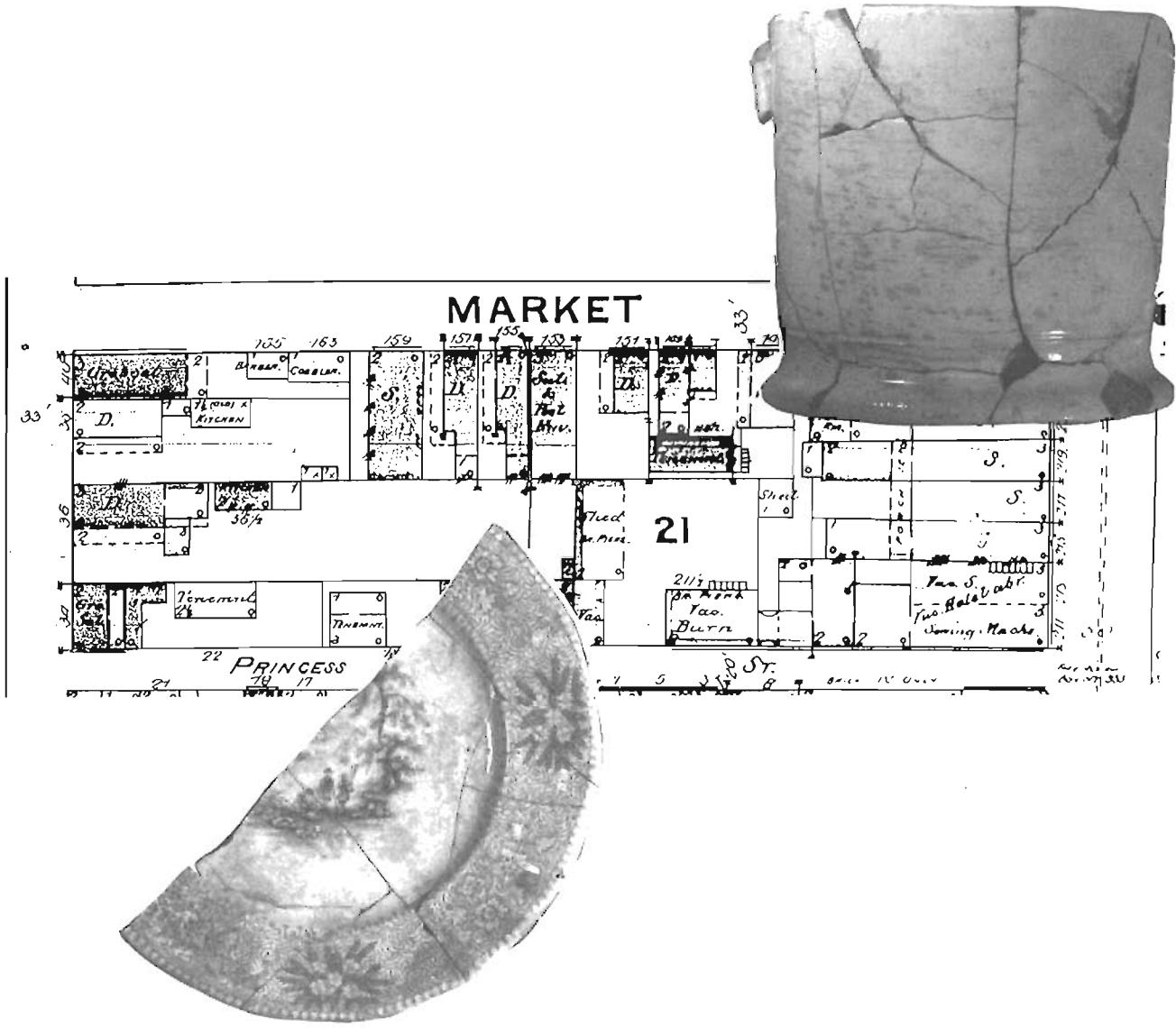


THE OTHER SIDE OF CHARLESTON: ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE SAKS FIFTH AVENUE LOCATION, CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA



CHICORA FOUNDATION RESEARCH SERIES 45

**THE OTHER SIDE OF CHARLESTON:
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE SAKS FIFTH AVENUE
LOCATION, CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA**

Research Series 45

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Charleston sums up this tragedy of the South. It is a lovely city, warm and graceful; but over it hangs a pall of obsession, distorting thoughts and perverting motives, turning almost every conversation into a rude clash of prejudices.

-- James Morris

ABSTRACT

This study provides the results of an archaeological and historical survey of the block in Charleston, South Carolina proposed for the construction of the new Saks Fifth Avenue department store. The historical research and field investigations were conducted during late December 1994, immediately prior to the closing on the site and the anticipated construction start date — necessitating a very tight investigative schedule.

The study area — bounded to the east by King Street, to the south by Princess Street, to the west by Archdale Street, and to the north by Market Street — was for much of its history in the heart of Charleston's Fourth Ward. The area began developing during the second quarter of the eighteenth century and by the turn of the century the lot was intensively occupied, with the building pattern interrupted only by Charleston's fire of 1838.

By the late antebellum period the King Street frontage was characterized by a mix of commercial and domestic activities — stores with second and third floor domestic quarters, as well as the Victoria Hotel on the northwestern corner of King and Princess streets. On Archdale Street there was a mix of neighborhood groceries and middle class residences. Market and Princess streets to the north and south began as rather mixed neighborhoods, including both whites and free persons of color.

Perhaps as early as the late antebellum, although certainly by the postbellum and continuing into the twentieth century, the project area had fallen into disrepute. It was a haven for saloons, pool halls, gambling, and prostitution — the other side of Charleston.

Archaeological survey revealed that although portions of the block have been damaged

by modern construction, and by recent environment remediation projects, there are areas of deep, and intact, nineteenth century deposits. It is likely that these deposits have the potential to help us better understand the changing character of Charleston and especially how the lower socioeconomic classes lived during much of the city's history. As a consequence, the site, defined as the study block, is eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Sites.

In consultation with the S.C. State Historic Preservation Officer a data recovery program was developed to very briefly explore five specific site areas — one associated with a standing structure used as a saloon and grocery throughout its history, two associated with free persons of color, one associated with a middle income white family, and a fifth associated with the rear alleyway of a businessman's hotel during the nineteenth century. While the data recovery included the excavation of only a single 5-foot unit in each of these areas, the information recovered helps to better understand a side of Charleston which has received relatively little investigation.

The study may also help emphasize the importance of focusing on survey and data recovery efforts early in the project planning stage. Otherwise it will be almost impossible to undertake the type of research necessary to appropriately address the wide range of questions unique to Charleston's urban setting.

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INTRODUCTION

Development of the Project

On December 6, 1994 Chicora Foundation was requested by Mr. John C. Darby of The Beach Company to prepare a technical and budgetary proposal for an archaeological survey of the block in Charleston bounded by King, Princess, Archdale, and Market streets. Earlier that week The Beach Company, which was working to develop the site for a Saks Fifth Avenue department store and associated parking garage, was notified by the City of Charleston that an archaeological study of the property would be required. The project is proposed to be assisted under Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Title I funds (Urban Development Action Grant funds). Title I of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, as amended, authorizes a procedure under which applicants for assistance assume the environmental review and decision making responsibilities—including requirements to comply with the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA) and the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). In assuming these responsibilities, the City of Charleston initiated consultation with the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) and a Memorandum of Agreement was developed to cover archaeological investigations on the project block.

This work, which incorporates one of the last HUD UDAG projects active in the county, is in many respects the culmination of Charleston's efforts, beginning in early 1976 with the formation of the Downtown Council, to revitalize the Central Business District. Eventually the Charleston Commercial Revitalization Program was developed and, in 1978 the City was awarded a \$4.15 million grant from HUD for the acquisition, relocation, and demolition activities associated with the Charleston Convention Center, also known as Omni Center. The current project, as we understand it, will involve the demolition of a

modern, but unoccupied, bank building fronting King Street and sitting on the east half of the block; the construction of a new 30,000 square foot retail department store on the eastern half of the block for Saks Fifth Avenue; the construction of a 462 car parking garage on the western half of the lot; and the rehabilitation of an existing antebellum brick, three story building on the northeastern corner of Archdale and Market streets. The current project will take vacant land and an underutilized building and will further the development incentives begun with the Omni project — expanding the downtown development district (currently centered on lower King, Archdale, Meeting, and Market) and encouraging additional major new development.

As previously mentioned, the project area incorporates the block bounded to the north by Market Street, to the east by King Street, to the south by Princess Street, to the west by Archdale Street, in the Central Business District of Charleston, South Carolina (Figures 1 and 2). The generalized existing land use is a mix of commercial activities, primarily to the east, and housing, primarily to the west. To the south is an area of office and institutional land use.

A proposal for an archaeological survey, dated December 7, 1994, was prepared by Chicora Foundation and submitted to The Beach Company and the City of Charleston for consideration. By late on Friday, December 9, The Beach Company provided a verbal authorization to proceed with the study (which was confirmed by a letter dated December 14, 1994). As discussed in greater detail in a following section, this investigation included only historical and archaeological studies, it does not incorporate architectural preservation issues.

Historical research was undertaken by Dr. Michael Trinkley and Ms. Debi Hacker from December 13 through December 17 (for a total of 48 person hours), with an initial site inspection

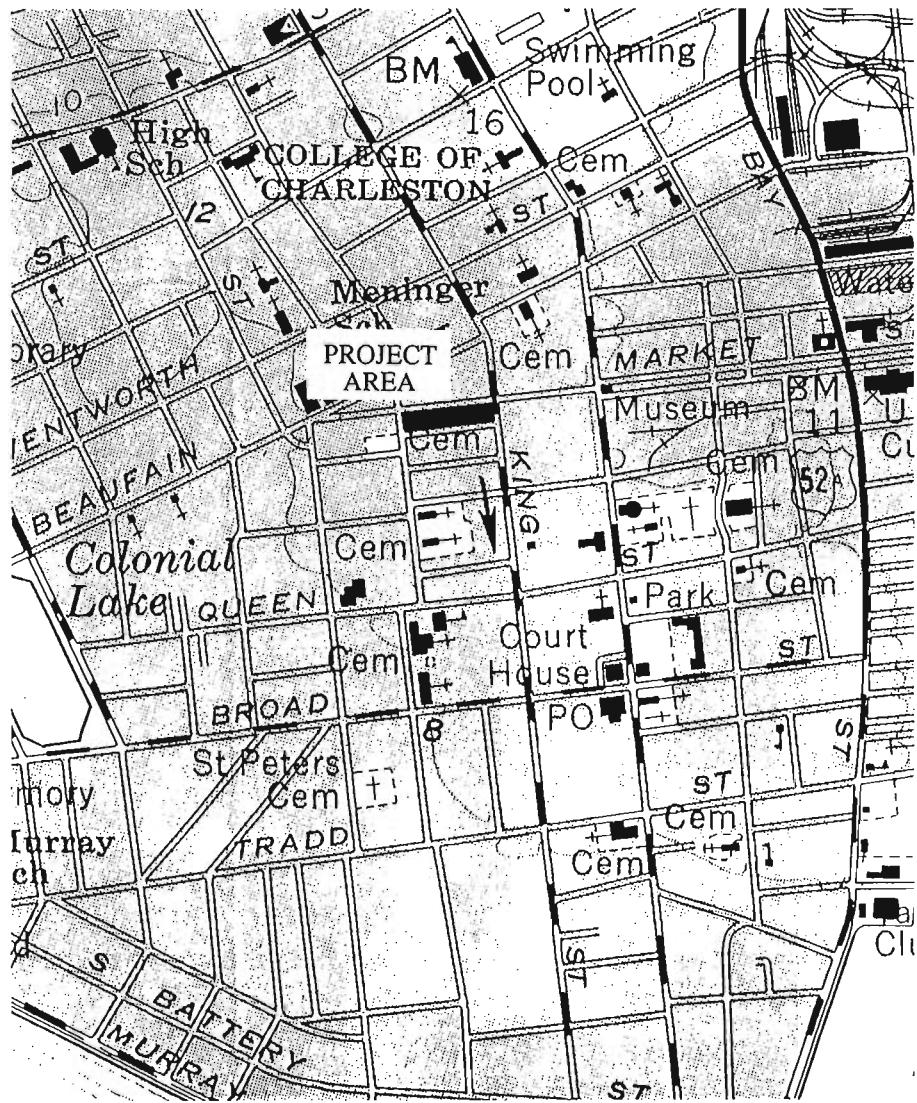
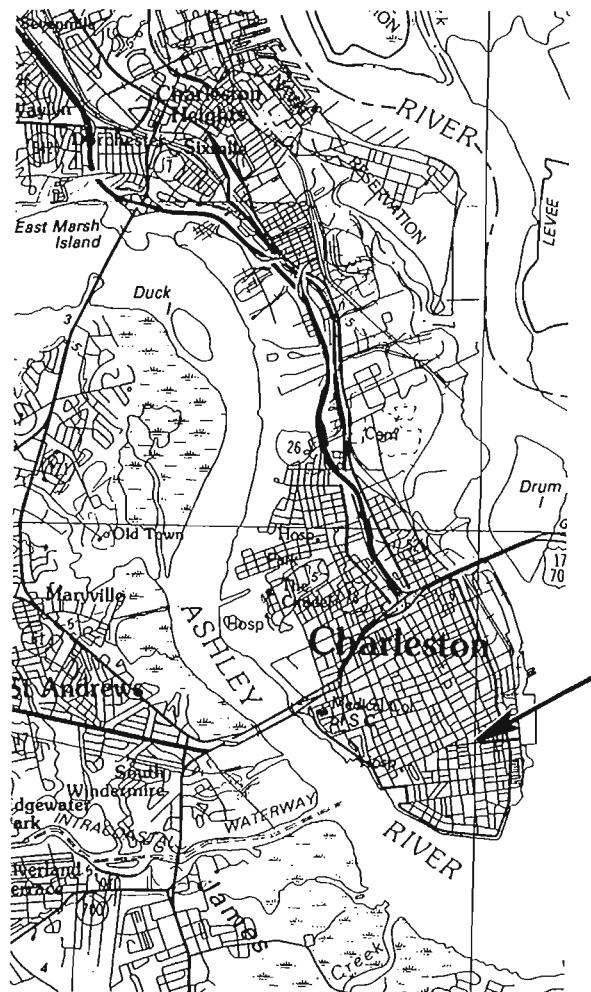


Figure 1. Area location map showing the Charleston vicinity and downtown Charleston.



Figure 2. Site location in downtown Charleston.

(encompassing 2 person hours) conducted on December 15. The research was conducted at the South Carolina Historical Society, the Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance, the Charleston County Public Library, the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, and the South Caroliniana Library. Field investigations, totalling 18 person hours, were conducted by Dr. Michael Trinkley and Ms. Missy Trushel on Monday, December 19, 1994.

Subsequently the identified site was determined by the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. The Beach Company and the City of Charleston negotiated a data recovery plan which met the requirements of the SHPO, but which would not delay the planned construction schedule. Chicora Foundation was requested to prepare a budgetary proposal which was approved on March 1, 1995.

The data recovery excavations, which encompassed 150.5 person hours, were conducted between March 6 and March 10, 1995 by a crew of the principal investigator and two additional archaeologists. The analysis of the collections were conducted at Chicora's Columbia labs intermittently during April and May 1995. Conservation treatments are still on-going for some materials.

The proposed undertaking will result in a wide range of construction related activities having the potential to damage or destroy archaeological resources. In fact, environmental assessments conducted in anticipation of the undertaking (specifically the remediation of ground water and soil contamination by degreasers associated with an auto repair garage previously situated on the site) have already damaged the archaeological integrity of approximately 1% of the project area and have destroyed at least one nineteenth century feature — a brick lined cistern or privy. Future impacts are expected to include demolition of the extant bank building, grading of the site, identification of below ground features which might preclude adequate foundation bearings, placement of underground utilities, and construction of the various site features. In addition, it is a sad fact that construction in Charleston encourages individuals

to rob and loot archaeological sites, placing the historical record at additional risk.

Goals and Research Objectives of the Project

The fundamental goals of the project may best be described as descriptive and exploratory, in spite of the exceptional amount of research conducted in downtown Charleston (see Zierden and Calhoun 1984 or Zierden 1986 for an overview), since the project was undertaken to comply with NHPA and the South Carolina Department of Archives and History's *Guidelines and Standards for Archaeological Investigations*.

Evaluation Process

In the simplest of terms, the study was undertaken to determine whether there were significant archaeological resources present in (or under) the project area eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. Recently Townsend et al. (1993) have offered a cohesive approach to evaluating the significance of historic sites. This evaluative processes involves five steps, forming a clearly defined, explicit rationale for either the site's eligibility or lack of eligibility. Briefly, these steps are:

- identification of the site's data sets or categories of archaeological information such as artifacts, subsistence remains, architectural remains, or subsurface features;
- identification of the historic context applicable to the site, providing a framework for the evaluative process;
- identification of the important research questions the site *might* be able to address, given the data sets and the context;
- evaluation of the site's archaeological integrity to ensure that the data sets are sufficiently well preserved to address the research questions; and

- identification of "important" research questions among all of those which might be asked and answered at the site.

Taking each of these steps individually, the first is simply to determine what is present at the site — for example, are features present, what types of artifacts are present, from what period does the site date? This represents the collection of basic, and essential, information concerning the site and the types of research contributions it can offer. Obviously there is no reason to propose research on eighteenth century urban development if only nineteenth century ceramics are present. Nor is it perhaps appropriate to explore questions focused on subsistence, or urban subsistence strategies, if no faunal materials are present. This first step is typically addressed through the survey investigations, often with supporting documentation provided by historic research.

Next, it is important to understand the historic context of the site — what is the history of the project area and of the specific locality? Research questions must be posed with an understanding of this context and the context helps to direct the focus of research. The development of a historic context can be a lengthy process. Fortunately, Martha Zierden and Jeanne Calhoun (1984) offer an exceptional context for researchers which was heavily relied on by this survey and the subsequent data recovery efforts.

Associated with the development of the context is the formation of research questions *applicable to the site, its context, and its data sets*. Zierden and Calhoun noted the importance of well defined research questions years before Townsend's work:

the research topics were formulated to act as a guide for future archaeological investigations in Charleston. The majority of the archaeological projects conducted in the past few years have been, and most likely many of the future projects will be, small in scale. Well formulated research questions

facilitate a meaningful integration of the data from such small projects into a comparative framework. Thus, each individual project can contribute to a synthesis of information on these issues (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:98).

Next it is essential to compare the data sets with the research questions — the information necessary to address the research questions must be present at the site, else posing the question is meaningless in the evaluative process. Focusing on small projects, it may be more appropriate to concentrate on only one or perhaps two research questions and devote the energy necessary to fully explore them, then to propose a range of questions which can be only superficially explored with the data sets or resources available.

Finally, Townsend et al. recognize that not all research questions are of equal importance and that only those of transcending value should be considered in the evaluation of National Register eligibility. Of all the steps this may be the most difficult to address. Zierden and others in urban archaeology have provided an excellent review of pertinent research questions, so the process is perhaps less difficult than imagined. Nevertheless, some of the research questions proposed may seem pedestrian. Our society has viewed history as great events happening to great individuals. Many view architectural significance with the same jaundiced eye — significance being equated with white columns and famous architects. Curiously, we know much less about the common man — and vernacular architecture — than we do about the famous or the high style. Some historians have referred to the common person as the "invisible person." Others have offered some understanding using the concept of the "marginal man." It is consequently important to understand that significance of archaeological research questions is not judged from the perspective of the wealth, or power, or prestige of the historic persons involved. It is judged from the perspective of what the research can tell us about the past that traditional historical research cannot.

This approach, of course, has been

developed for use documenting eligibility of sites actually being nominated to the National Register of Historic Places where the evaluation process must stand alone, with relatively little reference to other documentation where only, typically, one discrete site is being considered. In the case of survey evaluations, and especially in the urban setting where the definition of a "site" is more difficult (as discussed below), some modifications of the approach seem reasonable, if not actually essential. Regardless, the approach advocated by Townsend et al. encourages researchers to carefully consider, and justify, their recommendations regarding National Register eligibility.

In the current project the data sets of the project area were identified using a combination of land use history research and traditional archaeological survey techniques. An overview historic context was provided by Zierden and Calhoun (1984) and supplements by site specific historic research. The research questions proposed by Zierden and Calhoun (1984) in their archaeological preservation plan for Charleston were adapted for use by this study. These research questions were evaluated in light of the archaeological survey and the data sets identified, or thought likely to be present, at the project site. Finally, an effort was made to cull the research questions, focusing on those thought to offer the greatest potential for substantive contributions to our understanding of Charleston's rich history.

Sites and Disturbance in Urban Archaeology

One of the "problems" encountered in urban archaeology is that the definition of a "site" is more difficult. Traditionally, archaeologists have defined a site (in the broadest terms) as anyplace that humans have left some evidence of their activity.¹ Sites may then include anything from a temporary camp where an arrowhead was

¹ Sites may also be defined from a compliance, or administrative perspective. For example, Marion Smith, director of the Florida Site File, has recently proposed that a site must meet at least one of the following requirements: "at least one artifact is diagnostic [or] at least three nondiagnostic artifacts fit within a circle of 30 meters diameter, regardless of depth."

sharpened to a city. The difference, at least at one level, is one of scale, although sites become even more complex when they are viewed diachronically (i.e., through time) rather than synchronically (that is, frozen in time). Zierden, and many of her colleagues in urban archaeology, view the entire city as their site — a very convincing approach since it is impossible to provide persuasive and defensible boundaries for human activity within the city. From an administrative approach, however, it is difficult to discuss National Register eligibility without having a site with specific geographical boundaries. Administratively, it does little good to say that the City of Charleston is an archaeological site and that it is eligible without also determining whether there are remains on the survey tract worthy of additional study.² While the archaeological site within the urban city may be defined on some arbitrary basis, such as the boundaries of a city block, research shows us that block shapes and sizes change. Further, artifacts do not stop conveniently at the edge of property lines or at the curb to the street, so boundaries based on this approach would twist and contort reality to fit an administrative device.

Another equally unique "problem" is the nature of archaeological deposits in the urban setting. Zierden and Calhoun observe that:

Urban archaeology poses its own particular set of problems and advantages, in terms of methodology and research orientation. Unlike the surrounding countryside, the city is the scene of major and numerous land alterations. Because of this, the archaeological record is often deep and well preserved, but the earlier deposits are often disturbed by, and mixed with, subsequent activities and deposits

² Archaeological remains are not homogeneous at archaeological sites, no matter how they are defined. Human activities tend to cluster in certain areas. While some activities leave more evidence than others, within virtually all sites the distribution of artifacts and features is patterned.

(Zierden and Calhoun 1984:14).

A somewhat more detailed analysis of this issue is offered by Nicholas Honerkamp and his colleagues from the investigation of the Telfair Site in downtown Savannah, Georgia:

After more than 50 years of searching for the elusive "layer cake" site, it might be expected that Southeastern prehistoric and historical archaeologists would have abandoned this hoary fixation and instead concentrated on developing methodologies appropriate to real sites. . . . What "disturbed" actually means is "not the time period I wanted" or "not in the condition I expect and desire." As Salwen (1979) has pointed out, what human activity does not "disturb" the locale in which it occurs? . . . If disorganized evidence of former occupations, including non-target occupations, is present at a site, it can be of interest and value to archaeologists — provided the site is not first dismissed as "hopelessly disturbed" (Honerkamp et al. 1983:9-10).

The point is that the "reality of the city" is such that "disturbances" are part of the archaeological record. Buildings are built, fires occur, structures are razed, others simply decay, streets change location — and all the while archaeological evidence is accumulated, mixed, sometimes destroyed, sometimes partially preserved. If we use "integrity" in the same sense as it is applied to rural sites to judge the condition of urban sites, none will pass muster — they all will be found to be "disturbed." But in many cases it is this disturbance which can help us to understand the growth and evolution of the city.

Research Questions

Zierden and Calhoun (1984:99-113) have suggested a series of eight research questions for urban archaeology in Charleston. While not all of

these are appropriate for the project area, it is important to briefly outline the range of issues, focusing in on those of particular importance to this study.

Site Function. Zierden notes that many of Charleston's structures served a dual function as residences and businesses. As a response to Charleston's commercial system and geographic restrictions, the commercial core of the city was subject to intensive occupation characterized by long, narrow lots, multi-storied buildings, and a dual residential-commercial function (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:99). This was certainly the case of the King Street frontage for the study tract where a series of seven three story brick buildings were present during the nineteenth century. While it has been possible to detect craft activities through the artifact record, the commercial retail trade results in lateral transfer of goods and it has been very difficult to distinguish this activity in the urban archaeological record. Zierden and Calhoun note, however, that commercially related materials may be present under very specific conditions, such as the destruction of a structure by fire or discard associated with property transfers. Otherwise, discard (deliberate or loss) at dual function sites will resemble a domestic pattern.

Zierden and Calhoun recommend research to delineate site function through (1) the recognition of site formation process and (2) artifact patterning. Artifact studies may more productively involve the frequency relationship of specific artifact types or examination of individual artifact types, rather than a preoccupation with artifact groups. They recommend that "continued excavations within Charleston's commercial area should provide the data necessary to continue this study" (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:100).

Status Variability. Both historical archaeology in general, and Charleston's urban archaeology in specific, has focused on the delineation of socioeconomic status, using the documentary record as a control. Status may be reflected in the settlement pattern, housing type, material items, and the diet of the household. Zierden and Calhoun propose a three tiered socio-political ladder. At the top rung are the aristocracy — wealthy planters and merchants — who

dominated Charleston society, politics, and the economic affairs of the colony. They note that in the nineteenth century the wholesale merchant class declined in importance and social standing, likely as the result of the lingering distrust brought on by the American Revolution toward the merchant class as well as an inward preoccupation. On the middle rung were Charleston's primarily white middle class of retail merchants and artisans. At the lowest rung were the manual laborers, both skilled and unskilled. Although the overwhelming majority of this class consisted of African American slaves, there was an underclass of poor whites.

Zierden and her colleagues note that these different groups lived in different parts of Charleston. It is noted that while it is almost impossible to equate specific site assemblages with specific site residents, status can be recognized in the archaeological record when documentary sources are used as controls (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:101). Status indicators have also been found in the diet, clothing, and personal items. They recommend that Charleston "provides an excellent data base for examining [social stratification], using the documentary evidence as a control" (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:102).

Urban Subsistence Strategy. Food remains in the urban archaeological site are useful in the study of cultural conservatism, adaptation to the local environment, ethnicity, and social variability. Faunal studies have found a potentially strong dichotomy between rural and urban food sources, with the urban setting precluding the use of many wild species, and focusing attention on beef (with surprising little attention on pork and caprines).

Zierden and Calhoun (1984:103) recommend that the Charleston urban sites be examined for information on urban marketing and processing procedures (such as butchering practices and meat distribution systems). They also note that "an archaeological examination of historic subsistence strategies can make a significant contribution to an examination of the cultural processes affecting the development of Charleston," and urge studies explore rear lot areas — where trash such as food bones are most likely to be recovered — as well as exploration of specialized

features, such as privies.

Site Formation Processes. Obviously if we are to successfully interpret the evidence of human activity at urban sites it is essential that we be able to understand the cultural and natural processes responsible for the formation of the archaeological record. This research question focuses on the previous discussion of "disturbances" in the urban archaeological record. But it is more than simply of methodological interest. Portions of Charleston were created on "made land," consisting of deposits of trash moved from elsewhere. The frequent fires resulted in large amounts of rubble and demolition materials which were incorporated into the archaeological record. Our understanding of Charleston and our interpretation of individual sites is dependent on our understanding of how the sites were formed (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:104).

Urban Slavery. Zierden and Calhoun note that while much work has been recently accomplished to understand the lifeways of the black slave on the rural plantation, there is considerably less information regarding the large proportion of slaves which lived and worked in the city. They note that "the black majority of Charleston offers an excellent data base to study this aspect of Afro-American slavery" (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:105). They note that there are likely differences between the slaves who lived with their masters in well defined slave quarters behind the town house and those who "lived out," on their own. They note that slaves who "lived out" might achieve a considerable degree of social and economic "freedom," at least when compared to other slaves.

Zierden and Calhoun suggest that urban slaves in general will reveal a different archaeological pattern than their rural brothers and sisters: "the material assemblage of urban slave sites is expected to show more variability in all areas of material culture" although the artifact categories most sensitive to social status will be "those containing more personal, highly curated objects, rather than those items used in the more mundane affairs of daily life" (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:106). While not explicitly discussed by Zierden and Calhoun, a consistent problem with

slave assemblages in urban settings is the degree of mixing with their masters, which precludes definitive statements on an assemblage basis.

The Free Black Population. Charleston was always noted for the relatively large number of "free persons of color" living on the fringe of society. Zierden and Calhoun note that "this anomalous group occupied a precarious position in Charleston and sought acceptance by white society by disassociating themselves from their enslaved brethren" (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:106). They note that throughout much of Charleston's history the aristocracy was based on color, not wealth and racial unity allowed artisan, merchant, and planter to joint together in "one great interest." They also note that while wealth could not insulate the free blacks from repressive laws or discriminatory society, it did create clear class lines within the category of "free persons of color."

Zierden and Calhoun observe that, "archaeological research on free blacks in Charleston . . . approaches the questions of status and ethnicity simultaneously, by comparing free blacks with a group of similar status and different ethnic heritage (middle class whites) and which a group of differing social status and similar ethnic heritage (urban slaves)" (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:108). They note the problems inherent in dealing with issues of social status and ethnicity and remark that:

several descriptive, baseline studies will have to be conducted before the present research question can be addressed successfully. A careful, processual examination of the marginal urban free black group is expected to provide information on status and ethnicity in the urban environment (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:108).

Spatial Patterning as a Macro-Adaptive Strategy. Primarily through the examination of newspaper advertisements and other documentary sources, Zierden and Calhoun (1984:109) trace the development of Charleston's spatial patterning. They find that the concentration of merchants, and

some craftsmen, resulted in the development of a commercial core focused on the waterfront, located between Queen and Water streets and on three major east-west thoroughfares — Broad, Tradd, and Elliott streets. The increasing value of land and buildings resulted in the increased multiple use of buildings and an interchangeable character. This lead to the previously discussed tendency for dual function sites, combining business and domestic activities. By the antebellum period they observe an increasing tendency for residential and business districts to become differentiated. Wealthy individuals clustered in the area south of Broad. Although the commercial core remained focused on the waterfront, King Street rapidly gained in importance and the growth of the town shifted from an east-west to north-south orientation.

Zierden and Calhoun propose a model for land use patterning during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries based on these observations:

elements include the subdivision of lots and maximal use of real estate, a dual residential/commercial function of buildings, frontage of the structure directly on the street and extensive reuse of backlot elements as trash repositories (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:111).

They note that other factors affecting the archaeological record — and our interpretation of that record — include multiple land use by different families, rental and subletting of properties, and ownership of large blocks by wealthy merchants.

Rural-Urban Contrasts Among the Upper Class. This last major research area focuses on the ties planters maintained with the city, especially to display their wealth. Charleston was not only a political center, but it was also South Carolina's social center and planters with newly acquired wealth were anxious to establish themselves in the proper society. Zierden and Calhoun observe that the "planter's townhouse . . . is a study in 18th and 19th century conspicuous consumption" (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:112). But this research question focuses not only on the comparison of the

townhouse with the plantation main house, but also on the contrasts in adaption between the city and plantation environments. These may include differences in marketing practices, the availability of municipal services, the use of space for refuse disposal, and (as previously discussed) the need for combining commercial and residential activities.

The Natural Setting

The project block is situated in downtown Charleston, south of Calhoun (previously Boundary) Street, just outside the 1704 walled city but within what was originally conceived of as "The Grand Model." Today it is characterized by mixed commercial buildings and vacant lots on the edge of a residential district. The eastern half of the block bounded by Market, King, Princess, and Archdale streets includes a bank building in an asphalt parking lot, while the western half of the lot is a mixture of dirt and gravel with a few areas of concrete. In the central portion of the lot, along Market Street is a squat, one story concrete block building used for the storage and repair of touring bicycles. The only remaining building of architectural merit is situated on the north east corner of Archdale and Market. Used as a parking lot, the project area is in a constant state of flux — areas are eroded, other areas are excavated for environmental remediation, the homeless congregate in certain areas, and trash (including building rubble, domestic refuse in bags, and other waste) collects in several areas. Clearly its current environmental conditions bear little resemblance to the environment typical of the eighteenth, nineteenth, or even early twentieth centuries.

Physiography, Geology, and Soils

Charleston County is located in the lower Atlantic Coastal Plain of South Carolina and is bounded to east by the Atlantic Ocean and a series of marsh, barrier (such as Sullivans), and sea (such as James) islands (Mathews et al. 1980:133). Elevations in the County range from sea level to about 70 feet above mean sea level (MSL). 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 three with significant freshwater flow are the Santee, forming the northern boundary of the County, the South Edisto, forming 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.

The city of Charleston is situated on a peninsula with the Ashley River to the west, the Cooper River to the east, and (originally) moderately shallow harborage with extensive tidal areas surrounding it on the two river sides. A postbellum publication called *Charleston and its Suburbs* (South Caroliniana Library) notes that, "because Charleston lies low, and seems to rise up out of the waters as one sails up to it, has been called the American Venice." This particular environmental setting affected Charleston's history, providing it protection, making it a focus of trade, determining its architectural style, and concentrating its population. In 1700 John Lawson described Charleston as standing "on a Point very convenient for Trade, being seated between two pleasant and navigable Rivers" (Lefler 1967:8), while in the second half of the eighteenth century, William DeBrahm described the port as "extensive" and noted that the "City of Charles Town is in every respect the most convenient and by far the richest City in the Southern District of North America" (DeVorsey 1971:90).

The topography of the peninsula, while heavily altered by over 300 years of occupation, suggests a central ridge, sloping toward the bordering tidal creeks and rivers east and west. Elevations ranged from near sea level to about 14 feet above MSL in the higher central areas. Through time the large number of tidal sloughs and creeks which flowed into the Charleston area were filled, largely with urban rubble and refuse, creating vast areas of made land (Figure 3). These efforts included a combination of public and private ventures to create additional developable land in Charleston and continued into the twentieth century as the City continued to expand and grow. The whole of the Market Street area was filled land, and a small portion may have

extended up to King Street at Princess Street.³

The topography of the project area is generally flat. Twentieth century demolition, construction, and landscaping makes the reconstruction of original topography difficult, but it is likely that there was always a gradual slope from southeast to northwest. This tendency is almost lost in the micro-topography provided by Figure 4 of the block, which reveals, on the eastern half, drainage from south to north. At least some of these topographic features, however, are probably man-induced rather than natural. For example, the topography seems to suggest an at-

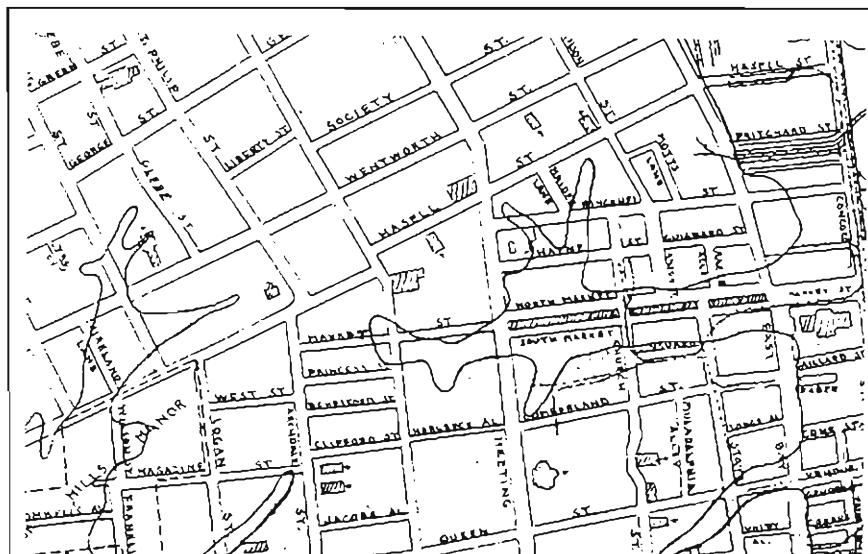


Figure 3. Man-made land in Charleston (from "Original Water Line of Charleston, S.C., Compiled by Alfred O. Halsey, June 1949")

grade building, perhaps a warehouse along Market Street, coupled with a brownstone threshold at street level.

