

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Readers will recall that there were five research goals established for the Shoolbred Old Settlement examination at the West Pasture Site (38CH123). These included examination of the time periods represented by the site, documentation of the plantation structures and their placement on the landscape, comparing and contrasting the data recovered from West Pasture with the other plantation settlements on the island, exploration of the foodways represented by the settlements, and finally, a better understand of the plantation economics. Each of these will be briefly examined here.

Temporal Periods

Figure 58 provides an overview of the dates attributed to the Shoolbred Old Settlement (38CH123), the Shoolbred New Settlement (38CH129), and the Stanyarne Plantation (38CH122). In general, the Old Settlement pre-

Stanyarne's ownership. The main settlement, however, is far less securely dated and may have post-dated Stanyarne's involvement with Kiawah.

Regardless, three site areas in the Old Settlement, 1, 4, and 6, evidence occupation that may extend back to the earliest occupation of Kiawah, probably by African American cattle tenders under Raynor and likely under Stanyarne.

Five of the studied loci in the Old Settlement – Areas 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 – indicate that their most intensive occupation occurred between the time of Stanyarne's death and Shoolbred's death. These sites represent the most intensive development of 38CH123 and document the Old Settlement as it was known at the time.

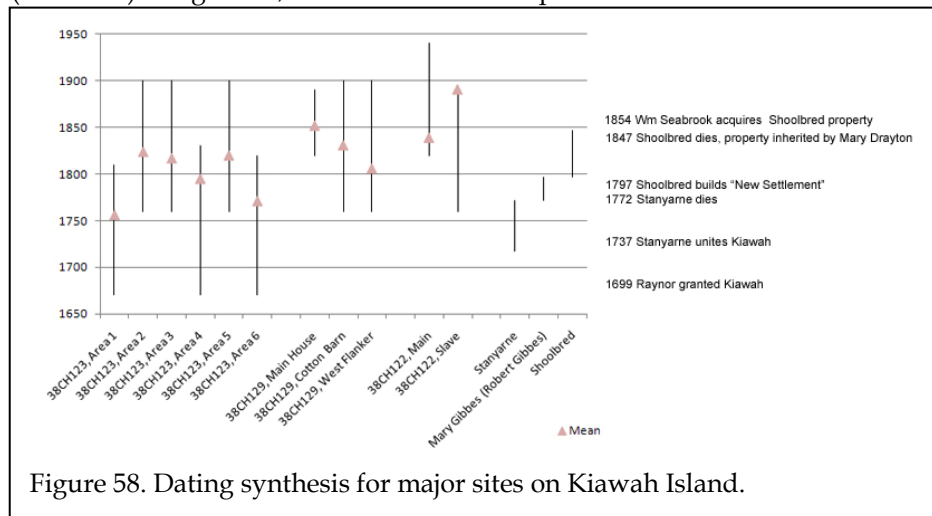


Figure 58. Dating synthesis for major sites on Kiawah Island.

dates the New Settlement. The Stanyarne Plantation has received the least study and its temporal – much less historical – placement is less certain. However, it appears to have had early slave occupation, certainly consistent with

In addition, we note that occupation at many of the Old Settlement areas also begins to decline about the time that Shoolbred weds Mary Gibbs and creates his New Settlement further to the east.

Thus, the settlement on the east bank of Salthouse Creek began during Stanyarne's tenure and

perhaps even earlier, but continued to flourish during the first several decades of Shoolbred's ownership. After his New Settlement on the Kiawah River was completed, the Old

