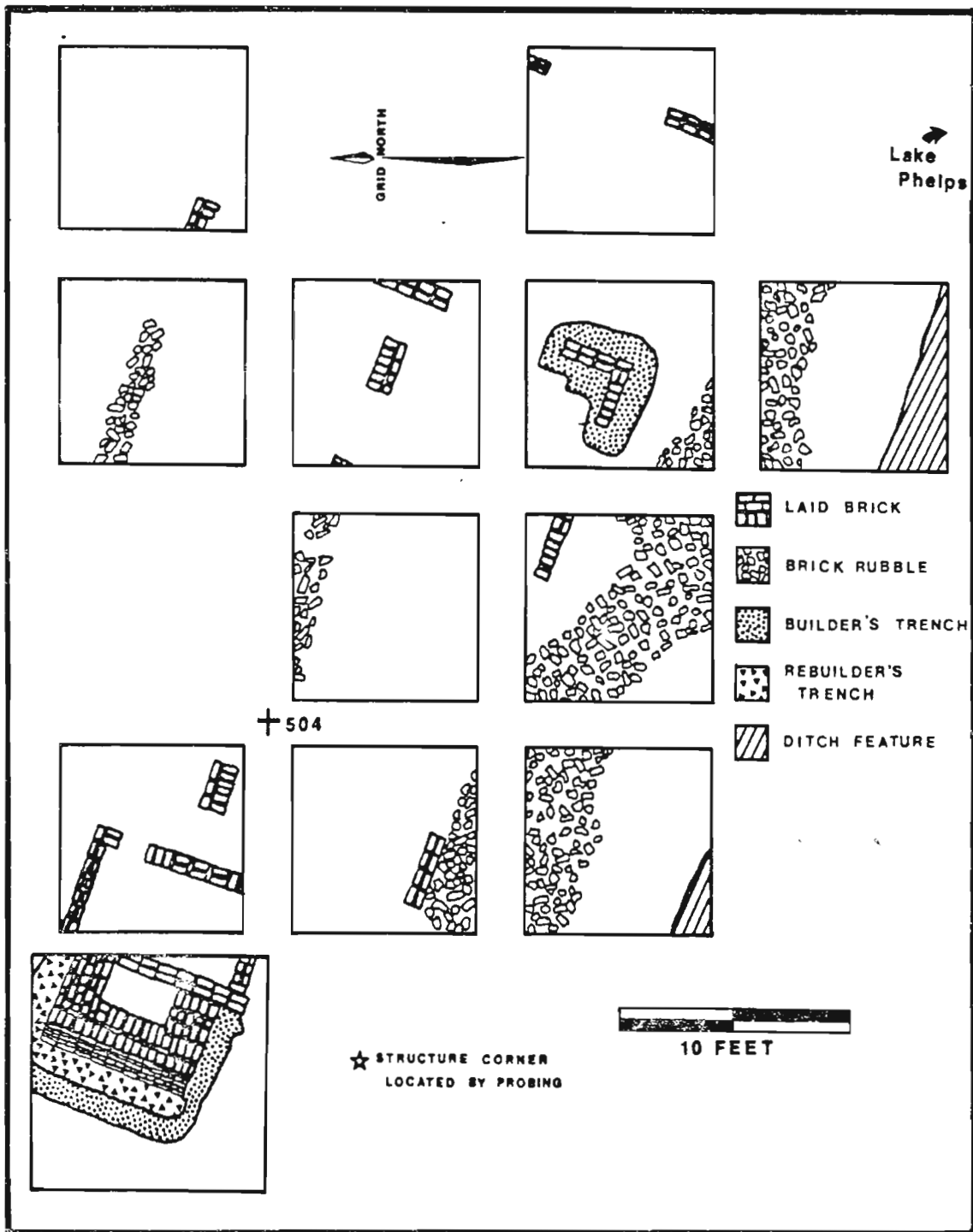


Figure 6-4. Excavation Plan, 1981 Excavations at Somerset Place.

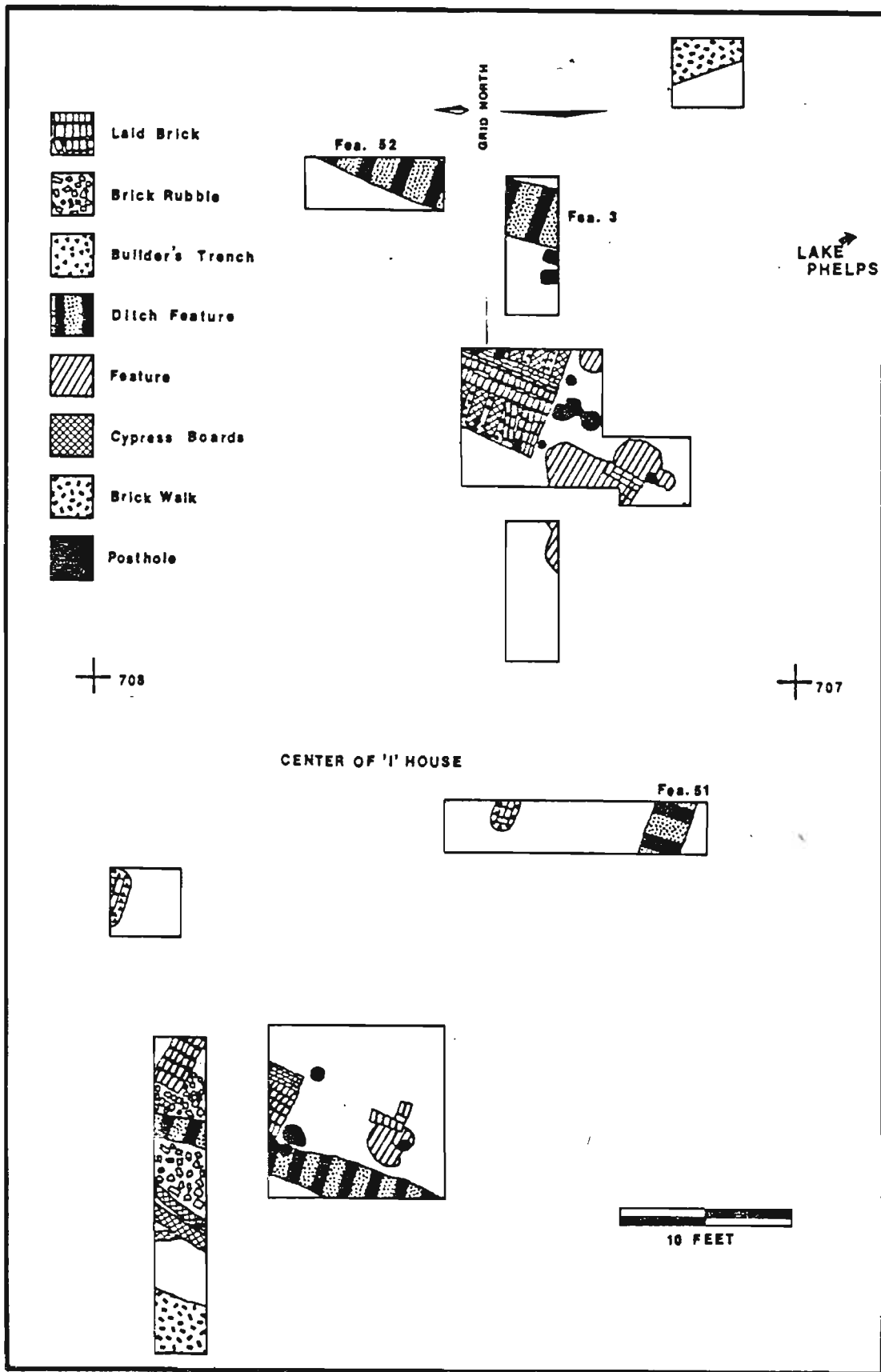


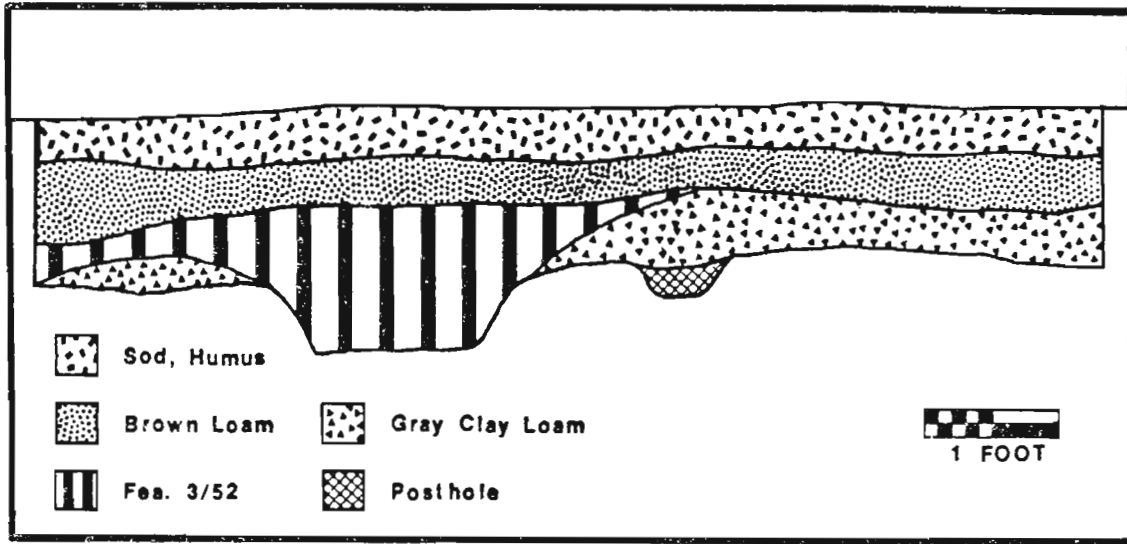
Figure 6-5. Excavation Plan, 1982 Excavations at Somerset Place.

During the course of the excavation of the first "I" house, three sections of the drainage/irrigation ditches were encountered. Feature 3/52 ran perpendicular to the lake shore, while Feature 51 ran parallel to the lake shore. Feature 3/52 (Figure 6-6) is approximately 2.5 feet wide and had been dug 1.05 feet into the dark gray clay subsoil, a depth of about 1.7 feet below modern grade. Fill in the feature consisted of lenses of white sand and dark black loam. Material recovered from the feature included large amounts of brick rubble and faunal material, ceramics, nails, and window glass. Feature 52 (Figure 6-6) was also approximately 2.5 feet in width, and had been dug about 1 foot into the dark gray clay subsoil, a depth of 1.6 feet below modern grade. Fill consisted of white sand with brick rubble mixed with white sand concentrated in the lower portion of the feature. A large amount of faunal material was also recovered from Feature 52, along with the usual ceramics, nails, and window glass.

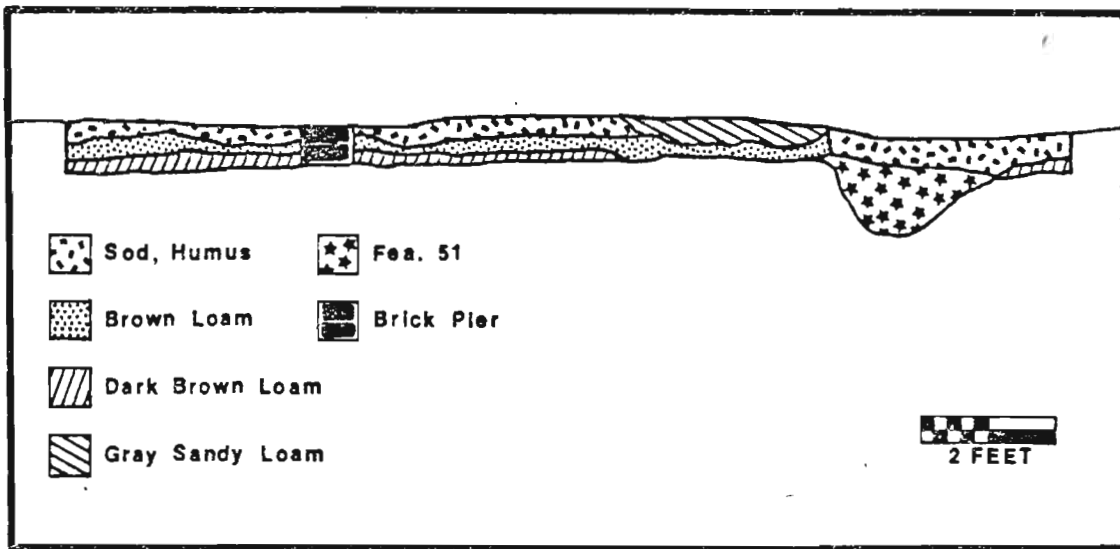
Both features lay adjacent to the "I" house at a distance of about 6.5 feet. Given their size they might represent the remains of an early version of the 3 foot wide tap ditches. Material remains contained in the features suggest that they were filled with general garbage in the early nineteenth century. This may have occurred at the time rice was abandoned as the main cash crop of the plantation, or when the drainage system was no longer needed to drain the habitation areas of the plantation.

