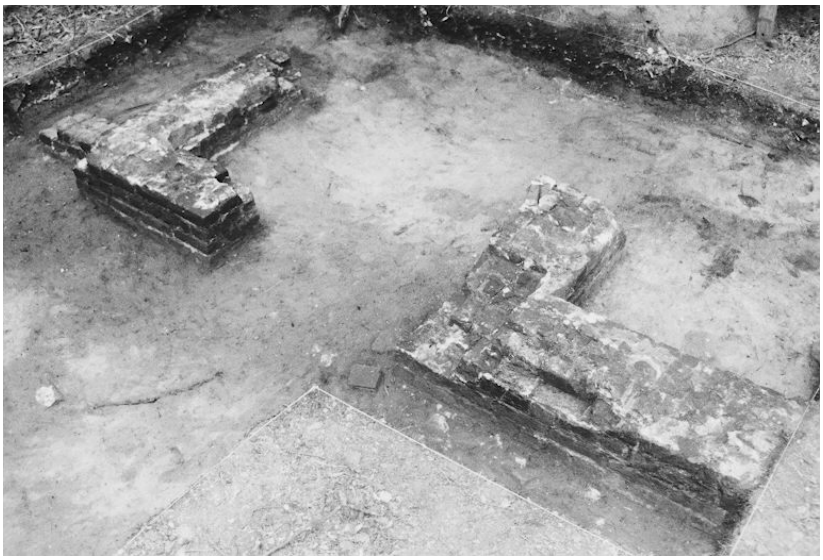
INVESTIGATION OF JERVEY PLANTATION, CHRIST CHURCH PARISH, CHARLESTON COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA



CHICORA FOUNDATION RESEARCH SERIES 63

INVESTIGATION OF JERVEY PLANTATION, CHRIST CHURCH PARISH, CHARLESTON COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

Research Series 63

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For here we are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate error so long as reason is free to combat it.

-- Thomas Jefferson

ABSTRACT

This study provides the results of data recovery excavations at 38CH927, the remains of a late eighteenth and early nineteenth century plantation settlement. The site is situated at the northern edge of the existing Charleston National Golf Course in what historically has been known as Christ Church Parish. A portion of the site is within a green spaced area on that property, while the remainder is on an undeveloped parcel which is slated for residential development by Charleston National. The investigations were conducted by Chicora Foundation during July and August, 2000 for Mr. Walter Mueller of Charleston National Properties. This work was proposed, and approved, under a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) with the Office of Ocean and Coastal Resources Management (OCRM).

This site was initially recorded by a Brockington and Associates survey conducted in 1987, at which time the portion of the site on the proposed golf course tract was green spaced under the OCRM MOA. A subsequent survey by Chicora Foundation for Centex Homes identified a westward extension of this site, not previously covered by the MOA. Again assessed by the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), the site was found to be eligible for inclusion on the National Register. With the acquisition of the property by Charleston National it was subsumed under their pre-existing MOA.

A data recovery plan was submitted to the SHPO on April 17, 2000 and approved on May 5, 2000. This plan called for an initial phase of close interval auger testing to determine artifact concentrations that might guide block excavations. Afterwards, and depending on what had been identified, the plan called for limited stripping. Prior to the field investigations the site was bush hogged, a survey grid was established, and a site topographic map at 1-foot contours was created.

An auger survey was then conducted, with 10-inch auger tests at 25-foot intervals over an area measuring 275 feet north-south by 575 feet east-west. This yielded a total of 264 test points. The artifacts resulting from these tests identified a very large, and dense, concentration at the western edge of the site, which appeared to consist of two discrete structures. A third concentration, thought to represent a third structure, was found further to the east.

The subsequent hand excavation included 550 square feet at what was identified as the main house at the center of the site, 400 square feet at what was identified as the kitchen area on the west edge of the site, and 200 square feet at what was identified as a slave structure at the east edge of the site. An additional 100 square feet of excavation was conducted at another artifact concentration, but this area was found to be heavily disturbed and no additional excavations were conducted in that area. At the conclusion of the block excavations, an additional 410 square feet were stripped in the vicinity of the slave structure, using a backhoe. As a result, the total excavation consisted of 1,660 square feet (1,250 square feet of hand excavation and 410 square feet of mechanized excavation).

This work revealed a main house measuring approximately 20 feet north-south by 40 feet east-west. The eastern two-thirds of the structure had been robbed out prior to that portion of the site going into cultivation, probably in the early twentieth century. The western third of the foundation, however, was in excellent condition. The structure appears to

represent a through-hall plan with one room either side of the central hall. The structure was likely frame, two-stories, and had interior chimneys on the gable ends. The roof was wood shingle. Interior finishes included two-coat plaster, some painted specimens of which were recovered. This structure burned, and as previously mentioned, was later removed so as not to hinder cultivation. The artifact assemblage from this area is dominated by architectural remains, primarily nails and melted window glass.

To the west is the posited kitchen area. Although no coherent structural remains were encountered (post holes were common), the artifact assemblage includes dense bone and other kitchen trash.

To the east was identified a ground-fast structure measuring 24 feet north-south by 18 feet east-west. The structure lacks any recognizable hearth area or doorways, but appears very similar to other eighteenth century slave structures typically described as wall-trench. In the case of this structure no wall trench survives, perhaps because of extensive plowing. Nevertheless, the building is outlined by a series of 29 recognizable post holes. The artifact assemblage from this area, while sparse, is consistent with a slave dwelling.

All of the structures date from the last decade of the eighteenth century through the first quarter of the nineteenth century. During this period the plantation passed through six different owners. Although the well constructed main house suggests that the plantation was owner-occupied, we have relatively little additional historical information concerning the property.

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Development of the Project

Archaeological site 38CH927 was initially identified in 1987 on the northeastern edge of the Charleston National survey tract in central Charleston County, South Carolina. The site was reported to represent a historic eighteenth and nineteenth century plantation complex. The site area, at that time measuring about 200 feet north-south by 100 feet east-west, was centered at 615900E and 3637410N. Its primary surface feature appears to have been a brick chimney fall, although a series of 73 shovel tests and three judgmentally placed units produced a sizable collection of ceramics, glass, and nails (38CH927 site file, SCIAA; see Figure 1). The mean date for the recovered ceramics was 1803, although dates as early as 1799 and as late as 1814 were reported (Brockington et al. 1987:63).

Brockington's study suggested that the encountered portion of the site might represent a slave settlement – based on an artifact pattern heavy in kitchen remains and containing a relatively low proportion of architectural artifacts. In addition, the presence of Colono ware ceramics suggested to the authors a slave component. The authors observe that other portions of the plantation, including perhaps the main house "may lie to the east, outside the tract" (Brockington et al. 1987:70).

The original Charleston National study also collected oral history concerning the site, a portion of which is worth repeating:

> One informant, Mrs. Porcher Leopold of the nearby Stratton Place house, was familiar with the site. She reported that, when she was a child, the house, although empty, was still standing. She also recalled other structures, including slave houses, in the plantation . . . . Mrs. Leopold surface collected the area years ago when it was a plowed field, and she has an extensive collection, including French and English gunflints, Prosser buttons, and Chinese export porcelain (Brockington et

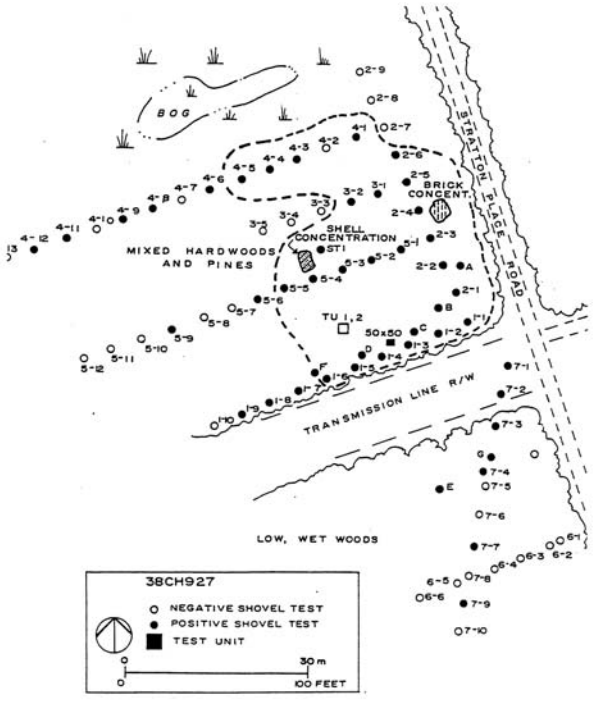

Figure 1. Site 38CH927 as originally reported (Brockington et al. 1987:64). The subsequently surveyed Centex Homes tract is to the east of Stratton Place Road and north of the transmission line.

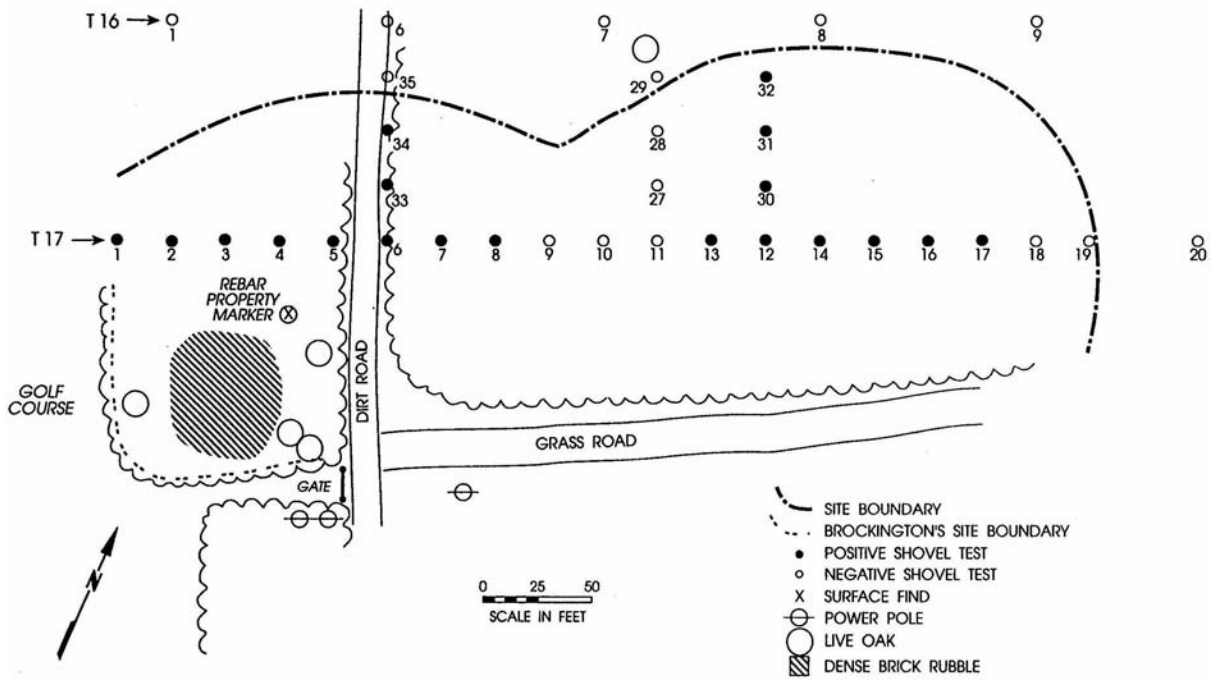

Figure 2. Site 38CH927 as a result of the 1996 Chicora survey (Trinkley 1996:Figure 14).

al. 1987:70).

Site 38CH927 was recommended as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places and this opinion was concurred with by the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO). As a result a Memorandum of Agreement was prepared specifying that the site (or that portion on the Charleston National tract) could either be avoided or, if not possible, excavated (the signed agreement was transmitted to the S.C. Coastal Council – today the Office of Ocean and Coastal Resource Management or OCRM – on April 11, 1988) (letter from Dr. Patricia Cridlebaugh to Mr. Fritz Aichele). Although a preservation plan was to be submitted to the SHPO, none has been identified. Nevertheless, the site was allowed to remain wooded.

In March 1996, Chicora Foundation was requested to conduct an archaeological survey of the tract adjacent to 38CH927 for possible development by Centex Homes (Trinkley 1996). This survey significantly increased the size of the site, so that its central UTM coordinates were set at E615940 N3637400 and the site was estimated to encompass an area measuring 450 feet east-west by at least 250 feet north-south (Figure 2). Although the southern boundary, which extends off the survey tract, has not been established, the site as it was recorded by this subsequent survey included about 2.6 acres.[1]

Surface visibility to the west of Stratton Place road was good and a dense scatter of brick remains was found covering an area measuring about 100 feet in diameter. Surrounding this, however, brick rubble was still common and even extended north an additional 100 feet. To the west, at the edge of the golf course, was an area of shell, heavily obscured by vegetation.

Recovered from the Chicora survey were 57 historic specimens, primarily materials

[1] The Charleston National Golf Course survey found that materials associated with the plantation extended at least 100 feet south of the transmission line (Brockington et al. 1987:Figure 34).

from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Although the collection is small, there were 20 ceramics suitable for mean ceramic dating. These yield a date of 1800.5 that very nicely replicated the mean dating previously suggested for the site (Trinkley 1996:Table 3).

After the Chicora survey Centex Homes declined to develop the area of 38CH927 and development activities were initiated by Charleston National Properties. The survey report was submitted to the SHPO, who concurred that 38CH927 was eligible and that data recovery could be conducted under the existing MOA (letter from Ms. Valerie Marcil, SHPO, to Ms. Barbara Neale, OCRM, dated March 7, 2000). Chicora Foundation was requested by Charleston National to prepare a data recovery plan, which they approved on April 5, 2000. This plan was subsequently submitted to the State Historic Preservation Office for review on April 17, 2000. The plan was approved on May 5, 2000.

Investigations began at the site on July 10 and continued through August 1, 2000. A total of 851 person hours were devoted to field investigations over the three and a half week period with a crew of from five to seven individuals (including the PI, Dr. Michael Trinkley, and crew of Mr. Tom Covington, Ms. Jill Langenberg, Ms. Donna Rogers, Ms. Heather Sinnott, Ms. Angela Vincent, and Ms. Amy Weaver). An additional 14 hours of field lab time was devoted to the project during rain periods.

Research Orientation

One of the best sources available to understand the historic context of 38CH927 is the economic history of the region prepared by Dr. Michael Scardaville in Brockington et al. (1985:24-78). In particular, Scardaville suggests that Christ Church Parish, during the late antebellum, was suffering a severe economic recession. Rice, largely focused on the Wando River, was being abandoned as it became clear that the area's high salinities and unpredictable flow made rice cultivation economically unpredictable.[2] Cotton, which contributed greatly to the economic well-being of the sea island planters, was never a significant crop on Christ Church plantations.[3] Truck farming, while very important in the postbellum, was of only limited importance during the antebellum.

Scardaville found, however, that planters turned increasingly to ranching as an economic alternative to cash crops. While output decreased for such products as oats, Irish and sweet potatoes, and butter, the value of livestock between 1850 and 1860 increased by 120%, corn production (used as feed) increased by nearly 45%, wool production increased by 126% and the value of animals slaughtered increased from $0 in 1850 to $5,270 in 1860. Scardaville notes that, "with a readily available market across the Cooper River, ranching, combined with some truck farming, provided the parish with a modest means of support" (Brockington et al. 1985:41).

This means of support, however, was coupled with a gradual decline in slave population. In Christ Church Parish the number of slaves fell from 3,585 in 1850 to 2,546 in 1860, a 29% decrease. While slave holding was still an essential ingredient in the economy of Christ Church, the face of the plantation was changing on the eve of the Civil War.

[2] Peter A. Coclanis (1989:141) also points out that profits from rice everywhere in South Carolina were declining precipitously, frequently dipping into negative returns and rarely providing more than a 1% return on investment.

[3] Moreover, cotton prices plummeted in the second half of the 1820s and didn't recover until 1832. Even then the upturn was short-lived and cotton planters saw prices drop to as low as 84 a pound at the end of the 1830s. Low prices, coupled with bad weather, resulted in cotton becoming increasingly unproductive until the improvements of the 1840s (Edgar 1999:274; Wallace 1951:385).

These economic and social changes – with their impact on both slaves and masters alike – offer a range of significant research questions. Whereas much previous work has been focused on the wealthy plantations, those focused on rice cultivation during the eighteenth century, or sea island cotton plantation during the nineteenth century, the exploration of what might be called the "small" planter has received relatively little attention. Likewise, the impacts of declining fortunes on the planter and slave have been rarely explored. Clearly slavery did not exist in an economic vacuum. The treatment of slaves, their view of the world, and their understanding of their place in that world, had to be colored by the economic well-being of the plantation owner. Plantation settings such as 38CH927 offer the potential to study these issues.

Although the initial Brockington study suggests that 38CH927 may represent a slave settlement, this stands in contrast to the oral informant interview, which would suggest that the site was dominated by the main plantation house. Moreover, given our previous work at the John Whitesides Plantation (Trinkley and Hacker 1996) and Moses Whitesides Plantation (Trinkley and Hacker 2001) we recognize that owner sites may take on a variety of appearances. While Colono wares accounted for 22% of the ceramics recovered by the original Brockington survey, John Whitesides' main house exhibited a ceramic collection containing nearly 16% Colono wares, while at the very high status Broom Hall plantation (Trinkley et al. 1995) Colono wares accounted for 25% of the main plantation assemblage. In contrast, Colono wares often account for 60% or more of the ceramics from Charleston area slaves sites (Trinkley and Hacker 1996:71) – although they account for only 14.5% of the ceramics at the Moses Whitesides' slave settlement (Trinkley and Hacker 2001:105). Even pattern studies may be misleading. The assemblage reported by the initial survey from 38CH927 is almost identical to that found at Whitesides' main settlement (Trinkley and Hacker 1996:62). While the only plat found for the site is vague, it seems to also indicate that the 38CH927 represents a main settlement.

The Jervey plantation was apparently owned by a succession of planters and merchants in the first half of the nineteenth century. It wasn't until the Morrison tenure that ownership seems to have stabilized. The Jervey family held the tract during the period of economic decline in Christ Church. Consequently, it is possible to control for changes in ownership and, to some extent, changes in managerial style, since the tract was owned by one individual during the period in question.

Examining the archaeological remains, there is certainly evidence of plowing. Yet there is also evidence of considerable site integrity. Several of the shovel tests reveal artifact-bearing strata to depths in excess of 1.2 feet, suggesting the possibility of buried features. The artifacts recovered represent an array of nineteenth century remains, including large ceramics, nails, window glass, and table glass. This diverse assemblage was also found to include well-preserved animal bone and carbonized floral material. Brick and mortar are present as broadly defined surface scatters. These, with additional research, may be identified as structural locations. The presence of dense surface remains suggested that intact subsurface architectural features might be present.

These are, of course, the types of data sets that are essential in the exploration of the research questions proposed for 38CH927. The presence of the main plantation complex has the potential to help us understand the status and well being of the plantation owner. In other words, these resources will help us address how the owner adjusted to these economic downturns through material culture remains and foodways. The assemblage associated with the slave settlement has the potential to help us gauge the affect of the plantation's economic well being on its African-American population. Again, material culture remains such as ceramics and personal goods, when combined

Figure 3. Vicinity of 38CH927 in Charleston County (USGS James Island 100,000).

with food remains, may help us better understand the lives of the African-Americans caught in an economic web not of their own creation.

The Natural Setting

Physiography

Charleston County is located in the lower Atlantic Coastal Plain of South Carolina and is bounded to the east by the Atlantic Ocean and a series of marsh, barrier, and sea islands (Mathews et al. 1980:133). Elevations in the County range from sea level to about 70 feet above mean sea level (AMSL). The mainland topography, which consists of subtle ridge and bay undulations, is characteristic of beach ridge plains.

Seven major drainages are found in Charleston County. Four of these, the Wando, Ashley, Stono, and North Edisto, are dominated by tidal flows and are saline. The Wando forms a portion of the County's the interior boundary northeast of Charleston, while the Ashley flows west of the peninsular city of Charleston. The three with significant freshwater flow are the Santee, which forms the northern boundary of the County; the South Edisto, which forms the southern boundary; and the Cooper, which bisects the County.

Because of the low topography, many broad, low gradient interior drains are present as either extensions of the tidal rivers or as flooded bays and swales. Extensions include Hobcaw, Rathall, Foster, Horlbeck, Boone Hall, Wagner, Toomer, and Allston creeks that flow west, north, or northeast into the Wando. Flooded bays and swales are equally common in the project area, typically being shown on historic plats as "galls" or "swamps." While these areas often exhibit productive soil, they must be drained and the drains kept open – both laborious and unhealthy tasks assigned to African American slaves.

The project area is situated just 12 miles from Charleston in what historically was known

as Christ Church Parish (Figure 3). It is protected from the Atlantic Ocean by Dewees Island, the Isle of Palms, as well as a host of small marsh islands and large bays. Behind this marsh fringe is what historically has been called the "Sea Shore" – an area of mud and sand beaches that gradually rise to relatively poorly drained interior "high lands."

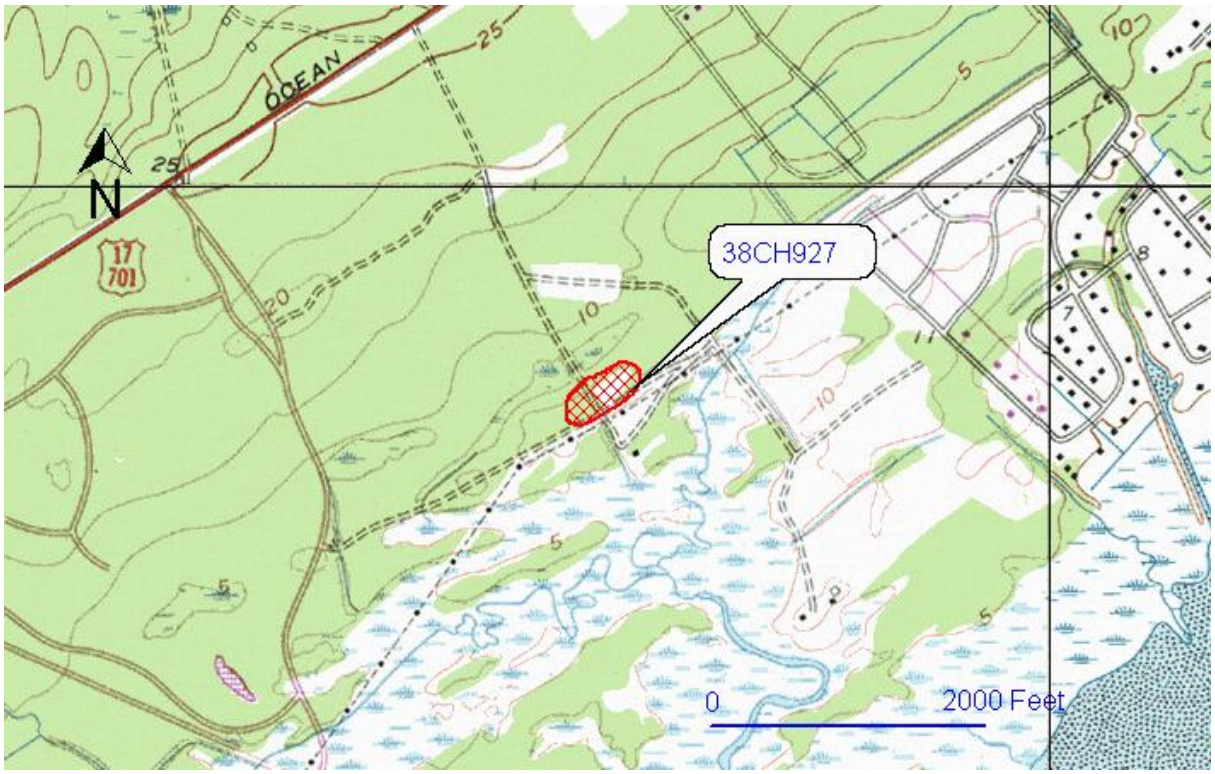

Figure 4. Portions of the Cainhoy and Fort Moultrie USGS topographic map showing the 38CH927 site area.

Elevations in the general area range from about 5 to 15 feet AMSL, with most of the property falling at or below 10 feet AMSL. The site is situated on a sandy ridge running east-west at an elevation of 8 feet AMSL. Topography to the north slopes dramatically (for the low country) into a swampy slough. To the south the elevation change is less severe, although there is a drop of 1 to 2 feet. At the western edge of this ridge the topography actually increases to a maximum height of 10 feet AMSL. As will be obvious in the site specific discussions, the main settlement was situated on the highest elevation, while the slave settlement to the east was confined to the sandy ridge. While ditches are common in many of the Christ Church tracts, none were found in the immediate vicinity of this site, probably because both settlements are in relatively high, sandy, and well drained locations. In that sense, the project tract is unusual – standing out from many other low, swampy, unhealthy "sea shore" lands.

Geology and Soils

Coastal Plain geological formations are unconsolidated sedimentary deposits of very recent age, primarily Pleistocene and Holocene. They are found lying unconformably on more ancient crystalline rocks that are rarely exposed by nature (Cooke 1936; Miller 1971:74).

The soils formed from these Holocene and Pleistocene soils were typically deposited in

various stages of coastal submergence. Soil formation is affected by the parent material (primarily sands and clays), the temperate climate (discussed later), the various soil organisms, the flat topography of the area, and time.

Mainland soils are primarily Pleistocene in age and tend to have more distinct horizons and greater diversity than the younger soils found ion the sea and barrier islands. Sandy to loamy soils predominate in the level to gently sloping mainland areas. The adjacent tidal marsh soils are Holocene in age and consist of fine sands, clay, and organic matter deposited over older Pleistocene sands. These soils are frequently covered by up to 2 feet of saltwater during high tides. Historically marsh soils have been used as compost or fertilizer for a variety of crops, including cotton (Hammond 1884:510) and Allston mentions that the sandy soil of the coastal region, "bears well the admixture of salt and marsh mud with the compost" (Allston 1854:13).

As the colony was being settled and promoted, the soils were described simply. John Norris told his readers in 1712:

> the Soil is generally Sandy, but of differing Colours, under which, Two or Three Foot Deep, is Clay of which good Bricks are made (Greene 1989:89).

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, William DeBrahm's Report provides little more information, stating only that, "the Land near the Sea Coast is in general of a very sandy Soil" and noting that this soil "along the Coast has as yet not been able to invite the industrious to reap Benefit of its Capacity" (DeVorsey 1971:72).

By the nineteenth century, Robert Mills in his Statistics of South Carolina provides slightly more information concerning the current understanding of the soils:

> Lands here [in Charleston District] may be viewed under six divisions in respect to quality; 1st, Tide swamp; 2d, Inland swamp; 3d, High river swamp (or low ground, commonly called second low grounds); 4th, Salt Marsh; 5th, Oak and hickory high lands; and 6th, Pine barren. The tide and inland swamps are peculiarly adapted to the culture of rice and hemp; they are very valuable, and will frequently sell for $100 an acre; in some instances for more. The high river swamps are well calculated for raising hemp, indigo, corn, and cotton; and where secured from freshets, are equally valuable with the tide lands. The oak and hickory highlands are well suited for corn and provisions, also for indigo and cotton. The value of these may be stated at from ten to twenty dollars per acre. The pine barrens are not worth more than one dollar an acre (Mills 1972:442-443 [1826]).

Even the detail of this account, however, fails to provide a very clear picture of the soils in Christ Church where the sands were low and commonly interspersed with galls or small inland swamps. Here the property, even the supposedly good hickory and oak lands, were poorly drained.

A number of period accounts discuss the importance of soil drainage. Seabrook, for example, explained in 1848:

> subsoil so close as to be impervious to water; so that the excess of the rains of winter cannot sink. Nor can it flow off, because of the level surface . . . . The land thereby is kept

> thoroughly water-soaked until late in the spring. The long continued wetness is favorable only to growth of coarse and sour grasses and broom sedge . . . acid and antiseptic qualities of the soil . . . sponge-like power to absorb and retain water . . . is barren, (for useful crops) from two causes – excessive wetness and great acidity. The remedies required are also two; and neither alone will be of the least useful effect, with the other also. Draining must remove the wetness – calcareous manures the acidity (Seabrook 1848:37).

Hammond was still providing a somewhat similar account in the postbellum:

> drainage . . . has of necessity always been practiced to some extent. The remarkably high beds on which cotton is planted here, being from 18 inches to 2 feet high, subserve this purpose. The best planters have long had open drains through their fields. These were generally made by running two furrows with a plow and afterward hauling out the loose dirt with a hoe, thus leaving an open ditch, if it be so termed, a foot or more in depth (Hammond 1884:509).

The number of drainages found in the vicinity offers mute testimony to the problems planters encountered on these soils and their efforts to make the land productive. These problems have also been briefly mentioned by Hilliard, who comments that soils in the region were, "seldom well enough drained for most crops" (Hilliard 1984:11).

If the soils from the survey tract vicinity are examined (see Figure 5), only six series are encountered: Chipley, Rutlege, Scranton, Wadmalaw, Yonges, and tidal marsh. Of these, only the Chipley soils, which account for only a small area of the immediate area, are moderately well drained. The remainder of the soils range from wet or very poorly drained to somewhat poorly drained.

These Chipley soils, depending on their slope and location, may actually range from moderately well drained to somewhat poorly drained. They are sandy throughout, having a very dark gray (10YR3/1) loamy fine sand surface layer about 0.5 foot in depth overlying a yellowish-brown (10YR5/4) loamy fine sand which gets lighter with depth. The inherent fertility of these soils is low and permeability may be impeded by the a water table which may range from 2 to 5 feet below the surface (Miller 1971:10-11, 54).

The Rutlege soils are found in nearly level to depressional areas. They are poorly drained to very poorly drained and the seasonal high water table is frequently within a foot of the surface. The typical profile reveals a black (10YR2/1) to very dark brown (10YR2/2) loamy fine sand to about 1.8 feet, providing clear evidence of chemical reduction. Surface runoff is very slow and water is frequently ponded on these soils (Miller 1971:24, 56). Historically they were associated with the galls or sloughs that ran through the tract and were used for the cultivation of interior swamp rice.

The Scranton soils are better drained (classified as somewhat poorly drained) than the Rutlege Series, with a seasonal high water table within 1 to 2 feet of the surface. A typical profile will reveal about 0.8 foot of black (10YR2/1) loamy fine sand overlying a C horizon of dark grayish-brown (10R4/2) loamy sand to at least 2 feet. The profile again reveals the heavily reduced nature of the wet soils (Miller 1971: 26). These are among some of the most soils in the area – soil fertility is low and the soils must be drained for productive agriculture (Miller 1971:26, 56).

The Wadmalaw soils are found on low, swamp-like plains. They are classified as poorly drained and water often ponds on the soils during rainy periods. These areas are subject to flooding and the water table may be at the surface during wet periods of the year. The soils have an A horizon that ranges from black (10YR2/1) to dark gray (10YR4/1) fine sandy loam through their 1.1 foot depth. Below this is a dark gray (10YR4/1) heavy fine loam B horizon (Miller 1971:29).

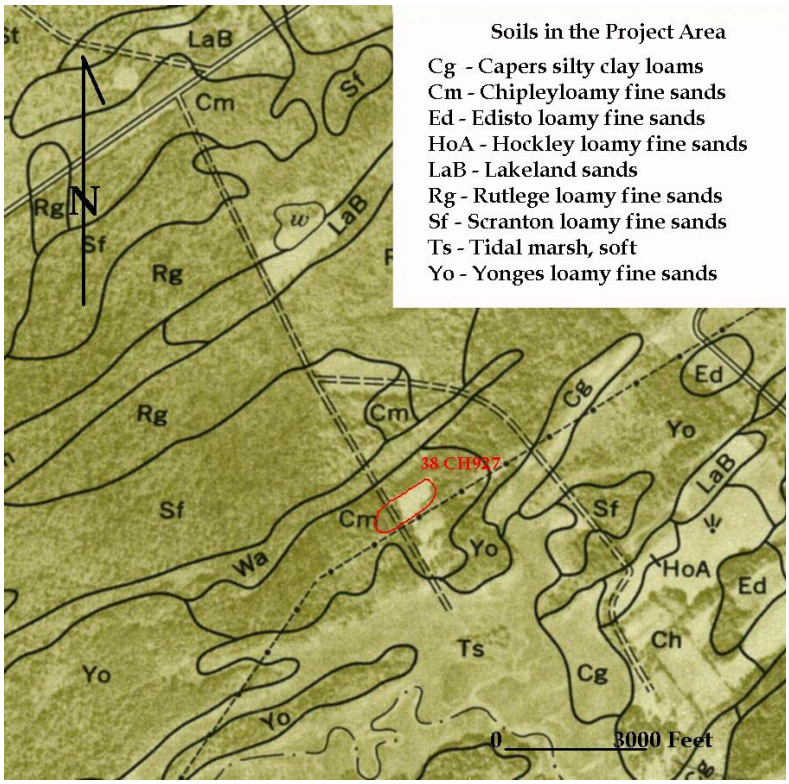

Figure 5. Soil map showing the vicinity of 38CH927 (Miller 1971:Map 36).

The Yonges Series consists of level, poorly drained soils found on low, broad plains. Ponding occurs during rainy seasons and the water table is within 2 feet of the surface during much of the year. As expected, the soils are somewhat reduced with the loamy fine sand A horizon, about 0.9 foot in depth, being a dark grayish brown (10YR4/1). Below this level the soil gradually lightens to a light brownish gray (10YR6/2) and gray (10YR5/1) (Miller 1971:31).

The tidal marsh soils, found within 1,200 feet of the site, are represented a tidal flat that extends into the area. These broad, level flats are typically covered by 0.4 to 2 feet of salt water at high tide (Miller 1971:28).

If the plats of plantations in this area of Christ Church Parish are examined, numerous references will be found to bushy or open ponds and galls. Trees were noted as pines, water oaks, gum, bay, and red cedar. Only occasional references are made to trees found on drier soils, such as live oak or magnolia. Tracts on plantations are noted as "mixed flat land," "flat land in places low, mixed timber," and "pine land."

Taken together, the current information and the historical documentation reveal low, poorly drained soils with only limited agricultural productivity. The impact of this on the agriculture and wealth of the Jervey Plantation will be discussed in greater detail in the following section.

Climate

The weather was all important in Colonial society, affecting the crops that in turn affected trade and wealth. Just as importantly, the Carolina climate affected, usually for the worse, the planter's health. Greene notes that:

> the prospects of obtaining wealth with ease . . . meant little in a menacing environment, and both Nairne and Norris took pains to minimize the unpleasant and dangerous features that already had combined to give South Carolina an ambiguous

> reputation. They had to admit that throughout the summer temperatures were "indeed troublesome to Strangers." But they contended that settlers had quickly found satisfactory remedies in the form of "open airy Rooms, Arbours and Summer-houses" constructed in shady groves and frequent cool baths and insisted the discomfitures of the summers were more than offset by the agreeableness of the rest of the seasons. [They also suggested] that ill-heath was largely limited to newcomers before they were seasoned to the climate, to people who insisted in living in low marshy ground, and to those who were excessive and careless in their eating, drinking, and personal habits. "If temperate," they asserted, those who lived on "dry healthy Land," were "generally very healthful" (Greene 1989:16).

While making for good public relations, the reality was far different. Roy Merrens and George Terry (1989) found that in Christ Church Parish, 86% of all those whose births and deaths are recorded in the parish register, died before the age of twenty. Equally frightening statistics have been compiled by John Duffy (1952), who found that the average European could expect to live to the age of about 30 in South Carolina during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Yellow fever, smallpox, diphtheria, scarlet fever, malaria, dysentery all were at home in Carolina. Using the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) records, Duffy found that from 1700 to 1750, 38% of the missionaries either died or were compelled to resign because of serious illness within the first five years of their arrival. Within 10 years of their arrival, 52% had died or resigned because of their health. After 15 years in the colony, the combined death toll and resignations from sickness reached 68% – two out of every three missionaries.

African Americans fared no better. Frank Klingberg (1941:154), using SPG records found that in a single four month period over 400 slaves died of "distemper." William Dusinberre, exploring rice plantations along the Carolina coast, entitled one of his chapters "The Charnel House" – a reference to the extraordinary morbidity of African Americans on rice plantations. He reports that on some plantations the child mortality rate (to age sixteen) was a horrific 90% (Dusinberre 1996:51), while the probable average for rice plantations was around 60% (Dusinberre 1996:239). Cotton plantations were healthier, but even there fully a third of all slave children did not live to see their sixteenth birthday.

Beginning in the last third of the eighteenth century the life expectancy began to increase. Merrens and Terry suggest that this was the result of the occupants beginning to understand the cause of malaria:

> During the middle of the eighteenth century South Carolinian's perception of the wholesome environment of the lowcountry swamps began to change. People no longer preferred these areas on the score of health as a place of summer residence. Instead, residents began to view the lowcountry as fostering both mosquitoes and death (Merrens and Terry 1989:547).

The Charleston climate, with its moderate winters and long, hot summers, affected not only the health of the population and the crops grown, it also influenced the politics of Carolina. The summer climate of Carolina, while causing the Barbadian immigrants to feel that they had resettled in the tropics, also convinced most that slavery was

inevitable. Not only was slavery the accepted order to the planters from Barbados, Jamaica, Antique, and St. Kitts, it seemed impossible for white Englishmen to work in the torrid heat – making African American slaves that much more essential (Donnan 1928). Even in Christ Church parish, which in 1720 had a very low settlement compared to other parishes, slaves comprised 85.6% of the population.

Figure 6. Old road leading through the site, looking north (golf course is to the left, pine woods are to the right).

Vegetation

Just as the early explorers described the climate as healthful, the Carolina vegetation was usually described as bountiful and fruitful. Catesby described the swamp lands, typical of many areas in Christ Church, in the first decade of the eighteenth century:

> before they are prepared for rice, are thick, over-grown with underwood and lofty trees of mighty bulk, which by excluding the sun's beams, and preventing the exhalation of these stagnating waters, occasions the lands to be always wet, but by cutting down the wood is partly evaporated, and the earth better adapted to the culture of rice (Catesby, quoted in Merrens 1977:93).

He also mentions that these swamps, filled with "a profusion of flagrant and beautiful plants give a most pleasing entertainment to the senses, therein excelling other parts of the country, and by their closeness and warmth in winder are a recess to many of the wading and water-fowls" (Catesby, quoted in Merrens 1977:93).

Figure 7. Grass road at the south edge of the site, looking east (pine woods are to the left).

The Jervey Plantation on the "sea shore" of Christ Church, while being low and generally unfavorable to agriculture, incorporated a number of distinctly different ecotones, many of

which are actually very productive. Along the southern edge of the property, for example, would have been the salt marsh and its border zonation. The upper marsh would have been dominated by marsh elder, sea myrtle or groundsel, and marshhay cordgrass. Slightly lower marsh areas might be dominated by glasswort, smooth cordgrass, and sea oxeye. Regardless, these communities are almost entirely dependent on the duration of flooding and the salinity of the water.

Just behind the marsh, and only slightly further inland, would be the maritime forest, where the salt spray is enough to influence the development of the climax vegetation (Barry 1980:178). Here live oaks, palmettos, and slash pines are most frequently found. Other species might include the loblolly pine, turkey oak, red bay, and wax myrtle. Principal lianas, the curse of coastal archaeological surveys even today, might include yellow jessamine, greenbrier, Virginia creeper, and poison ivy.

Further inland there would likely be a mixture of different communities, many influenced by the action of humans – earlier by the Native Americans and later by the English planters. Areas of mesic mixed hardwood and pine might be found on the better drained soils. The dominant species would be white oak, often in combination with loblolly pine. Found as occasional overstory trees would be sweetgum, beech, southern red oak, post oak, maple, and hickory. Understory plants would include dogwood, redbud, and holly.