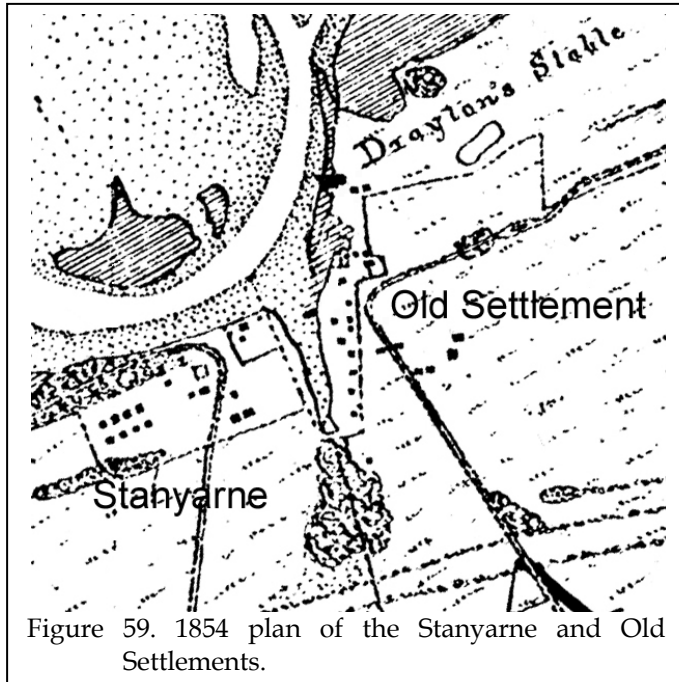


Figure 59. 1854 plan of the Stanyarne and Old Settlements.

Settlement at Salthouse Creek began to wane – although activities certainly continued for at least another few decades.

What is not so clear in Figure 58 is the dating of the main house at 38CH122, known as Stanyarne Plantation. Although the work has been limited in this area, we believe that the early Stanyarne settlement has been largely masked by the later occupation activities of Seabrook and Gibbes (Adams 1993:368-369). Regardless, this settlement is known to have been constructed by at least 1772 and it was likely the location where American troops were entertained by Robert Gibbes on Kiawah during the American Revolution.

Although a relatively small portion of the West Pasture site was examined during this research, the investigations have helped resolve the temporal placement of the site. We are able to confirm the very early importance of this site, with evidence of occupation by at least early 1700s. In addition, we found evidence that the site continued in use well into the twentieth century.

Structures and the Plantation Landscape

The research at Old Settlement identified at least six different structures (identified as B-G; Structure A is a partial prehistoric dwelling). They are briefly outlined in Table 70.

The earliest structure, dating to about 1733, was wood frame constructed on brick piers. Another early structure, dating to 1748 and also in Area 1, was constructed using large posts similar to antebellum slave house construction observed on Daufuski's Haig Point Plantation in Beaufort County.

The two well defined wall trench structures, typical of the “mud huts” associated with the eighteenth century, are found in Areas 3 and 4 and date from the last several decades of the eighteenth century.

These structures are similar in size, measuring

Table 74.
Structures Identified at the Old Settlement

Structure	Date	Type	Size	Orientation
Area 1				
Structure B	1748	posts	unknown	N51°E
Structure C	1733	brick piers	unknown	N5°E
Area 3				
Structure D	1793	wall trench	8x10	N2°W
Area 4				
Structure E	1778	wall trench	8x8	N2°W
Area 5				
Structure F	1814	double pen	15x46	N-S
Area 6				
Structure G	1771	brick piers	unknown	N64°W

about 72 square feet. Structure G, from about the same time period, is another frame structure built atop brick piers.

The last structure (F) is a double pen slave dwelling characteristic of the antebellum and exhibiting a mean date of 1814. This structure, measuring about 15 by 46 feet, contained two dwellings, each with about 348 square feet – nearly five times larger than the eighteenth century structures.

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The structural orientations reveal essentially two orientations. Structures C, D, E, and F are all oriented essentially north-south/east-west. These span the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, suggesting that orientations did not change dramatically over time, probably because the structures were tied to relatively stable geographic features – such as the orientation of Salthouse Creek and the road to the east.

Structures B and G are both set at an angle, roughly NE-SW, to the other structures. It is unknown why these structures took a distinctly different orientation, although this arrangement seems to mirror that of the Stanyarne Settlement to the west of Salthouse Creek.

In spite of the number of structures identified, it remains regrettable that not all were fully exposed. It is also regrettable that with all of the maps available showing this settlement it was not possible to do yet more work and attempt to examine all of the structures. Such an effort would have allowed a far more comprehensive statement to be made regarding the structures present in this settlement.

What we can say is that the settlement appears, throughout time, to have been largely used by enslaved African Americans. Structures were built, repaired, and replaced. Different architectural designs were used, based perhaps on skill, needs, or the design of the owner. What is most noticeable, however, is that a variety of architectural designs co-existed on the plantation. This defies the simplistic view of the plantation as a well-planned, cohesive, and consistent landscape.

The existence of several different styles may be nothing more than convenience. On the other hand, Shoolbred, with his strong English ties, may have been impacted by the

1772 declaration that made slavery illegal in England and the 1807 Abolition of Slave Trade Act subsequently enacted by England. In fact, prior to Shoolbred’s death in 1847 England had enacted treaties with virtually every major slaving nation to end the trade.