CONCLUSIONS

As this brief exposition has shown, Somerset Plantation possesses a wealth of archaeological information that awaits future research. A good portion of the slave compound remains intact, as well as the extensive water management system that was the basis for the plantation's economy. Other sections of the plantation, such as the barns and grist mills, remain untested, although they are probably represented by intact archaeological deposits. Despite the unscientific archaeology that has been conducted at the site in the past, data pertinent to a number of particularistic and processual questions concerning slave and plantation archaeology are available. Hopefully, the recovery and interpretation of such data will be possible in the future, even as a comprehensive management and interpretive program for Somerset Place's cultural resources is developed and implemented.



Feature 3/52, South Profile



Feature 51, East Profile

Figure 6-6. Profiles of Feature 3/52 and Feature 51, Somerset Place.

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CHAPTER VII

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS OF THE THIRD HALIFAX JAIL

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Archaeological investigations in the interior of the 1838 Halifax, North Carolina jail revealed two early occupation floors--one dating from its beginning in 1838 until circa 1850 and the second dating from circa 1850 until 1896. Numerous architectural remnants were also exposed during excavation and will be discussed in this presentation. The results of preliminary artifact analysis and archival research will also be presented. Additional comments will discuss the behavioral information representative of an "Incarceration artifact pattern."

INTRODUCTION

In January 1984, an eight-week archaeological investigation began in the 1838 Halifax County Jail located in Halifax, North Carolina (Figure 7-1). The jail is part of the Historic Halifax State Historic Site. The work was conducted by a team of five archaeologists under contract with the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, Historic Sites Section. The purpose of the research was to investigate the interior jail floor (in addition to some limited testing around the jail exterior) in order to provide architectural details for an accurate restoration of the interior. Specifically, this investigation represented only Phase I research for the jail restoration project. This paper will discuss the work conducted at the site, the results of our excavations, and information regarding preliminary artifact analysis.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The extant structure is situated in Historic Halifax, on the west bank of the Roanoke River. The jail was erected on the town common in 1838 and is the third jail to stand on the same lot. It served as the county jail from 1838 until 1915, when a new facility was constructed two blocks away. From 1915 until the 1950s, it was privately owned and served a variety of purposes--from chicken coop to warehouse. In the 1950s, it was rescued from destruction by a newly formed preservation group called the Historic Halifax Restoration Association. The jail and other properties in the town were purchased over a number of years by the state of North Carolina, and became a state historic site in 1965.

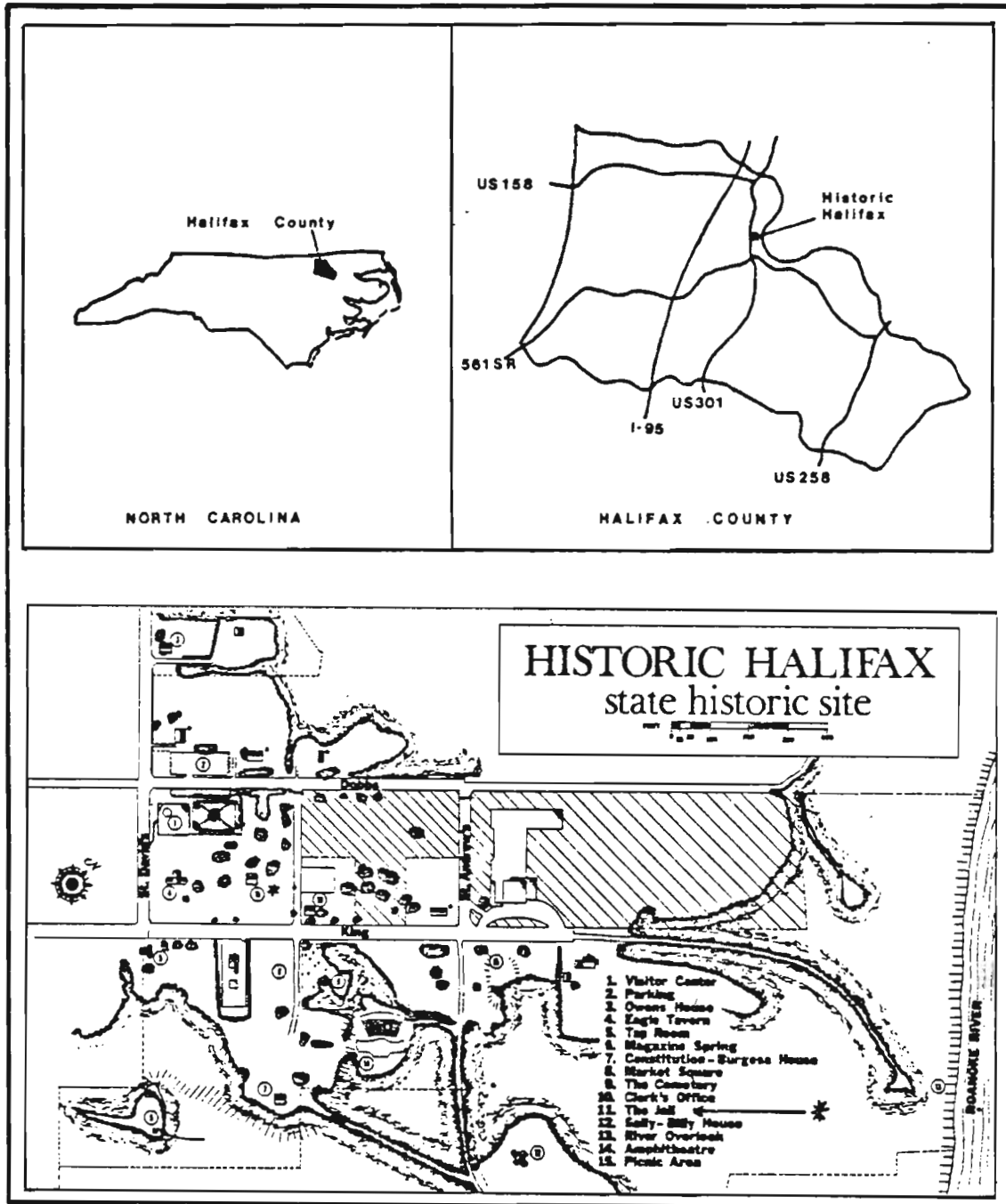


Figure 7-1. Location and Plan of Historic Halifax.

The riverport town of Halifax was founded in 1758, the first jail being built shortly thereafter. The jail was burned to the ground in 1762 when five prisoners set fire to it and made their escape. Two years later (in 1764), the county appropriated sufficient funds to build another jail on the same public lot as the first jail. The second jail was also constructed of wood framing mounted on brick foundations. Historically, the location of the second jail was documented on the 1769 map of Halifax drawn by C. J. Sauthier. This building served as a county and district jail from 1764 until 1836, when it also was destroyed by a fire set by escaping prisoners.

The burning of the second jail prompted the county justices to choose a fire-proof design for the third jail. Court minutes state that in 1837 a committee was appointed to select a builder for the new jail. The committee hired Abraham Spencer, a carpenter from Granville County, North Carolina, who had recently built the nearby Clerk of Courts Office in Halifax, also a fire-proof building. He erected a brick building of American bond construction with one exterior door on the south elevation. The interior measured 27.3 by 27.3 feet and the exterior 30.6 by 30.6 feet at its base, creating walls over 24 inches thick. A wooden stairway extended to the second floor, which was initially designed for storage. Originally, a fireplace along the left wall was the only source of heat. There were four windows on the first floor, two on the south and two on the west wall. There were six windows upstairs, two each on the south, west, and north walls. It was suggested that there were no windows on the east wall because of the adjoining exercise yard for prisoners.

Architectural investigations and archival research revealed that numerous alterations have been made to the jail during its use for confinement of prisoners. Two major episodes of remodeling were recorded in the years from 1848 to 1850 and in 1896. The first renovation was specifically designed to raise the surface of the first floor, while the second remodeling provided a clean, permanent floor surface and "modernization" of the jail interior.

In the November 1848 county court minutes a description of the repairs to the jail interior was provided:

the following commissioners are appointed to examine the repairs necessary to be done to the floor of the public jail of this county and to contract for such alterations in the wall or foundation of the jail as to give sufficient ventilation for the passage or free circulation of air under the floor and through the walls or foundations of the jail and report to the next court (Halifax County Court Minutes Docket Book 1848).

Reports by the county inspectors prior to this date had described conditions in the jail as "rotten" with "decaying timbers" -- problems created by prolonged humidity and poor drainage of water away from the structure. Though changes for improvement were proposed in 1848, subsequent court minutes from 1849 and 1850 indicate that no immediate

action was taken to repair the jail. In fact, the February 1851 court minutes state that the appointed commissioners were still seeking a contractor for the necessary repairs. By the November court term of the same year, however, reports from the jail inspectors indicate a positive improvement in the jail's structural condition.

Additional changes in the jail were cited in the court minutes during the next 40 year period. These included removal of the armory stored on the second floor in the 1840s, installation of a heating stove in 1879, repair of interior walls adjacent to the stairs and near the front door in 1868, installation of bunks in the cells in the 1880s, addition of shutters to the windows and whitewashing the walls in 1883, well construction and installation of running water in 1891, addition of new front steps in 1892, and installation of screens on the windows in 1894. Iron bars were present on the jail windows as early as the 1870s.

As previously mentioned, a second major remodeling episode took place in 1896. Historical documentation of this renovation was thoroughly described in the Halifax court minutes dated May 4, 1896. The clerk was ordered to notify (via newspaper advertisements) four or five jail builders to submit bids for remodeling the jail interior. At that time, the existing structure was described:

The old jail is built of brick with a slate roof. Inside measurements are 27 x 27 lined with oak sills 6 x 12 inches with 4 windows first floor, 6 windows 2nd floor. We want all the old wood taken out; 4 new windows cut downstairs, 2 new windows upstairs; concrete floor added downstairs; concrete floor upstairs; iron stairway added; walls nicely cemented; iron cells to hold 16 prisoners upstairs; 2 or 3 cells downstairs to be made out of old cage, or some plan may be submitted, with good grating to each window and water closet in each cell (Halifax Commissioners Records, Vol.3, 1896:891, 898).

On May 18, 1896 the Pauley Jail Company presented the lowest bid and was granted a contract to remodel the Halifax Jail at a cost of \$4,642.27. Though the jail underwent a few more alterations in 1911 and 1912, fewer changes were proposed because a new facility was being planned. After the transfer of prisoners to the new jail, the 1836 jail was sold by the county. For nearly 40 years, it was used as a storage facility and livestock shed. As awareness of Halifax's historical nature began to develop, the jail building was purchased in 1960 by the town, and used as a temporary museum.