While classic cypress-tupelo swamps are found in some areas along the coast, the study tract does not exhibit areas of alluvial soil with an open circulation of water. Instead, what are called upland swamps are present. While still having acid conditions and wet soils, the vegetation is often very different. The upland swamps are dominated by pond cypress, pond pine, and slash pine (Barry 1980:150-151).

Also present would be old growth pine communities, created by disturbances such as fire or clear cutting the hardwoods. In these areas longleaf pine culminates in a closed canopy with a very sparsely populated understory. Hardwood introductions are exceedingly uncommon, but where present may include sweetgum, persimmon, and hickory (Barry 1980:172-173). These areas presented the pine flat woods shown on many plats and mentioned by many early accounts as being unproductive (even along the coast being called "pine barrens"). These are closely related, biologically, to the pine savannahs that might best be described as longleaf pine pyric climax forests.

While Christ Church has historically presented a challenge to planters, it is clear from even this general account of it vegetation, that there is tremendous diversity. Unfortunately, it was that diversity, engendered by the soils and climate, which made the area seem so unproductive. Although planters could fathom draining huge acreage of river swamps for rice, there was little interest in draining the seemingly infertile pine barrens that dominated Christ Church. We suspect that it was one thing to drain large expanses where profit was assured; it was another to drains small galls and ponded plains when there was no clear profit in doing so. Consequently, the unique combination of physiography, soils, climate, and vegetation dramatically affected the development of the area.

Curation

The field notes, photographic materials, and artifacts resulting from these investigations will be curated the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (SCIAA) at under site number 38CH927. The collections have been cleaned and/or conserved as necessary. Further information on conservation treatments may be found in a following section. All original records and duplicate copies were provided to the curatorial facility on pH neutral, alkaline buffered paper and the photographic materials were processed to archival permanence standards.

HISTORIC SYNOPSIS OF THE PROJECT TRACT

Introduction

The history of Charleston County has been extensively reviewed, summarized, and critiqued and there should hardly be any need to do more than point the interested reader in one or two directions for additional information and details. Simple, and readily available, summaries include *A Short History of Charleston* (Rosen 1982) and *Charleston! Charleston!* (Fraser 1989). The history of the project area, however, is not as well documented, or even understood. The only historical overviews of the area are Gregorie's (1925) summary focusing primarily on prehistoric remains and her examination of role Christ Church played in local politics (Gregorie 1961). Neither offers much of substance concerning the specific project tract.

An examination of Brockington et al. (1987:13-20) reveals that other researchers have had a similarly difficult time teasing apart the threads of history. For example, only one plat, focusing on the central third of the Charleston National project, was identified during their archival research (Brockington et al. 1987:Figure 4). In spite of this, they do provide a generally correct overview of property ownership for Stratton Place during the nineteenth century (Brockington et al. 1987:17).

In order to supplement the available information, this study included additional research at the Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyances, the South Carolina Historical Society, and the S.C. Department of Archives and History. Additional time at the Thomas Cooper Map Repository was spent searching for early aerial photographs and maps which might assist in better understanding postbellum agricultural land use practices.

This current research focused on creating a detailed chain of title for the property at least covering the very late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century – the period during which the plantation was most actively occupied. The work has been hampered by a lack of detailed property descriptions or plats – the property appears to have been passed through family lines for a number of years and, as a result, few property descriptions or plats are available.

Eighteenth Century Development

It appears that the property was first acquired by Roger Player as either part of a 290 acre Proprietary Grant in 1700 (Colonial Land Grants, Copy Series, v. 38, pg. 434) or more likely a 500 acre grant in 1704 (Colonial Land Grants, Copy Series, v. 38, pg. 480). The description of the first recounts that it was "bounding to the Southeast on Seawee Bay, to the North on Jno. Hollibush, to the East on Step. Williamson, and to the West on land not laid out." The larger grant indicates that the tract was on the south side of the Wando River, "bounding to the north on the said River and part on William White, to the East part on the said White, John Burke and George Dearsly, to the Southeast on John Brown and Mr. Sessions and the said Player [probably the earlier grant] and to the West on the said Hollibush." This would give Player about 790 acres (and probably a good bit more the way the early lands were surveyed). In addition, we have found several warrants for lands, including one in 1696 for 300 acres, one in 1703 for 300 acres,

and one in 1704 for 500 acres (Salley and Olsberg 1973:552, 611, 618).

Roger Player died in 1718 and was survived by three sons, Roger, Thomas, and William. The will specified that son Roger would receive half of "my plantation" with half of the "stock and Negroes," with the other son, Thomas, receiving his moiety when he was of age. Son William Hackett received half of a town lot (Charleston County WPA Wills, v. 1, 1720-21, pg. 10). The will also mentions that Elisabeth Cornich, who we presume to be his wife, "may live in the house as she now lives in on the plantation . . . with the use of three acres adjoining during her life." This will reveals that Roger had already settled the tract, built a house, and was actively engaged in farming.

The son Roger, Jr. is not found in the records and it appears that son Thomas Player acquired the family lands – as well as additional adjacent property acquired through his marriage to the daughter of Samuel Sibley (Colonial Land Grants, Copy Series, v. 5, pg. 54-55). Thomas died in 1768, leaving his property to his two sons, Thomas Jr., and William: to Thomas "one half of my land joining Isaac Legare and to my son William Player the other half whereon my Dwelling house stands now" (Charleston County WPA Wills, v. 16, 1774-79, pg. 175). The comment concerning the plantation house might imply that the location had changed since his father's original dwelling – or that there was a partition of his father's property and Thomas built a new structure. Regardless, we are again faced with no further documentation concerning the activities of son William – it may be that Thomas, Jr. consolidated the Player property.

At some point Thomas Player, Jr. married Elizabeth Mortimer and had two daughters – Martha or Marther and Mary. His daughter Martha married Edward Mortimer, while daughter Mary married Isaac Legare. These marriages are significant since they consolidated family lines in the immediate area and tied together several important Christ Church Parish families.

In the 1790 Census both Thomas and William are listed in Christ Church Parish (pg. 558). Thomas is listed with his wife, a son (Joshua) and one of his two daughters. Also enumerated were 46 slaves – all probably working his Christ Church plantation. Brother William's household, while including seven free whites, contained only two slaves – suggesting either a plantation outside of Charleston County or that he was only marginally involved in planting.

At Thomas' death in 1800, his will recounted that much of his property was acquired from Thomas Barksdale, George Barksdale, Joseph and Mary Legare, and Major Joshua Toomer. While this may mean that we are mistaken and the original Roger Player lands continued to be held by William and son Thomas acquired new holdings we are inclined to believe that the property passed to the eldest son – Thomas – and he simply acquired additional property that he felt needed to be itemized in his will.

Regardless, Thomas Player left his wife, Elizabeth, a one-half interest in his lands, including the "use of the house I now dwell in," as well as those slaves he acquired from his marriage – for her "widowhood and no longer." He also gave his wife a life interest in his chaise and three chaise horses, a mare, eight oxen, and ox cart and chains, one-quarter of all cattle, hogs, and sheep, household furniture, kitchen furniture, and a third of all plantation tools. The rest of the property, including all of his lands, were passed to his son, Joshua. He required that Joshua, however, pay a sum of £300 to each of his sisters. The slaves were divided with 17 going to Martha, 17 to Mary, and 18 to Joshua (Charleston County WPA Wills, v. 28, 1800-07, pg. 41).

While we have no inventory or appraisal of the estate, the will suggests considerable acreage with cattle, hogs, and sheep. The cattle probably included a few milk cows, with most being free ranging beef cattle. The oxen suggest that rice played an important

part in the plantation. There were about 52 African American slaves on the plantation and the house itself must have been furnished with both household and kitchen items – suggesting that the Players resided on the plantation at least part of the year.

It may also be telling that none of the various city directories for the City of Charleston list any Player during the eighteenth century. This suggests that the family, while owning at least a lot in town, was not intimately associated with the city or its lifestyle. In fact, the Players are not listed in either the 1800 or 1810 census records for Charleston County. Lesser, who has done an exhaustive job of identifying the various Proprietary references for different families finds only the mentions of Roger's wills prior to 1721 (Lesser 1995:372).

Nor are the Players found among the eighteenth century account records of either Robert Pringle or Henry Laurens. This, however, may be because Joshua Player was a merchant in the firm of McFarlane & Player. This firm originated, based on city directories, sometime between 1796 (when Alexander McFarlane is listed by himself at 11 Broad Street) and 1801 (by which time the firm included Player and was listed at 4 Broad Street). In 1802 the firm was at 7 Gaillard's Wharf, but is not listed after that date. Other accounts reveal that the firm failed about this time (Bailey 1984:449).

Antebellum Activities

In 1801 Player was apparently still in the Charleston area, perhaps residing on his plantation. He married Charlotte Elizabeth Thompson, daughter of James Hamden Thomson and Elizabeth Martha Teszevant (Bailey 1984:449). Charlotte Elizabeth died in November 1807 and by 1810 Player had left his Christ Church plantation and moved to Fairfield.

In agreement with his trustees to a marriage settlement, six tracts totaling 456 acres were sold to Edward Mortimer on January 14, 1807 (Charleston County RMC, DB S7, p. 463). His sale to Mortimer, while likely encouraged by his desire to break ties with Charleston, was also founded on family relations. His mother was Elizabeth Mortimer and his sister, Martha (b. 1774), married Edward Mortimer (South Carolina Historical Society, Player Family, File 30-4). Thus, the plantation that had been held by males in the Player family for around 100 years was, in a sense, staying in the family.

Mortimer is listed in the 1807 Charleston City Directory as a merchant at 6 Anson Street. He remains on Anson Street, as a merchant, in the 1809 and 1813 city directories (Hagy 1995:78, 121, 154). The 1810 Census (pg. 182) lists Mortimer in St. Philips & St. Michael Parishes – indicating that he was an absentee owner, preferring the life of a merchant in Charleston to that of a planter in remote Christ Church Parish. His Charleston household consisted of he and his wife, six children and, surprisingly, no slaves (seven slaves were listed in the 1800 census).

Mortimer held the plantation for almost seven and a half years, selling what was described as 500 acres on April 24, 1813 to Daniel Legare (Charleston County RMC, DB X13, p. 113). At this time the tract was described as bounded to the west by lands of Daniel Legare, to the north by lands of Thomas Player Legare, to the east by lands of John White (representing the estate of Isaac Legare, George Barton and Thomas Hall), and to the south on lands of Thomas Hall and Daniel Legare. A plat of the property, supposedly "annexed" to the deed and dated August 18, 1809 by Charles Gailliard, has not been identified (a July 22, 1809 Gailliard plat showing a dividing line between Mortimer and George Barton is preserved in the McCrady Collections [plat 5965], but fails to provide any useful information concerning the tract).

The Legare ownership of the property is not well understood because of the complex lineage and frequent repetition of first names. At some point the property appears to have passed to Nathon Legare and in March 1818 it

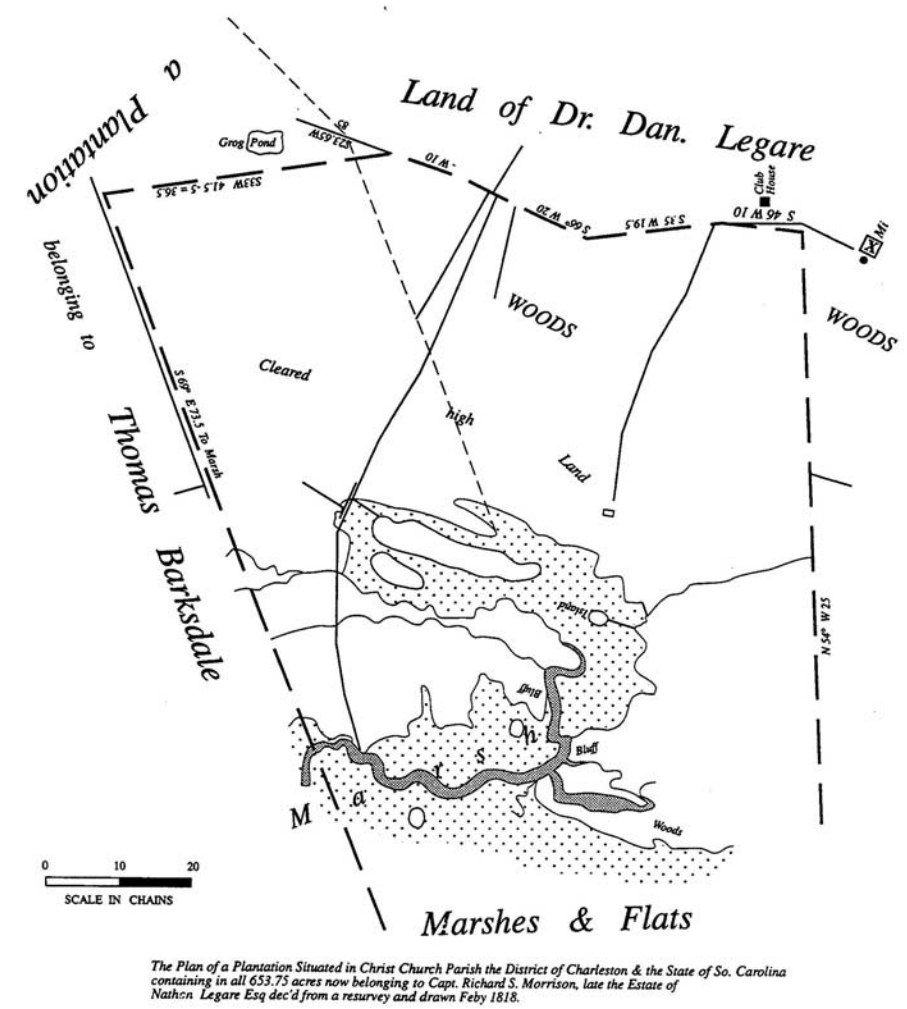

Figure 8. Plat of the estate of Nathon Legare, surveyed in 1818 (redrawn from McCrady Plat 6203).

was sold by Thomas Hunt, Commissioner in Equity to Richard T. Morrison to partition Nathon Legare's lands (Charleston County RMC, DB Y8, p. 47). At this time the 647 acre tract was described as bounded to the north by Mrs. S. Hall, to the northwest by lands of Dr. Daniel Legare, to the west by lands of Thomas Barksdale, and to the southeast by the sound or a branch of the sea. We have been unable to identify Nathon Legare in either the 1813 or 1816 Charleston City Directories (Hagy 1995:151; Hagy 1996:16). Nor is there a Nathon Legare in either the 1810 or 1820 Charleston census. Nevertheless, we believe that this individual was the son of Nathan Legare (ca. 1764 – 1801) and Mary Toomer.

The purchaser, Richard Tillia Morrison (1781-1860) was the husband of Elizabeth Toomer Legare (1789-1845), daughter of Nathan and Mary Legare. Consequently, the partition appears to kept the property in the Legare family.

Morrison, after holding the tract for about 18 years, conveyed it to a Mary Legare on October 26, 1836. This may be the widow Mary Legare listed as living at 71 Boundary Street in the 1835-36 Charleston City Directory (Hagy 1997:49). She is not listed the following year, consistent with the title search that reveals the 436 acre tract being sold on August 9, 1838 Nathan L. Toomer, the executor of Mary Legare to Robert M. Venning (Charleston County RMC, DB U10, p. 498). Likewise, a Mary Legare appears in the 1810 and 1820 census records, but isn't found in 1830. In 1820, prior to her acquisition of this particular plantation she was enumerated with 11 slaves, suggesting that she was either operating a plantation or leasing out slaves to other operators.

The 1836 conveyance more clearly defined the plantation as bounding to the north on the "public road," meaning the Charleston-Georgetown Highway, today incorporated into U.S. 17, east on the lands of Anthony V. Toomer,

south on the sound or branch of the sea, and west on the lands of Richard Morrison.

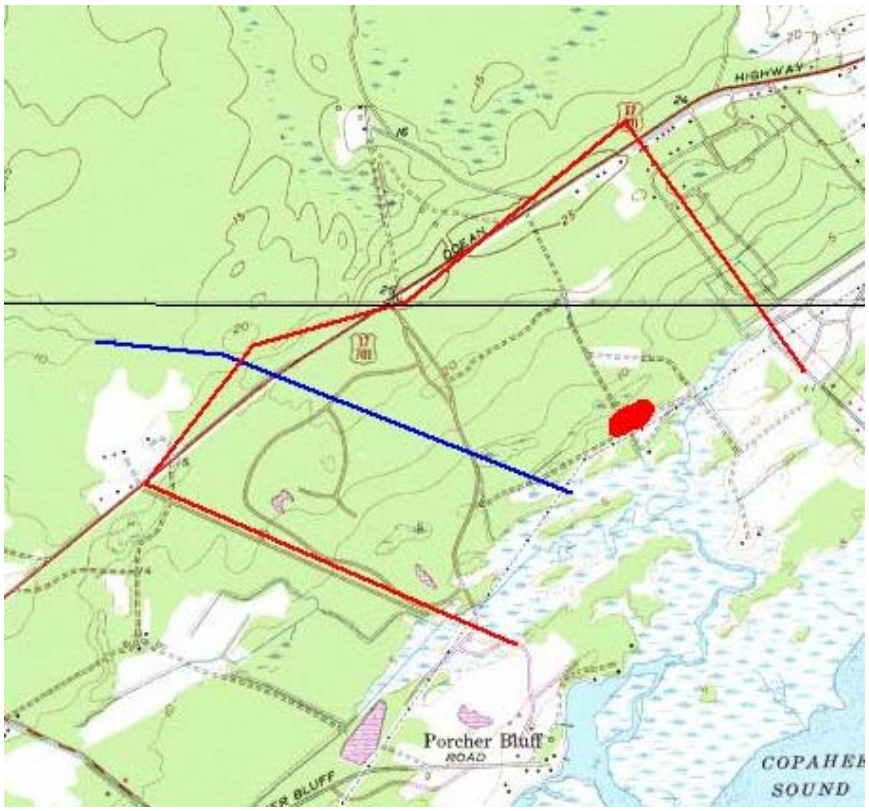

Figure 9. Property boundaries shown on the 1818 plat overlaying modern topographic features. Site 38CH927 is shown in red.

Although these conveyances are confusing, a plat was prepared for Robert Morrison of the 643 acres of the Nathon Legare plantation he acquired (McCrady Plat 6203). This plat, reproduced here as Figure 8, reveals at least the Legare-Morrison settlement, although few other details are present. To help relate this plat to the current landscape, the boundaries are overlaid the modern topographic map in Figure 9. This clearly reveals that the 1818 plantation settlement of Nathon Legare and later Richard T. Morrison is the same as 38CH927.

Venning held the plantation for a relatively short period of time, selling what was described as 653 acres on November 15, 1839 to Thomas Hall Jervey (Charleston County RMC, DB H11, p. 236). Jervey represents the longest-lived owner of the plantation, holding it through the late antebellum with his heirs retaining the tract into the postbellum. The only plat for Jervey's holdings is one prepared in 1855 of the 569 acres of marshlands that were also included in the holdings (McCrady Plat 5948). This fails to show any upland activities.

Relatively little is known as Jervey. Salley (1906:38), for example, only records his birth date as January 1807 and that he died in Mount Pleasant in 1872.

Prior to his acquisition of this tract the Charleston City Directories list his occupation as surveyor and inspector of customs, with his residence at 51 Church Street. From 1822 through 1836 (Hagy 1996: 84, 118, 148; Hagy 1997: 14, 46). By 1836-37 and as late 1840, Jervey listed himself as a "mariner" with his residence at 25 Church Street (Hagy 1997:83, 112). This occupation may have begun far earlier since in 1818-1819 he was petioning Congress for a claim of half of two vessels condemned for violating the slave act. Congress, in 1819 passed a resolution allowing the claim.

The 1850 agricultural census reveals that the Jervey Plantation included only 75 acres of "improved" land, with the remaining 578 acres listed as unimproved, typically considered woods or marsh. The value of the property was listed at $5,000. Jervey owned three horses, two mules, 10 milk cows, five oxen, 25 other cattle, 32 sheep, and 50 swine. The value of this livestock was listed at $667 and the value of animals slaughtered was shown as $150. The

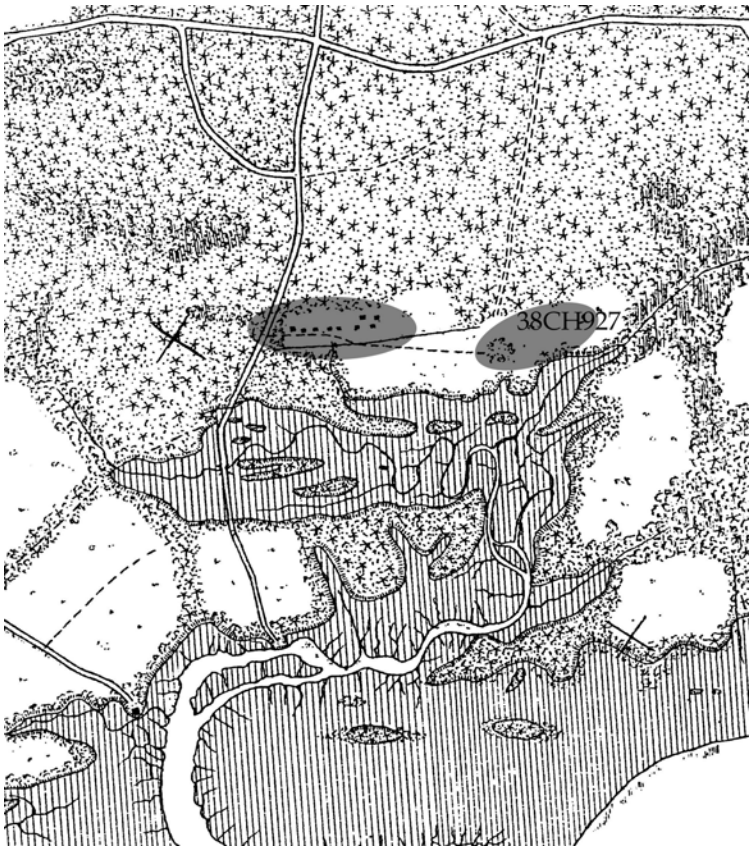

Figure 10. U.S. Coast Survey map *Bull's Bay to Breach Inlet, South Carolina*, dated 1875, but surveyed in the 1860s. Reduced to a scale of approximately 1:24,000.

plantation's only cash crop was rice, with 6400 pounds produced. Also listed are 350 bushels of corn (likely used as feed), 100 bushels of oats (also likely feed for the cattle), 31 pounds of wool, 120 bushels of peas and beans, 250 bushels of sweet potatoes, and 2 tons of hay.

It seems, therefore, that in 1850 the Jervey plantation was similar to almost every respect to other Christ Church Parish tracts (see Brockington et al. 1985:38-35-42). Cotton was virtually non-existent and rice was the premier cash crop, being grown in the small swamps and sloughs so prevalent on tracts such as Jervey's. Cattle were of increasing importance, especially into the 1860s as rice declined. Unfortunately, the 1860 agricultural census fails to list Jervey.

While there was a noticeable economic decline in Christ Church's economic standing from 1850 to 1860, Jervey increased his slaves from 33 to 46. Curiously, Jervey's slave population appears to have become younger. In 1850 45% of the slaves were under the age of 16, while by 1860 the number under 16 years had increased to 54% of the total.

While we have no plats from the late antebellum, there is one Coastal Survey map that is of considerable importance. Figure 10 shows nine structures in an area about 1,500 feet west of 38CH927, suggesting a possible slave settlement with utility buildings. No clearly defined main house is visible. In the vicinity of 38CH927, however, the map shows no structures, although there is a clump of trees that might represent the ruins of the main house – and there is a road connecting the clump of trees and the posited slave settlement.

This map – found very accurate and reliable at a variety of other Christ Church projects – suggests that the Jervey settlement moved sometime prior to the late antebellum.

Postbellum Farming

Even the 1870 census provides little useful information concerning Jervey or his ownership, noting only that his plantation, valued at $5,800, included 180 acres of improved land and 1050 acres of unimproved woodlands. While this suggests that Jervey increased his holdings in the postbellum, no evidence of this was seen in the review of deeds. The 1870 population lists Jervey, 60 years old, with his wife, Angelina (50 years), two daughters, Susan (20 years) and Eva (16 years), and son, Daniel (19 years). His real estate in this document is valued at only $2,000, and he lists a personal estate of $100 – suggesting that the Civil War had been hard on Jervey's fortunes.

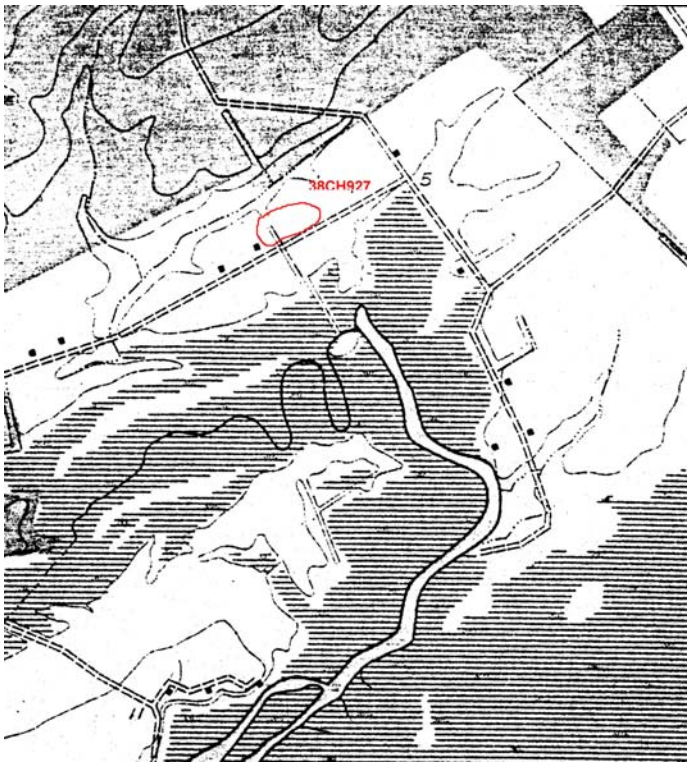

Figure 11. 1919 Fort Moultrie topographic sheet showing the vicinity of site 38CH927.

After Thomas Jervey's death the property was apparently held by his wife, who on February 9, 1889 leased the lands to Philip G. Porcher for five years (running through December 1893). This lease, however, excluded "a dwelling House and out buildings appurtenances to the same" (Charleston County RMC, DB A38, p. 14). This reveals that the plantation house was still present as late as 1889. As previously discussed, we believe that the bulk of the settlement had been moved to a more westerly location by this time.

The heirs of Thomas H. Jervey sold the plantation, still described as containing 653 acres, on February 1, 1896 to Joseph T. Dill. At this time the property was bounded to the northwest by lands formerly of Dr. Daniel Legare, to the northeast by lands formerly of Mrs. Sabina Hall, now Dr. A.V. Toomer, to the southeast on marshes, and to the southwest on lands of Mr. Thomas Barksdale. Clearly the deed references drew on very old plats and previous deed descriptions.

Dill, an early organizer of the James Island Agricultural Society and partner in the cotton factorage firm of Dill-Ball, may have sought to add the plantation to his cotton producing lands. For whatever reason he conveyed the property to his wife, Fanny A. Dill, who in 1898 sold the 653 acre plantation to Philip G. Porcher (Charleston County RMC, DB H23, p. 74).

This deed references a "plat by John Diamond from a re-survey made in February 1818 which said plat is now in the possession of the granter under the conveyance from Joseph T. Dill to Fanny A. Dill and being the same possessed and conveyed by the heirs of Thos. H. Jervey to Joseph T. Dill." This plat has not been found in either the Charleston RMC or the McCrady plats. We have not been able to locate this plat in the Dill papers at the Charleston Museum or the Charleston Library Society. Nor have we been successful in finding it among any of the Porcher heirs. While this plat was certainly the basis for the drawing shown as Figure 8, it is possible that the original plat provided more detail.

Regardless, this tract was conveyed by Porcher, whose main holding was nearby Oakland Plantation, to his son, Philip G. Porcher, Jr. on January 9, 1900 (Charleston RMC, DB O23, p. 108). The property is described as containing 201 acres of high land and 472 acres of marsh. It is described as bordered to the north by lands of S.A. Whiteside and Dr. H.V. Toomer, to the east by the Santee Path, to the south by the lands of Philip G. Porcher, Sr. and James MacBeth, and to the west by lands of Legare. It is also described in the deed as "being a portion of the plantation belonging to the late Thomas H. Jervey," continuing the chain of title back to the Jervey tract.

Absent any resurveys of the property during the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries, we are left with two topographic surveys. The first are the 1919 Fort Moultrie 15' USGS topographic sheet (Figure 11). This was produced prior to the construction of U.S. 17 and shows the area as it must have been in the first and second decades of the twentieth century. No structures are found in the site area.

Although the 1943 War Department's Fort Moultrie topographic sheet shows that US 17 has been constructed, there are no appreciable changes in the project area.

Agricultural Profile of Christ Church

Initial Premises

One of the most important premises of this review is that the 1850 and 1860 agricultural statistics for South Carolina, Charleston District, and Christ Church are fundamentally correct – or at least that they are not inherently flawed. This is a difficult assumption to prove – although we do point out that researchers have traditionally accepted the census information at face value for both individual site studies and broader economic interpretations.

Another assumption is that the 1850 and 1860 dollar values can be compared without adjustment. According to Robert Sahr at Oregon State University, prices climbed 1% or less between 1850 and 1860 (with significant inflationary pressures not seen until the Civil War). Consequently, we believe that comparison of prices between 1850 and 1860, without adjustment, is reasonable.

Finally, we must attempt to devise some stable base or mechanism for comparing the production of the state, county, and parish. It makes little sense to point out that a particular parish harvest 100 more bales of cotton than another if we don't control for other factors such as improved acres, value of the farms, and/or value of the implements. Intuitively it seems reasonable to believe that each of these – number of acres, value reflecting soils and improvements, and availability of implements – will have an effect on the agricultural production of an area. Nevertheless, we have chosen acreage to be the dominant factor. Thus, acreage percent (in comparison to another area) becomes the baseline for other percentage comparisons.

Examination of the 1850 Data

The Charleston District, in 1850, contained 4.5% of the state's improved acreage, its farms represented an identical 4.5% of the state's total farm value, and 4.2% of the value of farm implements. In terms of general economic standing, Charleston District appears on par with the rest of the state.

There are some areas where Charleston District was a very significant producer – harvesting or bringing to market far larger proportions than would be suggested by their acreage and economic standing. For example, 57% of the state's market produce came from Charleston District, as well as 13.5% of the orchard products and 11.5% of the sweet potatoes. The Charleston area produced 9.8% of the state's rice and 8.1% of the state's hay. Other crops, such as peas and beans and Irish potatoes, while not produced in extraordinary numbers, were still respectable. Yet other crops – some very important – were found in very low quantities. For example, Charleston produced only 1.4% of the state's cotton and 2% of its corn. Only 2.2% of the value of animals slaughtered came from Charleston.

At a district-wide level, therefore, Charleston in 1850 appears to have already begun to focus on a few market or early "truck" crops, with its economic base built on rice – not cotton.

Turning to Christ Church we see that it comprises only 3.7% of the district's improved acreage, yet contained 8.4% of the district's farm value and 6.2% of the district's farm implements value. In other words, while relatively small,

many of the farms, in 1850 were highly valued and contained an abundance of agricultural machinery.

In spite of its size (containing only 3.7% of the improved acreage), Christ Church contained 7.3% of the district's livestock value and contributed 9.3% of the meat. It also contributed 17.5% of the orchard products and 18.4% of the market or truck crops. Christ Church was also a major producer of Irish potatoes (32.8%), sweet potatoes (12.2%), oats (12.9%), wool (10.9%), butter (9.0%), corn (8.0%), and hay (7.2%). There are, in addition, several crops produced in close proportion to the improved acreage (especially when value is factored in): rice (6.3%), and peas and beans (7.3%). In fact, only cotton was produced in an amount below the parish's proportional acreage.

This paints a picture of Christ Church's plantations being prosperous and well managed in 1850 – making contributions largely over the parish's proportion of improved acreage. It appears that the parish's notoriously low and poorly drained soils, while difficult for cotton, provided excellent opportunities for inland or swamp rice cultivation – well into the mid-nineteenth century. Likewise, the parish was even more aggressively promoting truck farming than the county as a whole. It appears that a number of items – orchard produce, market items, beef, and dairy products – were specifically responding to the Charleston market.

We can also compare the production on the Jervey Plantation in 1850 with the parish as whole (see Table 2). The first observation is that the plantation is smaller than the average or mean for the parish – with about 1/3 fewer improved acres and a fifth less total acres. In spite of this the farm value is higher than the average for the parish and the amount invested in implements is nearly as great as the average (the latter suggesting that the plantation was certainly capitalized as well as other Christ Church farms). When we consider the difference in size, all of the livestock numbers are at, or in some cases well above, what would be expected

Table 1.
Agricultural Production for 1850 in South Carolina, Charleston District, and Christ Church Parish

Category	South Carolina	Charleston District	% State	Christ Church	% District
Acres Improved	4,072,651	183,236	4.5	6,765	3.7
Value of Farms	$82,431,684	$3,681,543	4.5	$308,600	8.4
Value of Farm Implements	$4,136,354	$174,506	4.2	$10,870	6.2
Value of Livestock	$15,060,015	$525,900	3.5	$38,582	7.3
Value of Animals Slaughtered	$3,502,637	$78,086	2.2	$7,275	9.3
Value of Orchard Products	$35,108	$4,751	13.5	$830	17.5
Value of Market Produce	$47,286	$26,940	57.0	$4,970	18.4
Indian Corn (bushels)	16,271,454	318,737	2.0	25,665	8.0
Oats (bushels)	2,322,155	38,457	1.7	4,980	12.9
Rice (pounds)	159,930,613	15,700,603	9.8	991,600	6.3
Ginned Cotton (400 lbs. bales)	300,901	4,221	1.4	111	2.6
Wool (pounds)	487,233	14,574	3.0	1,591	10.9
Peas & Beans (bushels)	1,026,900	64,191	6.3	4,720	7.3
Irish Potatoes (bushels)	136,494	7,568	5.5	2,480	32.8
Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	4,337,469	498,972	11.5	61,076	12.2
Butter (pounds)	2,981,850	82,901	2.8	7,450	9.0
Hay (tons)	29,925	2,440	8.1	177	7.2

in terms of the parish as a whole. For example, we would expect 2.7 horses and there are 3; we would expect 1.3 asses and there are 2. Some livestock, however, are found far above the anticipated number – including milk cows, sheep and swine. And while we might expect the farm, based on improved acres, to have only $407 in livestock, it actually has $669. Clearly the Jervey Plantation contained a large number of animals for its size – and this is reflected when we look at meat produced. While we might expect only $77 given the size of the improved acres, there is actually $150 – nearly a third that of the parish mean. This, too, supports the idea that the Jervey Plantation was focusing on livestock.

Table 2.
Comparison of Jervey Plantation and Christ Church Agricultural Production in 1850

	Parish-wide mean	Jervey Plantation
Improved acres	111	75
Unimproved acres	708	578
Total acres	792	653
Value of farm	$4,822	$5,000
Value of implements	$170	$150
Horses	4	3
Asses	2	2
Milk cows	10	10
Oxen	3	5
Other cattle	36	25
Sheep	17	32
Swine	40	50
Value of livestock	$603	$669
Corn (bu)	401	350
Oats (bu)	79	100
Rice (lbs)	15,494	6,400
Cotton (bales)	2	0
Wool (bu)	84	31
Peas and beans (bu)	110	120
Irish potatoes (bu)	113	0
Sweet potatoes (bu)	1018	250
Value of orchard produce	$13	$0
Value of garden produce	$80	$0
Butter (lbs)	118	0
Hay (tons)	3	2
Value of animals slaughtered	$114	$150

When we look at agricultural production we see that the plantation was producing large amounts of corn and oats – both probably intended for cattle. There is also a large production of peas and beans – which might also have been planted for feed. Other crops, such as potatoes, are either absent or far below anticipated production. Likewise, cash crops appear to have been of minimal importance. The plantation produced no cotton and its rice production – 6,400 pounds – is below both the parish average and also the anticipated production of nearly 10,500 pounds.

Taken together the resulting profile suggests that the owner was focusing on ranching and livestock, while not totally ignoring the potential of rice as a valuable cash crop. The plantation stands in contrast to the overall market strategy of Christ Church Parish. While certainly not "typical" of agricultural pursuits, the plantation was probably of "typical" wealth.

Examination of the 1860 Data

Turning to 1860 (Table 3) we see that while the Charleston District contributed only 2.8% of the state's improved acreage, the district contained 3.7% of the state's farm value and 5.4% of the state's value of farm implements. This suggests that, compared to the rest of the state, Charleston District was fairly well capitalized. The value of the livestock, at 3.8% of the state's, is also larger than might be expected given farm size. In fact, as the variety of agricultural products is explored it appears that the district is at or above anticipated production in all but a few areas. For example, Charleston District produced only 2.3% of the orchard products, 2.5% of the corn, 1.5% of the

oats, 1.7% of the butter, and 1.8% of the cotton. To make up for these deficits, Charleston produced very large quantities of market produce (56.7% of the state's total), rice (15.9%), hay (15.5%), and Irish potatoes (12.4%).

At the district wide level we see very strong market production numbers coupled with a focus on ranching. While the numbers for traditional fodder crops like corn and oats are low, we believe that they were easily supplemented by the very strong hay production. With a countywide production focused on supplying the Charleston market, the most significant cash crop was inland or swamp rice, ideally suited to the generally low, wet soils of much of Charleston District.

Christ Church Parish represents 10% of the improved acreage of the district, yet the value of the farms were only 8.7% of the district total, the value of implements was only 8.4%, the value of livestock was only 8.6%, and the value of meat production was only 2.8% -- all relatively low numbers compared to the improved acres. This suggests that while there were a number of plantations with abundant cultivated lands, the parish as a whole was undercapitalized compared to the district and state.

When we look at other aspects of agricultural production Christ Church in 1860 continues to suggest a very weak economic condition. It produced only 3.8% of the district's orchard products, 3.3% of the Irish potatoes, 6% of the butter, and 3.4% of the hay. Looking at cash crops the situation seems even bleaker – Christ Church produced only 1% of the district's rice and only 7% of the cotton.

Table 3.
Agricultural Production for 1860 in South Carolina, Charleston District, and Christ Church Parish

Category	South Carolina	Charleston District	% State	Christ Church	% District
Acres Improved	11,623,859	127,194	2.8	12,664	10.0
Value of Farms	$139,652,508	$5,202,502	3.7	$454,125	8.7
Value of Farm Implements	$6,151,657	$332,808	5.4	$28,165	8.4
Value of Livestock	$23,934,465	$912,399	3.8	$78,176	8.6
Value of Animals Slaughtered	$6,072,822	$185,304	3.1	$5,270	2.8
Value of Orchard Products	$213,989	$5,009	2.3	$1,035	20.7
Value of Market Produce	$187,348	$106,213	56.7	$4,006	3.8
Indian Corn (bushels)	15,065,606	383,316	2.5	37,115	9.7
Oats (bushels)	936,974	13,757	1.5	2,825	20.5
Rice (pounds)	119,100,528	18,899,512	15.9	180,000	1.0
Ginned Cotton (400 lbs. bales)	353,412	6,381	1.8	450	7.0
Wool (pounds)	427,102	19,381	4.5	3,484	18.0
Peas & Beans (bushels)	1,728,074	52,546	3.0	5,870	11.2
Irish Potatoes (bushels)	226,735	28,144	12.4	915	3.3
Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	4,115,688	323,042	7.8	42,300	13.1
Butter (pounds)	3,177,934	54,068	1.7	3,240	6.0
Hay (tons)	87,587	13,587	15.5	464	3.4

What Christ Church produced in abundance were orchard products (20.7% of the district total), oats (20.5%), wool (18%), sweet potatoes (13.1%), peas and beans (11.2%). Corn was produced in about the proportion one would expect (9.7%). The items that came from Christ Church are varied and difficult to interpret. For example, oats and corn (even sweet potatoes) might well represent fodder for livestock – but the value of livestock, the value of meat production, and even the value of butter is relatively low. These data suggest a floundering agricultural economy with increasing disparity between the wealthy and modest planters. For example, while the parish's average cotton production was 8 bales, production ranged from one bale to 58 bales, with most farms producing no cotton. Figure 12 clearly reveals that the Parish contained, at least in terms of cotton, a very small and wealthy minority, a broad middle "class" of smaller cotton producers, and a very large number of planters that, for whatever reason, failed to make any substantial cotton on their land.