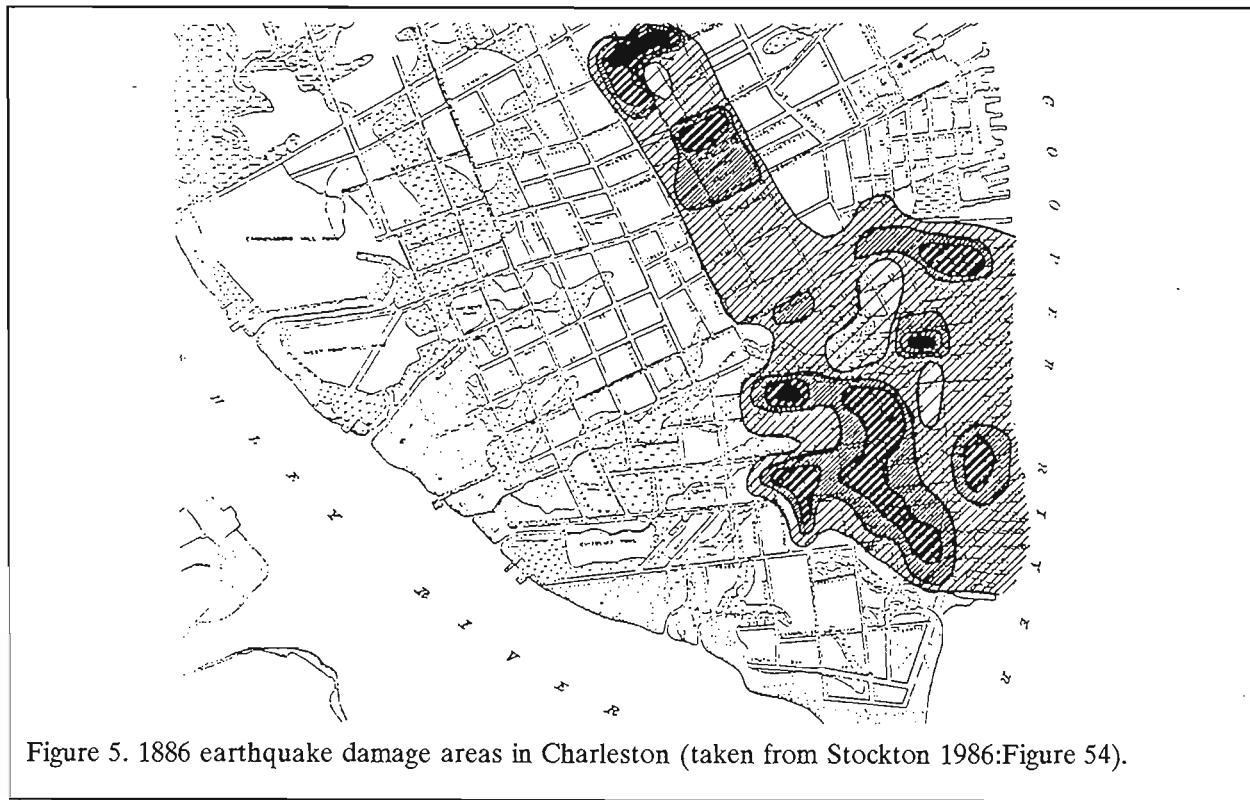
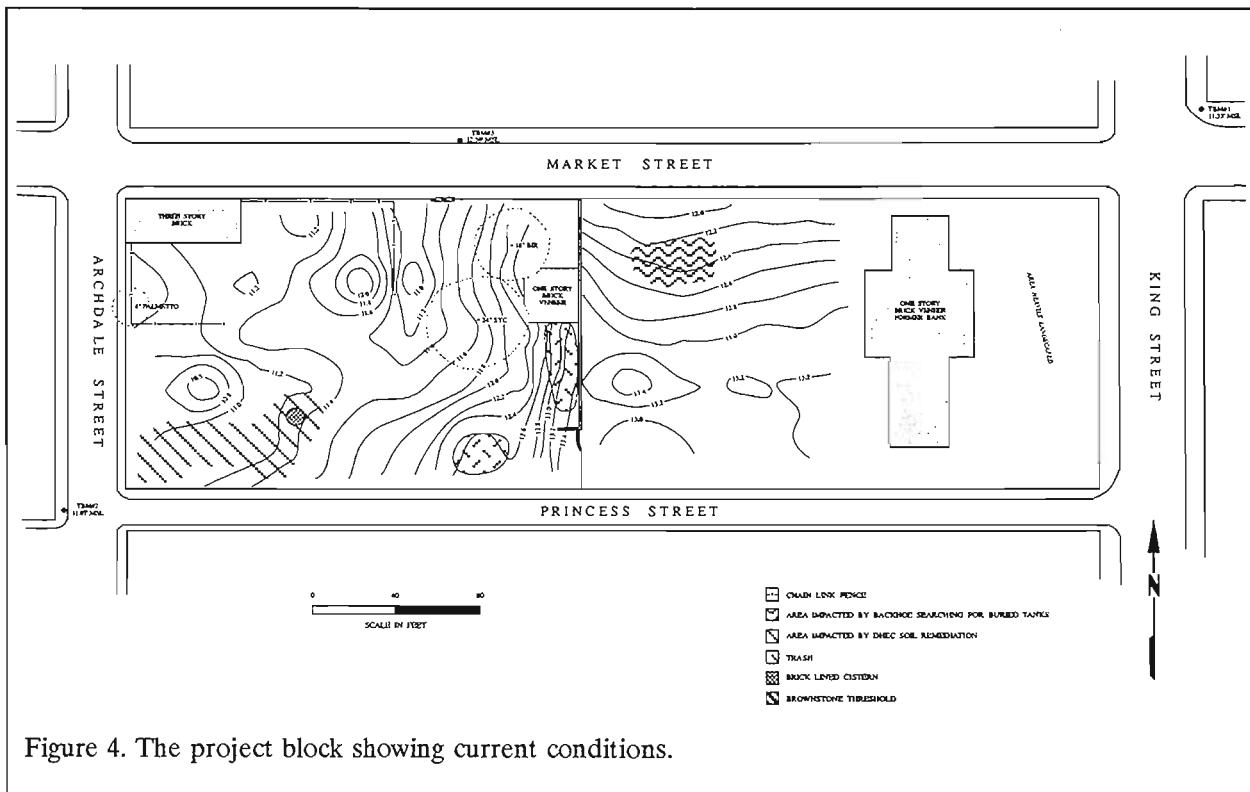
The Atlantic Coastal Plain consists mostly of marine sediments deposited during successive periods of fluctuating sea level and shore line. The majority of the sediments are sands, silts, and clays

³ Reclamation of marsh land in the area of present-day Market Street began before the American Revolution. The resulting made land was donated to the City by the Pinckney family for use as a public market and the construction of the market began about 1800.

deposited on a shallow sloping sea bottom. The soils in this portion of Charleston (underlying a thin veneer of fill material or urban rubble) consist of from 49 to 56 feet of Pleistocene age interbedded sands and clays unconformably overlying the Oligocene age Cooper Marl. The higher elevations of Charleston consist of soils belonging to the Chipley-Lakeland association — mainly moderately well drained to excessively well drained, nearly level to gently sloping sands. Other areas were likely dominated by Charleston Series soils — moderately well drained to somewhat poorly drained loamy fine sands found on level to gently sloping areas typically adjacent to marsh sloughs (Miller 1971). A series of test borings in the project area have found about 2 feet of brick and rubble fill (in locations with sand or clay soils) overlying clayey sand soils to the water table (averaging about 9 to 10.5 feet below the current ground surface) (General Engineering Laboratories 1993).

Period observers of Charleston, and indeed the entire low country, tend to comment on the sandy soils. For example, F.A. Michaux, discussing Charleston at the turn of the century, commented:

the streets of Charleston are extremely wide, but not paved, consequently every time your foot slips from a kind of brick pavement before the doors, you are immersed nearly ankle-deep in sand. The rapid circulation of the carriages . . . continually grinds this moving sand, and pulverizes it in such a manner, that the most gentle wind fills the shops with it, and renders it very disagreeable to foot passengers (Thwaites 1904:3:121-122).



The large areas of made land in Charleston, coupled with the naturally sandy soils, resulted in extensive damage during the earthquake of 1886. Stockton (1986) comments on the extensive damage on Market Street from Meeting to East Bay — an area originally all marsh and creek (Figure 5), although clearly a variety of factors affected the degree of damage. He notes that:

Nearly every store on King Street was damaged to some degree, the top portions of the walls having been thrown into the street The well-built Italianate-style Academy of Music Building (designed 1852 as a dry good store, Edward C. Jones, Architect; remodeled as a theatre ca. 1869, John Henry Devereau, architect) at King and Market Streets survived nearly intact (Stockton 1986:37-38).

Health and Climate

Promotional pamphlets of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century were nearly all equally glowing in their accounts of Carolina. The reputed author of the 1710 *A Letter from South Carolina*, Thomas Nairne, described South Carolina as a vast "champaign Country," complete with a "well stock'd" forest and a sea coast "full of Island, Sounds, Bays, Marshes" (Greene 1989:37). Nairne explains that the "air of Carolina is generally very clear and fine, even when the greatest Rains fall, the Weather does not continue long cloudy, for the sun soon dissipates the Fogs, and restores the Air to its usual Serenity" (Greene 1989:42).

While less well known, John Norris offered similar recommendations in his *Profitable Advice for Rich and Poor*, commenting that:

The greatest Part of the Year round seems very pleasant and delightful, and is generally Healthful to most People that live Temperate. . . . Although the Summer Months seem

burdensome to some People, yet the Conveniency of shady Groves, open Air, Arbours, Summer-Houses, and frequent cool Bathings makes amends sufficiently for the Inconveny (Greene 1989:89).

John Duffy (1952) counters these accounts of Carolina's health. He observes 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 five years of their arrival. Within 10 years of arrival, 52% died or resigned because of health problems. After 15 years in the colonies, the combined death toll and resignations from sickness reaches 68% — two out of every three missionaries. Frank Klingberg (1941:154), using the SPG records, found that in a single four month period over 400 African Americans died of "distemper."

Roy Merrens and George Terry (1989) note that during the early period of Carolina's settlement its climate was "perceived and portrayed as a terrestrial paradise" (Merrens and Terry 1989:534). Often the descriptions are even more glowing than those given by Nairne and Norris quoted earlier. Consistently the climate is portrayed as healthful, the land fertile, the soil inviting, and the native plants and animals all beneficial to English exploitation. It is no wonder that the early colony existed on, in the words of Coclaniis, "activities which included not only mixed agriculture but rudimentary extraction and plunder — the stuff of Marxian primitive accumulation" (Coclaniis 1989:58).

Yet, it is clear that there was a dark side to the Carolina climate. Merrens and Terry describe many of the accounts, noting that no less a notable physician and natural historian as Alexander Garden complained that, "Our long & hot summers enervate & unbrace the whole System" (Merrens and Terry 1989:539). They

observe that in Christ Church Parish along the coast north of Charleston, 86% of all those whose births and deaths are recorded in the parish register, died before the age of twenty.

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

to the planters from Barbados, Jamaica, Antigue, and St. Kitts, it was impossible for white Englishmen to work in the torrid heat — African American slaves were essential (Donnan 1928).

Another aspect of the climate not yet mentioned were the hurricanes which frequented the coast. Hewatt noted that, "hurricanes have also often visited the country, and through such low and flat lands have spread their desolation far and wide" (Hewatt 1971:I:83 [1779]). He describes the August 1728 hurricane which,

"levelled many thousand trees in the maritime parts" (Hewatt 1971:I:317 [1779]), as well as the 1752 storm, which was so fierce that, "almost all the tiled and slated houses were uncovered The fortifications and wharfs

were almost entirely demolished: the provisions in the field, in the maritime parts, were destroyed, and numbers of cattle and hogs perished in the waters" (Hewatt 1971:II:181 [1779]). Concerning this storm, Ramsay quotes one eye witness who remarked that "one foot less in the height of the land, or one foot more in the height of the water" would have inundated every spot of ground in Charleston (Ramsay 1858:41-42).

One hundred sixty nine storms have been documented from 1686 to 1972, or about one every two years (Mathews et al. 1980:56). These storms seemed capricious in occurrence to the early settlers:

in such a case between the dread of pestilence in the city, of common fever in the country, and of an unexpected hurricane on the island, the inhabitants . . . are at the close of every warm season in a painful state of anxiety, not knowing what course to pursue, not what is best to be done (Ramsay 1858, quoted in Calhoun

the causes of malaria:

During the middle of the eighteenth century South Carolinians' 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 cultivation of indigo and rice, as well as the swamp lands — all common to the Charleston area — were recognized as contributing factors. The climate, however, not only affected the health and well-being of the settlers, it also affected 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 Carolinians that slavery was inevitable. Not only was slavery the accepted order

1983:2).

Table 1 lists the major storms of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries which may have affected the Charleston area.

Natural History of the City

The proposed project area contains little vegetation. What does exist, excluding plants introduced to landscape the eastern half of the block, are associated with old lot lines and represent those species which can adapt to the urban environment. They include a palmetto, several sycamores and a birch. Weedy vegetation, including such species as the Southern sandspur, is found around buildings and fence lines. There are no natural areas remaining and there is no evidence of wildlife other than a few birds and probably commensual species such as mice and rats.

Regardless, Charleston is an area of environmental diversity because of its proximity to wetlands and tidal estuaries. The vegetation, prior to the development of the town, was probably dominated by oak-hickory-pine forests (Küchler 1964:111). After 1680, when the colonists moved from Oyster Point to the present site of Charleston, the native landscape changed dramatically. The town, intended to encompass 300 acres, was laid out on a central square plan emulating Thomas Holme's design for Philadelphia and also Robert Newcourt's 1666 plan for the rebuilding of London and the various Ulster towns of 1609-1613 built by the Irish Society. These designs are discussed by Fries (1977), but it should be noted that they are characteristically urban in both population density and non-agricultural orientation. Fries notes that these designs were "in the service of utility and private property in land, not the delight and pleasure in site and ambience" (Fries 1977:98). While little research has been conducted on the colonial landscape of urban Charleston, it is clear that this urban vision had major impacts on the native environment of Charleston.

In 1700 Lawson remarked that Charleston "has very regular and fair streets, in which are good Buildings of Brick and Wood, and since my coming thence, has had great Additions of beautiful, large

Brick-buildings" (Lefler 1967:8). In spite of these favorable comments, it is likely that Charleston's rapid expansion gave rise to problems identified by William Stephens of Savannah, Georgia in the 1740s: "the publick Squares, and most other Parts of the Town . . . [are] filled with an offensive Weed, near as high as a Man's shoulders" (quoted in Tate 1984:307). Wallace comments that Charleston's streets were "cluttered with filth" (Wallace 1951:197). Weir (1983) notes that by the end of the colonial period firewood was becoming very rare and was being transported into Charleston from more distant locales⁴ and "the British, who occupied the city during the Revolution, even cut down the protected trees lining nearby roads" (Weir 1983:44). A more idyllic view is offered by George Rogers:

When spring came, the fragrance of the flowers hovered sweetly in the air; indeed, the smell of flowers was scarcely absent the whole year through. . . . In one of the first issues of the *Gazette* in 1732, Charles Pinckney advertised garden seed from London. By 1730, Mrs. Lamboll had a "handsome flower and kitchen garden upon the English plan" (Rogers 1980:83-84).

Charleston offered these small natural areas — gardens in which "oranges, figs, sugar cane, pomegranates, and the prairie grass of South American, soft as silk in hand" were grown by the wealthy (Thwaites 1905:12:72-73).

But the botany of Charleston was also affected by a number of natural disasters. Most significant during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were the fires (see Dana 1858 and Courtenay 1880 for brief reviews). Most significant in the project area was the fire of April 27, 1838 which destroyed upwards of 1000 buildings, blackening 145 acres of Charleston, and causing \$2-3 million in losses. Such fires remove the native

⁴ F.A. Michaux (Thwaites 1904:3:123) commented that, "wood is extravagantly dear at Charleston; it costs from forty to fifty shillings a cord" in 1805.

plants and allow invasion by "weedy" species as part of natural plant succession (Odum 1971:131, 242).

Thus, during most of Charleston's history the city's biotic environment was largely shaped by the intentional (i.e., garden planning and deforestation) and unintentional (i.e., fires) actions of humans. Both, however, created an unnatural, disturbed environment open to plants typically called "weeds," many of which are stenotrophic and thrive on enriched (or polluted) conditions typical of the urban environment (Odum 1971:113).

Curation

The field notes, photographic materials, and artifacts resulting from Chicora Foundation's survey have been curated at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology under archaeological site number 38CH1562. The archaeological data recovery excavations have been curated by The Charleston Museum as Accession Number 1995.019 and catalog numbers ARL 42125 through ARL 42150. The collections have been cleaned and/or conserved as necessary. All original records and duplicate copies were provided to the curatorial facility on pH neutral, alkaline buffered paper. No photographic materials from the survey were curated since only color prints were taken during the initial walkover survey and these cannot be processed to archival permanence. Photographic materials, including both black and white print negatives and color transparencies, from the data recovery have been curated at The Charleston Museum. Cataloging follows the standard lot provenience systems used by the two repositories.

It is important to explain, if only briefly, our rational for site numbering. Some of our colleagues, such as Martha Zierden at The Charleston Museum, have very convincingly argued that the entire City of Charleston is an archaeological site. Certainly excavations anywhere in the city are likely to reveal archaeological remains. And human activity has occurred virtually everywhere in the city. This approach, however, is not especially useful for administrative — or tracking — purposes. Identifying sites by the name of the particular building or the particular owner

has limitations when the names change, aren't known, or have little significance. Such an approach is particularly difficult at the survey level. Further, a site number is required for both S.C. State Historic Preservation Office review and for accessing and cataloging at the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (the only curatorial facility available for the collections since The Charleston Museum has ceased accepting outside collections).

Yet, in spite of the administrative need for a site number, the boundaries of the site are entirely arbitrary — limited to the north, east, south, and west by streets. In addition, the site includes a large number of lots, which have changed over time, as well as structures, which have also changed through time. In addition, we know that refuse disposal practices have also changed, further complicating the use of discreet site designations.

All of these issues, however, are well known to, and understood by, urban archaeologists. We offer the warnings only for those not familiar with the problems. The site number applied to this project — 38CH1562 — is intended to be used only for administrative purposes.

PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Charleston's Historic Preservation Plan

In 1972, Russel Wright of the consultant team of Feiss, Wright, and Anderson, at the request of Mayor J. Palmer Gaillard, conducted a special study on both sides of King Street from Broad Street north to Calhoun. The purpose was to address the needs of a Chamber of Commerce committee of King Street merchants who desired a building facade study in their area. This was the only study of an entire range of facades in the historic commercial district since the East Broad Street revitalization undertaken in 1968.

The King Street study influenced the ratings of the 1974 Charleston Historic Preservation Plan prepared for the City and the S.C. Department of Archives and History. This larger study included an inventory of some 2,500 buildings considered to be of architectural merit. Properties considered to possess architectural or visual significance were rated and placed into one of four categories: Group 1: Exceptional; Group 2: Excellent; Group 3: Significant; and Group 4: Contributory. This last category including buildings of architectural value without which the character of those buildings rated in Groups 1 through 3 would be lessened. The Group 4 buildings were recommended to be preserved and retained.

Two buildings in the study block were placed in Group 4 — the three story brick commercial building on the southeast corner of Archdale and Princess (34 Archdale Street) and the three story brick commercial building on the northeast corner of Archdale and Market (40 Archdale Street) (Figure 6).

Subsequent to the 1974 historic inventory and the 1975 expansion of the Old and Historic District, a Commercial Revitalization Plan was prepared for the city that further delineated "design districts" within the Central Business

District (based on land use, historic architectural design, and functional relationships between buildings and infrastructures).¹ The study tract is within the Charleston National Historical Landmark District, although the S.C. Department of Archives and History has no complete inventory of the various contributory properties (Dr. Tracy Powers, personal communication 1994).

There is relatively limited documentation regarding the standing architecture on the block during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Some of the best information comes from a series of "Do You Know Your Charleston?" columns published by the *Charleston News and Courier*. For example, a November 7, 1968 article, "City May Lose Antebellum Hotel," reviewed the long history of the Victoria Hotel, situated on the northwest corner of King and Princess streets. Opened in 1840 by Charles P. Frazer, the hotel had a long history, its name changing through time from Victoria, to Victoria Range, to Windsor Hotel, to the New Pavillion to the New Atlantic Hotel, to the Killingsworth Hotel, and in the 1930s to The Commercial House. It was subsequently called The Palmetto and then The Riviera, before it was again called the Victoria. The article remarks that:

On the King Street frontage, at second story level, is a cast iron balcony of good design stretching full across the hotel, supported by 12 cast iron brackets. Recessed in the parapet are also ornate cast iron pieces lining front and south side. Now missing from the sidewalk, are two iron lamp posts

¹ Although somewhat dated, additional general information concerning Charleston's historic preservation efforts may be obtained from the Environmental Impact Statement prepared by the City of Charleston for the nearby Charleston Center project in 1979.

which were removed a number of years ago and were probably the last of King Street's old lamps remaining from the 19th century (Thomas 1968).

The news article offered a premonition of its future, noting that its current owner had reported, "that one businessman has offered to buy the property for parking if the building is demolished. A house wrecker has offered to pull down the building for the value of the material in it." The building, along the rest of the commercial structures fronting on King Street, several of which were reported to have architectural merit by Miriam B. Wilson (1946), were eventually demolished.

The streetscape along Archdale fared little better. A February 11, 1957 article in the *News and Courier* reported that 36 Archdale was "in imminent danger of being demolished" (Leland 1957b). Described as a "tall three story single house, of stucco over brick, with quoined corners, a slate-covered dormer and charming tile roof," it was reported to have been built ca. 1797-8 by Benjamin Harvey, a Charleston bricklayer. Situated on lot 157 of the Grand Model the structure was sold in 1800 for £2,000. The building apparently escaped the fire of 1838 and was owned by a Mr. Hogan in the 1890s. The article goes on to describe the interior of the house — complete with mahogany stair rails, marble hearth, Adams side panels, and closets with HL hinges on the doors. Several weeks later a follow-up article reported that a local realtor suggested that the restoration of the house would promote the "cleanup" of the entire block.² The article again mentioned that 36 Archdale attracted the interest, albeit brief, of Samuel Gaillard Stoney, who described it as sturdily build, unpretentious, but well-finished (Leland 1957a). Two and a half months later a brief news account reported that:

The cost of restoring the house at
36 Archdale St. was prohibitive,

said Wilson Rumph, owner. . . . Monday morning is the date set by Herbert Mack, contractor, to begin wrecking operations. Old paneling, carved cornices, charming mantels and Adam side-panels with molded wreaths and flower baskets are among the decorative trim to be torn out. . . . Rumph is mainly concerned with acquiring access to the rear of his auto repair shop . . . he has already begun construction on an addition to his garage, and the demolition of 36 Archdale will provide him not only with a means of access but with additional parking area ("36 Archdale Dwelling to be Razed Monday, [Charleston, South Carolina] *News and Courier*, May 15, 1957").

Less than a year after the loss of 36 Archdale, a brief news article appeared reporting that the three story frame dwelling at 38 Archdale was to be razed by its owner, J.J. Fabian with the space to be used for parking. This structure was built about 1793 by Rebecca Cantley Morris, widow of George R. Morris, a painter and glazier. The house apparently remained in the Morris family until 1826. It was described as "a neat, well built house, [with] simple but good lines, . . . typical of the frame structures of the transition period in architecture between Georgian and Adam." Fabian, however, reported that the building was "just a shell; not worth repair" ("38 Archdale St. House Will Be Demolished Soon, [Charleston, South Carolina] *News and Courier*, April 16, 1958".

In 1978 Robert Stockton wrote an article describing the structure on the southeast corner of Archdale and Market (40 Archdale). He reported that the building was built by John Henry Bulwinkle, shortly after purchasing the lot in 1879. The building previously on the site, owned by a Mrs. Meno Vogelsang, was apparently destroyed by

² This article is particularly important for an excellent photograph of 36-40 Archdale Street, providing a view of the neighborhood and two structures which were subsequently torn down.

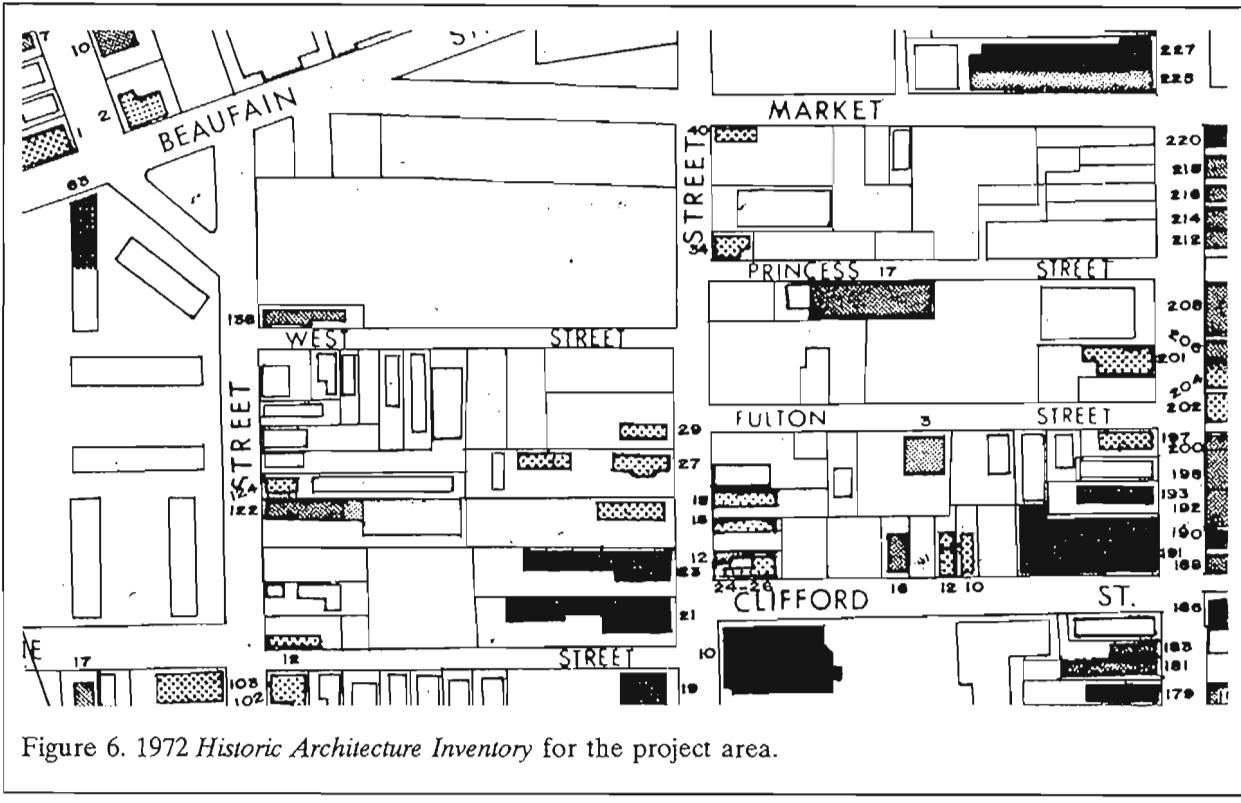


Figure 6. 1972 *Historic Architecture Inventory* for the project area.

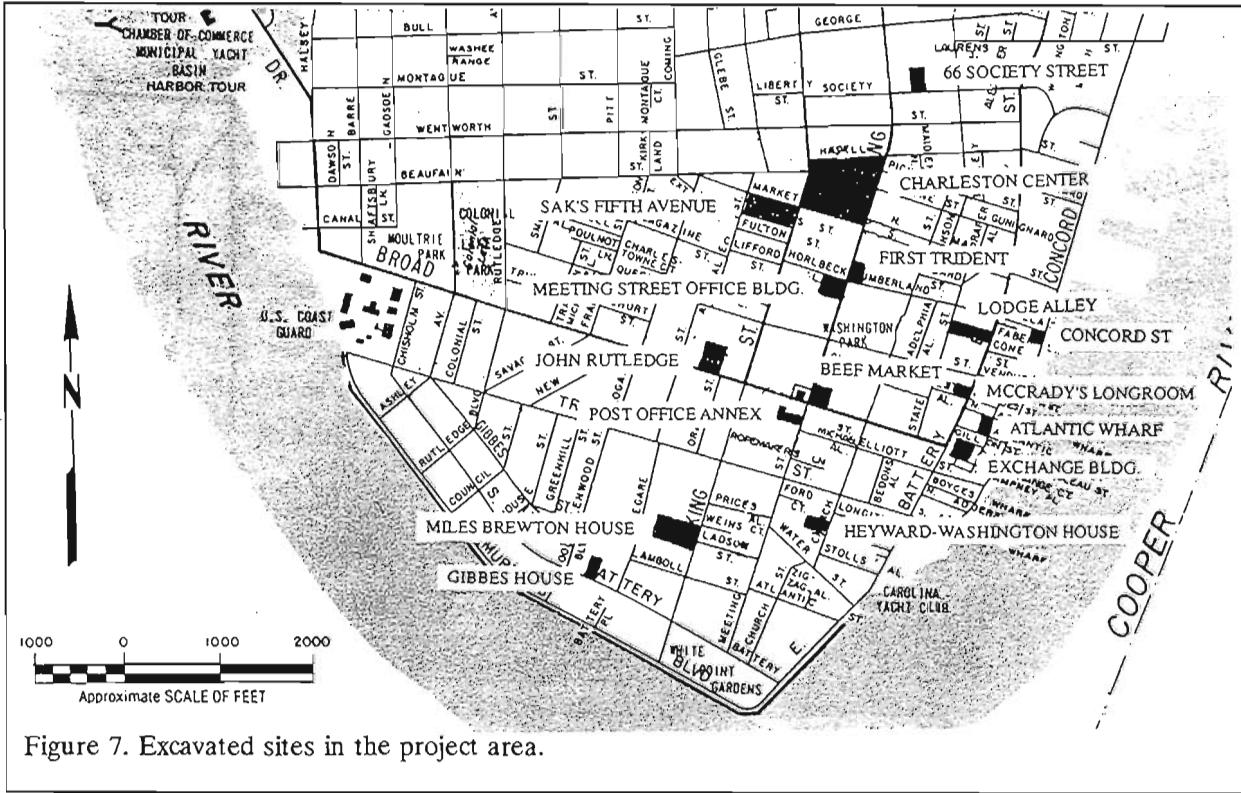


Figure 7. Excavated sites in the project area.

the fire of September 17, 1864.³ Stockton notes that while most of the structure is built of "the rather bright red brick used in Charleston just after the Civil War," a portion of the southern wall contains primarily gray brick and suggests that this may be a remnant from the earlier structure. At first renting it out, Bulwinkle later put in a store and saloon at the location, perhaps continuing to rent the upper floors to a tenant (Stockton 1978).

Archaeological Research

Although no archaeological research has been conducted on the study tract, intensive investigations have been conducted at the nearby site of the Charleston Center, also known as the Omni (bounded to the north by Hasell, to the east by Meeting, to the south by Market, and to the west by King). An initial archaeological survey incorporated into the Environmental Impact Statement for the Charleston Center found a number of potentially significant areas and recommended a "comprehensive program of historical research and archaeological investigation." Twelve areas of special concern were identified in a two block area, ranging from areas where there appeared to be concentrations of features (such as privies) to a number of early eighteenth century building sites to the possible location of seventeenth century fortifications. Only five of these areas were actually within the final development area — an area behind 238-242 King Street where a number of privy vaults had been looted; a possible early eighteenth century building site on King Street, an early eighteenth century building site on Meeting Street, and a possible early eighteenth century building site near the intersection of Market and Meeting streets (all three of which were shown on the 1739 Toms Map); and a depressed area behind 199 Meeting Street which was thought to be a possible filled tidal creek area (*Environmental Impact Statement*,

Charleston Center, Charleston, South Carolina, pages III-100 — III-103; Cosans and Henry 1978).

In 1981 the City of Charleston funded additional historical research, archaeological testing, and very limited archaeological data recovery, with the contract administered by the National Park Service. The work was conducted over a nine week period by the Jeffry L. Brown Institute of Archaeology, University of Tennessee-Chattanooga (Honerkamp et al. 1982). During this period 250 square meters (2640 square feet) were explored, typically by first using a backhoe to remove modern overburden. Following this:

baulks were trimmed and the excavation of the units proceeded by hand, following natural or cultural stratigraphy. Early attempts to screen all provenience fills proved to be too time-consuming, and thereafter only discrete proveniences felt to have particular analytical value were dry or wet screened through one-quarter inch mesh screening. In Phase 1 [the initial six week project period], all units were hand cleared down to sterile soil where possible. Deep features, such as wells, were cleared down only to a point slightly below standing ground water. Deeper controlled excavation was not attempted during Phase 1 due to the highly fluid nature of the matrix soils below the water table and general time and cost constraints. In Phase 2 [a subsequent 3 week extension of the contract], however, a well point drainage system was employed for controlled hand excavation below the local ground water table (Honerkamp et al. 1982:41).

The study marks the beginning of modern urban archaeology in Charleston and while the work, in hindsight, was very limited, it provided one of the earliest efforts to explore Charleston's

³ No evidence was encountered that any of the other structures on the block were affected by this fire. Courtenay (1880) fails to identify this area as heavily involved in the fire, which began at the foot of Hasell Street and burned to Tradd Street. Reviewing the secondary sources, however, it is clear that there is some confusion regarding what was burned out by the fire and what was destroyed by shelling.

archaeological resources in a professional, systematic manner. Honerkamp and his colleagues, at the conclusion of the work, noted:

The testing program . . . revealed the presence of intact, interpretable features and deposits from the entire occupation continuum at the site, representing the mid-eighteenth century to the twentieth century. Cartographic and other documentary input permitted the targeting of specific features and occupation areas from the late eighteenth through the early nineteenth century. Recovery of the targeted features or general occupations was highly successful, and indicates that while limited areas have suffered severe impact, particularly due to modern construction activities, by far the larger portion of the project area will contain evidences of site occupation with scientific information potential (Honerkamp et al. 1982:167).

Of particular relevance to the current project, they noted that the "Belk Tract, although cleared of standing architecture in the twentieth century, still contained remains from the entire occupation continuum, and produced test units with some of the highest per unit area artifact and feature densities of the entire block. Further, they found that the presence of standing structures over any particular area, did not necessarily indicate the destruction of earlier features or prior occupation — "the specific degree of effect of late construction on early constructions depends solely on the nature of those constructions, and not merely on their presence or absence" (Honerkamp et al. 1982:167).

They found that mid- and rear-lot areas of individual historical properties tended to contain higher artifact densities than front-lot areas. This was partially the result of cultural, economic, and geographic considerations, and partially the result of street and utility construction more heavily impacting front-lot areas. The mean ceramic dates

generated by the project cluster during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, although the TPQ dates suggested that much of the building activity at the site postdated 1800. The study also explored the nature of Charleston's water supplies in the eighteenth century, examining the formal-functional characteristics of wells and cisterns. The study also explored the ability of South's Artifact Pattern approach to identify site function.

Moving on to recommendations, Honerkamp and his colleagues (1982:169) noted that, "given the economic realities of the construction plans . . . recommendations . . . for further large-scale data recovery efforts are superfluous," indicating that while his work was conducted primarily as testing there seems to have been relatively little interest in pressing forward with data recovery excavations. They note that, "we can offer recommendations for the monitoring and salvage activities called for in the MOA for this project" (Honerkamp et al. 1982:169, 171). They suggest concentrating monitoring efforts on the northern half of the block, where very high artifact and feature densities were identified. They suggest that additional documentary research be conducted at the same time. And they indicate that the area adjacent to Market Street should also be carefully monitored.

Following the work by Honerkamp's team, The Charleston Museum conducted extensive monitoring and salvage work at the site in 1981 under the direction of Elaine Herold. A number of features were examined and the results of Herold's work are summarized and discussed by Zierden and Hacker (1987).

A series of financial and legal complications delayed the next phase of the Charleston Center project until 1984, at which time Martha Zierden with The Charleston Museum was awarded a contract to perform monitoring of structural demolition and grading — conducted during 1985. She notes that while only "spot grading" was anticipated, "the number of foundations present and the effort required to remove these resulted in complete grading" of the site (Zierden and Hacker 1987:3). Zierden and Hacker also voice concerns over monitoring probably felt by all professional archaeologists:

By its very nature, monitoring represents a less than satisfactory approach to archaeological research. Sound archaeological study is rooted in carefully controlled excavation, or the ability to take the site apart exactly opposite of how it was put together. Even under the best of circumstances, this degree of control is not possible in a monitoring situation. When a feature is encountered after a bulldozer has exposed it, then the relative stratigraphic situation of the top of the feature is lost, because accompanying and overlying strata have been disturbed or removed (Zierden and Hacker 1987:5).

When features were encountered by the bulldozer, they were "exposed in their entirety prior to excavation. Where it was not possible to excavate the entire feature, a measured sample was obtained. Features were excavated in natural zones or, where these were lacking, arbitrary levels. Elevations were taken at the top and base of each feature . . . and were tied into a known elevation point. . . . Feature numbers were assigned to three classes of proveniences; those already destroyed by bulldozing or too amorphous to clearly define, those exhibiting formal and functional attributes, but containing no excavatable matrix, and clearly definable features containing cultural and biological materials within a clearly bounded soil matrix. While the 1985 excavations were conducted in a controlled manner, making the data comparable to those from other sites, the nature of the site grading made stratigraphic positioning and relations impossible to determine (Zierden and Hacker 1987:8).

While the resulting study offers a number of insights and observations, a few are of particular significance. Zierden and Hacker (1987:110) caution against the sole use of privy features to interpret urban behavior. They found that this class of feature consistently provided a different artifact profile than other features or general excavation — perhaps the result of privies being so

extensively associated with refuse disposal during periods of site abandonment. Otherwise, they found that the data sets present in monitoring closely resembled those encountered by Honerkamp and his colleagues in testing. The record continued to be overwhelmingly domestic, with little indication of the commercial activities present in the project area.

Zierden and Hacker also emphasize the "neighborhood" status of the project block, pointing out the cohesive nature of the inhabitants in terms of ethnicity and socioeconomic status — largely based on using historic documentation as a control. Certainly there is much to recommend the approach of exploring the block as a community, rather than as an aggregate of individual sites. It appears that there was much more binding the residents of the Charleston Center block together than separating them. As part of this study, they observed how the block developed, with structures initially fronting only Meeting and King streets and only later expanding onto the frontage of the newly created streets. Likewise, through time the population pressures caused a gradual encroachment into the interior of the block, with numbers of small outbuildings and features being dispersed across the rear yard. Gradually the small outbuildings were replaced by larger structures. Both of these findings are also clearly evident in the project tract.

The monitoring program also focused on a wide range of urban issues, such as sanitation, water supply, and trash disposal practices. Zierden and Hacker (1987:112) suggest that trash often accumulated in "narrow middens between buildings, as suggested by features 140, 147, 155, and 156."

Of course, Zierden and her colleagues have conducted research at a broad range of other urban sites in Charleston, including McCrady's Longroom, Lodge Alley, Atlantic Wharf, First Trident, the Charleston Beef Market, Concord Street, the Exchange Building, the Meeting Street Office Building, and the Heyward Washington House (see Zierden and Calhoun 1984 for a synthetic statement concerning this work). Since 1984, The Charleston Museum has also investigated the John Rutledge House (Zierden

and Grimes 1989), 66 Society Street (Zierden et al. 1988), President Street (Zierden and Raynor 1988), the Williams Gibbes House (Zierden et al. 1987), the Charleston Visitor's Reception and Transportation Center on Meeting Street (Grimes and Zierden 1988), the Aiken-Rhett site (Zierden et al. 1986), and the Joseph Manigault house (Zierden and Hacker 1986). An exceptional amount of information is consequently available for the area surrounding the block of Market, King, Princess, and Archdale streets (Figure 7).

In a somewhat retrospective look, Zierden and Grimes observe that "a major breakthrough" in urban archaeological research occurred with the excavation of Gibbes and Aiken-Rhett houses:

These sites were less complex, better documented; thus archaeological patterns were less ambiguous. Located in Federal and antebellum period suburbs, respectively, both sites contain the original standing structures and exhibit the original site boundaries. Extensive documentary information is available; they reveal that owner and occupants were one and the same, and both sites were occupied by wealthy families. The data from these two sites were similar in almost every respect, and both the faunal and cultural remains reflected the high status of the occupants (Zierden and Grimes 1989:4).

This paragraph speaks worlds of the problems involved in archaeological research (not necessarily in urban research). A tremendous amount of tentative explorations had to be undertaken before the right sites, able to address the appropriate questions, presented themselves. And while these two sites were certainly crucial, it is unlikely that they would have been so clearly understood, or as well investigated, had it not been for the research opportunities provided by the host of prior sites. Clearly urban research in Charleston has been, and continues to be, a painstaking process of incremental steps, each building upon, revising, or expanding previous research.