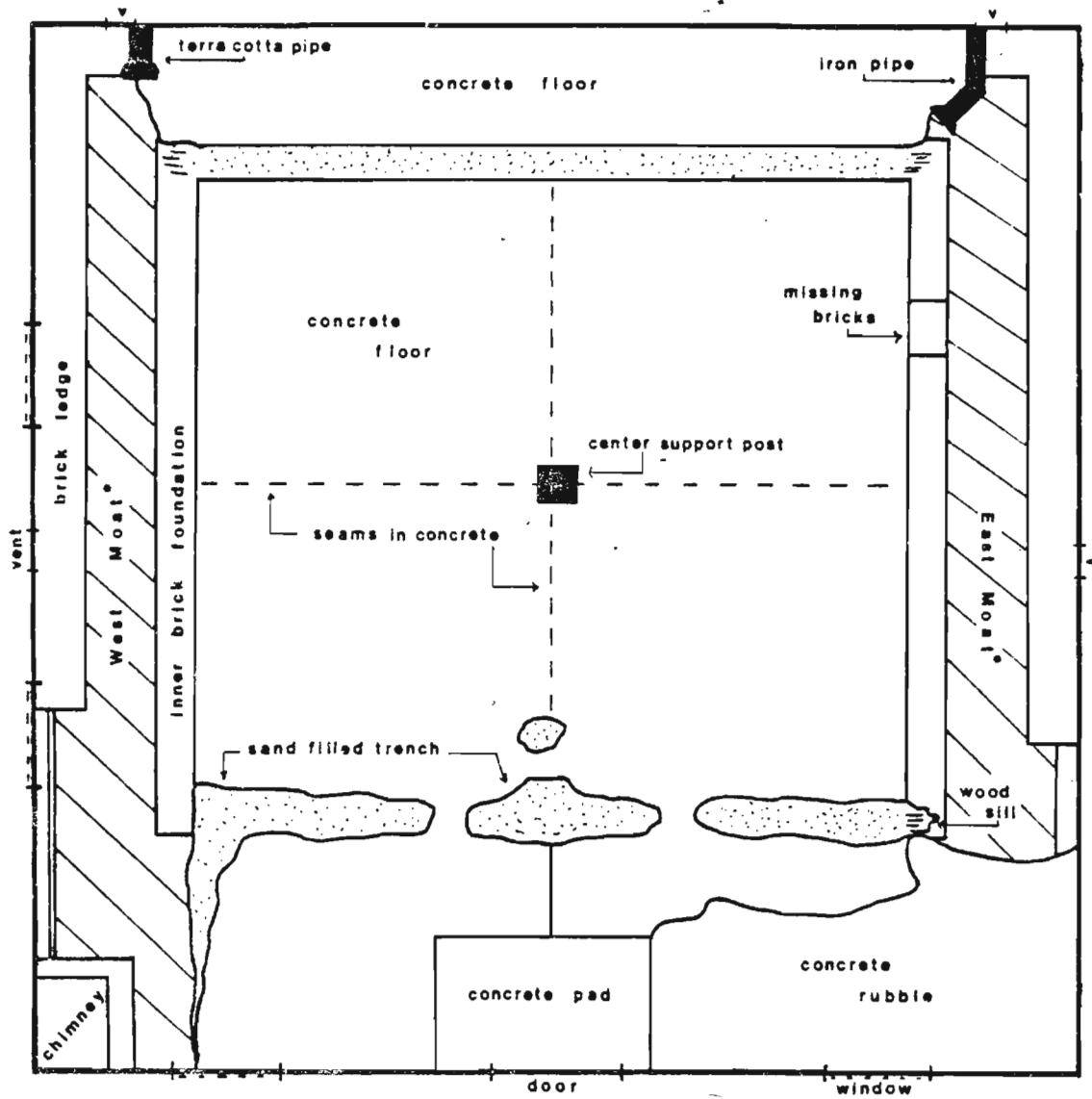
Archaeological interest in the jail was generated by Stanley South, then the staff archaeologist for Archives and History, in the late 1960s. Some limited testing was done on the interior of the jail by South and Reifsynder (the site manager). They removed portions of the concrete floor to expose a possible lower floor. They excavated test squares in the northeast, northwest, and southwest corners of the jail floor. Later, Reifsynder removed concrete and fill dirt from the

east and west "moats". The term "moat" was used because it was assumed that these trenches were drainage ditches used to wash out the jail floor. Since that time this has been proven to be a false assumption.

During the 1970s, archaeological work was once again conducted on the jail site. The east yard was explored for evidence of the first and second jails that had been destroyed by fire. Architectural alterations were done on the exterior of the building in 1976 to restore the jail to its 1838 appearance. The concrete roof (from the 1896 remodeling) was changed to a wooden truss system and a slate roof added; the windows and rear door from the later period were closed; the entrance door, which supposedly had been shifted 21 inches to the left to accommodate new stairs, was shifted back to a central position, the iron grating was removed from the remaining windows; and all exterior brickwork was repointed. The second floor was replaced at this time as well. In summary, the 1838 jail endured extensive modifications both through remodeling for improvements and archaeological disturbances. Despite this, additional archaeological and historical research was deemed necessary in order to provide an accurate framework for restoration and interpretation.

EXCAVATION PROCEDURE

Figure 7-2 illustrates the condition of the jail floor in January 1984. A finished concrete floor extended from the north wall south to the front door and east-west from the edges of an exposed inner brick foundation wall. The southeast corner of the jail interior also remained covered with rubble fill and a concrete cap. Two sand-filled trenches were observed, one on the north and the other on the south. Each trench was about 19 feet in length (east-west). Information provided by the current site manager indicated that the sand covered the remains of two wooden sills, exposed by Reifsynder in 1968. A large, square wooden post was positioned in the center of the floor and supported the second floor center joist. Mold seams were visible in the finished concrete floor extending north, east, south, and west from the post. A small, concrete pad was noted immediately in front of the door and was interpreted as part of the 1976 renovations and door realignment. The remains of two large sewer pipes were exposed along the north wall; one terra cotta and one iron. These two plumbing remnants date to the 1896 renovation when water closets were installed. Small air vents, covered with iron grates, were present adjacent to these sewer pipes. Air vents also were observed in the east and west walls of the jail. Evidence of masonry patching was visible around each vent. Other architectural details were exposed during the 1968 excavations, including a brick ledge which extends around three-quarters of the interior perimeter. Originally, this ledge was thought to be additional floor and outer wall support; but other functions are suggested later in this paper. Also noted in the east and west moats was an inner brick foundation wall approximately 2 feet in height on the east and 1.5 feet on the west. Small openings (one brick bat in width and evenly spaced along the foundation wall) were observed and interpreted as air vents. The final architectural



*East & West moats previously excavated (1968)



Figure 7-2. Halifax Jail Interior Prior to the 1984 Excavations.

feature located in the jail interior was a square chimney positioned in the southwest corner. It was constructed of bright orange-colored brick and measured 2 by 2.5 feet at its base. A small flue hole for attachment of a stove pipe was placed on the east side. The 1968 archaeological investigations in this corner exposed the bottom of the chimney base.

We began the removal of the remaining concrete floor by using a 90-pound jack hammer. Beginning at the northern end and working south toward the front door, the concrete was broken into manageable chunks, loaded into wheelbarrows, and then hauled outside. It was immediately apparent that the finished concrete floor was only 3 to 4 inches thick and capped a denser layer of concrete and brick rubble, approximately 1 foot thick. A thin layer of fine gravel was noted at the interface of the two concrete layers. As the concrete was carefully removed around the northern sandfilled trench, whisk brooms were used to expose the remains of the wooden sill. A mortared brick feature was exposed in the center of the sill, which measured approximately 3 feet in length. This was later interpreted as a threshold for a cell entryway. The wooden sill and the threshold were resting on top of the north wall of the inner brick foundation.

All of the concrete was removed except for a support balk around the center post. A compact dirt floor was exposed beneath the concrete rubble layer. Two brick thresholds were uncovered with the south sill, both 3 feet in length. Both wooden sills were badly decomposed. No evidence remained of any east or west sills, though they were mentioned by Reifsynder.

Two test trenches were planned to explore the depth of the dirt floor and associated fill (Figure 7-3). Trench 1 was excavated in the northern "moat" between the inner brick foundation and the outer wall. Trench 2 was laid out within the inner brick foundation and was oriented east-west. Soil from each trench was screened by unit through 1/4 inch mesh.

In Trench 1, three distinct soil layers were revealed. The first layer consisted of a light brown loam with brick rubble and lenses of wall plaster, and artifacts dating from the early eighteenth to late nineteenth century. The broad temporal range of the artifacts present in this layer and the mixed nature of the rubble fill included within it, indicates that Level 1 was brought into the jail for fill. Level 2, the next layer, appeared as a dark organic zone with lenses of ash and some charcoal. Numerous buttons, nails, animal bones, and ceramic artifacts were recovered from this layer. In profile, it was evident that Level 2 was situated on top of a mixed, mottled fill (Level 3), and a balk-like intrusion. Builder's trenches were exposed on both sides of this linear balk. As each successive layer of soil was excavated from Trench 1, the lower section of the inner brick foundation was exposed. Additional air vents in both inner and outer walls were also exposed. In Trench 2, the same layers of soil were revealed with a few additional observations (Figure 7-4). Level 1 soil was considerably more compact and contained concentrations of wall plaster rubble. Level 2 soils contained large amounts of faunal material, in addition to coins, buttons, nails, glass, and ceramic

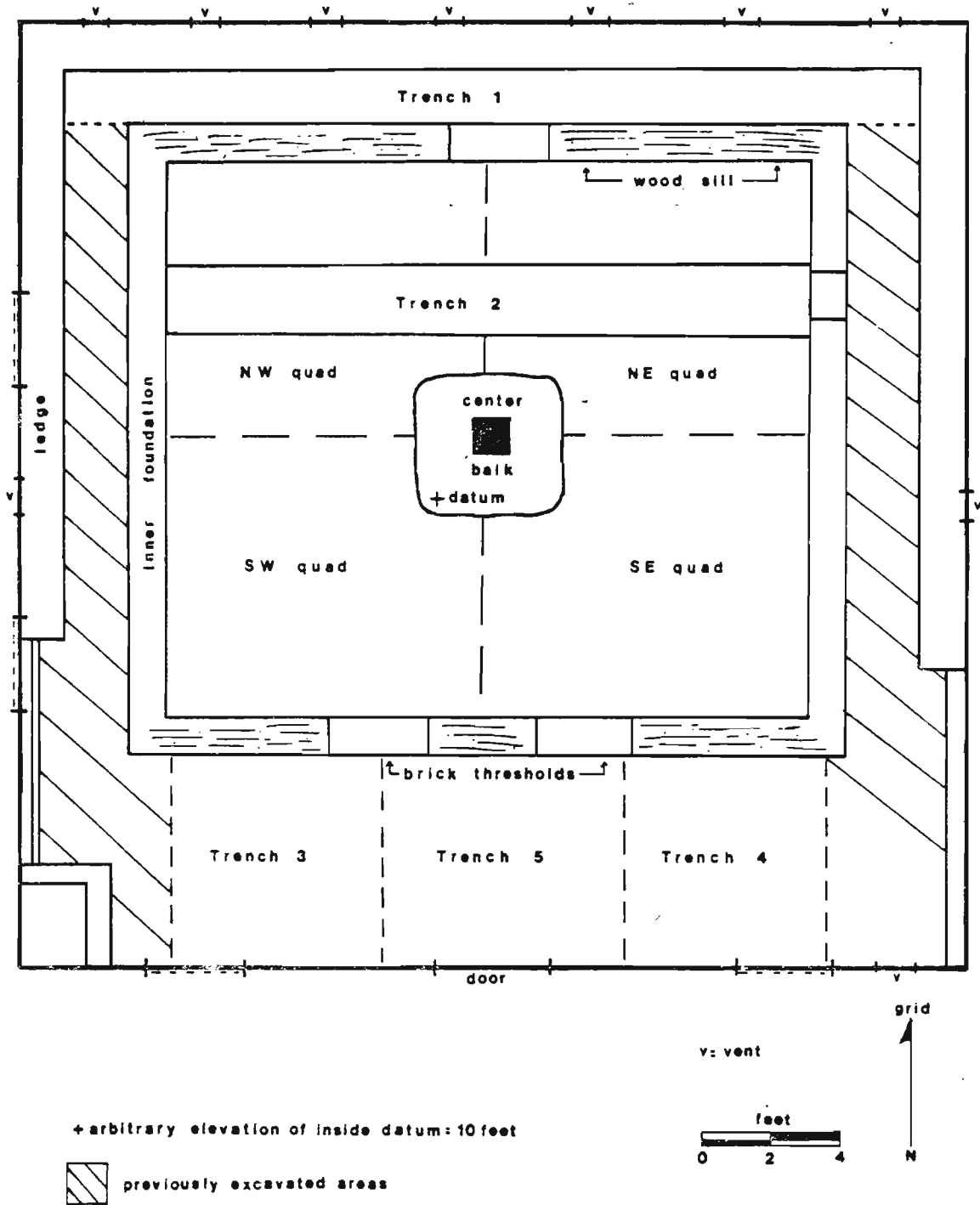


Figure 7-3. Halifax Jail Interior Excavation Units.