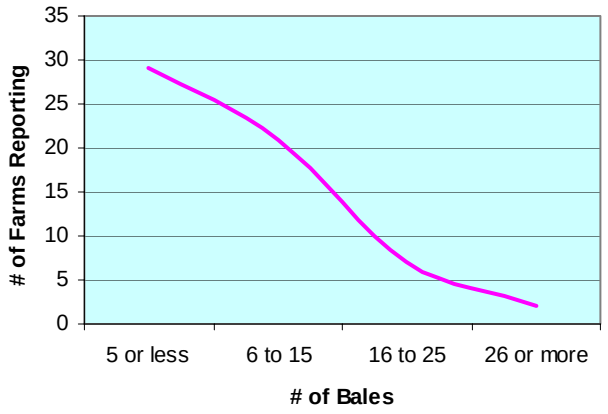

Figure 12. Cotton production in Christ Church Parish in 1860.

While this is a perfect lead-in to a comparison of the parish means and the production on the Jervey Plantation immediately prior to the Civil War, the reader will recall that there is no data in the 1860 census that can be specifically linked to the property.

Table 4.
Agricultural Production for Christ Church Parish, 1850 and 1860

Category	Charleston District 1850	Christ Church 1850	Charleston District 1860	Change %	Christ Church 1860	Change %
Acres Improved	183,236	6,765	127,194	-30.6	12,664	+87.2
Value of Farms	$3,681,543	$308,600	$5,202,502	+41.3	$454,125	+47.1
Value of Farm Implements	$174,506	$10,870	$332,808	+90.7	$28,225	+159.6
Value of Livestock	$525,900	$38,582	$912,399	+73.5	$77,575	+101.1
Value of Animals Slaughtered	$78,086	$7,275	$185,304	+137.3	$5,270	-27.6
Value of Orchard Produce	$4,751	$830	$5,009	+5.4	$1,035	+24.7
Value of Market Produce	$26,940	$4,970	$106,213	+294.2	$4,006	-19.4
Indian Corn (bushels)	318,737	25,665	383,316	+20.3	37,315	+45.4
Oats (bushels)	38,457	4,980	13,757	-64.2	2,825	-43.3
Rice (pounds)	15,700,603	991,600	18,899,512	+20.4	180,000	-81.8
Ginned cotton (400 lb. bales)	4,221	111	6,381	+51.2	450	+305.4
Wool (pounds)	14,574	1,591	19,381	+33.0	3,364	+111.4
Peas & beans (bushels)	64,191	4,720	52,546	-18.1	5,870	+24.4
Irish potatoes (bushels)	7,568	2,480	28,144	+271.9	915	-63.1
Sweet potatoes (bushels)	498,972	61,076	28,144	-94.3	42,300	-30.7
Butter (pounds)	82,901	7,450	54,068	-34.8	3,240	-56.5
Hay (tons)	2,440	177	13,587	+456.8	564	+218.6

Comparison of 1850 and 1860 Data

It's also useful to examine the change specific to Christ Church Parish relative to Charleston District in the decade between 1850 and 1860 (Table 4). For example, while the total improved acreage in Charleston declined by 30.6%, the improved acreage in Christ Church was actually expanded by over 87%. In spite of this, the value of the farms present in Charleston District increased by 41%, while those in Christ Church increased by 47%. The value of farm implements increased 90% in Charleston District and nearly 160% in Christ Church. This suggests that the capitalization of farming in both the district – and especially in the parish – grew rapidly between 1850 and 1860. While acreage declined district wide, the Christ Church planters, as a group, brought more land into cultivation, another sign of increasing capitalization.

Similarly the value of livestock increased dramatically – nearly 74% district wide and 102% in Christ Church. As a result, the value of meat production in the district increased 137%; yet in Christ Church meat production fell by nearly 28% and butter production fell by nearly 57%. On the other hand, wool production in the parish increased by 111%. It appears that while more money was invested in livestock, in general the parish saw a reduced return on that investment. So, while it may reflect a move toward ranching, this strategy doesn't seem to have been entirely productive. Charleston District overall was much more successful in this effort – the increase in the value of livestock seems clearly associated with the increase in meat production, and butter production while down, did not suffer the same loss as Christ Church Parish.

When we look at foodstuffs potentially associated with cattle ranching and livestock – corn, oats, and hay – we see that at the district level there was an extraordinary increase in hay production (nearly 457%), a modest increase in corn production (about 20%), but a significant drop in oat production (64%). This trend is repeated at the parish level, where corn increased by 45%, hay by nearly 219%, but oat production fell by 43%. The decline in oats admittedly may be associated with a wet year, but in general it appears that there was a realignment of efforts to support increased livestock production.

An examination of the two cash crops, rice and cotton, is also revealing. At the district level, rice production increased a modest 20%. In Christ Church Parish, however, there seems to have a significant abandonment of efforts to cultivation the swamps, with rice production falling by nearly 82%. Throughout Charleston District cotton increased significantly – production was up over 51% between 1850 and 1860. The change in Christ Church, however, is nothing less than astonishing – there was an increase of over 300%. Rice may have been abandoned, but cotton had suddenly become king in the parish – at least, as previously discussed, for a few.

Otherwise, production in the parish was down – sweet potatoes declined by nearly 31%, Irish potatoes by 63%, and market produce by nearly 20%. Improvements were seen only in peas and beans (up 24%) and orchard produce (up almost a quarter). While the improvement in produce may sound encouraging the mean production per plantation was only $17 – hardly indicative of a healthy economy. Likewise the average production of peas and beans was only 98 bushels – a relatively modest return.

Conclusions

Consequently, it appears that from 1850 to 1860 Christ Church saw a significant re-alignment in agricultural production. Overall there was a move to ranching, although its success is questionable. Otherwise there was a turn away from truck farming and the Charleston market, with the larger plantations placing their trust – or at least hope – in cotton. With this shift toward cotton there is the predictable reduction in subsistence crops – not only those intended for sale in Charleston, but

also those necessary for the well-being of the slave population.

These statistics suggest that between 1850 and 1860 South Carolina's agricultural economy was falling on increasingly hard times. Edgar (1998:284) notes this concern for the entire state, commenting, "South Carolina's economic well-being was illusory." He comments that there were danger signs at a variety of levels, but the warnings were "obscured by others that shouted progress and prosperity." It seems that in Christ Church Parish, as the economic depressing deepened, there may have been an effort to counter losses by placing more land into production. Perhaps another strategy was the reduction of the parish's slave population – with the numbers declining from 2,711 in 1850 to 2,546 in 1860 (a 6.1% decline). This appears to represent a case of "doing more with less." At the same time the white population in the district increased by 67.9%.

Scardaville (1985:41) suggests that to counter the economic downturn, Christ Church turned to ranching. He notes that the value of livestock increased, as did the corn production (used primarily for feed), and wool production. Yet, we notice that the value of slaughtered animals not only declined, but also that it represents a very modest sum – looking more like a "cottage industry" than "ranching." While there was certainly a ready-made market in Charleston, and it seems likely that ranching along with vegetable production was important to some planters, the farms in Christ Church were very diverse. In fact, Christ Church parish provides us with seemingly contradictory – or at least confusing – indicators of both distress and prosperity.

While Scardaville (1985) claims that Christ Church "had carved out its own niche in the state's economic system" (Scardaville 1985:35), this niche, at best, seems precarious and unlikely to have promoted the regions long-term economic health. With the Civil War just around the corner, Christ Church seems to have been precariously close to a collapse.

Historical Summary

There is little question that this historical synthesis is limited by our inability to recover additional plats, or the 1860 agricultural census, or diaries from the plantation owners. Yet we do have a clearer view of the activities on the parcel.

The property can be traced back to series of very early Proprietary land grants to the Player family, who established one or settlements in the area by at least 1718. The settlement was still there in 1768, with a main house and a slave settlement that, in 1790, housed at least 49 African Americans. By 1800 there were upwards of 52 slaves, along with a plantation that appears to have contained a variety of livestock, but likely focused on the production of rice. Of equal importance, there is good evidence that throughout the eighteenth century the plantation was owner occupied and it probably reflected considered development.

Between 1801 and 1839 the plantation passed through a variety of hands and there is very little information available on activities that may have taken place on the tract. A redrawn 1818 plat provides no details and the original plat cannot be found. Nevertheless, we are tempted to speculate that the plantation was largely held by absentee owners during this period.

With the purchase of the plantation by Thomas Hall Jervey it appears that it was again owner occupied and there were probably significant changes in its layout and operation.

By 1850 the slave population was listed as 39. This is consistent with the emphasis on ranching and the declining rice production. It also indicates that the number of slave structures would have decreased from perhaps 10 in 1800 to a few as 7 in 1850.

Using parish wide information since none are available for the Jervey tract in 1860, we can expect that the economic standing of the

plantation continued to slide, although there may have been a momentary resurgence of cotton on the plantation.

Table 5.
Owners of the Study Tract During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

Name	Occupation Dates	Residency Status
Roger Player	ca. 1704-1718	Resident
Thomas Player	ca. 1718-1768	Resident
Thomas Player, Jr.	ca. 1768-1800	Resident
Joshua Player	1800-1807	Resident
Edwart Mortimer	1807-1813	Non-resident
Daniel Legare	1813-?	Unknown
Nathon Legare	?-1818	Unknown
Richard T. Morrison	1818-1836	Non-resident
Mary Legare	1836-ca. 1838	Unknown
Robert M. Venning	1838-1839	Non-resident
Thomas Hall Jervey	1839-1872	Resident
Wife/heirs Thomas Hall Jervey	1872-1896	Non-resident
Joseph T. Dill	1896-?	Non-resident
Fanny A. Dill	?-1898	Non-resident
Phillip G. Porcher	1898-1900	Non-resident
Phillip G. Porcher, Jr.	1900-	Unknown

Sometime during the late antebellum we believe that the house was no longer occupied by the Jervey family and much of the plantation, including the slave settlement, was shifted to the west. The reason for a new location is unclear, although the original settlement may have been found to be too low and disease prone. There is a very noticeable difference in elevation with 38CH927 immediately adjacent to a drainage slough that seems, at least today, to be filled with mosquitoes.

Sadly, while the remains of the nineteenth century settlement were identified during the original survey (site 38CH929; Brockington et al. 1987:71) their importance was not recognized and the site, recommended not eligible, was developed. The inability to recognize the significance of the site can perhaps be traced back to the level of historical research conducted for the project, coupled with the absence of routine pedestrian or shovel testing transects in the site area. Regardless, it is not possible to address the issue of site location change at the nineteenth century site since it is now destroyed.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century there are oral history accounts that suggest the parcel was heavily farmed by the Porchers, who planted primarily cotton.

These data reveal the importance of the archaeological research undertaken at 38CH927. Not only is the site all that remains of the Jervey (and possibly earlier Player) plantation, but in the absence of better plats it must also be relied on to address a variety of temporal questions. When was the settlement begun and what evidence might there be of the early eighteenth century Player developments? Is there evidence of various ownership changes? Can the archaeological resources help identify when the slave settlement was moved to the west? And can the archaeology help us understand when the plantation house was abandoned?

EXCAVATIONS

Methodology

Field Methods

The initial survey of the site included only shovel testing. Although the intervals were typically about 25 feet, the number of tests was limited (the original Brockington survey excavated 30 shovel tests and three small units, while the Chicora survey opened an additional 26 shovel tests). As a result, we felt that bush hogging the site, establishing a uniform site grid, and conducting close interval testing would provide expedient information on artifact density and the distribution of the site's components.

Bush hogging of the site was necessary since the vegetation over much of the tract was very thick. This was especially the case in the area east of the north-south access road, representing the portion of the site that had been under cultivation. This portion of the site had been allowed to go into a second growth of immature pine and hardwoods with a dense understory of vines. In many areas bush hogging was not possible and a hydro-ax was used. Once opened, the area was mapped (using a contour interval of one-foot) and a 25-foot grid was established by Trico Engineering Consultants. This grid extended 325 feet north-south and 525 feet east-west, exceeding what we thought were the site limits.

In order to possibly identify structures and activity areas, we proposed an auger survey of the study tract at the gridded 25 foot intervals. This interval was based not only on our own experience in attempting to identify specific structures at low country plantations, but has recently also been duplicated by Dr. Bennie Keel from work at Magnolia Plantation in Louisiana (Keel 1999).

Upon our arrival at the site, we determined that the site grid should be extended an additional 50 feet (two grid points) to the west, in order to encompass the edge of the golf course. This would help us evaluate how much, if any, of the site might be under the golf course and thus unavailable for research. It would also help us establish clear limits for the site's western boundary. We also discovered that extending the site grid 325 feet north-south placed the northern 50 feet in the protected wetlands. As a result this portion of the site grid was eliminated from consideration. Because of these modifications, the final site grid encompassed an area measuring 250 feet north-south by 575 feet east-west, or 3.3 acres.

In order to establish uniform horizontal control (both for the auger survey as well as the following block excavations), a modified Chicago grid designation system was established over the site area. The initial southwest corner established by the Trico survey team was designed 0R100 (the westward extension resulted in the grid being extended to 0R50). With this system the first number indicates feet north of a datum (0R0), while the second number indicates feet right (or east) of the data. Therefore, 100R200 would be located 100 feet north and 200 feet east (or right) of the datum. Individual squares are designed by their southeast corners.

The established grid covered the area from N0 to N250 and bordering the golf course from R50 to R625. The site datum was

established just south of 0R175 and consisted of a railroad spike in South Carolina Electric and Gas power pole 393751 with an elevation of 9.22 feet above mean sea level (AMSL). Grid point 0R300 is a ¾-inch open pipe property marker. Grid point 0R582 is a 2-inch open pipe property marker. This allows the grid to be re-established in the future should that be necessary.

Figure 13. Using a "Bobcat" to conduct the auger testing on the site.

The topographic mapping reveals little about the site, except that it does appear to be situated on an east-west sand ridge. Elevations fall off to the north, toward the wetland, and to the south, toward the marsh. Other landscape features noted by the mapping include the number of old live oaks that are associated with the roadway south of the site area, toward the marsh. Although not well defined, these appear to represent an avenue beginning about mid-site and extending southward to the marsh edge. Twentieth century maps (see Figure 11) suggest that the causeway may date from the late nineteenth century. Given the growth rates of live oaks, this appears reasonable.

Each of the identified 264 grid points were auger tested using a small bobcat with mounted 10-inch auger (Figure 13). We selected auger testing over shovel testing since augering tends to be both faster in open areas and to do less damage to artifacts. The use of a powered auger allowed all of the tests to be excavated in a single day. All tests were screened using ¼-inch mesh (Figure 14). While all artifacts were collected, shell, mortar, and brick were weighed in the field, noted, and discarded. The resulting artifact, shell, and brick/mortar weight data were used to produce density maps that guided additional research at the site.

Most revealing is the map for the overall artifact density (Figure 15). This map reveals two very dense and well defined concentrations. Although these seem to merge together in the south, they appear to be represent north-south smears or spreads of artifacts at the western site edge and to the east about 75 feet. The general spread of artifacts continues eastward, with a small concentration at the far eastern edge of the


Figure 14. Shovel testing auger points at the western site edge, looking toward the golf course.

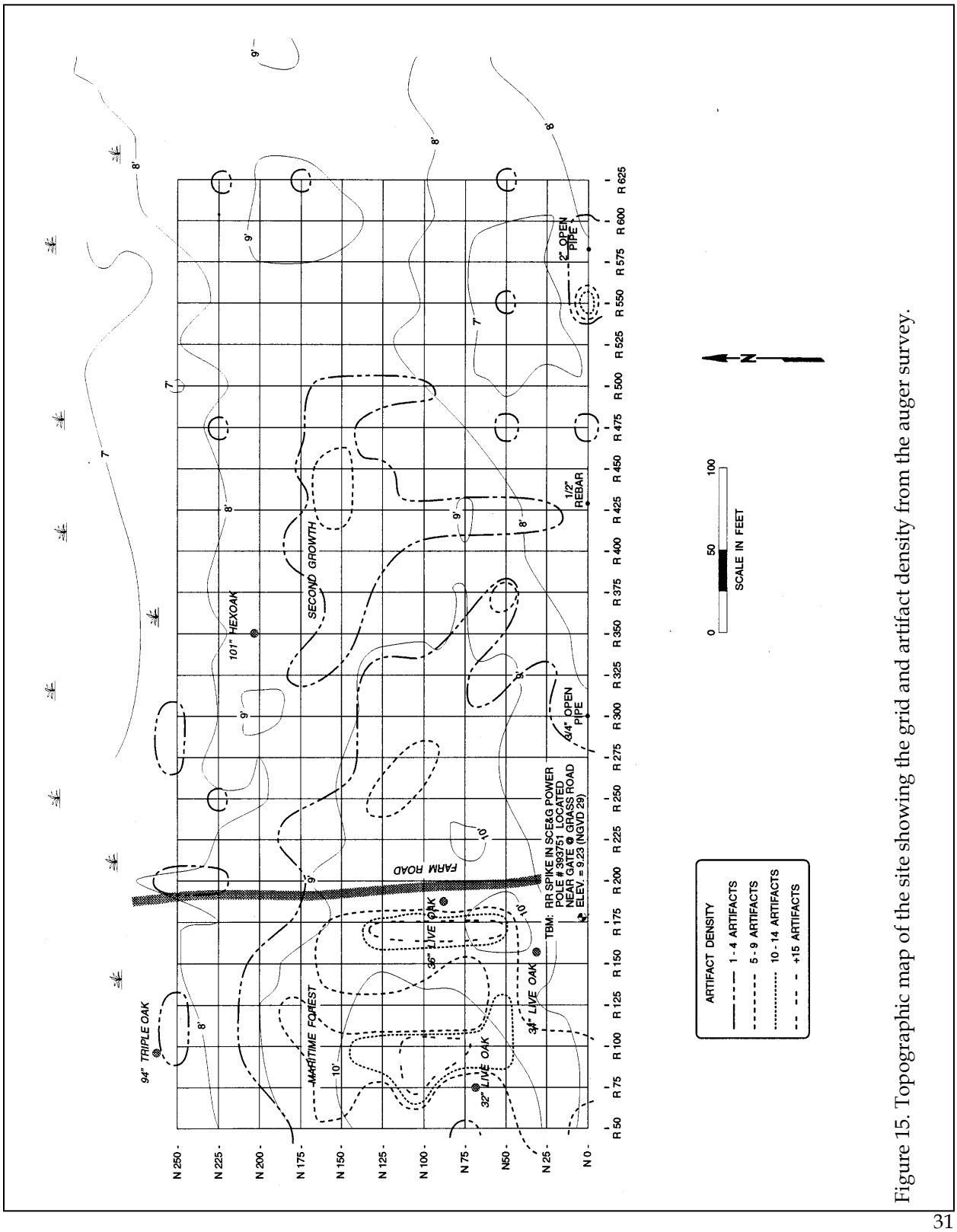

Figure 15. Topographic map of the site showing the grid and artifact density from the auger survey.

Figure 16. Excavation of 45R155 looking southwest.

site. Although artifacts are spread over the entire site grid, this is the result of agricultural activity. The site core appears to be confined to an area measuring about 450 feet east-west. The north-south dimensions of the site, however, cannot be determined, since the testing did not establish a southern edge. The northern edge, however, seems to be situated about 50 to 100 feet south of the wetlands.

Excavation proceeded by hand with all soil mechanically screened through ¼-inch mesh. Screen loads were sorted in the field, with all materials from a single provenience bagged together. Shell and brick were quantified by weight in the field and discarded. Munsell soil color notations were made during the course of excavations, typically on moist, freshly exposed soils.

A one-quart soil samples were retained from each provenience. Some colleagues retain much smaller samples (often no larger than an ounce), in order to minimize the size of the collection for curation. Such small samples severely restrict the types of future analyses possible.

Units were troweled and photographed using black and white negative and color transparency film, typically at the base of the plowzone and the base of the excavations. Each unit was drawn at a scale of 1 inch to 2 feet. Features were designed by consecutive numbers. Post holes were consecutively numbered by specific unit.

Feature fill was water screened through ¼-inch mesh and features, upon completion of their excavation, were also photographed using black and white negative film and color transparencies. One quart soil samples were obtained from all features. In addition,

Figure 17. Use of a backhoe to expand recovery of structural patterns.

approximately 5 to 10 gallons of soil from each feature that exhibited dark, humic soil was retained for off-site water flotation (light colored soil, where experience has taught us the chance for good flotation recovery is unlikely, was not retained).

At the conclusion of the block excavations, a backhoe was used to mechanically strip one area in an effort to complete the recovery of the post hole pattern for a structure identified initially from block excavations. Although the only backhoe available had teeth on the bucket, by very carefully directing the operator, it was possible to ensure that a relatively level floor, requiring a minimal amount of shovel cleaning, was left. The backhoe was used to open about 410 square feet of excavation.

At the conclusion of the work the excavations were covered in plastic, the profiles backfilled and Charleston National Properties was notified that backfilling could be conducted at their convenience.

Laboratory Processing and Analysis

Processing was begun in the field, but is being completed at Chicora's labs in Columbia. During this washing artifacts were sorted by broad categories – pottery, lithics, bone, ceramics, glass, iron, and other materials. Upon drying the artifacts were temporarily bagged by these categories, pending cataloging.

Cataloging has begun, and is following the system employed by the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, where we anticipate that the collection and the associated field records will be curated. All original field records will be provided on pH neutral, alkaline buffered paper. Black and white photographic materials have been processed to archival permanence. Color slides, while not considered archivally stable, consist of Fujichrome material, which has the highest degree of permanence next to Kodachrome (which is increasingly difficult to have appropriately processed).

Zooarchaeological materials were sorted out for analysis. As discussed below, we have identified very little ethnobotanical material with good contexts for study.

Results of the Excavations

Auger Testing

As previously mentioned, Figure 15 reveals the artifact density map for the site area. There is clearly a broad smear of artifacts extending east-west, from the edge of the golf course for about 450 feet. This "smear" seems to extend from the southwestern corner of the site northward for about 220 feet. It tends to taper in north-south size toward the east.

Within this broad smear of artifacts we identified two core areas. One is immediately adjacent to the golf course, at the west edge of the site. This concentration seems centered in the area of 50-125R100. The second one is about 75 feet to the east of the first. It is focused in the area of 75-125R175. Both are similar in size and density. Perhaps the most noticeable difference is that the eastern concentration is associated with dense brick rubble, while the western concentration is more clearly associated with dense shell deposits.

A third, albeit much less dense, concentration was found at the eastern edge of the site – around 150R450. Additional testing at 10-foot intervals in this area revealed that the concentration, while not great, was real and extended from about 130 to 170R420-460.

There are additional small concentrations in the site area. Some may reflect actual activity areas or structures, others are likely inconsequential or even misleading. For example, the seemingly dense concentration at 50R175 resulted from an auger test that could not be relocated away from a large spoil pile. Although artifacts are common, they are from a disturbed context. In another area that seemed to have promise, 50R150, a single 10-foot unit was excavated, but found that the area had been

extensively disturbed by construction. Other concentrations, such as those at 150R150 and 125R250, were unavailable because of extensive tree growth.

Although the available time did not allow examination of all concentrations revealed by the auger study, we believe that the clear definition of those investigated more than demonstrates the value of the approach. We were able to identify three clearly defined areas, each believed to be structural.

The auger study also provided information on the vertical distribution of materials. Historic remains tended to be found within the upper 1-foot of the site. Prehistoric pottery, when found, tended to be recovered from the interface of the A and C horizons. Although prehistoric sherds (primarily Deptford) are denser in a few site areas, no clear core area was identified. Nor were any prehistoric features identified in the excavations. Moreover the dense shell area found at the western edge of the site is exclusively associated with historic remains. While prehistoric occupation was present at the site, it appears to have left little evidence beyond the pottery and a small amount of lithics. The site was not determined eligible for these prehistoric remains, these prehistoric contexts were not included in the data recovery plan, and therefore the prehistoric remains are only briefly mentioned in these analyses.

Excavations

As stipulated by the research plan, a series of block excavations were opened, based on the concentrations identified in the auger testing. As a result, three block areas were examined – each thought to represent a distinct structural area.

65R100, 100R100, 75-85R110, Kitchen Area

This block area consists of the three adjacent 10-foot units, 65R100 and 75-85R110, as well as one additional 10-foot unit, 100R100, situated slightly to the north (Figure 19). These units were placed to examine what appeared to be a dense concentration of artifacts in the immediate area (26 specimens at 75R100 and 100R100).

These excavations revealed two distinct profiles. To the east there is about a foot of black (10YR2/1) loamy sand with some mixed shell overlying a dark brown (10YR3/3) sand about 0.4 foot in depth. The upper soil zone was removed as Level 1 and represents midden accumulation, while the lower zone, removed as Level 2, appears to represent the remains of the original A horizon at the site. Moving to the west the quantity of shell increases, so the profile reveals about 0.4 foot of black (10YR2/1) loamy sand overlying a distinct oyster shell zone, about 0.5 foot in depth. The separation between these was often indistinct and the two were removed as Level 1. Below there remains a dark brown (10YR3/3) to dark yellowish brown (10YR3/4) sand that represents the original site humus. To the north there are some intrusions or possible features, represented by burned shell, sand, and lime, revealed in 100R100 profile. The shell density, in spite of these features, declines to the north. Throughout the subsoil consists of a mottled to heavily mottled yellowish-brown (10YR5/6) sand subsoil.

The combined weight of shell from these four units was 1,901 pounds, while brick 1,127 pounds. In general Level 1 produced significantly greater amounts of brick and shell than Level 2. The one exception to this was 100R100 where it appears that the features bisected by the north profile and the difficulty in distinguishing Level 2 in this unit resulted in considerable densities of shell being attributed to the lower level.

While the shell midden was clearly dominated by oyster, very small quantities of highly fragmented ribbed mussel, as well as an occasional whelk, were also identified. Conspicuously absent were clams.

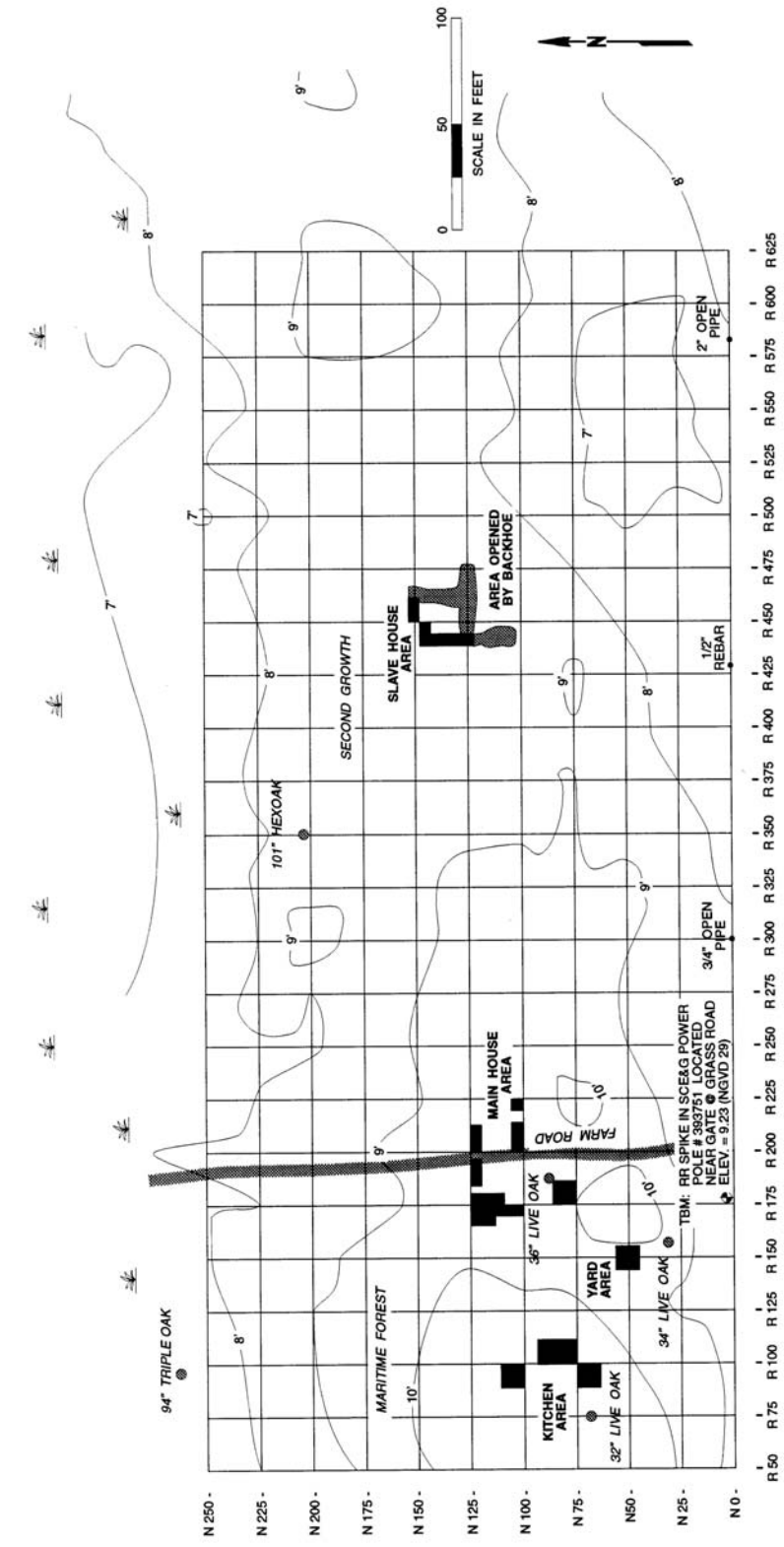

Figure 18. Excavation units at 38CH927.

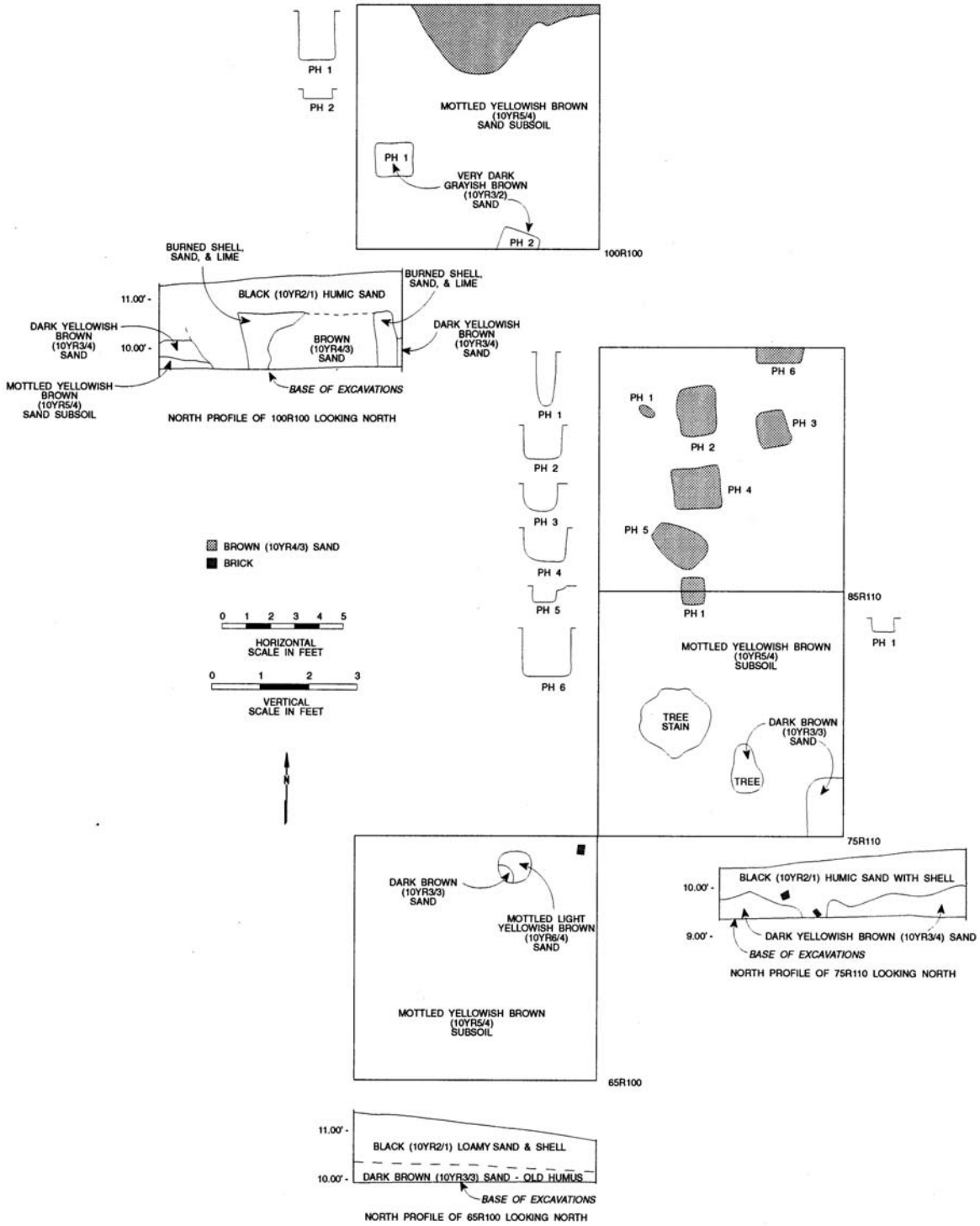

Figure 19. Plan and profile drawings of the kitchen units, 65R100, 75-85R110, 100R100.

Figure 20. Kitchen area, 100R100, base of Level 2 looking north.

The excavations produced a number of relatively large historic ceramics. This suggests that the shell midden may represent a discard area associated with a nearby structure. Also present are a range of other specimens, including a single bead, a number of lead fishing weights, and a range of utensils, including both bone handle and several pewter specimens. Animal bone is also plentiful this area, being far more common here than elsewhere on the site. Based on field observations it appears that kitchen artifacts decrease toward the north, while architectural remains (principally nails) increase. It was the bone material, in combination with the range of artifacts, shell, and dark organic soil, that indicate this is the plantation's kitchen area.

At the base of these four units nine post holes were identified (two in 100R100, one in 65R110, one in 75R100, and five in 85R110). Although no patterns are recognizable, all of the posts are substantial, ranging from 1.1 to 2.2 feet. The posts are generally square, or at least "squared," although several suggestive of round posts are also present. Depths range from 0.3 foot to 1.1 feet below the base of the units. While there is variation in the posts, all seem to be more massive than found at structures such as slave cabins. This suggests a more substantial structure, such as a kitchen building.

While the architectural and archaeological evidence is inconclusive, we believe that there are remains of two structures in this immediate area: an early frame kitchen, supported by massive wood piers, replaced by a more substantial frame structure on brick piers to the north. We were able to obtain only tantalizing evidence of the two, accompanied by massive amounts of associated kitchen midden. The presence of a large variety of specimens also suggests at least one episode of plantation clean up and discard. Instead of using a well for disposal, the materials were simply dumped in the pre-existing kitchen disposal piles.

100-115R175, 110-115R185, 75R185, 120R195, 100-120R210, 100R215-225, Main House Area

This noncontiguous block consists of 10 units encompassing 550 square feet (Figure 20). The first unit, 75R185 was excavated to examine what appeared to be a brick column exposed by the site clearing. While it was possible that the house had columns, this seemed unlikely based on what we knew about the owners and economic status. Nevertheless, this column seemed unusual and worthy of investigation. This initial unit revealed a very dark brown (10YR2/2) sandy loam overlying a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) transition zone overlying a mottled yellowish brown (10YR5/6) sand subsoil. The upper two soil zones had no recognizable difference in artifacts and were removed together as Level 1.

The excavation in this unit revealed that the brick column was relatively poorly laid up using brick fragments rather than specially prepared column bricks. The uneven surface

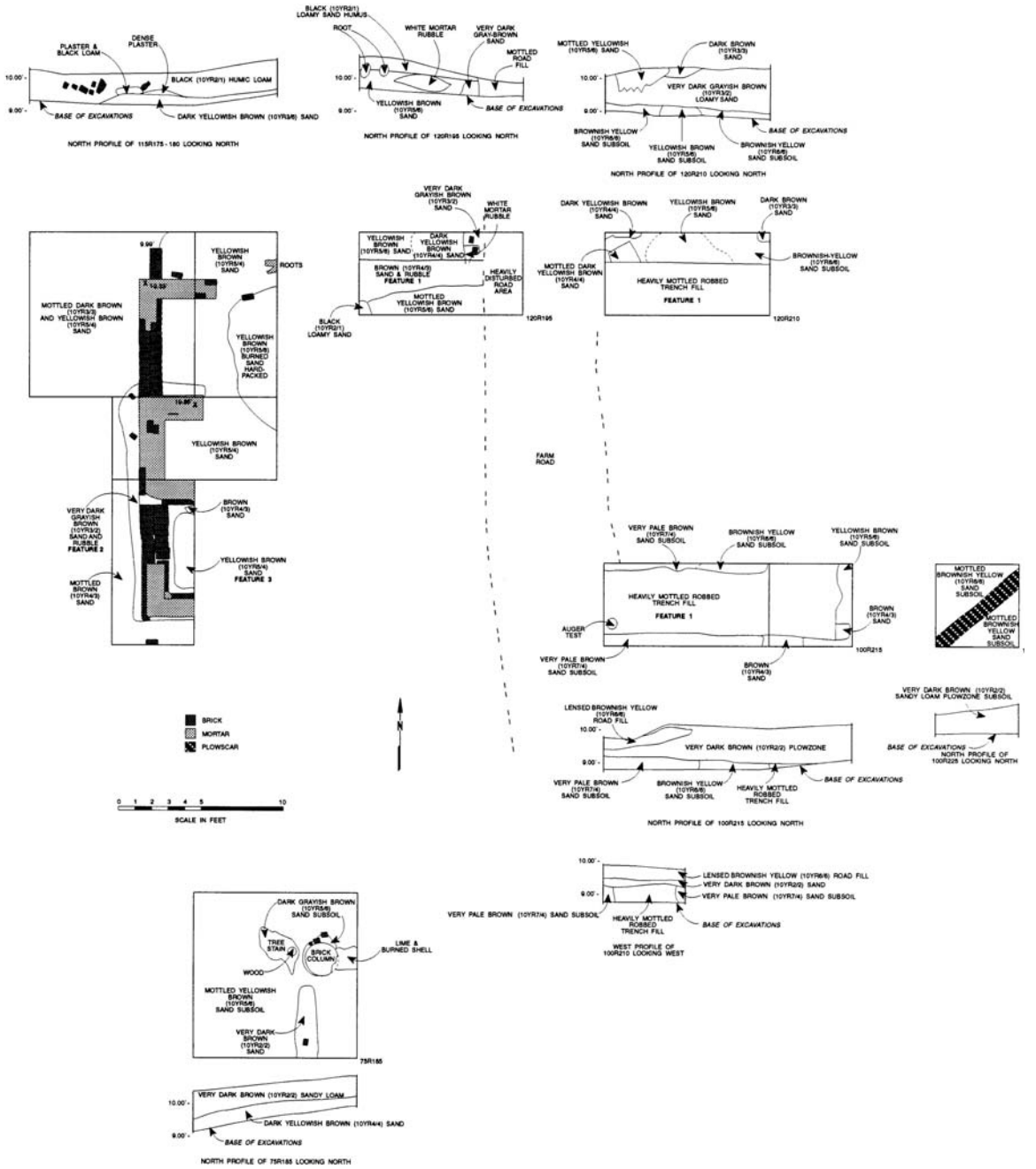

Figure 21. Plan and profile drawings of the main house area, 100-115R175, 110-115R185, 75R185, 120R195, 100-120R210, 100R215-225.

was smoothed using a thick coat of what appears to be a lime and Portland cement mixture, typical of post–1872 time period. The column is 2 feet in diameter. The column is truncated at an elevation of 10.95 feet and extends to a depth of 9.95 feet. Compared to the structure foundations (discussed below), this column is not deeply seated – suggesting it was not structural or load bearing. It may have served as a gate column to the main house yard or even as a support for a plantation bell. Since the feature was situated at the edge of the north-south road running through the area it was not possible to search for a matching column to the east. Since this excavation we have found a similar column in rubble at the nearby Youghal Plantation (38CH932). While this additional discovery doesn't help establish a function, it does suggest that the feature is not unique.