Archaeological Preservation Plan **Recommendations For the Project Area**

As previously mentioned, Zierden and Calhoun (1984) have prepared a detailed archaeological preservation plan for the City of Charleston. For the area from Broad Street to Calhoun Street they provide an overview of previous research, a synthesis of historic development, and recommendations for preservation efforts. Sites in this area include McCrady's Longroom, Lodge Alley, the Beef Market, the First Trident Site, the Charleston Center, and the Meeting Street Office Building (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:Figure 29). To this list may now be added the Saks Fifth Avenue location.

They note that this portion of Charleston remained central to the economic activities of the city throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Extensive use, re-use, and subdivision of property took place as property values escalated in reaction to the need for commercial space in this central location. As space ran out, there was a gradual shift northward, such as the expansion of businesses along King Street. Occupation throughout the area was characterized by what we have discussed as "dual-use," that is a commercial establishment on the lower or street level and residential occupation, either by the proprietor or tenants, on the upper floors. Only the new suburban developments to the northeast and northwest, such as Ansonboro or Harleston Village, contained almost exclusively residential occupation.

Zierden and Calhoun remark that:

This area is considered one of the most archaeologically sensitive because it is in this area that construction activity is centered. As Charleston continues to revitalize her "downtown" area, those areas of prior commercial activity will be the most affected. This is underscored by the number of archaeological projects that have already been conducted in this area. . . . As a result of these projects, quite a bit more is known about the archaeological

potential of the area. Intact archaeological deposits usually continue to a depth of about five feet below ground surface, where sterile yellow sand is encountered. This is in contrast to the area below Broad, where deposits are 3.5 feet or less. Although occupation prior to 1700 has been suggested, or at least suspected, for most of the sites studied, closed contexts predating 1720 have yet to be excavated, although both 17th century and prehistoric artifacts have been recovered in small amounts. This suggests that the continuous, intensive occupation of the area may have obliterated intact evidence of early occupations in most areas. Therefore, the area north of Broad may best serve as a data base for the period of Charleston's commercial importance, ca. 1730 — 1840. Because construction is likely to continue to be concentrated in this area in the future, continued archaeological research in this area is essential (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:87, 90).

A HISTORIC SYNOPSIS

An Overview of Charleston History

A number of brief historical overviews for Charleston have been prepared in the past decade — most notably those accompanying the series of urban archaeological reports prepared by The Charleston Museum. In addition, there are today a number of popular accounts of Charleston's history, such as Walter Fraser, Jr. (1989) or Robert Rosen (1982). There are, in addition, no end to the histories of Charleston with more specific focuses, such as George C. Rogers, Jr. (1980) or Kinloch Bull, Jr. (1991). Any of these can be consulted for additional, or more specific, information concerning Charleston. The goal of this brief overview is only to help place the following, more site-specific history, within a context capable of giving it greater meaning.

The English established the first permanent settlement in what is today South Carolina in 1670 on the west bank of the Ashley River. Like other European powers, the English were lured to the "New World" for a variety of reasons, including the acquisition of land and the promotion of agriculture. The Lord Proprietors, who owned the colony until 1719-1720, intended to discover a staple crop, the marketing of which would provide great wealth through the mercantile system.

By 1680 the settlers of Albemarle Point had moved their village across the bay to the tip of the peninsula formed by the Ashley and Cooper rivers. This new settlement at Oyster Point would become modern-day Charleston, while the abandoned site of the first settlement became known as Old Town and was eventually incorporated into a plantation known as Old Town Plantation. The move provided not only a more healthful climate and an area of better defense, but:

the situation of this Town is so

convenient for public Commerce
that it rather seems to be the
design of some skillful Artist than
the accidental position of nature
(Mathews 1954:153).

In December 1671 Lord Ashley sent a commission naming Sir John Yeamans as Governor and instructing that the new town be laid out using a plan or "model" which has become known as the Grand Model. Streets were to be laid out straight, with the widest, 80 feet in width, parallel to the Cooper River. Later called The Bay or East Bay Street, it was actually laid out 60 feet wide. Certain back streets were to be 40 feet in width, such as Church Street, 60 feet in width, such as Meeting Street, and 30 feet in width, such as King Street. City blocks were to be 600 feet to a side (a situation which later resulted in the addition of numerous alleys in order to break-up these large blocks into more useful sizes). An example of the original plan depicts 337 town lots varying in size, but typically rectangular in size and (at least in the early years) about 100 feet in width and 200 feet in depth. Other lots were irregular in shape, since they followed the many creeks and sloughs which had yet to be filled. The "Grand Model" was centered on a square of two acres reserved for public buildings (Figure 8).

Early settlers came from the English West Indies, directly from England and from other colonies. But perhaps more than any others, it was the Barbadian elite who would set the Carolina culture apart from that of the more northern colonies, such as Virginia, and who would also establish the roots of cash monoculture and slavery (Sirmans 1966; Waterhouse 1975).¹ Coclans notes

¹ Historian David Hackett Fischer, exploring what he considers to be the four basic British folkways in North America, also notes that another distinct colonial culture developed on the coast of South

that almost as many Carolina settlers came from the small island of Barbados in the decade of the 1670s as from England herself, causing him to remark that:

Carolina — alone among the English colonies on the mainland of North America — felt the heat of the tropics from the start. Those that wish to understand the torridity of South Carolina's later history, its passion and its zeal, would do well to remember this point (Coclanis 1989:22).

The colony was in constant threat and considerable attention was directed to the defenses. The first fortifications were completed in 1704, enclosing only a portion of the Grand Model extending from Granville's Bastion (at what is today 40 East Bay) north along East Bay to Carteret's Bastion, at the intersection of present-day Meeting and Cumberland streets, then south to Colleton's Bastion, near the present intersection of Meeting and Water streets. From there it continued southeast to Granville's Bastion. Johnson's Ravelin, with the city gate, was located at the intersection of modern Broad and Meeting streets. What was known as the Half Moon Bastion (a portion of which can be seen in basement of the Exchange Building at 122 East Bay Street) stood at present-day East Bay and Broad streets and a moat extended along the west wall, fed by Vanderhorst Creek on the south and an unnamed creek on the

Carolina — created by families from the West Indies, France, and even Virginia. He notes that in 1790 three-quarters of South Carolina's low country population were slaves who came mostly from the Congo basin and the coast of Angola. He observes that, "these groups rapidly developed their own unique customs and institutions, which were closer to the Caribbean colonies than to the Chesapeake" (Fischer 1989:817). He describes the unique Gallah language; the building style which were an amalgamation of Caribbean, French, African, and English elements; and even recounts the exceptional wealth of the Carolina planters. Yet he comments that while this area became a distinct cultural region, "it never developed into a major cultural hearth." At least one reason for this failure was the "particular institution" of slavery which resulted in whites being a minority throughout much of this early period.

north. Stockton (1986:5) notes that the south, west, and north walls were removed for expansion of Charleston after the Yemassee War of 1715-1717. The east wall stood until about 1787 when East Bay Street was widened.

It was during this period that the first wharves began to be created to bridge the low marsh ground and allow access to the deep water channel. As time passed these wharves became wider, more solid, and extended further into the channel. Stockton notes that:

due to silting and infill, the "low water" lots on which the wharves were constructed became made land, extending the eastern shore several hundred feet beyond the "bold landing" or bluff.... Landlocked older portions of the wharves began to function as streets, lined with brick warehouses and paved first with cobblestones and later with granite blocks, but they continued to be called "wharves" (Stockton 1986:5).

Coupled with the creation of defenses and wharves were the earliest efforts to begin filling in the marsh and tidal creeks, creating more land for development. One of the largest areas within the walled city was the swamp at the present intersection of East Bay and Queen streets, which began to receive fill as early as 1706 and which had disappeared by the time of the American Revolution. Nearby Vanderhorst Creek lasted little longer, being largely filled by 1788 and replaced by what was called Water Street. Stockton (1985:5-8) describes the filling of other sections of Charleston coupled with the rapid pre-Revolutionary growth of the City.

As the City gradually outgrew first the walled area and then the Grand Model, a series of suburbs were created — Colleton Square (north of present-day Market Street) was laid out in 1739, Ansonborough (north of Colleton Square) was established in 1745-1746, Rhettisbury was laid out in 1773, Middlesex was subdivided in 1761. North of the Mazyck Lands were Harleston, laid out in

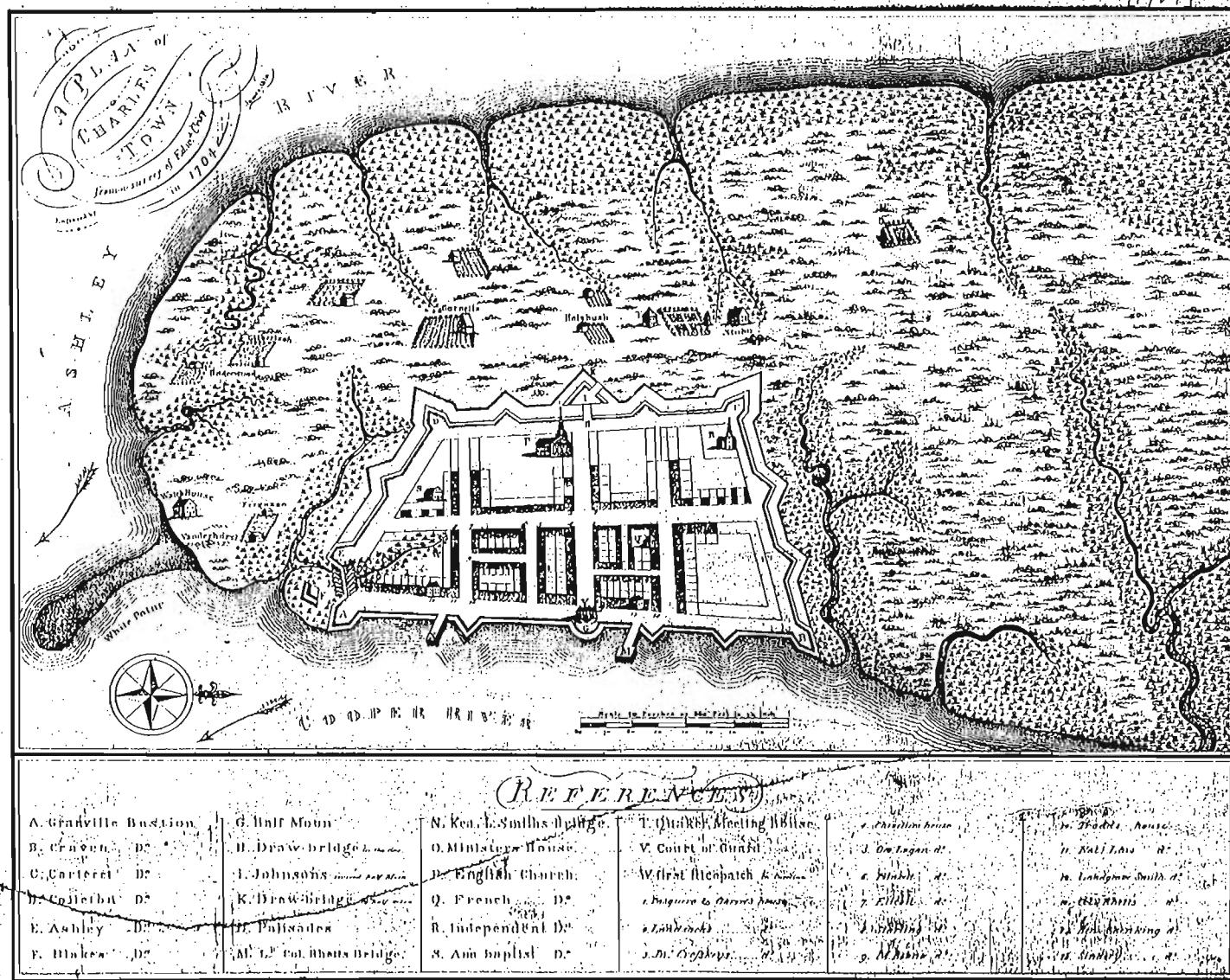


Figure 8. Charleston in 1704.

1770 and the Glebe Lands, laid out for St. Philip's Church in 1770. In 1769 Boundary Street (renamed Calhoun Street in the late 1850s) was run along the north line of these subdivisions. The area beyond Boundary Street was primarily developed after the Revolution.

Early agricultural experiments in Carolina involved olives, grapes, silkworms, and oranges -- all with less than spectacular success. While the Indian trade, naval stores, and cattle farming all were profitable to many of the early settlers, these endeavors did not provide the proprietors with the wealth that they expected from their venture. Attention was increasingly turned to rice and indigo as a means of establishing the mercantile system.

Rice and indigo both competed for the attention of Carolina planters. Although introduced at least by the 1690s, rice did not become a significant staple crop until the early eighteenth century. At that time it not only provided the proprietors with the economic base the mercantile system required, but it was also to form the basis of South Carolina's plantation system -- slavery.

South Carolina's economic development during the pre-Revolutionary War period involved a complex web of interactions between slaves, planters, and merchants. By 1710 slaves were beginning to be concentrated on a few, large slaveholding plantations. By the close of the eighteenth century some South Carolina plantations had a ratio of slaves to whites that was 27:1 (Morgan 1977). And by the end of the century over half of eastern South Carolina's white population held slaves. With slavery came, to many, unbelievable wealth. Coclannis notes that:

on the eve of the American Revolution, the white population of the low country was by far the richest single group in British North America. With the area's wealth based largely on the expropriation by whites of the golden rice and blue dye produced by black slaves, the Carolina low country had by 1774 reached a level of aggregate

wealth greater than that in many parts of the world even today. The evolution of Charleston, the center of the low-country civilization, reflected not only the growing wealth of the area but also its spirit and soul (Coclannis 1989:7).

From another, albeit similar, perspective Zierden and Calhoun suggest that:

Charleston was the economic, institutional and social center of the surrounding region. The necessity of transacting business in Charleston drew planters eager to transform their crops into cash or goods . . . it [was] virtually imperative for a planter interested in society to reside in Charleston at least occasionally (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:36).

They argue that Charleston provided an opportunity for conspicuous consumption, a mechanism which allowed the display of wealth accumulated from the plantation system (with this mechanism continuing through the antebellum period). It was, however, the plantation system's reliance on cash crops which made South Carolina so vulnerable to outside market and political forces.

The most obvious example of this was the economic hardship brought on by the American Revolution. Not only was Charleston the scene of many military actions,² but the town was seized and held by the British for 2½ years, from 1780 to 1782. It is estimated that the British occupation resulted in the loss of slaves and property valued at over £300,000 sterling. In addition, the removal of Royal bounties on rice, indigo, and naval stores caused considerable economic chaos with the eventual restructuring of the state's agricultural and economic base.

² One of the more entertaining accounts is Walter J. Fraser's (1993) *Patriots, Pistols and Petticoats: "Poor Sinful Charles Town" During the American Revolution*.

After the Revolution, Charleston continued to be turbulent, with violence directed against suspected Tories and British sympathizers. A fire in 1778 severely damaged the waterfront. Animosity surfaced between the "aristocrats" and "mechanics" of the town, reflecting not only political, but also class differences. In an effort to create a new order, the city was incorporated on August 13, 1783, with a pro-aristocrat, Richard Hutson, elected as the first Intendent (later to become known as Mayor). About the same time, up country forces broke Charleston's strangle hold on state politics by moving the capital in 1786 to Columbia, where the General Assembly met for the first time in 1790.

The period from 1790 through the early 1800s was one of reorganization and expansion. Indigo no longer served as a profitable crop, although rice continued to be the gold upon which much of the Low Country was built. Gradually, however, cotton came to replace indigo, although it too was based on specialization in the production of a staple crop using bound labor. As Coclans notes, "such specialization, under prevailing market conditions, generally proved highly profitable to those individuals in both the low country and in Europe with capital directly involved in the production or distribution of such staples" (Coclans 1989:130).

During the early antebellum period, Charleston began to expand and there were shifts in the location of its mercantile community. As the town expanded in the only direction it could, northward into the Neck, merchants followed their customers and King Street took on a new importance. The wharves remained important, attracting wholesalers, factors, and commission merchants, while King Street became the focus of the retail trade.

Like other industrialized, urban centers, Charleston also changed in other ways. A national economy gradually replaced the local and regional economies (see Goldfield 1977, Pease and Pease 1985). The chaos which characterized cities such as Charleston was gradually replaced by order. A central business district developed with specialized use of space (in Charleston there was increasing differentiation between the business district and the residential neighborhoods). In-migration

increased (in Charleston the antebellum period saw an increase in Irish and German immigrants). The mercantile class continued to become more specialized. But perhaps most notable is that cities began to undertake broad improvements — streets were paved, sidewalks built, streets were lighted, and drainage was installed.

Charleston had recognized the importance of safe, well-lit streets in the late eighteenth century, appointing the Commissioners of Streets and Lamps. Major thoroughfares were first lit by oil and later by gas. By 1837 the lower city contained 1,722 lamps maintained by private contract (Zierden and Grimes 1989:33). Charleston's water supply was always a problem. A.F. Michaux in 1805 explained that, "at regular distances pumps supply the inhabitants with water of such a brackish taste, that it is truly astonishing how foreigners can grow used to it" (Thwaites 1904:122). Honerkamp et al. (1982:158-166) discuss the use of wells and cisterns, noting that in Ward 4, which includes the project area, had more wells than other wards and depended on them more heavily than any other location in the city. However, as water supplies from these shallow wells began to diminish in both quantity and quality in the early nineteenth century, they were replaced by cisterns to collect rain water. By the late nineteenth century the city began to establish municipally owned and managed artesian pipe wells.

Through the nineteenth century, however, the economy of the low country began to grind to a halt. By the eve of the Civil War, the tendency of South Carolina's economic and social fabric toward "structural disarticulation, factorial distortions, and asymmetrical development" could be clearly seen, if one chose to look.³ Many historians, in fact, believe that Charleston's golden days were over as

³ Pease and Pease (1985:10-11) discuss this decline, noting that the *Southern Agriculturist* expresses the sentiment — "These 'terrible Yankees,' . . . are too deep for us, they '*undermine* us' as the cant term in Charleston is. Why will the Charleston people not '*countermine*?' Pease and Pease comment that while the 'Yankees' knew the ways of trade and practiced them to 'get rich,' Charlestonians refused to learn — 'and starved.'

early as 1820. Coelani observes that:

just as the market was largely responsible for the low country's rise, it was largely responsible for the area's later decline as well. For its siren song lured the area into a pattern of economic and social development which was conducive to economic growth under one limited set of conditions - great external demand for plantation staples produced in the low country - but which would thwart progressive economic adjustments if these conditions ever changed, that is to say, if external demand for low-country staples ever faltered. And, as we have seen, external demand did indeed falter. It is possible, of course, that in the low country, a fragile ecological area with limited economic possibilities, development was doomed from the start. But by establishing an economy whose health was dependent almost entirely upon the vagaries of international demand for commodities, the hegemonists, in effect, sealed the low country's fate (Coelani 1989:157).

Conditions in Charleston never really improved. In 1838 one of Charleston's greatest fires destroyed at least a 1,000 structures and caused in excess of \$2 million in damages. Cotton prices continued to decline as more and more emphasis was placed on short staple cotton and more cotton was raised in the west. Charleston maintained some prominence politically, being the center of the Nullification controversy. In the 1820s and 1830s South Carolina sought to "nullify" the national tariff laws in order to better compete in the world market. On December 20, 1860 the bitter fruit of the Nullification Movement was harvested and South Carolina seceded from the Union. The first shots fired in the Civil War were on April 12, 1861 when Confederate batteries on James and Morris islands began bombarding the Union garrison in Fort Sumter.

Because Charleston was the "Cradle of Secession," as well as a major sea port, the city was a priority objective for the Union troops during the Civil War. Capturing Hilton Head Island in November 1861, they gradually moved up the South Carolina coast and began besieging Charleston in April 1863. By August 1863 the bombardment of the city began. As Confederate troops retreated during the evacuation of 1865, Union troops landed at the Cooper River wharves, beginning an occupation of the City which would last until 1879.

After the Civil War Charleston was in ruins — politically, economically, and socially. Much of the city was damaged or destroyed, either by the relentless Union shelling or by the fires which swept through parts of the city on February 18, 1865. The city's banking capital was gone, insurance companies were insolvent, private capital was non-existent or limited, railroads were destroyed by war, and steamship lines were disrupted. The old form of labor — slavery — was no longer an option. Political problems were compounded by heavy taxes, assessed at more than the market value. For the first three years planters were unsuccessful at bringing in a profitable crop, resulting in large scale bankruptcies. Real estate prices reached their lowest levels in 1871.

It was the phosphate industry which would eventually help to put Charleston back on its knees, if not its feet. By 1880 there were 21 companies engaged in the mining and making of phosphate fertilizer in and near Charleston and the industry was the most profitable in the state.⁴ Associated with the phosphate industry were manufacturing activities, such as lumbering.⁵

⁴ The rise and fall of the phosphate industry in South Carolina occurred in a single generation. It is also ironic that South Carolina once again retreated back into rudimentary extraction and plunder requiring great labor but little capital. It seems that even after the Civil War, South Carolinians had still not learned the lessons of business and trade, and continued to "starve" in the words of Pease and Pease.

⁵ Like phosphate mining, these "new" manufacturing activities hardly provided a solid economic base. They were almost all limited to raw-

By the late 1880s Charleston's economy was once again on the verge of collapse. In 1890 Benjamin Tillman was elected Governor on a platform of "agrarian reform," intimidation of blacks, and a general hostility toward the State's only real urban center — Charleston. An increased tax on phosphates destroyed the faltering industry and by 1904 every river mining company had failed or suspended operations. Tillman also established a state liquor dispensary law.⁶

material processing and value-added operations. They provided the appearance of prosperity without providing any lasting improvements to the quality of life lived by most South Carolinians. Further, they provided a seemingly perfect route for the institutionalization of what amounted to a new form of slavery, forcing blacks to work for very low wages creating debts almost impossible to pay off.

⁶ At the time of Tillman's election the state was in a heated debate over the sale of alcohol. Many were dismayed and angry at the large number of state licensed bars around the state. Tillman feared that further debate would tear his reform party apart and his compromise between the "wets" and the "drys" was to establish a state-monopolized whiskey industry, the profits from which would foster education. Enacted just before Christmas in 1891 the system sputtered along, amidst graft and corruption, for fourteen years. When initially enacted, an editorial in *The State* newspaper proclaimed:

Some silly prohibitionists have supported this measure. Believing the sale of liquor to be criminal they have made the state and themselves partners in the alleged crime. Believing that men ought not to be allowed to drink they have aided in directing that the state shall sell them all the liquor they can pay for. Believing the profits of liquor selling to be the wages of the devil they have made a bid for a share of the profits. Believing barkeepers to be depraved, they have made the state a barkeeper. They have stultified themselves utterly. When they find out how completely they have denied their own faith, they will admit their folly in disgust and return to their original creed. — It is a scheme to fill an empty treasury. That's all. . . .

Charleston never adopted many of Tillman's ideas. Throughout the efforts to curtail alcohol Charleston continued to drink. More than 300 "blind tigers," the forerunners of "speakeasies," operated in Charleston and the state dispensary system became their wholesale supplier. Fraser recounts how the City government, always in chronic need for revenues, decided in 1903 to begin fining these saloons \$25 every three months (Fraser 1989:346-347). Charleston continued to be "wringing, sopping, dripping wet" throughout Prohibition (Fraser 1989:361).

It was during the last couple decades of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century that many features of low country life changed forever. An 1885 hurricane and the 1886 earthquake destroyed much of the progress made after the Civil War. Property damage from the earthquake alone is estimated at \$5 to \$6 million. The hurricane of 1893 and

(quoted in Huggins 1971:124).

When the system was repealed counties were allowed to determine whether to continue their own dispensary system for the sale of alcohol. Only six counties chose to retain their dispensaries: Aiken, Charleston, Beaufort, Florence, Georgetown, and Richland. Soon these counties were doing an exceptional business. Not content to leave well enough alone, and certainly pushed by citizens who still felt that the devil and alcohol were in league, the Legislature passed a law permitting the importation of not over a gallon of liquor a month by any one individual for personal use. Further a referendum was held in 1912 to determine the future of local option dispensaries. Huggins reports that:

Charleston, now a completely converted advocate of the dispensary, with a dozen dispensaries and some hundreds of saloons flourishing side by side in full peace and amity, and reaping a golden harvest from both, was the only county in the state to return a majority in favor of the dispensary (Huggins 1971:193-194).

Regardless, prohibition went into effect in South Carolina, under the gallon-a-month law on January 1, 1916. In 1918, after three years of prohibition, South Carolina was the fourth state to ratify the Eighteenth Amendment.

increasing pressure from other areas finally killed the crippled rice industry. By 1921 the boll weevil had reached South Carolina, destroying the long staple cotton industry and crippling the up country farmers.

The only bright news for Charleston came, in 1901, from their long adversary, Ben Tillman, by this time a United States Senator. In spite of Tillman's distrust of the low country, he succeeded in having the U.S. Naval Yard located at Charleston. Begun in the Chicora Park area north of the city, it later expanded its facilities and quickly became the single largest employer in the Charleston area. Another bright spot for Charleston was the South Carolina Interstate and West Indian Exposition of 1901-1902. Intended to advertise Charleston's commercial advantages, it attracted international attention to the city. More visitors came to Charleston during its six month duration, then had come to the city in the previous six years (Rosen 1982:124).

Maps and Plats Showing the Project Area

One of the earliest maps of the project area which also contains recognizable landmarks is "A Plan of Charles Town from a Survey of Edward Crisp, Esquire" (Figure 9, South Caroliniana Library, Map 3/1704(R)/1). Dated 1704, the map makes no reference to the "Grand Model" for Charleston and is perhaps a depiction based on reminiscences. Regardless, it reveals that the project area was outside the city walls, at the edge of the marsh slough which would later be filled for the creation of Market Street.

"A Platt of Charles Town" is believed to have been produced by John Culpeper for the proposed development in Charleston during the seventeenth century (see McCormick 1944:184-185 for additional information) (Figure 10, South Carolina Historical Society, loose plats). Dated to about 1725, this map reveals that lots have been laid out as far north as Beaufain Street. The "Grand Model Plat of Charleston," prepared by Alfred O. Halsey in 1949 (Figure 11; South Carolina Historical Society, loose plats) helps make the original more understandable. The project area was encompassed by lots 155 (the eastern half of the project block) and 157 (the western half of the

project block).⁷ Halsey reveals that both lots were originally granted to John Barksdale on May 9, 1695, along with lot 158 and a portion of lot 156.

Just a few years later, in 1739, "The Iconography of Charles Town at High Water" (Figure 12; South Caroliniana Library, Map 2/1739/1) reveals that while the lots may have been granted, there had been no activity and this portion of Charleston was still sparsely settled. The map shows Schenckingks Street, running east-west between Archdale and King, what later became Market Street (Anonymous nd). At the southwest corner of Schenckingks and King a lot, presumably Barksdale's lot number 155, has been built on. The blocks to the south of the project area, as might be expected, show more activity.

J. Lodge produced "A Plan of Charles Town Copied with a Pen from an Old Dilapidated Plat Without a Date" sometime between 1720 and 1775 (Figure 13, South Carolina Historical Society, loose plats). Neither Princess nor Market streets are present at the time, nor is the structure shown on the 1739 map (discussed below). Consequently, it is likely that this map dates sometime between 1720 and 1739.

This view of Charleston in mid-century is generally supported by "The Plan of Charles Town - With its Entrenchments and those made during the Siege by the English," printed in 1780. More useful, however, is the 1790 "Iconography of Charleston, South Carolina" (Figure 14, South Caroliniana Library, Map 3/1790/2). While Princess and Market are not yet shown as streets, one building is shown, likely the same one found in 1739 on Barksdale's lot 155.

In 1802 the "Plan of the City of Charleston, S.C." was prepared "for the Patrons of J.J. Negrin's Directorial Register & Almanac. It shows Market Square prior to Pinckney's gift of the filled area to the City (Figure 15, South Carolina Historical Society, loose plats). The project area is shown in considerable detail. The frontage along King is complete, although the only

⁷ The eastern and western lots are today approximately marked by the dividing line between the bank property and the property to the west.

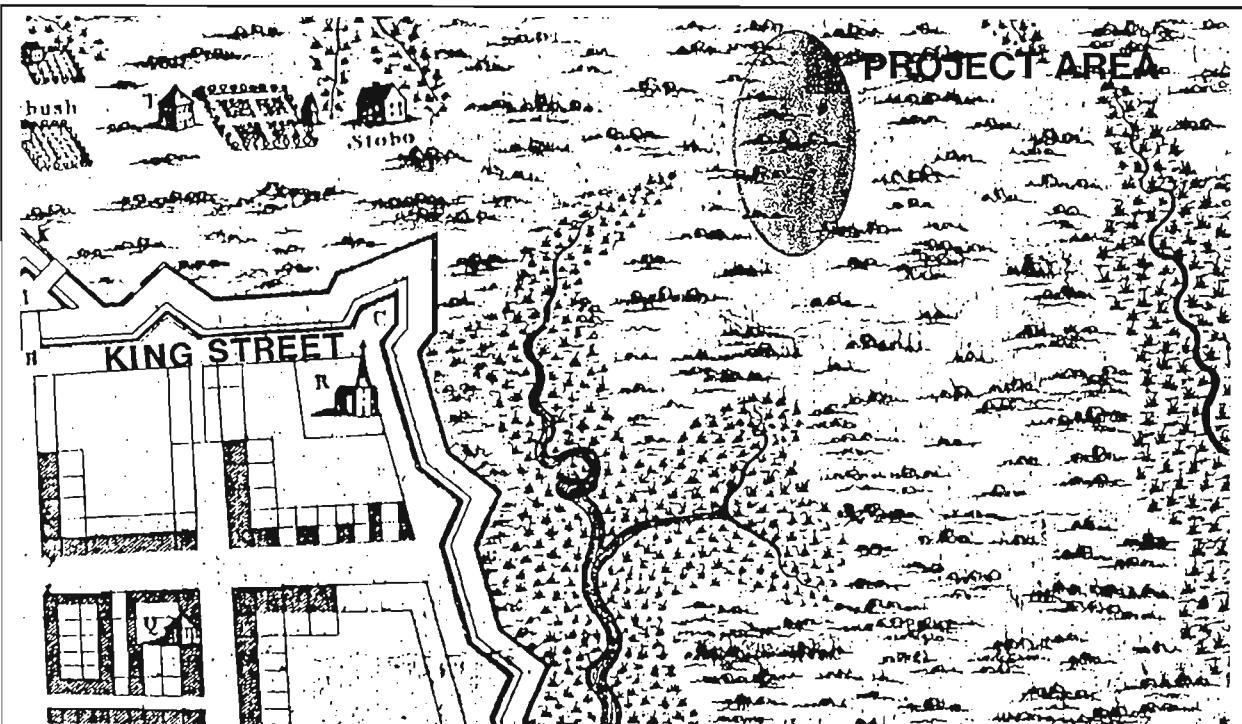


Figure 9. "A Plan of Charles Town from a Survey of Edward Crisp, Esq." in 1704.

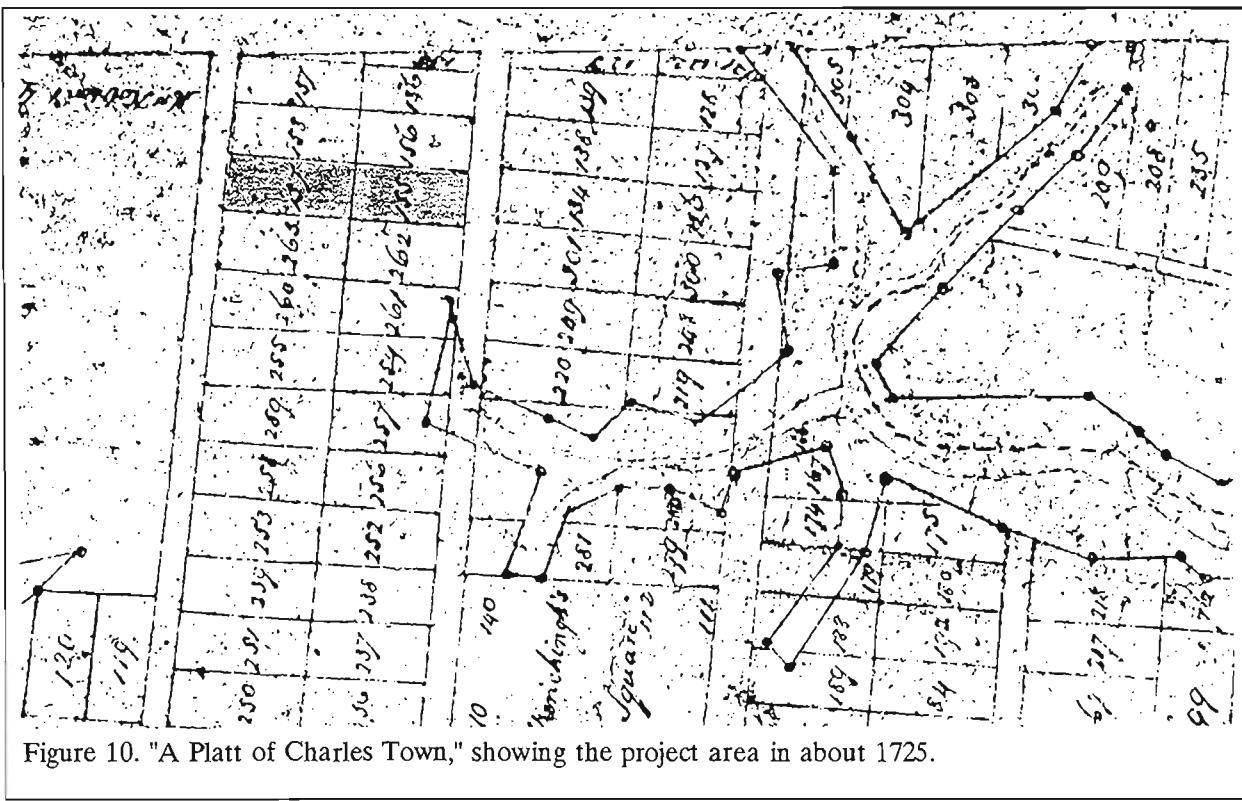


Figure 10. "A Platt of Charles Town," showing the project area in about 1725.

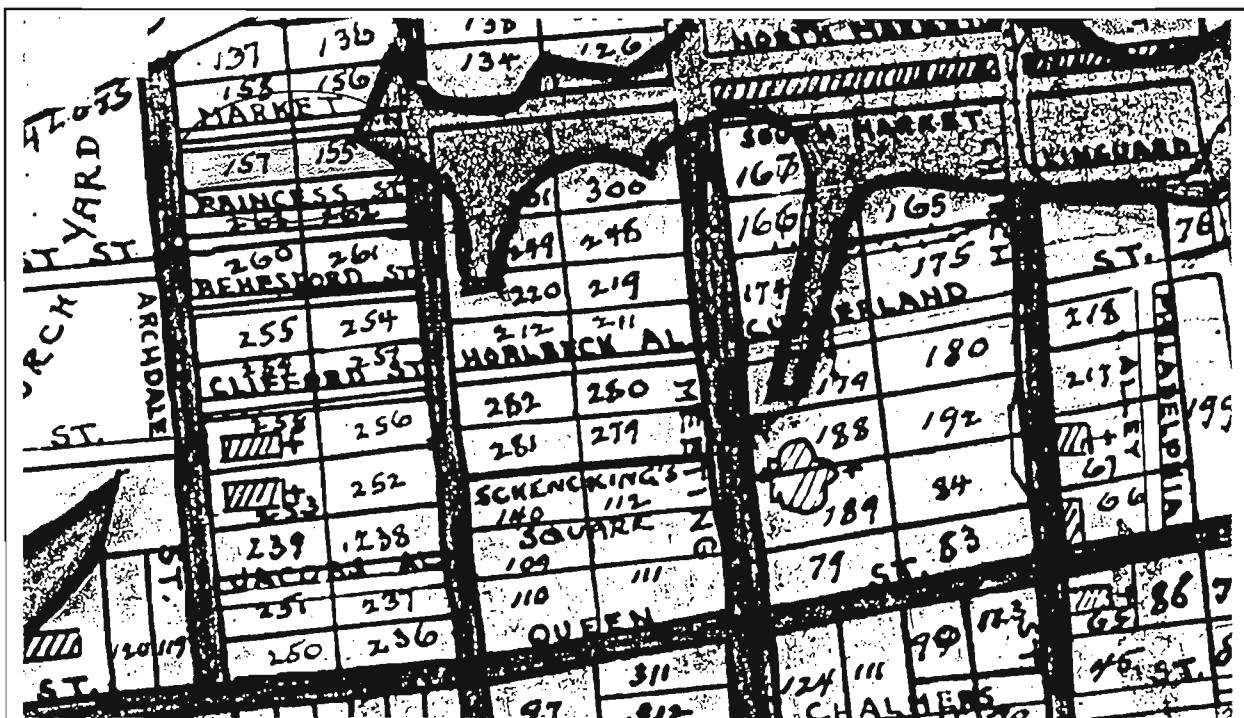


Figure 11. Halsey's 1949 "Grand Model Plat of Charleston" showing the project area.

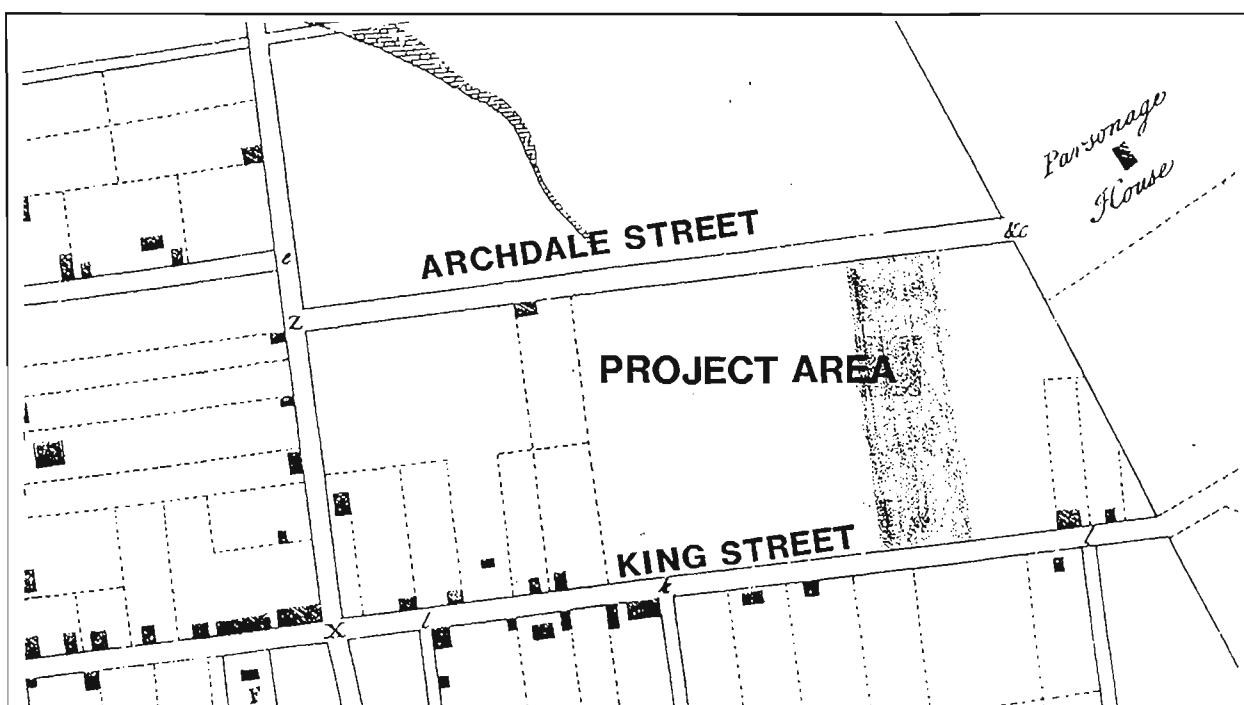


Figure 12. "The Iconography of Charles Town at High Water" in 1739.