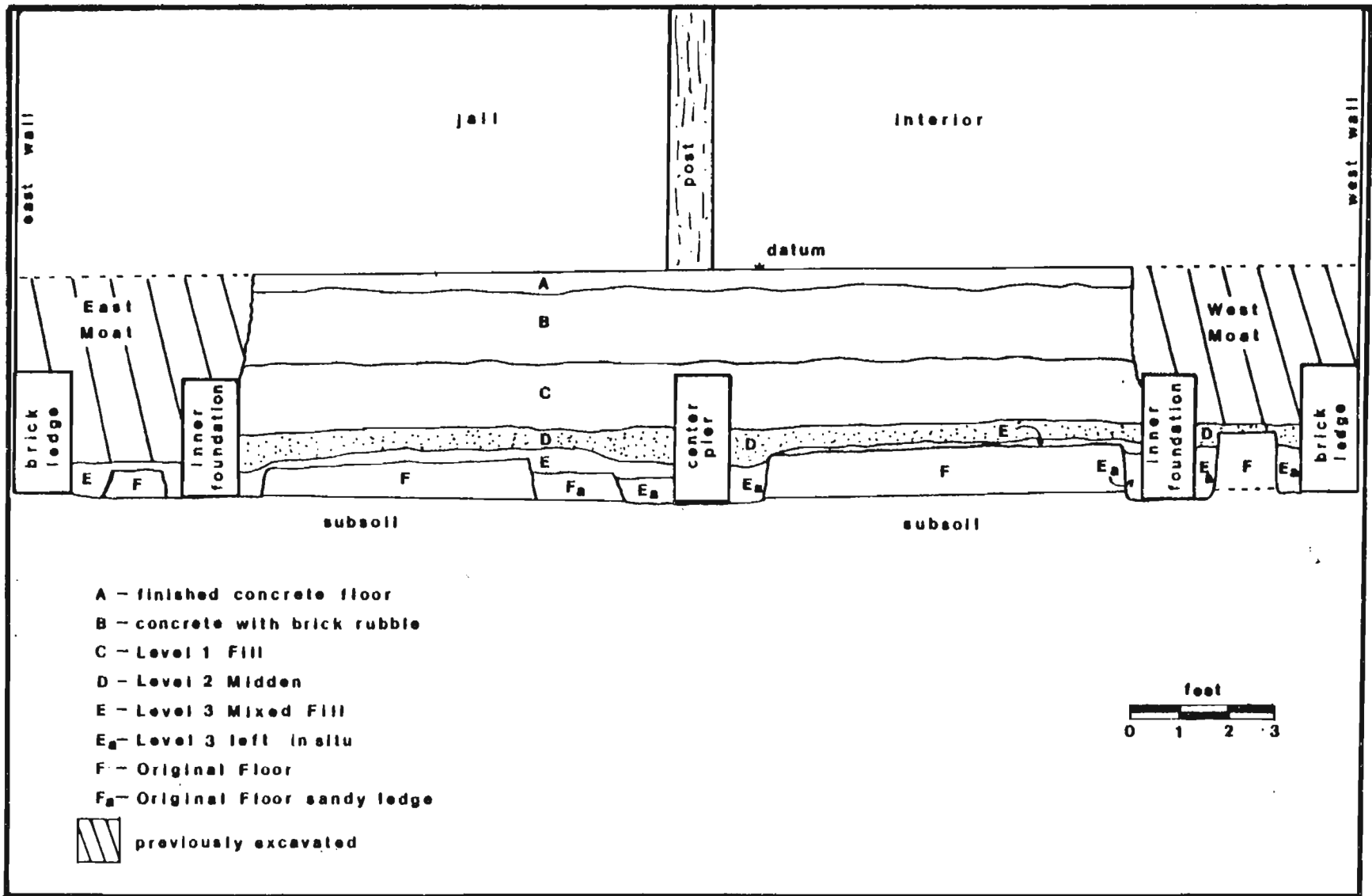


Figure 7-4. Profile of the South Wall of Trench 2 and the East and West "Moats".

fragments. Level 3 in Trench 2 appeared to be heavily disturbed by rodent activities. Below Level 3, a thin grayish-green sand layer was observed above subsoil. This compact floor surface turned out to be the remains of the original 1838 floor. A central brick pier which stood 2 feet in height and 1 foot square also was exposed in the south profile of Trench 2. Builder's trenches were associated with this feature and the inner brick foundation wall.

A third test trench was started at the south end of the jail. Level 1 in this trench was similar to Level 1 soils from Trenches 1 and 2. It was composed of rubble fill with brick fragments, mortar, plaster lenses, and artifacts, and was approximately 1.8 feet thick. Level 2, the midden zone, was thinner in this area and contained more ashy residue. Level 3 was 0.5 to 0.6 feet thick. As Level 3 was removed, a few randomly laid brick were exposed which rested on an even, compact sandy floor. The bricks were not mortared together, but did resemble a loosely laid brick floor surface. The bricks were mapped in situ and photographed. Since none of the brick were articulated, a decision was made to remove them and explore the floor beneath. The removal of the hard, compact sand floor was difficult and yielded only three nondiagnostic artifacts. We noted that all the soil layers in Trench 3 were much drier and harder than the same layers in the other parts of the jail. This was probably the result of baking effects created by many years of fires in the wood stove and chimney located in this corner.

Small stratigraphic test units were excavated in the bottoms of the east and west "moats." Three articulated bricks were uncovered in the northeast corner of the east moat. These brick were laid on edge and appeared to be sitting on top of the subsoil. A corresponding feature of bricks was uncovered in the northwest corner of the west moat. In fact, they appeared to be in alignment and parallel to the north portion of the inner brick foundation.

Two additional trenches were excavated at the south end of the jail; Trench 4 was placed to the east and Trench 5, the last unit to be excavated, was centered in front of the doorway (Figure 7-3). Before removal of Trench 5 soils to expose the inner brick foundation, a decision was made to expose what might be left of the original floor on the inside part of the inner brick foundation.

The inner floor fill was subdivided into four equal quadrants to facilitate excavation and provide horizontal control (Figure 7-3). These quadrants were then subdivided into four equal subquadrants, labelled in a clockwise fashion, A, B, C, and D (Figure 7-5). The removal of Level 1 fill was begun in the northeast and northwest quadrants. Because of the mixed nature of Level 1 fill and the limited time parameters of the project, Level 1 soils were trowel-sorted. A buffer zone of soil 0.2 feet thick was left in place over Level 2 midden soil and later removed by trowelling. The buffer zone was designated the Interface Level. As Level 1 fill was being removed from the northwest and northeast quadrants, a small 1 foot square brick pier was exposed immediately adjacent to the inside of the north wall of the inner brick foundation. The brick pier was not tied into

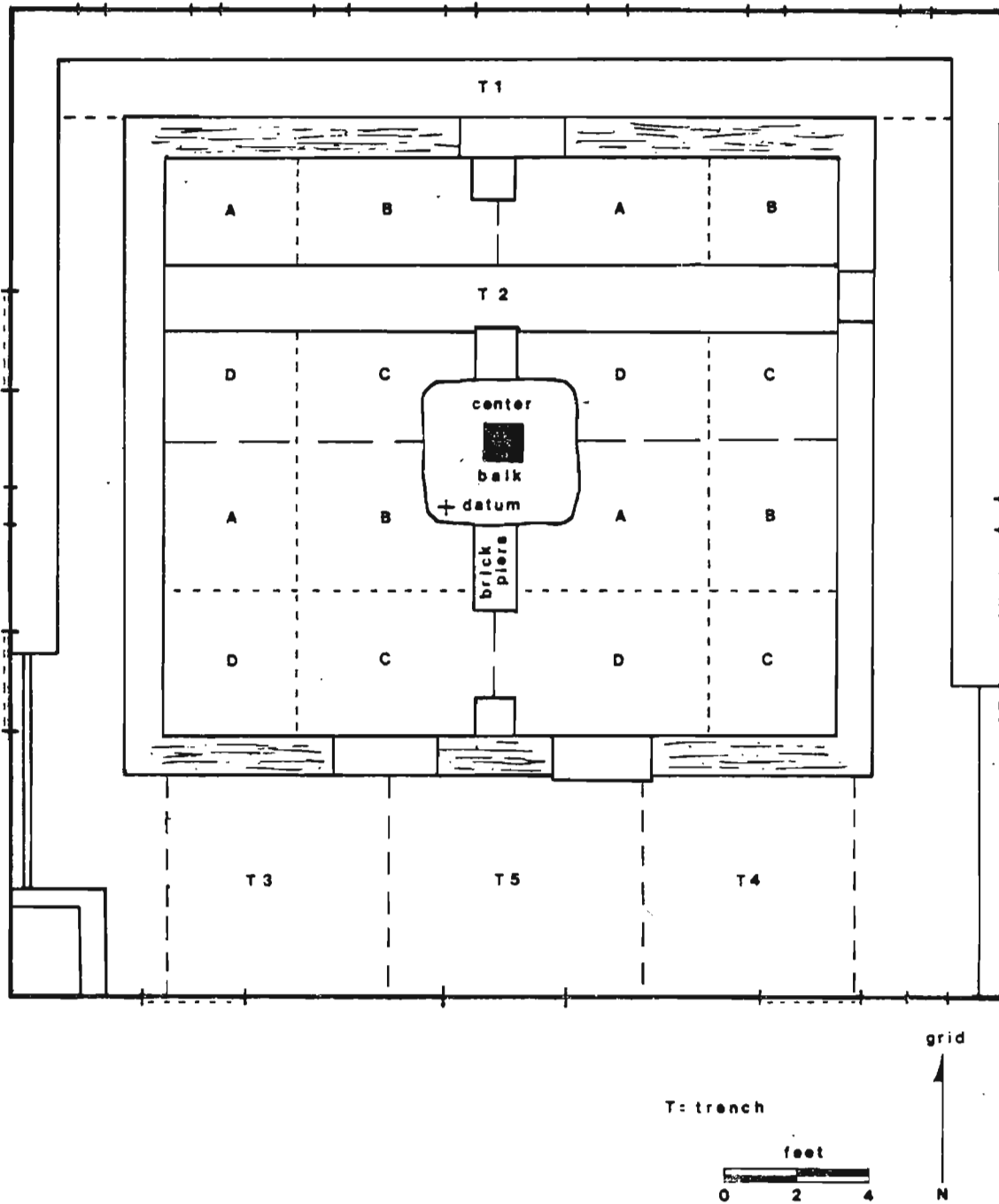


Figure 7-5. Halifax Jail Interior, Excavation Units within the Inner Brick Foundation.

the inner wall but simply abutted it. It proved to be in alignment with the central brick pier exposed in the south profile of Trench 2.

The Interface Level was removed to expose the surface of Level 2 midden in the northern quadrants. All of Level 2 soil was screened and separate collection bags were kept for sorting artifacts by composition--metal, bone, glass, and ceramics. It was observed that large artifacts tended to slump toward the builder's trenches along the foundation walls. Smaller items (buttons, nails, pins, etc.) were scattered across the surface of the midden. Level 2 soil was extremely loose in texture with pockets of ash and coal residue. It was apparent that this soil layer had never been trampled, but represented accumulated trash which had filtered down through a wooden floor. Level 2 contained numerous rodent burrows and many of the faunal elements exhibited gnaw marks. Large iron spikes were encountered on the surface of Level 2. These, in addition to several clusters of disarticulated brick, were mapped in place on the quadrant maps. The spatial distribution of these spikes appeared to be random.

As Level 2 was removed to expose Level 3, more rodent burrows were discovered. This resulted in the mixing of some midden soils into Level 3. Excavation expanded into the southern quadrants. Level 1 was removed in the same method as previously described. The depth of Level 2 midden appeared to be slightly thinner in the southern quadrants. A few datable coins--1861, 1872, and 1888 nickels--were found. Also, sherds of a beaded rim whiteware bowl were found in the midden layer, on top of the builder's trench fill in the north moat and in the east moat fill, which reflects the spatial scattering of certain artifacts within the jail.

Several burned areas were recorded on the surface of Level 3. In addition to the numerous rodent burrows, the surface of Level 3 was very irregular and "lumpy," with pockets of clay, sand, and charred material. The mixed nature of this layer of soil and the uneven surface indicated that Level 3 was not an occupation floor, as it lacked evidence of trampling. One interpretation is that Level 3 represents the spoil dirt removed during the excavation of a builder's trench for the construction of the inner brick foundation dug in 1850-1851. The "lumpy" nature of this layer suggested shovelfuls of dirt were pitched inward to the center as the builder's trench was being dug. At this point in our excavations, it was concluded that if anything remained of the original floor it would be below the layer of mixed clay fill.

As anticipated, removal of Level 3 revealed a hard, compact sandy floor. It was noted that Level 3 soils cleaved away from this hard floor, revealing a clean artifact-free surface. This surface had a thin lens of loose fine-grained sand which may have supported a brick floor in its original condition. The evenness and compactness of the surface and the relative absence of artifacts from it would also support the presence of an original brick floor. This brick floor was probably recycled into the inner brick foundation during the 1850 remodeling. Remnants of original floor extended beyond the inner brick wall on all sides and clearly demonstrated the intrusion.

When Level 3 was completely removed and the original floor on the inner foundation floor area exposed, several observations were made. An east-west trench-like disturbance, measuring 3 feet in width, extended across the floor. Two brick and wood features were exposed beneath the mottled fill removed from this trench. These architectural remnants appeared to be thresholds for cell doors or walkways associated with original floor. Another discontinuity of original floor was observed below Level 3 fill in the northern quadrants. Original floor in this area had been previously removed, probably during renovations prior to the 1850 remodeling, because it extended east and west beyond the inner foundation wall. With the removal of Level 3 fill in the south end of the jail, archaeological excavation in the 1838 jail was concluded. A 4 by 4 foot balk remained in the center of the jail, supporting the center post and reflecting the interior stratigraphy (Figure 7-6).