Figure 22. Brick column in 75R185 at the base of level 1, looking north.

Immediately to the east of this column we identified a small mass of lime and burned shell. We believe that this material represents discard from lime production, possibly materials discarded after slaking as too course. While in close proximity to the column we do not believe that the two are related.

The remaining excavations all served to outline (or sought to outline) the main house foundations. The stratigraphy in this part of the site consists of a black (10YR2/1) loamy sand with locally dense brick rubble overlying a dark yellowish brown (10YR3/6) sand that grades into the mottled yellowish-brown (10YR5/4) sand subsoil. The depth to the subsoil was about a foot. In very localized areas there were also dense concentrations of plaster rubble or burned debris, while in the base of the units there might be patches of yellowish-brown (10YR5/8), hard-packed burned sand. All provide clear evidence that the house burned.

To the east this profile is replaced by the extensive disturbance caused by the dirt road that runs north-south through the site area. This road has created disturbance to depths ranging from 0.5 to 1.0 foot, completely obliterating the original profile and replacing it with lenses yellow and black soils. As revealed by the historic documents, while this road (extending north to the Charleston-Georgetown Road) dates at least to the late antebellum and probably earlier, it wasn't extended north through the site (and structure) until the early twentieth century when the property was being opened for cotton cultivation after the Dill acquisition.

Further east, on the opposite side of the road, the profile again changes. In this area we find a clearly defined plowzone from 0.8 to 1.1 feet in depth consisting of dark brown (10YR2/2) sand over a subsoil of very pale brown (10YR7/4) sand. Plowscars, while not abundant, are present and well defined, running northeast-southwest.

The foundation of the main house was found intact only west of the north-south bisecting road. In the road area and to the east the foundation had been completely robbed out, ostensively to permit cultivation. The effort to remove the foundation was very aggressive, with complete removal rather than simply lowering it to below the cultivation level. In other words, the effort was made to not only remove the foundation, but also the footer. Moreover, the resulting trench is far deeper than the footer and straight sided. This suggests that it was dug out by hand. The brick and mortar rubble in the fill is also less than would be expected if the bricks were being broken apart on site and cleaned for reuse elsewhere. We suspect that the foundation was being fully exposed by digging, broken into sections, and then the individual sections were drug out and hauled elsewhere for disposal. They might, for example, have been used as fill for a marsh causeway. In any event, it doesn't appear that they were removed with the intent of being reused.

Where the foundation is intact it consisted of a footer two bricks in wydth (1.6 feet or 18 inch) laid in English common bond four courses in depth (the top ranging from 8.89 to 8.90 and the base from 7.73 to 7.82 feet).This appears to have been a continuous footer, running the perimeter of the entire structure. On it were then laid up corner foundations and the one identified chimney.

The corners were less substantial, 1.1 feet) in width (what is commonly called a 9-inch wall), but were continued up in English common bond. They were all truncated immediately below the extant ground surface. The northwest corner measured 4.7 feet east-west by 3.1 feet north-south. The southwest corner repeated the 3.1 feet north-south dimension, although the east-west length was not fully exposed.

The single chimney continued the use of an 18-inch wall and the footer was found continuing under the chimney arms. The interior dimensions of this chimney are 3.7 by 2.3 feet.

All of the lime mortar used in the foundation contains numerous fragments of oyster shell. Individual bricks were well made and well fired. They measure, on average, 9⅝ by 4 by 2⅜-inches. The examined bricks were all soft-mud varieties that were sand-struck. One evidenced a slight lip, or excess clay, found adjacent to the struck surface. Gurke (1987:108) suggests that this is caused when the brick is struck and clay is moved downward and outward as the strike moves across the face of the brick. That the bricks are handmade, however, is expected, given the probable age of the house.

While not common, the excavations also yielded examples of red clay paver tiles, about ¾-inch in thickness. No specimens of stone (such as either paving stone or marble fireplace surrounds) were identified and were likely not present.

The plaster recovered from the excavations all indicates a base coat applied to wood lath, with an overlying finish coat. There is no evidence of hair in the basecoat. Several samples exhibit a dark bluish coating, thought to represent oxidized paint. Similar material was found at Broom Hall and identified as distemper paint and sizing (Trinkley et al. 1995:85; see following chapter).

The structure measures 20.2 feet north-south by approximately 40.3 feet east-west, resulting in a first floor plan of 800 square feet. The one identified chimney is centered on the west wall and, we presume, there was a mate on the east wall, typical of a through-hall plan. It is likely that this structure contained a room on either side of a central hallway on at least two floors, based on the nature of the footer. While the first floor was likely raised two or three feet above the ground, the use of distinct foundation piers, rather than a continuous foundation, suggests that there was no use of this lower space (although storage can't be discounted).

The roof was wood shingled (there was no evidence of slate or tile roofing, nor was there any evidence of late nineteenth-early twentieth century modifications, such as tin or roll asphalt) and the building, above the foundation, was likely frame, based on the sparse brick and abundance of nails. Glazed windows were common, with abundant melted glass recovered from several units.

Evidence of some sort of portico or porch is present for both the north and south elevations, where small brick piers are found adjacent to the main foundation. Only one of these piers, at the northwest corner, was still partially in situ. There is was represented by a 9-inch wall two courses in depth extending north from the foundation for 1.8 feet. This foundation exhibited a cold joint with the footer and corner pier. It was also far shallower than the main structure foundation.

This structure resembles those reported by Shelley Smith (1999) being built in the last half of the eighteenth century. This was a period, she notes, when planters' houses became less elaborate and more "vernacular," reflecting "the new dominance of urban life" where the townhouse became the focal point of the planter's display of wealth (Smith 1999:140). She observes that plantation houses tend to become larger – leaving the Jervey house at the low end of the spectrum. Moreover, houses tended to include higher basements – again in contrast to this structure. We suspect that these anomalies are associated with the modest wealth of the owner. The economic situation in Christ Church probably prevented subsequent owners from making any major modifications to the house – so its early appearance is passed down in the archaeological record relatively unaltered.

Figure 23. Feature 1 in 100R210-215 after excavation, looking to the north. Note the lensed fill in the portion of the feature in the profile.

Features in this block area are limited to those associated with the foundation. Feature 1 represents the robbed trench and was removed in three units, 100R210-215 and 120R195. The former provides information on the southeast corner location and includes a robbed trench 14 feet in length east-west and 3.8 feet north-south. The depth of the feature varies from 0.98 to 1.40 feet and the fill consisted of heavily mottled and lensed brown (10YR4/3) sand fill with both brick and mortar rubble. Feature 1 from120R195 exposed a portion 7.5 feet in length and the trench had a maximum width of 3.4 feet – very similar to that found in the other portion of the feature excavated. In this area the feature had a depth of 1.31 feet. In both areas artifacts were present, but not abundant. Those recovered are consistent with material found from Level 1 and include a small number of ceramics, much melted flat glass, and many nails.

Feature 2 is the builder's trench associated with the exterior wall of the fireplace and footer found in 110R180. The trench varied in width from 0.8 to 1.6 feet and the depth was 1.8 feet, terminating about 0.05 foot below the foundation footer, which was laid up on a mortar bed. The fill of this trench consisted of a very dark grayish-brown (10YR3/2) sand with


Figure 24. Feature 2 after excavation looking southeast.

occasional brick bats and lumps of mortar. The exposed mortar joints of the wall were not struck within the trench. Artifacts include a small assortment of nails, ceramics, and bone. The generally low density of remains suggests that this was the initial structure at the site.

Feature 3 is the builder's trench in the space between the southern fireplace arm and the southwest building corner in 100R175. This represents the interior trench and, at least in this area, it was far wider, suggesting that the footer was laid up from the building interior (in addition, the mortar joints in this area are also far neater than those found with the opening of Feature 2). The trench was again slightly deeper than the brick footer, the difference being made up by the mortar pad. The fill was a yellowish-brown (10YR5/6) sand with rubble inclusions. Artifacts were very similar to those found in Feature 2.

The only other stains found in these excavations were two probable post holes in 120R210, perhaps representing scaffolding associated with the construction of the house.

124-134R445, 144R450 and 149R460, Slave Structure

This block was initially opened because the auger testing (followed by shovel testing at 10-foot intervals) revealed a light, but clearly defined concentration of artifacts. The units in this area were offset from the normal north-south grid points to avoid large stumps (hence 124R445 rather than 125R445). The initial 200 square feet of hand excavation was followed by an additional 410 square feet of mechanical stripping (Figure 26). The stratigraphy in this part of the site consists of about a foot of dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) plowzone overlying a mottled yellowish-brown (10YR5/4) sand


Figure 25. Feature 3, after excavation, looking north.

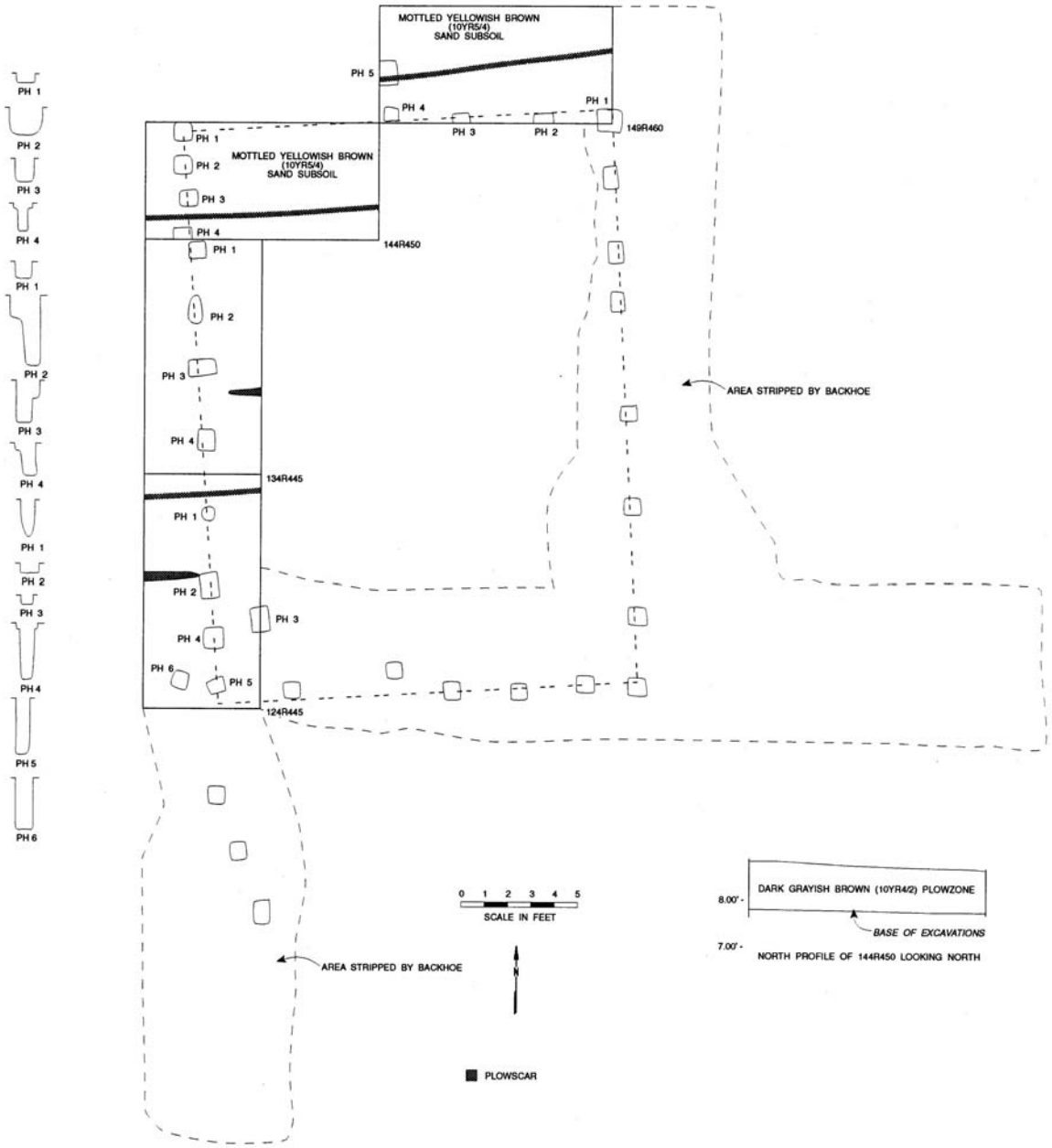

Figure 26. Plan and profiles of the excavations in the slave structure at the eastern site edge.

subsoil. Here, like closer to the main house, plowscars were not numerous, but were always distinct and ran from the northeast to the southwest. They suggest either mule or light tractor cultivation.

Figure 27. Portion of the wall trench pattern from 124R445 northward into the backhoe trench extension.

Artifact density in this area was not great, but it was consistent. The specimens include a broad range of ceramics, architectural material (primarily nails), and other remains. Brick is present in all of the excavation, although the total weight was only 45 pounds. Shell, consisting of only 2 pounds, was limited to 124R445.

The most notable aspect of these excavations was the identification of two lines of post holes – one tracking east-west across units 144R450 and 149R460 and another turning south in 144R450 and continuing through 124R445. Upon excavation these post holes were found to range in width from about 0.6 to 1.5 feet. Depths likewise exhibited some variation, ranging from 0.4 foot to 1.5 feet. Most were square, although a few round posts were also present. Several of the post holes have a ledge, typically suggesting that the posts were initially placed on the ledge and then slipped into position. The fill of these post holes contained few artifacts, but occasional nails or ceramics were recovered, clearly indicating that they were associated with a historic structure.

The mechanical stripping revealed the southwest, southeast, and northeast corners, revealing a structure measuring 18 feet east-west by 24 feet north-south, representing a floor area of 432 square feet. No doorway or chimney were revealed by the stripping. Any number of gaps are adequate to have allowed a doorway and the absence of a chimney indicates that the structure probably used a yard hearth. The post holes are spaced from 1 to 6.5 feet apart (assuming that none were missed or destroyed by plowing). The posts on the north and south sides of the structure have mean distances of 3.0 and 3.6 feet respectively, while those on the east and west sides have mean distances of 2.95 and 2.36 feet. Although not a great difference, it may be that additional supports were necessary on the long walls to carry the roof system.

A second, partial line of post holes was encountered to the south of the structure's southwest corner, while to the north of the structure we found one isolated post hole. These suggest that additional structures were present in this area, suggestive of rebuilding episodes.

45R155, Yard Area

This excavation represents a single 10-foot unit (Figure 28) originally excavated in effort to see if the artifact smear from the west

site edge continued to the east. The excavation here revealed a very dark brown (10YR3/2) sandy loam level about 0.3 to 0.6 foot in depth grading into a dark brown (10YR3/3) sand. This was about 0.3 foot in depth and rested on a mottled yellowish-brown (10YR5/6) sand subsoil. The profile documented considerable disturbance and mixing of the upper 0.6 to 0.9 foot of soil. There was evidence in the area of bulldozer disturbance, but the extent was not fully understood prior to the excavations.

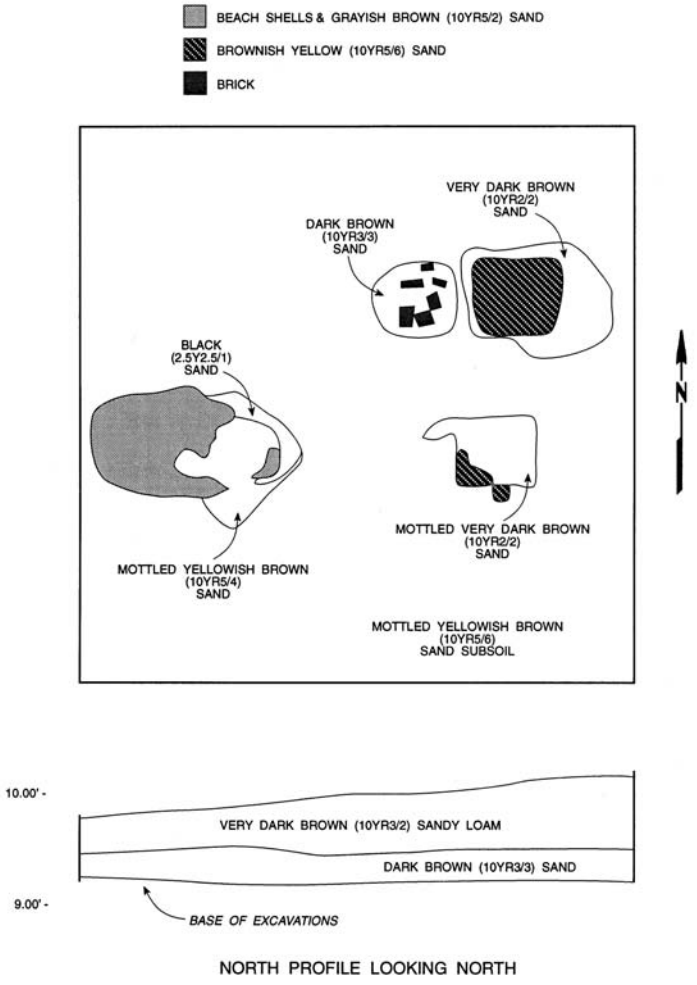

Figure 28. Plan and profile of 45R155.

Artifacts were numerous – more than found to the north in the main house area – but far less than found to the west in the kitchen area. This suggests a yard area with a thin surface scatter or midden of debris accumulating during the structure's occupation.

More significantly, the unit revealed evidence of considerable disturbance. At the base of the excavations we identified several "features" containing modern fill material, such as beach sand with pulverized shells (used in this area for road construction and typically excavated from lagoons). Given the disturbance here we decided that no additional units would be opened.

ARTIFACTS

Methodology

Processing and Conservation

Processing was begun in the field, but was completed at Chicora's labs in Columbia. During the washing, artifacts were sorted by broad categories – pottery, lithics, bone, ceramics, glass, iron, and other materials. Upon drying the artifacts were temporarily bagged by these categories, pending cataloging. Conservation treatments have been conducted by Chicora personnel at the Columbia laboratory intermittently from December 2000 through March 2003.

Brass items, if they exhibited active bronze disease, were subjected to electrolytic reduction in a sodium carbonate solution with up to 4.5 volts for periods of up to 72 hours. Hand cleaning with soft brass brushes or fine-grade bronze wool followed the electrolysis. Afterwards, the surface chlorides were removed with deionized water baths (until a chloride level of no greater than 1 ppm or 18 µmhos/cm was achieved using a conductivity meter) and the items were dried in an acetone bath. The conserved cuprous items were coated with a 20% solution (w/v) of acryloid B-72 in toluene.

Ferrous objects were subjected to electrolytic reduction in a bath of sodium carbonate solution in currents no greater than 5 volts for a period of 5 to 20 days (or in a few cases far longer). When all visible corrosion was removed, the artifacts were wire brushed and placed in a series of deionized water soaks for the removal of soluble chlorides. When the artifacts tested free of chlorides (at a level less than 0.1 ppm, or 2 µmhos/cm), they were dewatered in acetone baths and were air dried for 24 hours. Afterwards, a series of phosphoric (10% v/v) and tannic (20% w/v) acid solutions were applied and the specimens were again allowed to air dry for 24 hours. They were finally coated with a 10% solution (w/v) of acryloid B-72 in toluene.

The materials have been accepted for curation by the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. The collection has been cataloged using this institution's accessioning practices. Specimens were packed in plastic bags and boxed. Field notes were prepared on pH neutral, alkaline-buffered paper and photographic materials were processed to archival standards. All original field notes, with archival copies, are also curated at this facility. All materials have been delivered to the curatorial facility.

Analytical Methods

Analysis of the collections followed professionally accepted standards with a level of intensity suitable to the quantity and quality of the remains.

As previously discussed, the prehistoric remains were not a contributing resource in terms of eligibility and the data recovery plan did not incorporate research questions focused on these remains. Consequently, this study only briefly mentions the material present, should other researchers care to further examine the collections.

The temporal, cultural, and typological classifications of the historic remains follow such authors as Cushion (1976), Godden (1964,

1985), Miller (1980, 1991), Noël Hume (1978), Norman-Wilcox (1965), Peirce (1988), Price (1970), South (1977), and Walton (1976). Glass artifacts were identified using sources such as Jones (1986), Jones and Sullivan (1985), McKearin and McKearin (1972), McNally (1982), Smith (1981), Vose (1975), and Warren (1970). Additional references, where appropriate, will be discussed in the following sections.

The analysis system used South's (1977) functional groups as an effort to subdivide historic assemblages into groups that could reflect behavioral categories. Initially developed for eighteenth-century British colonial assemblages, this approach appears to be a reasonable choice for even nineteenth century materials since it allows ready comparison to other collections. The functional categories of Kitchen, Architecture, Furniture, Personal, Clothing, Arms, Tobacco, and Activities provide not only the range necessary for describing and characterizing most collections, but also allow typically consistent comparison with other collections.

Another important analytical technique used in this study is the minimum vessel count, as both an alternative to the more traditional count of ceramics[1] and also as a prerequisite to the application of Miller's cost indices. The most common approach for the calculation of minimum number of vessels (MNV) is to lay out all of the ceramics from a particular analytic unit (such as a feature), grouping the sherds by ware, type, and variety (e.g., floral motif vs. pastoral). All possible mends are then made. Body sherds are, from this point on, considered residual and not further considered. Remaining rim sherds, which fail to provide mends, are examined for matches in design, rim form, colors, and other attributes that would indicate matches with previously defined vessels. Those that fail to match either mended vessels or other rims are counted as additional vessels. Since there were no closed features, such as wells or privies suitable for this level of analysis, the analytic unit used was all of the units from the excavations. These were combined for this analysis, using a minimum distinction method for the MNV, which tends to provide a relatively conservative count.

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

Mean dates rely on South's (1977) mean ceramic dating technique, using primarily the mean dates that he has developed. A very few of our colleagues occasionally use Carlson (1983) in addition to South. Carlson observes that a drawback to South's technique is that it gives the same weight to ceramics manufactured for long periods (say from 1700 to 1800, yielding a mean date of 1750) as it does to those produced for only short periods (say from 1740 to 1760, with the same mean date of 1750). While this is true – and is certainly an understandable issue – it seems that overall it results in only a few years

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

error. Moreover, it seems that relatively few investigators have chosen to implement the changes proposed by Carlson.

We have also chosen not to provide tobacco stem dates for several reasons. One is that pipe stem bore diameters are frequently not consistent throughout their length. There are also lingering concerns over the adequacy of various sample sizes – Noël Hume (1963), for example, argues that a minimum sample of 900 to 1,000 stems was necessary, while Hanson (1971) suggests that 30 stems were adequate. We are inclined to believe that larger figure is likely more viable – and none of the Jervey samples comes even close. There are other questions concerning when the dating technique begins to break down, with dates ranging from 1744 through 1800 having been offered. Since Jervey clear dates from at least the mid-eighteenth century through mid-nineteenth century, the use of pipe stem dating becomes problematical. Finally, there are actually a variety of dating techniques – at least six variations having been proposed in the past. Pfiffer (1978) offers a review of the problems inherent in using pipe stems for dating. What we have done is to provide the raw data throughout our discussions, so that readers who may wish to compare more conventional dating techniques to pipe stem dating have the opportunity to do so.

Of greater importance to us at a site such as Jervey Plantation, where the property has perhaps been occupied by a number of different owners, is the occupation span reflected by the ceramics. Knowing the span represented might assist us to gauge the contribution of different owners. One method used to determine the occupation span of the excavations is South's (1977) bracketing technique. This method consists of creating a time line where the manufacturing spans of the various ceramics are placed. The left bracket is placed by determining where at least half of the ceramic type bars touch. The right bracket is placed the same way, however, it is placed far enough to the right to at least touch the beginning of the latest type present (South 1977:214). We have chosen to alter South's bracketing technique slightly by placing the left bar at the earliest ending date when that ending date does not overlap with the rest of the ceramic type bars.

Since South's method only uses ceramic types to determine approximate period of occupation, Salwen and Bridges (1977) argue that ceramic types that have high counts are poorly represented in the ceramic assemblage. Because of this valid complaint a second method – a ceramic probability contribution chart – was used to determine occupation spans. Albert Bartovics (1981) advocates the calculation of probability distributions for ceramic types within an assemblage. Using this technique an approximation of the probability of a ceramic type contribution to the site's occupation is derived. This formula is expressed:

$$Pj/yr. = \frac{fj}{F \times Dj} \quad \text{where}$$

Pj = partial probability contribution
fj = number of sherds in type j
F = number of sherds in sample
Dj = duration in range of years

The Yard Area, 45R155

The yard area was investigated by a single 10-foot unit that produced 737 artifacts. This yields an artifact density of 0.84 items per cubic foot.

Prehistoric Remains

The collection includes 101 prehistoric sherds, 82 of which are small (under 1-inch) and not suitable for further analysis. The remaining sherds include 1 Deptford Cord Marked, two Deptford Check Stamped, seven Pee Dee Complicated Stamped, and seven unidentifiable plain sherds. Also recovered were two fragments of daub (that may equally represent historic remains associated with the nearby slave settlement) and 1 chert flake.

Table 6.
Major Ceramics in the Yard Area

Porcelain	10	3.39%
Stoneware	9	3.05%
Brown	3	
Blue/Gray	6	
Earthenware	276	93.56%
Redware	12	
Slipware	18	
Refined	3	
Coarse	23	
Delft	1	
Creamware	62	
Pearlware	133	
Whiteware	18	
Other	6	

Historic Collections

The remaining 737 specimens are historic artifacts, dominated by kitchen group artifacts that account for over 68% of the assemblage. The largest contributor to this group is ceramics, followed by container glass. Architectural remains, largely nails and nail fragments, are the next most common item from the unit, accounting for just over 29% of the collection.

Kitchen Group

The kitchen group accounts for 503 items or 68.25% of the total collection. As shown in Table 6 earthenwares are the most common ceramic, accounting for over 93% of the assemblage. Porcelains and stones are both equally uncommon, together accounting for just under 3.5%. Of the earthenwares, mid-eighteenth century ceramics, such as delft and slipware are uncommon. Late eighteenth century wares, such as creamware, are more common, but the bulk of the collection consists of early nineteenth century pearlwares. Whitewares are equally uncommon. When mean vessel counts are considered (Table 7), pearlwares are again the most common, accounting for 65.2% of the recognizable vessels (they comprise only 26.4% of the fragment count).

When the reconstructed ceramics are taken together, 93.5% consist of tablewares and only 6.5% are teawares. About 2/3s of the tablewares are plates, while the remaining 1/3 of the tableware collection represents hollow wares such as bowls and cups. Generally, flat wares – representing European food ways – are equated with higher status than hollow wares – often associated with the one-pot meals of African American slaves or whites of lesser means.

When the motifs are examined, most the plates – 16 of the 17 pearlware examples – exhibit a very inexpensive decoration (edged) and only one reveals an expensive (transfer printed) motif. Even when the pearlware is combined with creamware and whiteware and saucers (that can double as plates) are included, the inexpensive motifs still comprise nearly 2/3s of the collection (16 of the 10 examples).

Table 7.
Minimum Vessel Count for the Yard Area

	Cup	Mug	Bowl	Saucer	Plate	Lid	Tea Pot
CW, undecorated			1		5		
PW, blue hand painted			1				
PW, poly hand painted			4				
PW, annular			4				
PW, edged					16	1	
PW, blue transfer printed	1			2	1		
WW, undecorated			1				
WW, transfer printed					2		
Chinese porcelain, blue			1				
White porcelain, undec							
Slipware		1	3		1		
Coarse red EW							1
TOTALS	1	1	15	2	25	1	1

CW – creamware; PW – pearlware, WW – whiteware, EW - earthenware

Consequently, while plate forms dominate the collection, inexpensive motifs dominate the plates, suggesting that the status reflected is relatively low – perhaps an overseer or potentially even an owner of very modest means. This seems supported by the relatively low proportion of porcelains and relative unimportance of teawares in the assemblage.

Table 8.
Shape and Function of Ceramic Vessels from the Yard Area

Shape	#	%
Tablewares	43	93.5
Plates/saucers	27	62.8
Bowls	15	34.9
Serving	1	2.3
Tea and Coffeeware	3	6.5
Utilitarian	-	-

If we explore the ceramic dates, we find a mean date of 1800.6. Of more significance may be the various date ranges. For example, South's brackets are 1775 and 1825 – a range of 50 years. Bartovics suggests a core occupation from about 1760 through 1830.

These data suggest that the yard area reveals little evidence of earliest Player occupation. Instead it seems that Thomas Player, Jr. and Joshua Player are clearly reflected in the yard trash as the developers of the plantation, with occupation continuing unabated through a variety of non-resident owners up to the end of the Richard T. Morrison tenure. About that time – and throughout the Jervey occupation – there is a marked decrease in ceramic evidence, although some remains continued to be deposited in this area.

Other kitchen group items include a very large assemblage of "black" glass – including several examples of so-called "case bottles," although most the remains are more suggestive of late eighteenth and early nineteenth wine or beer bottles. Although small quantities of brown, light green, and clear glass

Table 9.
Mean Ceramic Date for the Yard Collection

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Canton porcelain	1800-1830	1815	4	7260
Westerwald	1700-1775	1738	2	3476
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	18	31194
Plain delft	1640-1800	1720	1	1720
Buckley ware	1720-1775	1748	1	1748
Creamware, annular	1780-1815	1798	1	1798
Creamware, hand painted	1790-1820	1805	1	1805
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	59	105669
Pearlware, poly hand painted	1795-1815	1805	5	9025
Pearlware, blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	8	14400
Pearlware, blue trans printed	1795-1840	1818	34	61812
Pearlware, edged	1780-1830	1805	25	45125
Pearlware, annular/cable	1790-1820	1805	13	23465
Pearlware, undecorated	1780-1830	1805	48	86640
Whiteware, blue trans printed	1831-1865	1848	1	1848
Whiteware, non-blue trans printed	1826-1875	1851	8	14808
Whiteware, undecorated	1813-1900	1860	9	16740
Total			238	428533
Mean Ceramic Date	1800.6			

are found, all are small and cannot be further identified. A single fragment of manganese glass was identified, reflecting an early twentieth century intrusion.

Several tableware items were recovered, identified by 13 clear glass fragments representing one goblet, and four drinking vessels, at least one of which was etched. These materials are certainly reflective of some status, although in a yard deposit they are difficult to interpret.

Kitchenware items include a fragmentary iron knife blade and tang that originally would have had a bone handle, as well as a single kettle fragment.

There were also 21 small, and highly fragmented, Colono ware sherds. Their greatest contribution may be to suggest that – based on the yard deposits -- the early occupation at the site had remarkably little dependence on African American ceramics.

Architecture Group

This collection is dominated by nails – of the assemblage containing 186 specimens, 2/3s or 125 are unidentifiable as to type or size. Of the remaining, 25 or 13.4% are wrought and 36 or 19.3% are cut.. Wrought nails, while replaced by cut nails in the early nineteenth century, continued in use far longer. This collection seems consistent with the ceramics – spanning the decades between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Most of the nails, 38 or 62.3%, can be identified by size. There are very few nails of a size indicative of framing (i.e., 9d or larger). By far most of the nails (33 of 38 or 86.8%) are intended for either small timbers such as shingles or lathe (2d-5d) or for sheathing (6d-8d). This is suggestive of a structure pre-dating the nineteenth century and characterized by mortise and tendon construction. When these small nails are examined we find that most of the earlier wrought nails were of a size used for lathe or shingles, while most of the cut nails are suggestive of sheathing. This may suggest an assemblage containing original nails, as well as later examples used for repairs – documenting the continuity of the structure.

A small assemblage of flat or window glass is present, as well as a single construction hardware item, an iron "L" brace fragment.

Furniture Group

Two furniture artifacts were recovered – a small iron tack and a brass butt-hinge fragment measuring 1-1/16-inch by 1½-inch.

Tobacco Group

Only five white clay pipe stem fragments and two white clay pipe bowl fragments were recovered from the yard area. Four of the stems measure 5/64-inch, while the remaining example measures 6/64-inch. Both pipe bowls are plain.

Clothing Group

Five clothing items were recovered from the yard midden – three clothing buttons, one collar button, and one bone "grommet."

The buttons include two South Type 15 round bone buttons and one South's Type 19 oval bone button. The sizes, all between 6 and 16 mm, suggests that they were likely used on shirts and pants. Small buttons, typical of underclothing and large buttons, found on coats, were absent. The single collar button was white porcelain. Separate collars became available after 1827 (Payne 1965:460), indicating that this button dates from the early to late nineteenth century.

Personal Group

Only three personal items were found – all badly broken fragments of a counting slate. These slates have scratched lines, suggestive of counting or keeping tabulations by a semi-

literate individuals and are frequently thought to be associated with agricultural tallies.

Activities Group

Surprisingly, only two activity artifacts were found in the yard debris – a fragment of iron strap from a barrel or chest and an iron eye bolt.

Summary

The materials from the yard area, being of an uncertain provenience and relatively sparse, are largely useful in comparison with the other collections from Jervey. If they are considered to be broadly representative of the assemblage – and there is no reason to doubt that they are – we can draw some initial conclusions from their analysis.

First, the assemblage appears to date from the late Player through mid-Morrison occupations. While earlier Player occupation may simply be "swamped" by the abundance of later materials – a common phenomena – the yard materials suggest little evidence of a Jervey occupation. It may be, however, that discard patterns changed, so the main house may provide much needed assistance in determining the occupation range of the site.

Table 10.
Comparison of the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern and the Jervey Plantation yard area.

	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern[1]	Jervey Yard Area
Kitchen	51.8 – 65.0	68.2
Architecture	25.2 – 31.4	29.2
Furniture	0.2 – 0.6	0.3
Arms	0.1 – 0.3	-
Tobacco	1.9 – 13.9	0.9
Clothing	0.6 – 5.4	0.7
Personal	0.2 – 0.5	0.4
Activities	0.9 – 1.7	0.3

[1] Garrow 1982

Second, the materials (most certainly the ceramics) are suggestive of a middling or low status occupation. One reasonable interpretation is a collection dominated by refuse from an overseer.

Third, looking at the assemblage's pattern, or proportion of materials in the various artifact groups, we find an assemblage characteristic of planters during much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Table 10). The only disparities are the slightly high proportion of kitchen remains, the absence of arms, and the low proportion of tobacco and activity-related remains. Given the small sample size, these variations seem minor.

Kitchen Area, 65100, 75-85R110, 100R100

The area interpreted as representing the vicinity of the plantation kitchen (or kitchens) was investigated by three 10-foot units that produced 11,420 artifacts. This yields an artifact density of 23.8 items per cubic foot.

When we distinguish between levels 1 and 2, the difference in artifact density is dramatic. Level 1 exhibits a density of 40.3 specimens per cubic foot, while Level 2 has only 1.8 specimens. An initial interpretation (consistent with the soil data) is that while Level 2 was a remnant A horizon – the original top soil of the eighteenth century site – Level 1 represents dense trash deposits.

Prehistoric Remains

The collection includes 1,076 prehistoric sherds, although 949 or 88.3% are small and unsuitable for analysis. Of the 127 available for study, 73 or 58.0% are unidentifiable plain. The remaining specimens include two Deptford Cord Marked, 19 Deptford Check Stamped, 10 Deptford Simple Stamped, one Wando Cord Marked, 19 Pee Dee Complicated Stamped, and three Pee Dee Check Stamped.

The assemblage is perhaps most interesting for near absence of the Wando

limestone grog-tempered type that is found in much greater quantities further south along the Mount Pleasant "sea shore." Otherwise the collection is dominated by Middle Woodland Deptford and Mississippian Pee Dee wares.

Table 11.
Major Ceramics in the Kitchen Area Level 1

Porcelain	292	6.0%
Stoneware	207	4.3%
Brown	115	
Blue/Gray	37	
White	19	
Other	39	
Earthenware	4,362	87.7%
Slipware	307	
Refined	93	
Coarse	160	
Delft	9	
Creamware	1,125	
Pearlware	1,845	
Whiteware	632	
Other	191	

While we speculated that prehistoric artifact density might be heavier in the original site humus than in the overlying trash deposits, that was not the case. The prehistoric artifact density is actually greater in Level 1 (2.8 specimens per cubic foot) than in Level 2 (0.7 specimen per cubic foot). This suggests that prehistoric materials were being accumulated from elsewhere and incorporated in the Level 1 trash.

Level 1 Historic Remains

The reader will recall that Level 1 is interpreted to be trash deposits overlying an original old humus (identified as Level 2). The assemblage is represented by 10,486 items, over half of which are kitchen group specimens (6,324 or 59.7%). Of these most (76.9%) are ceramics. The architectural group is dominated by nails, although abundant window glass and even various construction hardware items are also present. We also find very diverse tobacco, clothing, personal, and activities group artifacts in the assemblage.

Kitchen Group

As mentioned, this group consists of 6,324 specimens, dominated by the assemblage of 4,861 European ceramics. Table 11 reveals considerable diversity in the types present, and also earthenwares are clearly the most common, porcelains account for 6% of the assemblage and stonewares (largely utilitarian items) account for an additional 4.3%. The relative abundance of porcelain is suggestive of a higher status occupation. The proportion of stonewares is suggestive of storage and processing – functions consistent with a kitchen setting.

The earthenwares are dominated by early nineteenth century pearlwares, although late eighteenth century creamwares, and mid to late nineteenth century whitewares are also found in high proportions. Even the mid-eighteenth century slipwares are found in greater frequency than in the general yard context previously discussed.

When we shift from simple count to the minimum vessel count the pearlware is still dominant with 174 vessels, while the creamware and whiteware about equal in portion, with 56 and 57 vessels respectively. This unimodal distribution should be remembered when we discuss the site's dating.

If we shift from type of ceramic to the vessel forms themselves, we find that in the early ceramics – delft, slipware, and white salt-glazed stoneware – hollow wares are far more common than flat wares (by nearly 2:1). The creamwares, however, reveal nearly equal proportions of bowls and plates (25 and 26 respectively). The pearlwares reveal a similar division with 54.1% being bowl forms and 45.9% being plates. The whitewares suggest a significant change in either status or foodways, with only 36.4% of the collection representing open bowl forms and 63.6% of the collection now flat wares. Thus there seems to be a

gradual change over time from a situation where the residents were focused on one-pot meals to higher status foodways where plates are common.