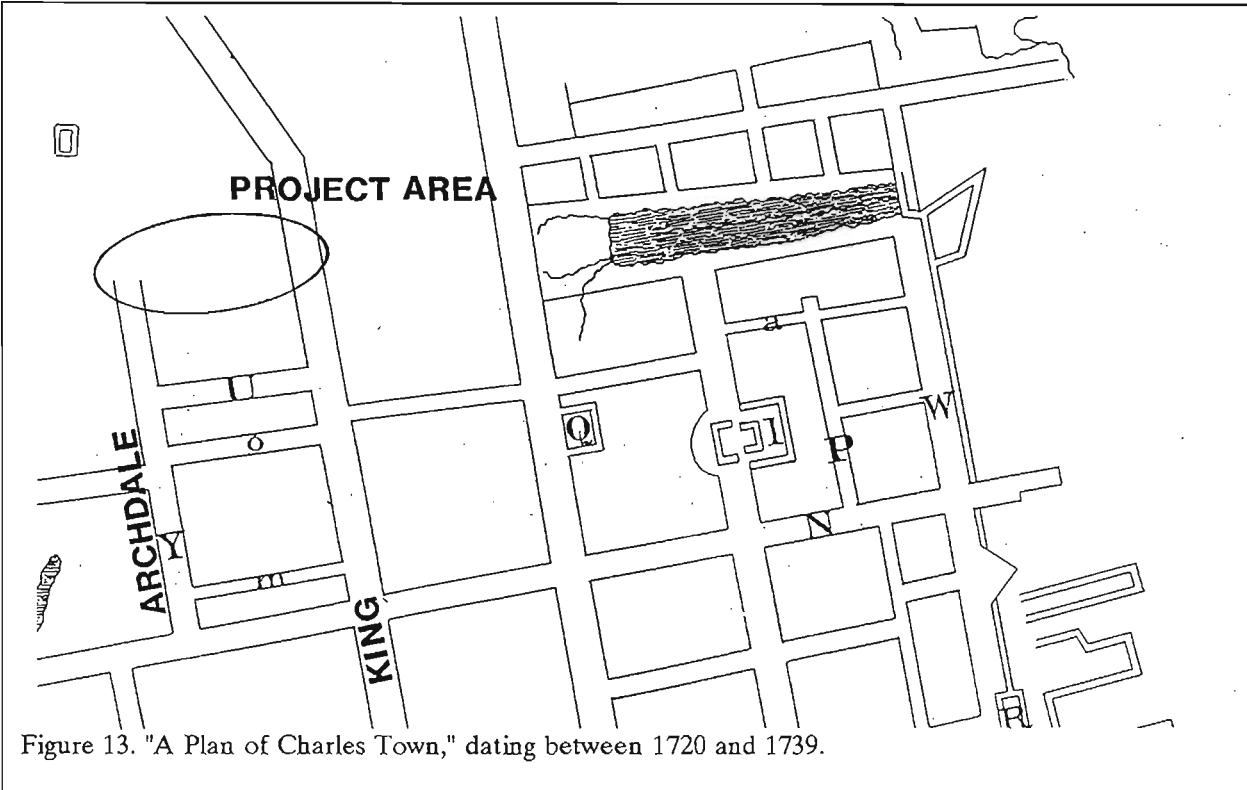


Figure 13. "A Plan of Charles Town," dating between 1720 and 1739.

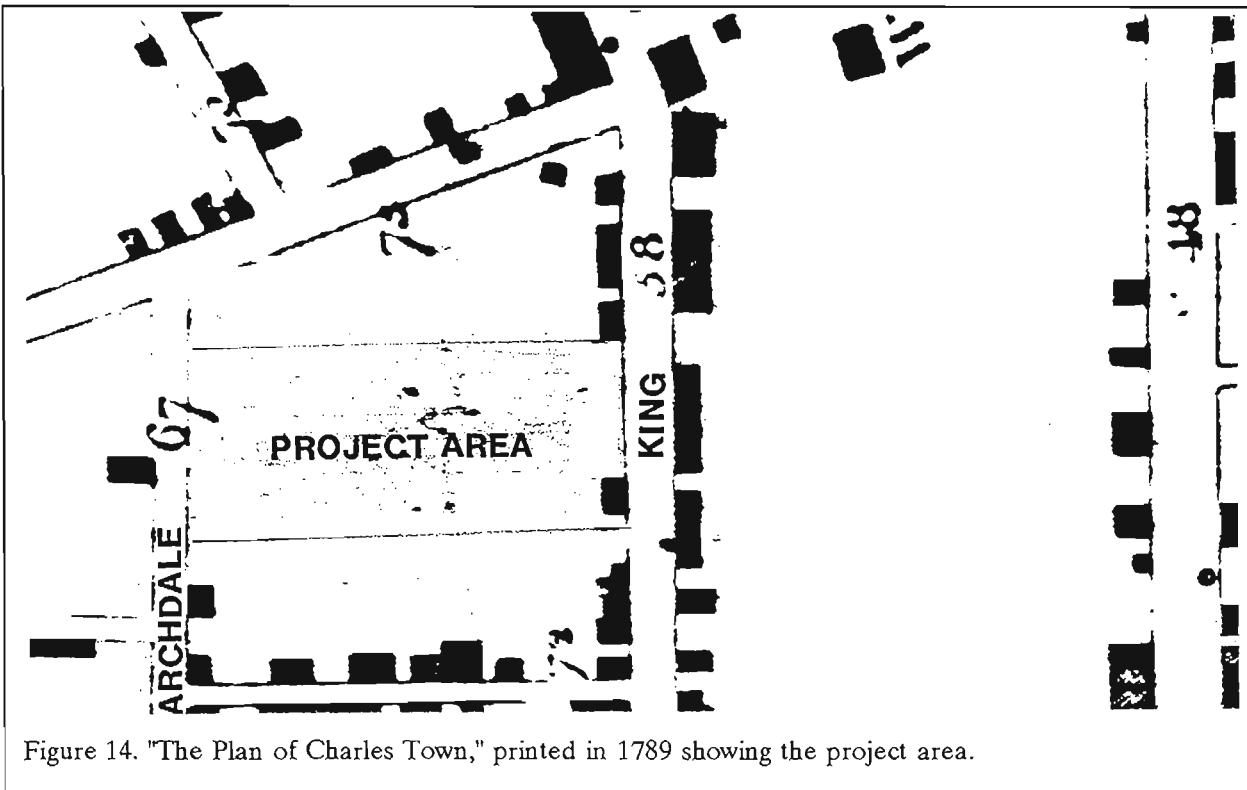
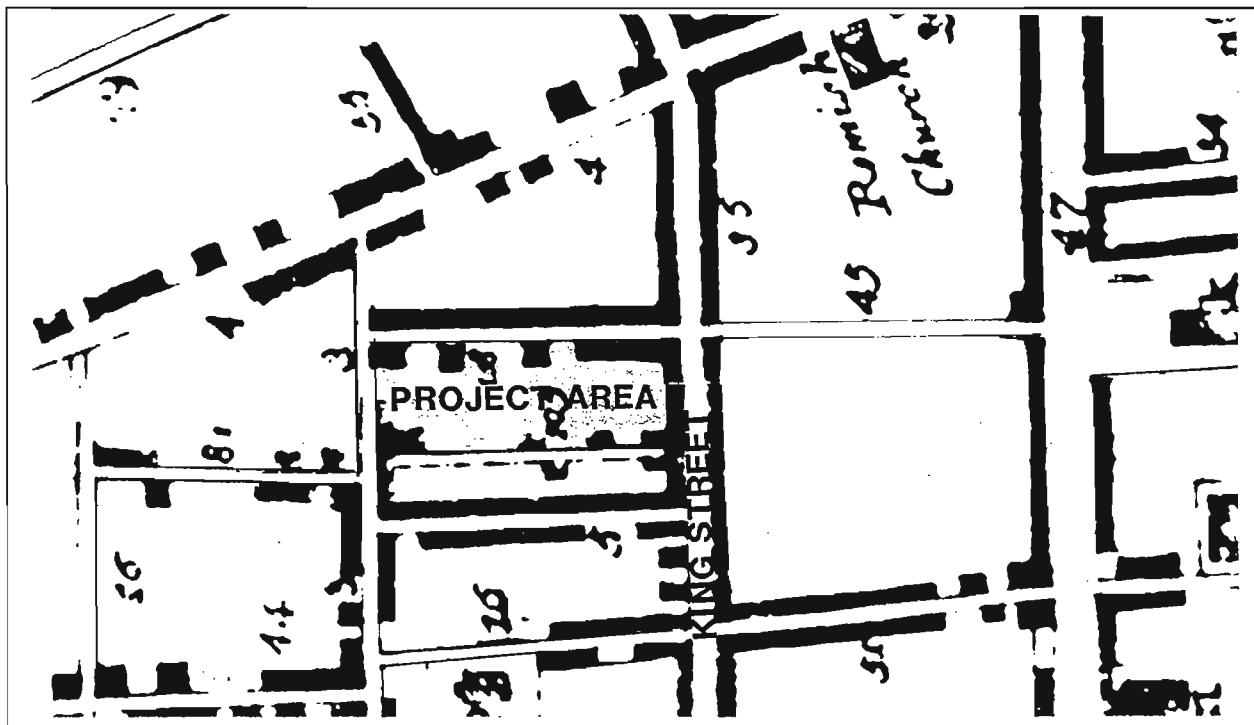


Figure 14. "The Plan of Charles Town," printed in 1789 showing the project area.



structures on Archdale are those at the northeast corner of Archdale and Princess and the southeast corner of Archdale and Market. Along the south side of Market Street there are at least three structures, not including those fronting on Archdale and King, while along Princess (which is shown as an alley), there are only two buildings.

In 1805 the "Plan of the City of Charleston, South Carolina" (Figure 16, South Caroliniana Library, Map 3/1805/2) shows that buildings are present in the project area on the west side of King and the east side of Archdale, although the scale makes it difficult to precisely interpret their locations.

At least by 1843 the Victoria Hotel was a well known and established Charleston landmark.⁸ In that year the City Council leased the hotel (subsequently selling it in 1846) to Daniel Cook and George W. Olney (Charleston County RMC, DB N11, page 335 and DB T11, page 62). At the time it was described as:

all that lot of land situate at the north west corner of King Street and Princess Street in the City of Charleston, measuring and containing forty feet in front on King Street, by one hundred and fourteen feet eight inches in depth on Princess Street, with the space in house and building

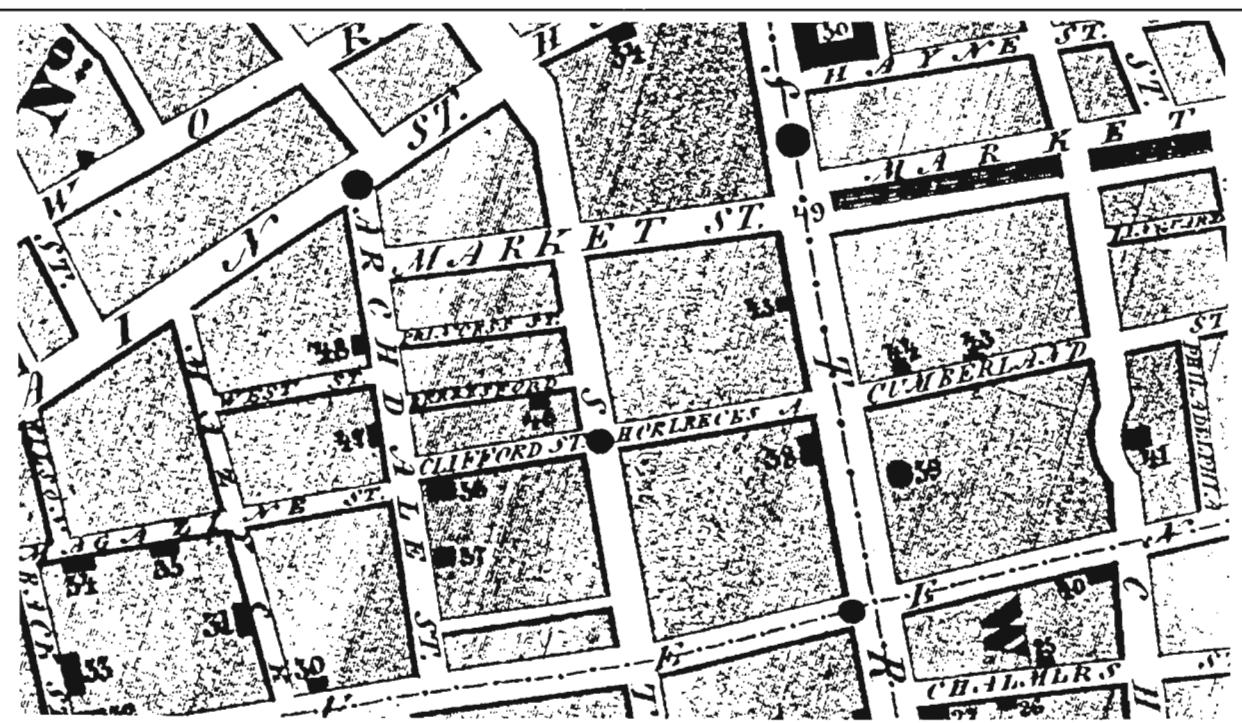
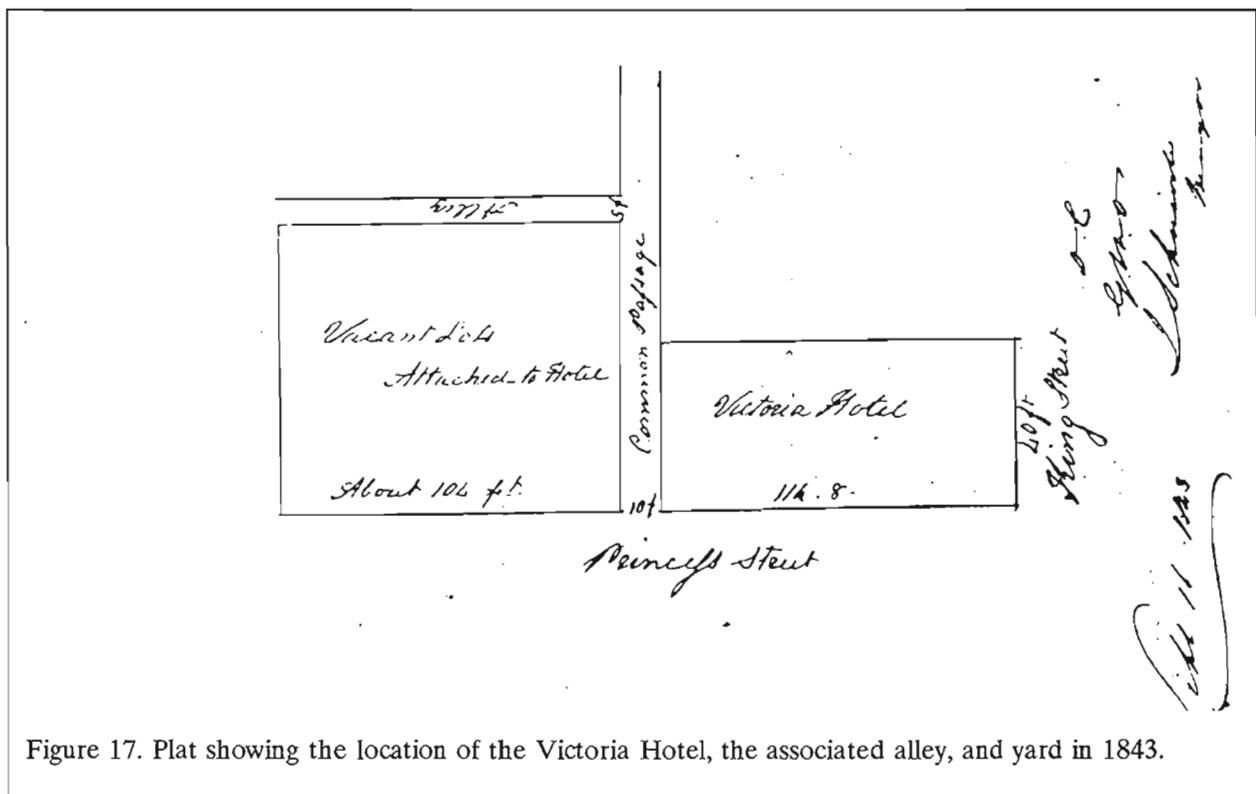
⁸ The corner of King and Princess, where the Victoria Hotel stood, was engulfed by the fire of 1838. Pease and Pease (1985:183) note that the City of Charleston became entangled in a variety of real estate development activities: "after two great fires in 1835 it had issued \$200,000 of 5 percent bonds to buy up blocks of land in the burned-out district for resale or planned development." Although the fiasco with the Charleston Hotel is best known, "development of other fire land — for handsome residences on Princes [sic] Street and a mercantile block on Pearl (later Hayne) Street" involved the City in additional losses and were part of a growing taxpayer revolt in Charleston. Although the Victoria was opened in 1840 by Charles P. Frazer ("City May Lose Antebellum Hotel," *Charleston News and Courier*, November 7, 1968), it appears that, like the Charleston Hotel, the City had trouble maintaining steady ownership.

thereon, commonly called the Victoria Hotel on the first floor of which building, are two stores fronting on King Street and on the said premises stand a Barber Shop and Kitchen and Outbuildings and also the vacant lots measuring about one hundred and four feet front now unoccupied in Princess Street adjoining a public passage way of ten feet founding the enclosure of the said Victoria Hotel (Charleston County RMC, DB N11, page 336).

The hotel and associated lot were shown in an accompanying plat (Figure 17, Charleston County RMC, DB N11, page following 335).

An 1844 "Plan of the City and Neck of Charleston" (Figure 18, South Carolina Historical Society, loose plats) fails to show any structural information for the project area, but does reveal the presence of fire wells at the intersection of Archdale and Beaufain, to the north, and at Clifford and King, to the south.

In 1846 the Charleston City Surveyor, Charles Parker, laid out five lots, two on Market Street and three on Princess Street, although it appears that structures had already been built on all but two (Figure 19, S.C. Department of Archives and History, McCrady Plat 239). The plat indicates that Richard Goldsmith was the owner of the lot (if not the building) at 223 King Street, while the lot and/or building at 221 King was owned by Martin and Star. West of these, fronting Market Street were a series of six brick structures. On the western lot (identified by Parker as Lot 4) are what appear to be a dwelling and, at the rear of the lot, the kitchen and slave quarters. On Lot 5 to the east are four structures, perhaps representing a small store or office, a large dwelling, and the kitchen and slave quarters at the southwest corner of the lot. The single story brick building in the southeast corner may represent a privy, stable, or some other building. Lot 1, on Princess street, has a somewhat unusual wooden double family tenement. Facing Princess Street was a two story structure, while at the rear were one story kitchens. In each corner of the lot was a



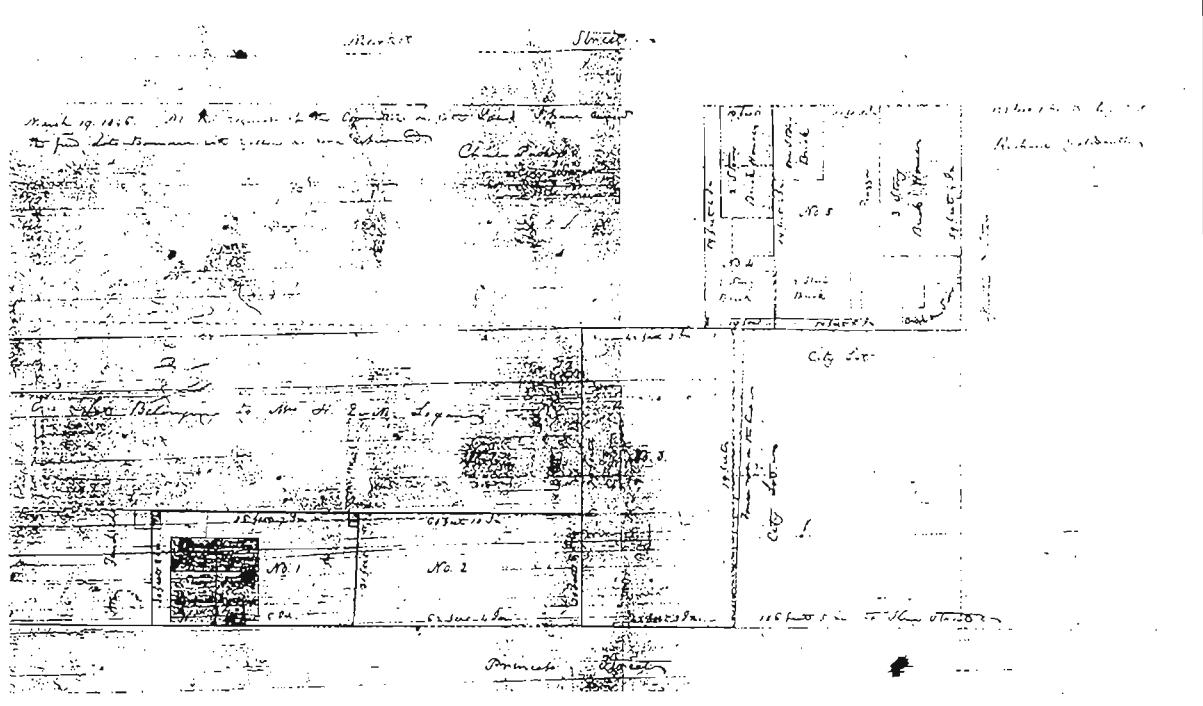


Figure 19. Lots on Market and Princess streets in 1846.



Figure 20. "An Original Map of the City of Charleston," showing the project area in 1852.

small privy. This structure is very similar to the row houses made popular by the planned efficiency of southern cotton mills in the postbellum.

In 1852 a very detailed map ("An Original Map of the City of Charleston," Figure 20, South Carolina Historical Society, loose plats) was produced by R.P. Bridgens and Robert Allen. It is particularly useful since it carefully recorded not only structures present at the time, but also lot lines. King Street was developed with the seven stores, the southern three of which also are shaded to reveal that they were a hotel. Four structures were situated on Archdale. Along Market Street five structures are found, not including one small interior structure. Princess Street closely resembles the plat previously discussed, showing a total of six structures, not including one appended to the rear of the hotel.

A series of promotional or guide maps published in the mid-nineteenth century reveal the state of street development, by offer little in the way of structural evidence or indication of land use history. For example, the 1855 "The City of Charleston," one many maps printed by Walker, Evans and Cogswell (Figure 21, South Caroliniana Library Map 3/1855/4"), reveals that the project area is within Ward 4, but shows no structures — indicating only that none of special merit were present. A plat, dated April 2, 1857 reveals that the eastern half of the block had been extensively developed (Figure 22, Charleston County RMC, PB A, page 151). Six of the seven buildings fronting King Street, all owned by the estate of Edwin P. Starr, are shown, while the seventh building (at the southwest corner of King and Market) was owned by Richard Goldsmith. The two buildings (actually one building with two stores on the ground floor) shown at the northeast corner of King and Princess are identified as "Brick 5 stories the Victoria Hotel." Behind the hotel is a yard, previously mentioned in the Cook and O'oley deed. By this time, however, there is also a building serving as a kitchen and servant's quarters. Behind (i.e., to the west) this was a two story privy, wood shed, and another yard. The alley way, allowing access to a series of buildings built behind the stores fronting King Street, had been relocated to the very end of the lot. Behind what would later be known as 215 King Street there was a yard as

well as a kitchen and servant's quarters. Behind, and attached to 217 King was a one story office and a two story brick workshop. At the northwest corner of the lot was a privy. Behind 219 King was a yard, kitchen, and privy, while behind 221 King Street, and intruding onto the rear lot of 219 King was a one story brick building. At the end of the alley was a privy, perhaps representing a communal facility for those structures without private facilities. The plat also illustrates a series of three lots, also owned by Starr's estate which contained stables and sheds. To the west, at least some of the adjoining property was owned by Robert Evans.

This portion of Charleston developed rapidly after the Civil War. Drie's 1872 "Bird Eye View of City of Charleston, South Carolina" shows a densely developed block (Figure 23, South Caroliniana Library, Map 1/1872/1). While the Opera House⁹, identified as structure 81 on the map, blocks our view of the southern side of Market Street, all of King Street is developed, with three buildings clearly shown. From the south to the north there is a six story brick building (at the northwest corner of Princess and King), a large three story building taking up the central portion of the block along King, and a narrow three story brick building on the southwest corner of King and

⁹ Wilson notes that this was originally an "old fashioned dry goods store," but that it was converted into a theater about 1875, "being one of the first in the south to be equipped to present road shows. The interior was built in the old horseshoe shape, so popular in those days" (Wilson 1946:79). Fraser comments that "The Academy of Music at King and Market streets continued to be one of the South's major playhouses for traveling troupes. The interior of the Italianate-style building was extensively renovated in 1911. Melodramas, musical comedies, minstrels, light and grand opera were sometimes booked directly from New York, and John Drew and Sarah Bernhardt played here to full houses." Since the Drie structure is specifically identified, it appears that the theater was built at least by 1872, replacing the earlier dry good store. Regardless, the building was razed in 1937 "and a modern structure built in its place." A late nineteenth century photograph of the building appears in W.A. Courtenay's *Charleston, South Carolina in 1883*, published by the Heliototype Printing Company of Boston. Unfortunately, it fails to reveal any of the buildings in the study area, although it does show both King and Market streets being cobble with flat stones in the cross walks.

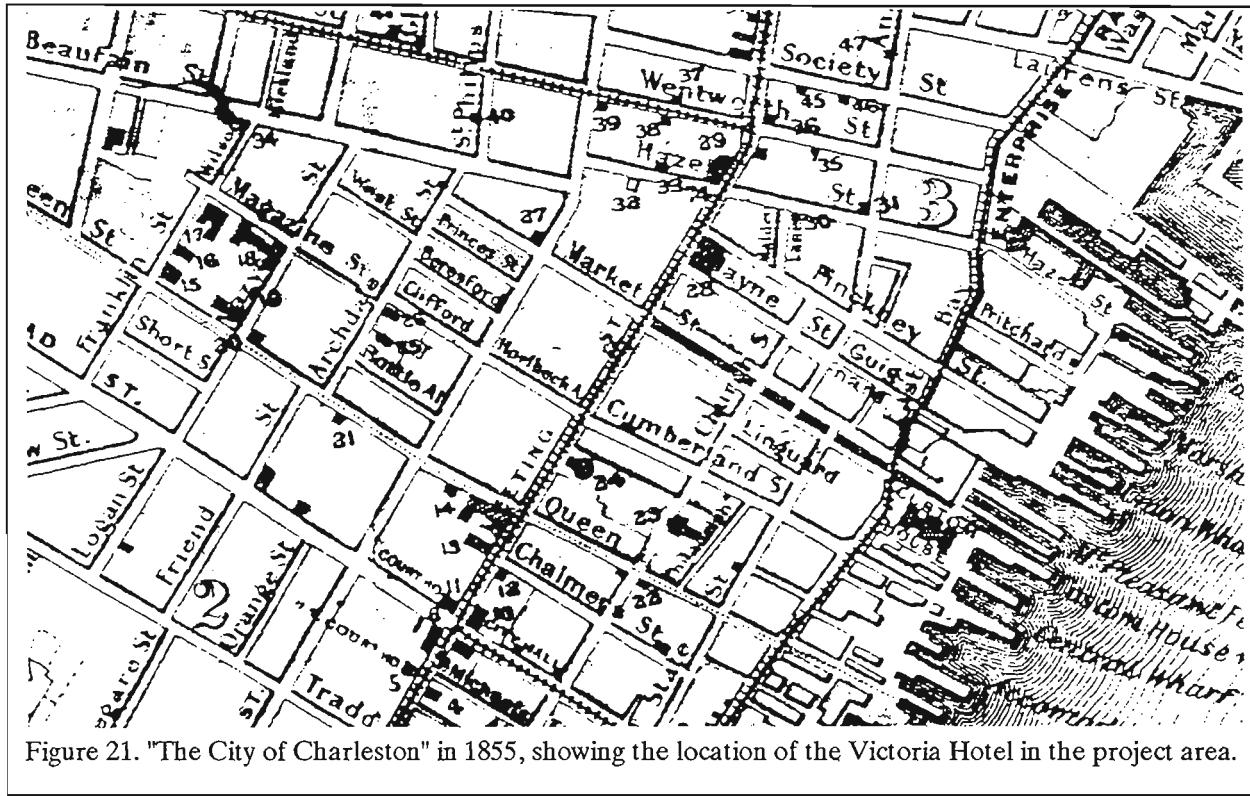


Figure 21. "The City of Charleston" in 1855, showing the location of the Victoria Hotel in the project area.

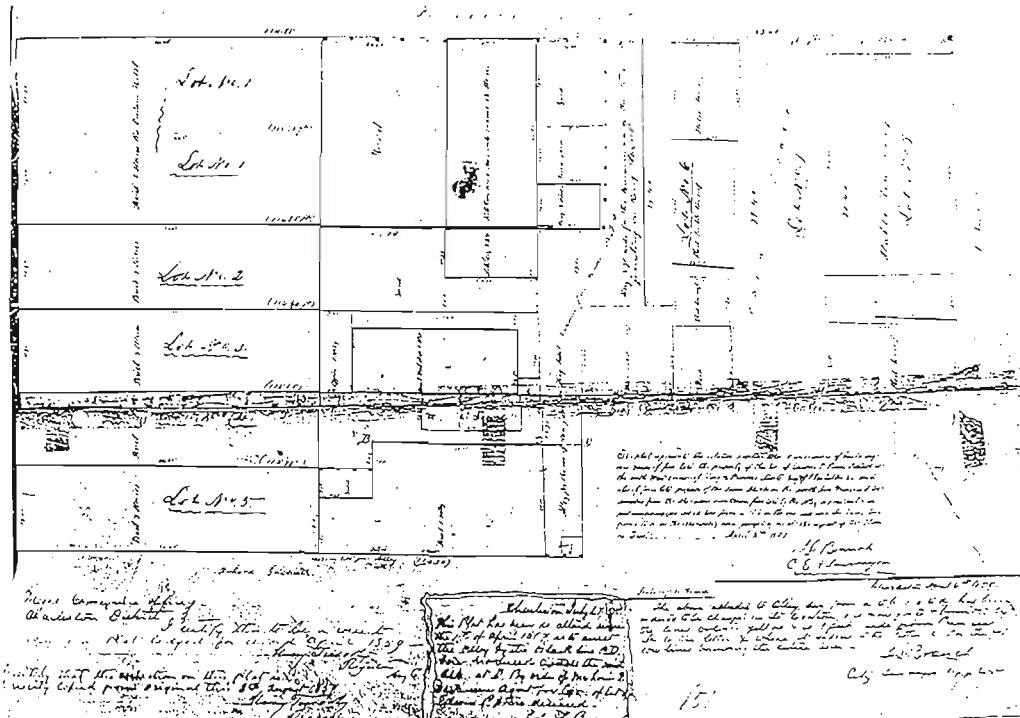


Figure 22. Eastern half of the project area based on an 1857 plat.

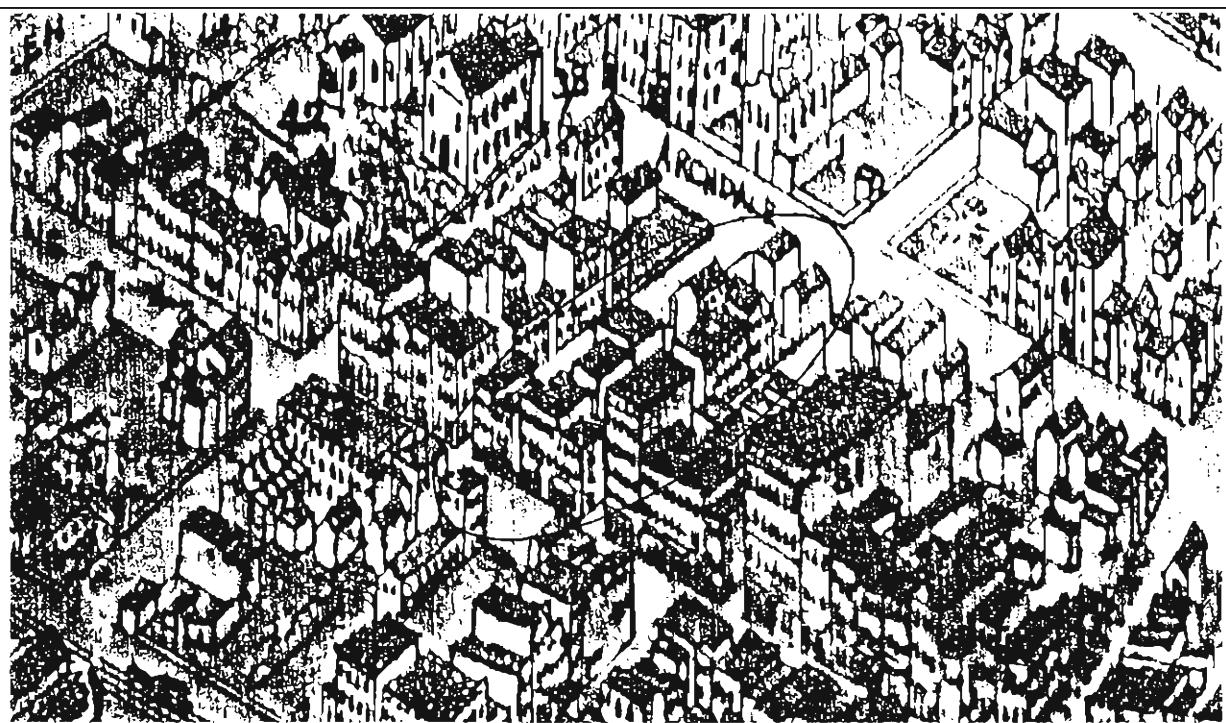


Figure 23. Drie's "Bird Eye View of the City of Charleston" in 1872, showing the project area.

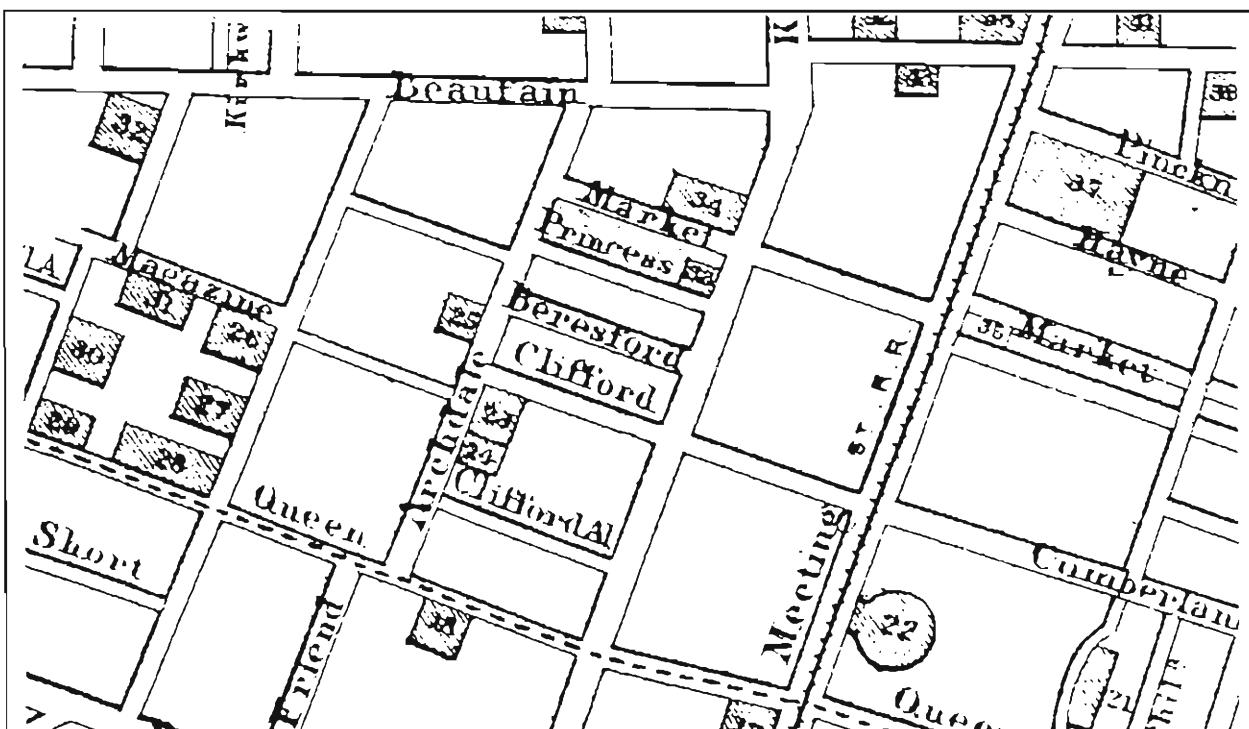


Figure 24. "Map of Charleston, South Carolina," in 1876 showing the location of the Victoria Hotel.

Market. Along the north side of Princess there are at least three structures which appear to be dwellings. On the west side of Archdale there are four buildings equally spaced along the block frontage.