FEATURE SUMMARY

A total of 24 archaeological features were discovered--23 on the interior and one on the exterior (Figure 7-7). Features 1 and 2 represented the remains of two wooden sills, each measuring 20 feet in length by 0.8 foot in width. Notches for floor joists and vertical posts were noted. Brick thresholds interrupted the oak sills, with two on the south and one on the northern sill. Small 1-inch diameter holes were observed in the south sill, and were probably for iron bar supports. Mortise and tenon joints were noted at the ends and in the center of the south sill. Again, no evidence remained of the east or west sills.

Feature 3, originally thought to be an intact balk, later proved to be the remains of original floor which extended into the north and east moats. Features 4, 6, and 20 were builder's trenches associated with the inner and outer foundation walls. Features 8 and 14 were identified as postmolds. Feature 9 was identified as a recent intrusion, specifically South and Reifsynder's test unit from 1968. Features 11, 17, and 21 collectively represent an intrusion of original floor prior to the 1850 remodeling episode. It was suggested that this disturbance may represent a previous attempt to elevate the floor and/or to provide ventilation under a floor surface. Features 13, 15, and 22 are the remains of architectural elements along the east-west walkway and are associated with the original floor. Feature 18 was an intrusive water pipe (1-inch diameter) that was installed in 1891. Feature 19 was a burned area visible below Level 3. An abundance of nails and burned ceramics and glass were recovered from this feature. Feature 19 may represent a burned or collapsed stairway or partition. Feature 23, adjacent to Feature 19, also appears to be a walkway associated with the original floor, and may have served as a base for the stairway. Finally, Feature 24 was located south of the jail in the front yard, and was identified as a water pump pad installed in 1896.

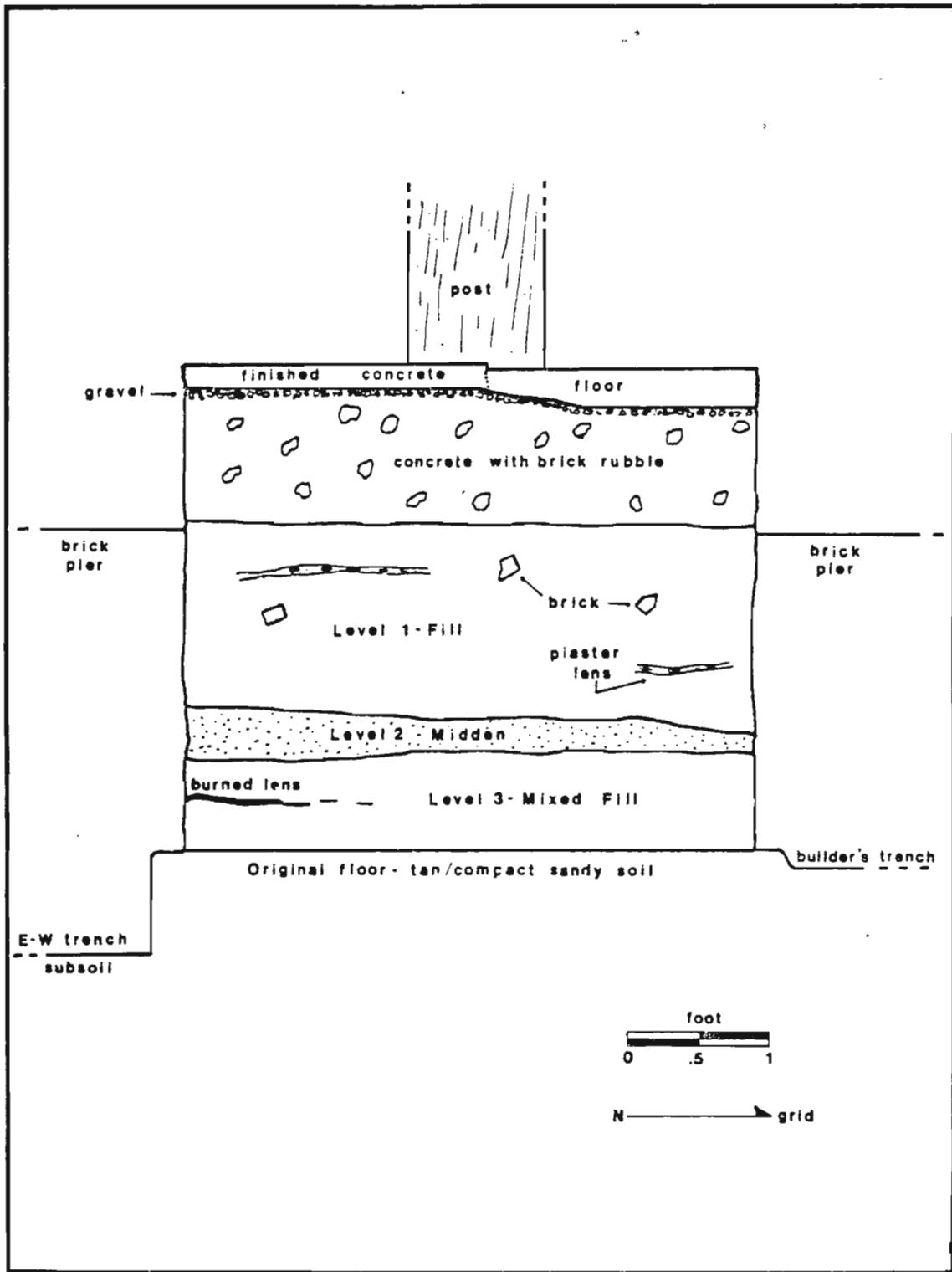


Figure 7-6. Halifax Jail Interior, East Profile of Center Balk.

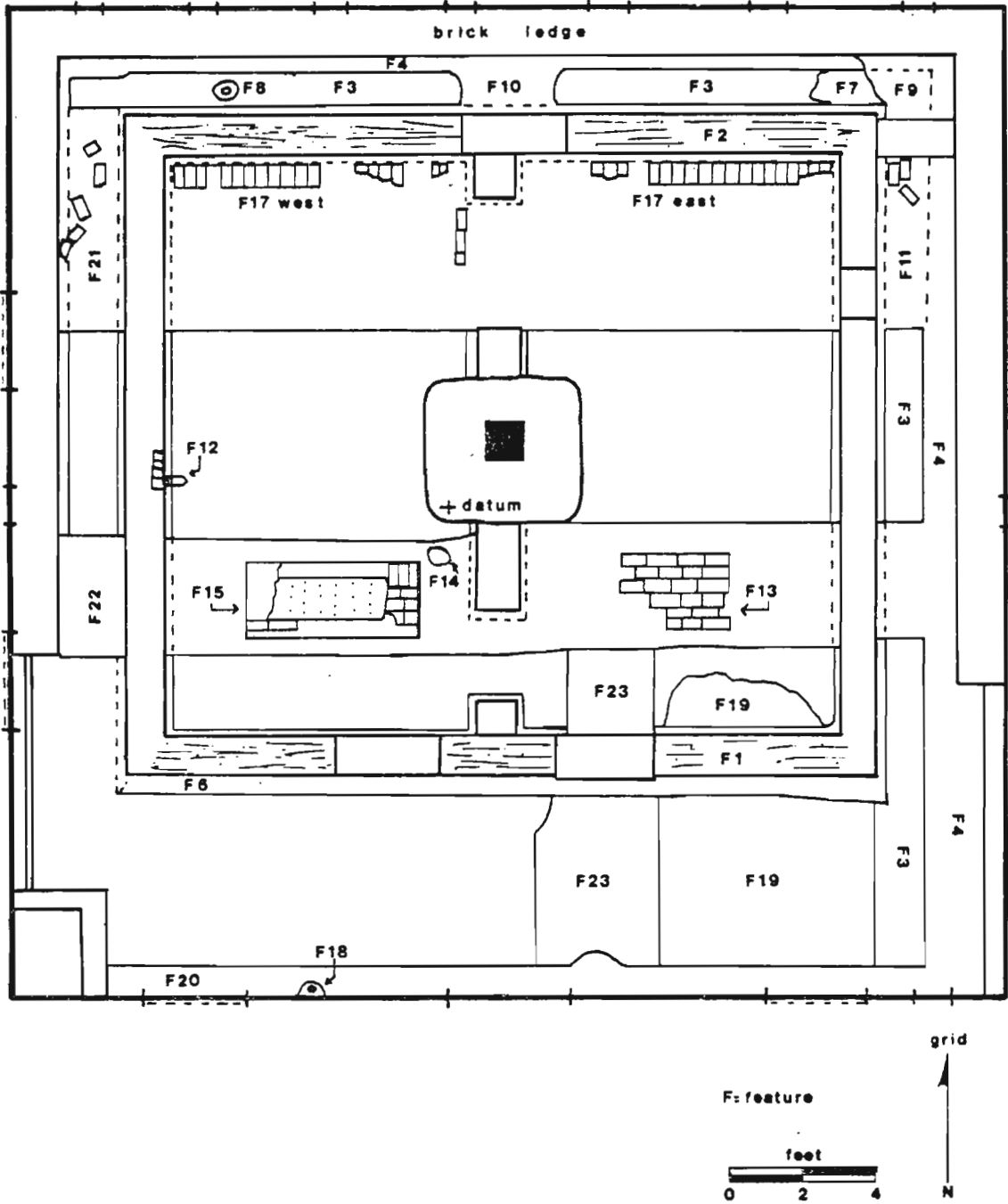


Figure 7-7. Halifax Jail Interior, Horizontal Location of Features.

ARTIFACT SUMMARY

A total of 57,948 individual artifacts were recovered from the excavation of the jail, in addition to soil samples, plaster samples, mortar samples, egg shell fragments, and unquantified fish bone. South's (1977) classification scheme for historic artifacts was employed. All artifacts were cleaned, identified, and cataloged. Because Level 1 artifacts were intrusive into the jail, no analysis of these materials was conducted. Level 2 artifacts represented the most archaeologically significant group and were partially analyzed. A brief summary of that analysis is presented here. Additional, in-depth studies of this artifact assemblage will be the focus of future studies.

In summary, 17,309 artifacts were recovered from Level 2. Biological artifacts (faunal remains) were the largest subgroup comprising 50.8% of the total, followed by Architectural artifacts at 23.7%, Kitchen at 15.7%, and all other groups combined comprising 9.8%. A general increase in artifacts was noted toward the northern quadrants with the southwest quadrant containing the least. A few notable artifacts were handcuffs, military buttons, a Spanish Real and datable U.S. coins from 1842 to 1888, whole bottles (medicinal and alcoholic), locks, bullets, chain links, files, rasps, saw blades, scissors, straight pins, jewelry, and numerous reconstructable ceramic vessels. The iron spikes previously mentioned were unusually shaped, with round upper shanks, and a chisel point. The tip and size was suitable for fastening metal to wood, and it is suggested that these spikes were used to anchor the iron cage to the wooden sills. In 1896, when the iron cage and the wooden floor were removed in preparation for the concrete floor, these pieces of hardware were pitched into the center of the structure (actually the exposed midden surface). The iron spikes were then sealed in context as Level 1 fill was hauled in and deposited on top of Level 2.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING COMMENTS

As a review, the direct purpose of this archaeological investigation was to recover architectural information and archaeological materials from excavation of the 1838 jail in order to provide an accurate framework for historical interpretation and reconstruction of the interior. Two previous occupation floors (1838 and 1850), located beneath the concrete, were revealed in addition to three distinct stratigraphic zones. Archaeological investigations exposed 24 architectural features and over 57,000 artifacts were recovered. A brief discussion regarding the hypothesized cell arrangements based on archaeological information and complementary historical documentation, is provided.