Table 12.
Minimum Vessel Count for the Kitchen Area Level 1

	Cup/ Mug	Bowl	Saucer	Plate	Serving	Lid	Chamber Pot	Jar
CW, undecorated	2	16		21		2	2	
CW, molded		1						
CW, poly hand painted			1					
CW, poly hand painted OG			1	1				
CW, annular		4						
CW, cable		1						1
CW, splatter		1						
CW, edged				2				
Creamware Subtotal	*2*	*23*	*2*	*24*	-	*2*	*2*	*1*
PW, undecorated		3			2			
PW, blue hand painted	11	17	14					1
PW, poly hand painted	1	9						
PW, annular	1	27				1		
PW, edged		2		54				
PW, blue transfer printed	8	13	*7*	3				
Pearlware Subtotal	*21*	*71*	*21*	*57*	*2*	*1*	-	*1*
WW, undecorated	1	6		10			1	
WW, molded		1		1				
WW, poly hand painted		1						
WW, annular		5						
WW, edged		1		5				
WW, transfer printed	2	3	2	16				1
WW, luster			1					
Whiteware Subtotal	*3*	*17*	*3*	*32*	-	-	*1*	*1*
Yellow Ware	7	4						
Delft		1						
Chinese porcelain, poly	6	4	8	5				
Chinese porcelain, blue	4		3	5	1			
White porcelain, undec	3		1					
Slipware	2	15		10				
Coarse red EW		6		2				
White SG Stoneware	1							

CW – creamware; PW – pearlware, WW – whiteware, EW – earthenware, OG - overglaze

If the assemblage is examined without regard to the specific ceramic type, we find that over 85% of the collection consists of tablewares, followed by tea and coffeewares (nearly 13%) with relatively few utilitarian wares (1.6%) (see Table 13). In this analysis, the flat wares comprise 54.1% of the collection, while hollow wares account for 44.1% -- revealing a mean of the gradual change from reliance on bowls to a focus on plates.

While this may represent a change in status at the site, it may also be providing an indication of the changing importance of refined society, perhaps documenting the plantation's shift from "frontier" to mainstream society.

Turning back to Table 12 we can also get an idea of the range of motifs present in the collection. We understand that plain wares, while expensive initially became inexpensive relatively quickly. Wares that are typically considered costly are the hand painted and transfer printed examples – motifs that required skilled labor. On the other hand, cable, edged, and annular wares were far less expensive because of the reduced skill needed.

If we ignore the plain wares (since we are unable to determine when they were acquired) and look only at the decorated wares, the kitchen area provides us with a suggestion that the site occupants were actually spending more on ceramics through time (Table 14). This seems to buttress the perception that foodways also changed from the mid- to late eighteenth century through mid-nineteenth century.

Table 13.
Shape and Function of Ceramic Vessels from the Kitchen Area Level 1

Shape	#	%
Tablewares	320	85.6
Plates/saucers	173	
Bowls	141	
Serving	6	
Tea and Coffeeware	48	12.8
Utilitarian	6	1.6

Table 14.
Motifs on Creamware, Pearlware, and Whiteware in the Kitchen Area

Type	Expensive Motifs (%)	Inexpensive Motifs (%)
Creamware	25	75
Pearlware	49.7	50.3
Whiteware	69.4	30.6

The ceramics from the kitchen area can also help us date the deposit (remembering that this collection is only from Level 1). Using South's Mean Ceramic Date technique, we have a date of about 1805 (Table 15) – not terribly different from the date obtained in the general yard area.

If we examine the occupation range using South's bracketing technique, we find a considerable range – from about 1770 to 1900 – reflective in the most general sense of the historic documentation. About all this bracketing date would exclude are the earlier occupations by Roger and Thomas Player – a situation similar to the yard area. On the other hand, the kitchen middens would extend the occupation beyond the yard deposits, right into the early twentieth century ownership of the Porcher family.

Perhaps of greater precision is Bartovics technique that reveals while there is some indication of occupation from at least 1670 to as late as 1900, the intensity jumps dramatically about 1760 and maintains a high level to about 1820, at which time it gradually decreases to 1830 and again to 1840. This core occupation – from ca. 1760 to 1820 is virtually identical to that found in the far smaller yard deposits – incorporating the later half of the Player occupation through Morrison's tenure. The declining contributions of ceramics between 1820 and 1840 reflect the period of frequent ownership change and absentee owners. Again, we have relatively little indication of Jervey's occupation, perhaps suggesting that the settlement had already been moved.

The collection also includes 243 Colono sherds – all small and badly fragmented.

The container glass collection, containing 1,077 fragments, is dominated by "black" glass (677 fragments or 62.9%), followed by clear glass (188 fragments or 17.5%) and aqua glass (142 fragments or 13.2%). The "black" glass consists primarily of wine and beer bottles – the minimum vessel count is one case bottle and 10 blown bottles with round bases. The clear fragments are small and reconstructions were virtually impossible. The two identifiable vessels were blown bottles with basal diameters of 1 and 2 inches. The aqua collection is equally fragmentary and only one container – a blown bottle with a 2-inch diameter base. Other items included brown, green, blue, dark aqua, amber, pale amber, and milk glass.

The tableware items included 24 utensil fragments representing two iron knives (both probably had bone handles originally), five iron two-tine forks (all probably having bone handles originally), two iron utensil handles, three bone utensil handles, one brass utensil handle, and three white metal utensil handles. The last nine

items were probably spoons and one white metal handle was stamped with a "W." This collection reveals that spoons likely accounted for nearly 59% of the assemblage, while forks represented only about 30%. This, like the vessel forms, suggests that over much of the site's occupation there was a reliance on pottages or one-pot meals that required spoons rather than either knives or forks.

The remaining items, however, are suggestive of a higher status and include one pressed glass bowl lid, six tumblers, eight goblets, 11 unidentifiable drinking containers, and three glass bowls with rims between 4 and 4½ inches. The size of these bowls is consistent with what are often called "finger bowls," "wine glass coolers," or "wine glass rinsers," all common at eighteenth and nineteenth century high status sites (which of course seems to make them an anomaly at Jervey). Regardless, they were thought to have been used for rinsing the mouth or fingers after eating, cooling wine glasses, or rinsing the glasses between wines (Warren 1970; Jones and Sullivan 1985:132; Roberts 1976:65[1827]). The goblets themselves are relatively plain – one is etched, another had a folded foot, and a third has a funnel stem, but otherwise the specimens are relatively inexpensive. The tumblers are likewise all plain, made of blown glass with bases ranging from about 2 to 3-inches. Such plain tumblers were common during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although they were not necessarily "cheap," since glass was often sold by weight and tumblers, especially the leaded glass of the some of the specimens, tended to be very heavy (McNally 1982:63).

Kitchenware items are less elaborate, but are clearly indicative of a functioning kitchen setting and include 10 kettle fragments, two kettle feet, two iron spiders with feet, one pot fragment with a rolled lip, and 16 fragments of what may be containers (not necessarily food containers – they may represent small buckets, or even food preparation dishes).

Architecture Group

The architecture group includes 3,392 nails – 2,392 or 70.5% of which are unidentifiable as to either type or length, leaving us with 1,000 nails suitable for more detailed study.

If all of the intact and fragmentary nails are included just over a third (37.8%) of the assemblage is wrought, while the remainder (62.2%) are cut. If only the intact nails are included, then the wrought nails are slightly more common (53.4% - 46.6%). This suggests an assemblage consistent with an eighteenth century construction and repairs or modifications going into the nineteenth century. The two use episodes also seem very distinct since only 8.5% of the cut nails have hand applied heads – most are entirely machine made, indicating a post-1820 date.

When the nails are examined by size (regardless of type), most (40.1%) were probably used for sheathing (6d-8d). The next most common were the 2d to 5d size range (30.9%) that were probably used for lathe and shingles. Framing nails (9d to 12d) and large framing (16d and larger) are both surprisingly common, representing 24.8% and 4.2% of the collection respectively. While this distribution is certainly indicative of frame building with plaster and wood shingles, it also suggests that in contrast to traditional craft techniques, framing nails were growing in popularity. This may be suggestive of two building episodes.

If we evaluate the sizes by style, we find that the majority of the small nails used for lathe and shingles (68.1%) and sheathing (50.9%) were wrought, while the framing nails were primarily cut (61.8%). What is interesting is that there are sufficient numbers of both wrought and cut nails in each category to support the concept of several building episodes using different nails. We can also examine the nails by head style – rose or "T"-head. While the latter was presumably used where the nail head would be less obvious, we have found little clear

Table 15.
Mean Ceramic Date for the Kitchen Area Level 1

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Canton porcelain	1800-1830	1815	243	441045
Nottingham stoneware	1700-1810	1755	1	1755
Westerwald	1700-1775	1738	23	39974
White salt glazed stoneware	1740-1775	1758	12	21096
White sg sw, scratch blue	1744-1775	1760	7	12320
Black basalt	1750-1820	1785	37	66045
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	307	532031
Jackfield	1740-1780	1760	17	29920
Clouded wares	1740-1770	1755	1	1755
Decorated delft	1600-1802	1750	7	12250
Plain delft	1640-1800	1720	2	3440
North Devon	1650-1775	1713	2	3426
Buckley ware	1720-1775	1748	11	19228
Creamware, cable	1790-1820	1805	8	14440
Creamware, annular	1780-1815	1798	39	70122
Creamware, hand painted	1790-1820	1805	12	21660
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	1056	1891296
Pearlware, mocha	1795-1890	1843	4	7372
Pearlware, poly hand painted	1795-1815	1805	56	101080
Pearlware, blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	304	547200
Pearlware, blue trans printed	1795-1840	1818	367	667206
Pearlware, edged	1780-1830	1805	285	514425
Pearlware, annular/cable	1790-1820	1805	208	375440
Pearlware, molded	1800-1820	1810	1	1810
Pearlware, undecorated	1780-1830	1805	620	1119100
Whiteware, blue edged	1826-1880	1853	12	22236
Whiteware, poly hand painted	1826-1870	1848	30	55440
Whiteware, blue trans printed	1831-1865	1848	144	266112
Whiteware, non-blue trans printed	1826-1875	1851	89	164739
Whiteware, poly decalcomania	1901-1950	1926	1	1926
Whiteware, annular	1831-1900	1866	40	74640
Whiteware, metallic luster	1811-1850	1831	3	5493
Whiteware, sponge/splatter	1836-1870	1853	1	1853
Whiteware, undecorated	1813-1900	1860	312	580320
Yellow ware	1826-1880	1853	69	127857
Total			4331	7816052
Mean Ceramic Date	1804.7			

differentiation at other archaeological sites. At the Jervey Plantation the bulk of the shingle and lathe nails have rose heads, presumably for their better holding power. On the other hand, the bulk of the 6d to 8d wrought nails have "T"-heads, suggesting that they may not have been used on sheathing, but perhaps were used on paneling or wainscoting. Curiously, framing sized nails (9d to 12d), where you might expect to need the holding power of a rose head, are predominately "T"-head, as are the few larger wrought nails (up to 60d). We are left, again, with the feeling that distinction between the two head styles may have been lost on the vernacular low country plantation carpenters.

Also found in the architectural collection are 407 fragments of flat window glass. Architectural hardware includes six strap hinge fragments; one wrought spike fragment, two wrought rivets, possibly for a hinge; one pintle measuring 6-inches in length and 2-inches in height; one fragmentary "spring-type" shutter dog; one wrought wing nut for a bolt pintle; one wrought L-strap hinge; one latch bar fragment; one wrought hook, perhaps for over the hearth; and one brass

keyhole surround.

These materials are all typical of generally utilitarian architectural settings (albeit the brass keyhole surround is a little out of place). Consequently, they seem at home in a kitchen setting. They are all temporally appropriate for a broad eighteenth and nineteenth century range, probably little additional detail on building episodes.

Furniture Group

This collection consists of 24 specimens. Perhaps the most interesting is an iron candlesnuffer. These devices were used to trim the wicks of candles and early lamps to keep the charred ends of the wick even and clean. This helped keep the burning clear and bright, as well as to prevent the burnt threads from extinguishing the lamp. All candlesnuffers were very similar in design and were used from the eighteenth century through early-nineteenth century when self-consuming wicks became available. The specimen from Jervey is identical to several found in Canada in dated contexts of 1800 to 1820 (Woodhead et al. 1984:15-16).

More common furniture items include 17 brass tacks, three brass butt hinges, a brass escutcheon, and two brass knobs. While typically identified as drawer pulls, Zierden (2001:4-35) points out such items may also be cloak pins (although these, too, would be placed in the furniture group). All are suitable for a broadly defined eighteenth or nineteenth century period and offer little additional assistance in dating construction episodes.

Arms

The kitchen deposits contained rather abundant arms-related material, including nine gunflints, one lead shot, and one gun part.

The gun part is an iron frizzen. Also called a steel or hammer, this was a vertical, pivoted striking-plate and it was against this that the flint was struck to produce a spark (Peterson 1964:130).

The lead shot has a diameter of 8.4 mm – about the size of cast No. 1 buckshot.

The gunflints include two gray specimens and seven brown to honey colored examples. Both Emory (1979:37-48) and Noël Hume (1978:220) agree that English flints tend to be gray or black, while French flints tend to brown or honey-colored, with the majority of flints found on colonial sites coming from France because of their superior quality. This appears to be the case for the specimens in the kitchen area.

Tobacco Group

Level 1 in the kitchen area produced 178 tobacco related artifacts, primarily pipe stems (141 or 79.2%). Of these most (112 or 79.4) have a bore diameter of 5/64-inch. While the vast majority were plain, three exhibited ribs and one tip was covered with red wax. Next most common were 4/64-inch (17 or 12.1%), followed by 6/64-inch (nine specimens) and 7/64-inch (three examples). There were also three fragments that prevented accurate measurements.

Thirty-three pipe bowl fragments were also recovered. Of these 18 (54.5%) were plain and 11 (33.3%) were ribbed. The remaining examples had a variety of decorations, including rouletting at the rim, cross hatching on seams, and leaves on the seam.

The final tobacco related item was an iron strike-a-lite. This example is an elongated oval measuring 85 by 39 mm. Such items were common in seventeenth through nineteenth century assemblages and the form seems to have no temporal significance.

Clothing Group

The kitchen area produced a wide range of clothing related items, including 54 buttons, a

porcelain collar button, one brass hook, three brass eyes, one brass thimble, eight iron buckles, one brass buckle, and one iron buckle tongue.

Table 16.
Buttons Recovered from the Kitchen Area, Level 1

Type	Description	# 7-13 mm	# 14+ mm	UID
7	Spun brass or white metal with eye cast in place	2	15	1
9	Brass flat disc, hand stamped face, no foot		2	
11	Brass, one-piece, cast		1	
13	Cast, faceted blk. Glass		1	
15	Bone disc, 1-hole		2	
16	Brass, face crimped on flat back, soldered eye		3	
18	Stamped brass	1	4	
19	Bone disc, 5-hole		1	
21	Iron, with fiber center		2	
23	Porcelain, convex	6	2	
26	Machine stamped brass face and back, eye loose		1	
27	Brass domed, machine embossed		2	
-	Brass, high dome, herringbone pattern	1		
-	Brass, silver plated		1	
-	Porcelain, 3-hole, raised dots on edge	1		
-	Brass, bulbous dome		1	
-	Brass, possible military		1	

The bulk of the buttons can be classified according to South's (1964) types and are briefly itemized in Table 16. The size ranges follow generally accepted concepts of use, with those buttons 6 mm and under being associated with undergarments or delicate outer garments, those between 7 and 13 mm used on shirts and pants, and the larger buttons being used for coats. If this is the case then we have no evidence of undergarments or delicate clothing and relatively little indication of even shirts and pants.

Of special interest are several buttons with back marks. Most are only quality marks, such as "Imperial Gold/Colour," or "Treble Standr/Extra Rich," although two companies are represented. "W.H. Jones & Co." is stamped on the reverse of the single Type 26 button, while one of the Type 18 buttons is marked "S&F." Unfortunately neither company could be identified.

There is one probable military button bearing an eagle with an "A" on a shield. While this vague description indicates an artillery button, we could find no match in Albert (1969).

Iron buckles are difficult to classify since many of the styles might also have been used as harness buckles. Nevertheless, we have chosen to lump them together in the clothing category. Seven are rectangular to square and range in size from about 3/4 by 7/8-inch to 2-5/8 by 2-3/8-inches. One is rounded and measures 1-5/8 by 2-3/8-inches. At least two, given their size and shape are likely shoe buckles.

Personal Group

The personal group produced three beads, one eyeglass lens, one finger ring, one pocket knife, seven iron keys, one brass key, and one brass decorative tag.

Beads are often associated with African American occupations and certainly a number of enslaved African Americans would have been present in the kitchen and main house area. The three beads are all from one unit – 100R100 – and include two tube beads. One , Kidd and Kidd (1970) Type 1a , is black glass measuring 6.9 mm in diameter and 26.4 mm in length. The other, Kidd and Kidd (1970) Type 1f, is aqua glass and measures 7.4 mm in diameter and 6 mm in length. The third bead, a wire wound style, is classified as a Type W1d (Kidd and Kidd 1970). It is of a pale yellow glass and

measures 7.5 mm in diameter and is 4.1 mm in length.

It isn't possible to evaluate the magnification of the eyeglass lens since it has been partially melted. It was, however, oval, measuring 1-3/8 inches by 1-inch. The finger ring is brass with a silver plate, measuring 4.6 mm in width and having an interior diameter of 18.6 mm (equivalent to a size 8). The pocket knife measures 5-inches overall and was covered in bone. The brass tag measures 19.3 by 23.9 mm.

The one brass key fragment is relatively modern, representing a solid head with a single , small hole. The iron keys, in contrast, are all examples of "skeleton" keys, probably for rim or mortise locks. Three are fragments, including one bow, one bit, and one stem.

The four intact specimens include one measuring 2-1/8 inches overall. The height of the keyhole would have been ¾-inch, indicating that the width of the lock would have been about 3-inches and its length would have been about 4½ to 5¼ -inches.

A second specimen is 2½-inches in length with a keyhole height of ⅝-inches. This translates into a lock measuring about 2½-inches in width and 3¾ to 4-6/16-inch.

The size of these two keys suggests their use in mortise locks. While mortise locks were available in the second half of the eighteenth century (Lounsbury 1994:236), we suspect perhaps an early nineteenth century date for the common use in the South Carolina low country.

The remaining two keys are both 4⅞-inch in length and would have fit keyholes measuring 1⅛-inch. This was designed for the common 8-inch rim lock, typical in eighteenth and early nineteenth century settings.

Activities Group

This final group contains a broad range of materials that don't easily fit elsewhere. It includes six toys, including three stone marbles, two toy ceramics (a white porcelain saucer fragment and a blue hand painted pearlware bowl fragment), and an iron Jew's or mouth harp. The two ceramics – characteristic of a doll's tea set – were almost certainly the possessions of a female child on the site. The other items, while perhaps used by children, had equal use by adults. For example, games such as "ringer" and "spanner" were likely played for cash wagers and formed the nucleus of urban backlot gaming in the nineteenth century. These stone marbles, often produced in Germany, date from the eighteenth through early twentieth centuries (Baumann 1991:35, 138-147).

The tool category includes one hoe blade, one half-round file fragment, one "adze-eye" claw hammer, one chisel blade, and one brass saw-screw fragment. While the hoe is characteristic of the plantation setting, the other tools are far more characteristic of a carpenter's tool kit.

The fishing category including 13 lead weights (12 intact and one fragmentary). These may have been used on either lines or on nets.

Storage items include 16 fragments of strap metal, one padlock, and four bucket rim fragments. The padlock measures 3½-inches overall and includes a brass keyhole cover stamped "Patent."

Items typically associated with the stable include one whiffletree hook, a halter or harness snap fragment, and a fragment of a wagon box – a device that was inserted over the wooden axle at the wheel.

Hardware items include two staples, two brass nails, one brass nail fragment, a length of trace chain, a single oval chain link, an eye bolt with nut, a square headed bed screw, three

wood screw fragments, and one washer fragment. Most of these items are very common hardware items. Brass nails were typically used in ship construction. There is, however, also speculation that shiny objects may have had special importance to African Americans (see, for example, Wilkie 1997 and Trinkley and Hacker 1999).

The last category, of miscellaneous items, is something of a "catch-all," and includes 29 unidentifiable iron fragments, one iron rod, seven unidentifiable brass items, 12 lead fragments, 10 lead puddles, 18 slate fragments, six smoothing stones, and two fragments of worked bone.

The slate fragments are all too small to represent roofing material, instead they may be fragments of counting slates (which would normally be considered personal items, if clearly identifiable). The smoothing stones have been previously discussed from collections at several sites (see, for example, Trinkley and Barile (2003) and are interpreted to represent stones used in the production of Colono wares. The relatively small number of these stones may be related to the infrequency of Colono wares at the site.

Summary

The materials from the kitchen area include a relatively large number of items that are not clearly kitchen related – for example the discarded carpentry tools, and the broad range of clothing and personal items. In many respects the deposits seem far more representative of general plantation trash than kitchen debris. This discussion, however, has not included the very large quantity of faunal remains present in the assemblage and almost certainly kitchen related. Of course, the collection can represent both kitchen remains and also plantation trash.

As was the case for the yard deposits, the assemblage appears to date from the late Player through mid-Morrison occupations. Beyond this rather general time period, little else can be added. There are a few materials that far earlier – such as the specimens of North Devon Gravel Tempered – and a few ceramics that are much latter – such as the sponged and decalcomania whitewares. Nevertheless, Level 1 is suggestive of the period from ca. 1760 through perhaps 1830.

There seems to be little evidence of the Jervey occupation and this, in combination with the yard deposits, may suggest that the main plantation settlement was shifted by Thomas Hall Jervey. In fact, these large trash deposits may represent clean-up efforts that took place during the transition of ownership.

Table 17.
Comparison of the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern and Level 1 at the Jervey Plantation kitchen area.

	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern[1]	Jervey Kitchen, Lv. 1
Kitchen	51.8 – 65.0	59.7
Architecture	25.2 – 31.4	36.1
Furniture	0.2 – 0.6	0.2
Arms	0.1 – 0.3	0.1
Tobacco	1.9 – 13.9	1.7
Clothing	0.6 – 5.4	0.7
Personal	0.2 – 0.5	0.1
Activities	0.9 – 1.7	1.4

[1] Garrow 1982

The materials from the yard area, being of an uncertain provenience and relatively sparse, are largely useful in comparison with the other collections from Jervey. If they are considered to be broadly representative of the assemblage – and there is no reason to doubt that they are – we can draw some initial conclusions from their analysis.

Unlike the yard deposits, those in the kitchen area suggest a gradual improvement of status from the mid-eighteenth century through mid-nineteenth century. The dominant vessel form changes from bowls to plates and

decorations change from inexpensive annular and edged wares to hand painted and transfer printed motifs.

Table 18.
Major Ceramics in the Kitchen Area Level 2

Porcelain	30	6.8%
Stoneware	14	3.2%
Brown	5	
Blue/Gray	1	
White	1	
Other	7	
Earthenware	396	90.0%
Slipware	33	
Refined	7	
Coarse	15	
Creamware	114	
Pearlware	196	
Whiteware	18	
Other	13	

Finally, here too it is useful to examine the assemblage's pattern, or proportion of materials in the various artifact groups. In the kitchen area we find an assemblage characteristic of planters during much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Table 17). The only disparities are the slightly high proportion of architectural remains, and the low proportion of tobacco and personal remains. The relative abundance of architectural remains may be explained by the archaeological data that suggests there may have been two building episodes – and this may have inflated architectural remains such as nails.

Level 2 Historic Remains

Level 2 is interpreted to be the original old humus at the site. The assemblage is represented by a modest 869 items in the four units, over half of which are kitchen group specimens (583 items or 67.1%). The next most common remains are architectural (238 or 27.4%). Relatively small quantities of other materials are present, including the arms, tobacco, clothing, personal, and activities groups.

Kitchen Group

Kitchen artifacts are dominated by ceramics (440 specimens or 75.5% of the group total). This assemblage includes a wide variety of ceramics (Table 18). In fact, if Table 18 is compared to Table 11 for Level 1 relatively few differences – other than the smaller sample size – will be noticed. Earthenwares are the most important assemblage, although porcelains were clearly significant. Stonewares are not as common as in Level 1 and those present are largely not utilitarian storage items, but rather black basalts and white salt-glazed stonewares.

While creamwares and pearlwares have very similar proportions in the two assemblages – 25.8%/42.3% in Level 1 and 28.8%/49.5% in Level 2 – the whitewares are far more common in Level 1 (where they account for 14.5% of the earthenwares) than in Level 2 (where they account for only 4.5%). This provides an early indication that there may, in fact, be some temporal difference in the two levels. On the other hand, we have no delft in Level 2, although it was found in Level 1 and in Level 2 the slipwares account for 8.3% of the

Table 19.
Minimum Vessel Count for the Kitchen Area Level 2

	Cup	Bowl	Saucer	Plate	Lid
CW, undecorated		2		7	
PW, blue hand painted	5	6	9		
PW, annular		2			
PW, edged				13	
PW, blue transfer printed	1	4		1	
Pearlware Subtotal	*6*	*12*	*9*	*14*	
WW, undecorated			1	1	
WW, transfer printed				2	
Yellow Ware		1			
Chinese porcelain, poly			1		
Chinese porcelain, blue	1			2	1
Slipware		3			

CW – creamware; PW – pearlware, WW – whiteware

earthenwares, while they account for 7.0% in Level 1. Consequently, at least at this gross level the distinction between the two levels does not seem clearly defined.

When the minimum vessel counts are examined, pearlwares are still the single most important ceramic – again revealing that counts and MNV provide very similar analytical results. Table 19, however, does reveal that overall plates or flat wares are more important than hollow wares, even in these lower and presumably earlier deposits, representing 58.7% of the collection.

Recognizing that there is some mixing of levels, it may be useful to combine the minimum vessel counts from Levels 1 and 2 and look at the assemblage as a whole (Table 20). The overall proportions of tablewares, tea and coffeewares, and utilitarian wares has not appreciably changed with the combination of the two levels and flat wares still account for the bulk of the tableware collection – 56%.

Table 20
Shape and Function of Ceramic Vessels from Levels 1 and 2

Shape	#	%
Tablewares	375	85.8
Plates/saucers	210	
Bowls	159	
Serving	6	
Tea and Coffeeware	56	12.8
Utilitarian	6	1.4

While smaller, the collection in many respects resembles the Level 1 remains. However, the mean ceramic date for the assemblage (Table 21) is earlier, if only by seven years. South's bracketing technique suggests a date range from about 1775 to 1820 – this exhibits little early difference from Level 1, but does cut the occupation off far earlier than the overlying deposits. Nevertheless, it still doesn't provide much indication of the posited early Player occupation.

Bartovics' technique, on the other hand, does suggest an occupation going into the seventeenth century, dramatically increasing about 1760 and rather dramatically terminating about 1840. This provides our best evidence of both the early Player plantation activities and also the termination of Level 2 in the early nineteenth century.

To these data we should also add that we found numerous cross mends between Levels 1 and 2. While most of these are pearlwares, we did find one whiteware and one porcelain that cross mended between Levels 1 and 2. This reveals that our identification – and excavation – of the two levels was not precise and this may be causing us problems in getting consistent dates. Nevertheless, what we have does suggest that the two levels are temporally distinct, with the lower level representing the early plantation settlement (as well as gradual build-up of deposits), while the upper level represents deposition of trash, possibly from a cleaning episode as the plantation changed hands or perhaps as the settlement location itself changed.

Other kitchen related items include 42 Colono sherds. While this is a small assemblage, it represents 8.7% of the total ceramics in Level 2. In contrast, the 243 Colono found in Level 1 represent only 4.8% of the ceramics. So, while relatively few Colono are present, they are an important contributor to the kitchen group – helping to attest to the earlier date range for Level 2.

Other remains include 84 bottle glass, dominated by 66 "black" glass fragments (78.6%). These include at least one case bottle and one blown bottle with a round base. Other glass include eight aqua specimens and nine clear.

Tableware items include nine clear glass fragments representing two goblets, one bowl, one tumbler, and one unidentifiable vessel. Also present are a pewter spoon (with a rat-tail), a two-tine bone handle fork, and three bone

handle utensil handle fragments (two of which have cross hatched bone decorations). The kitchenware assemblage consists of two kettle fragments and an iron tea kettle spout fragment.

Table 21.
Mean Ceramic Date for the Kitchen Area, Level 2.

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Canton porcelain	1800-1830	1815	28	50820
Nottingham stoneware	1700-1810	1755	1	1755
Westerwald	1700-1775	1738	1	1738
White salt glazed stoneware	1740-1775	1758	1	1758
Black basalt	1750-1820	1785	7	12495
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	34	58922
Jackfield	1740-1780	1760	1	1760
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	113	202383
Pearlware, mocha	1795-1890	1843	1	1843
Pearlware, poly hand painted	1795-1815	1805	4	7220
Pearlware, blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	38	68400
Pearlware, blue trans printed	1795-1840	1818	35	63630
Pearlware, edged	1780-1830	1805	23	41515
Pearlware, annular/cable	1790-1820	1805	12	21660
Pearlware, undecorated	1780-1830	1805	79	142595
Whiteware, blue edged	1826-1880	1853	1	1853
Whiteware, poly hand painted	1826-1870	1848	2	3696
Whiteware, blue trans printed	1831-1865	1848	6	11088
Whiteware, non-blue trans printed	1826-1875	1851	1	1851
Whiteware, undecorated	1813-1900	1860	8	14880
Yellow ware	1826-1880	1853	2	3706
Total			398	715568
Mean Ceramic Date	1797.9			

Architecture Group

The architecture group is far less varied than Level 1, containing primarily nails (221 examples), 15 fragments of window glass, one fragment of worked marble, and one wrought spike. The marble fragment is too small to be confidently assigned a function, but it is consistent in fireplace surrounds.

The nails include 139 (62.9%) specimens that cannot be further categorized as wrought or cut. Of the remaining specimens, 58 (70.7%) are wrought. Of these wrought nails 21 or 36.2% are 5d or smaller, suggesting use in shingles and lathe. An additional 10 nails (17.2%) are between 6d and 8d, the size range typically found associated with sheathing, while only seven nails (12.1%) are in the size range of framing nails. This again suggests an early structure that relied on traditional joinery techniques.

Furniture Group

Furniture items include one round-headed brass tack and one iron handle 4-inches in length. This handle appears similar to modern drawer pulls, perhaps being associated with a very utilitarian item.

Arms Group

This category includes an iron frizzen from a flintlock and two black gun flints – an assemblage not dissimilar to Level 1 and suggesting that the plantation contained a fairly broad assortment of arms-related materials.

Tobacco Group

The tobacco related items are limited to clay pipe stems (18 specimens) and three undecorated pipe bowls. The most common pipe stem bore diameter is 5/64-inch, with 12 examples, followed by 4/64-inch with five.

Clothing Group

Four items are found in this category, three buttons and one brass thimble. The

thimble measures 9/16-inch in diameter and ⅝-inch in height. The buttons include one Type 7 brass specimen measuring 12 mm and one Type 18 brass example measuring 14 mm. The final button, while brass, is fragmentary, so no type designation is possible (its approximate diameter, however, is 28 mm). This suggests two buttons intended for pants or shirts and one probably associated with a coat.

Personal Group

In this category there are three items – an iron key fragment; an oval, blue glass, jewelry setting; and a silver book cover with a hand stamped design.

Although the bow is missing, the fragment of the key present indicates a size appropriate for an 8-inch rim lock – similar to the most common keys found in Level 1.

The blue glass setting measures 13.8 by 11.5 mm and has a floral pattern. This was probably either a women's ring or broach setting.

The last item is especially interesting. Measuring 3 by 3¼ inches, it is a silver plated book cover. Hand stamped on the face is a bust of a knight in armor. At the base is a rope design, while at the top and left sides are a step fret. This suggests that this specimen was from the rear cover, perhaps of a diary or prayer book.

Activities Group

The final classification includes 15 specimens. In the fishing category there are three lead fishing weights – an item common from Level 1 and perhaps signifying the importance of estuarine resources to the site inhabitants. Also present are two strap fragments, assigned to the storage category. In the hardware category there is a length of chain. The "other" category includes six unidentifiable fragments of iron, one slate fragment, one flint cobble fragment, and one lead strip.

Summary

As previously explained, Level 2 appears to be imprecisely separated from Level 1. As a result, we find cross-mending ceramics and glass. And we find similar proportions of vessel forms, as well as a mean date that is only a few years older. On the other hand, Bartovics' date range suggests that this lower level does, in fact, represent earlier deposits – they have simply become mixed with later materials. This seems to be supported to some modest degree by the prevalence of wrought nails.

Table 22.
Comparison of the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern and Levels 1 and 2 at the Jervey Plantation kitchen area.

	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern[1]	Jervey Kitchen Lv. 1	Jervey Kitchen Lv. 2
Kitchen	51.8 – 65.0	59.7	67.1
Architecture	25.2 – 31.4	36.1	27.4
Furniture	0.2 – 0.6	0.2	0.2
Arms	0.1 – 0.3	0.1	0.3
Tobacco	1.9 – 13.9	1.7	2.4
Clothing	0.6 – 5.4	0.7	0.4
Personal	0.2 – 0.5	0.1	0.3
Activities	0.9 – 1.7	1.4	1.7

[1] Garrow 1982

The assemblage, however, is too small to offer much insight on the earlier plantation activities. We are able to note that the Colono appear more important in the plantation's early occupation than they do later in time – although this is no surprise. Level 1 with its much larger assemblage suggests that the early settlement had a greater reliance on hollow wares early in its history. This, again, is not a particularly great surprise considering the data that we obtained from the John Whitesides settlement (Trinkley and Hacker 1996). We would expect the early settlers to have relatively yeoman-like tastes.

When we look at the assemblage (Table 22) we find a pattern that again resembles the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern, typical of eighteenth and nineteenth century English

plantations. It seems likely that the kitchen artifacts are slightly more common than anticipated in Level 2 since that deposit represents trash specifically associated with the kitchen, while the Level 1 deposits were more likely gathered up from multiple plantation areas. Likewise, the architecture remains are below what might be anticipated in Level 2 since those deposits do not as clearly represent demolition, but rather were perhaps accumulated during a period of use.

Level 2 Post Holes

Post holes are not typically analyzed separately since they rarely produce abundant materials. In this case, however, eight of the post holes yielded remains and of these seven produced ceramics. Since we believe these posts – all for large, heavy timbers – likely represent an early kitchen that was later replaced by one set on brick piers slightly to the north, it seems reasonable to take a brief look at the ceramic dates yielded by these post holes.

Of course, we need to remember that the trash that fills in around a rotting post or the hole left by the removed post provides a terminal date. One should assume that the structure represented was earlier than the mean date of the post hole remains.

Table 23.
Mean Date for Post Holes Associated with the Kitchen Structure

Post Hole	Mean Date
100R100, 1	1803.1
85R110, 1	1811.5
85R110, 2	1795.2
85R110, 3	1798.0
85R110, 4	1787.2
85R110, 5	1775.3
85R110, 6	1800.0
All combined	1795.5

Table 23 lists the mean dates and we can see that there are several that suggest a relatively early structure. Even the combined date is earlier than that obtained for Level 2.

Main House Area, 100-115R175, 110-115R185, 75R185, 120R195, 100-120R210, 100R215-225

These 10 units revealed the entire west wall of the main house, the northwest and southwest corners, portions of the north and south walls, and the southeast corner, as well as near structure yard areas to the east and south. The 10 units produced 10,215 artifacts in Levels 1 and 2, plus an additional 1,224 specimens in the three identified features, for a total of 11,439 items. Ignoring the features and combining levels 1 and 2, this yields an artifact density of 20.7 specimens per cubic foot – only slightly lower than the kitchen area. Of course, many of the artifacts in the main house area are the result of the structure's burning and demolition.

The artifact density of Level 1 is 19.2 specimens per cubic foot and the Level 2 density is 61.2, although this represents the old humus in only a single 10-foot unit. This is directly the opposite of the kitchen area, when the old humus produced a very low artifact density, especially compared with the overlying discard zone.

Prehistoric Remains

The collection consists of 184 prehistoric sherds, 117 (63.6%) of which are under 1-inch in diameter and unsuitable for additional analysis. The remaining collection is dominated by Deptford Check Stamped wares (35 sherds), followed by Deptford Plain (18). Deptford Simple Stamped account for three specimens and Deptford Cord Marked for an additional two sherds. A single Wilmington Plain and Pee Dee Complicated Stamped were also recovered, as were seven unidentifiable plain or heavily smeared sherds.

Prehistoric materials are less common in the house area than in the nearby kitchen area,

suggesting that if there was a core Native American area it may today lie under the golf course. The remains are also consistent with a Middle Woodland, primarily Deptford phase, occupation. Other data sets, such as lithics or features, are absent and the prehistoric remains appear highly disturbed by plowing and historic settlement (likely accounting for the high proportion of the small sherds).

Table 24.
Major Ceramics in the Main House Area, Lv. 1

Porcelain	54	4.2%
Stoneware	82	6.8%
Brown	22	
Blue/Gray	38	
White	12	
Other	10	
Earthenware	1174	89.0%
Redware	5	
Slipware	23	
Refined	9	
Coarse	23	
Delft	9	
Creamware	224	
Pearlware	365	
Whiteware	312	
Other	204	

Level 1 Historic Remains

Level 1 represents building rubble associated with the main house. Some of this certainly dates to the period of occupation, although much more probably dates to the various abandonment, burning, and demolition episodes. One goal of the research is to determine if the artifacts can provide some clue concerning the origin of the structure, as well as its eventual demise.

There are 9,077 specimens, most of which (4,650 or 51.2%) are architecture related. Kitchen artifacts comprise the second largest category, with 4,303 specimens (47.4%of the total assemblage).

Kitchen Group

The kitchen artifacts consist of 1,310 ceramics. Nearly 90% of these are earthenwares, with porcelains accounting for only 4.2% and stonewares, mostly utilitarian items, accounting for 6.8% of the collection (Table 24). These proportions are not too dissimilar to the kitchen area, except that the porcelain and stoneware proportions are reversed. Porcelains were far more important in the kitchen area and utilitarian stonewares are more important in the main house area.

This is also the first assemblage where whitewares make such a sizeable contribution (representing over a quarter of the earthenwares). While there is a clear nineteenth century component, the eighteenth century materials, while present, occur in smaller numbers. For example, slipwares account for only 23 specimens, delft for only nine, Jackfield for five, Westerwald for nine, white salt glazed stoneware for only three, and North Devon Gravel Tempered is represented by only one specimen. Not unexpectedly, the later wares, becoming less expensive and more readily available, seem to swamp the earlier materials.

Turning to the minimum number of vessels (Table 25), whitewares are an even greater contributor to the collection – representing 34.7% of the assemblage, while pearlwares contribute 36.9%. This table reveals that the tablewares, and tea and coffeewares are in close approximation of what was found in the Kitchen Area. The only significance difference – already alluded to – is the main house collection reveals a larger proportion of utilitarian vessels.