In 1876, Walker, Evans and Cogswell's "Map of Charleston, South Carolina" (Figure 24, South Caroliniana Library Map 2/c.1876/3) shows the location of Victoria Hotel, on the northwest corner of Princess and King streets. No other structures, however, are shown. In 1884 the first Sanborn Insurance Map of Charleston was published. The block of King, Princess, Archdale, and Market streets is shown on Sheet 7 (Figure 25, South Caroliniana Library, MFM/M-147b). By this time the block has assumed a rather cluttered appearance, revealing little organization. There are six buildings fronting King Street, numbered 211 through 221 (south to north). They include the Victoria Hotel on the northwest corner of Princess and King; a music shop on the lower floor, with the hotel over it; a toy and music shop; two vacant structures; and a boot and shoe shop on the southwest corner of King and Market. Archdale Street exhibits four structures, numbered on the plat 6706 through 6710 (north to south). At the southeast corner of Archdale and Market streets was a grocery store and saloon. Next to it were two dwellings. On the lot of the southern dwelling were a series of three outbuildings. On the northeast corner of Archdale and Princess streets was another grocery and saloon.

Along the south side of Market Street there are eight major structures. From west to east the street was dominated by a fruit store, a warehouse, two dwellings, a saloon, two additional dwellings, and a saloon before the rear yard of 221 King Street (the boot and shoe store) is encountered. At the street edge of this yard the Sanborn map reveals the presence of a well. Wells were common features in Charleston, as citizens tried desperately to obtain clean, non-brackish water. Many wells were at the edge of the street, such as this one. A similar situation was found off Archdale Street to the south, where one well was situated on an alley frontage and another was found in the interior of a lot (Figure 26, Charleston County RMC, DB A11, page 19).

The north side of Princess Street is

dominated by a number of what appear to be relatively ramshackle wooden structures. Numbered from 701 on the west to 710 on the east, there are three "tenements," as well as one structure identified as a "Tavern — very old." Also present are several wooden buildings on piers.

This 1884 Sanborn Map is almost identical to the 1882 City Block Plat produced by a surveyor under contract with the City of Charleston (Figure 27, City of Charleston Archives). The only appreciable difference is that the Sanborn Maps provide more detail concerning the function of the various structures and tend to illustrate the smaller outbuildings.

It was about this time that the Victoria Hotel is described in a promotional booklet on Charleston. While clearly an example of the boosterism prevalent during this period, it still provides one of the few views of the hotel:

among the several hotels in Charleston, the old and long-established hostelry, known by the name of the Victoria, enjoys a high degree of popularity, and under its present efficient management receives a liberal patronage. The building is a substantial and attractive brick structure, centrally and eligibly located on King Street, one of the most pleasant and fashionable streets of the city. It is fifty feet in width, by one hundred and fifty in depth, and has stretching across the front, a piazza even with floor of the parlors on the second story, the windows of which are what are termed French, opening in the centre vertically like doors, and from which the piazzas are accessible, and where a fine view can be had at the concourse of people passing up and down this the principal street for the first-class retail trade of Charleston; it being one of only two of its streets running the whole length of the city; and is lined on either

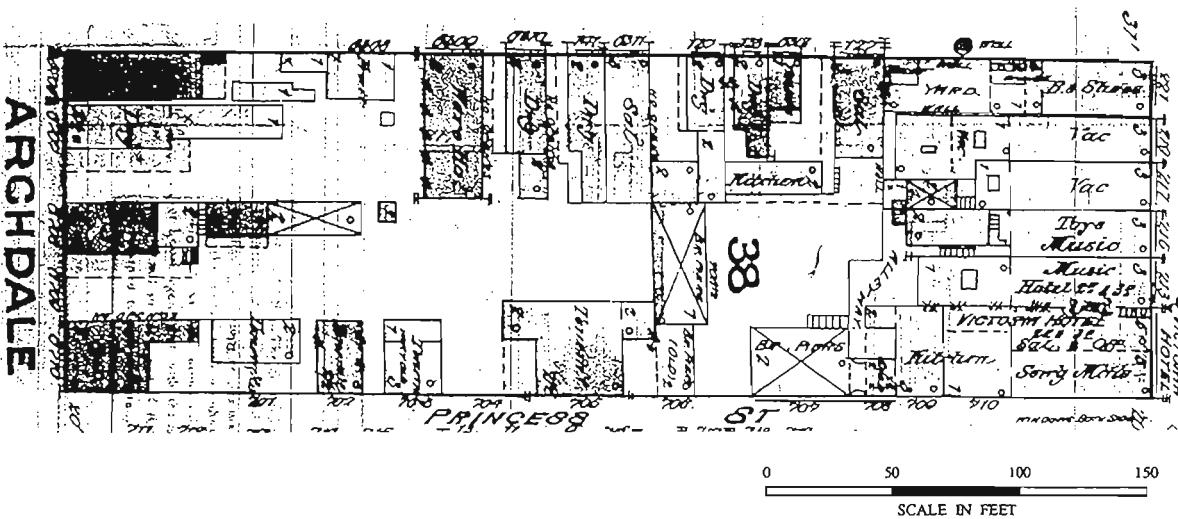


Figure 25. 1882 Sanborn Insurance Map for the project block.

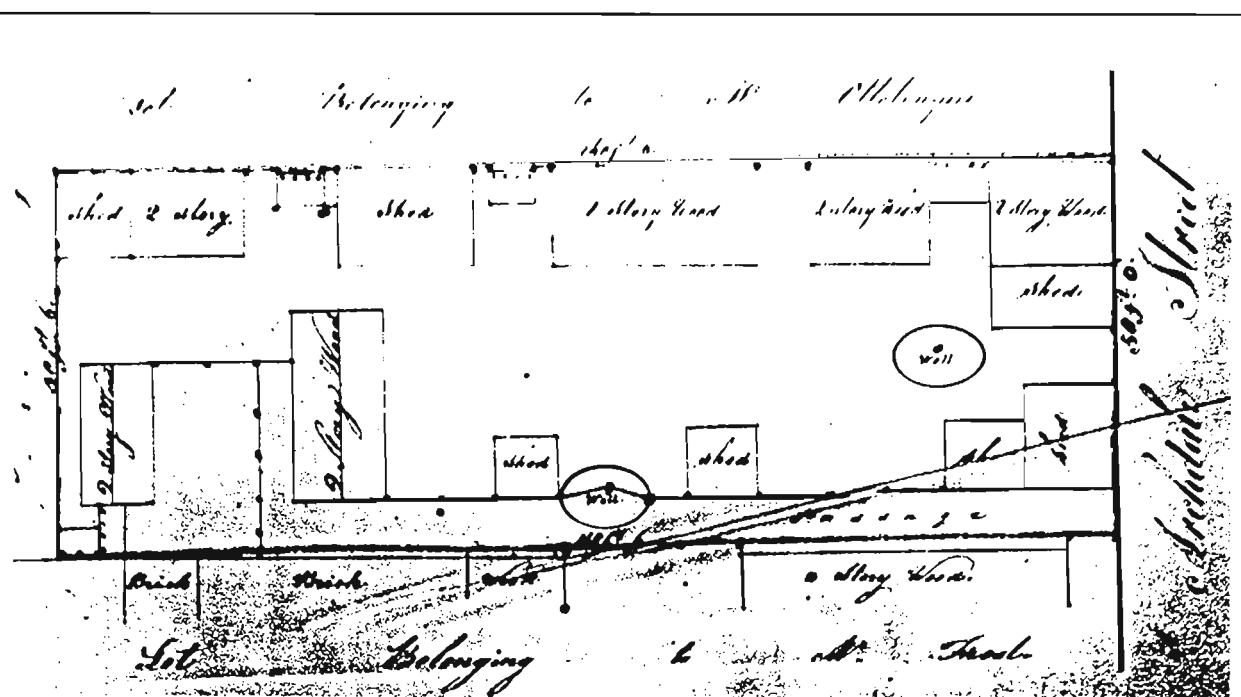


Figure 26. Wells found on the street edge and in the interior of lots west of Archdale Street.

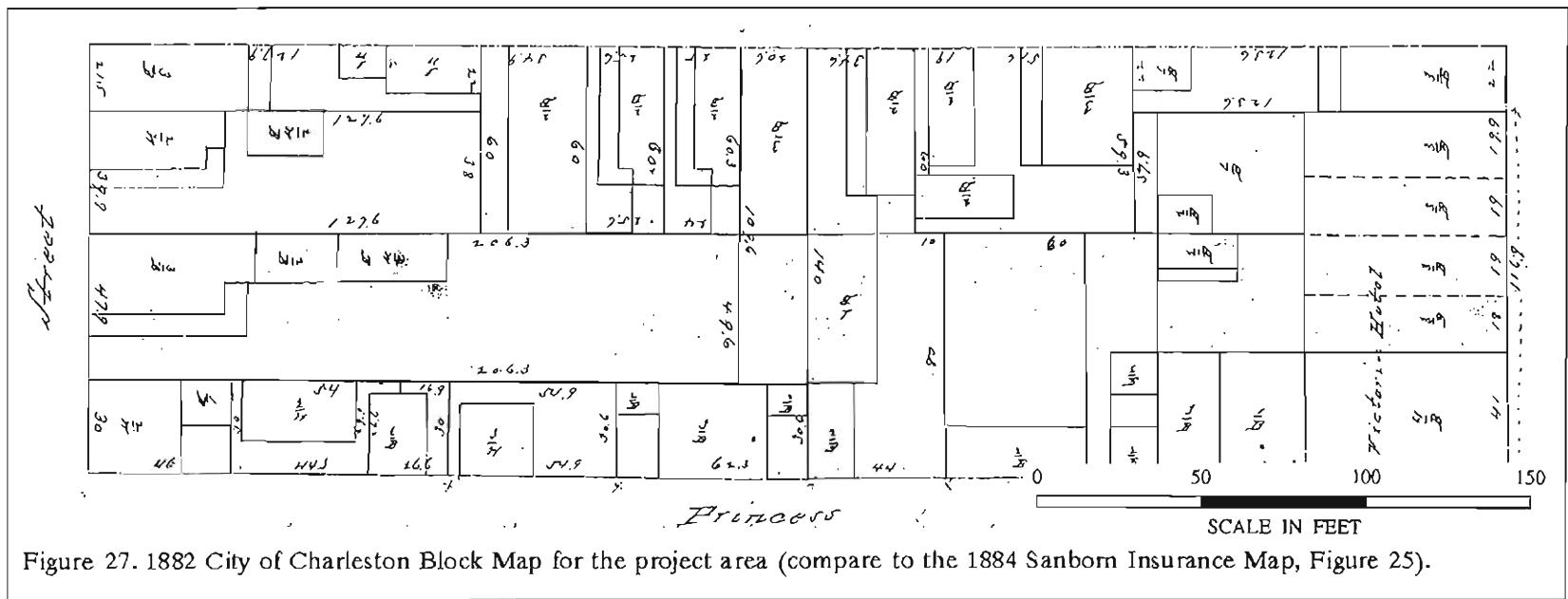


Figure 27. 1882 City of Charleston Block Map for the project area (compare to the 1884 Sanborn Insurance Map, Figure 25).

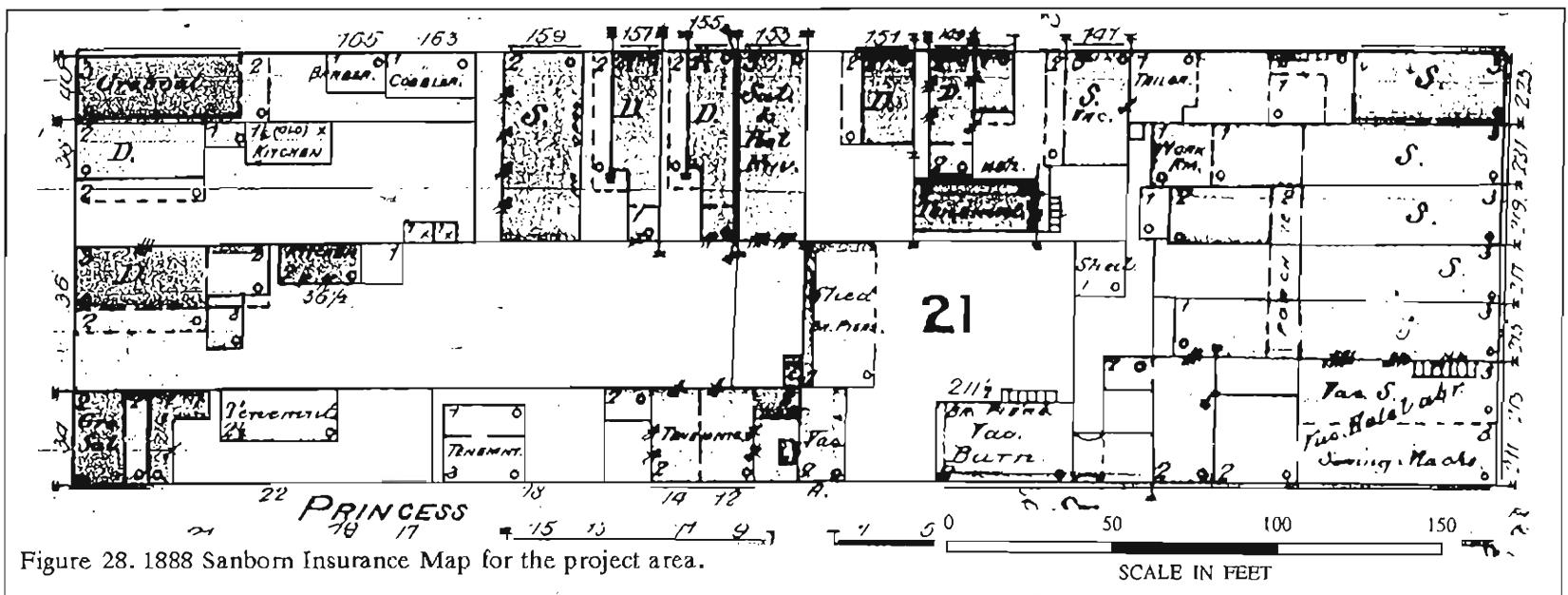


Figure 28. 1888 Sanborn Insurance Map for the project area.

side with the most attractive and pretentious retail establishments for the dry and fancy goods trade, making it a desirable and convenient hotel for a stranger to stop at. It is built of red brick, with stone trimmings, is five stories in height. From the roof an admirable view can be had, stretching over a range of miles in and about the city. The interior is most conveniently divided up, and admirably adapted for a hotel. On the first floor, level with the walk, is the office, general reception and reading-room, with a width of twenty and a depth of seventy feet; has a glass front, high ceiling, is appropriately furnished, and amply provided with every convenience for the several purposes to which this room is dedicated, as above set forth; in the rear of this is a large and handsomely finished, and comfortably and commodiously furnished billiard room, 50x50 feet, fully equipped with first-class billiard tables, with all their paraphernalia. It has adjoining the office and reading room, a wide and handsome ladies' entrance, with an easy and handsomely carpeted stairway, leading to the parlors, reception, and dining rooms, and to the sleeping apartments of the house. One the second floor are a neatly and tastily furnished ladies', also a gentleman's parlor, and a well selected library; the chambers are large and airy, in their bedding, furniture, and in the care taken of them, every attention is paid to the comfort and pleasure of the guests. The halls are wide, and well lighted, and cheerful, the dining room large, comfortable, and pleasant, the tables are well supplied, with an abundance of good, and palatable food, cooked in a manner, calculated to gratify

the taste of an epicure, and admirably served. Under the supervision of its courteous proprietor, and owner of the property, Mr. [F.] Opdebeck assisted, Mr. John H.N. Meyer, one of the most genial of men, with the aid of the most estimable of ladies, Mrs. F. Opdebeck in the general management of the housekeeping department of the business, the guests, will always find here, prompt attention, a pleasant locality, and everything to make them feel at home, and comfortable, at all seasons of the year (Empire Publishing 1884:181-181).

Four years later the 1888 Sanborn Map for the project area (Figure 28, South Caroliniana Library, MFM/M-147b) reveals relatively few changes. Along King Street the numbers (from south to north) are 211 through 223, with the Victoria Hotel on the northwest corner of Princess and King taking up two numbers (211 and 213). By this time the hotel is shown as occupying the upper floors, but being vacant, while on the ground floor of 211 Meeting was a sewing machine factory.¹⁰ Number 213 Meeting is listed as vacant, while the remainder of the block is shown only as "stores," with no information on the nature of the businesses present. Archdale Street continued to be dominated by the two dwellings and two grocery stores/saloons on either corner. Both dwellings have kitchens in the rear yards, which continue to be occupied by a range of outbuildings. Along the south side of Market Street, from west to east a barber shop (entirely new construction replacing an outbuilding), a cobbler shop (in what appears to be a new building in the general location previously occupied by the fruit stand), a store (previously shown as a warehouse), two dwellings, a saloon and pool hall, two dwellings, a vacant saloon, and

¹⁰ The "Map of Charleston, South Carolina," published by Walker, Evans and Cogswell in 1900 (South Caroliniana Library, Map-2/1900/8) illustrates the location of the Victoria Hotel, so it is not clear whether the Sanborn Map of 1888 is incorrect, or whether perhaps the hotel re-opened.

a tailor's shop (apparently built in the rear yard of the store on the southwest corner of Market and King). What previously was a kitchen behind one of the dwellings on Market, has been converted into a tenement by this time. There is some indication that Princess Street continued to decline in the late 1880s. One of the buildings, previously listed as wooden on piers, had burned and is listed as a vacant tenement. Another tenement, previously listed as "old" is by this time vacant. What in 1884 was listed as a "very old" tavern, is gone, replaced by a new tenement.

The 1902 Sanborn Map (examined at the City of Charleston Archives but available only as a negative copy, shown in Figure 29), reveals that King Street has changed little — it is still dominated by the seven store fronts. The Pavilion Hotel had by this time opened, replacing the closed Victoria Hotel, although the ground floor is still occupied by other businesses. On the northwest corner of King and Princess, the lower floor housed the County Dispensary. The Woman's Exchange was at 215 King. At 217 King a restaurant had opened. Archdale Street had not changed — at each corner was a saloon, with two dwellings in between. The kitchen of the southern dwelling, however, had been converted into a dwelling. By this time, in addition, the northern dwelling is shown as a boarding establishment. Market Street remained relatively unchanged, although one of dwellings had been enlarged with a rear addition. Princess Street was similarly untouched — only one of the tenements appears to have changed, now being listed as a dwelling. Other dwellings on Princess Street as shown as boarding houses.

A 1931 map, "Zoning Committee Prepares Map Showing Use of Property in Charleston," prepared by the *Charleston News and Courier* (Figure 30, South Caroliniana Library, Map 2/c. 1931/2) shows that the neighborhood was beginning to change. Two public garages are illustrated along Market Street.

The next available Sanborn Map is one for 1937. Sheet 37 shows the project area (Figure 31, City of Charleston Archives) and reveals that by this time changes were more noticeable. Along Meeting Street the project area appears almost

identical. There is still a hotel above the two stores at the southern end of the block, with its kitchen extending westward along Princess Street. At 215 Meeting Street there was a radio repair shop and at the end of the block, on the southwest corner of King and Market, a restaurant had opened. At the southeast corner of Archdale and Market streets the grocery and saloon had been converted into a plumbing store while the grocery and saloon at the northeast corner of Archdale and Princess is shown only as a store. The intervening two dwellings, however, are still present and the only change is the reduction in the number of outbuildings, with the southern structure losing one outbuilding. Along Market Street the changes are more noticeable. The barber and cobbler shops on the west end are gone by 1937 and it appears that a portion of the lot originally belonging to 38 Archdale Street (the northern dwelling) had been transferred to 40 Archdale (the plumbing establishment) and was being used for automobile storage. What previously was shown as a store is in 1937 an automobile repair establishment. Adjacent to it are still two dwellings, although the saloon in the middle of the block is now gone. A series of dwellings had also been torn down for a filling station, with its lot extending southward to Princess Street, in an area previously occupied by a boarding house. The area had been converted to "auto parking," perhaps an indication that already Charleston was beginning to see a shortage of parking spaces. The last store on Market Street had been converted into an "auto washing" facility. On Princess Street the changes were no less severe. Tenements, dwellings, and other structures were reduced in number from seven to four, with one of these being new construction.

Figure 32 (Charleston County RMC, PB F, page 70) illustrates how the property in the northeast quadrant of the project area had changed since the 1857 plat (see Figure 22), although it includes only 217-221 King Street. The brick shop at the rear of 217 King had been demolished by this time, converting the area into yard. The kitchen at the rear of 219 King had been demolished and replaced with a one story brick building. Only 221 King appears to have remained virtually unaltered since the middle of the nineteenth century. This plat also provides a close-up view of 223 King, at the southwest corner of Market and King streets, where two buildings butt

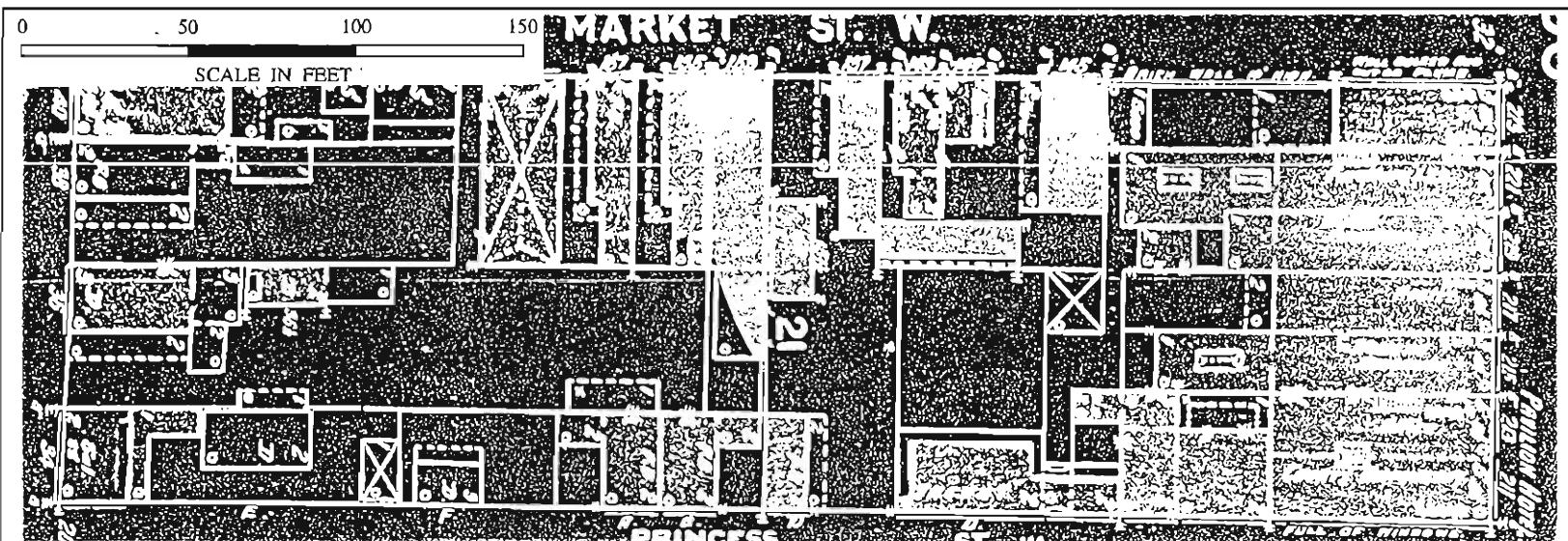


Figure 29. 1902 Sanborn Insurance Map for the project area (negative image is best copy available).



Figure 30. Zoning map for the project area in 1931, showing the location of two public garages along Market Street.

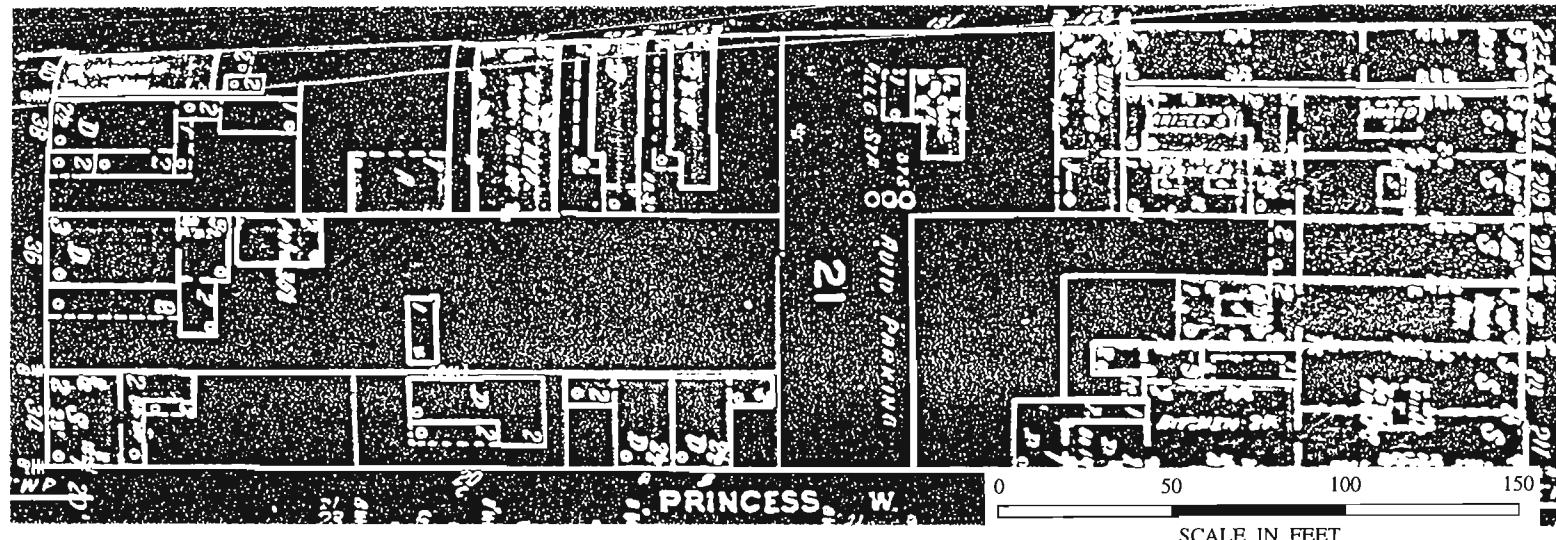


Figure 31. 1937 Sanborn Insurance Map for the project area (negative image is best copy available).

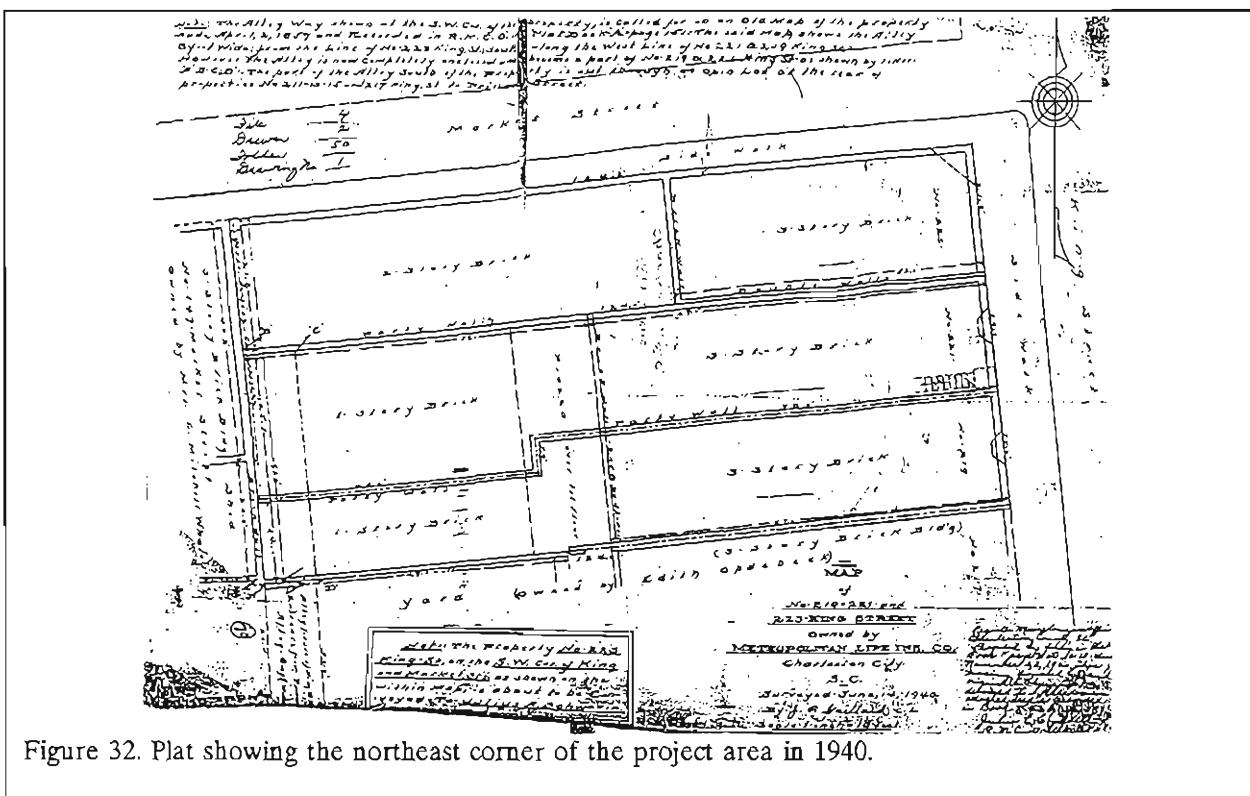


Figure 32. Plat showing the northeast corner of the project area in 1940.

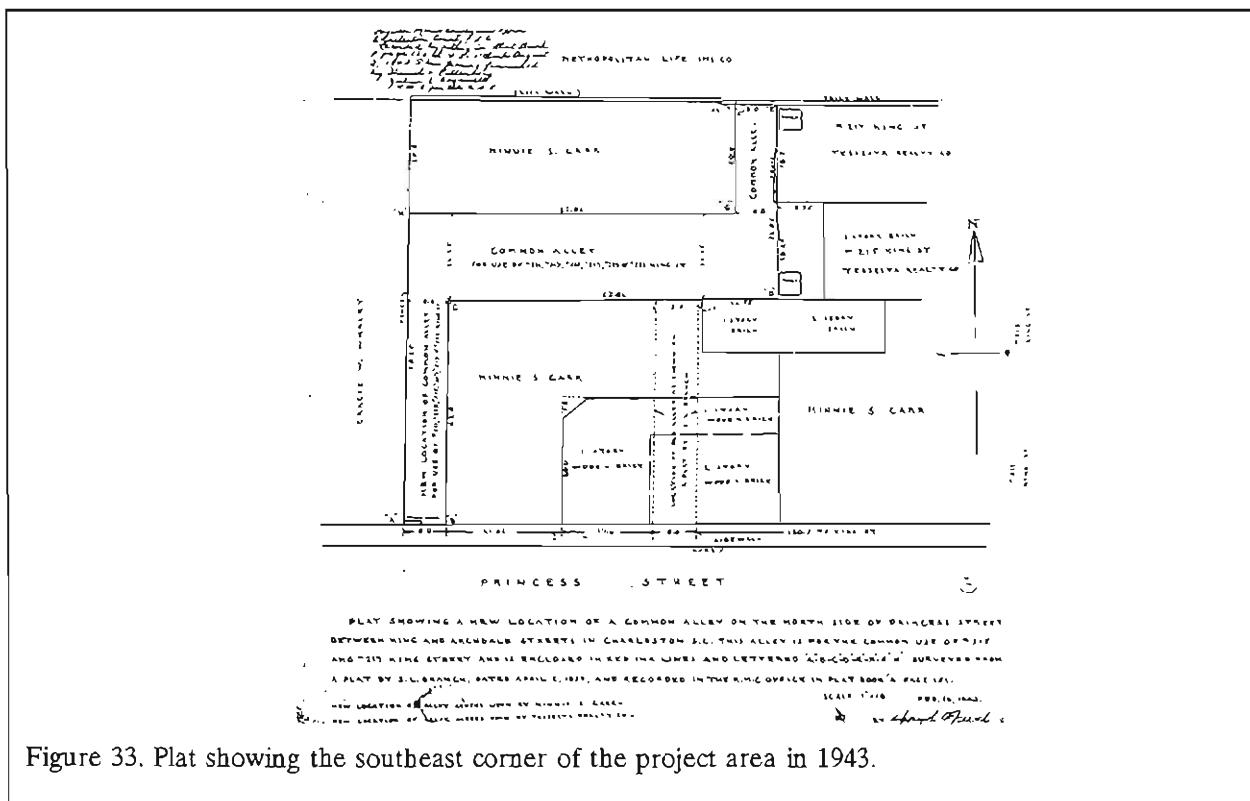


Figure 33. Plat showing the southeast corner of the project area in 1943.

each other, occupying the complete lot.

Figure 33 (Charleston County RMC, PB F, page 166) illustrates the changing location of the alley originally shown in Figure 22. More importantly, it helps us understand the changes in one small area along Princess Street between the late antebellum and the mid-twentieth century. As shown in Figure 32 (above) the brick work shop at the rear of 217 King Street is gone, but the privy location has not changed in 80 years. South, on the rear portion of 215 King Street, the antebellum kitchen and slave quarters have been replaced by a postbellum privy. Minnie S. Carr apparently owned the Victoria Hotel property, including the outbuildings to the west of the hotel. The plat reveals structures matching those found on the 1937 Sanborn Map for the area.

The eastern half of the block is illustrated by Nirenstein's National Realty Maps in 1943 (Figure 34, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, MB-15/Folder 11). The same buildings are still shown fronting King Street. Numbers 211-213 were owned at this time by Minnie S. Carr and are still being used as a hotel. To the north, 215 King Street was owned by E.D. Baumrind and was still being used to repair radios. At 217 King Street, owned by Tessesta Realty Company, was a "trading post," presumably a second hand store. W.L. Rice owned 219 King Street, where liquor was being sold. The two stores at the north end of the block, numbers 221 and 223, were both owned by P.P. Leventis and were a cafe and a hobby shop. This plat also reveals that where the filling station, car wash, and parking area were in 1937, was owned by Grace Whaley. It appears that these buildings had been demolished by this time.

The Charleston City Archives has a hardcopy of Sanborn Maps revised to 1951 (Figure 35), which illustrate the continuing transition of the neighborhood. Several dwellings along Princess Street have been demolished and a small store has been built on Market Street. The Sanborn Map confirms that filling station is now gone, replaced only by "auto parking."

In 1967 the Sanborn Insurance Map for the project area (Figure 36, South Caroliniana Library) shows that King Street had still not

changed. A hotel was situated above 211 and 213 King Street, while a restaurant was in 221 King, but otherwise the seven store fronts remained unchanged. Archdale Street, however, had been significantly changed. The store on the southeast corner of Archdale and Princess was still present, but both of the dwellings and associated outbuildings had been torn down. Replacing them, and extending eastward into the central portion of the block, as well as southward to Princess Street, was an auto service facility. The store at the northeast corner of Archdale and Princess was still present, but it appears that it had been modified to include both a store and a dwelling. Along Market Street the landscape continued to change. As previously mentioned, the filling station and car wash were gone, the entire area being converted into parking with a small "office," presumably to collect payments. A dwelling to the west of this area was still present, but had been converted into a dwelling and office. The remainder of the buildings were gone, replaced by a parking lot. Along Princess Street urban renewal had effectively destroyed the neighborhood, leaving only one structure — the tenement built sometime between 1902 and 1937, now described as "four apartments."

By 1973 the destruction of the block was nearly complete. Sheet 55C of the Sanborn Maps (Figure 37, South Caroliniana Library) reveals that the eastern half of the block has been completely razed for the construction of a rather nondescript bank building (State Savings and Loan Bank).¹¹ On

¹¹ While the goal of this historical overview is not to recount the early failure of Charleston to protect and preserve its architectural history and archaeological resources, Wilson (1946:79) notes that the structure at 213 King Street was of notable antebellum construction, with "very interesting construction," while the structures at 217-219 King Street were also of antebellum construction and notable to Charleston's architectural history. Curiously, the 1972-1973 *Historic Architecture Inventory* prepared for Charleston fails to note any of these structures, although the store on the northeast corner of Archdale and Market and the store on the northeast corner of Archdale and Princess were defined as "Group 4 - Contributory Resources." This category was applied to "buildings of architectural value without which the character of those buildings rated in Groups 1-3 would be lessened." As such the study recommended that they be "preserved and retained." This

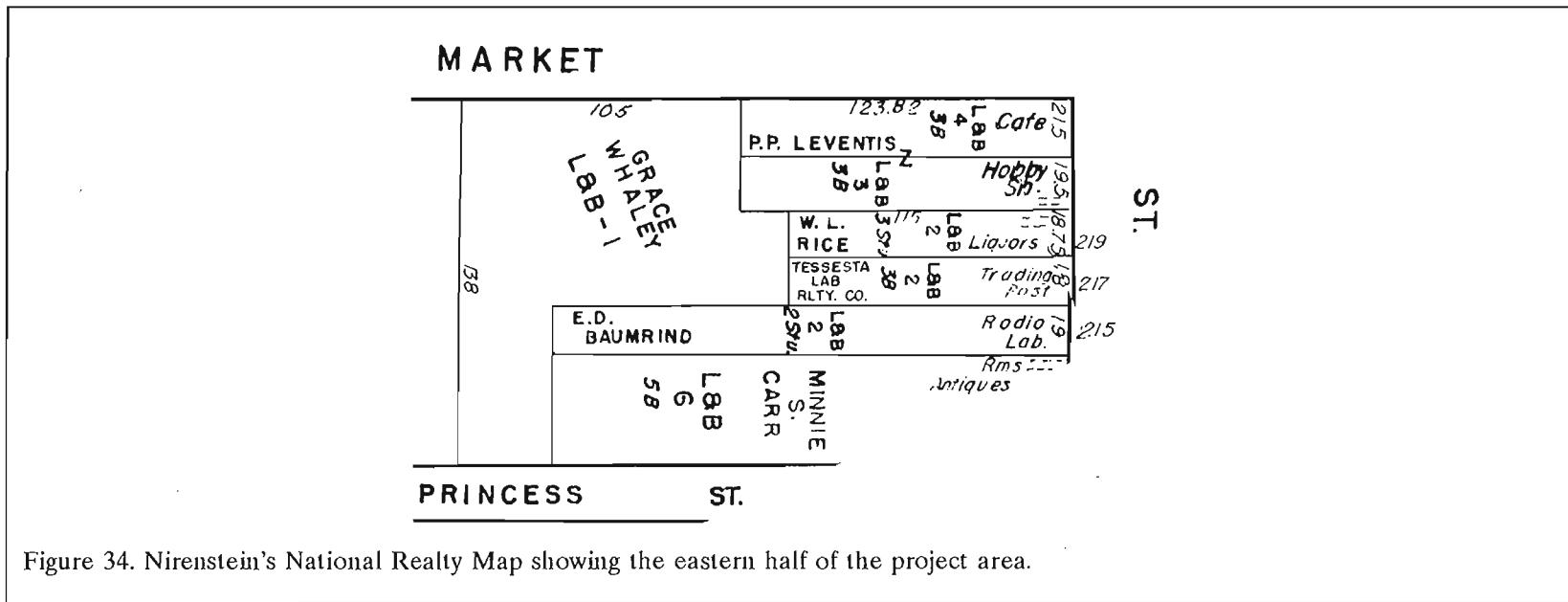
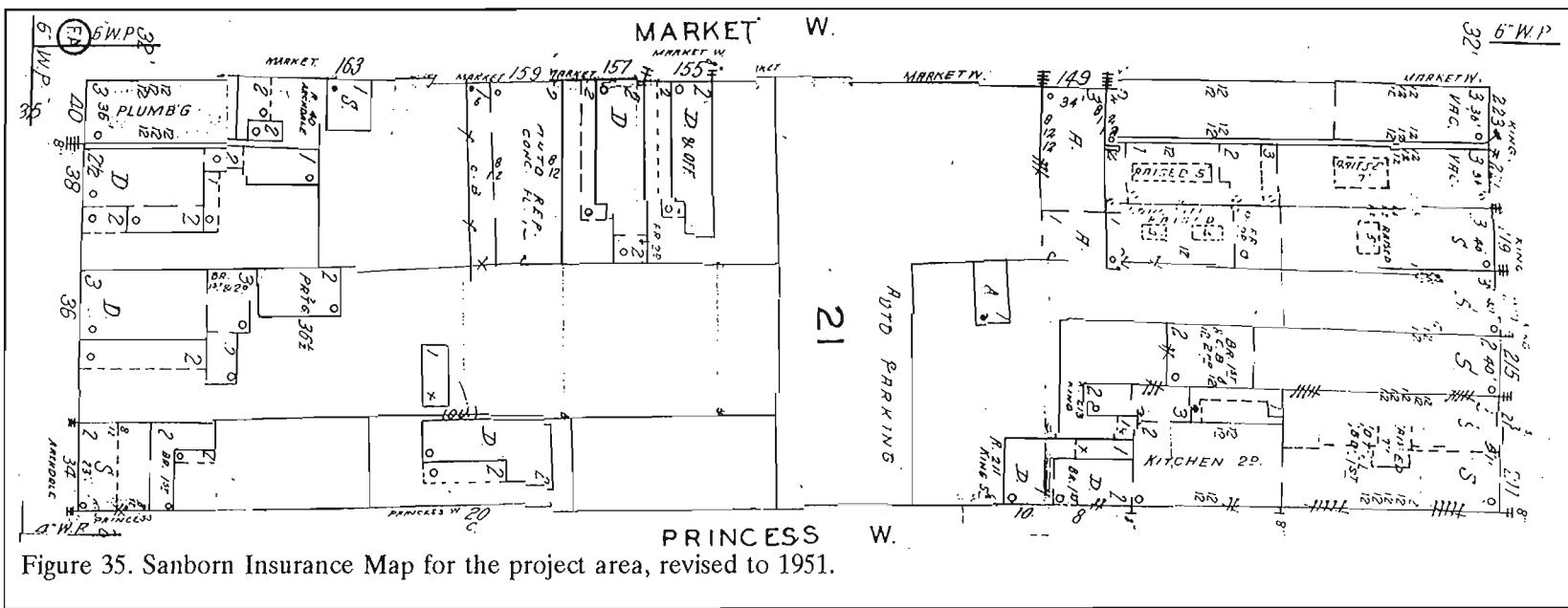


Figure 34. Nirenstein's National Realty Map showing the eastern half of the project area.



