

CONCLUSIONS

Stallings Occupation

A series of three broad research topics were originally proposed for the study of the Stallings occupation at Fish Haul, including culture history, settlement and subsistence. The research conducted at Fish Haul to date has exposed 1700 square feet of primarily Stallings occupation zones and an additional 540 space feet of light, mixed prehistoric and historic occupation. The Stallings phase is represented by 1481 sherds (over 1-inch in diameter), 21 bifaces, 10 large stone tools, 616 flakes, two shell ornaments, 135 hones, and 35 baked clay objects. Also included in our study of the Stallings phase were 12 features attributable to the occupation which produced faunal, ethnobotanical, and shell samples. A series of three highly reliable dates have been obtained from the site: 1770 \pm 90 B.C., 1730 \pm 60 B.C., and 1330 \pm 80 B.C.

The Stallings assemblage from Fish Haul does not contain all of the various types of artifacts found at larger Stallings sites, but is otherwise typical. Some artifacts, such as bifaces, have been recovered in greater abundance at Fish Haul than at other coastal sites. The pottery was primarily punctated, although plain specimens accounted for slightly more than a third of the collection. Of considerable typological significance was the radiographic evidence that a coiling technique was used by the Stallings phase potters. The transition from modeling to coiling probably occurred late in the Stalling phase and the presence of this technique at a site dating to ca. 1800 B.C. is entirely reasonable given our knowledge of ceramic technology among succeeding Thom's Creek potters. The pottery fails to evidence any firing defects, suggesting that the wares were produced elsewhere. Lithics include primarily the Small Savannah River Stemmed type, with fewer numbers of earlier Savannah River Stemmed and later Gypsy Stemmed. The assemblage, like the pottery, suggests manufacture elsewhere, with the points brought to the site in finished form. Once at Fish Haul the points were subjected to resharpening and eventual discard. The source of the raw material is clearer for the lithics than for the pottery, with most of the stone considered to be "Allendale" chert. Little evidence of stone from the Piedmont or from other drainages is present. Few lithic artifact types are present, suggesting a limited range of activities requiring stone tools. While most points provided evidence of use as knives, a few may have been used as spears, which suggests an economy oriented to animal procurement and processing for food. There is little evidence of tools which might be used to process skins.

The presence of hones suggests that pins, probably of wood, were being produced at the site, possibly for making nets. The baked clay objects were subjected to a phosphate test, which suggests they came into little contact with organic materials. Because of this, a pit-roasting function has been suggested over their use in boiling. This seems reasonable since the Stallings pottery was certainly capable of being placed directly over a fire.

The subsistence strategy of the Stallings people at Fish Haul is detailed in the previous discussions of both faunal and ethnobotanical remains. A brief mention will also be made regarding the shellfish contribution in these discussions.

The faunal remains provide no evidence of seasonality, but they do reveal, simply, that while a few species account for the greater amount of meat, the Stallings people had a diffuse pattern of procurement that took a number of different vertebrate species. The most significant species in the Stallings component were deer, diamondback terrapin, and fish.

The ethnobotanical remains suggest that one food source -- hickory nuts -- was heavily exploited. Nutshell fragments were common in features and even in excavation units. In contrast, other wild plant foods, such as acorn or fleshy fruits, were nearly absent in the samples. These data reveal a probable late fall-early winter period of gathering and focal economy (in contrast to the faunal remains.)

The entire Stallings component produced only 393.5 pounds (178.2 kilograms) of shellfish, primarily oyster, and 243.5 pounds (110.3 kilograms) or 62% came from Feature 18. Using the allometric regression formula for oyster, developed by Quitmyer (1985a), this yields 46.5 pounds (21.1 kilograms) of meat, with Feature 18 contributing 29 pounds (13.2 kilograms). This, by far, exceeds the biomass contribution of the faunal resources, and even if compared to expected meat yield of the two deer was not an inconsequential contribution to the diet.

Merging these data into one synthesis of Stallings subsistence at Fish Haul is difficult and open to considerable controversy. What appears to be evidenced is a predominance of shellfish and hickory nuts, in addition to a significant number of fish. Higher vertebrates are not abundant, although deer did provide a notable contribution to the diet. The diet appears to be consistently diffuse, with the exploitation of a number of different coastal zone resources and a reliance on none.

The perceived diet is well balanced, with the

vertebrates and hickory nuts high in protein and the oyster and other shellfish high in carbohydrates. This combination also provides a number of significant vitamins and minerals. This is not, however, to suggest that periods of inadequacy were not known and that disease, particularly of parasitic origin, was not common (see Rathbun et al. 1980).