When the whole collection is taken together the flat wares (plates and saucers) account for 66.4% of the tablewares, while hollow ware vessels (such as bowls), account for 31.9%. This collection, therefore, represents foodways that are no longer focused on one-pot meals and stews. Instead, the remains suggest higher status dietary patterns. When the proportion of plates within the creamware,

pearlware, and whiteware categories is examined, we find that it varies from 55% to 56% to 67.4% – revealing a gradual increase in the importance of flat wares and, presumably, foodways distinct from stew and pottages. Table 27 allows us to explore the variation in decorative motifs. Ignoring plain vessels (which are initially expensive, but decline quickly in cost), we find that the proportion of expensive motifs increases steadily through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, so that while no expensive motifs were present on the creamwares, by the time of

Table 25.
Minimum Vessel Count for the Main House Area, Lv. 1

	Cup	Mug	Bowl	Saucer	Plate	Pitcher	Serving	Lid	Tea Pot	Chamber Pot
CW, undecorated	3		4		7					1
CW, molded					2					
CW, annular			2							
CW, edged					2					
Creamware, subtotals	*3*		*6*		*11*					*1*
PW, undecorated			1							1
PW, blue hand painted	1		5	3						
PW, poly hand painted	1		1							
PW, annular		1	7	1						
PW, edged					16					
PW, blue transfer printed	2		3	3	5	1				
Pearlware, subtotals	*4*	*1*	*17*	*7*	*21*	*1*				*1*
WW, undecorated	2		2	1	7		1			
WW, molded			1							
WW, poly hand painted			1	3						
WW, annular			2							
WW, edged					9					
WW, blue transfer printed	3	1	3	5	6		1	1		
Whiteware, subtotal	*5*	*1*	*9*	*9*	*22*		*2*	*1*		
Canary Ware		1								
Delft					2					
Tortoiseshell	1									
Yellowware			2						1	
Chinese porcelain, blue				1	2					
White porcelain, undec			1	1					1	
Nottingham			1							
Westerwald										1
Slipware					1					
Coarse red EW			2		2					

CW – creamware; PW – pearlware, WW – whiteware, EW - earthenware

Table 26.
Shape and Function of Ceramic Vessels from the Main House Area, Lv. 1

Shape	#	%
Tablewares	119	82.6
Plates/saucers	79	
Bowls	38	
Serving	2	
Tea and Coffeeware	18	12.5
Utilitarian	7	4.9

Table 27.
Motifs on Creamware, Pearlware, and Whiteware in the Main House Area, Lv. 1

Type	Expensive Motifs (%)	Inexpensive Motifs (%)
Creamware	0	100
Pearlware	51.0	49.0
Whiteware	68.6	31.4

whiteware, over two-thirds of the vessels had expensive hand painted or transfer printed motifs. These results are consistent with our findings in the kitchen area – providing additional support for the idea that status (or at least the wealth) of the Jervey Plantation owners increased through time.

Table 28.
Mean Ceramic Date for the Main House Area, Lv. 1

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Canton porcelain	1800-1830	1815	35	63525
Nottingham stoneware	1700-1810	1755	1	1755
Westerwald	1700-1775	1738	2	3476
White salt glazed stoneware	1740-1775	1758	10	17580
White sg sw, scratch blue	1744-1775	1760	2	3520
Black basalt	1750-1820	1785	1	1785
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	23	39859
Jackfield	1740-1780	1760	5	8800
Decorated delft	1600-1802	1750	6	10500
Plain delft	1640-1800	1720	3	5160
North Devon	1650-1775	1713	1	1713
Creamware, annular	1780-1815	1798	5	8990
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	215	385065
Pearlware, mocha	1795-1890	1843	1	1843
Pearlware, poly hand painted	1795-1815	1805	12	21660
Pearlware, blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	39	70200
Pearlware, blue trans printed	1795-1840	1818	92	167256
Pearlware, edged	1780-1830	1805	42	75810
Pearlware, annular/cable	1790-1820	1805	52	93860
Pearlware, undecorated	1780-1830	1805	144	259920
Whiteware, green edged	1826-1830	1828	1	1828
Whiteware, blue edged	1826-1880	1853	12	22236
Whiteware, poly hand painted	1826-1870	1848	19	35112
Whiteware, blue trans printed	1831-1865	1848	92	170016
Whiteware, non-blue trans printed	1826-1875	1851	24	44424
Whiteware, annular	1831-1900	1866	16	29856
Whiteware, undecorated	1813-1900	1860	148	275280
Yellow ware	1826-1880	1853	20	37060
Total			1023	1858089
Mean Ceramic Date	1816.3			

In an effort to address some of our concerns about the dating of the structure, the mean ceramic date for the level 1 units is shown in Table 28. The assemblage produced a relatively late date – 1816.3 – especially when compared to level 1 at the kitchen (1805) and the yard unit (1801). This, in combination with the abundance of whiteware, provides an initial suggestion that the main house was still being used into at least the early Jervey occupation.

South's bracketing technique suggests a date range from 1775 through about 1825 – not dissimilar to the date ranges proposed for the other excavation areas. Bartovics' technique suggests a date range from ca. 1670 through 1900 – essentially the entire range of the site's history. There is, however, a very strong peak between 1760 and 1820. This correlates to the period from about Thomas Player, Jr. (excluding the earlier Player occupations) through the middle of the Morrison occupation. This is consistent with the data obtained from the yard area as well as the kitchen – all suggest that the site saw its greatest or most intensive occupation during this range of owners.

While occupation intensity declines after 1820, it continues to about 1860, when it dramatically declines. This suggests that the

main house may have been standing, and used, through ca. 1860.

Taken at face value, these data suggest construction about 1760 and abandonment about 1860.

Curiously, bottle glass was very common in the main house area. Black glass contributed 610 fragments, accounting for 18 round base wine or beer bottles and one case bottle. Also present were 187 fragments of aqua glass – representing 12 different bottles. While two panel bottles are present, most are the remains of soda water or medicine bottles. In spite of these relatively large numbers of identifiable materials, the collection also produced 1,865 fragments of melted and burnt glass – like the ceramics providing clear evidence of the structure's destruction.

Other container glass includes one brown, 14 blue, six green, 170 clear, six dark aqua, and 47 manganese glass fragments. These last materials suggest that dumping or disposal of remains continued into the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries, probably associated with farming activities in the general area.

Other kitchen group artifacts include 39 tableware items and five kitchenware items. The tableware specimens include one bone handled utensil fragment, two green glass fragments from a scalloped bowl, two goblets, five tumblers (two of which were paneled), nine unidentifiable drinking vessels, and two bowls. The bowls have diameters of 4 to 4½ inches – the same size as previously identified "finger bowls," "wine glass coolers," or "wine glass rinsers."

The kitchenware items are all iron kettle fragments. Two of these are sufficiently large to allow vessel diameters to be estimated at 13 and 14 inches.

Architecture Group

As might be expected, architectural remains in excavations at the main house were abundant. The most common items were nails, with 3,729 specimens recovered from the Level 1 excavations. Of these, however, 58% were so corroded and fragmented that neither the nail type or length was recoverable. The remaining 1569 nails could be identified to at least type, with 633 specimens (40.3%) representing wrought examples. Far more common (comprising 59.7%) were machine cut nails. This may suggest that while the house was constructed in the eighteenth century, it had considerable repairs and modifications during the nineteenth century.

Table 29.
Nail Size Comparison Between the Main House and Kitchen (as percent of structure total, both wrought and cut)

	2d-5d	6d-8d	9d-12d	16d+
Main Hs.	47.6	30.9	19.6	1.9
Kitchen	30.9	40.1	24.8	4.2

There are 464 wrought nails that could be measured. Of these 317 (68.3%) were between 2d and 5d in size – a range typically found associated with attaching lathe and shingles. There were only 56 (12.1%) nails between 6d and 8d – a range associated with sheathing and siding. Slightly more common were the 9d to 12d nails, accounting for 85 specimens and 18.3% of the wrought collection. Large framing nails (16d and larger) accounted for only 1.3% of the collections. Most of these wrought nails (322 or 69.4%) have rose heads.

The cut nails, on the other hand, were dominated by sheathing and siding nails – 241 specimens (48.5% of the collection) being between 6d and 8d. Small lathe and shingle nails were the next most abundant, with 141 specimens (28.4%) , followed by framing nails (103 specimens or 20.7%).

If the wrought and cut distinctions are ignored and we examine only the size distribution (Table 29), we find that while there are some similarities between the main house and kitchen, there are also a couple of potentially significant differences. The two collections are similar in that both contain relatively small assemblages of framing and large framing nails, with the numbers decreasing as size increases. In other words, it seems likely that both structures were built using craft traditions (with the framing nails possibly representing later repairs or modifications). On the other hand, the main house has a larger assemblage of small nails when compared to the kitchen. We believe that this reflects the larger size and abundance of interior detailing, including plaster and molding.

Also present from Level 1 at the main house are 899 window glass fragments, many of which are melted, 1 latch bar from a door lock, and 21 construction hardware fragments. This last group includes two strap hinge fragments, two pintle fragments, one bolt pintle with a wrought nut, seven butt hinge fragments, one brass butt hinge fragment, one brass "flush bolt," one round sliding bolt staple, an iron post cap, two fragments of a gray "flagging" stone measuring ½ and 1-inch in thickness, and three fragments of coarse red earthenware tiles with thickness ranging from 5/16 to ⅞-inch.

The architectural assemblage reveals that while many architectural remains were present in the rubble, the quantity and diversity seems low. For example, since we examined wall areas we would expect to find a broad range of window and shutter fittings – yet none were discovered. We would also have expected to find a greater variety of lock boxes or lock fragments – and again the number was very low. This suggests that the structure sat abandoned prior to its burning and many of the architectural fittings were removed or salvaged.

The presence of a small number of tiles does suggest that the fireplaces may have been tiled and that some flagging may have been present as a walkway or on the stairs to the main entrance. Otherwise, the remains are rather nondescript, suggesting that the structure was more of a farmhouse than a grand mansion.

Furniture Group

Six furniture related artifacts were recovered from the level 1 main house excavations. These include three brass tacks, typically used as furniture or trunk decorations and three small brass hinge fragments typical of furniture items (one is a type generally called a "table butt hinge").

The low quantity of furniture items, representing less than 0.1% of the collection, suggests that the structure was largely vacant when it was destroyed – consistent with the degree of architectural salvage that appears to have taken place.

Arms Group

The only arms related item is a single brass percussion cap.

Tobacco Group

This category includes 33 tobacco stem fragments and 16 pipe bowl fragments. The stem fragments are dominated by 5/64-inch bores (25, 75.7%). There are three specimens each of 4/64 and 6/64-inch bores, one 7/64-inch bore, and one fragment that could not be measured. The 5/64-inch bore stems are largely plain, although one ribbed stem was recovered. A similar ribbed stem was present in the 6/64-inch collection, along with one with a flared tip.

The pipe bowls include 14 plain examples (87.5%), one ribbed specimen, and one ribbed with leaves on the mold seam.

All of these fragments are located in proveniences that appear to be outside the actual structure. Consequently, the tobacco

collection cannot be directly associated with the occupants of the main house.

Table 30.
Buttons Recovered from the Main House, Level 1

Type	Description	# 7-13 mm	# 14+ mm	Notes
15	Bone disc, 1-hole	1		
23	Porcelain, convex	2		
27	Brass domed, machine embossed		1	Eagle w/shield
28	Brass concave		1	Eagle w/A shield
-	Brass, silver plated		1	3 feathers, crown, 2 hearts
-	Suspender button		1	Pat. date 1908

Clothing Group

Seventeen clothing related items were recovered from the Level 1 excavations, including 10 buttons and seven other clothing items. The buttons are itemized in Table 30.

As mentioned previously those buttons between 7 and 13 mm were likely used on shirts and pants, and the larger buttons were used for coats. The Type 27 button is that used by the General Service between 1854 and 1902 and most likely represents a coat button lost by either a Union soldier or a freedman wearing Union clothing. The Type 28 button is typical of post-1821 United States artillery services. The back mark on the button is "R•R," the mark of Richard Robinson & Company between 1820 and 1825 (McGuinn and Bazelon 1984:81-82). The button clearly pre-dates the Civil War and may have been lost by a member of the military at any number of the fortifications around Charleston. The suspender button was marked, "•PAT•Feb. 17, 1908." This suggests that it was lost perhaps during the twentieth century demolition efforts at the main house.

Other clothing items include a brass grommet, probably from a leather shoe or boot; a brass suspender slide; a brass thimble; a brass heal repair or tap; a brass aglet; and two iron buckles of a size that is consistent with both belts and stable fittings.

This is a rather spartan assemblage and not of it is particularly suggestive of a mid to late eighteenth century occupation. Most of the materials recovered appear to date from the very late occupation of the site or perhaps even from when the house was no longer being actively used.

Personal Group

Only four personal artifacts were recovered from the Main House excavations – one brass watch key, two fragments of counting slates, and a brass broach fragment.

Activities Group

Forty-seven artifacts were recovered in four different categories. A single glass marble comprises the toy category. In the storage category are seven strap fragments ranging from ¾-inch up to 1¼ -inch. The hardware category includes four wood screws, six bolts, one washer, two nuts, one cotter pin, three staples, and two chain fragments. While some of the items (such as the wood screws) are almost certainly from the original structure, other items are so ubiquitous on a farm (such as the cotter pin, chain fragments, and bolts), that they probably post-date the structure itself.

The final category of miscellaneous items in the Activities Group includes a fragment of threaded, worked bone (possibly a sewing item), two lead puddles, four brass fragments, one unidentifiable brass disc, two unidentifiable iron fragments, a single smoothing stone (perhaps associated with the Colono ware pottery at the site), five small slate fragments (which might be counting slate fragments, although they have no marks on them), and four flint fragments.

Summary

The main house assemblage provides some important information on the lifeways of the occupants.

Like other plantation areas examined, the ceramics also indicate a very broad range of occupation, with a core occupation extending from the middle of the Player tenure to the middle of the Morrison ownership. There is some evidence of occupation through perhaps 1860, although it suggests that the Jervey family was only occasionally in residence at this structure. Taken at face value, these data suggest construction of the main house about 1760 and abandonment about 1860.

Examining the ceramics we find that the assemblage is more clearly dominated by flat wares than was the kitchen structure, although there is still evidence that the proportion of flat wares compared to hollow wares increases over time. Not only do the vessel forms change, but so too do the motifs. The assemblage reveals that from the late eighteenth through mid-nineteenth centuries the occupants at the Jervey house gradually increased their display of wealth, featuring more and more expensive motifs at the expense of less costly designs.

The architectural remains suggest that the main house was built in the eighteenth century using craft traditions. There are a large number of small nails, likely used for interior detailing, including plaster lathes and room moldings. Other architectural items, especially window and shutter hardware, are virtually non-existent. Coupled with the low frequency of furniture related items, this suggests that the structure sat abandoned – with much of its contents moved or salvaged – prior to its final destruction. This period of abandonment, coupled with the low use the house may have received during the late antebellum, may also help explain the low incidence of tableware and other relatively high status items.

Table 31 reveals that artifact pattern from the main house area provides a generally poor fit to Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern. There are a number of small discrepancies, but perhaps the most significant deviation is the very large proportion of kitchen remains – 51.2% of the entire assemblage, well beyond the anticipated range.

Table 31.
Comparison of the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern and Level 1 at the Jervey Main House

	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern[1]	Jervey House, Lv. 1
Kitchen	51.8 – 65.0	47.4
Architecture	25.2 – 31.4	51.2
Furniture	0.2 – 0.6	<.0.1
Arms	0.1 – 0.3	< 0.1
Tobacco	1.9 – 13.9	0.5
Clothing	0.6 – 5.4	0.2
Personal	0.2 – 0.5	< 0.1
Activities	0.9 – 1.7	0.5

[1] Garrow 1982

This demonstrates one of the problems in using the various patterns – they are devised as means or averages representing a broad range of lifeway activities. When confronted by an assemblage that reflects some specialized activities the pattern has problems. In this case, the events at the main house are dominated by the structure's demolition after a period of abandonment and salvage. As a result, the artifact assemblage reflects a large quantity of architectural remains with relatively few other cultural objects.

Level 2 Historic Artifacts

The level 2 assemblage represents an old humus at the main house, but it was found in only two units – 115R175 and 110R180. Within 115R175 the zone varied from about 0.4 foot under a porch area where the soil was protected to less than 0.2 foot elsewhere in the unit. The level tampered to the south, becoming mixed with the general fire, collapse, and demolition

zone around the walls. A far smaller area of level 2 soil was found in the second unit. Here it was only 0.1 foot in depth and appeared to smear into the unit from the west.

Table 32.
Minimum Vessel Count for the Main House, Level 2

	Cup	Bowl	Saucer	Plate
CW, undecorated		1		
PW, blue hand painted	1			
PW, poly hand painted		1		
PW, edged				3
PW, blue transfer printed			1	1
WW, undecorated				3
WW, annular		1		
WW, edged				1
WW, transfer printed				2

CW – creamware; PW – pearlware, WW – whiteware

While found in only two units, the level where present produced a collection of 1,138 specimens. Most of these remains – 843 specimens representing 74.1% of the collection – are architectural items, primarily nails.

Kitchen Group

The collection includes only 140 ceramics and 11 Colono ware sherds. The ceramics are dominated by earthenwares, accounting for 90.7% of the ceramic assemblage. Stonewares account for only 5.7%, followed by porcelains at 3.6%. The earthenwares are largely creamwares (23 specimens), pearlwares (36 specimens), and whitewares (41 specimens). Unlike the kitchen and level 1 at the main house, there are almost no early ceramics.

When the minimum vessel count is examined (Table 32), only 15 vessels are represented – one creamware, seven pearlware, and seven whiteware. Relatively few observations are possible given such a small assemblage. We can suggest, however, that most of the materials found in Level 2 were deposited from the middle to latter periods of occupation. Hollow ware forms, accounting for four vessels, are less common that flat wares, accounting for 11 specimens. When the motifs are considered, expensive designs account for six vessels, while inexpensive designs are found on five.

Perhaps more usefully, the ceramics present in this small collection provide a mean ceramic date of 1823 (Table 33) – slightly later than other proveniences, largely because the assemblage has almost no evidence of any mid-eighteenth century settlement.

Table 33.
Mean Ceramic Date for the Main House, Level 2

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Canton porcelain	1800-1830	1815	3	5445
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	1	1733
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	23	41193
Pearlware, poly hand painted	1795-1815	1805	1	1805
Pearlware, blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	5	9000
Pearlware, blue trans printed	1795-1840	1818	3	5454
Pearlware, edged	1780-1830	1805	4	7220
Pearlware, annular/cable	1790-1820	1805	4	7220
Pearlware, undecorated	1780-1830	1805	19	34295
Whiteware, blue edged	1826-1880	1853	1	1853
Whiteware, blue trans printed	1831-1865	1848	3	5544
Whiteware, non-blue trans printed	1826-1875	1851	3	5553
Whiteware, annular	1831-1900	1866	7	13062
Whiteware, undecorated	1813-1900	1860	27	50220
Yellow ware	1826-1880	1853	1	1853
Total			105	191450
Mean Ceramic Date	1823.3			

We are confronted by a Level 2 deposit that appears more recent than the overlying Level 1 deposits (that clearly include the

structure's demolition). As those familiar with plantation architecture no doubt have already concluded, the Level 2 deposits represent yard debris that had been swept under the porch or against the foundations of the structure. Thus, they are materials that were deposited relatively late in the structure's history and were confined to a very few locations – with the deepest portions under the porch and tapering deposits elsewhere. Consequently, the mean date provides us with a clue that yard activities – or more precisely cleanliness (or refuse disposal practices) – changed over the life of the plantation. In the late antebellum it apparently become acceptable to sweep debris under the porch and against the house, rather than disposing of them off-site. This, of course, seems to correlate with the Jervey occupation – and provides support to our contention that the Jervey family spent relatively little time at the plantation.

Other kitchen artifacts include 117 container glass fragments, including 36 fragments of "black" bottle glass, 19 aqua fragments, 23 clear fragments, one green fragment, and 38 melted fragments. In terms of vessel reconstructions, this assemblage represents one "black" case bottle, one aqua jar and one aqua bottle, and one clear jar.

Tableware consisted of five fragments of clear glass representing two drinking vessels, and two iron utensil handle fragments.

No kitchenware items were recovered from level 2.

Architecture Group

The architecture collection consists of 745 nails and nail fragments, 94 fragments of window glass, one wing nut for a bolt pintle, and three wrought rivet fragments for a strap hinge.

The nails, while comprising the bulk of the collection, offer relatively little data since 64.4% are too badly corroded or fragmented to provide either measurements or nail type. Those that are suitable for study reveal a strong preference for cut nails (207 specimens or 78.1% of the identifiable nails).

As in previous assemblages, we find a difference in the size range distribution for wrought and cut nails. The wrought nails are heavily weighted (73.5%) to the smallest size range of 2d to 5d, typically used for attaching shingles and lathe. In contrast, the cut nails are weighted (albeit not as heavily) to sheathing and siding nails, which account for 49% of the cut nail collection.

The clear dominance of the later cut nail forms is consistent with the later ceramics and their antebellum date.

Furniture Group

The single furniture item in the collection is a fragment of mirror glass.

Tobacco Group

Only seven specimens were recovered, three kaolin pipe stems and four plain pipe bowl fragments. The stems include two 5/64-inch bore diameters and one with a bore diameter of 6/64-inch.

Clothing Group

In this category are two buttons and a large iron buckle tongue. One button is a Type 16 bone example and the other is a Type 23 white porcelain specimen. Both are over 14 mm in size, although it seems unlikely that the porcelain specimen was used on a coat.

Personal Group

A single personal group item was recovered – an unidentifiable brass coin measuring 27 mm in diameter. The coin is very heavily worn, to the point that no markings on either face are legible. The size, however, suggests one of the early American "large cents"

that were common during the very late eighteenth century through mid-nineteenth century.

Activities Group

Eight specimens are included in this group – four hardware items and four that fall into the "other" category. The hardware items include one bolt, one brass nail, and two wood screws. The "other" or miscellaneous items include one small slate fragment (possibly a fragment of a counting slate), two lead fragments, and one brass stripped with a stamped floral design.

Table 34.
Artifact Pattern from Level 2 at the Jervey Main House

	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern[1]	Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern[2]	Jervey House, Lv. 2
Kitchen	51.8 – 65.0	20.0 – 25.8	24.2
Architecture	25.2 – 31.4	67.9 – 73.2	74.1
Furniture	0.2 – 0.6	0.0 – 0.1	0.1
Arms	0.1 – 0.3	0.0 – 0.2	0.0
Tobacco	1.9 – 13.9	0.3 – 9.7	0.6
Clothing	0.6 – 5.4	0.3 – 1.7	0.3
Personal	0.2 – 0.5	0.1 – 0.2	0.1
Activities	0.9 – 1.7	0.2 – 0.4	0.7

[1] Garrow 1982
[2] Singleton 1980

Table 35.
Mean Ceramic Dates for Features 1 and 2

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	Feature 1 (fi)	Feature 1 fi x xi	Feature 2 (fi)	Feature 2 fi x xi
Canton porcelain	1800-1830	1815	3	5445	0	0
White salt glazed stoneware	1740-1775	1758	2	3516	0	0
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	2	3466	0	0
Jackfield	1740-1780	1760	1	1760	0	0
Decorated delft	1600-1802	1750	1	1750	0	0
Plain delft	1640-1800	1720	1	1720	0	0
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	24	42984	2	3582
Pearlware, mocha	1795-1890	1843	1	1843	0	0
Pearlware, blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	2	3600	0	0
Pearlware, blue trans printed	1795-1840	1818	5	9090	0	0
Pearlware, edged	1780-1830	1805	7	12635	0	0
Pearlware, annular/cable	1790-1820	1805	6	10830	0	0
Pearlware, undecorated	1780-1830	1805	9	16245	1	1805
Whiteware, poly hand painted	1826-1870	1848	2	3696	0	0
Whiteware, blue trans printed	1831-1865	1848	14	25872	0	0
Whiteware, non-blue trans printed	1826-1875	1851	7	12957	0	0
Whiteware, annular	1831-1900	1866	1	1866	0	0
Whiteware, undecorated	1813-1900	1860	4	7440	0	0
Yellow ware	1826-1880	1853	1	1853	0	0
Total			93	168568	3	5387
Mean Ceramic Date				1812.6		1795.7

Summary

The level 2 remains provide relatively little information, other than providing some indication that the deposits were swept yard trash from the antebellum period – probably during the Jervey occupation when the house was rarely being used.

The 1,138 specimens provide a decidedly odd pattern for a main plantation settlement (Table 34). In fact, taken in isolation of level 1 and the archaeological features, the assemblage provides an almost perfect match for the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern – characteristic of nineteenth century slave settlements with many architectural items and relatively few kitchen items.

Of course, this "problem" is the result of an unusual assemblage reflecting very specific behavioral patterns – the remains are simply not representative of the discard behavior of the main house area as a whole.

Table 36.
Artifact Patterns for Features 1-3, Main House

	Feature 1		Feature 2		Feature 3	
Kitchen Group	459	36.4%	6	33.3%	1	11.1%
Ceramics	113		4			
Colono ceramics	10		1		1	
Glass	327		1			
Tablewares	9					
Architectural Group	787	62.5%	11	61.1%	8	88.9%
Window glass	53		2			
Construction hardware	2					
Cut nails	48					
Cut nail fragments	36		1			
Wrought nails	155					
Wrought nail fragments	27					
UID nail fragments	466		8		8	
Furniture Group	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Arms Group	1	0.1%	1	5.6%	0	0.0%
Musket balls, shot, etc.	1		1			
Tobacco Group	5	0.4%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Pipe stems, 5/64"	4					
Pipe stems, 6/64"	1					
Clothing Group	4	0.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Buttons	4					
Personal Group	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Activities Group	4	0.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Storage	1					
Stable and barn	1					
Miscellaneous hardware	1					
Other	1					
Total Artifacts	**1260**		**18**		**9**	

Main House Features

Feature 1

This feature consists of the robbed or demolished main house foundation present in units 100R210, 100R215, and 120R195. The collection consists of 1,260 artifacts, most of which (62.5%) are architectural. This, of course, seems reasonable since the feature represented robbed architecture.

The ceramics provide a mean date of 1811.6 (Table 35). The only other datable object in the feature fill was a Type 27 military button with a spread eagle and shield that was used by the General Services post-1854. Again, this may indicate the presence of Union troops but was just as likely lost by a freedman making use of distributed Union clothing.

Table 36 provides additional information on the range of artifacts.

Feature 2

This feature is a builder's trench along the outside of the structure. The assemblage is very small – only 18 specimens – but the mean ceramic date, at 1795.7, is the earliest obtained for the site. Given the small sample size, we are not inclined to place a great deal of confidence in the results, but it does suggest that the structure dates to the eighteenth century.

Feature 3

This is a builder's trench on the interior of the structure. Unfortunately it produced even fewer artifacts than Feature 2 and lacks datable ceramics.

Slave House Area, 124-134R445, 144R450, 149R460

These four units, coupled with associated backhoe excavations, revealed the entire outline of a slave structure measuring about 18 by 24 feet and consisting of well defined postholes.

The four units produced 1,575 artifacts, for an artifact density of 7.8 specimens per cubic foot – far less than either the main house or kitchen areas.

Table 37.
Major Ceramics in the Slave Settlement Area

Porcelain	9	0.9%
Stoneware	8	0.8%
Brown	5	
Blue/Gray	1	
Other	2	
Earthenware	964	98.3%
Redware	1	
Slipware	12	
Refined	28	
Coarse	36	
Delft	1	
Creamware	423	
Pearlware	470	
Whiteware	2	
Other	41	

Prehistoric Remains

The collection consists of 302 prehistoric sherds, 280 (92.7%) of which are under 1-inch in diameter and unsuitable for additional analysis. This proportion of small sherds is far greater than in the kitchen or main house areas probably because the slave settlement area was intensively cultivated during the twentieth century.

The collection that is suitable for further study reveals entirely Early Woodland remains: five Thom's Creek Plain, two Thom's Creek Punctate, six Deptford Plain, two Deptford Cord Marked, one Deptford Fabric Impressed, two Deptford Check Stamped, and two unidentifiable plain sherds. Also recovered was a single Coastal Plain chert flake.

Historic Remains

The historic collection from these excavations are entirely from plowzone excavations and consist of 1,575 specimens, most of which are kitchen related. Also recovered are a small collection of materials from post holes, which will be considered separately (primarily for the contribution they make to dating the structure).

Kitchen Group

The kitchen group collection (1,204 specimens) consists largely of ceramics (981 specimens or 81.5% of the group total). Of these almost all (893 or 91.0%) are either creamware or pearlware (Table 37). Early ceramics, such as delft or slipware, are very uncommon and may simply represent materials scattered from the main settlement area to the west. Likewise, the whitewares are so uncommon they may be either displaced or late additions from farming activities.

Table 38.
Minimum Vessel Count for the Slave Structure

	Cup	Bowl	Saucer	Plate	Jar	Lid	Tea Pot	Chamber Pot
CW, undecorated	3	6	1	15				1
CW, poly hand painted		3		1				
CW, annular		1						
PW, undecorated								
PW, blue hand painted	1	1						
PW, poly hand painted	11	8	5				1	
PW, annular		2						
PW, edged	1	11						
PW, transfer printed	2	3	3					
Black basalt							1	
Coarse earthenware					1			
Red earthenware, lead glaze		4					1	
White porcelain, undec						1		

CW – creamware; PW – pearlware

The dominance of creamwares and pearlwares is also seen when the minimum vessel data are examined (Table 38). These two wares combined account for 90.9% of the vessels identified. These data also reveal that while tablewares are the most common vessel form (64 out of 88, or 72.7%), the tea and coffeewares

Table 39.
Mean Ceramic Date for the Slave Settlement

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Canton porcelain	1800-1830	1815	5	9075
Black basalt	1750-1820	1785	3	5355
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	12	20796
Decorated delft	1600-1802	1750	1	1750
Creamware, annular	1780-1815	1798	5	8990
Creamware, hand painted	1790-1820	1805	10	18050
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	406	727146
Pearlware, poly hand painted	1795-1815	1805	87	157035
Pearlware, blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	8	14400
Pearlware, blue trans printed	1795-1840	1818	52	94536
Pearlware, edged	1780-1830	1805	29	52345
Pearlware, annular/cable	1790-1820	1805	24	43320
Pearlware, undecorated	1780-1830	1805	216	389880
Whiteware, poly hand painted	1826-1870	1848	1	1848
Whiteware, blue trans printed	1831-1865	1848	1	1848
Total			860	1546374
Mean Ceramic Date	1798.1			

comprise a surprising 23.9% of the assemblage – a rather high proportion for a slave settlement. There are, however, other surprises.

When the tablewares are examined as flat ware and hollow ware we find that the former account for 37.5% of the assemblage. This is a relatively high proportion of flat wares for a slave settlement of this period. If the collection is examined by ware, we find that while 37% of the creamwares are hollow forms, nearly 76% of the pearlwares are bowls. Since there are only 60 Colono ware sherds recovered in these units it seems unlikely that these slave made ceramics appreciably alter the proportions.

It might be possible to explain the shift in vessel form from creamware to pearlware by the direct actions of the owner. It may be that during the late eighteenth century the African American slaves were provided creamwares discarded from the owner's table – resulting in a relatively high proportion of flat wares. By the early nineteenth century, however, the owner may have begun acquiring barrels of ceramics specifically for his slaves – and this would result in the higher proportion of bowls suitable for one-pot stews.

If this was the case we would expect to see relatively expensive motifs from the planter's table in the creamwares, but inexpensive motifs in the bulk purchases of pearlwares specifically for the slaves. We do, in fact, see that 80% of the creamwares are expensive motifs. On the other hand, 72.9% of the pearlwares are also expensive motifs. It does not make sense that the owner would intentionally purchase hand painted and transfer printed bowls for his slaves.

Instead, it appears to us that even into the antebellum the enslaved African Americans were relying on discards from the owner's table to meet their needs. This may also help explain the relatively high numbers of cups and teapots in the assemblage. The plantation slave community was scouring the trash piles for items that could serve as bowls and containers.

The ceramic collection can also help us better understand when the plantation's slave population used this structure. South's Mean Ceramic Date (Table 39) reveals a date of 1798 – roughly comparable to the earliest date available for the main house. South's bracketing dates suggest a range from about 1780 to about 1825 – not much different from the other proveniences we encountered at the site. Bartovics' dating technique, however, reveals a very strong occupation between 1760 and 1830.

However we look at it, this slave structure appears to have been used over a ca. 70 year period from about the middle of the

Player occupation to the middle of the Morrison occupation. Like elsewhere on the site, we have no convincing evidence of occupation by the first several Player owners and no indication that the settlement was still active by the time Thomas Hall Jervey took ownership in 1839.

Other kitchen group artifacts include152 glass fragments. Present are 118 "black" glass fragments representing at least one case bottle, 11 aqua fragments representing a blown bottle, 21 clear fragments, and two melted fragments.

Also present are nine fragments of tableware representing two goblets and one tumbler. These, like many of the ceramics, were also certainly scavenged from elsewhere on the plantation and used by the slaves for containers or drinking vessels.

Two iron kettle fragments are the only kitchenware items recovered from the excavations.

Architecture Group

Architectural remains include 59 fragments of window glass, one cut nail fragment, and 275 unidentifiable nail fragments.

The relatively low density of nails supports the idea that this structure was of wattle construction – material woven around the individual post and then perhaps plastered with clay or daub. Such construction techniques – documented from other sites – require few nails and are consistent with both the archaeological footprint and this artifact assemblage.

The window glass (all small and heavily fragmented) in the collection does not appear sufficient to represent glazing from this structure. Instead, we are inclined to believe that these were items salvaged by the African Americans from elsewhere on the plantation.

Arms Group

The single arms related item is a lead ball measuring 15.6mm or .61 inch. This is a size ball that was in common use among eighteenth century muskets. While its presence on this site may suggest that African American slaves had access to weapons, far greater numbers of arms related items have been found in the kitchen and even main house settings. It seems likely, therefore, that the ball was lost on site and is not particularly compelling evidence of weapons among these slaves.

Tobacco Group

Relatively few tobacco related artifacts are present at the slave site. The 19 specimens include two 5/64-inch pipe stems, eight 5/64-inch pipe stems, and one 6/64-inch pipe stem, as well as seven plain pipe bowl fragments and one pipe bowl with a ribbed design.

Clothing Group

Five clothing items were recovered from the excavations – all buttons over 14 mm in diameter and likely used on coats. Two are Type 7 spun brass or white metal buttons with the eye cast in place. One is a Type 18 stamped brass button. The final example is a Type 28 stamped brass button with a concave back. Several of the specimens were marked "GILT," and one was marked "PLATED," indicating that all were more than likely discarded from the owner to his slaves. None, however, are particularly useful in refining the date for the settlement.

Personal Group

Two person items were recovered from the slave settlement. One is an oval eyeglass lens and the other is a clear glass tube bead, identified as a Type If (Kidd and Kidd 1970).

Activities Group

Nine artifacts are placed in the Activities Group. In the fishing category are five lead

weights, probably net sinkers. In the "other" category there are two small slate fragments, probably counting slate fragments; one lead puddle; and one brass ring of round wire.

Table 40.
Artifact Pattern from Level 2 at the Jervey Slave House

	Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern[1]	Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern[2]	Slave House
Kitchen	70.9 – 84.2	20.0 – 25.8	76.6
Architecture	11.8 – 24.8	67.9 – 73.2	21.3
Furniture	0.1	0.0 – 0.1	0.0
Arms	0.1 – 0.3	0.0 – 0.2	0.1
Tobacco	2.4 – 5.4	0.3 – 9.7	1.2
Clothing	0.3 – 0.8	0.3 – 1.7	0.3
Personal	0.1	0.1 – 0.2	0.1
Activities	0.2 – 0.9	0.2 – 0.4	0.6

[1] Garrow 1982
[2] Singleton 1980

Summary

The ceramics from this collection reveal a ca. 1760 through 1830 date range – consistent with the other artifacts also recovered. The ceramics are also suggestive of materials coming from the planter's table or scavenged by the slaves for their use. Colono ware is very uncommon. Similarly, tableware and clothing items appear to be salvaged by the American Americans for their own use. Personal items – or any items that might reflect some very modest comforts or pleasures – seems sparse or absent. Overall the assemblage reflects a bleak existence. Activity related items – for example farming implements – are also absent, suggesting the control of the overseer on the plantation.

When the artifact pattern is examined (Table 40), it is an excellent match of the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern – identified at eighteenth century slave settlements dominated by impermanent architecture. The nineteenth century Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern, in contrast, is characteristic of slave settlements have better, and more permanent, architecture that is characteristic of antebellum reform movements.

The Jervey collection, however, is consistent with the early settlements and, taken in combination with the date range, suggests that the "old style" of slave housing lasted a very long time on this particular plantation.

Slave House Post Holes

Of the 13 post holes with artifacts, five produced ceramics suit-able for mean ceramic dating (although in each case the collection is very small). Regardless, all provide dates from about 1791 through 1801. Although this provides very tight dating, since all of the excavations of post hole fill, the recovered materials may date from anytime during the occupation of the structure. Really all these dates do is provide further evidence that the settlement was probably one of the earliest on the plantation, almost certainly being constructed during the ownership of Thomas Player, Jr.

Table 41.
Mean Ceramic Dates for the Slave Structure Post Holes

			124R445, PH 6		134R445, PH 1		144R450, PH 2		149R460, PH 1		149R460, PH 5	
Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi	(fi)	fi x xi	(fi)	fi x xi	(fi)	fi x xi	(fi)	fi x xi
Canton porcelain	1800-1830	1815	1	1815	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	2	3582	1	1791	2	3582	2	3582	2	3582
Pearlware, blue trans printed	1795-1840	1818	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1818	0	0
Pearlware, undecorated	1780-1830	1805	2	3610	1	1805	1	1805	0	0	0	0
Total			5	9007	2	3596	3	5387	3	5400	2	3582
Mean Ceramic Date				1801.4		1798		1795.7		1800		1791

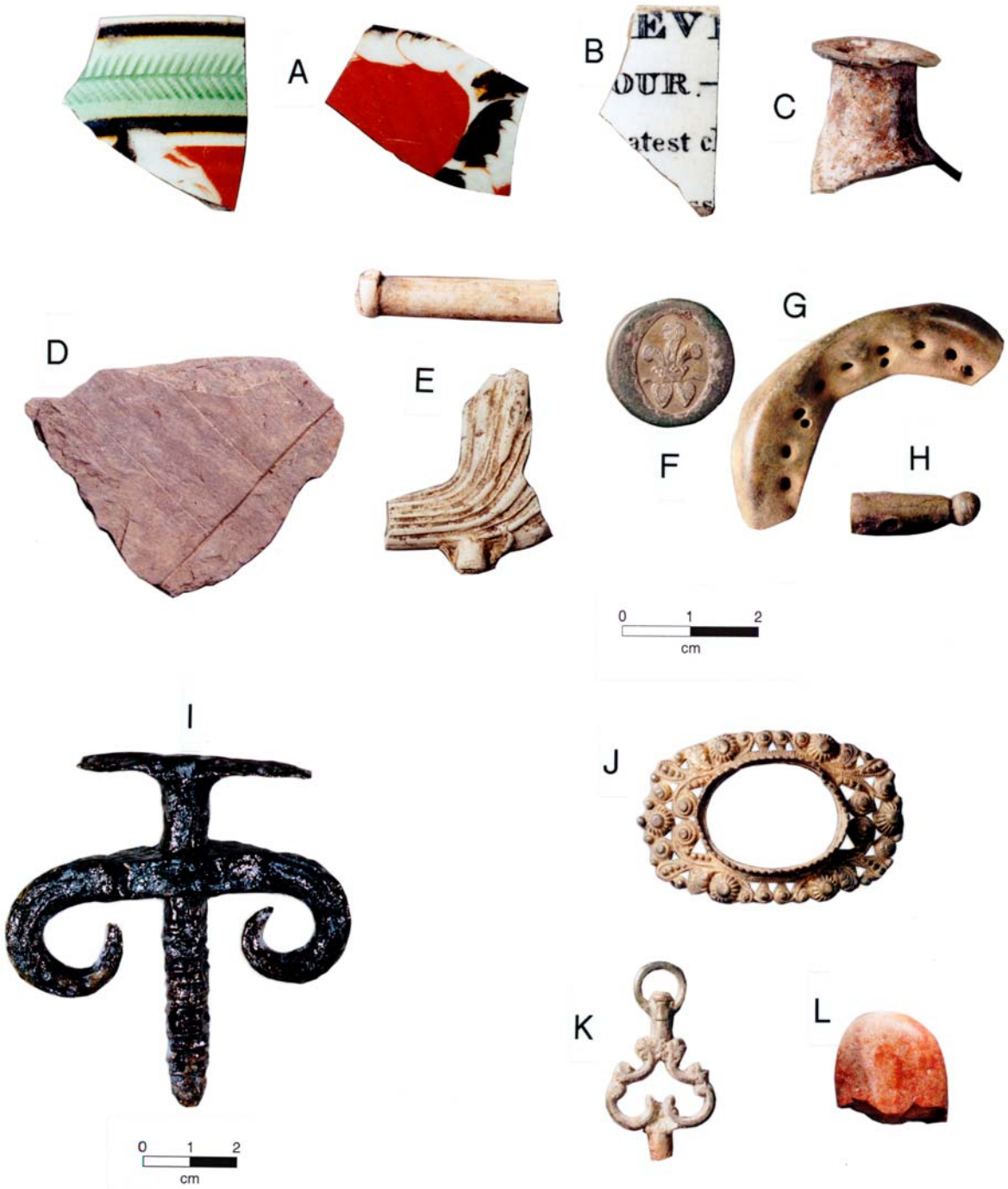

Figure 29. Artifacts from the Main House area. A, cable pearlware; B, black transfer printed whiteware; C, light green glass bottle neck and lip; D, counting slate; E, end tip of pipe stem and ribbed pipe bowl; F, brass button with fluer de lis; G, brass heel repair plate; H, brass aglet; I, pintle bolt with wing nut; J, brass broach; K, brass watch key; L, smoothing stone fragment.