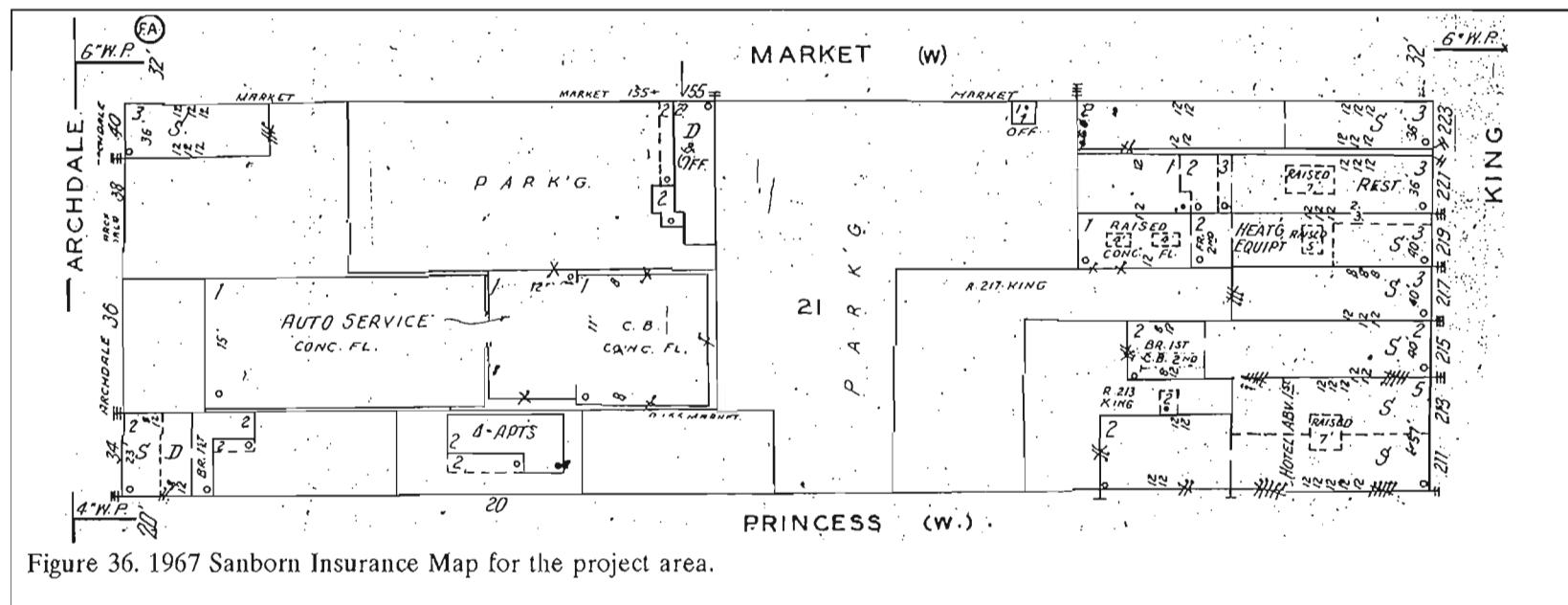


Figure 36. 1967 Sanborn Insurance Map for the project area.

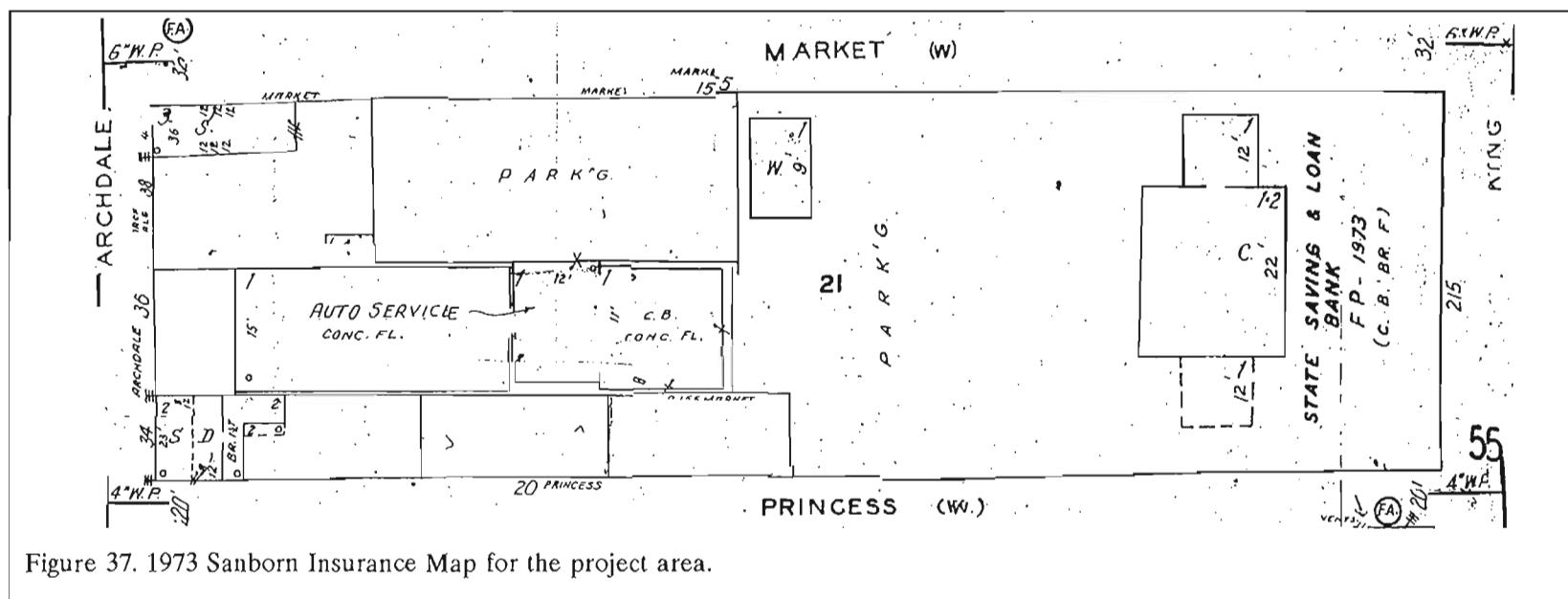


Figure 37. 1973 Sanborn Insurance Map for the project area.

the western half of the block the auto service facility was still present, as were the two stores on either corner of Archdale Street, although the apartments on Princess had also been razed.

Evidence of Owners and Occupants

There has not been sufficient time to develop chains of title for each of the various lots within the project area, although Figure 38 graphically represents how we believe the various lot lines may have changed at various times through history. While a complete title search would certainly be helpful, we have used the available plats (collected by searching the indices for the pertinent streets) and maps in order to provide some information on the occupants and owners. We have also used the 1852-1856 City Ward Books (City of Charleston Archives), the 1861 Census for Charleston (Ford 1861), and a sample of the Charleston City Directories to fill in our reconstruction of owners and occupants. Unfortunately, the City Directories prior to 1890 do not provide occupant lists by street and number (only alphabetically by name, with associated listing of residence address). Consequently, our City Directory efforts focused on the period from 1890 through 1945. An effort was made to take the information collected from the 1890 City Directory backward in time by cross referencing individuals and businesses. A number of residences were identified in this manner for 1886. The next year selected, 1878, was sufficiently removed that few of the individuals or businesses could be cross indexed and the effort was abandoned. In order to provide some idea of the commercial activities present on the block in the antebellum, all of the businesses listed in the 1831 City Directory were examined for addresses within the project area. While very labor intensive, this approach found all but one of the buildings on King occupied. Only one business was found on Archdale Street, and none were identified for either Princess or Market streets. The information generated for owners and occupants (and it should be remembered that both are intermingled) is presented in Table 2 (**bold face**

that they be "preserved and retained." This recommendation apparently did not help preserve the structure on the northeast corner of Archdale and Princess.

type indicates owners, regular face type indicates occupants which in most cases are tenants, while *italics* indicates notes important to an understanding of the lot, its location or number, or the building).

Prostitution and the Unholy City

Although a number of sources (Bellows 1993, Fraser 1989, Pease and Pease 1985) briefly mention the impact of prostitution on colonial, antebellum, postbellum, and even twentieth century Charleston, there has been only one popular article on the role of whores in the growth of the "Holy City" (Leland 1991). Of course, there are relatively few recent scholarly studies of prostitution itself (Lowry 1994; Roberts 1992), so it should be no surprise that Charleston's bawdy side has been overlooked by many historians and archaeologists (see, however, Seifert 1991).

Leland (1991:18) notes that Charleston's first houses of prostitution — often associated with taverns — were located along Elliott and Union (now State) streets, Mulatto Alley (now Chalmer's Street), and the harbor end of Dock (now Queen) and Cumberland streets. These locations provided seamen with ready access to liquor and women (Pease and Pease [1985:7] somewhat euphemistically refer to the "sailors' dives along Elliott Street"). It wasn't until toward the end of the colonial period that public sensibilities were so offended that the women were moved from the waterfront district, taking up residence just outside the old city on West, Clifford, Archdale, Market, Beaufain, Upper Logan (now Mazyck), Beresford (now Fulton) streets.

Fraser (1989:104-105) describes this "crackdown" on prostitution, or the "keeping of loose and idle women," also noting that it had little effect — they simply moved a little further away from the wealthy and socially prominent. Early on the link between prostitution and "superabundance of licensed Taverns and Tippling Houses . . . gaming houses and disorderly houses" was noted by the grand jurors (Fraser 1989:104). Accounts of prostitution in 1850 focused on Grace Peixotto and her operation at 11 Beresford Street, just a block from the project area. She was described by one observer as "a notorious woman who kept the worst kind of a brothel for years, where harlots of all shades and importations break

Table 2.
Owners and Occupants in the Study Tract

211 King	1830	Moses C. Levy		1906	Galano Cafiero, G. Caliero Co., fruits
	1852-56	Edwiu P. Starr → Est. of Maria Opdebeck (<i>listed as 195 King - Victoria Hotel</i>)		1912	New Pavilion Hotel (F. Opdebeck, proprietor)
	1861	Est. of Edwin P. Starr, occupants:			W.T. Pollock, restaurant and residence
		Eugene Mantove }			New Pavilion Hotel (F. Opdebeck, proprietor)
		C.N. Cohen } (<i>listed as 207-211 King - brick</i>)		1916	Gus Seragulis, unidentified business, possibly restaurant
		Victoria Hotel }		1921	New Pavilion Hotel (Nicholas Albergamo, proprietor)
	1878	Victoria Hotel			New Pavilion Hotel
	1886	Wheeler & Wilson Manufacturing Company (J.H.C. Weller, manager)		1926	Gem Auction Co. (J.J. Herzog and A.R. Bottler)
	1890	Wheeler & Wilson Manufacturing Company		1931	Atlantic Hotel (Harold H. Reid, manager)
	1892	vacant		1938	The Commercial House (J.H. Carr, proprietor)
	1897	vacant			Charlies Cafe (Charlie Trapalis, proprietor)
	1901	County Dispensary #4			The Commercial House (Mrs. Minnie S. Carr, proprietress)
	1906	County Dispensary #4			Carolina Wallpaper Shop (George H. Meyer, proprietor)
	1912	County Dispensary #4			Lighthart's, stationers (John F. Lighthart)
	1916	County Dispensary #4			John H. Carr (residence)
	1921	Dr. A. Enston Butler, drug store		1944	Commercial Hotel (Mrs. Minnie S. Carr, proprietress)
	1926	vacant			D. Patla, Antiques (Miss Dora Patla, proprietress)
	1931	Peerless Baking Co. (Wilford R. Burn, proprietor)			
	1938	vacant			
	1944	Lucille's Beauty Shop (Cecil L. Smith, proprietor)			
213 King				215 King	
	1830	A.R. Mann, dry goods		1830	Isaac Davega, dry goods
	1852-56	Edwiu P. Starr → Est. of Maria Opdebeck (<i>listed as 197 King - 3 story brick</i>)		1852-56	Edwiu P. Starr → Est. of Maria Opdebeck → Est. of J.D. Scott et al. (<i>listed as 199 King - 3 story brick</i>)
	1860	Victoria Hotel (F. Opdebeecke & Co., proprietors) (<i>listed as 199 King</i>)		1860	George D. Grice, china, glass, and gas fixtures (<i>listed as 201 King</i>)
		C.F.J. & Co., clothiers (C.F. Jackson, proprietor) (<i>listed as 199 King</i>)		1861	Est. of Edwin P. Starr, occupied by George D. Grice
	1861	Charles F. Jackson, occupied by Charles F. Jackson (<i>brick</i>)		1890	C. Gill & Sons
	1886	Hotel Windsor (G.T. Alford, Proprietor)		1892	James Stafford
	1890	vacant		1897	C. Gill & Son, piano and organs
		Hotel Windsor			vacant
	1892	vacant store			Amos Brookbanks (manager, Charleston Furniture House)
		Pavilion Hotel		1901	Amos Brookbanks (manager, Charleston Furniture House)
	1897	vacant		1906	Amos Brookbanks (manager, Charleston Furniture House)
	1901	New Pavilion Hotel (F. Opdebeck, proprietor)			Woman's Exchange

Table 2, Continued.
Owners and Occupants in the Study Tract

1912	Philip K. Zeigler		McDowell
1916	Thomas Marks, furniture	1886	S.C. Menke, merchant tailor
1926	Philip S. Minges, bicycles, guns, and sporting goods	1890	Charleston Furniture House (Amos Brookbanks, proprietor)
1931	Philip S. Minges, bicycles, guns, and sporting goods		Charleston Furniture House (Amos Brookbanks, proprietor)
1938	John W. Asbell, gunsmith	1892	Charleston Furniture House (Amos Brookbanks, proprietor)
	Philip S. Minges, bicycle repair		Charleston Furniture House (Amos Brookbanks, proprietor)
1944	Radio Laboratories, radio repair (M. Harold Baumgard, proprietor and owner)	1897	Charleston Furniture House (Amos Brookbanks, proprietor)
	Vacant	1901	Charleston Furniture House
		1906	Charleston Furniture House
		1912	Woman's Exchange
217 King		1916	Cable Piano Co.
1830	Sarah Sampson, dry goods		Alfred B. Schachte, ?
1852-56	Job A. Cohen → J. Frank (<i>listed as 201 King - 3 story brick</i>)	1921	The Art Floral Co. (W.G. Harvey, president)
1860	Frances Dupont, paper hanger (<i>listed as 203 King</i>)	1926	vacant
1861	Est. Edwin P. Starr, occupied by Francis Dupont	1931	Archie McL. Martin, Inc., hardware and paints
1890	Woman's Exchange	1938	Rice Brothers Sales Co., air conditioning and heating (James H. and William L. Rice, proprietors)
1892	Woman's Exchange		Rice Brothers Sales Co., air conditioning and heating
1897	Woman's Exchange	1944	William J. Wolff, liquor store
1901	Woman's Exchange & lunch room		
1906	J.C. Gilliland (machine operator, News & Courier) Joseph Rosas, watch maker, store and residence	221 King	Robert H. Berry, dry goods
	William R. Tindal (salesman)	1830	R. Dornetts (<i>listed as 205 King - 3 story brick</i>)
1912	Joseph Rosas, jeweler and residence	1852-56	J.M. and R.W. Greer, booksellers (<i>listed as 207 King</i>)
1916	vacant	1860	Richard Goldsmith of New Jersey, occupied by J.W. and R.W. Greer
1921	William Pallas, fruits	1861	P. Darcy, retain boots and shoes
1926	B.L. McCranie (driller)		Reedy Brothers, furniture
1931	Academy Fruit Store (Charles Trapalis, proprietor)	1878	Reedy Brothers, furniture
	Stephen Baldwin, jeweler	1890	James Reedy, installment house and residence
	J.F. Runey	1892	James Reedy, furniture and residence
1938	Antique Trading Post (A. Louis Levitt, proprietor)	1897	vacant
	Charles Trapalis, fruit stand and residence	1901	China and Glass Emporium (N. Sottile, proprietor)
1944	Antique Trading Post (Alex L. and Tess Levitt, proprietors)	1906	China and Glass Emporium (N. Sottile, proprietor)
	Vacant	1912	Adnick Realty Co.
219 King		1916	China and Glass Emporium (N. Sottile, proprietor)
1852-56	D. Loeb → John Fraser & Co. (<i>listed as 203 King - 3 story brick</i>)	1921	vacant
1860	R.H. McDowell, china and glass (<i>listed as 205 King</i>)	1926	Wolff's Liquor Store (William J. Wolff, proprietor)
1861	Robert H. McDowell, occupied by Robert H.	1938	Galloway and Moseley, jewelers (Harold Dean, manager)
		1944	

Table 2, Continued.
Owners and Occupants in the Study Tract

	Mrs. Francis Blount, furnishes rooms	1906	Edward J. Doran, restaurant
223 King		1912	Jackson Club
1822	William Veitch, druggist	1916	vacant
1830	William Veitch, druggist	1921	vacant
1852-56	Richard Gouldsmith (<i>listed as 207 King - 3 story brick</i>)	1926	Heffron Motor Sales (James J. Heffron, president) see also 223 King
1861	Adger & Company , occupied by Robert Adger & Co.		
1886	Patrick Darcy, retail boots & shoes and residence	147½ Market	
1890	Patrick Darcy, boots & shoes	1890	E.N. Mazyck, c (tailor)
1892	Patrick Darcy, boots & shoes	1892	E.N. Mazyck, c (tailor)
1897	Patrick Darcy, boots & shoes and residence	1901	Cora Foster (seamstress)
1901	Patrick Darcy, boots & shoes and residence		
1906	Patrick Darcy, boots & shoes and residence	149 Market	
1912	New Palace Cafe	1852-56	Benjamin Mordecia - City - Z.B. Oakes - John Fraser & Co. (<i>listed as 93 Market, 2 story brick</i>)
1916	Palace Restaurant (George Anthony and Nicholas Brown)	1861	Ziba B. Oakes , occupied by John Russel Baker (<i>listed as 129 Market</i>)
1923	Cosgrove Automobile Co. (J.I. Cosgrove, president)	1886	Julius Hoffman, tailor shop
1926	Heffron Motor Sales (James J. Heffron, president) see also 147 Market	1890	Miss Irene Smith, c
1938	R & S Beer Parlor (Julius A. Schwerin, proprietor)	1892	J. Hoffman, tailor shop
1944	Robert's Tavern (George A. Gehring and D. Anthony Figliorelli, proprietors)	1897	Atkin(s) Green, c tailor shop
145 Market		1901	Polly Perkins, c, restaurant and residence
1852-56	Richard Gouldsmith	1906	William Perkins, c
1861	R. Goldsmith of New Jersey , unoccupied (<i>listed as 125 Market - brick</i>)	1912	James A. Mann, c, barber shop and residence
1890	vacant	1916	Hagar Braser, c
1892	J.E. Harrison, tailor, c	1921	vacant
1897	William Bauman, shoemaker	1926	Joseph Kreis (retired)
147 Market		1931	Motor Sales, Inc. (A.J. Riley, president)
1852-56	Benjamin Mordecia - City - Z.B. Oakes - John Fraser & Co. (<i>listed as 93 Market, 3 story brick</i>)	1944	George H. Lackey (salesman)
1861	Ziba B. Oakes , unoccupied (<i>listed as 127 Market - brick</i>)	151 Market	
1890	George Mitchell, c	1860	Ziba B. Oakes , occupied by Dr. E.H. Keller's office (<i>listed as 131 Market</i>)
1892	Charles Moore, c (laborer)	1890	vacant
1897	Daisy Gethers, c	1892	Nellie Hunt, c
1901	Lewis Hayward, c	1897	Abram Brown, c (laborer)
		1901	Rosa Brown, c
		1906	Mary Hall, c
		1912	John Green, c (laborer)
		1916	Leon Patrick, cigars

Table 2, Continued.
Owners and Occupants in the Study Tract

1921	Philip S. Minges, guns and bicycles	1926	Moses Peters, c (laborer)
1926	Charleston Auto and Furniture	1931	vacant
	Ducco Painting Co. (N. Sottilt, manager)	1938	Thomas Roper, c (laborer)
1931	vacant	1944	Paul Delattre, doctor's office
151½ Market		157 Market	
1890	vacant	1852-56	Est. of Charles Evans — C.D. Ahrens & G. Creit —
1892	Ella Dantzler, c		Robert Evans (listed as 97 Market — 2 story brick)
153 Market		1861	Robert Evans, occupied by Robert Evans (listed as 137 Market - brick)
1861	Ziba B. Oakes, occupied by Benjamin F. High (<i>listed as 133 Market - brick</i>)	1886	Charles Brown (clerk)
1890	P.M. Thorne, c, saloon	1890	vacant
1892	H.A. Davis, c, saloon	1892	Madam Mollie Wells
1897	George Wilson, c, pool room	1897	Madam Jennie Truitt
1901	vacant	1901	Madam Jennie Truitt
1906	vacant	1906	Madam Jennie Truitt
1912	Charleston Bill Posting Co. (Charles R. Mathews, manager, also manager, Academy of Music)	1912	Carrie Morant, c (laundress)
1916	Charleston Poster A[vertising] & D[istributing] Co. (John Marshall, president)	1916	Carrie Morant, c
1921	Miller Auto Transfer Co. (A.J. Miller, proprietor) see also 159 Market	1921	Carrie Morant, c
1926	vacant	1926	Emily Smiley, c
1931	vacant	1931	Miss Jacquelina Smith
1938	Academy Parkway, parking lot (Lionel C. Lakey and George H. Lakey, managers)	1938	William Brooks, c (stevedore)
1944	Academy Parkway (listed as 151 Market, with no listing for 153 Market)	1944	William Brooks, c (laborer, naval yard)
155 Market		159 Market	
1861	Ziba B. Oakes, occupied by Phillip Weatherhahn (<i>listed as 135 Market</i>)	1852-56	Bancroft & Co., John H. and M.E. [?] — Betts & Co. — Est. of Jonathan Adger (listed as lot and 3 story brick)
1890	Madam Laura Bellmont	1861	Robert Evans, occupied by a storehouse of wood (listed as 139 Market)
1892	Madam Amelia Smith	1890	warehouse
1897	Madam Etta Way	1892	warehouse
1901	Harry Simmons, c	1897	vacant warehouse
1906	Corrie Holmes, c	1901	vacant warehouse
1912	Charles Rubanco, c	1906	Rudolph D. Wieters, Palmetto Bowling Club?
1916	Carrie Holmes, c	1912	
1921	Thomas Grant, c, produce	1916	Millers Auto Co. (James A. and Les Miller)
		1921	Miller Auto Transfer Co. (A.J. Miller, proprietor) see also 153 Market
		1926	vacant

Table 2, Continued.
Owners and Occupants in the Study Tract

1931	Dixie Auto Repair (E.B. Killingsworth, proprietor)	1897	vacant store
1938	vacant	1901	W.L. Johnson, c, barber shop
1944	Rumph Gas Auto Service (Gus Rumph, proprietor)	1906	W.L. Johnson, c
		1926	Harry Police
161 Market		1931	Life Saver Restaurant (Frank Singleton, proprietor), c see also 40 Archdale
1852-56	Miss E.D. Seymour (<i>listed as 99 Market — 2 story brick</i>)	1944	Leon McNeill, sells soft drinks, c
1861	Robert W. Seymour, occupied by Jane Thomas, spc (<i>listed as 141 Market - brick</i>)	34 Archdale	
1897	private grounds	1852-56	Albert Elfe — C.H. Klenke — H. Heins (<i>listed as 26 Archdale - 2 story brick</i>)
1912	Julius Johnson, c, restaurant	1860	C.H. Klenke (<i>listed as corner of Princess and Archdale streets</i>)
1916	James C. Madray, stove repair	1861	C. H. Klenke (also occupant) (<i>listed as 24 Archdale — brick</i>)
1921	Anna Baker, c, restaurant	1886	John C. Lilenthal, saloon
1926	vacant	1890	J.C. Lilenthal, grocery/saloon and residence
1938	vacant	1892	J.C. Lilenthal, grocery/saloon and residence
163 Market		1897	James E. Black, grocery and residence
1852-56	Est. of Mrs. H.D. Walker — Mrs. L.B. [?] — James S. Slattery — George W. Busby — S.N. and H.N. Hart (<i>listed as 101 Market — 2 story brick</i>)	1901	vacant
1861	Robert W. Seymour, occupied by Ann Graves, spc (<i>listed as 143 Market - brick</i>)	1906	Leon Patrick, cigars
0890	Philip McCue, c	1912	James P. Carroll, restaurant
1892	Carolina Brown, c	1916	Louis Manos, grocery and residence
1897	Henry Alston, c (bellboy)	1921	George Faracio (soft drink sales)
1901	Jeffrey Bryan, c, wood shop	1926	vacant
	Jonathan Williams, c, fruit stand and residence	1931	vacant
1906	Estelle Robinson, c	1938	vacant
1921	Harry Police (works at billiard hall)	1944	Peoples Barber Shop (Theodore Givens, proprietor), c
1926	vacant	36 Archdale	
1931	Mrs. Grace Jones, boarding house	1831	Charles W. Seiloff, grocer
1938	vacant	1852-56	Est. George Rout — Mrs. Anne C. Hauck (<i>listed as 28 Archdale - 3 story brick</i>)
1944	vacant	1860	J. Greenland (factor on Union Wharf) (<i>listed as 28 Archdale</i>)
165 Market		1861	Est. George Rout, occupied by Mrs. Greenland (<i>listed as 26 Archdale</i>)
1861	Robert W. Seymour, unoccupied (<i>listed as 144 Market</i>)	1890	Mrs. Anne E. Houck
1886	John Dock, c, barber shop	1892	Patrick Aylward (partner, Dunnemann & Aylward)
1890	S.H. Sanders. c, barber shop	1897	vacant
1892	S.H. Sanders. c, barber shop		

Table 2, Continued.
Owners and Occupants in the Study Tract

1901	John Hogan (city detective)	1890	J.H. Bullwinkle, grocery
1906	Mrs. Rachel Grooms		Thomas Evans, c
1912	John Hogan (city detective)	1892	J.H. Bullwinkle, grocery and saloon
1916	Manning S. Heisser	1897	John H. Bullwinkle, grocery
1921	Manning S. Heisser, printshop and residence	1901	J.H. Bullwinkle, grocery
1926	Manning S. Heisser (printer)		Ella Paine, c.
1931	Manning S. Heisser (printer)	1906	J. H. Bullwinkel [sic], grocery
1938	Manning S. Heisser (printer)	1912	John H. Bullwinkle, grocery
1944	Heisser Printing Co. and Manning S. Heisser (printer)	1921	Harry Police, billiard parlor
		1926	Harry Police, restaurant and pool hall
38 Archdale		1931	Life Saver Restaurant (Frank Singleton, proprietor), c see also 165 Market
1852-56	E. Dubois — [?] Carmand — Thomas Aimer, Trustee <i>(listed as 30 Archdale - 2 story wood)</i>	1938	Torlay Brothers, plumbing (John F. Torlay, proprietor)
1860	Thomas Aimer <i>(listed as 30 Archdale)</i>	1944	Torlay Brothers Plumbing
1861	Thomas Aimer, Trustee , occupied by Thomas Aimer <i>(listed as 28 Archdale - wood)</i>		
1878	Thomas O. and P. St. Julian Aimer <i>(listed as 30</i> <i>Archdale)</i>	10 Princess	
1886	Thomas O. Aimer (clerk) (also P. St. Julian Aimer and William W. Aimer)	1852-56	Edwin P. Starr <i>(listed as 2 Princess, lot)</i>
1890	Charles O. Aimer	1861	Est. of Edwin P. Starr , occupied by James Clotworthy's shop <i>(listed as 2 Princess —</i> <i>wood)</i>
1892	P. St. Julian Aimer (naval stores exporter)	1890	Abraham Simmons, c (laborer)
1897	Thomas O. Aimar (druggist)	1892	Abraham Simmons, c (laborer)
1901	vacant	1897	Samuel Williams, c (fireman, steam tug)
1906	Emily Johnson, c	1901	vacant
1912	James Kinloch, c	1906	vacant
1916	William Brown, c. (laborer)	1912	Mary Wiggins, c
1921	William Wray, c	1916	Catherine Deas, c
1926	Arthur Gary (laborer)	1921	Michael Ford, c (laborer)
1931	Emma Gibbes, c (laundress)	1926	Annie Brown, c (cook)
1938	William Holt, c	1931	vacant
1944	Bowens Middleton, c		
		12 Princess	
40 Archdale		1852-56	Robert Evans — Ahrens & Kriete <i>(listed as 4 Princess,</i> <i>lot and brick workshop)</i>
1852-56	[?] Vogelsand → burnt down <i>(listed as 32 Archdale -</i> <i>2 story wood)</i>	1861	Robert Evans , occupied by Robert Evan's shop <i>(listed</i> <i>as 4 Princess — wood)</i>
1860	James Moorehead, grocery <i>(listed on corner of</i> <i>Archdale and Market)</i>	1890	Daniel Ford, c (laborer)
1861	James Moorehead , occupied by James Moorehead <i>(listed as 30 Archdale - brick)</i>	1892	Daniel Ford, c (laborer)
1886	J.H. and H.B. Bullwinkle, grocers	1897	private grounds
		1901	vacant

Table 2, Continued.
Owners and Occupants in the Study Tract

1906	Stephen Palmer, c	1897	Rosa Roach, c (laundress)
1912	James Mitchell, c (tailor)	1901	Isaiah Richardson, c
1916	Fannie Harvey, c	1931	Evelina Lewis, c
1921	Robert Graham, c (laborer)		
1926	Ernest Morton, c (laborer)	20 Princess	
1931	Charles Brown, c (stevedore)	1852-56	W.P. Shinger (<i>listed as 12 Princess — 3 story wood</i>)
1938	John Small, c (U.S. Naval Yard)	1861	William P. Shingler , occupied by Isabella Mikell, fpc (<i>listed as 12 Princess</i>)
1944	Lillie Green, c	1897	Rosa Brown, c (laundress)
14 Princess		1901	vacant
1852-56	William Neal (<i>listed as 6 Princess — 2½ story brick</i>)	1921	Samuel Bonaparte, c (peddler)
1861	J.R. Stall, unoccupied (<i>listed as 4 Princess — brick</i>)	1938	Robert Birtch, c (stevedore)
1890	storehouse	1944	Rita Gudine, c (laundress)
1892	James Haselton, c (bricklayer)	22 Princess	
1897	Julie Brown, c (laundress)	1852-56	James Morehead — John M Grath (<i>listed as 2½ story brick</i>)
1901	Florence Gardener, c	1861	James Moorhead , occupied by Alice Hastings (<i>listed as 14 Princess — brick</i>)
1916	Bertie Ariope, c	1890	Catherine A. Birney, c
1921	Lillie Bedon, c	1892	Arthur Lee, c (laborer)
1926	Joseph Reid, c (laborer)	1897	James Campbell, c (hostler)
1931	Evelina Williams, c (laundress)	1901	Elizabeth Dorley, c
1938	Rosalie Brown, c (laundress)		
1944	Rosa Brown, c		
16 Princess		24 Princess	
1852-56	Casne Bainbridge — R. Stall (<i>listed as 8 Princess — 2½ story brick</i>)	1852-56	James Morehead — C.H. Klenche (<i>listed as 14 Princess — 2 story wood</i>)
1861	J.R. Stall, occupied by Mary Collins (<i>listed as 8 Princess — brick</i>)	1861	James Moorhead , occupied by Elizabeth Barnwell, fpc (<i>listed as 16 Princess — wood</i>)
1890	Williams Sanders	1906	Arthur Edwards, c
1892	vacant	1938	Rosa Parker, c (laundress)
1897	vacant	1944	Rosa Parker, c
1916	Christina Brown, c.		
1926	J. Davis, c. (laborer)		
1931	Rose Oliver, c		
18 Princess			
1852-56	James English (<i>listed as 10 Princess — 3 story wood</i>)		
1861	William P. Shingler, occupied by Harriet Remley, fpc (<i>listed as 10 Princess — wood</i>)		
1890	Thomas Gaillard, c		
1892	William Sanders, c (laborer)		

the quietude of the night with their polluted songs" (Fraser 1989:235). Immediately before the Civil War Fraser notes that houses of prostitution with "free colored street walkers" and white "loose women" were concentrated in the area of West and Princess streets, as were "gambling saloons" — all in the heart of the project area!

During the postbellum years Fraser notes that the whore houses were the most integrated institution in Charleston. They were "staffed by black and white women who served customers of all races" (Fraser 1989:280). Gradually the area went even further downhill, so that by the end of the century, Princess, Judith, Ann, Charlotte, and Elizabeth streets were rife with illegal traffic in whiskey, gambling, and prostitution (Fraser 1989:332-333). By the turn of the century, the area just off lower King Street, on Clifford, Beresford, and Princess streets, as well as along nearby West, Archdale, Beaufain, and Mazyck street, had become a quasi-official "segregated district," where prostitution was openly tolerated. Charleston's mayors and police chiefs found it inexpedient to end prostitution — the fines for which, along with those attached to illegal alcohol, provided the city with the funds to operate. The practice continued generally unabated into the mid-twentieth century.

Pease and Pease (1985:167) compare the attitudes of the residents of Boston and Charleston to crime, especially "victimless crimes." In 1834 Boston's police court, in a six month period, committed 249 individuals to varying lengths in the House of Corrections as punishment for minor crimes. Of those sentenced, 80% were prostitutes, drunks, or vagabonds. There was a focus on what Pease and Pease call "personal deportment, rather than damage to other persons or property." In contrast, the 223 blacks tried and sentenced by Charleston's mayor's court during the year of 1838 were primarily convicted of "loitering in retail shops, purchasing liquor without tickets, sleeping out without tickets, keeping dogs contrary to law, gambling, depositing shavings or other combustible matter in the streets, improper riding or driving generally, [and] improper riding or driving on the Sabbath day." But of this list Pease and Pease note that only one crime was leveled against whites — placing combustibles in the streets. They observe that no one in Charleston was punished for

prostitution — because it was not a crime. Bellows explains the situation a little differently, commenting that Charleston authorities "winked at the revels of the red-light districts, and the city benefited from taxing the 'groceries' selling alcohol" (Bellows 1993:80).

Thomas Lowry (1994) provides a view of American morals during the Civil War, exploring camp followers, as well as prostitution in Washington, Memphis, and Nashville. He provides research on the women involved, their lifestyle, and those who frequented them. For example, in Nashville at one of the largest whorehouses in 1860, there were 28 occupants, including 17 prostitutes, six school children, two preschool children, and three adult male boarders (Lowry 1994:77). This curious mix, while not fully explained, is very similar to that seen at many of the houses in the project area and also illustrates that houses of prostitution may leave archaeological signatures which are otherwise domestic in appearance. While some were wealthy, many more were, in Lowry's words, "one step from poverty." Regardless, "if the weather was warm, women of Smokey Row could be seen in every state of undress. The busy river commerce and the affluence of city trade [not unlike Charleston] supported . . . at least 200 ladies of the night in 1860. During the Union occupation of both Nashville and Memphis a unique experiment in legalized, government-regulated prostitution was undertaken, apparently with some degree of success. Clearly Charleston's toleration of "soiled doves" was not as unique as it might otherwise seem.