The diet, specifically the hickory nuts and clams, provide strong evidence for a late fall-early winter occupation. Such a conclusion is consistent with the faunal collection. The site may represent a segment of a definite seasonal round, or it may reflect simply the short-term occupation by highly mobile bands. Evidence from Fish Haul clearly reveals repeated site visits by small groups, but we are not yet in the position to suggest that all of these visits were during the same season. It seems likely that Fish Haul was repeatedly occupied because of its environmental situation which apparently provided access to abundant hickories, in addition to the estuarine resources of shellfish and fish.

A single Stallings phase structure was found during these studies. Evidenced by a series of post holes in a "D"-shaped pattern, this small "hut" suggests an impermanent structure oriented toward the marsh breeze, which is not inconsistent with the late-fall or early winter season given the temperate coastal climate.

In summary, between about 1800 and 1300 B.C. a number of small bands moved through the Fish Haul area, bringing with them the artifacts they would need for their short stay. They built only impermanent structures, perhaps occupied for only a few days or weeks. They subsisted on primarily shellfish, hickory nuts, and fish, as well as opportunistic catches of other vertebrates. This reconstruction may give rise to DePratter's (1979b) characterization of "limited occupations," although Fish Haul does not appear to be a "marginal area." Perhaps a better characterization is Stoltman's (1972:51) "limited segment of a diversified settlement system."

Later Prehistoric Occupations

It is interesting that evidence of occupation through the Early, Middle, and Late Woodland periods is present at Fish Haul, although in no case does the presence rival that of the earlier Stallings people. In fact, only the Deptford component suggests more than a single, brief encampment.

Cultural remains definitely attributable to the Deptford occupation include only pottery. No small "Deptford stemmed" points (Trinkley 1980a) were recovered, no features with

Deptford remains were recovered, and no information on Deptford subsistence was revealed. The Deptford pottery represents a fairly thin veneer over the site, although the Auger Test Survey suggests a denser concentration of Deptford remains in the vicinity of Auger Test 47. Likewise, there appears to be concentration of Thom's Creek pottery in the vicinity of Auger Test 225. It is therefore possible that further research (detailed below) will yield data on the later utilization of the Fish Haul environs.

Mitchelville

Mitchelville may be one of the most significant Afro-American archaeological sites in South Carolina. Historical sources revealed that the town was an autonomous black community established in 1862 by the Union forces on Hilton Head. Streets were laid out and houses were constructed on $\frac{1}{4}$ acre lots by the blacks. An elected town government, entirely black, was established to develop sanitary, police, and school regulations. The village's occupants were supported primarily by wage labor (\$4 to \$12 a month, plus military rations, the cost of which might be subtracted from the wages) while the Hilton Head post was active until about 1867. During that time blacks became acquainted with a consumer economy, and stores and shops were established on the Island and specifically in Mitchelville. Public buildings, such as churches and possibly schools, were established. After 1867 the community was probably more agrarian, but it continued to thrive to about 1880. By the mid-1880s it is probable that the village was being transformed into a kin-based community, led by March Gardner and his son, G.P. Gardner, which continued into the twentieth century. By 1921 the "town" was divided among the five heirs of March Gardner.

The archaeological study of the site has yielded a large quantity of remains (over 25,000 artifacts) which provide a detailed, yet preliminary, reconstruction of the freedmen's lifestyle. At least four structures were examined, one intensively by the excavation of 950 square feet. This is the first archaeological study of a freedmen's village and it provides another perspective to previous studies of the "Port Royal Experiment." The presence of Mitchelville provides evidence of the ability of blacks to rule themselves absent the bonds of slavery. A Freedmen's Bureau officer in the South noted that the black "loves to congregate in families, in groups, in villages" (John Alvord, quoted in Gutman 1976:xxi). This strong social bond, in a part, may explain the cohesiveness of Mitchelville over at least 18 years.

The presence of specific, high status artifacts in the archaeological record suggest that plantation house goods found their way to blacks. Whether the goods, such as

ceramics, stemware, lead crystal, arms, and personal items, were directly looted by the blacks, or bartered to them by Union soldiers cannot be determined from the archaeological evidence. It seems likely that both forms of procurement took place, based on the historical record.