Figure 30. Artifacts from the Kitchen area. A, bone handled two-tine fork; B, white metal spoon with "rat-tail"; C, hand wrought hook; D, skeleton keys for door locks; E, padlock; F, flintlock frizzens; G, small iron key, perhaps for padlock; H, iron buckle.

PLASTER ANALYSIS

A plaster sample with a pigmented surface recovered from the Jervey Kitchen (65R100, level 1) was submitted to Crawford Conservation, Inc. for analysis. The plaster was found to contain a single, thin layer of dark gray to black pigment which was not readily water soluble (Craig Crawford, personal communication 2004).

From a kitchen context it seems likely that this dark material was sooting that accumulated gradually from the kitchen fire – an entirely reasonable expectation given the nature of plantation kitchens. What is perhaps more interesting is that the soot layer is thin – suggesting that the kitchen building was either very rarely used or, more likely, that it was periodically cleaned to remove the soot from the plaster. What is also unusual is that there is no evidence of the kitchen plaster being whitewashed – something that we would have expected given the planter's late antebellum reform movement and its emphasis on hygiene. Whitewashing is often seen on storage and work spaces at late eighteenth and early nineteenth century plantation settings (Fore 1995:235). The failure to identify distemper paint on the sample may also be related to the function of the building. Fore (1995:325) suggests that such paints are limited to occupied spaces.

This is only the second analysis of plaster from a plantation context. The other, from a garden structure at Broom Hall in Goose Creek (Fore 1995), produced plaster with six to nine coats of cream, light gray, and dark gray colors.

While painted plaster does not seem to be commonly found in archaeological studies, where present it should be studied to help provide better data on a broad range of plantation structures.

POLLEN AND PHYTOLITH SAMPLES

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Introduction

One combination pollen and phytolith sample was examined from a single feature at the Jervey Plantation (38CH927) to identify crops that might have been grown at the site. Historic studies of plantations in this area focus on recovery of indigo and upland swamp rice for early occupations and cotton for nineteenth century occupations. The single feature examined from the Jervey Plantation was a builder's trench of the main plantation house.

Methods

Pollen

A chemical extraction technique based on flotation is the standard preparation technique used in this laboratory for the removal of the pollen from the large volume of sand, silt, and clay with which they are mixed. This particular process was developed for extraction of pollen from soils where preservation has been less than ideal and pollen density is low.

Hydrochloric acid (10%) was used to remove calcium carbonates present in the soil, after which the samples were screened through 150 micron mesh. The samples were rinsed until neutral by adding water, letting the samples stand for 2 hours, then pouring off the supernatant. A small quantity of sodium hexametaphosphate was added to each sample once it reached neutrality, then the beaker was again filled with water and allowed to stand for 2 hours. The samples were again rinsed until neutral, filling the beakers only with water. This step was added to remove clay prior to heavy liquid separation. At this time the samples are dried then gently pulverized. Sodium polytungstate (density 2.1) was used for the flotation process. The samples were mixed with sodium polytungstate and centrifuged at 2000 rpm for 5 minutes to separate organic from inorganic remains. The supernatant containing pollen and organic remains is decanted. Sodium polytungstate is again added to the inorganic fraction to repeat the separation process. The supernatant is decanted into the same tube as the supernatant from the first separation. This supernatant is then centrifuged at 2000 rpm for 5 minutes to allow any silica remaining to be separated from the organics. Following this, the supernatant is decanted into a 50 ml conical tube and diluted with distilled water. These samples are centrifuged at 3000 rpm to concentrate the organic fraction in the bottom of the tube. After rinsing the pollen-rich organic fraction obtained by this separation, all samples received a short (10-15 minute) treatment in hot hydrofluoric acid to remove any remaining inorganic particles. The samples were then acetolated for 3 minutes to remove any extraneous organic matter.

A light microscope was used to count the pollen to a total of 50 to 100 pollen grains at a magnification of 500x. Pollen preservation in these samples varied from good to poor. Comparative reference material collected at the

Intermountain Herbarium at Utah State University and the University of Colorado Herbarium was used to identify the pollen to the family, genus, and species level, where possible.

Pollen aggregates were recorded during identification of the pollen. Aggregates are clumps of a single type of pollen, and may be interpreted to represent pollen dispersal over short distances, or the introduction of portions of the plant represented into an archaeological setting. Aggregates were included in the pollen counts as single grains, as is customary. The presence of aggregates is noted by an "A" next to the pollen frequency on the pollen diagram. Pollen diagrams are produced using Tilia, which was developed by Dr. Eric Grimm of the Illinois State Museum. Pollen concentrations are calculated in Tilia using the quantity of sample processed (cc), the quantity of exotics (spores) added to the sample, the quantity of exotics counted, and the total pollen counted.

Indeterminate pollen includes pollen grains that are folded, mutilated, and otherwise distorted beyond recognition. These grains are included in the total pollen count, as they are part of the pollen record. The pollen slides were scanned in search of cotton or other large cultigen pollen.

Phytoliths

Extraction of phytoliths from these sediments also was based on heavy liquid floatation. Sodium hypochlorite (bleach) was first used to destroy the organic fraction from 50 ml of sediment. Once this reaction was complete, sodium hexametaphosphate was added to the mixture to suspend the clays. The sample was rinsed thoroughly with distilled water to remove the clays, allowing the samples to settle by gravity. Once most of the clays were removed, the silt and sand size fraction was dried. The dried silts and sands were then mixed with sodium polytungstate (density 2.3) and centrifuged to separate the phytoliths, which will float, from the other silica, which will not. Phytoliths, in the broader sense, may include opal phytoliths and calcium oxalate crystals. Calcium oxalate crystals are formed by *Opuntia* (prickly pear cactus) and other plants including *Yucca*, and are separated, rather than destroyed, using this extraction technique, if these forms have survived in the sediments. Any remaining clay is floated with the phytoliths, and is further removed by mixing with sodium hexametaphosphate and distilled water. The samples are then rinsed with distilled water, then alcohols to remove the water. After several alcohol rinses, the samples are mounted in cinnamaldehyde for counting with a light microscope at a magnification of 500x. Phytolith diagrams are produced using Tilia, which was developed by Dr. Eric Grimm of the Illinois State Museum for diagraming pollen.

Phytolith Review

Phytoliths are silica bodies produced by plants when soluble silica in the ground water is absorbed by the roots and carried up to the plant via the vascular system. Evaporation and metabolism of this water result in precipitation of the silica in and around the cellular walls. Opal phytoliths, which are distinct and decay-resistant plant remains, are deposited in the soil as the plant or plant parts die and break down. They are, however, subject to mechanical breakage and erosion and deterioration in high pH soils. Phytoliths are usually introduced directly into the soils in which the plants decay. Transportation of phytoliths occurs primarily by animal consumption, man's gathering of plants, or by erosion or transportation of the soil by wind, water, or ice.

The three major types of grass short-cell phytoliths include festucoid, chloridoid, and panicoid. Smooth elongate phytoliths are of no aid in interpreting either paleoenvironmental conditions or the subsistence record because they are produced by all grasses. Phytoliths tabulated to represent "total phytoliths" include the grass short-cells, buliform, trichome, elongate, and dicot forms. Frequencies for all

other bodies recovered are calculated by dividing the number of each type recovered by the "total phytoliths".

The festucoid class of phytoliths is ascribed primarily to the Subfamily Pooideae and occur most abundantly in cool, moist climates. However, Brown (1984) notes that festucoid phytoliths are produced in small quantity by nearly all grasses. Therefore, while they are typical phytoliths produced by the Subfamily Pooideae, they are not exclusive to this subfamily. Chloridoid phytoliths are found primarily in the Subfamily Chloridoideae, a warm-season grass that grows in arid to semi-arid areas and require less available soil moisture. Chloridoid grasses are the most abundant in the American Southwest (Gould and Shaw 1983:120). Bilobates and polylobates are produced mainly by panicoid grasses, although a few of the festucoid grasses also produce these forms. Panicoid phytoliths occur in warm-season or tall grasses that frequently thrive in humid conditions. Twiss (1987:181) also notes that some members of the Subfamily Chloridoideae produce both bilobate (Panicoid) and Festucoid phytoliths. "According to (Gould and Shaw 1983:110) more than 97% of the native US grass species (1,026 or 1,053) are divided equally among three subfamilies Pooideae, Chloridoideae, and Panicoideae" (Twiss 1987:181).

Buliform phytoliths are produced by grasses in response to wet conditions (Irwin Rovner, personal communication, January 1991), and are to be expected in wet habitats of floodplains and other places. Trichomes represent silicified hairs, which may occur on the stems, leaves, and the glumes or bran surrounding grass seeds.

Diatoms and sponge spicules also were noted. Diatoms indicate wet conditions. Sponge spicules represent fresh water sponges. Their presence in these samples probably indicates wind transport of lacustrine deposits. Their recovery in upland soils is noted to accompany loess deposits derived from floodplains in Illinois (Jones and Beavers 1963).

Discussion

Pollen and phytolith analysis were undertaken in an effort to identify possible crops grown at the Jervey Plantation in Charleston County, South Carolina. Soils are sandy loams and tend toward being acidic, which should provide better conditions for preservation of both pollen and phytoliths than highly alkaline soils.

Situated in northern Charleston County, this late eighteenth and early nineteenth century plantation is represented by a single sample. The Jervey Plantation is located in a low area, generally considered to be unfavorable to agriculture. Questions that might be answered include observations of the environment at the site at the time the builder's trench was open. What, if any, weeds are presented, indicating a disturbed habitat? Is there evidence of cultigens?

The sample was collected from a builder's trench (Feature 2) associated with the main plantation house. This feature was recovered approximately 1 foot below the modern grade. The builder's trench is situated on the outside of the chimney and extends from the chimney west. This sample exhibits moderately small quantities of many different pollen types. *Pinus*, *Quercus*, and *Salix* pollen (Figure 31) indicate that pine and oak probably grew in the maritime forest or perhaps further inland. Willow would have been a component of the wetland communities. Pollen representing various members of the sunflower family was observed. *Artemia* pollen probably represents regional growth of wormwood. Low-spine Asteraceae includes marsh elder, a plant that would have grown in the upper marshes. In addition, groundsel, another plant that would have been part of the upper marsh community, is part of the High-spine Asteraceae pollen group. Liguliflorae includes such disturbance plants as dandelion, chicory, and

wild or prickly lettuce. Cheno-am pollen was the most abundant type noted at this site. It probably represents primarily goosefoot in this relatively wet area. As such, it documents the presence of an abundance of weedy plants that grew in disturbed ground. Corylaceae pollen might represent any of several trees or shrubs that often grew in relatively wet ground. Birch, hornbeam, hop hornbeam, and hazel all are trees or shrubs in this family. Cyperaceae pollen is present in a small quantity, signaling local growth of sedges. Poaceae pollen is present and relatively abundant, indicating that grasses were abundant in the local vegetation. Recovery of small quantities of Rosaceae, Solanaceae, and *Toxicodendron* pollen indicate local growth of members of the rose and potato families and poison ivy. The Solanaceae and *Toxicodendron* pollen probably indicate local growth of weeds. The quantity of indeterminate pollen was low, indicating that pollen preservation was moderately good. Recovery of charred Asteraceae fragments suggest that the area was burned at least occasionally and that members of the sunflower family, possibly weedy plants, were among the vegetation burned. Recovery of a small quantity of *Sporormiella* dung fungal spores suggests the presence of grazing animals in the area. Recovery of a single starch might reflect deterioration of grass seeds.

The phytolith record exhibits evidence of all three types of short grass cells (festucoid, chloridoid, and panicoid), indicating local growth of cool season and warm season grasses, possibly including some that required relatively dry growing conditions (chloridoid or short grasses). Festucoid short cells are the most abundant, suggesting the presence of cool season grasses growing in shady areas (Figure 31). Panicoid short cells were present, but not particularly abundant, representing tall grasses. Chloridoid short cells were more abundant than were panicoid types. Both short grasses and tall grasses require sunshine to grow and are not part of the grass population that grows well in shade. This documents some relatively open areas in the vicinity of the building. Buliforms were noted in moderately high frequencies, indicating that grasses growing in this area were getting their water needs met, so they probably had little need for leaf rolling in response to drought conditions. Trichomes are present, representing silicified plant hairs. Elongate forms are noted, indicating the presence of grasses, but not contributing to the identification of type of grass. Likewise, recovery of parallelepiped forms document the presence of grasses, but don't contribute to any identification of the grass. Cyperaceae phytoliths were noted, echoing the presence of sedges noted in the pollen record. Several phytoliths representing dicots were noted, although none could be identified to a family or genus. A single dicot holey form remains unidentified. Dicot spiny spheroids were noted, but because these forms occur in plants of several families, they do not contribute to our ability to identify the plant represented. Dicot thin forms with sharp ridges have not yet been associated with a single family. Charred Asteraceae fragments were observed, documenting burning plants, including members of the sunflower family, as was noted in the pollen record. Recovery of diatoms and sponge spicules from this sample suggest the possibility that the ground that the trench was dug into was relatively wet.

The combined pollen and phytolith records indicate the presence of an abundance of grasses in this area, as well as weedy plants that included at least members of the sunflower family such as marsh elder, dandelion-type, and probably others, Cheno-ams, sedges, poison ivy, and a member of the potato family such as nightshade. No evidence of cultigens was recovered.

Summary and Conclusions

The combined pollen and phytolith sample examined from Jervey Plantation points to disturbed sediments that supported a variety of grasses that grow in shade and sun, a variety of weedy plants, and also trees in the greater vicinity. No evidence for cultivation was recorded, in spite of the fact that nearly a

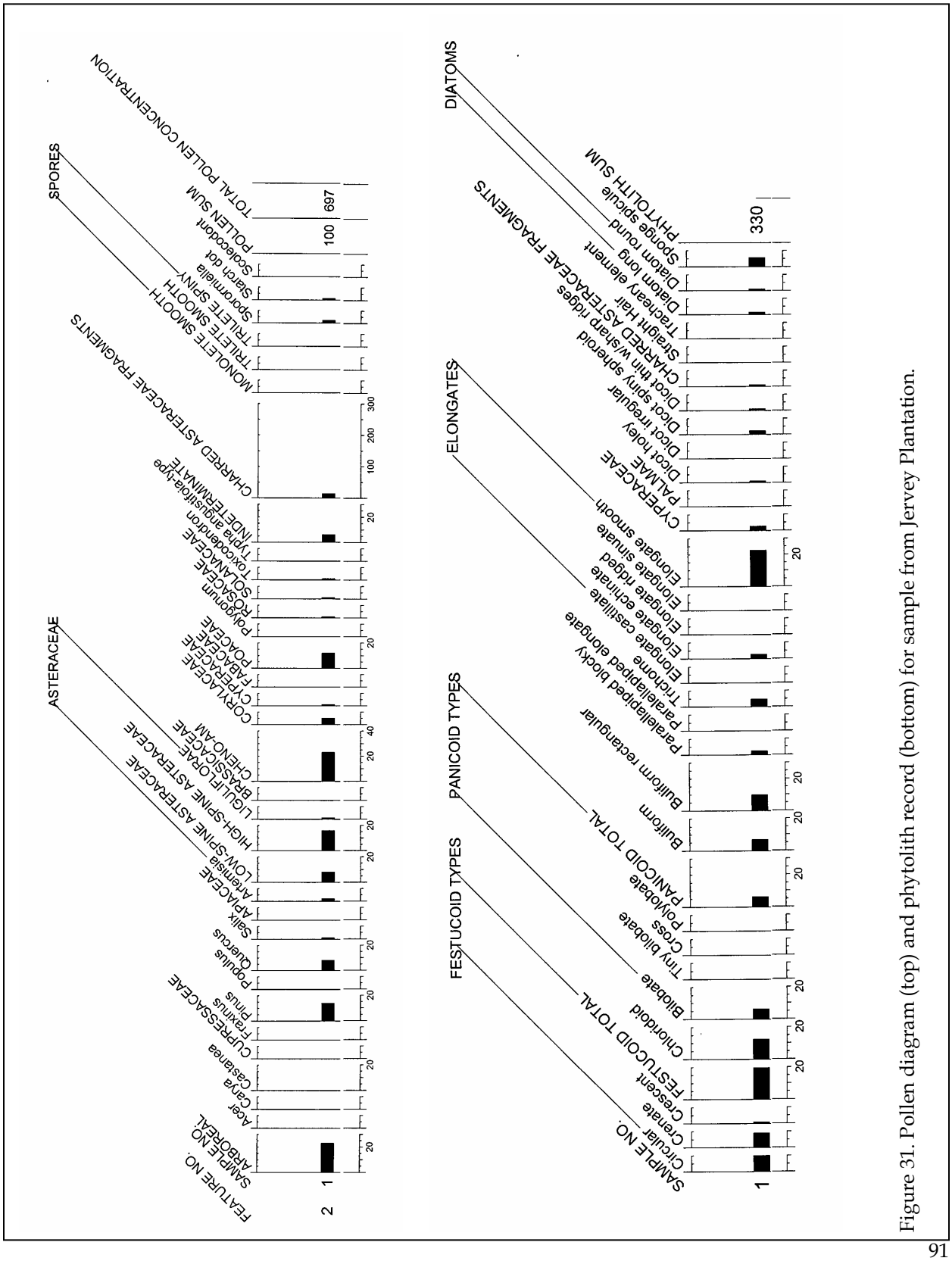

Figure 31. Pollen diagram (top) and phytolith record (bottom) for sample from Jervey Plantation.

complete slide was examined for the pollen sample. Rice pollen is relatively small and difficult to separate from other grass pollen with certainty. No cotton pollen was observed. Although cotton pollen is carried by the wind, it is possible that it is present in such small quantities that it was not recovered on single pollen slides. Alternatively, it is possible that small fragments of cotton pollen were not observed while scanning the pollen slides in search of this very large pollen. No rice buliforms were observed in this study. Since these diagnostic buliforms are formed in the leaves of the rice, the most likely place for recovery is in suspected rice fields and any place that rice leaves might be used or discarded.

Charred particles accounted for approximately 50-60% of the organics in each of the pollen samples, which is consistent with burning local vegetation. This is corroborated in all samples by recovery of charred Asteraceae plant tissue fragments.

FAUNAL REMAINS

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Introduction

Analysis of the vertebrate faunal assemblage recovered from Jervey Plantation (38CH927) provides an opportunity to further examine subsistence patterns associated with South Carolina plantation owners and slaves. Research questions which focus on animal domestication and exploitation practices aid in identifying differences in subsistence patterns and wealth and status in the greater Antebellum South. Likewise, comparisons of the faunal assemblages recovered from identified activity areas at Jervey Plantation can provide important information on differential access to animal food by the plantation inhabitants.

Over 2,874 skeletal elements were recovered from excavations of four activity areas, three features, and eight postholes identified at Jervey Plantation. The four activity areas identified for the site are the Kitchen area (four 10x10 units: 65R100, 100R100, 75R100 and 85R100), the Main House area (two 10x10, five 5x10, and one 5x15 unit: 100-115R175, 110-115R185, 75R185, 120R195, 100-120R210, 100R215-225), a Slave Structure (five 5x10 units: 14-134R445, 144R450 and 149R460), and the Yard area (one 10x10 unit: 45R155). Three features were discovered while excavating Main House area. Feature 1 represents a robbed trench consisting of brown sand and rubble which is associated with Units 120R195, 120R210, and 100R215. Features 2 and 3 are both builder's trenches. Feature 2 was located in the 110R180 unit and is associated with the footer and exterior fireplace wall. The trench was filled with dark grayish-brown sand and contained small amounts of animal bone, nails, and ceramics. Similar artifacts were found in Feature 3, an internal structure builder's trench located in the 100R175 unit. Postholes containing animal bone were identified in the Slave Structure and Kitchen area.

Since the Jervey Plantation faunal materials are recovered from the four distinct activity centers, differential access to animal foods can be examined. One important consideration are differences observed in identified taxa for the Kitchen area and Slave structure area. Studies on eighteenth and nineteenth century upper-class urban households document a more variable diet for this social class, including both wild and domestic species (Reitz 1987) coupled with a higher frequency of fish (Reitz 1986, 1987). Other studies comparing urban and rural faunal assemblages, show that urban residents relied more on domestic species, particularly birds, and less on wild species when compared to rural diets (Reitz 1986, 1987).

Although identified taxa can provide invaluable insight into diet variability and animal availability, cuts of meat, corresponding to identified bone elements, have been used to assess social prestige. According to Reitz and Weinland (1996) upper and middle-class antebellum households in Charleston, S.C. characteristically had access to better meat cuts, evidenced by a higher frequency of forequarter

and hindquarter skeletal elements. Other cuts of meat specifically elements of the cranium, axial skeleton, and lower legs and feet are often associated with individuals or businesses of lower prestige (Reitz and Weinland 1996).

Analytical Techniques

The Jervey Plantation faunal samples were recovered using 1/4-inch mesh set in a mechanical sifter. The large screen size could have led to bias in the representation of small animals, especially fish and small birds. The recovered faunal remains were studied using standard zooarchaeological procedures. The comparative collection housed in the Cobb Institute of archaeology at Mississippi State University proved useful for species identification.

Whenever possible, skeletal elements were sorted by class, suborder, or species. The side (right or left), specific bone section (diaphysis, epiphysis, distal, proximal, etc.), and level of maturity (immature, adult, old adult), were recorded where preservation permitted.

Elements of all taxa and other analytical categories were also weighed (in grams) and counted (NISP-number of identified specimens). The minimum number of individuals (MNI) was computed for each animal category using paired bone elements and age (mature/immature) as criteria. Grayson's (1973) method using stratigraphic divisions is employed to determine MNI. For the collections analyzed in this study, this meant treating identical stratigraphic layers (i.e., Level 1 or Level 2) as a single unit. Features and postholes were also treated as individual data sets and kept separate at all levels of interpretations. Using stratigraphic divisions by activity area provides a MNI count that is less conservative than the minimum distinction method where the entire site is treated as a single unit. Conversely, using stratigraphic divisions to determine MNI is presents a more modest count than the maximum distinction method where both horizontal and vertical strata are treated as single units (Grayson 1973: 438).

In two instances data from the different proveniences (levels and features) are combined. When MNI percentages from Jervey Plantation are compared with percentages from other sites, the MNI counts are combined for the entire site, the Kitchen area, and the Main House area. Different provenience information was also combined in considering cuts of meat for the four activity areas. In this case information from levels and features was added together by activity area. MNI was not a consideration for this part of the study.

As a measure of zooarchaeological quantification, using MNI can be problematical (Casteel 1977; Grayson 1973, 1984). Depending on the method used (minimum distinction, maximum distinction, or stratigraphic layers), the MNI calculated for a faunal assemblage may be under or over representative. Likewise, use of MNI emphasizes small mammals over large ones. For example, a chicken may be represented five times for every one pig, but the pig contributes more to the diet. Additionally, representation of an animal does not presume its use in entirety at the site (Reitz and Weinland 1995). Certain cuts may have been sold or traded elsewhere (Thomas 1971, Welch 1991), or have been more readily available to one segment of the population over another (Reitz 1986, 1987). These two examples clearly indicate reasons why bias in bone element representation can occur in an archaeological collection. Because of the problems inherent in using MNI, it is important to recognize that any results based solely on MNI may be subject to sample bias.

Given the problems with using MNI as a measure of species representation, an estimate of biomass contributed by each taxon is calculated. Based on bone weight in grams, this method is allometric and considers the biological relationship between bone mass and soft tissue. Biomass is determined using the least squares analysis of logarithmic data where

bone weight is used to determine body mass (Casteel 1974,1978; Reitz and Wing 1999). The relationship between body weight and skeletal weight is expressed by the allometric formula Y = log a + b(logX) (Simpson et al. 1960). Y is the biomass in kilograms, X is the skeletal weight in kilograms, a is the Y-intercept for a log-log plot using the method of least squares regression and the best-fit line. "B" is the constant of allometry, or the slope of the line defined by the least squares regression and the best-fit line. The allometric values used in this study were derived from Reitz (1985: Table 4). Biomass percentages are calculated twice, once by using only identified "species" and again including weights for both identified species and unidentified fragments for each animal class.

Sample size can restrict the use of biomass and MNI in the analysis of faunal materials. Several studies have proposed that a faunal sample is adequate if it contains at least 200 individuals (MNI) or 1400 bones (NISP-number of identified specimens) (Casteel 1978, Grayson 1979, Wing and Brown 1979). According to Reitz and Weinland (1995) small faunal samples tend to be biased towards one species over another. Excavation procedures (such as screen size) and potential spatial differences (horizontal and vertical) in bone presence, can effect representation and preservation of certain bone elements, as well as different species, thus causing elements or species to be over or under represented. Unfortunately, archaeological excavations do not always yield the ideal sample size stated above for faunal analysis and little can done to correct for the biases present.

Recording the presence or absence of bone elements in a faunal assemblage provides useful information on butchery patterns and animal husbandry. Elements identified for cattle were classified as "head" (cranial fragments and teeth), "axial" (vertebra and ribs), "forequarter" (scapula, humerus, ulna, and radius), "hindquarter" (innominate, femur, tibia, fibula), "hindfoot" (tarsals and metatarsals), "forefoot" (carpals and metacarpals), and "foot" (phalanges). Using log difference scale models for cattle (Reitz and Zierden 1991) and deer (Reitz and Wing 1999) bone representation can be observed for the different activity areas at Jervey Plantation and compared with other similar sites as well. Using cuts of meat in these models provides another means for examining bone representation in a faunal assemblage (see Reitz and Zierden 1991 for discussion). In addition to determination of MNI, biomass weight, and meat cuts, observations of bone modifications classified as sawed, clean-cut, burned, chopped/hacked, gnawed, scrapped and worked are also included in the analysis. Sawing is distinguished where parallel striations are observed on the outer layer of bone while clean-cut marks are generally produced by sawing but striations are not present. Burned bone is modified by exposure to fire during preparation or after discard and is distinguished by its color varying from black to whitish-gray. Cuts are defined as shallow incisions on the bone surface are generally associated with cutting meat around the joint area. Chop/hack marks are created using a cleaver or ax. Gnawed bone indicates bone was not buried immediately following disposal and consequently was exposed to animals. Scrapping was recorded where a knife or some serrated object was pulled across the bone. Worked bone is identified as bone modified into a tool or ornament such as a bone handle for a knife or a bone bead or button (Reitz and Weinland 1995).

Results

Three levels of investigation are considered for the Jervey Plantation faunal assemblage. The first part of the study is the identification and inventory of the animal remains associated with each of the activity areas and the determination of class/species contribution to the diet. This includes the assessment of MNI and biomass weight for each species and animal group. A second analysis compares the number and weight of bone elements representing different cuts of meat in the large mammals (cow). Using the log

difference scale method (Reitz and Wing 1999), cattle element percentages are compared among the Jervey Plantation activity areas to identify differential access of meat cuts by plantation owners and slaves. Similar information is used from other plantation sites in the area to demonstrate possible differences among the sites. Finally, the third part of this study considers varying bone modifications, such as cut marks and rodent gnawing, in hopes of better understanding the behaviors associated with butchering and processing of animal bone at the site.

Before discussing the results of the analysis of the faunal assemblages from Jervey Plantation, a few comments concerning the bone sample size need to be offered. As mentioned earlier in this report, faunal samples need to contain at least 200 individuals (MNI) or 1400 identifiable bones (NISP number of identified specimens) in order to provide reliable interpretations (Grayson 1979, 1984; Wing and Brown 1979). A quick overview of Tables 1-11 in this report indicate that only one of the faunal samples fits this criterion, Level 1 of the Kitchen Area (Table 1). Here the NISP count is 2,234 fragments, but the MNI is only 40. In every other sample (Tables 2-11), the MNI and NISP identified are well below the minimum size suggested. Since there are clear possibilities for bias and under-representation of the faunal species identified at the site, the inferences and interpretations presented in this study are considered preliminary at best. However, it is reasoned that such interpretations are necessary in order to answer existing queries and develop further questions concerning dietary patterns at Jervey Plantation and for plantation sites in general.

Inventory

The Kitchen Area

Tables 1-3 provide inventory summarizes for the Level 1, Level 2, and four posthole faunal samples excavated at the Kitchen provenience (400 square foot area). As mentioned earlier, Level 1 (Table 1) yielded the largest sample with 40 MNI and 2,234 NISP. Kitchen area Level 1 was identified as a midden accumulation consisting of black loamy sand and shell. Because of its large size, the faunal sample recovered from Level 1 probably provides the best representation of the animal diet, at least of the owner, at the site. Seventeen different species are present including four domesticates – cattle (*Bos taurus*), pig (*Sus scrofa*), sheep (*Ovis aries*), and chicken (*Gallus gallus*). Of the remaining thirteen species identified in Level 1, two, gray fox (*Urocyon virginiana*) and American Robin (*Turdus migratorius*), were probably not used for food. Domestic mammals emerge as the largest contributor to the diet representing over one-third of the total MNI and 88.37%of the biomass percentage of identified species.

The four identified turtle species, Box turtle (*Terrapene carolina*), river cooter (*Pseudemys floridina*), mud turtle (*Kinosternum*), and soft shell turtle (*Amyda ferox*) represent the next most prevalent food-source for this provenience (12.5% of the total MNI and 4.86% of the biomass), followed by crab (Callinectes sp.) (22.5% MNI and 3.2% biomass).

Four wild mammal species, white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*), raccoon (*Procyon lotor*), opossum (*Didelphis virginiana*), and gray fox (*Urocyon cinereoargenteus*) represented 10% of MNI and 2.58% of the biomass weight, followed by four bird species, chicken (*Gallus gallus*), turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo*), Canada goose (*Branta canadensis*), and American robin (*Turdus migratorius*) (12.5% MNI and 1% biomass).

Fish was solely represented by sea catfish both the gafftopsail (*Bagre marinus*) and hardhead (*Arius felis*) species (5% MNI and 0.05% biomass).

The second stratum associated with the Kitchen Area, Level 2, consisted of dark brown sand representing the old humus remains at the site. For Level 2 (Table 2) a pattern of faunal representation similar to Level 1 is observed.

Domestic mammals were most prevalent (35% MNI and 86% biomass), followed by wild mammals (12% MNI and 4.5% biomass), Callinectes sp. (17.65% MNI and 4.5% biomass), birds (12% MNI and 1.58% biomass), reptiles (18% MNI and 1.28% biomass), and fish (6% MNI and 0.3% biomass) Although all of the domestic animals identified in Level 1 are present in Level 2, fewer wild species are present. Species not present in the Level 2 samples are opossum, fox, goose, robin, and soft-shell turtle. Postholes associated with the kitchen area (Table 3) contained few animal bones. Pig is represented in three of the four postholes (85R110 PH 2 and 3 and 100R100 PH 1) and chicken identified in one (85R110 PH 2).

The Main House Block

Excavations of the Main House area consisted of 10 units totaling 550 square feet. As with the Kitchen Area most of the faunal materials associated with the Main House were recovered in Level 1 (Table 4). The samples contained 129 elements of nine species and nine MNI. Again, domestic mammals played a major role in the diet, but unlike the Kitchen area where cattle dominated, pig was most abundant at the Main house with 11% MNI and 40.64% biomass, followed in frequency by cattle (11% MNI and 22.88% biomass), deer (11% MNI and 7% biomass), and sheep (11% MNI and 3.16% biomass). Fourteen elements, identified as an immature dog (*Canis familiaris*), were found in the 75R185 unit. Since this unit was not linked to the Main House structure, the dog skeleton may represent the intentional burial of a family pet. In addition to mammals, other important food sources identified in Level 1 are chicken (11% MNI and 1.04% biomass), diamondback terrapin (*Malaclemys terrapin)* (11% MNI and 0.76% biomass), and Callinectes sp. (11% MNI and 8% biomass).

Level 2 (Table 5) yielded 33 skeletal elements representing five identified species. Pig (14% MNI and 32.63% biomass) is the only domestic mammal identified while wild mammal (28.5% MNI and 32.68% biomass) was dominated by deer and raccoon. River cooter and Callinectes sp. were also present in the sample.

During excavation of the Main House area, three features associated with foundation construction were identified. Feature 1 (Table 6) represents a robbed trench, consisting of brown sand fill, extending in a north-south direction intersecting several excavation units, 120R195, 120R210, and 100R215. Only 19 skeletal elements were present for four identified species, cattle, pig, raccoon, and sea catfish (*Arridae* sp.). Domestic mammals were found in greatest frequency making up 50% of the total MNI and 97% of the species biomass.

Feature 2, located in the 110R180 unit, is a builder's trench tied to the exterior wall of the fireplace and footer. The fill consisted of very dark grayish brown sand with brick and mortar and contained a few nails, ceramics, and animal bone indicating its presence earlier in the construction phase. Four species were identified pig, sheep, opossum, and chicken. Domestic mammals represented 50%of the MNI and 96.96% of the biomass weight (Table 7).

Feature 3 is a also a builder's trench but was located in the 100R175 unit. The fill was yellowish-brown sand with rubble inclusions. Only one pig bone was recovered from the fill (Table 8).

The Slave House Block

Far fewer faunal elements were recovered from the Slave Block (Table 9) excavations than from the Kitchen and Main House areas. The excavation fill, Level 1, consisted of dark grayish brown plowzone. Only three bones constituted the sample, one each from cattle, pig, and chicken. The relative lack of bone recovered from the 610 square foot block may be the result of excavations focusing on structural remains, rather than areas where trash disposal might be more likely, such as the surrounding yard. It is also possible that the

cultivation of this area dramatically reduced the potential for faunal recovery.

Four of the postholes contained a total of 12 animal bones (Table 10). These postholes included 144R450 PH 2, 144R450 PH 3, 149R460 PH 1, and 149R460 PH 5. Pig or turtle could be identified in three of them with unidentified mammal making-up the remaining elements.

A high dependence on domestic mammals by slave populations has been documented elsewhere. At Seabrook Plantation, 38BU323 (Campo et al. 1998), 94.2% of the total biomass was domestic mammal (Hogue 1998: Table 58). Likewise, at Broom Hall Plantation, 38BK985 (Trinkley et al. 1995) domestic mammals made up 95% of the total biomass (Hogue et al. 1995). A third site, Seaside Plantation, 38CH1477, shows the slave diet consisting primarily of domestic mammal (97%) (Hogue 2001). Despite the apparent similarities in dependency on domestic mammals, one interesting difference is seen among the four sites. Sheep is not present at either Jervey or Seaside Plantations in Christ Church Parish but represents 4% of the biomass weight at Broom Hall (Hogue et al. 1995) and 8% at Seabrook Plantation (Hogue 1998). This may reflect the decreased role of sheep in the Southeastern diet where it seems to have been replaced by venison (Carson 1985: 2). Economic differences may also explain the absence of sheep in the slave diet at Jervey and Seaside plantations. Poorer planters may not have afforded sheep to the same degree as those more wealthy.

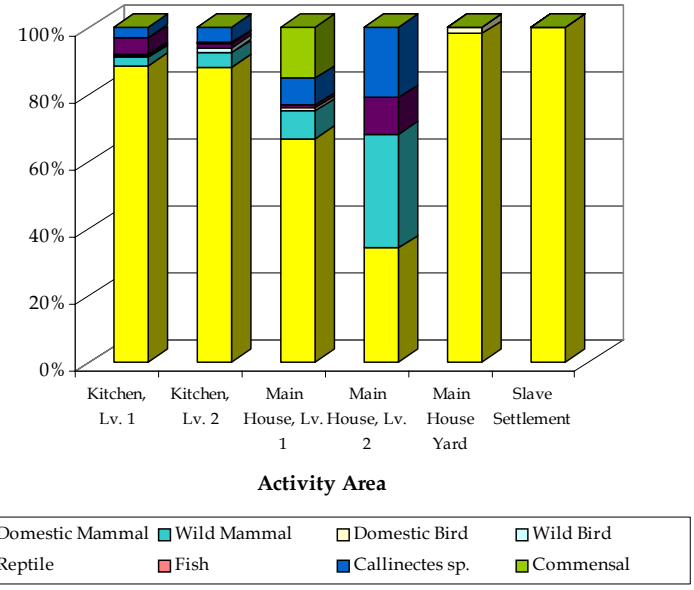

Figure 32. Species biomass percentages.

The Yard Area

Excavation of the Jervey Plantation yard area consisted on one 10x10 foot unit. Numerous artifacts were recovered from Level 1, a dark brown sand layer, but only 83 animal bones were identified (Table 11). Two species could be identified in the collection, cattle, which was most prevalent (50% MNI and 84.38% biomass), and pig (50% biomass and 15.62% biomass). During excavation the area was determined to have been considerably disturbed which may explain the bias towards large mammal bones in the sample.

Inventory Comparisons

Comparisons made among the four activity areas (Tables 1-11) clearly show the Kitchen area (Table 1-3) as yielding the greatest number of bones and the most identified taxa. Most species identified at the site were recovered from the Kitchen area, the two exceptions being the dog (*Canis familiaris*) and the diamondback terrapin (*Malaclemys terrapin*), both associated with the Main House area. Figure 32 provides an overview of the biomass percentages calculated for the different animal classes. The percentages are based on identified species rather than including unidentified classifications. This

method allows more realistic comparisons to made between domestic and wild mammals. In most of the areas, domestic mammals dominate, the one exception being Level 2 of the Main House area where biomass percentages of wild mammal (deer and raccoon) are equivalent to domestic mammal (pig).

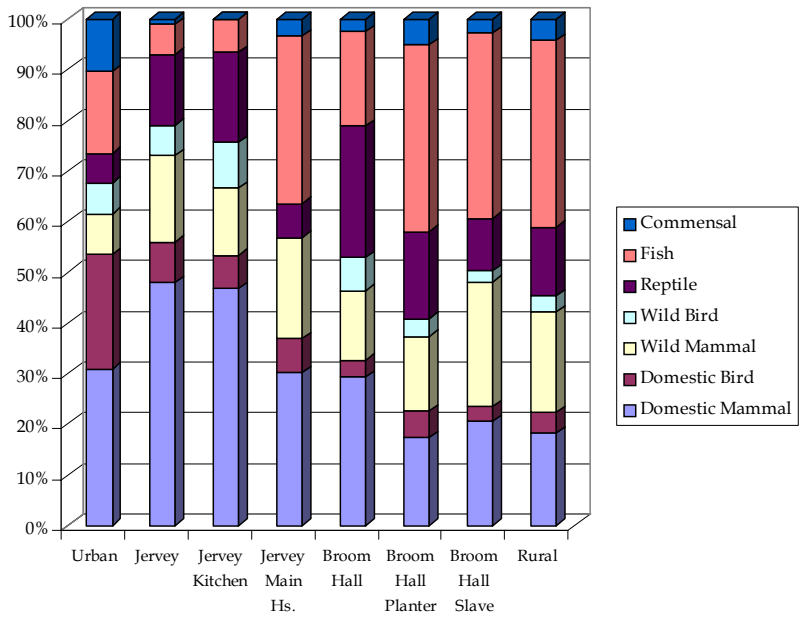

Figure 33. Jervey Plantation compared to other MNI percentages.