Figure 7-8 suggests the cell arrangement for the 1838 occupation floor. Because the original floor was somewhat lower, stairs were required to enter the front door and step down to a brick covered floor. The jailor's corridor would have been closest to the fireplace

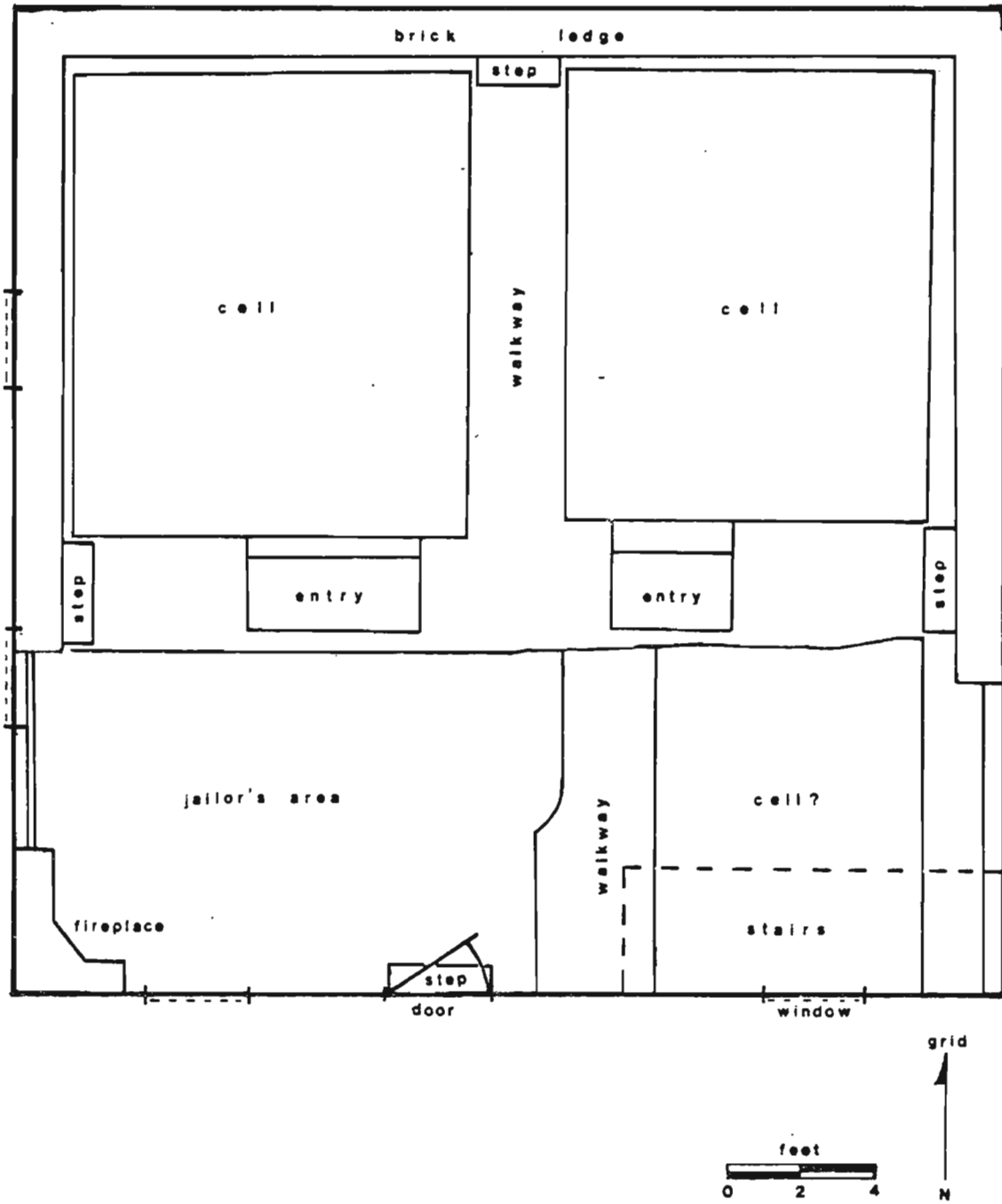


Figure 7-8. Hypothesized Arrangement of Cells for the 1838-1851 Halifax Jail.

in the left corner. A wooden stairway was located behind the front door, to the right. A small room may have been located underneath the stairs. The east-west walkway connected the brick ledge on each side of the jail outer wall. This brick ledge was approximately 1.5 feet wide and extended around three-quarters of the jail perimeter. Another walkway, perpendicular to the first, may have extended north-south. These two walkways and the ledge may have served as insulators, separating the two large cells from each other and the outside walls. It is not known if metal bars or wooden planking was used to partition the cells.

Figure 7-9 illustrates the hypothesized cell arrangement for the "elevated" floor constructed in the early 1850s. During excavations, it was observed that heavy and prolonged rains caused considerable flooding of the jail interior. The north "moat," the east "moat," and especially the northeast corner of the inner floor area contained standing water several inches deep. Several days were required for the water to dissipate and the bricks never completely dried out. It was not surprising that numerous jail inspectors in the past reported unsanitary, rotten, and filthy conditions in the jail. It must also have been the prime reason for the 1848 court proposal to remodel the interior. Following this, an inner brick foundation was constructed to support an elevated wooden occupation floor. The top of the foundation was equipped with large oak sills which supported the horizontal floor joists for a plank floor, the square iron cage, and the wooden walkway around the cage. The central support post may also have provided anchor for a wall partition in the front. Three cells are suggested by the thresholds; two small cells in the front, each 8 by 9 feet, and one large cell in the rear, 8 by 18.5 feet. The top of the cage was probably sealed with sheet metal. Again the perimeter walkway kept the prisoners from contact with the outer walls. Air vents, present in the exterior walls and in the inner brick foundation, helped to keep dry air circulating under the floors of the walkways and cells, but also permitted easy access for rodents and other vermin. The stairway was located to the right, behind the front door. Historical documentation suggested that white females, or all females, occupied the southwest cell, all white males occupied the southeast cell, and all black male prisoners were confined in the rear cell. Further analysis of Level 2 artifacts and historical research may help verify or rectify the above reconstruction of prison population segregation.

Excavations at the 1838 Halifax County Jail provided archaeologists, restorationists, and historians with valuable information regarding architecture and early lifeways associated with nineteenth century jails in eastern North Carolina. It is hoped that this project has generated a renewed awareness for the historical interpreters and archaeological researchers interested in all aspects of cultural behaviors.

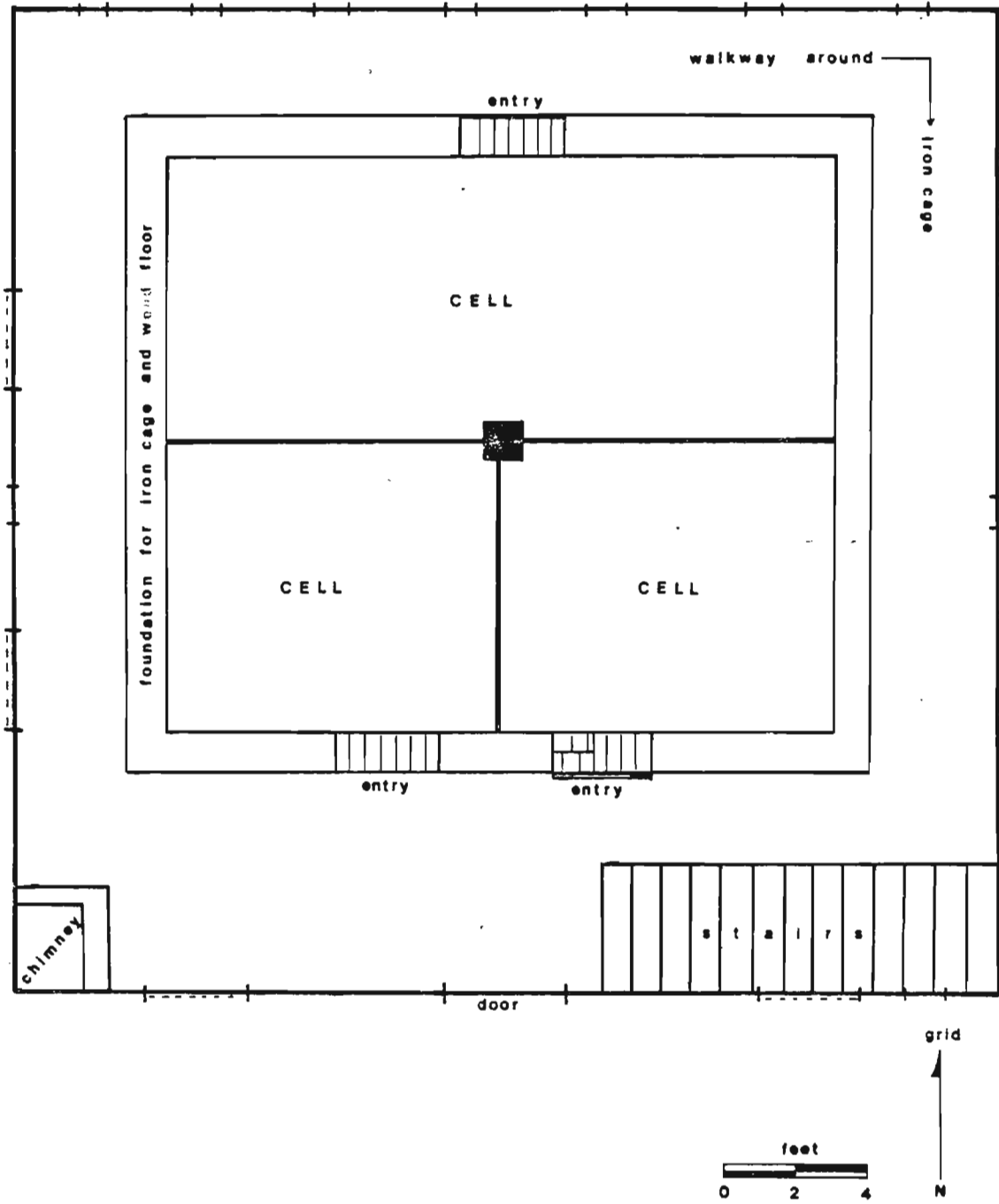


Figure 7-9. Hypothesized Cell Arrangement for the 1851-1896 Halifax Jail.

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CHAPTER VIII

STRATIFICATION IN SOUTH CAROLINIAN AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY IN 1900

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An examination of records from the Twelfth Census of the United States conducted in 1900 reveals that South Carolina's rural agriculturalists were engaged in a variety of occupational tasks. The options available and choices made do not appear to have simply been based on race or economic standing. The results of this brief study indicate that historical archaeologists should consider a number of pertinent variables when attempting to assign socioeconomic status to the past inhabitants of rural sites.

INTRODUCTION

While browsing through the prevailing literature on Postbellum agricultural society, one is given the impression of a highly formalized, rigidly stratified society (eg. McDonald and McWhiney 1975:148-155; Phillips 1936; Soloutos 1960: Chapter 1). This static portrayal has been accepted by many researchers investigating specific topics (eg. Populism) connected to Southern agriculturalists of the late nineteenth century (eg. Adams 1980; McMath 1975:35; Price and Price 1981). A simplistic, formalized picture of social stratification is not conducive to research involving historical and/or lateral depth.

Anthropologists interested in questions involving method and theory in ethnography (Bordieu 1979; Geertz 1973) have shown that social structures are both complex and multiplex. They believe that researchers who prefer more synchronic depictions of social structure should include rich content while generalizing-abstracting within and outside of the context. Researchers should realize that a culture is constantly undergoing the process of redefinition. This arises from the derivation of a perceived "culture" from a constant negotiation between its members. These social interactions occur at and between members from all levels of society (Bordieu 1979:2, 26; Crumley 1984: 25-26; Geertz 1973:24-25). Further, individual members of a society are constantly innovating and manipulating -- making choices -- and usually within an accepted, negotiated range of options (Bennett 1969:11-15; Bordieu 1979:11-15).

The scope of this paper has been limited to a discussion of variation in the social structure of agriculturists in South Carolina in 1900. Previous researchers have often described a stratified society simply correlated along lines of race. Evidence indicates

that most of these agriculturists had a wider range of options and alternatives than usually depicted. Research results demonstrate that alternatives as to acreage, types of occupation and types of residency were considered. It will be suggested that these options were determined acceptable due to the interplay of interrelated factors. These factors include economics, regional location, and past traditions.

An accurate portrayal of the choices open to agriculturalists in South Carolina is important. In 1890, 37.7% of the workforce over age ten was engaged in agricultural pursuits throughout the United States. Agriculturalists in South Carolina comprised 74.1% of the state's workforce, increasing to 74.5% by 1900 (U.S. Department of Commerce 1902: Table LXXVII, cxxxvi; 1904:382-383). Actual numbers of farm-related laborers may have been even higher, as census data regarding women's work appears skewed. Women's farm labor was probably not perceived as an official occupation by the majority of census takers and heads of households.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

As mentioned, many scholars investigating late nineteenth century rural workers describe them as members of a rigid hierarchy built upon a structure of economic obligations. They present this system as occurring from sometime soon after the Civil War through at least World War I. It has been described as follows:

- 1) Landowners
- 2) Yeoman farmers (predominately white)
- 3) Sharecropping tenants (predominately black)
- 4) Furnishing merchants (predominately white)
- 5) Poor white "trash" ("hillbillies", "crackers")

(For examples, see the discussions in Saloutos 1960, especially pages 1-5 and the subsequent review by Hesselstine 1961; Phillips 1936:339-353, 354-366; Clark 1946:24-44; McDonald and McWhiney 1975:148-155; McMath 1975:35; Sutch and Ransom 1977:44-55).