Perhaps the best concrete evidence of this continuing toleration occurred during the South Carolina and West Indian Exposition was held in Charleston in 1902. Charleston madams united, according to Leland, to publish *The Blue Book*, an 11-page pamphlet listing some of the city's whore houses, with addresses and names (Leland 1991:20). The only known copy, at The Charleston Museum Library, reveals no advertisers in the study block. However, directly across Archdale Street from the study tract was 37 Archdale where *The Blue Book* announces "your trip to Charleston will not be complete unless you call at No. 37 Archdale" where Miss Marie Manning will ensure

that visitors are "properly entertained." Also listed at this address are Miss Mary Clark, Miss Ida Lavelle, Miss Mary Odell, Miss Lottie Tick, Miss Marie Taylor, and Miss Beatrice Mentell.

We are gradually realizing that prostitution is a very complex historical topic, closely entwined with a number of other events. Bellows remarks that it was in the 1820s, just when society began romanticizing family life, that:

the real status of women and their children declines in all American cities. Economist Thomas Cooper was clearly moved by the widespread and unjust condition of working women. In his collection of lectures given at South Carolina College, he notes in three places the startling fact that most Philadelphia seamstresses working from dawn to dusk scarcely made sixteen dollars annually. Not only pieceworkers but all working women suffered exploitation by the "master dealers, the capitalists," who received twice what they paid their laborers (Bellows 1993:95).

Roberts offers a similar analysis, noting that prostitution was often a way out of poverty for women both in England and in America. She notes that:

the 19th century was no different from any other period of history: the overwhelming majority of whores were working-class women . . . The pioneering investigative reporter Henry Mayhew, plumbing the depths of "darkest London" in 1849 to describe the lives of poor seamstresses, wrote, "I have seen much want, but I had no idea of the intensity of the privations suffered by the needlewomen." . . . Mayhew's collaborator Bracebridge Hemynd listed the trades which "supplied women to swell the ranks of

prostitutes": they included servants, slop workers [women sewing for cheap tailors], milliners, dressmakers, hat-makers, furriers, silk-winders, embroiderers, shoe-binders, laundresses, "ballet girls" and shop workers . . . the low value of their labor pushed them inexorably toward dependence on a man, or prostitution (Roberts 1992:231-232).

This is not to say that the trades of the mantua maker, milliner, or seamstress were "codes" for prostitution. Nor does it mean that all white or black women engaged in these professions were prostitutes. But the information provided by Roberts and others suggests that women in these trades were most often forced into prostitution as an alternative to incomes so low that they were inadequate for even the basic human necessities.

In fact, unlike the "conventional wisdom," prostitutes were not necessarily victims — some used the trade to increase their financial stability, later leaving the trade and re-integrating themselves with the polite society they had never totally left. Roberts, like Fraser, notes that whoring in Southern society affected both races:

In New Orleans, especially before the Civil War, high-class whoring was the only way in which women with black blood could compete with whites. Quadroon and octoroon ladies — those with one quarter and one eighth black blood — were highly sought-after as mistresses by the white youth of the southern élite. . . . And black whores played an important role in the anti-slavery movement; their money helped finance the struggle that led to the American Civil War (Roberts 1992:212).

Even this very brief historical overview of the block bounded by Market, King, Princess, and Archdale reveals this steamy side of Charleston's history. The presence of saloons, "groceries," and

pool halls, the frequent changes in occupants, the large number of rental properties, the number of women with no listed occupations, the presence of tale-tale occupations like seamstress and laundress all reveal the subtle evidence for a bawdy neighborhood. Leland (1991:57) is only partially correct when he mentions that, "there remains nothing to indicate where as many as 29 bordellos once thrived" in Charleston — archaeology and history can both contribute to our understanding of this lifestyle.

The archaeology of prostitution has not been extensively explored, although Donna Seifert, with John Milner Associates, has had the opportunity to explore several sites associated with both working family households and houses of prostitution in Washington, D.C. (Seifert 1991, 1992).

When the artifact assemblages are compared she notes that while there are minor differences in the relative proportions and composition of personal and clothing artifacts, there are much more noticeable differences in the tobacco and activities groups. There is a markedly higher frequency of pipes associated with the prostitute collections, perhaps related to the frequency of visiting men, although the resident prostitutes may have smoked as well. Working family households have higher quantities of activity group artifacts and the assemblages include toys and tools, reflecting family life. In contrast, the assemblages from houses of prostitution tended to include more flowerpots.

Seifert also found differences in the kitchen assemblages, noting that:

household composition and related consumer patterns are probably responsible for the differences in the assemblages: family groups, and boarders of both sexes and a range of ages acquired more food storage, preparation, and serving vessels; more tools; and more toys. Single women living and working together apparently did not enjoy a lavish lifestyle, but lived much

as their neighbors did (Seifert 1992:5).

Free Persons of Color in the Project Area

Although Charleston before 1864 is sometimes characterized by the dichotomy between black and white — free and slave — there were from very early times "free persons of color." The first census, in 1790, found 8,089 white persons, 7,684 slaves, and 586 free blacks in Charleston. Hence, very early in Charleston's history free blacks constituted nearly 3.6% of the city's population. By 1861 free blacks comprised 7.8% of Charleston's population. A few of these African Americans obtained their freedom by purchasing it. Others were "manumitted" by their master's will, at times for recognition of special services or skills, and at other times for recognition of blood bonds. There are also cases where free blacks entered South Carolina from other states.

E. Horace Fitchett observed in the study of Charleston that early in the eighteenth century continuing into the very early nineteenth century, "there emerged in Charleston a relatively economically independent group of free Negroes" (Fitchett 1940:142). In 1819 they were listed in thirty different occupations, including 11 as carpenters, 10 as tailors, 22 as seamstresses, six as shoemakers, and one as the owner of a hotel. By 1849 there were 50 different types of work listed — including 50 carpenters, 43 tailors, 9 shoemakers, and 21 butchers. Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark describe them as the:

working aristocracy, an aristocracy with callouses. Their wealth was only a fraction of that of Charleston's white aristocrats, and, unlike the white aristocracy, it did not consist of lush tidewater plantations or gangs of slaves. Instead, it was largely in the form of urban real estate, an outgrowth of their quest for economic security (Johnson and Roark 1984:6).

In spite of this characterization, Johnson and Roark note that more than 75% of Charleston's

free African Americans were propertyless and only about one out of six heads of household owned property worth \$2,000 or more. There was a broad economic — and likely societal¹² — gulf between Charleston's free black aristocracy and the vast majority of the "free persons of color." Ira Berlin notes that, "while many free Negroes made a comfortable living, most were pushed into dismal poverty, forced to live and work under conditions barely distinguishable from those of the mass of slaves" (Berlin 1974:218). In Charleston, if not elsewhere, it appears that freedom and especially the aristocracy, was linked with light skin. Johnson and Roark observe that while mulattoes made up only 5% of South Carolina's slaves, they comprised nearly three-quarters of the state's 9,914 free persons of color just before the Civil War. They also note that Charleston's free colored elite was "uniformly brown, even though about a quarter of the city's 3,237 free Negroes were black" (Johnson and Roark 1984:6).

The free brown and black artisans, craftsmen, and tradesmen in 1860 could be divided into three economic groups — the first paid taxes on property ranging in value from \$1,000 to \$5,000 and had an average of .54 slaves each. The second paid taxes on property ranging in value from \$5,000 to \$10,000 and owned what averages out to 3½ slaves each. The final group — the very wealthiest — paid taxes on property valued at \$10,000 to over \$40,000 and owned an average of six slaves each. One individual in this class owned as many as 14 slaves. Grimes et al. note that, "when free colored tradespeople needed help in their shops, they turned to the most available labor supply: slaves" (Grimes et al. nd:13). While some purchased family members or friends in order to protect them from the terror of slavery, not all were motivated by humanitarian interests. Fitchett observed that the behavior of at least the brown elite "was a replica of that class in white society which they aspired to be like." More importantly, he explains that:

¹² Fitchett observed in 1940 that, "one of the characteristics of the free Negro of Charleston . . . is that it was a class-conscious group; and identified its interest, loyalties, and manners with the upper cast members of the society in so far as that behavior did not offend or disturb the *status quo*" (Fitchett 1940:144).

it is fair to say that the upper caste free Negro served as a custodian of the [white] system. He interrupted plans which the detached, discontented, underprivileged Negroes designed to overthrow or to offend the mores of the system (Fitchett 1940:147).

Regrettably, this gulf between the "average" free person of color and the "brown elite" has not been well studied by historians (see, however, Berlin 1974) or archaeologists.

Berlin notes that most black women worked at "menial, servile occupations," since Southern cities such as Charleston offered few opportunities for employment of women, regardless of color (see the previous discussion concerning the status of women and prostitution during the nineteenth century). Berlin notes that:

like poor white women, most free Negro women worked as cooks, laundresses, housekeepers, and peddlers. But many more free Negro than white women were forced to work. The social imbalance of the free Negro caste in the cities placed many black women at the head of their household, and even when a man was present, his income was often insufficient to support the family (Berlin 1974:221).

The free black males, as previously mentioned, were employed in a variety of fields, although most remained unskilled laborers. And in spite of the many artisans, one of the most important black jobs was bartering — requiring little capital, the number grew steadily during the antebellum. Berlin, however, observes:

the most common black enterprises were small cookshops and groceries, which usually doubled as saloons and gambling houses where free Negroes, slaves, and occasionally whites

gathered (Berlin 1974:241-242).

Martha Zierden and her colleagues provide one of the best discussions, a detailed examination of free persons of color, primarily for Charleston's "East Side" (Rosengarten et al. 1987:72-92). While the discussions provide a range of carefully collected data demonstrating that the gulf existed, there is relatively little cultural interpretation of how this gulf may have affected African-American society or how the differences may have been perceived in the archaeological record.

The Charleston Museum's East Side study also reveals the intensity of the geographic concentrations of free persons of color. Low rents and the ability to build houses of wood on the Neck (outside the regulation of the City) are offered as reasons that free blacks gravitated toward the area, with free blacks over represented on 19 out of 38 streets north of Calhoun and east of King (Rosengarten et al. 1987:73). This is graphically illustrated for 1859 in Figure 39. While there are dense concentrations, specially along Coming Street north of Calhoun and in area east of Meeting and north of Calhoun, there are relatively few free persons of color living south of Calhoun, especially within several blocks of the project area.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

Strategy and Methods

One of the more cogent discussions of archaeological survey techniques on urban sites is provided by Honerkamp and his colleagues from their work at the Telfair Site in Savannah Georgia:

Adequate archaeological surveys of urban sites require approaches that are considerably different from those applied at shallow, less complex sites. The [backhoe] trenching technique used in the preliminary study was inadequate for doing more than locating brick foundation and generating unprovenienced artifact collections; the integrity of the site's archaeological resources could not be determined at all. Secondary testing, which was not carried out prior to data recovery, would have been useful in determining the site's research potential. In fact, it may be that a restructuring of the traditional CRMsurvey-testing-data recovery approach is now in order. We recommend that future survey-level projects at urban sites included intensive, systematic documentary research to determine basic site parameters (demography, site function, ethnic affiliations, identification of features for archaeological targeting, etc.) prior to any archaeological fieldwork. Only in rare situations would an urban site be devoid of all documentation, but the absence of such documentation would not, of course, preclude further investigation by archaeologists.

Indeed, such as a situation would constitute a strong argument in favor of archaeological testing. In most cases, however, documentary data will be available that can be used to structure archaeological research in an efficient, productive manner (Honerkamp et al. 1983:187).

This is not to say that archaeologists don't use backhoes and other forms of heavy equipment in either testing or data recovery operations at urban sites, primarily as a cost-savings measure allowing greater exposures in less time than conventional hand excavation. Backhoes may be used to remove overburden or may be used to excavate trenches to expose features; alternatively, bulldozers may be used to remove overburden, with graders then used to slowly expose features for excavation (see Cheek et al. 1983; Garrow 1982; Joseph 1993; and Louis Berger & Associates 1985 for examples of these different approaches).

Nor is to say that heavy equipment is never used in surveys; Southeastern Archaeological Services recently used a series of 14 trenches to survey the Riverfront Augusta Site (see Joseph 1993:6-10). In general, however, we are inclined to agree with Honerkamp's assessment — backhoe cuts often offer little in the way of survey information. Some investigators have even suggested that urban surveys can be accomplished with no field investigations (a case in point being the 1978 survey by Cosans and Henry of the Charleston Center project). Grimes and Zierden (1988:53) on the Charleston Visitor's Center site even note that "an archival survey is the most effective means" of conducting a Phase I survey. It wasn't until their Phase II testing project that any excavations were conducted. Then Zierden and her colleagues implemented a combination of three 5-foot test units placed to identify specific features or activity areas in the eastern third of the project

area, coupled with an auger survey at 20 foot intervals over the remainder of the open tract (Grimes and Zierden 1988:53-54). The auger data was then used to generate a series of density maps suitable for identification of areas requiring further research during their Phase 3 program.

The survey methodology employed by Chicora Foundation for the Saks Fifth Avenue block drew heavily on the previous experience of The Charleston Museum's urban archaeology program. The importance of detailed historical information concerning those living on the block, and the organization of lots lines and structures, was clear. Consequently, a week of historical investigation was conducted at the Charleston Register of Mesne Conveyances, the South Carolina Historical Society, the Charleston Public Library, the City of Charleston Archives, the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, and the South Caroliniana Library. This research concentrated on the retrieval of cartographic and plat sources which would show changes in the block over time, as well as obtaining information on the ethnicity and social status of those living on the block. Only once this was complete were field investigations undertaken. We chose to conduct an auger survey at 20 foot intervals, similar to that successfully undertaken by The Charleston Museum on the Visitor's Center Project.

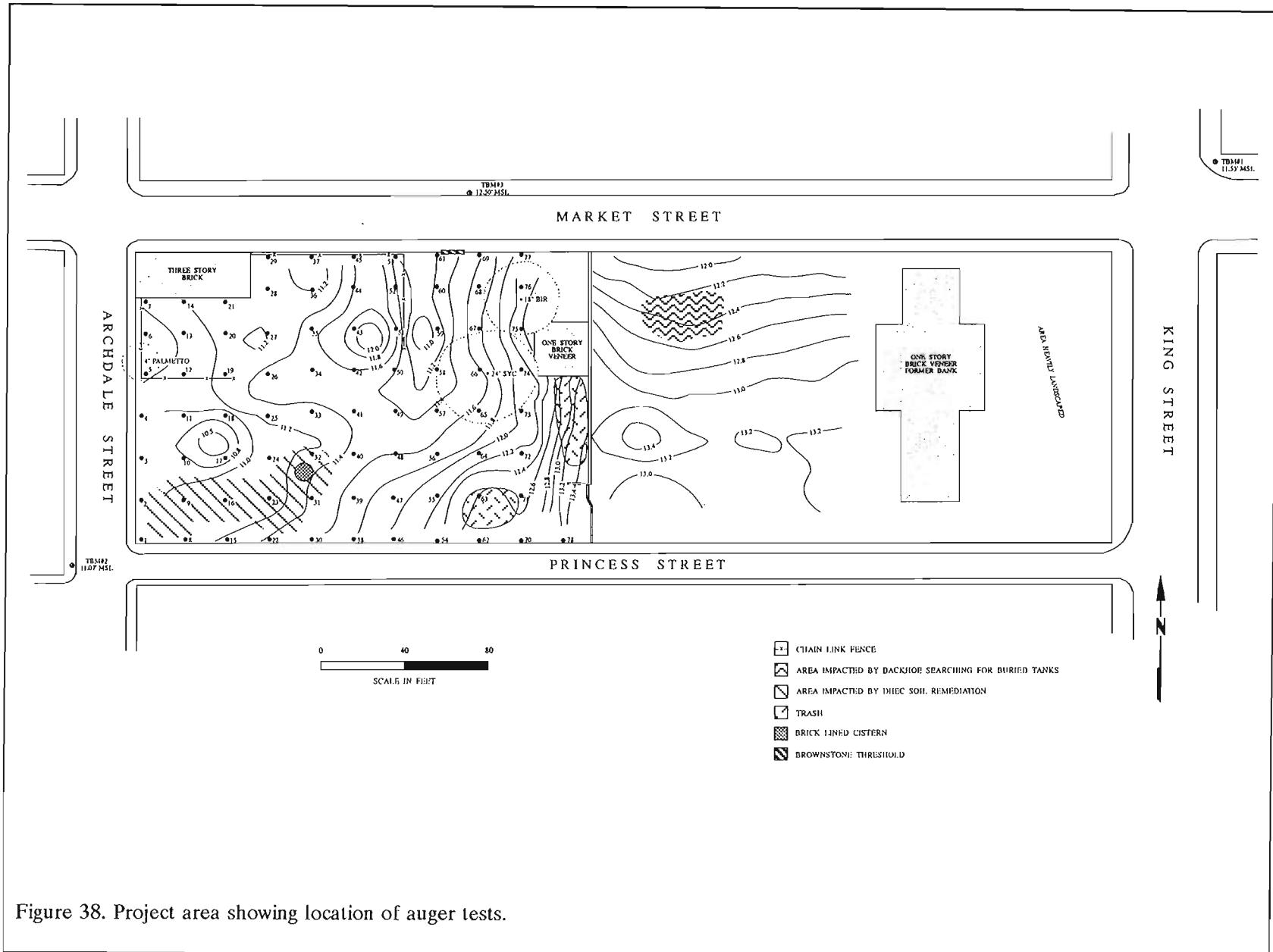
We selected an auger survey over controlled excavations since we could open a larger area and explore a greater portion of the site in less time — and time was a very valuable commodity on this particular project. The auger survey would allow us, in combination with the historical research, to make broader predictive statements concerning the lot than the excavation of a small handful of 5-foot units. Likewise, the auger survey allowed artifacts to be collected, and profiles to be recorded, of a large portion the site, unlike the placement of one or two backhoe cuts. The auger survey was also likely to attract less attention than backhoe excavations and create less of a risk that the archaeological resources of the block would be looted by bottle collectors and "privy diggers" prior to any subsequent professional investigation which might be found appropriate. Exposure of privies and other

features in the survey phase by backhoe cuts would needlessly place the site at risk.

The methodology selected, however, was applicable only in the western half of the lot. The eastern half was covered with the modern bank building and an asphalt parking lot. While some areas of the parking lot could have been opened using a backhoe, allowing either hand excavations or backhoe cuts, this approach would have been subject to all of the shortcomings previously discussed — relatively little information would have resulted, the effort would have taken considerably more time than allowed for the project, it would have exposed the archaeological resources to looting, and it would have disrupted the current commercial activity on-site. Consequently, we made the decision to base our judgement on the entire block on the historical research and the close interval auger survey of the western half of the property. We believe that this decision is justified by the circumstances.

The field investigations included a brief pedestrian survey (approximately 2 person hours) on Saturday, December 17, followed by the field investigations on Monday, December 19 (18 person hours). The reconnaissance was performed to verify the topographic map (prepared by Chicora Foundation using the elevations provided by SouthStar Surveying (dated September 20, 1994) and examine the nature of the project area. Photographs were taken at the time of the pedestrian survey to document site conditions.

The subsequent field investigations included laying out a 20 foot grid over the western half of the site, beginning at the southwest corner of the study tract and encompassing the vast bulk of the property up to the brick wall separating the dirt parking area from the paved parking lot of the bank. Each potential auger point was identified with a pin flag and the grid points were numbered sequentially from south to north and from west to east, for a total of 78 potential auger test points (Figure 38). The 20-foot grid spacing was used based on The Charleston's Museum success using this transect distance and based on our own work on rural sites. Of the 78 potential points, one was



not augered because of its location in the middle of a large, deep water puddle; one was not augered since it was situated within the middle of a large trash pile; and two were not augered because they were adjacent to a building in an area of high dense weeds and trash.¹ Consequently, a total of 74 points were augered. A simple aligned sampling scheme was selected since we know that our grid would have to work around not only parked cars, but also the coming and going of both cars and pedestrians. We felt that the simplest sampling scheme possible would be more accurate, presenting fewer opportunities for undiscovered errors; would allow the grid to be reconstructed more easily if required; and would be easily established considering the obstacles present in the parking lot.

A two-person power auger with a 9-inch diameter and 3-foot long bit was used. Each point was augered as close as practical to the identified grid point. Since the study tract was being used for parking, a number of the actual tests were located as far as two to five feet away from the actual grid location to avoid damaging automobiles. Other points were moved to avoid trash piles or other obstacles, although again none were moved more than five feet from the originally defined location. All fill was screened through $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch mesh and the profile of each auger test was recorded. Artifacts were bagged by provenience and brick rubble was weighed before being discarded in the field.

Although a power auger has the potential to penetrate many fill episodes, it cannot break through dense brick fill zones. Consequently, the depths of the auger holes ranged from as shallow as 0.6 foot to as deep as 2.2 feet. We feel that a sufficient number of tests penetrated the fill zones to provide a good sample of the entire site. However, it would be inappropriate to compare artifact counts or brick weights between auger tests of different depths. Consequently, all of the

computer density maps are based on extrapolated results for 1 cubic foot of fill.² Maps were prepared for brick weight, total number of artifact, ceramics, bottle glass, and architectural artifacts.

Findings

The initial pedestrian reconnaissance revealed that the site area was largely being used as a parking lot, operated by the Central Parking System. As previously mentioned, this created a number of obstacles to any survey techniques (Figures 39 and 40). The western half of the lot was found to be dirt (Figure 39), with a large number of artifacts present on the surface (Figure 41), including brick and mortar rubble, ceramics, and glass, as well as occasional modern materials, such as spark plugs and automobile parts. On the northwest corner of the block (at 40 Archdale Street) is the standing three story brick building previously serving as a commercial and residential structure (Figure 42). Other areas were covered with dense trash, including cut trees and fragments of brick walls from previous demolitions (Figures 43 and 44).

The western half of the block may be conveniently divided into three areas. The first is that around the standing structure and within the remains of a chain link fence (the lot associated with the building during the third quarter of the twentieth century, after the adjacent wood frame house was demolished). The second is a smaller area fronting Market Street which is lower in elevation than the remaining area, probably reflecting the interior of a building. This area, in fact, corresponds with a brownstone measuring 10 feet in length and 1.1 feet in width on Market Street, which probably served as the threshold for a street level business. It is associated with 159 Market Street, a warehouse and later a store.

The eastern half of the block was paved

¹ There are different safety considerations in the urban environment than in a rural setting. In the urban setting we are cautious of all areas which might conceal hypodermic needles, broken glass, rats, fecal material, and similar items. Hence, areas with dense trash or high weeds which might obscure hazards are avoided.

² This means, for example, that the brick weight, or artifact count, of an auger test 1.0 foot deep was multiplied by a constant of 2.27 to yield the volume equivalent of 1 cubic foot. The contents of an auger test 1.7 foot deep would be multiplied by a constant of 1.33 to yield the same volume.



Figure 39. Western half of the project block, view toward the northwest showing the standing structure on the corner of Archdale and Market streets.



Figure 40. Eastern half of the project block, view to the northeast showing the vacant bank building.



Figure 41. Typical ground surface, showing the presence of ceramics, glass, plaster, and brick rubble.



Figure 42. Structure at 40 Archdale Street, west facade.



Figure 43. Trash and vegetation in the interior of the study tract. Area typical of those excluded from auger testing.



Figure 44. Trash pile on Princess Street, showing dead tree and intact brick wall fragment.

(Figure 40) and occupied by the standing bank building. A portion of the associated parking lot, first identified by the parking attendant, had been dug up within the past month, apparently in a search for underground storage tanks (Figure 45). This area was the only portion of the eastern block area open for inspection and although its archaeological context had been destroyed by the excavation, there was abundant brick rubble and occasional artifacts offering testimony to the presence of archaeological remains under the asphalt pavement.³

The subsequent auger survey, while forced to concentrate on only the western half of the block, found very dense, and apparently in situ, archaeological remains. Figure 46 reveals the distribution of brick rubble over the study area. While demolition and subsequent use of the lot has certainly both reduced the density of brick and worked to disperse what remains, there are still areas of clear concentration. One of these is along Archdale and almost certainly represents the brick dwelling at 36 Archdale, demolished in 1957. Another concentration is likely associated with the brick warehouse previously discussed with the brownstone threshold. A third is just north of Princess Street, in the vicinity of 16 Princess — one of the few brick structures on this particular street. A fourth concentration is immediately behind (i.e., east) of the standing structure.

Figure 47 reveals the distribution of animal bone (quantified by weight in grams) recovered from the auger survey. All of the bone appears to be archaeological (i.e., none appears to be recent urban additions). There are several clear concentrations. One is perhaps associated with the very narrow space between the standing brick building at 40 Archdale and its previous neighbor, a wooded structure used during its life as a dwelling. There is some suggestion that this narrow piece of ground was a convenient location for trash disposal. The bone debris from this area smears

³ This is a common situation in Charleston. Zierden's work with The Charleston Museum has involved removing parking lots at Atlantic Wharf and at the what is today the Charleston Visitor's Center for the recovery of dense, and well preserved, archaeological remains.

into the yard of the associated structure. Other areas appear to be largely side and back lot areas — places identified by previous Charleston archaeology as likely locations for the disposal of trash. The presence of faunal remains is not unusual at Charleston's urban sites (virtually all of Zierden's previous work has identified sufficient faunal material to warrant the attention of Dr. Betsy Reitz and her students) and Charleston has played a prominent role in the development of our understanding of urban foodways. The presence of relatively dense faunal remains in this survey suggests that the study area is intact and well preserved.

Figures 48 through 50 provide graphic interpretations of container glass, ceramics, and total artifact density on the western half of the block. The only areas without artifacts are those associated with the previous soil removal in the southwestern corner. Elsewhere, the density seems to be very high (although comparative information is limited to the Charleston Visitor's Center). It is likely that the incredibly high glass density at the very southwestern edge of the lot is the result of a rather modern phenomenon — that of throwing container glass out on street corners. There is a general "background" level of glass of just under 10 fragments per cubic foot. Concentrations are found in the space between 38 and 40 Archdale, as well as in the rear yards of 36 and 38 Archdale. Another major concentration is found at the southeast corner of the study tract — an area associated with 12-14 Princess Street.

In general, the ceramic density (Figure 49) may be more reliable, since only limited efforts were made to exclude "modern" (i.e., twentieth century) glass from the sample. Ceramic densities reveal several areas potentially worthy of study. Again the space between 38 and 40 Archdale Street seems to have been used for trash disposal, as was the rear yard of 40 Archdale. There is another dense concentration along Market Street, east of the warehouse — in an area of domestic occupation. Interior lot deposition is again seen. The "background" level of ceramics is considerably lower than for glass — somewhere around four or fewer ceramics per cubic foot.

Figure 50, which shows the distribution of



Figure 45. Area of pavement in bank parking lot excavated in the search for buried storage tanks.

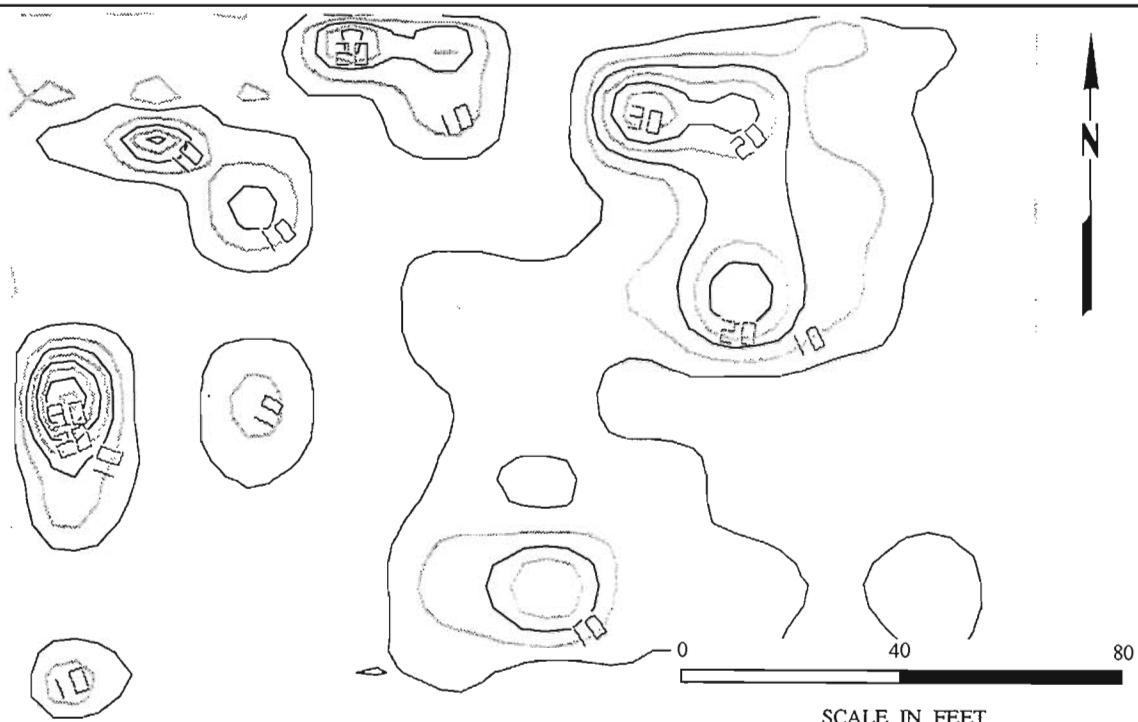


Figure 46. Brick rubble density in the study area (brick weight in pounds/cubic foot).

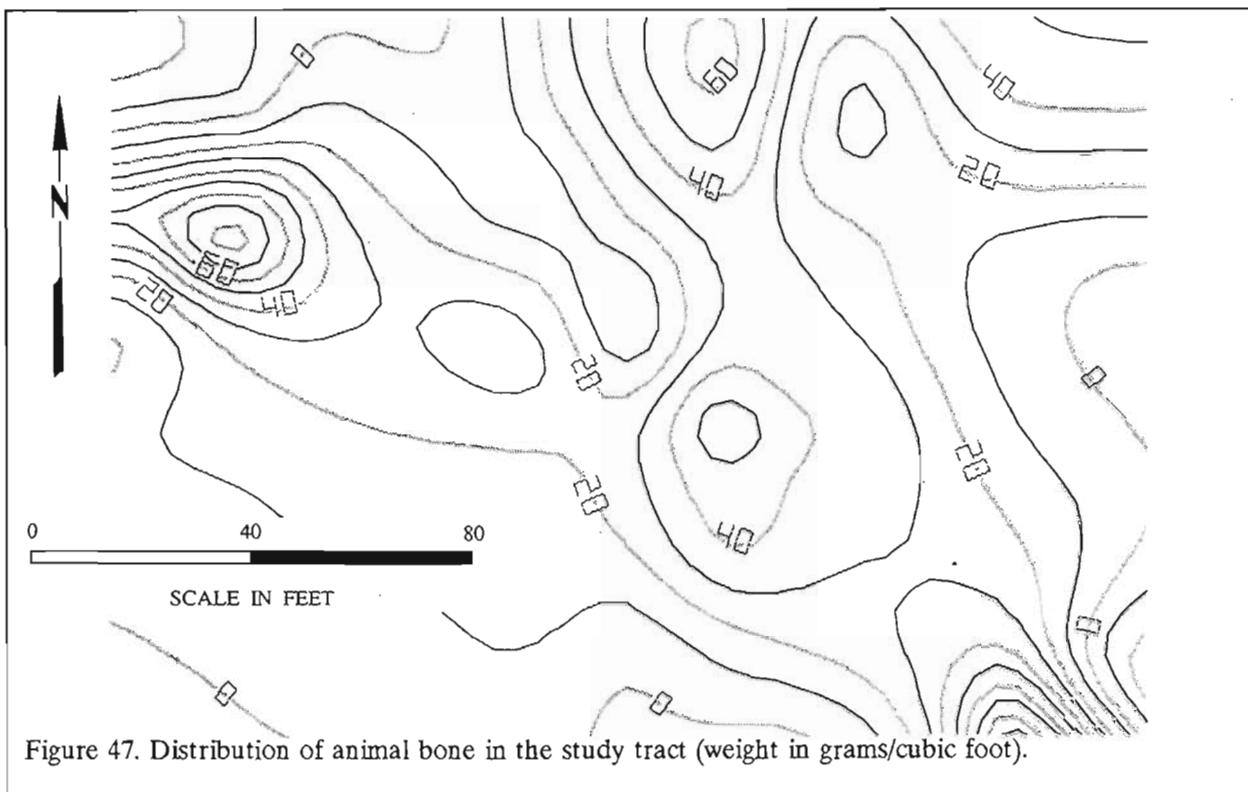


Figure 47. Distribution of animal bone in the study tract (weight in grams/cubic foot).

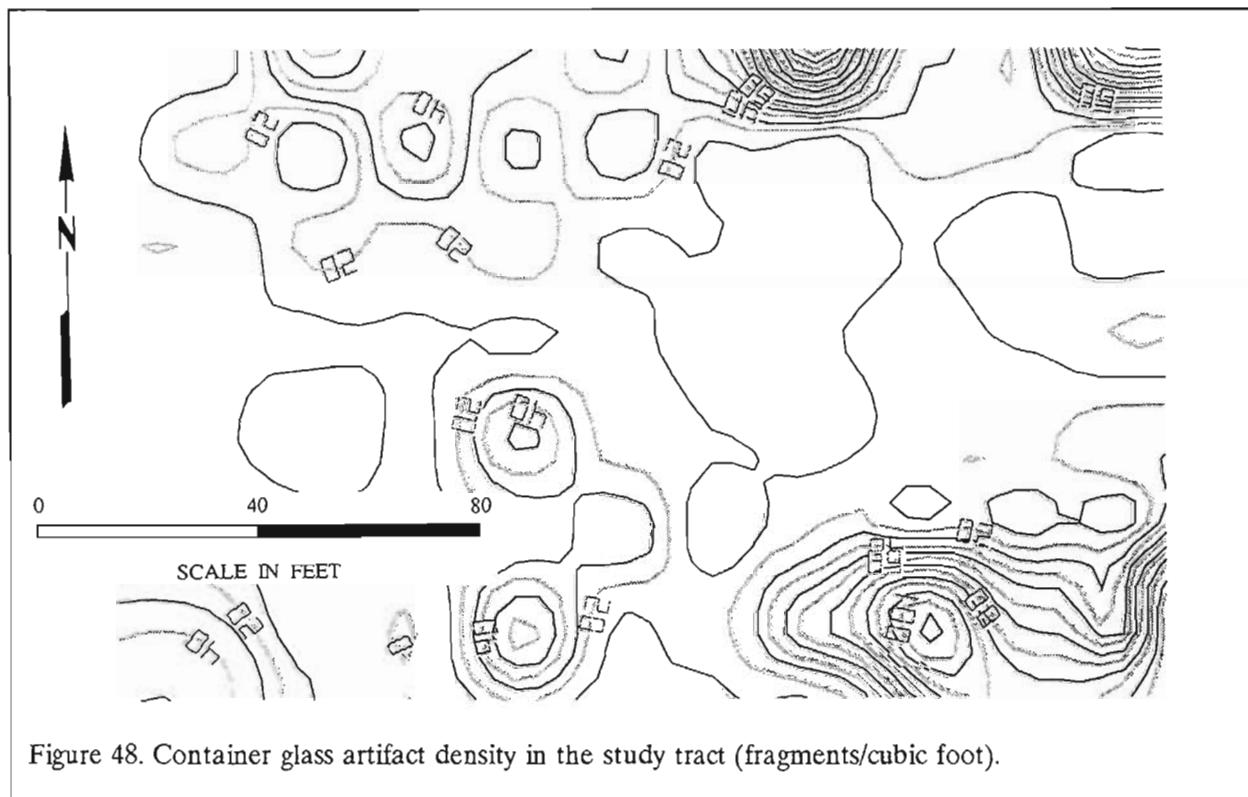
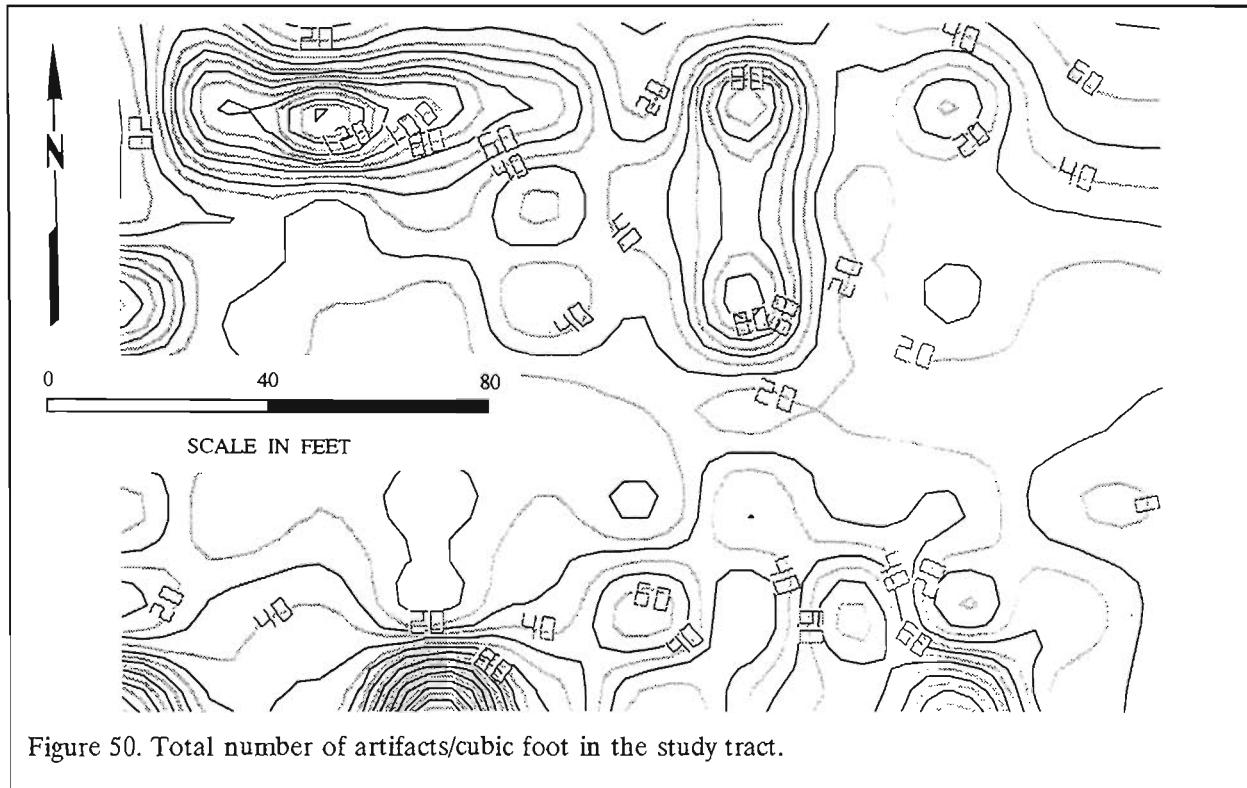
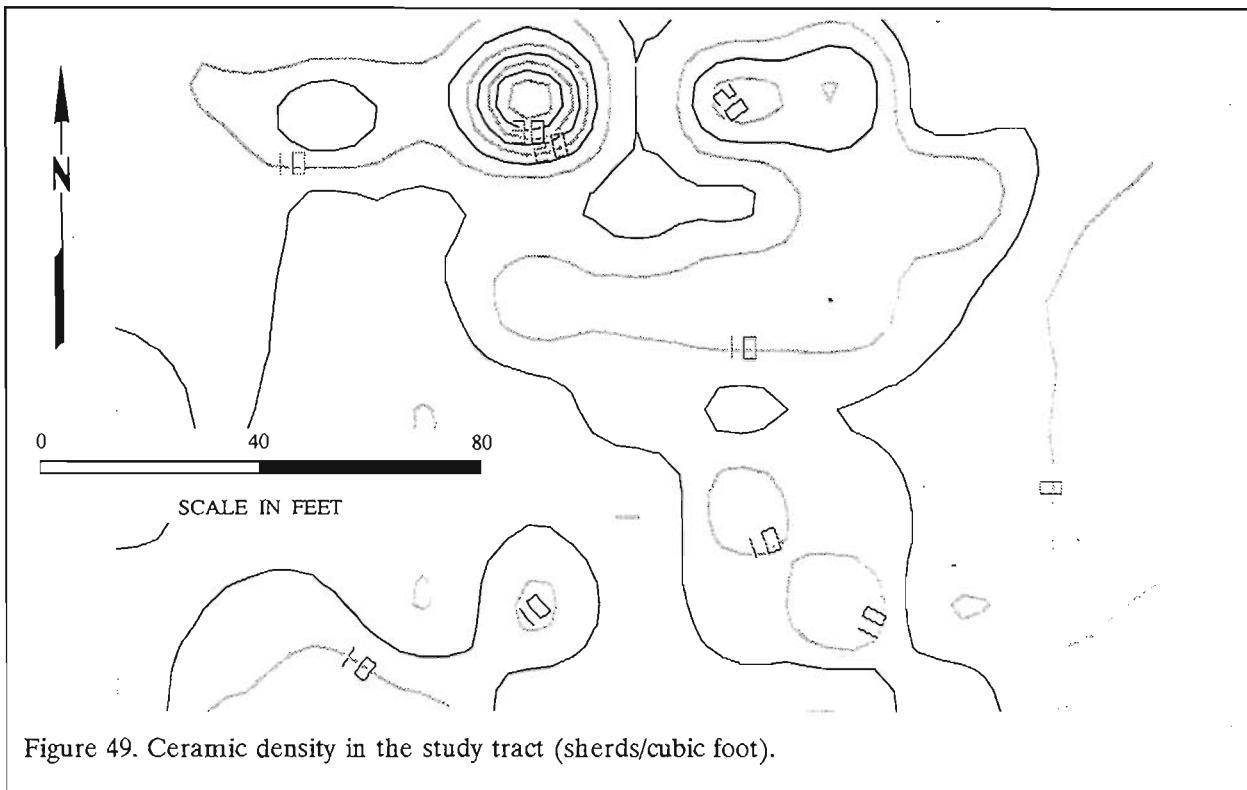


Figure 48. Container glass artifact density in the study tract (fragments/cubic foot).



total artifacts per cubic foot reveals a "background" level of perhaps 30 or so artifacts per cubic foot, with peaks evidenced by levels of over 100 artifacts per cubic foot. These occur around the northwest corner of the study tract, in the rear yards of 38 and 40 Archdale. There is also a noticeable concentration in the rear of 163 Market Street. This is also an area near privies and at one time associated with the kitchen situated behind 36 Archdale Street. It is likely that this interior lot area received a large amount of trash over time.