Shoolbred’s Old Settlement in Context

We hoped that the investigations at 38CH123 would add a dimension to our studies on Kiawah that had otherwise been missing – an understanding of slave lifeways. Research at the Shoolbred New Settlement provided main house, flanker, and cotton barn data. From the Vanderhorst site we were able to develop extensive data on the main house and kitchen, although some minor data was available for slaves. At the Stanyarne settlement we had data from another main settlement. The slave settlement at this location, however, was occupied into the twentieth century and provided little information on colonial or antebellum slave lifeways. Thus, the Shoolbred Old Settlement was our best hope to study Kiawah’s slaves. Fortunately, this goal was met.

Table 50 in this study provides a detailed look at artifact patterns. Figure 60 here

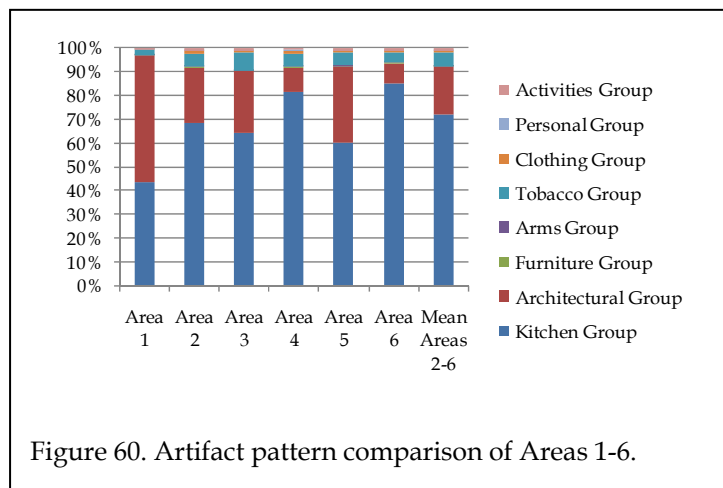


Figure 60. Artifact pattern comparison of Areas 1-6.

shows these patterns graphically. The individual areas reveal considerable variation (and variation beyond the range of the Carolina Slave Pattern, associated with eighteenth century

slave dwellings). Yet when we consider the mean of Areas 2-6 (with Area 1 excluded since it represents a midden, rather than debris from a specific, known structure), we find that the pattern is a close fit to the Carolina Slave Pattern. It appears that while individual areas may represent variations, taken together the site neatly matches our expectations.

What remains curious is that we find nothing matching the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern, which is thought to represent nineteenth century slave assemblages where there are an abundance of architecturally related items resulting from more substantial architecture. It seems reasonable that we would see a match with the remains from Area 5 or 6 where there is substantial architectural evidence. Yet there is no match and even these areas far more closely resemble the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern.

One explanation is that in spite of these patterns working successfully at hundreds of sites, they are fundamentally flawed. Perhaps, however, the problem lies not with the pattern, but rather with the site data. It may be that the dense and prolonged occupation of 38CH123 has resulted in an assemblage that is dominated by the earlier settlements.

Some of these concerns have been indicated in Figure 38, a scatter plot of architecture and kitchen percentages for each of the areas, combined with the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern and the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern. It reveals that Area 1, perhaps representing an overseer or some other anomalous settlement, is clearly distinct.

Examining status we found nothing unexpected. Vessel forms in all areas are remarkably similar. Hollow wares, associated with one-pot meals or stews, dominate all of the collections. In general, inexpensive motifs (plain and annular, for example) are more common than expensive motifs (such as transfer printed or hand painted) in each area and across wares

(or time). Miller's indices are similarly indicative of relatively inexpensive wares throughout the assemblage and over time.

Thus, although the differences between the areas may attract our attention, overall there are far more similarities among the individual structures than there are differences. The Kiawah slaves received hollow ware vessels – bowls primarily – that would have been suitable for one-pot meals. While there is some indication that vessels were discarded off the master's table, in general the motifs were inexpensive. This suggests that Stanyarne, and Shoolbred after him, acquired ceramics in lots for distribution to the slaves on their plantation.