The Jervey Plantation samples are compared with models constructed for other South Carolina collections (Reitz 1986) to assess dietary similarities and differences among Carolina sites during late eighteenth into the middle nineteenth century. For this study, MNI was computed for the entire Jervey Plantation site using Grayson's maximum distinction method (Grayson 1979). Likewise, the MNI computed for levels and feature samples for the Kitchen area were combined to form a single assemblage. Similarly proveniences were combined for the Main House area. These two activity areas were selected since the larger samples recovered from them would likely create more representative for comparative purposes. The faunal samples from the Slave and Yard areas are considered too small to provide reliable comparisons. MNI data from the Broom Hall Plantation (38BK600) is also included in the comparisons. This site represents a wealthy eighteenth century plantation located in the Goose Creek area of South Carolina (Trinkley et al. 1995).

Models devised by Reitz (1986) for urban, rural, slave, and planter faunal assemblages are also included here. Figure 33 compares MNI data for the previously mentioned sites. The models for rural and urban faunal assemblages are set up to form a continuum to aid in comparing the different collections. The combined Jervey Plantation assemblage appears similar to the urban model for domestic mammals, wild birds, and fish but more closely resembles the rural pattern for the remaining faunal groups. A similar pattern is seen for the Jervey Plantation Kitchen area.

The sample from the Main House also resembles the urban pattern when domestic mammal, and fish are compared, but the MNI percentages of wild mammals and the other categories are more like the rural model. Likewise, no clear similarities are seen when the Jervey Plantation samples are compared with models for slave and planter households. Both the combined Jervey Plantation and Kitchen area assemblages appear similar to planter model for domestic bird, wild mammal, wild bird, and turtles while the Main House area resembles the planter model for domestic bird and commensal species.

When the Broom Hall (Broom H) site is considered, similarities in MNI frequencies are seen in the domestic bird, wild mammal, wild bird, turtle, and commensal categories. The largest discrepancies observed between the Jervey Plantation and Broom Hall Plantation are in the percentages of domestic mammals and fish.

Clearly the Jervey Plantation faunal patterns do not correspond well to any of the models devised by Reitz (1986). One explanation for this (ignoring the possibilities of sample bias in one or more of the collections) is that there was immense variability in plantation diets, possibly due to personal tastes. Also, wealthier planters may have been able to support more domestic mammals, especially cattle that is more burdensome to raise than pig (Hilliard 1972; Rouse 1973; Towne and Wentworth 1950, 1955). These data may also suggest an increased reliance on livestock at Jervey Plantation, perhaps reflectcing a change in the economic base of the plantation from the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century. The greater frequency of domestic mammals, especially cattle and pig, in the Jervey Plantation faunal samples when compared to other assemblages may indicate its reorientation towards raising livestock

Cuts of Meat

Table 12 provides a summary of the number of identified elements for large mammals identified at the site. One question worthy of exploration concerns the frequency of certain skeletal elements present in faunal samples from the four activity areas. Such quantification of mammal bone can provide a basic understanding of the dietary differences of plantation inhabitants, specifically planters (including their relatives) and slaves. Meatier cuts are identified by the presence of skeletal elements associated with the forequarter and hindquarter, while less desirable cuts are from the head and feet. Nineteenth century high-status households in the Charleston area characteristically contain cattle skeletal elements from the fore and hindquarter areas, lower-status areas typically have an over-representation of head and foot elements (Reitz and Zierden1991). For this study cattle element percentages are computed into a log difference scale (Reitz and Zierden 1991) in order to evaluate possible differences in element representation at the activity areas. It is expected that if status differences existed between the activity areas, such as the Kitchen area and Slave structure, that this will be reflected in the types of meat cuts found at each locale. Likewise, similar information from two additional collections associated with slave areas are considered. One collection is from Seabrook Plantation (33CH323) and the second from Seaside Plantation (38CH1477). Unfortunately, comparative data was not available for the Broom Hall slave area (Hogue et al. 1995) used earlier in comparing MNI frequencies across different sites.

The result of the log difference scale investigation is presented in Figure 34. The x-axis, represented by the "zero" line, is based on the elements found in an unmodified standard cow skeleton. The archaeological data are superimposed over the x-axis as a logged ratio of the standard cow. Any deviation from the x-axis denotes either over-representation or under-representation of certain skeletal elements (Reitz and Zierden 1991). For the Jervey Plantation, three activity areas are considered the Kitchen area (38CH927K), the Main House area (38CH927M), and the Slave area (38CH927S). The Yard area was not included due to previous disturbance of the area. When the log scale difference for the Kitchen area (38CH927K) is observed head and foot bones are similar to standard cow, while the axial cuts are under-represented, and cuts of meat from forequarter and hindquarter sections are over-represented. The log difference scale for the Kitchen area does indicate that the better cuts, forequarter and hindquarter, are associated with the "elite" planter diet. Interestingly, the head and foot elements are similar to the standard cow x-axis a pattern consistent with on-site butchering. The under-representation of axial elements is problematical and could represent

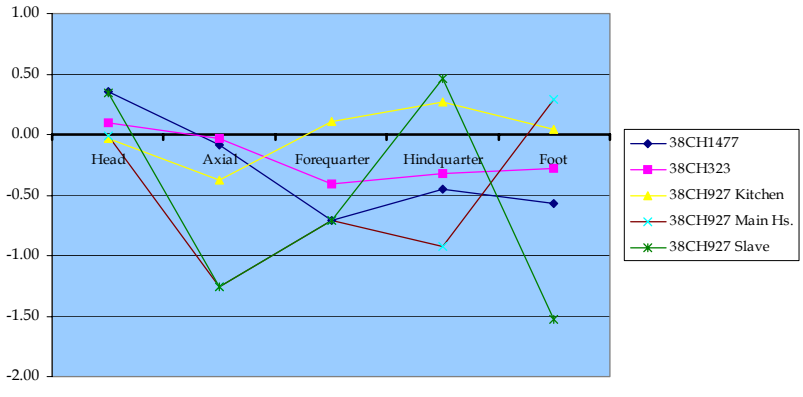

Figure 34. Log difference scale for cattle.

personal taste preferences for other cuts or the rib/vertebra cuts were eaten and discarded elsewhere.

For the Main House area (38CH927M), another pattern emerges where the head is similar to a standard cow while the foot bones are over-represented. In contrast the other skeletal parts, axial, forequarter, and hindquarter, are under-represented for the Main House area. A third pattern is observed for the Slave area (38CH927S). For this sample there is an over-representation of head and hindquarter elements and an under-representation of skeletal elements associated with the axial, forequarter, and foot. The unusual patterns observed for the Main House and Slave areas at Jervey Plantation can probably be explained by the small cattle sample recovered from these areas. The Main House and Slave areas contained only three identifiable cattle elements (Table 12) that clearly create bias in the patterns observed for these areas.

Despite the sample bias inherent in the Jervey Plantation Slave area pattern, it is similar to log ratio patterns computed for larger cattle samples recovered from slave areas at Seabrook (38CH323) and Seaside Plantations (38CH1477) (Figure 34). In all three samples, the head is over-represented, and the foot, axial, and forequarter parts under-represented. At two sites, Seabrook Plantation and Jervey Plantation, the hindquarter is over-represented. If poorer cuts, specifically head and feet, are indicative of low status, this pattern does emerge for "head" elements when the three slave populations are compared.

Bone Modifications

Bone modifications at Jervey Plantation (Table 13) included bone that had been cut, sawed, hacked, scraped, burned and modified for tools. Most of the bone had been modified by burning (67%) especially in the Kitchen and Main House areas. Cut bone was less prevalent (16%) as was sawed bone (9.8%). Few bones showed evidence for hacking (1.78%) or scraping (0.89%). Broken bone knife handles (n=5) were the only identified tools in the collection. The presence of discarded knife handles in the Level 1, Kitchen area indicates that they were probably used in connection with food preparation or butchering. Since gnaw marks were not observed on any skeletal elements from Jervey Plantation, it is reasoned that bone was covered soon after it was discarded.

Conclusions

Analysis of the faunal samples recovered from four activity areas at Jervey Plantation indicate that all the faunal samples except for the Kitchen area Level 1 do not meet the minimum recommended requirement for reliable interpretations of the data. Despite this limitation, analysis proceeded with inventorying animals present and determining MNI, NISP, and biomass percentages for all proveniences except postholes (Tables 1-11). When information is compared for the four activity areas (Kitchen, Main House, Slave structure, and Yard area) across the site domestic mammals, especially cattle, appear to dominate the collections. One exception is in the Main House area where pig was more frequently represented

and wild mammals appear to play a major dietary role. The higher frequency of large domestic mammals at the site may be the result of screening fill with 1/4-inch mesh, which could lead to increased loss of small mammal, small bird, and fish skeletal elements. However, if Jervey Plantation functioned mainly for livestock ranching rather than crop farming, the high frequency of domestic mammals in the faunal samples is not unexpected.

MNI percentages for the Jervey Plantation faunal samples are compared with other models constructed by Reitz (1986) for rural, urban, planter, and slave faunal collections (Figure 33). No similarities are observed among the different assemblages. Again, the reorientation of plantations towards herding livestock may account for the differences seen among the collections. If domestic herds are replacing crops on plantations then the increased use of cattle, pig, and sheep would be identified in an assemblage and consequently would change the representation frequency of other animal groups. Varying dietary preferences could also account for the patterns observed at Jervey Plantations.

Table 42.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), Number of Bones, Weight, and Estimated Meat Yield by Species for the Kitchen Area, Level 1

Species	MNI #	MNI %	NISP	Weight gm	Weight %	Biomass kg	Biomass % Species	Biomass % Total
Domestic Mammals								
Cow, Bos taurus	4	10	184	2676.85	42	31.9787	62.28	39.43
Pig, Sus scrofa	10	25	265	913.58	14.32	12.1526	23.67	14.98
Sheep, Ovis aries	1	2.5	16	72.48	1.13	1.2422	2.42	1.53
Wild Mammals								
Deer, Odocoileus virginianus	1	2.5	17	70.73	1.11	1.2152	2.36	1.5
Raccoon, Procyon lotor	1	2.5	2	1.51	0.02	0.0381	0.07	0.04
Opossum, Didelphis virginiana	1	2.5	3	3.03	0.04	0.0713	0.13	0.08
Gray Fox, Urocyon cinereoargenteus	1	2.5	1	0.38	0.005	0.011	0.02	0.01
Unidentified Mammal- Not Burned	-	-	1508	2303.79	36.12	27.9382	-	34.45
Unidentified Mammal-Burned	-	-	26	50.87	0.79	0.9032	-	1.11
Total Mammal	19	47.5	2022	6093.22	95.535	75.5505	90.95	93.13
Aves								
Chicken, Gallus gallus	2	5	13	10.02	0.15	0.1662	0.32	0.2
Turkey, Meleagris gallopavo	1	2.5	14	19.26	0.3	0.3013	0.58	0.37
Canada Goose, Branta canadensis	1	2.5	1	0.7	0.01	0.0147	0.03	0.02
American Robin, Turdus migratorius	1	2.5	1	0.12	0.001	0.0029	0.005	0.003
Unidentified Aves	-	-	14	7.41	0.11	0.1263	-	0.15
Total Aves	5	12.5	43	37.51	0.571	0.6114	0.935	0.743
Reptile								
Box Turtle, Terrapene carolina	1	2.5	10	10.56	0.16	0.4592	0.89	0.56
River Cooter, Pseudemys floridina	2	5	49	86.54	1.35	1.3427	2.61	1.65
Mud Turtle, Kinosternon	1	2.5	6	9.12	0.14	0.4262	0.83	0.52
Softshell Turtle, Amyda ferox	1	2.5	3	3.78	0.06	0.2719	0.53	0.33
Unidentified Turtle	-	-	35	27.74	0.43	0.7516	-	0.92
Total Reptile	5	12.5	103	137.74	2.14	3.2516	4.86	3.98
Pisces								
Gafftopsail Catfish, Bagre marinus	1	2.5	2	1.09	0.02	0.0216	0.04	0.02
Hardhead Catfish, Arius felis	1	2.5	2	0.36	0.005	0.0076	0.01	0.009
Total Pisces	2	5	4	1.45	0.025	0.0292	0.05	0.029
Crab, Callinectes sp.	9	22.5	45	95.34	1.5	1.6465	3.2	2.03
Miscellaneous Unidentified	-	-	17	11.15	0.17	-	-	-
Total	40	100	2234	6376.41	99.9	81.0892	99.9	99.9

Table 43.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), Number of Bones, Weight, and Estimated Meat Yield by Species for the Kitchen Area, Level 2

Species	MNI #	MNI %	NISP	Weight gm	Weight %	Biomass kg	Biomass % Species	Biomass % Total
Domestic Mammals								
Cow, Bos taurus	2	11.76	26	306.15	44.41	4.543	64.39	41.58
Pig, Sus scrofa	2	11.76	27	70.73	10.26	1.2152	17.22	11.12
Sheep, Ovis aries	2	11.76	6	19.53	2.83	0.3872	5.48	3.54
Wild Mammals								
Deer, Odocoileus virginianus	1	5.88	2	14.54	2.11	0.2926	4.14	2.67
Raccoon, Procyon lotor	1	5.88	1	0.39	0.05	0.0113	0.16	0.1
Unidentified Mammal- Not Burned	-	-	127	236.42	34.3	3.6	-	32.95
Unidentified Mammal-Burned	-	-	8	8.47	1.23	0.1799	-	1.64
Total Mammal	8	47.04	197	656.23	95.19	10.2292	91.39	93.6
Aves								
Chicken, Gallus gallus	1	5.88	1	0.49	0.07	0.0107	0.15	0.09
Turkey, Meleagris gallopavo	1	5.88	3	5.81	0.84	0.1012	1.43	0.92
Unidentified Aves	-	-	3	0.96	0.14	0.0197	-	0.18
Total Aves	2	11.76	7	7.26	1.05	0.1316	1.58	1.19
Reptile								
Box Turtle, Terrapene carolina	1	5.88	1	1.44	0.21	0.0404	0.58	0.37
River Cooter, Pseudemys floridina	1	5.88	2	3.41	0.49	0.0719	0.1	0.65
Mud Turtle, Kinosternon	1	5.88	2	1.49	0.21	0.0413	0.6	0.38
Unidentified Turtle	-	-	5	3.31	0.48	0.0705	-	0.64
Total Reptile	3	17.64	10	9.65	1.39	0.2241	1.28	2.04
Pisces								
Gafftopsail Catfish, Bagre marinus	1	5.88	2	1.09	0.16	0.0216	0.3	0.19
Total Pisces	1	5.88	2	1.09	0.16	0.0216	0.3	0.19
Crab, Callinectes sp.	3	17.65	12	15.05	2.18	0.3184	4.51	2.91
Total	17	99.9	228	689.28	99.9	10.9249	99	99.9

Comparisons of beef cuts across the site activity areas was accomplished using a log difference scale (Figure 34). Higher quality cuts (forequarter and hindquarter) are associated with the Kitchen area at the site, while cuts of less meatier sections of beef are found at the Main House and Slave structure areas. Such patterns could be interpreted as representing status differences within the site. The Kitchen area, dominated by forequarter and hindquarter cuts, would represent a household of relatively high socio-economic standing. Conversely, the Main House and Slave areas show patterns more in line with lower economic status. Additionally, the pattern observed for the Kitchen area using the log difference scale may indicate on-site butchering of cattle at this site. This interpretation is based on the frequency of head and foot bones being nearly identical to an unmodified standard cow skeleton. The small sample size of these latter activity areas probably may well explain the under-representation of beefier cuts as only three cattle elements were present in each of the collections.

In order to explore possible uses of beef cuts in the slave diet the Jervey Plantation Slave area is matched with other slave faunal assemblages recovered from two plantations, Seabrook Plantation and Seaside Plantation, located in the area (Figure 34). Similar log ratio patterns are observed for the three samples with the head being over-represented and the foot, axial, and forequarter parts being under-represented. In two cases, Jervey Plantation and Seabrook Plantation, the hindquarter cuts are over-represented. The over-representation of the "head" cuts at the three site is expected if poorer cuts of beef are correlated with low status and meatier cuts are associated with higher-status (Reitz and Zierden 1991). However, the over-representation of hindquarter cuts is especially problematical when found in the slave samples. Seaside

Plantation is thought to be a relatively poor plantation (Trinkley and Hacker 2001), while Seabrook and Jervey Plantations may be more economically well off. Differences in plantation wealth would partially explain why better cuts of beef were available to the poorest economic group (the slave) at Seabrook and Jervey Plantations.

Table 44.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), Number of Bones, Weight, and Estimated Meat Yield by Species for the Kitchen Area Post Holes

Location	Species	MNI #	MNI %	NISP	Weight gm	Weight %
75R110 Posthole #1	Unidentified Mammal	-	-	5	1.4	100
85R110 Posthole #2	Pig, Sus scrofa	1	50	1	8.59	54.78
	Unidentified Mammal	-	-	3	6.68	42.6
	Chicken, Gallus gallus	1	50	1	0.41	2.61
	Total	2	100	5	15.68	99.99
85R110 Posthole #3	Pig, Sus scrofa	1	100	1	1.52	100
100R100 Posthole #1	Pig, Sus scrofa	1	100	2	4.5	59.44
	Unidentified Mammal	-	-	6	3.07	40.55
	Total	1	100	8	7.57	99.99

Table 45.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), Number of Bones, Weight, and Estimated Meat Yield by Species for the Main House, Level 1

Species	MNI #	MNI %	NISP	Weight gm	Weight %	Biomass kg	Biomass % Species	Biomass % Total
Domestic Mammals								
Cow, Bos taurus	1	11.11	2	25.53	9.23	0.4857	22.88	9.88
Pig, Sus scrofa	1	11.11	11	48.34	17.49	0.8627	40.64	17.56
Sheep, Ovis aries	1	11.11	1	2.83	1.02	0.0671	3.16	1.36
Wild Mammals								
Deer, Odocoileus virginianus	1	11.11	2	6.88	2.48	0.1492	7.02	3.03
Raccoon, Procyon lotor	1	11.11	1	0.87	0.31	0.0232	1.09	0.47
Commensal Mammals								
Dog, Canis familiaris	1	11.11	14	16.42	5.94	0.3264	15.37	6.64
Unidentified Mammal- Not Burned	-	-	62	121	43.78	1.9701	-	40.1
Unidentified Mammal-Burned	-	-	30	45.41	16.43	0.8155	-	16.59
Total Mammal	6	66.66	123	267.28	96.68	4.6999	90.16	95.63
Aves								
Chicken, Gallus gallus	1	11.11	2	1.09	0.39	0.0221	1.04	0.44
Unidentified Aves	-	-	1	0.2	0.07	0.0047	-	0.09
Total Aves	1	11.11	3	1.29	0.46	0.0268	1.04	0.53
Reptile								
Diamondback Terrapin, Malaclemys terrapin	1	11.11	1	0.37	0.13	0.0162	0.76	0.33
Total Reptile	1	11.11	1	0.37	0.13	0.0162	0.76	0.33
Crab, Callinectes sp.	1	11.11	2	7.43	2.68	0.1699	8	3.45
Total	9	99.9	129	276.37	99.9	4.9128	99.9	99.9

Table 46.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), Number of Bones, Weight, and Estimated Meat Yield by Species for the Main House, Level 2

Species	MNI #	MNI %	NISP	Weight gm	Weight %	Biomass kg	Biomass % Species	Biomass % Total
Domestic Mammals								
Pig, Sus scrofa	1	14.28	2	5.61	11.4	0.1242	32.63	12.22
Wild Mammals								
Deer, Odocoileus virginianus	1	14.28	1	3.81	7.74	0.0877	23.04	8.63
Raccoon, Procyon lotor	1	14.28	1	1.45	2.94	0.0367	9.64	3.61
Unidentified Mammal- Not Burned	-	-	12	30.7	62.39	0.5733	-	56.43
Unidentified Mammal-Burned	-	-	3	1.39	2.82	0.0354	-	3.48
Total Mammal	3	42.84	19	42.96	87.29	0.8573	65.31	84.37
Aves								
Unidentified Aves	1	14.28	3	0.78	1.58	0.0163	4.28	1.6
Total Aves	1	14.28	3	0.78	1.58	0.0163	4.28	1.6
Reptile								
River Cooter, Pseudemys floridina	1	14.28	3	1.26	2.56	0.0369	9.69	3.63
Unidentified Turtle	-	-	2	0.77	1.56	0.0265	-	2.61
Total Reptile	1	14.28	5	2.03	4.12	0.0634	9.69	6.24
Crab, Callinectes sp.	2	28.56	6	3.43	6.97	0.0788	20.7	7.75
Total	7	99.9	33	49.2	99.9	1.0158	99.9	99.9

Table 47.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), Number of Bones, Weight, and Estimated Meat Yield by Species for the Main House, Feature 1

Species	MNI #	MNI %	NISP	Weight gm	Weight %	Biomass kg	Biomass % Species	Biomass % Total
Domestic Mammals								
Cow, Bos taurus	1	25	1	41.09	42.61	0.7453	60.14	41.4
Pig, Sus scrofa	1	25	3	23.89	24.77	0.4575	36.91	25.42
Wild Mammals								
Raccoon, Procyon lotor	1	25	1	0.96	0.99	0.0253	2.04	1.4
Unidentified Mammal- Not Burned	-	-	13	29.95	31.05	0.5607	-	31.15
Total Mammal	3	75	18	95.89	99.42	1.7888	99.09	99.37
Pisces								
Sea Catfish, Arridae sp.	1	25	1	0.54	0.56	0.0111	0.89	0.61
Total Pisces	1	25	1	0.54	0.56	0.0111	0.89	0.61
Total	4	100	19	96.43	99.9	1.7999	99.9	99.9

Table 48.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), Number of Bones, Weight, and Estimated Meat Yield by Species for the Main House, Feature 2

Species	MNI #	MNI %	NISP	Weight gm	Weight %	Biomass kg	Biomass % Species	Biomass % Total
Domestic Mammals								
Pig, Sus scrofa	1	25	3	42.5	68.57	0.7683	72.75	65.02
Sheep, Ovis aries	1	25	1	12.52	20.2	0.2557	24.21	21.64
Wild Mammals								
Opossum, Didelphis virginiana	1	25	1	0.72	1.16	0.0196	1.85	1.66
Unidentified Mammal- Not Burned	-	-	10	5.55	8.95	0.1229	-	10.4
Total Mammal	3	75	15	61.29	98.88	1.1665	98.81	98.72
Aves								
Chicken, Gallus gallus	1	25	1	0.58	0.93	0.0124	1.17	1.04
Unidentified Aves	-	-	1	0.11	0.17	0.0027	-	0.23
Total Aves	1	25	2	0.69	1.1	0.0151	1.17	1.27
Total	4	100	17	61.98	99.98	1.1816	99.98	99.99

Table 49.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), Number of Bones, Weight, and Estimated Meat Yield by Species for the Main House, Feature 3

Species	MNI #	MNI %	NISP	Weight gm	Weight %	Biomass kg	Biomass % Species	Biomass % Total
Domestic Mammals								
Pig, Sus scrofa	1	100	1	17.68	100	0.3489	100	100
Total	1	100	1	17.68	100	0.3489	100	100

Table 50.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), Number of Bones, Weight, and Estimated Meat Yield by Species for the Slave House Block, Level 1

Species	MNI #	MNI %	NISP	Weight gm	Weight %	Biomass kg	Biomass % Species	Biomass % Total
Domestic Mammals								
Cow, Bos taurus	1	33	6	26.71	51.89	0.5058	65.1	49.48
Pig, Sus scrofa	1	33	4	13.03	25.31	0.2651	34.12	25.93
Unidentified Mammal- Not Burned	-	-	13	10.18	19.78	0.2123	-	20.76
Unidentified Mammal-Burned	-	-	1	1.29	2.5	0.033	-	3.22
Total Mammal	2	66	24	51.21	99.48	1.0162	99.22	99.39
Aves								
Chicken	1	33	1	0.26	0.5	0.006	0.77	0.58
Total Aves	1	33	1	0.26	0.5	0.006	0.77	0.58
Total	3	99	25	51.47	99.9	1.0222	99.9	99.9

Table 51.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), Number of Bones, Weight, and Estimated Meat Yield by Species for the Slave House Block post holes

Location	Species	MNI #	MNI %	NISP	Weight gm	Weight %
144R450 Posthole #2	Pig, Sus scrofa	1	100	1	0.23	67.64
	Unidentified Mammal	-	-	1	0.11	32.36
	Total	1	100	2	0.34	100
144R450 Posthole #3	Pig, Sus scrofa	1	50	1	11.09	99.01
	River Cooter, Pseudemys floridina	1	50	2	0.11	0.09
	Total	2	100	3	11.2	100
149R460 Posthole #1	Unidentified Mammal	-	-	4	0.37	100
149R460 Posthole #5	Pig, Sus scrofa	1	50	1	1.3	74.71
	Unidentified Mammal	-	-	1	0.18	10.34
	Box Turtle, Terrapene carolina	1	50	1	0.26	14.94
	Total	2	100	3	1.74	99.99

Table 52.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), Number of Bones, Weight, and Estimated Meat Yield by Species for the Main House Yard Area, Level 1

Species	MNI #	MNI %	NISP	Weight gm	Weight %	Biomass kg	Biomass % Species	Biomass % Total
Domestic Mammals								
Cow, Bos taurus	1	50	9	84.16	46.25	1.421	84.38	45.28
Pig, Sus scrofa	1	50	6	12.91	7.09	0.2629	15.62	8.38
Unidentified Mammal- Not Burned	-	-	64	82.35	45.26	1.3934	-	44.41
Unidentified Mammal-Burned	-	-	4	2.53	1.4	0.0606	-	1.93
Total Mammal	2	100	83	181.95	100	3.1379	100	100

Table 53.
Cuts of Meat: Number of Identified Elements from Large Mammals. Percentages in ( )

Location/ Species	Head	Axial	Forequarter	Forefoot	Foot	Hindquarter	Hindfoot
Kitchen Area							
Cow	38 (32)	9 (7.6)	8 (6.7)	12 (10.1)	16 (13.5)	19 (16.1)	16 (13.5)
Pig	92 (68.1)	16 (11.8)	10 (7.4)	1 (.7)	3 (2.2)	11 (8.1)	2 (1.5)
Sheep	6 (33.3)	2 (11.1)	5 (27.7)	1 (5.5)	1 (5.5)	1 (5.5)	2 (11.1)
Deer	5 (33.3)	0	3 (20)	1 (6.6)	3 (20)	0	3 (20)
Main House and Features 1,2, & 3							
Cow	1 (33.3)	0	0	1 (33.3)	0	0	1 (33.3)
Pig	8 (47)	1 (6)	6 (35)	0	2 (12)	0	0
Sheep	1 (50)	0	1 (50)	0	0	0	0
Deer	0	1 (33.3)	1 (33.3)	0	0	1 (33.3)	0
Slave House							
Cow	3 (75)	0	0	0	0	1 (25)	0
Pig	3 (50)	0	1 (16.6)	0	1 (16.6)	1 (16.6)	0
Yard Area							
Cow	2 (33.3)	2 (33.3)	1 (16.6)	0	0	1 (16.6)	0
Pig	3 (60)	1 (20)	0	0	0	1 (20)	0

Table 54.
Modified Bone

Location	Species	Cut	Sawed	Hacked/ Chopped	Scaped	Modified Tool	Burned
Kitchen Area							
Level 1	Cow, Bos taurus	6	4	1	-	-	-
	Pig, Sus scrofa	3	2	-	-	-	-
	Unidentified Mammal	-	-	-	-	5	26
Level 2	Cow, Bos taurus	2	-	1	1	-	-
	Sheep, Ovis aries	-	1	-	-	-	-
	Unidentified Mammal	-	-	-	-	-	8
Main House Area							
Level 1	Pig, Sus scrofa	1	-	-	-	-	-
	Deer, Odocoileus virginianus	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Raccoon, Procyon lotor	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Unidentified Mammal	1	-	-	-	-	30
Level 2	Raccoon, Procyon lotor	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Unidentified Mammal	1	-	-	-	-	3
Feature 1	Unidentified Mammal	1	-	-	-	-	-
Slave House Area							
Level 1	Cow, Bos taurus	-	1	-	-	-	-
	Unidentified Mammal	-	-	-	-	-	1
Yard Area	Cow, Bos taurus	2	2	-	-	-	-
	Unidentified Mammal	1	1	-	-	-	4
Total		**18**	**11**	**2**	**1**	**5**	**75**
Total %		**16.07**	**9.82**	**1.78**	**0.89**	**4.46**	**66.96**

HUMAN SKELETAL REMAINS

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During the excavation of the Kitchen area at Jervey Plantation, two skeletal elements were recovered and identified as human.

The first is a right permanent mandibular molar belonging to an adult was retrieved from Level 1 of unit 65R100. Only the distal half of the molar is preserved. The tooth appears to have decayed through the center possibly due to an abscess of the mesial half. One small caries is present on the occlusal surface. It is unlikely that the molar represents the disturbance of a human burial, as no other human remains were found in this provenience. The tooth more than likely was extracted due to its diseased state and discarded with other refuse in the Kitchen area.

The second human element consists of an adult occipital fragment recovered from the 85R110 unit at the base of Level 2. Identification of the fragment as human was difficult. Comparisons were made with available crania and was determined to be human based on the presence of an external occipital crest and internal occipital protuberance. The fragment is likely from a previously disturbed burial based on the color and texture of the bone. In addition it appears that the occiput may have been deformed either by intentional deformation of post-depositional earth pressure. Cranial deformation has been documented for prehistoric Southeastern groups (Neumann 1942) and ethnohistorical accounts have indicated its use by Siouan groups in South Carolina (Lawson 1967). No burial or other feature suggestive of a burial was observed during the investigations of the site and this remain represents an isolated specimen.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Research topics proposed for the work at Jervey Plantation included an examination of the economic and social changes in Christ Church parish and the effects those changes had on plantation owners, as evidenced in the archaeological record. We also sought to examine the main plantation house for architectural remains with an eye toward evaluating the status and well-being of the owner. And we also hoped that the combination of economic and archaeological data might help us to better interpret the living conditions of the Jervey slaves. Some, although not all, of these research goals were met.

Historical Synopsis

Our economic reconstruction of Christ Church, given that data for the parish are limited to the 1850 and 1860 agricultural censuses, cannot be considered authoritative. However, it does suggest that between 1850 and 1860 Christ Church did see a significant realignment in agricultural production. There was a noticeable move to ranching, although its economic success is questionable. Otherwise, there was a surprising (given the proximity to the Charleston market) turn away from the early efforts at truck cropping while planters placed their faith in "King Cotton." Coupled with the rise in cotton and decline in subsistence crops, the Parish's planters also sought to cut their costs by dramatically reducing their slave populations.

Turning to the study tract, what we found is that by 1850 the owner was – like others in the Parish – focusing on ranching, although unlike most of his peers he had not forsaken inland swamp rice. In this sense, the plantation appears to display considerable conservativism, refusing to turn away from a crop that had been productive for so many years. While not "typical" of the agricultural pursuits of the bulk of other planters in the Parish, we found no evidence that the plantation was anything other than typical in terms of wealth. The research could not be extended into the last decade before the Civil War since the plantation could not be identified in the 1860 agricultural census.

Our examination of the owners reveals a mix of both resident and non-resident owners, with a few whose status is unknown. The plantation was probably settled very early – perhaps in the first decade of the eighteenth century by Roger Player and certainly by the time of Thomas Player, Jr. During the mid to late antebellum, when the census data provides important insights, the owner was Thomas Jervey. It was also during this period that the initial settlement was abandoned – with the slave settlement being moved to the west and the main house at 38CH927 no longer being used.

Environmental Conditions

Pollen and phytolith samples were taken from several locations at the Jervey Plantation, primarily in the hope of identifying either cultigens or possibly domesticated garden plants. Neither goal was realized.

The combined samples are indicative of a disturbed habitat dominated by grasses and weedy plants. Some of these plants are specific to wet environments, others are found under

drier conditions. There is some indication of grazing animals (based on the *Sporormiella* dung fungal spores) – providing further support of the early ranching activities. The analysis also contributes to our belief that the existing vegetation was cleared, probably by burning, prior to construction.

Archaeological Findings

The investigations focused on three primary areas – what was determined to be the kitchen (based on artifacts and dispersion), the main house (based on intact foundation remains), and a slave settlement (based on artifacts and the identification of one wall trench structure). These remains provide an excellent view of a "typical" Christ Church plantation during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The Kitchen

In the kitchen area, about 75 feet to the southwest of the main house, we identified the remains of two structures. The earliest structure was a frame kitchen supported by massive wood piers. Later, this structure was replaced by a more substantial structure, still frame, but set on brick piers, situated just a few feet to the north of the earlier structure.

A plaster sample from the second kitchen reveals a single, thin layer of dark gray to black pigment that was not readily water soluble – suggestive of sooting. While this is not unexpected, that it is such a thin layer reveals that the kitchen walls were periodically cleaned (although not whitewashed). This lack of whitewashing is unexpected and suggests that not all plantations were equally fastidious.

Most of the artifacts from this area were found in a large trash midden that may represent an early antebellum clean-up effort on the plantation. While excavated in two zones in an effort to detect temporal differences, this activity does not seem to have been successful.

Artifacts in the kitchen deposits date from about 1670 to as late as 1900, with the intensity of occupation probably jumping dramatically about 1760 and maintaining a high level to about 1820, after which time refuse disposal tapers off. This suggests occupation from the latter half of the Player tenure through Morrison's absentee ownership.

Most significantly, we believe that the kitchen deposits provide good evidence of a gradual improvement of status from the mid-eighteenth century through mid-nineteenth century. The dominant vessel form changes from bowls to plates and decorations change from inexpensive annular and edged wares to hand painted and transfer printed motifs. Combined with these changes, we also note that much of the utensil assemblage consisted of spoons – indicative of pottages or one-pot means – with fewer forks.

The analysis of faunal remains from the kitchen area not reveal a prevalence of higher quality cuts (forequarter and hindquarter), but the remains are also suggestive of on-site butchering. Taken together, this suggests that the plantation was involved in ranching prior to the 1850 census.

The Main House

The main house was found to measure about 20.2 feet north-south by approximately 40.3 feet east-west, resulting in a first floor plan of 800 square feet. The one identified chimney is centered on the west wall and, we presume, there was a mate on the east wall, typical of a through-hall plan. The first floor was likely raised several feet off the ground (on brick piers) – not enough to allow storage or to be considered a basement. The roof was shingled and the building itself was frame. There is evidence of a portico or porch on both the north and south elevations.

We note that the structure is typical of those reported by Shelley Smith (1999) as being built in the last half of the eighteenth century, a time when planters' houses became less

elaborate and more "vernacular" in response to a greater emphasis on the Charleston townhouse.

In the yard area surrounding this main house we found an assemblage with a mean date of about 1801, but a range from about 1760 through 1830 – suggestive of the period from at least Thomas Player to Richard Morrison (a non-resident). There is decreasing evidence of occupation from that time through the Jervey ownership of the late antebellum.

The main house assemblage itself exhibits a mean date of 1816, although there is a strong peak in occupation between 1760 and 1820 – consistent with other assemblages at the site and representing the occupation of Thomas Player, Jr. through Richard Morrison. There is possible evidence of occupation through perhaps 1860, although the data suggest only intermittent or infrequent use.

The main house ceramic assemblage is more clearly dominated by flat wares than is the kitchen, although there is still evidence that the proportion of flat wares compared to hollow wares increased over time. We believe that this assemblage documents the gradual increase in the display of wealth, featuring more and more expensive motifs at the expense of less costly designs.

We also believe – based on the low proportion of furniture-related items, that the structure sat abandoned prior to its final destruction by fire. This period of abandonment, coupled with the low use the house may have received during the late antebellum, may help explain the low incidence of tableware and other relatively high status items in the collection.

The small collection of framing and large framing nails in the main house (and kitchen) suggests that both structures were built using craft traditions and framing nails were used only for later repairs or modifications. The large assemblage of small nails in the main house is consistent with exterior cladding and interior lathe. Architectural hardware, while wide-ranging, is relatively uncommon. This suggests that salvage took place, probably before the structure was burned. Remains also suggest that fireplaces were tiled and walkways used flag stones.

Taken together we believe that the main house was likely constructed by Thomas Player. It continued to be used – at least intermittently – through the Morrison tenure. After Morrison, and through the Jervey occupation, the house probably sat vacant, perhaps being used only very occasionally. Around mid-century it appears that it burned, but not until after much of the architectural detailing was salvaged.

Faunal remains at the main house are suggestive of less meaty or lower quality cuts – something of an anomaly. On the other hand, the remains also exhibit a greater proportion of pig and wild mammals.

The main settlement remains are difficult to interpret, since it would seem that food destined for the planter's table would originate (and the bones be discarded in) the kitchen trash. Therefore, we may better combine the kitchen and main settlement remains, in which case the poorer quality cuts are a much less significant dietary contributor.

The Slave Settlement

The slave settlement produced one intact wall trench structure, measuring 18 feet east-west by 24 feet north-south, representing a floor area of 432 square feet. The presence of other, seemingly isolated, post holes may suggest the presence of other structures in the area and, perhaps, rebuilding episodes.

Here again the artifacts reveal an occupation from about 1760 through 1830 – consistent with the main house and kitchen. The ceramics are suggestive of discards coming from the planter's table or being scavenged by the slaves for their own use. Colono ware is surprisingly uncommon. Personal items – or any

items that might reflect some very modest comforts or pleasures – are sparse or absent. Overall the assemblage provides a bleak picture of the plantation's enslaved population.

The faunal remains from the slave settlement are suggestive of a beef diet and the quality of the cuts tends to support the idea that the plantation was producing its own beef.

Synthesis

As is often the case when archaeological studies are examined honesty, we have found some critical information capable of addressing some questions, raised many more questions, and have been unable to address a few others.

The research has provided at least a historical framework for the plantation, even though many of the early owners remain shrouded in considerable mystery. This research also correlates well with the archaeological findings – allowing us to identify who developed the plantation. We also realize, using the archaeological evidence combined with a single period plat, that the settlement location and nature changed prior to the Civil War.

We believe that there is evidence (for example in the ceramics and table utensils) of the plantation's owners increasing wealth and social status. There is also evidence from various sources that the emphasis on ranching noted by 1850 probably began much earlier – perhaps with the initial settlement of the plantation.

The research provides architectural accounts of a main settlement from Christ Church. Little more than a farm house, it helps us understand the range of variation in architectural style and begins to fill in the gaps noted when using standing, preserved architecture (recognized as typically the best of the best). We also have yet one more wall trench structure – and one that may well have been used (with repairs, undoubtedly) into the early nineteenth century.

The data from this plantation also suggests that interpretation of slaves' economic well-being may be far more difficult than previously anticipated. While the ceramics are consistent with discards from the main house and other artifacts seem suggestive of a bleak existence, the faunal remains suggest that the slaves – by virtue of the plantation's ranching roots – had a relatively good diet.

The work at Jervey again points out that while Christ Church was in the "shadow" of Charleston, we know very little about its occupants and their lifeways. The work reveals something of the complexity in making social status and wealth determinations, especially for the early period. And it suggests that more work needs to be done along similar lines to obtain a larger, and more representative, sample.

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