The impression given is that all farmers grew cotton, through personal choice or fiat of powerful landlords and shopkeepers. White landlords rented lands to blacks for half the crop (share tenants) or for cash rent (cash tenants). Tenants received tools, seeds and rations directly from their landlord or through the local furnishing merchant. The white merchant would keep a running account of all items purchased. Items purchased with cash cost much less than those bought on credit. Furnishing merchants did use a secret code to mark retail, cash and credit prices on merchandise (Clark 1946:28). At the end of the year's harvest, merchants would purchase the local cotton crop, even if at a slight loss in terms of resale value (Clark 1946:38, 24). They would sell the cotton to their broker contracts. Accounts would be balanced as to monies due or owed by merchants. Farmers could pay off their debts in labor or through deeding property to the storekeeper (Clark 1946:22-44).

Furnishing merchants developed as a response to the general lack of rural banking facilities for small farmers. They also helped to sell the cotton harvests. Farmers found it hard to sell their own crops in many regions of South Carolina due to limited access to the railroads. Also, rail freight charges were often prohibitive (Clark 1946:30-35; Sutch and Ransom 1977:41). Rural banks were usually small, private affairs that only provided financing to merchants and large landowners. Urban banks, such as those in Charleston, dealt in non-agricultural loans only (Sutch and Ransom 1977:110-116). Furnishing merchants filled the credit vacuum for many small farmers, owners and tenants alike by allowing credit or "crop liens" on the next year's crop.

The system of credit used by small storekeepers was similar to that of the Antebellum landowner and urban cotton factor, but on a much smaller, regional scale (Clark 1946:25; Sutch and Ransom 1977:106-109; Tang 1958:39-40). Furnishing merchants were underwritten by many industries, especially wholesale merchants. According to Clark (1946:25) "they served as a direct local contact man for the big wholesale mercantile houses, the fertilizer manufacturers, the meat packer, and the grain, feed and cotton speculators." Wholesalers would supply southern rural shopkeepers with their poorer quality goods on good credit terms. They also served to connect merchants with national banks through credit notes (Clark 1946:25, 27).

The picture painted above does describe a certain economic system used in some areas of the cotton south. It's racial overtones are perhaps exaggerated due to the antecedents of the system and its connection to Emancipation.

Postbellum farmers are usually divided into three basic types. These are as follows: landowners, tenants, and wage earners. Wage earners can be divided into managers, full-time laborers, and migratory or temporary laborers hired on at harvest time. As mentioned, tenants can be divided into those who paid cash rents and those who paid in portions of their crops.

This division became formalized after Reconstruction. During Reconstruction, agricultural land reform was called for but never became an actuality. There was no Congressional approval for the land reform aims of the Freedmen's Bureau and thus few opportunities for freedmen to own land (Berlin 1974:394-395). Freedmen who wished to farm had to either cash rent, sharecrop, or hire out their labors (Rose 1982:88). According to Rose (1982:102, 109):

The major aspiration of all aspirations was to own land, and that failing, to rent it. This was how a farmer understood getting a living, and the freedman had learned that much and more as a slave. He understood the sources of Master's economic and social power, and immediately asked for land.

Freedmen who could not purchase land preferred to rent, for cash, and less often, for a share of the crop. The least desirable alternative

was to be a wage laborer. This was because the "cropper could be less easily mastered than the employee" (Rose 1982:83).

This was part of a general trend in late nineteenth century America where individuals were trying to gain more control over transforming lifeways (Wiebie 1967). Previous planters wished to regain control over their labor force and their lands. They preferred hiring wage laborers first, then sharecroppers, then cash renters. They needed capital to be able to pay wages, and often had to settle for a tenant arrangement. Apparently, both planters and freedmen agreed on possible alternatives of land use/residency, albeit ranked the opposite in terms of preferences (Rose 1982:83; Wiebie 1967:15). Sharecropping was once again instituted in the South (see Morgan 1975:93-98, 220-225), as a compromise between freedmens' and planters' desires for control over the structure and tempo of their lives.

Landowners with capital increased their control over their wage earners throughout the Postbellum period through legally sanctioned servitude. Beginning with the Black Codes and later extending to all agricultural laborers, wage earners were forced by laws to hire out their services. Further, landowners were not allowed to hire away another's laborers (Cohen 1976). These laws were later extended to tenants. The late nineteenth century saw the planters continuous and successful attempt to regain control over all of their laborers. Tenancy laws were developed and passed that gave more and more rights to landlords and fewer to renters. According to Kern (1982:63):

Over time, the law circumscribed the rights of rental tenants while expanding the power of lien holders to repossess personal property for debt. Indeed, the law increasingly defined relationships between landholders and croppers as a kind of wage labor reducing tenants to wage earners.

SOUTH CAROLINA AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY, CIRCA 1900

From the above discussion, one can see why many connect the standard social stratification (five-tiered hierarchy) with race. But turning to South Carolina census data from 1900, one can see that the distribution of landownership and labor was not necessarily based upon race. Twentieth century assumptions about the abilities of the freedmen to eventually own land are not born out by the information contained in Table 8-1.

Examining the gross categories used by census takers, one first realizes that three additional categories have been added to the structure: "part-owners, owners and tenants, and managers". Census enumerators do not officially explain these categories. Fortunately, they are self-explanatory and demonstrate that the social structure was "deeper" or more varied than was previously supposed.

In a comparison of blacks and whites per category in Table 8-1, white owners comprise 53.06% compared to 18.15% black owners. White

Table 8-1. Frequency of Black and White Farm Tenants, Managers, and Owners in South Carolina in 1900*.

	WHITE		BLACK	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Owners	37,120	53.06	15,503	18.15
Part-owners	2,934	4.19	3,376	3.95
Owners and Tenants	393	0.56	91	0.11
Managers	874	1.25	180	0.21
Cash Tenants	14,612	20.98	42,434	49.69
Share Tenants	14,021	20.04	23,817	27.89
TOTAL	69,954	100.0	85,401	100.0

*—From the Twelfth Census of the United States, Vol. V, 1902, Table 10, pages 118-119.

tenants are about evenly divided between cash (20.98%) and cropping (20.04%), while black tenants are more heavily weighted toward cash (49.69%) than toward cropping (27.89%). It appears that black preferences for landownership and a preference for cash rentals over sharecropping are supported from the data in Table 8-1. Also supported is the contention that both blacks and whites can be found under various systems of residency in the state. No single system of residency was exclusively based upon race. This is not to completely discount the factor of race, but to demonstrate that there was not a simple one-to-one correspondence between residency type and race.

Table 8-2 is included as a further test. The frequencies of blacks and whites within each category supports the discussion above. More black agriculturalists in Berkeley County were able to own land (45.60%)

Table 8-2. Frequency of Black and White Farm Owners, Managers, and Tenants, Berkeley County, South Carolina in 1900*.

	WHITE		BLACK	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Owners	657	69.60	1,298	45.60
Part-Owners	77	8.20	256	8.99
Owners and Tenants	3	0.32	5	0.18
Managers	10	1.06	9	0.32
Cash Tenants	175	18.54	1,142	40.78
Share Tenants	22	2.30	136	4.78
TOTAL	944	100.0	2,846	100.0

*—From the Twelfth Census of the United States, Vol. V, 1902, Table 10, pages 118-119.

than the state's average (18.15%). I suspect that regional differences in access to land, markets, and types of produce may play a significant role in explaining these percentage differences (Tang 1958). Table 8-3 is a compilation combining black and white averages. Agriculturists at the level of Berkeley County appear to have had a better chance at owning their own lands. Also, sharecropping was perhaps perceived as a less viable alternative, as there are only 4.2% share tenants as opposed to the state average of 24.3%.

Table 8-3. Frequency of All Owners, Managers, and Tenants, South Carolina and Berkeley County, South Carolina in 1900*.

	SOUTH CAROLINA		BERKELEY COUNTY	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Owners	52,623	33.90	1,955	51.60
Part-Owners	6,310	4.10	333	8.80
Owners and Tenants	484	0.30	8	0.20
Managers	1,054	0.70	19	0.50
Cash Tenants	57,046	36.70	1,317	34.70
Share Tenants	37,838	24.30	158	4.20
TOTAL	155,355	100.0	3,790	100.0

*—From the Twelfth Census of the United States, Vol. V, 1902, Table 10, pages 118-119.

Prior to an examination of land use patterns, types of occupations should be explored. Table 8-4 presents the frequencies per categories of occupations for all males over the age of ten involved in agricultural pursuits. Census takers differentiate at least 19 occupations. To name a few, there were farmers, milk farmers, gardeners, florists, and concomittant laborers in 1900. There were also herdsmen, drovers², and wood choppers. These are just the broad categories recognized by the United States government at that time. They are also based solely on principle type of occupation. An agricultural worker was probably engaged in many different types of occupations connected to agriculture. For instance, a farmer may have occasionally chopped wood for a store owner (Clark 1946), or his wife may have sold farm products such as eggs and butter on the side. The percentages listed in Table 8-4 do indicate that most workers' primary occupation was connected to farming.

The census data on total U.S. agricultural occupations does suggest that stratifying the social system solely as "worthless" poor whites, farmers, and merchants is too simplistic. An examination of occupation types at the state level, Table 8-5, demonstrates that only six general categories of occupations were listed, and laborers were lumped regardless of type of labor. Overall laborers comprise 54.54% of the black males, but only 36.60% of the whites. Whites are also more represented, in both the second and last categories, than the blacks. The "coloreds" are Indian and Asiatics, and number only 22.

Table 8-4. Frequency of U.S. Males Age Ten and Over Engaged in Agricultural Occupations in 1900*.

	Number	Percentage
Owners and Renters		
Farmers, Planters	5,197,653	50.50
Farmers (Family Members)	154,341	1.50
Milk Farmers	4,956	0.05
Gardeners	35,981	0.35
Florists, Nurserymen, and Vine Growers	15,711	0.15
Fruit Growers	7,864	0.08
Overseers (Farms and Plantations)	16,517	0.16
Laborers		
Farms, Plantations	1,825,061	17.73
Farms, (Family Members)	11,925,247	18.70
Gardens and Nurserys	43,247	0.42
Dairy	10,035	0.09
Stock Raising		
Stock Raisers	36,628	0.36
Herders and Drovers	46,894	0.46
Miscellaneous		
Lumbermen and Raftmen	72,090	0.70
Turpentine	24,450	0.24
Woodchoppers	36,152	0.35
Apiarists	1,324	0.01
Not Specified	4,037	0.04
Professional Service	833,362	8.10
TOTAL	10,291,536	100.0

* —From the Twelfth Census of the United States, Special Reports, 1904, Table 1, page 7.

Table 8-5. Frequency of South Carolina Males Over Age Ten Engaged in Agricultural Pursuits by Occupations in 1900*.

	WHITE		BLACK		OTHER		TOTAL	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Laborers	40,489	36.66	95,352	54.54	7	31.80	135,848	47.62
Farmers, Planters, & Overseers	63,982	57.92	75,752	43.33	15	68.20	139,749	48.98
Gardeners, Florists, & Nurserys	56	0.05	101	0.06	-	-	157	0.05
Lumbermen, & Raftsmen	303	0.27	267	0.15	-	-	570	0.20
Turpentine	347	0.31	1,099	0.63	-	-	1,446	0.51
Woodchoppers	73	0.07	614	0.35	-	-	687	0.24
Professional Service	5,209	4.72	1,627	0.93	-	-	6,836	2.40
TOTAL	110,459	100.0	174,812	100.0	22	100.0	285,293	100.0

*—From Twelfth Census of the United States, Special Reports, 1904, Table 41, pages 382-383.

As with residency type, race is implied as a factor to take into account, but not exclusive in terms of categories of occupations.

By only listing principle types of occupations, census takers have clouded the picture of types. Recall that in Table 8-4, farmers and dairy farmers were listed in separate categories. In 1900 in South Carolina, 81,483 farmers reported a total of \$3,232,725 in dairy products, but dairy farms are not listed in Table 8-5 (U.S. Department of Commerce 1902:618). Apiriasts (bee keepers) are not listed either, but South Carolina produced 872,590 pounds of honey and 37,500 pounds of wax in 1899 (U.S. Department of Commerce 1902:662). These figures suggest that census enumerators have overshadowed the diversification in agricultural occupations at the state level as well as the national (county and parrish data is missing from the compiled census of 1900). This is due to their generalizing by using the criteria of principle type of occupation.

Males and females who wished to earn an income from agriculture in South Carolina in 1900 had to choose one occupation on which to concentrate their efforts. Again, this does not mean that they exclusively stayed in that field. Primary occupation should be interpreted as the most common task performed over the past year. Turn-of-the-century farmers, for instance, had to be capable of performing many diverse tasks (Abernathy et al. 1983; George Stine, personal communication 1984).

What were some of the options open to farmers? Whites' and "coloreds'" (this time including blacks) incomes do not seem to have been proscribed by race. Table 8-6 depicts comparative frequencies.