What does stand out is that colono ware pottery, here and at other Kiawah sites, is very uncommon. This is in contrast to many eighteenth century sites (see, for example, Trinkley et al. 1995 for Broomhall Plantation; Trinkley et al. 2003 for the Crowfield slave settlement; or Trinkley et al. 2008 for the Mullet Hall Plantation immediately across the Kiawah River on Johns Island). Perhaps the best explanation is the isolation of Kiawah – making it difficult for African Americans to either import the finished product or acquire the clay thought necessary.

The Old Settlement data provides information on other aspects of slave life, including magic or spiritualism, as well as clothing.

We continue to view a broad range of artifacts as just as likely to represent evidence of religious activities as they are to be simply scavenged trash. In this category we place the few window glass fragments found at structures that surely did not possess windows; the fragments of mica and orange translucent stone; as well as the small handful of brass nails and other brass scraps.

Even in the seemingly “secular” category of clothing these investigations

document a range of beads that are often associated with magical powers.

Foodways

The ethnobotanical analysis revealed no great surprises - corn was present, as were peaches. Both were staples of eighteenth and nineteenth century plantations.

Also present were greens, such as purslane and mustard or rape. Whit (2007:48) notes that spinach and mustard greens both came with the slaves from Africa. There is also evidence that while owners focused on the roots of plants such as turnips, African American slaves would consume the tops or leaves (see, for example, the plantation journal of Thomas B. Chaplin in Rosengarten 1987:519). Purslane has the additional benefit as serving as a thickener.

Such plants, however, are noted not only from historical accounts, but also from a variety of archaeological contexts.

Regardless, the ethnobotanical work continues to demonstrate that the archaeological record can make contributions, however small, to our understanding of African American foodways. The limitations we see and have seen are more the result of limited sampling and examination of contexts that are less than ideal than an indication that plant foods are not represented.

Examining the faunal remains we find that the collection is dominated by cattle, representing 49% of the site's biomass. Pig, in spite of its reputation as a dietary staple, was far less common, accounting for only 9.6% of the collection's biomass. In contrast, deer and raccoon contributed 9.5% of the site's biomass. When rabbit and opossum are added, the contribution of wild animals exceeds that of the pig (but doesn't approach that of cattle). Birds, reptiles, and fish, while present, appear to have been minor dietary contributors.

When this pattern is compared to those suggested by Elizabeth Reitz the closest match is that of urban sites, which reveal a significant dependence on domestic and wild mammals. Reitz's patterns for both rural sites and especially slave sites, with their high dependence on domestic birds and fish, are a very poor match for the Old Settlement.

Of course, as illustrated by Poulos and Hogue in this volume, Reitz's patterns have not been an especially good match for many of the plantation studies conducted in the past decade. While some discrepancies may be the result of different sampling techniques, there may also be considerably more variability in slave foodways than previously thought. This is certainly supported by Table 54 in which Poulos and Hogue compare the different areas within the Shoolbred Old Settlement. It may be time to revisit these dietary patterns and see if revisions are appropriate.

If the specific cuts of meat present are examined for each of the areas, we see that better cuts of beef were identified with only Areas 2 and 5. Area 5 produced a double pen structure and the better cuts here may be associated with an improved antebellum diet. It may be that improvements in housing were associated with improvements in diet. Area 2, on the other hand, is anomalous. There were no architectural features here and the materials recovered are from a dense midden reflecting plantation trash. Thus, it is impossible to associate this particular area with any group or condition.

Plantation Economics

Perhaps our most optimistic goal was to gain more knowledge concerning the plantation's economics through time. This goal was largely generated by the unfortunate dearth of information concerning the activities of either Stanyarne or Shoolbred, since neither has produced journals or account books specific to the Kiawah property.

Little in this area has been generated by our research. It may have been unreasonable to expect a predominately slave occupied settlement to provide definitive economic indicators.

The very early indications for occupation at 38CH123 do support that the earliest historic occupants on the island *may* have been cattle tenders, but we are able to provide no definitive evidence. We were also unsuccessful in recovering artifacts that might definitively be associated with indigo, rice, or cotton.

However, we see no evidence of contraction, no decline in the quality of faunal resources, or reduction in the quality of ceramics that might indicate any significant economic downturn during the American Revolution or as ownership shifted from the Stanyarne family to Shoolbred. In contrast to the continual decline of the Vanderhorst enterprises (Trinkley 1993b), the Shoolbred plantation seems - at least based on these data - to have been relatively stable.