An examination of the artifact patterns exhibited by Mitchelville reveals that not only were a number of high status goods incorporated in the archaeological record, but that the freedmen owned possessions in excess of those typical of slavery. When compared to the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern, Mitchelville evidences higher proportions of furniture, personal and clothing goods. Compared to the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern, Mitchelville residents possessed more furniture and arms, and both clothing and personal items are within the upper range of the slave pattern. This demonstrates that the Mitchelville residents were not worse off than before slavery, but were clearly participating in the economy evidenced in the historical documents.

The artifact pattern exhibited by the most thorough excavation in Mitchelville reveals similarities to the recently proposed Piedmont Tenant/Yeoman Farmer Pattern (Drucker, et al. 1984) and the Revised Frontier Artifact Pattern (Garrow 1982b; South 1977). It is made clear that blacks were prospering (relatively speaking) and were beginning to change their economic position. The evidence from Mitchelville also suggests the possibility of pattern differences between structures, which may reflect differing status or simply economic well-being of the occupants.

The status of individuals, or their wealth, may also be viewed using Miller's classification of nineteenth century ceramics. This technique reveals consistently inexpensive plate and bowl motifs, although cups and saucers (teaware) have a higher economic scale. In spite of this, the ceramics suggest that food preparation and serving habits were beginning to change among the freedmen. There is a greater emphasis on plates and annular ware is no longer the predominant motif. The artifacts also suggest, as previously mentioned, that it may be possible to identify wealthier members of the community.

The faunal remains from Mitchelville provide significant data on the foodways of the freedmen. A few species, primarily the cow and pig, contributed the greatest portion of the biomass. Fish and turtles made notable, and consistent, contributions to the diet, as suggested by the historical record. Wild mammals, while utilized, appear hardly significant in the overall diet. Likewise, shellfish were collected (clam primarily in the late fall), but probably made a minor contribution to the diet. While pork was homegrown and slaughtered, beef was largely obtained

fresh, probably as military rations.

While Reitz (1984; see Table 39 in this report) notes a dominance of wild species at rural and slave sites (73.4 and 73.8% respectively), the emphasis clearly shifts to domestic species (53.6%) at urban sites (wild species decline to 36.2%). Commensals increase from 4.3 and 2.8% at rural and slave sites to 10.4% at urban sites, perhaps a true reflection of "urbanness." The Mitchelville data falls midway between the Rural/Slave and Urban Patterns, except that the commensals suggest an urban environment. In other words, Mitchelville was urban, but relatively poor when compared to other urban sites and therefore somewhat more reliant on wild foods. This is, of course, documented by the historic records that talk of the near starvation by Hilton Head blacks.

These data, however, do not address the contribution of either plant foods or prepared foods (purchased in bulk or in cans from stores). The ethnobotanical record is very sparse, presumably because of food preparation and disposal techniques. The historic accounts provide some information on other food sources, which probably emphasized the grains -- rice and hominy.

The present work has only begun to examine the community patterns, social organization, and group dynamics of Mitchelville. Although Geismar (1982) has demonstrated the applicability of archaeology to the study of these topics, she also began with the advantage of more detailed historic accounts for Skunk Hollow than are available for Mitchelville. It is, however, intriguing to speculate that March Gardner and later his son, G.P. Gardner, provided a certain cohesiveness to the community and that the disintegration of the kin-based community is associated with the death of G.P. Gardner and/or his gradual loss of status. The topic may be amenable to more detailed study as a larger sample of structures is obtained and additional historical sources are identified (see below).

Future Studies and Research at Fish Haul

These studies have demonstrated that both the prehistoric and historic components of Fish Haul are clearly significant; not only have they yielded considerable data, but the research has demonstrated areas which require additional investigation. These brief comments are meant only to serve as a general guide to future work.

The Auger Test study revealed several concentrations of prehistoric remains which were not examined by this study, specifically the Deptford remains evidenced by Auger Test 47,

the Thom's Creek remains evidenced by Auger Test 225, and the concentration of Stallings remains at Auger Test 140-142. Each of these areas deserves at least minimal block excavation to determine the nature and extent of prehistoric occupation. An examination of Thom's Creek and Deptford remains may assist in obtaining a better understanding of their respective settlement and subsistence systems and may also reveal consistent attributes about the Fish Haul tract which made it attractive to prehistoric occupation. If these later Early Woodland occupations provide in situ remains, including features, they will be useful to explore aspects of material culture and cultural diversity. Evidence from several blocks suggests the presence of stratigraphic deposits, which combined with additional radiometric dating, would help refine our knowledge of the cultural sequence of the area.