Table 8-6. White and Colored Farms Compared by Value of Products Not Fed to Livestock in 1900*.

Value in \$	WHITES		COLORED	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
0	411	0.59	460	0.54
1-49	2,134	3.05	8,444	9.89
50-99	3,642	5.21	11,863	13.90
100-249	17,357	24.81	30,747	36.00
250-499	24,273	34.70	25,667	30.05
500-999	15,059	21.53	7,171	8.40
1000-2499	5,774	8.25	995	1.16
2500+	1,304	1.86	54	0.06
TOTAL	69,954	100.0	85,401	100.0

*—From the Twelfth Census of the United States 1902, Table 4, page 42.

Again, one finds the occurrence of both "races" in all categories. Whites, however, do seem to be weighted slightly more towards the higher end of the continuum from poor to well-off. Evidence from this table does indicate that most farmers were making choices that effected incomes acceptably.

One important option a farmer had to consider was what type of residency arrangement would give back an acceptable return? Table 8-7 lists frequencies per residency type in relationship to per year dollar value of products not fed to livestock. Once again one can see that most incomes fall within a middle range across the board.

Table 8-7. Value of Products Not Fed to Livestock by Types of Residency in South Carolina in 1900*.

Value in \$	Percentage					
	Owners	Part-Owners	Owners and Tenants	Managers	Cash Tenants	Share Tenants
0	0.34	0.27	1.03	0.85	0.63	0.80
1-49	5.19	4.44	3.51	1.89	10.20	4.52
50-99	8.70	11.95	4.75	2.66	13.45	6.48
100-249	24.89	33.49	21.28	12.80	33.31	36.09
250-499	29.68	29.54	35.54	21.73	29.84	39.72
500-999	21.03	14.63	22.52	22.49	10.17	10.82
1000-2499	8.48	4.63	10.33	20.40	2.09	1.46
2500+	1.70	1.06	1.03	17.17	0.30	0.10
TOTALS						
Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	52,623	6,310	484	1,054	57,046	37,838

*—From the Twelfth Census of the United States 1902, Table 4, page 43.

Managers seem to have performed the best, with cash tenants clearing the least dollar values. It appears that on the average, residency type did not affect the productivity on a South Carolinian's farm. Residency choice would probably be made in terms of availability of types and in consideration of final returns. Although all types seem about equally profitable, one should remember that tenants had to pay out additional crops or monies in rent. Also, managers often would receive a salary for their labors. Considerations of profits as opposed to independence would also have been discussed by farm families.

Table 8-8 was compiled to see if there was a correlation between farm size and income. There does appear to be a general correlation between acreage and value at year's end of products not fed to

Table 8-8. Comparison of Acres to Value of Products Not Fed to Livestock in South Carolina in 1900*.

Value in \$	Acres by Percentage									
	1-3	3-9	10-19	20-49	50-99	100-174	175-259	260-499	500-999	1000+
0	0.08	1.40	0.97	0.54	0.32	0.30	0.15	0.35	0.39	0.79
1-49	65.63	35.60	11.65	3.44	2.05	1.52	1.04	0.77	0.77	0.59
50-99	20.45	37.23	25.49	6.30	4.22	2.80	2.30	1.61	1.82	1.78
100-249	12.24	22.80	51.27	40.50	24.97	18.79	13.70	10.52	7.70	6.34
250-499	1.26	2.70	9.80	41.76	42.91	37.95	30.04	23.92	17.67	11.29
500-999	0.17	0.30	0.65	7.14	22.07	29.47	34.40	32.36	27.40	17.03
1000-2499	0.17	0.04	0.11	0.32	3.35	8.61	16.60	24.43	30.12	27.43
2500+	-	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.08	0.54	1.74	6.04	14.13	34.75
TOTALS										
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*—From the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1902, Table 4, page 42.

livestock. Enumerators, however, do not explain what are counted as products not fed to livestock. There is a tendency for profits to decrease as size decreases, and increase as size increases. Also apparent is that no matter the acreage, most farmers achieved amounts in the middle ranges. What is also apparent is that the highest category of acreage was 20-49, with most making a potential \$100-\$499 per year. This suggests that a broader range of stratification may have been present, based on the acreage (albeit actual averages tended to cluster).

Unfortunately, the census lacks information correlating acreage and actual range of products. Besides acquiring acreage to put into production, farmers had to decide whether to diversify, how much to diversify, and basically what to grow. Table 8-9 lists farms by frequencies of products. This was also derived from census data, and must be considered as representing solely the highest or principle source of income producer.

Table 8-9. Principle Source of Income, Farms 1900*.

Farm Type	Number	Percentage
Hay and Grain	9,549	6.20
Vegetables	2,332	1.50
Fruits	189	0.12
Livestock	3,376	2.20
Dairy Products	442	0.28
Tobacco	1,953	1.26
Cotton	112,822	72.62
Rice	1,206	0.77
Sugar	19	0.01
Flowers and Plants	4	0.003
Nurserys	3	0.002
Miscellaneous	23,460	15.10
TOTAL	155,355	100.0

*—From the Twelfth Census of the United States, Vol. V, 1902, Table 4, pages 42-43.

In Table 8-9, eleven categories are listed, plus a catch-all twelfth. The 72.62% cotton production is immediately noticeable. One has to ask why cotton was the principle source of income for so many farmers.

Surprisingly, Table 8-10 indicates that cotton was not the most economical product for a farmer to concentrate resources on. Evidence in Table 8-10 indicates that the empirical choice in 1900 would have been tobacco or dairy production. Hay and grain growing, and vegetables production appear to have been bad bets, but much of this produce may have been fed to livestock. The average value range was broad, from \$1.00-\$500.00 per year for most farmers. Cotton production does not seem to have been empirically more profitable than many categories.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

One may well ask what other factors may have been affecting the choice of principle source of income on farms in South Carolina. Regional studies of agriculture in South Carolina results suggest that regional differential access to markets and urban centers may be an important factor to consider.

Recent investigations by Trinkley and Caballero (1983a, 1983b) have shown socioeconomic differences between tenants from the Piedmont region and the Coast in South Carolina. In early twentieth century Spartanburg, a Piedmont county, 32.1% of the farms were planted by owners and 67.7% by tenants. The average farm size was 49.4 acres, planted mostly in cotton (Trinkley and Caballero 1983a:8). Piedmont landowners who wished to increase their rent profits generally

Table 8-10. South Carolina Farms by Principle Source of Income in Terms of Products Not Fed to Livestock in 1900*.

Value in \$	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
0	1.04	-	-	0.03	0.45	0.15	0.49	0.25	-	25.00	-	0.91
1-49	25.70	21.31	5.30	7.40	0.23	2.15	3.59	22.47	15.79	-	-	12.80
50-99	19.51	24.87	8.50	15.10	2.04	3.74	7.62	34.41	15.79	-	-	14.64
100-249	26.60	24.87	26.45	42.03	30.54	17.66	31.53	21.06	21.05	-	33.33	30.72
250-499	16.62	12.14	26.98	22.95	28.05	32.00	36.10	5.80	26.31	-	-	24.23
500-999	7.73	7.29	25.93	9.36	19.46	29.75	15.37	2.07	21.05	50.00	66.67	12.42
1000-2499	2.41	5.20	6.35	2.75	13.35	13.05	4.50	4.23	-	25.00	-	3.70
2500+	0.40	4.83	0.53	0.38	5.88	1.48	0.48	0.80	-	-	-	0.57
TOTAL												
Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	9,549	2,332	1,894	3,376	442	1,953	11,282	1,206	19	4	3	23,460

*—From the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1902, Table 4, page 43.

Key:

1= Hay and Grain	7= Cotton
2= Vegetables	8= Rice
3= Fruits	9= Sugar
4= Livestock	10= Flowers and Plants
5= Dairy	11= Nursery
6= Tobacco	12= Miscellaneous Products

subdivided "their holdings into smaller and smaller units in an effort to exploit their property as intensively" as cotton production would allow (Nicklas et al. 1983:7)³.

In coastal Horry County, average farm size was 117.8 acres. Further, 72.9% of farms were planted directly by owners, with only 27% using tenants (Trinkley and Caballero 1983b:8). Historically, Horry County Antebellum planters were usually small, independent farmers. Their coastal location, and the existence of the Waccamaw River and its tributaries, would have given them good access to Charleston and wider markets (Joyner 1984:1). Joyner (1984:3) writes that his great-great-grandfather, and wife's great-grandfather were from that county and were "farmers rather than planters and grew corn and sweet potatoes rather than rice." This suggests that Horry County farmers may have been growing produce to fatten up cattle and other livestock (and perhaps Charlestonians).

A recent study by Garrow and Associates (Brockington et al. 1984) has shown regional and interregional differences in farm types based on documentary, oral, and archaeological data. The density of variations both temporally and spatially demonstrates that access to the nearby Charleston market and subsequent larger markets had a great affect on the available range of choices for all farmers, on all size and types of farms (Brockington et al. 1984).

Why were the farmers in the Piedmont area concentrating on cotton, especially if it was not really any more profitable to the

middling farmers? Much more research needs to be accomplished, but the fact that cotton was a fast cash crop, or perceived as such, seems to have had the most effect. To return to the economic system described earlier, farmers who wished to stop planting cotton were often told they would be refused credit. This can be understood in light of the storekeepers short-term approach to business--wanting the surest cash crop grown. Further, fertilizer companies, who helped to underwrite these furnishing merchants, were satisfied with the continuing cultivation of cotton. It eroded the soils and continued to increase the demand for more fertilizers (Tang 1958:35, 40-41). Merchants had control of many a farmer's next year's crop through the crop lien laws, and soon had solid backing from the courts to gain more control over the debt-ridden farmers (Kern 1982:81-83, 87, 91; Tang 1958). In Mississippi, merchants and landowners could trade crop liens on croppers' debts. This increased mobility to the point that "at the end of any given year between one-fourth and one-half of tenant households moved from one farm to another" (Kern 1982:64, 67, 94).

Of course, not all furnishing merchants were greedy (Clark 1946). But it is true that the system of crop liens greatly circumscribed the choices of the farmers in a region that had poor access to markets and was dependent upon the local merchant for both goods and marketing one's crop. Ford (1973), in a study of the Georgia and South Carolina cotton Piedmont region, has shown that not only does variation exist within the cotton region in terms of economic variability, it also was highly correlated with distance to markets within the region. Those farmers closest to urban centers were on much sounder economic footing.

These regional examples have been mentioned to demonstrate that figuring out the social stratification of the Postbellum south will not be easy. From this brief survey of one state at one time, it can be seen how complicated the determination of that stratification will be. It has been shown how broad, sweeping generalizations about the social system hides too much important variation, often in the guise of a simple correlation of race and socio-economic class. Evidence from the Twelfth Census has demonstrated that race is not necessarily an exclusive factor in agricultural stratification. Further, although census results are also broad abstractions, some of the variation present in the social structure of rural society has been discovered. Census results also have demonstrated possible avenues of further research concerning factors affecting a farmer's range of possible choices in terms of acreage, principle crops grown, and agricultural residency and occupation. The range of variations in these categories should be further investigated using other sources. Static depictions of social stratification leave out variation and thus cultural change. It is necessary to understand variation before we can begin to phrase revealing questions about social stratification and transformations in Postbellum southern agricultural society.

NOTES

1. It is important to note here that for years many archaeologists have been ignoring late nineteenth century sites in their surveys. As I have no wish to be blackballed as a "Walter Taylor", I will leave out specific references to late nineteenth century scatters being called "picnics", "lunch debris", and ignored or barely recorded. The Plenary Session of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference in November of 1984 was of great interest, as a regional statement will be issued admitting that historical resources have been given short shrift, and should begin to be considered of equal value to prehistoric resources.
2. McDonald and McWhiney (1975) have pointed out that Antebellum herdsmen and drovers may have been inadvertently grouped with "white trash", or even may have comprised that group. Their investigations, although perhaps biased by their celtic heritage, have shown that herdsmen and drovers played a crucial role in southern life through large, yearly pig and cattle drives. These herdsmen and drovers interacted with people from many levels of society. Their actual lifestyles are relatively unknown. McDonald and McWhiney (1975:166) have romantically described them as having their wealth on the hoof, so to speak, and their "lifestyle encouraged leisure rather than the compulsive pursuit of wealth that dominated both the northern commercial man and (despite their protests to the contrary) most southern planters as well."
3. Hirsch's work with the American Guide Series, which was compiled under the WPA, shows that there are rich ethnohistorical sources dealing with the Depression years and rural lifeways for the interested researcher. Trinkley has pulled together an effective slide show of a "culture of poverty" connected to tenant life from WPA photographic sources. An example of instructive use of census parish manuscripts to show variations in agricultural production is found in Brockington et al. 1984.

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