Further research into the Stallings phase at Fish Haul is warranted, based on the currently available data. The 110-123 block should be extended to the north (into the area of greatest density based on the Auger Test Survey). These data will continue to assist in the refinement of our knowledge of Stallings settlement and subsistence. It will particularly be useful to have the data from the 140-142 area to compare with that obtained from the 110-123 and 1982 blocks. Further research in the Stallings component should enable additional structures to be identified and additional radiocarbon samples to be collected.

Fish Haul has demonstrated its ability to contribute data to a variety of significant questions. The larger samples of pottery, lithics, baked clay objects, and subsistence data will enable the studies tentatively outlined in this report to be continued and refined. As was originally emphasized, and amply demonstrated by this work, Fish Haul represents a uniquely well preserved site with demonstrated research potential. No similar site has been identified in the area's literature and no similar work has been conducted at any Stallings site on the South Carolina coast.

The Mitchelville site is likewise unique in South Carolina archaeology. While the site was originally much larger than the Fish Haul tract, it has been largely developed so that only in the "Fish Haul Subdivision" is it still undeveloped and largely unaffected by agriculture and vandalism (during the field work we observed archaeological looting of the site areas to the north and northwest by individuals in vehicles having South Carolina, Georgia, and Ohio license plates). Consequently, our knowledge of Mitchelville archaeology must, of necessity, come from the Fish Haul tract.

Research at Mitchelville should continue to expose the

anomolous structure observed in the 39-40-47-48 block, obtain a more complete sample from the 110-123 structure, and begin to more fully expose the structure found in the test pits. A program of more intensive testing should be directed to the identification and testing of structures between the test pits and the 39-40-47-48 block and the 161-162 structure and the area to the southwest. An effort should be made to obtain permission to explore the structure associated with the standing chimney in one of the outparcels. This structure appears to date from the late nineteenth century and may be related to the late occupation of Mitchelville.

Research at the various Mitchelville structures will enlarge the sample for Artifact Pattern analysis. Upon examination it may be possible to better understand the relationship between the Kitchen and Architectural Groups. It should also be possible to better understand the transition from slavery to freedom by comparing Mitchelville to antebellum slave sites. Mitchelville should also be compared to examples of small agricultural villages typical of the northern states, particularly New England. The significance of jewelry as part of the Afro-American continuum should be examined. Further research should emphasize perceived differences between antebellum free black/slave sites and Mitchelville. Of particular interest should be archaeological evidence which suggests that the freedmen were attempting to distance themselves from the plantation experience, as this may be the key to studying the black sultural transition from slavery to freedom.

Further research should continue to explore status, using not only Miller's ceramic indices, but also other artifact types. Further efforts should be made to distinguish the results of looting or bartering from the possessions acquired through wage labor. The study of status should be enlarged to examine several contemporaneous Mitchelville structures which have received extensive excavation. This approach will assist in the study of community organization and the intrastructural comparison of wealth and status.

While a considerable effort has been expended in the examination of historical documents relating to Hilton Head and Mitchelville, there are avenues which are still unexplored or which deserve further attention. Some sources, such as the Penn School records at the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, have not been examined because of time and funding restrictions. Only the local, period newspapers available at the Library of Congress were examined, although other numbers exist in other repositories and would likely contribute to a better understanding of Mitchelville. Suprisingly little was discovered about the town from an examination of military records, although two and a half days were spent reviewing

the National Archives collections. Finally, little was learned about the postbellum events in the town and it is possible that the vast amount of relatively uncataloged county or state archival documents may provide a more complete view, as might other late nineteenth century newspapers.

The present study should have clearly demonstrated that archaeological and historical investigations must be jointly utilized. In addition, future studies should incorporate the use of an individual trained in informant interviews and folk history to ferret out local sources and information in the rapidly dwindling black community.

The study of Mitchelville provides clear roots for the black community on Hilton Head, linking the abstract "Port Royal Experiment" to the land established by the federal government in 1862 as an experiment in self-government and democracy, and to the actual, physical remains of the village. In spite of "progress" and development, the experiment and its effects on the black community can be better studied nowhere else. It is appropriate to recall the words of Uncle Smart Washington, an ex-slave on St. Helena Island, who, angered by Northern speculators among the Sea Island blacks, said,

[w]e born here; we parents' graves here; we donne oder country; dis here our home. De Nort folks hab home, antee? What a pity dat dey don't love der home like we love we home, for den dey would neber come here to buy all way from we (quoted in Gutman 1976:471).

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