Artifacts

The cleaning of the artifacts was conducted at Chicora's Columbia laboratories immediately after the conclusion of the field work. All artifacts except brass and lead specimens were wet cleaned. The few brass and lead items recovered from the site were dry brushed. All of the artifacts were evaluated for their conservation needs and most were determined to be stable. A large number of the ferrous objects, such as nails, were heavily corroded and were identified, measured, and discarded. No conservation has been undertaken on any of the recovered materials.

As previously discussed, the materials have been accepted for curation by the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. The materials have been catalogued using this institution's accessioning practices. Specimens were packed in plastic bags and boxed. Field notes were prepared on pH neutral, alkaline buffered paper. The only photographic materials collected were color prints, which not being archival, were retained by Chicora Foundation. Representative photographs of the project area are reproduced in this report. All original field notes and archival copies are curated at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Analysis of the collections followed professionally accepted standards with a level of intensity suitable to the quantity and quality of the remains. The temporal, cultural, and typological classification of the historic remains follow Noel Hume (1970), Price (1979), and South (1977).

The artifacts recovered by the auger testing are listed in Table 3. Although clear glass

dominates the collection, there are also a number of other artifacts, including ceramics, architectural remains, and activity group artifacts. No effort has been made to provide pattern studies for individual lots, since the samples are so small. However the composite artifact pattern may be compared to a variety of patterns developed by Zierden and her colleagues specific for Charleston, as well as patterns developed elsewhere (Table 4). The pattern analysis from the survey level investigations at the project site resemble the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern, reflecting a domestic, nineteenth century occupation. It likewise resembles the middle-class patterns developed for both Charleston, South Carolina and Washington, D.C. In each case, however, ceramics are more prevalent and architectural remains less common, than might be expected. Cheek et al. (1983:101-103) found similarly high kitchen percentages from their street assemblages, when compared to their alley assemblages. They note that the reason for these differences could not be readily determined, although it was possible that:

different activities occurred in the alley yard [when compared to the street]. The kitchen group analysis suggests that different food preparation habits characterized the street families (Cheek et al. 1983:103).

In the case of our sample, it is likely the mixture of white and black residents, combined with the mixture of both domestic and dual-function sites, blurred together in a survey investigation, accounts for the observed artifact profiles. While not fitting a convenient, and simple, pattern, the profile does seem to suggest that additional work, focused on specific lots and structures, may be able to refine the pattern analysis.

Additional information on the socioeconomic status of the occupants can be reconstructed from the artifact collection. Discussed at length by Zierden and her colleagues (see, for example, Grimes and Zierden 1988:107-111), several features seem to be consistent indicators. For example, at late eighteenth and early nineteenth century sites the percentage of ceramics which are either porcelains or transfer printed wares tends to be relatively high for high

Table 3.
Artifacts Recovered from the Study Tract

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 | 35 | 36 | 37 | 38 | 39 | 40 | 41 | 42 | 43 | 44 | 45 | 46 | 47 | 48 | 49 | 50 | 51 | 52 | 53 | 54 | 55 | 56 | 57 | 58 | 59 | 60 | 61 | 62 | 63 | 64 | 65 | 66 | 67 | 68 | 69 | 70 | 71 | 72 | 73 | 74 | 75 | 76 | 77 | 78 | 79 | 80 | 81 | 82 | 83 | 84 | 85 | 86 | 87 | 88 | 89 | 90 | 91 | 92 | 93 | 94 | 95 | 96 | 97 | 98 | 99 | 100 | 101 | 102 | 103 | 104 | 105 | 106 | 107 | 108 | 109 | 110 | 111 | 112 | 113 | 114 | 115 | 116 | 117 | 118 | 119 | 120 | 121 | 122 | 123 | 124 | 125 | 126 | 127 | 128 | 129 | 130 | 131 | 132 | 133 | 134 | 135 | 136 | 137 | 138 | 139 | 140 | 141 | 142 | 143 | 144 | 145 | 146 | 147 | 148 | 149 | 150 | 151 | 152 | 153 | 154 | 155 | 156 | 157 | 158 | 159 | 160 | 161 | 162 | 163 | 164 | 165 | 166 | 167 | 168 | 169 | 170 | 171 | 172 | 173 | 174 | 175 | 176 | 177 | 178 | 179 | 180 | 181 | 182 | 183 | 184 | 185 | 186 | 187 | 188 | 189 | 190 | 191 | 192 | 193 | 194 | 195 | 196 | 197 | 198 | 199 | 200 | 201 | 202 | 203 | 204 | 205 | 206 | 207 | 208 | 209 | 210 | 211 | 212 | 213 | 214 | 215 | 216 | 217 | 218 | 219 | 220 | 221 | 222 | 223 | 224 | 225 | 226 | 227 | 228 | 229 | 230 | 231 | 232 | 233 | 234 | 235 | 236 | 237 | 238 | 239 | 240 | 241 | 242 | 243 | 244 | 245 | 246 | 247 | 248 | 249 | 250 | 251 | 252 | 253 | 254 | 255 | 256 | 257 | 258 | 259 | 260 | 261 | 262 | 263 | 264 | 265 | 266 | 267 | 268 | 269 | 270 | 271 | 272 | 273 | 274 | 275 | 276 | 277 | 278 | 279 | 280 | 281 | 282 | 283 | 284 | 285 | 286 | 287 | 288 | 289 | 290 | 291 | 292 | 293 | 294 | 295 | 296 | 297 | 298 | 299 | 300 | 301 | 302 | 303 | 304 | 305 | 306 | 307 | 308 | 309 | 310 | 311 | 312 | 313 | 314 | 315 | 316 | 317 | 318 | 319 | 320 | 321 | 322 | 323 | 324 | 325 | 326 | 327 | 328 | 329 | 330 | 331 | 332 | 333 | 334 | 335 | 336 | 337 | 338 | 339 | 340 | 341 | 342 | 343 | 344 | 345 | 346 | 347 | 348 | 349 | 350 | 351 | 352 | 353 | 354 | 355 | 356 | 357 | 358 | 359 | 360 | 361 | 362 | 363 | 364 | 365 | 366 | 367 | 368 | 369 | 370 | 371 | 372 | 373 | 374 | 375 | 376 | 377 | 378 | 379 | 380 | 381 | 382 | 383 | 384 | 385 | 386 | 387 | 388 | 389 | 390 | 391 | 392 | 393 | 394 | 395 | 396 | 397 | 398 | 399 | 400 | 401 | 402 | 403 | 404 | 405 | 406 | 407 | 408 | 409 | 410 | 411 | 412 | 413 | 414 | 415 | 416 | 417 | 418 | 419 | 420 | 421 | 422 | 423 | 424 | 425 | 426 | 427 | 428 | 429 | 430 | 431 | 432 | 433 | 434 | 435 | 436 | 437 | 438 | 439 | 440 | 441 | 442 | 443 | 444 | 445 | 446 | 447 | 448 | 449 | 450 | 451 | 452 | 453 | 454 | 455 | 456 | 457 | 458 | 459 | 460 | 461 | 462 | 463 | 464 | 465 | 466 | 467 | 468 | 469 | 470 | 471 | 472 | 473 | 474 | 475 | 476 | 477 | 478 | 479 | 480 | 481 | 482 | 483 | 484 | 485 | 486 | 487 | 488 | 489 | 490 | 491 | 492 | 493 | 494 | 495 | 496 | 497 | 498 | 499 | 500 | 501 | 502 | 503 | 504 | 505 | 506 | 507 | 508 | 509 | 510 | 511 | 512 | 513 | 514 | 515 | 516 | 517 | 518 | 519 | 520 | 521 | 522 | 523 | 524 | 525 | 526 | 527 | 528 | 529 | 530 | 531 | 532 | 533 | 534 | 535 | 536 | 537 | 538 | 539 | 540 | 541 | 542 | 543 | 544 | 545 | 546 | 547 | 548 | 549 | 550 | 551 | 552 | 553 | 554 | 555 | 556 | 557 | 558 | 559 | 560 | 561 | 562 | 563 | 564 | 565 | 566 | 567 | 568 | 569 | 570 | 571 | 572 | 573 | 574 | 575 | 576 | 577 | 578 | 579 | 580 | 581 | 582 | 583 | 584 | 585 | 586 | 587 | 588 | 589 | 590 | 591 | 592 | 593 | 594 | 595 | 596 | 597 | 598 | 599 | 600 | 601 | 602 | 603 | 604 | 605 | 606 | 607 | 608 | 609 | 610 | 611 | 612 | 613 | 614 | 615 | 616 | 617 | 618 | 619 | 620 | 621 | 622 | 623 | 624 | 625 | 626 | 627 | 628 | 629 | 630 | 631 | 632 | 633 | 634 | 635 | 636 | 637 | 638 | 639 | 640 | 641 | 642 | 643 | 644 | 645 | 646 | 647 | 648 | 649 | 650 | 651 | 652 | 653 | 654 | 655 | 656 | 657 | 658 | 659 | 660 | 661 | 662 | 663 | 664 | 665 | 666 | 667 | 668 | 669 | 670 | 671 | 672 | 673 | 674 | 675 | 676 | 677 | 678 | 679 | 680 | 681 | 682 | 683 | 684 | 685 | 686 | 687 | 688 | 689 | 690 | 691 | 692 | 693 | 694 | 695 | 696 | 697 | 698 | 699 | 700 | 701 | 702 | 703 | 704 | 705 | 706 | 707 | 708 | 709 | 710 | 711 | 712 | 713 | 714 | 715 | 716 | 717 | 718 | 719 | 720 | 721 | 722 | 723 | 724 | 725 | 726 | 727 | 728 | 729 | 730 | 731 | 732 | 733 | 734 | 735 | 736 | 737 | 738 | 739 | 740 | 741 | 742 | 743 | 744 | 745 | 746 | 747 | 748 | 749 | 750 | 751 | 752 | 753 | 754 | 755 | 756 | 757 | 758 | 759 | 760 | 761 | 762 | 763 | 764 | 765 | 766 | 767 | 768 | 769 | 770 | 771 | 772 | 773 | 774 | 775 | 776 | 777 | 778 | 779 | 770 | 771 | 772 | 773 | 774 | 775 | 776 | 777 | 778 | 779 | 780 | 781 | 782 | 783 | 784 | 785 | 786 | 787 | 788 | 789 | 790 | 791 | 792 | 793 | 794 | 795 | 796 | 797 | 798 | 799 | 800 | 801 | 802 | 803 | 804 | 805 | 806 | 807 | 808 | 809 | 8010 | 8011 | 8012 | 8013 | 8014 | 8015 | 8016 | 8017 | 8018 | 8019 | 8020 | 8021 | 8022 | 8023 | 8024 | 8025 | 8026 | 8027 | 8028 | 8029 | 8030 | 8031 | 8032 | 8033 | 8034 | 8035 | 8036 | 8037 | 8038 | 8039 | 8040 | 8041 | 8042 | 8043 | 8044 | 8045 | 8046 | 8047 | 8048 | 8049 | 8050 | 8051 | 8052 | 8053 | 8054 | 8055 | 8056 | 8057 | 8058 | 8059 | 8060 | 8061 | 8062 | 8063 | 8064 | 8065 | 8066 | 8067 | 8068 | 8069 | 8070 | 8071 | 8072 | 8073 | 8074 | 8075 | 8076 | 8077 | 8078 | 8079 | 8080 | 8081 | 8082 | 8083 | 8084 | 8085 | 8086 | 8087 | 8088 | 8089 | 8090 | 8091 | 8092 | 8093 | 8094 | 8095 | 8096 | 8097 | 8098 | 8099 | 80100 | 80101 | 80102 | 80103 | 80104 | 80105 | 80106 | 80107 | 80108 | 80109 | 80110 | 80111 | 80112 | 80113 | 80114 | 80115 | 80116 | 80117 | 80118 | 80119 | 80120 | 80121 | 80122 | 80123 | 80124 | 80125 | 80126 | 80127 | 80128 | 80129 | 80130 | 80131 | 80132 | 80133 | 80134 | 80135 | 80136 | 80137 | 80138 | 80139 | 80140 | 80141 | 80142 | 80143 | 80144 | 80145 | 80146 | 80147 | 80148 | 80149 | 80150 | 80151 | 80152 | 80153 | 80154 | 80155 | 80156 | 80157 | 80158 | 80159 | 80160 | 80161 | 80162 | 80163 | 80164 | 80165 | 80166 | 80167 | 80168 | 80169 | 80170 | 80171 | 80172 | 80173 | 80174 | 80175 | 80176 | 80177 | 80178 | 80179 | 80180 | 80181 | 80182 | 80183 | 80184 | 80185 | 80186 | 80187 | 80188 | 80189 | 80190 | 80191 | 80192 | 80193 | 80194 | 80195 | 80196 | 80197 | 80198 | 80199 | 80200 | 80201 | 80202 | 80203 | 80204 | 80205 | 80206 | 80207 | 80208 | 80209 | 80210 | 80211 | 80212 | 80213 | 80214 | 80215 | 80216 | 80217 | 80218 | 80219 | 80220 | 80221 | 80222 | 80223 | 80224 | 80225 | 80226 | 80227 | 80228 | 80229 | 80230 | 80231 | 80232 | 80233 | 80234 | 80235 | 80236 | 80237 | 80238 | 80239 | 80240 | 80241 | 80242 | 80243 | 80244 | 80245 | 80246 | 80247 | 80248 | 80249 | 80250 | 80251 | 80252 | 80253 | 80254 | 80255 | 80256 | 80257 | 80258 | 80259 | 80260 | 80261 | 80262 | 80263 | 80264 | 80265 | 80266 | 80267 | 80268 | 80269 | 80270 | 80271 | 80272 | 80273 | 80274 | 80275 | 80276 | 80277 | 80278 | 80279 | 80280 | 80281 | 80282 | 80283 | 80284 | 80285 | 80286 | 80287 | 80288 | 80289 | 80290 | 80291 | 80292 | 80293 | 80294 | 80295 | 80296 | 80297 | 80298 | 80299 | 80300 | 80301 | 80302 | 80303 | 80304 | 80305 | 80306 | 80307 | 80308 | 80309 | 80310 | 80311 | 80312 | 80313 | 80314 | 80315 | 80316 | 80317 | 80318 | 80319 | 80320 | 80321 | 80322 | 80323 | 80324 | 80325 | 80326 | 80327 | 80328 | 80329 | 80330 | 80331 | 80332 | 80333 | 80334 | 80335 | 80336 | 80337 | 80338 | 80339 | 80340 | 80341 | 80342 | 80343 | 80344 | 80345 | 80346 | 80347 | 80348 | 80349 | 80350 | 80351 | 80352 | 80353 | 80354 | 80355 | 80356 | 80357 | 80358 | 80359 | 80360 | 80361 | 80362 | 80363 | 80364 | 80365 | 80366 | 80367 | 80368 | 80369 | 80370 | 80371 | 80372 | 80373 | 80374 | 80375 | 80376 | 80377 | 80378 | 80379 | 80380 | 80381 | 80382 | 80383 | 80384 | 80385 | 80386 | 80387 | 80388 | 80389 | 80390 | 80391 | 80392 | 80393 | 80394 | 80395 | 80396 | 80397 | 80398 | 80399 | 80400 | 80401 | 80402 | 80403 | 80404 | 80405 | 80406 | 80407 | 80408 | 80409 | 80410 | 80411 | 80412 | 80413 | 80414 | 80415 | 80416 | 80417 | 80418 | 80419 | 80420 | 80421 | 80422 | 80423 | 80424 | 80425 | 80426 | 80427 | 80428 | 80429 | 80430 | 80431 | 80432 | 80433 | 80434 | 80435 | 80436 | 80437 | 80438 | 80439 | 80440 | 80441 | 80442 | 80443 | 80444 | 80445 | 80446 | 80447 | 80448 | 80449 | 80450 | 80451 | 80452 | 80453 | 80454 | 80455 | 80456 | 80457 | 80458 | 80459 | 80460 | 80461 | 80462 | 80463 | 80464 | 80465 | 80466 | 80467 | 80468 | 80469 | 80470 | 80471 | 80472 | 80473 | 80474 | 80475 | 80476 | 80477 | 80478 | 80479 | 80480 | 80481 | 80482 | 80483 | 80484 | 80485 | 80486 | 80487 | 80488 | 80489 | 80490 | 80491 | 80492 | 80493 | 80494 | 80495 | 80496 | 80497 | 80498 | 80499 | 80500 | 80501 | 80502 | 80503 | 80504 |<
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Table 4.
Comparison of the Project Area Assemblage
to Composite Artifact Profiles

	Project Area	Charleston Dual-Function	Charleston Townhouse	Charleston Suburban Middle-Class	Revised Carolina	Washington Civic Center
Kitchen	77.3	63.10	58.38	62.24	51.8-65.0	69.2
Architecture	19.9	25.03	36.00	32.08	25.2-31.4	29.4
Arms	-	0.20	0.32	0.26	0.1-0.3	0.0
Clothing	-	1.18	0.91	1.51	0.6-5.4	1.0
Personal	0.2	0.14	0.24	0.20	0.2-0.5	0.1
Furniture	0.2	0.08	0.21	1.42	0.2-0.6	0.1
Tobacco	0.7	5.97	2.79	0.86	1.9-13.9	0.2
Activities	1.7	4.14	1.10	1.16	0.9-1.7	0.3

status sites (ca. 22%) and relatively low for sites of low socioeconomic status (ca. 9%). In the study block, the porcelain and transfer printed wares account for around 11% of the total ceramic collection, clearly at the low socioeconomic status end. Likewise, Zierden and her colleagues have found that the proportion of table glass in the

kitchen artifact group is strongly associated with status, with higher status sites exhibiting much higher percentages of table glass in the kitchen group (roughly 2% compared to 0.04%). In the study area no clearly identified table glass remains were found — again suggesting that the residents of the block were among Charleston's poorest.

Table 5.
Mean Ceramic Date for the Study Tract

	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
White SG SW	1758	3	5274
Lead glazed slipware	1733	1	1733
Clouded wares	1755	1	1755
Creamware, annular	1798	1	1798
undecorated	1791	25	44775
Pearlware, poly hp	1805	4	7220
blue hp	1800	1	1800
blue tp	1818	10	18180
edged	1805	3	5415
annular	1805	1	1805
undecorated	1805	20	36100
Whiteware, edged	1853	2	3706
poly hp	1848	2	3696
blue tp	1848	6	11088
non-blue tp	1851	1	1851
annular	1866	7	13062
undecorated	1860	90	167400
		179	326658
$326658 \div 179 = 1824.9$			

Table 5 illustrates the mean ceramic date for the project area — 1824.9. The previously discussed historic research suggests that occupation began on the block about 1790 and continued until about 1920, when the area was largely converted to commercial activities with little domestic activity. This yields a mean historic occupation date of 1855 — about 30 years later than the mean ceramic date. It is likely that this difference is associated with the declining importance of ceramics during the late nineteenth century (with the result that later wares are under represented), the increasingly localized late nineteenth and early twentieth century occupation, and the change in refuse disposal practices (with the result that fewer late artifacts are available for recovery). Regardless, the presence of white salt glazed stonewares, lead glazed slipware, and Creamware documents the earliest occupation on the block in the late eighteenth century. The absence of decalcomania and sponged whitewares also reveals that occupation had terminated at least by the first

quarter of the twentieth century. Creamwares account for 14.5% of the collection, pearlwares for 21.8%, and whitewares for 60.3%. This likely corresponds with and reflects the increasing density of occupation on the block through the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

SURVEY SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Historical Findings

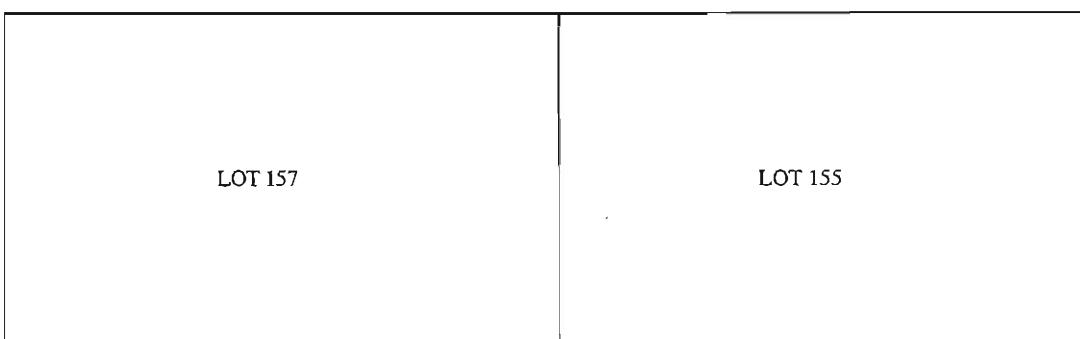
The historical investigations of the proposed Saks Fifth Avenue block reveal a rich and intriguing history, providing a glimpse into the "other side" of Charleston's heritage. The block's occupants early in its history were primarily white middle-class occupants. King Street, throughout its history, was used by a broad range of merchants, although early on the frontage was dominated by dry goods merchants. At least by the time of the Civil War the block had changed. It was dominated by groceries, saloons, gambling halls, and possibly by prostitution. Free persons of color lived side-by-side with whites and even a few slaves. There is a good indication that the vast majority of the block's residents were poor and were renters, not property owners. In trying to understand, at the survey level, when these changes occurred, it seems that the fire of 1838 may be the temporal marker, if not the causative event. The block grew back quickly after the fire, although both brick and wood frame structures were present.

Figures 51 - 53 reveal, in synoptic form, these changes. Figure 51 shows the development of the block prior to the 1838 fire. By 1802 King Street was fully developed and two buildings were located on each of the other three streets. While our information is limited, the King Street frontage included dry goods stores and a druggist. A grocery was located on the corner of Archdale and Market. Historical research on the other structures has not been done, but there is no compelling reason to believe that the block was occupied by individuals of particularly high, or low, socioeconomic status.

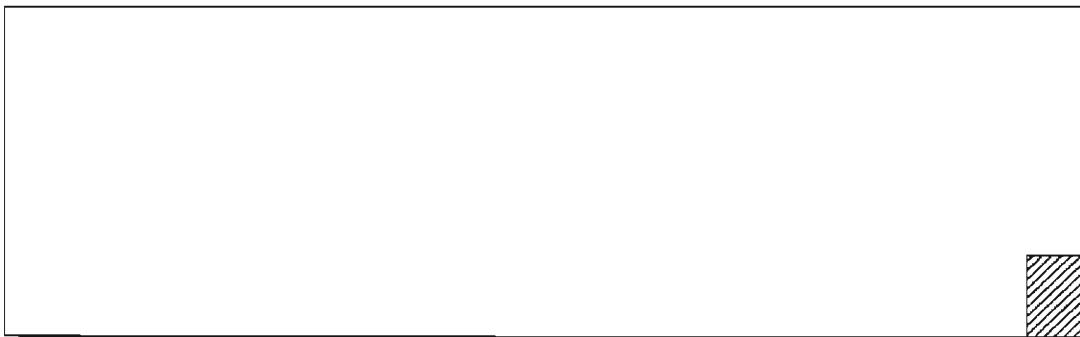
Figure 52 shows the block a few decades before the Civil War. Those portions of the block damaged by the 1838 fire have been rebuilt. Whether by fire or by design, several of the early nineteenth century buildings are no longer present — replaced by either vacant lots or by new structures. Along King Street we have additional

historical information, revealing a broad range of merchants — many of whom were either living above their stores or who were renting out the upper floors. In addition, the corner of King and Princess streets became dominated by the Victoria Hotel. Merchants included those selling clothing, china and glass, gas fixtures, and books. Another tenant included Adger & Company. On Market Street Ziba B. Oakes owned five different structures, renting them primarily to white tenants, although at least one served as an office for a physician. One structure was occupied by the owner (who also owned a warehouse next to his residence). At the west end of Market Street were three houses (apparently built after 1852) owned by one individual and rented to free persons of color. Along Archdale Street, from the south northward, were the residences of C.H. Klenke, J. Greenland (a factor on Union Wharf), and Thomas Aimer (whose family is later associated with the Aimer Drug Store) — all respectable, middle-class white residents of Charleston. On the corner of Archdale and Market Street was the grocery of James Mooreland. Princess Street included a mix of residential and commercial establishments. Commercial shops, initially concentrated on the eastern end of the street, included those of James Clotworthy and Robert Evans. All of the residences were apparently rented, with occupants including both whites and free persons of color living side-by-side. Several of the plats from this period reveal that the block was becoming more cluttered. For example, the portion of the block shown in 1857 included at least six sheds and two stables, as well as a privy. Notations on the plats reveal that the alleyway providing access to the more interior structures was gradually narrowed through time as buildings took up increasingly more room.

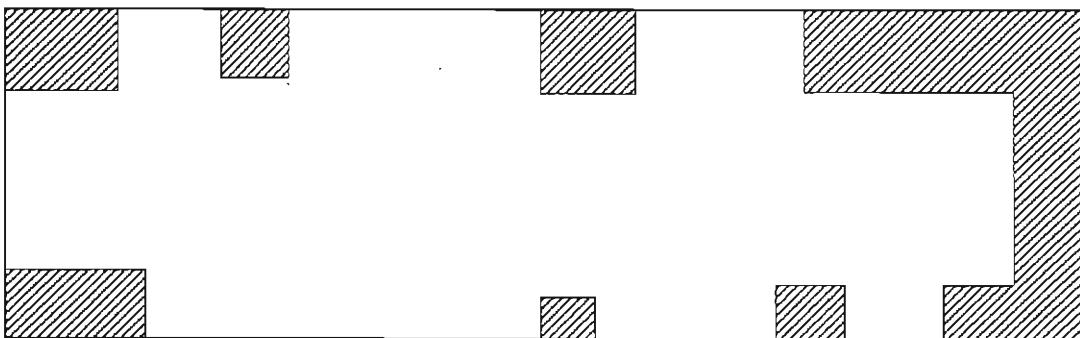
Figure 53 shows development in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, up to 1902. There is increasing stability of the structures in



1725



1790



1802



STRUCTURE

Figure 51. Development of the study block between 1725 and 1802, prior to the 1838 fire.

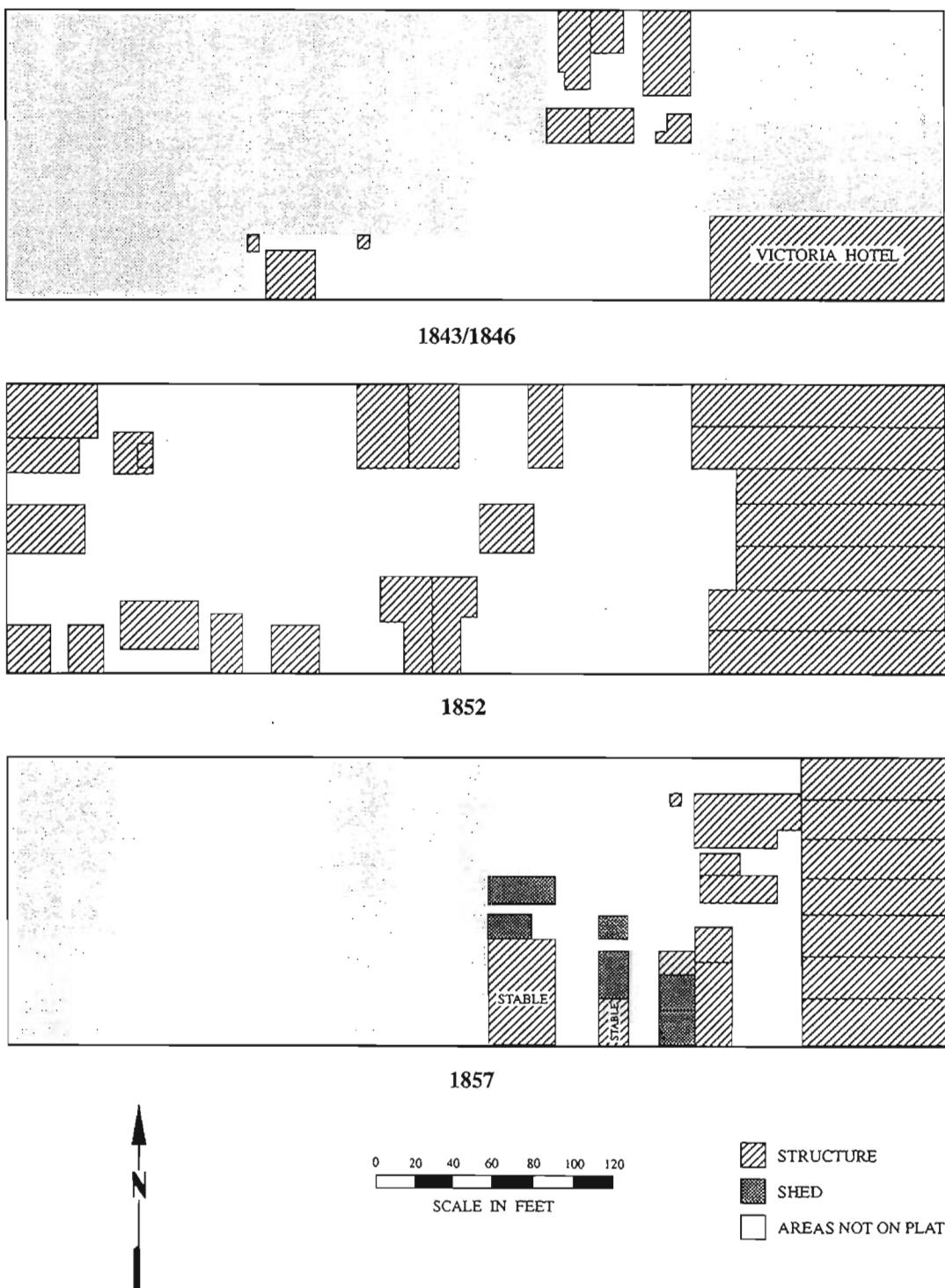


Figure 52. Development of the project block after the fire of 1838 and prior to the Civil War.

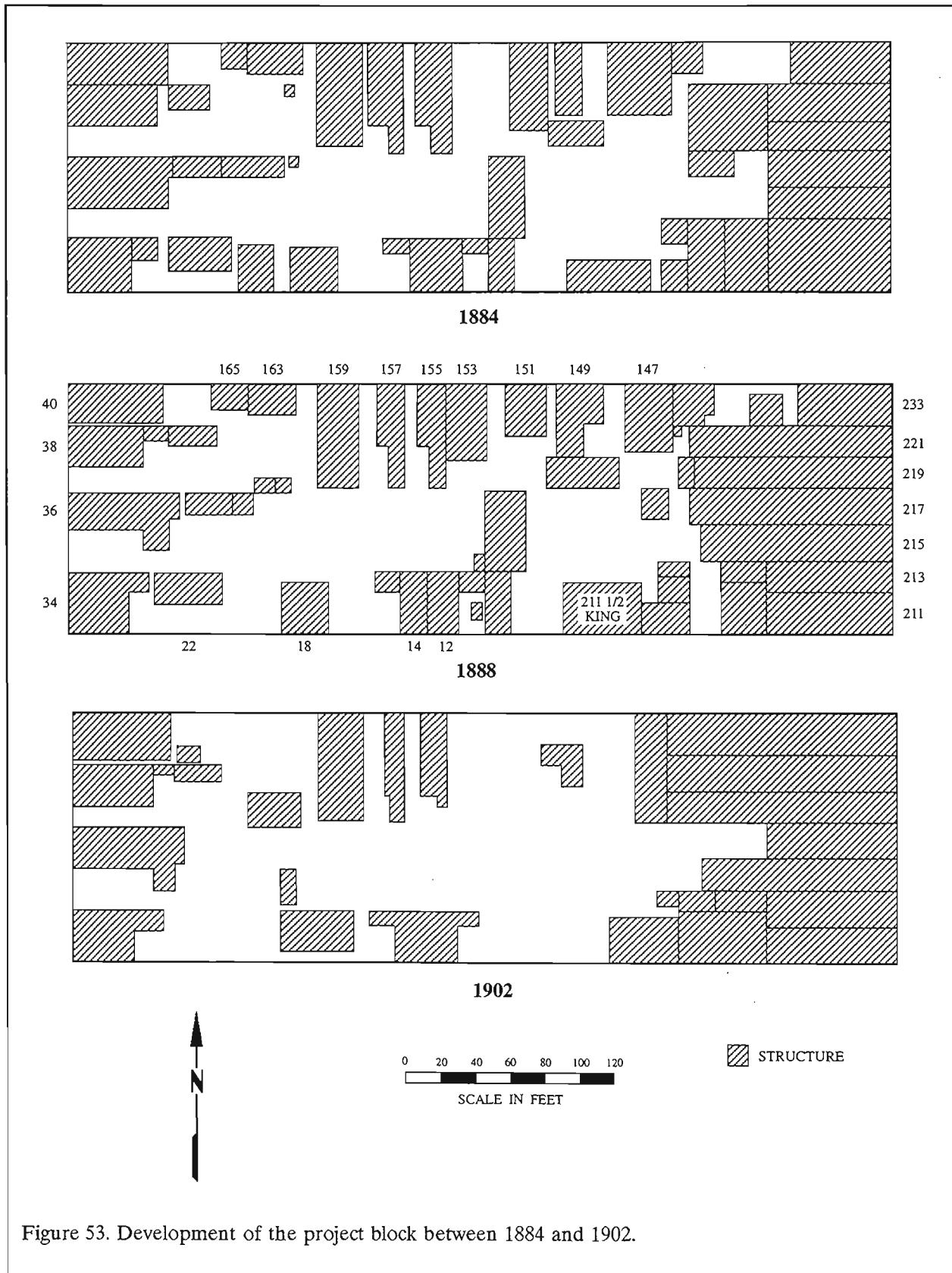


Figure 53. Development of the project block between 1884 and 1902.

the late nineteenth century, with increasing turmoil and construction in the early twentieth century. King Street remains virtually unchanged throughout the period, although occupants changed frequently. Some of these occupants, such as County Dispensary #4 at 213 King Street, help us understand the political history of Charleston. Others, such as the Victoria Hotel, provide an anchor, revealing incredible stability. Merchants in the other buildings sold everything from pianos to shoes. There were frequently either tenants or owners residing above the stores. One of the longest residents was Patrick Darcy at 223 King Street, who sold shoes and boots at street level and made the upper floors his home for at least twenty years. Along Market Street there was a mix of commercial shops, such as cobblers, tailor shops, saloons, pool rooms, and barbers, as well as residences, primarily for black laborers. Several residences were occupied for a number of years by women referred to by the preface of "Madame."¹ There were also a number of single women living on Market Street. Along Archdale the two corner buildings were consistently listed as groceries and saloons. The intervening two structures continued to be the residences of white middle-class working families. The residences along Princess Street were almost exclusively occupied by black working-class people, usually single men or women.

Although it has been difficult to prove, it

¹ Historically the term "madame" has had a number of meanings. As a prefix to a surname it was used by mothers whose sons' had married with the daughter-in-laws being called "Mrs." This was apparently common first in England and, by the middle of the nineteenth century, very common in the Southern states. The use of "madame" is also commonly applied to a married women belonging to any foreign nation, basically being a substitute for the German "Frau." It was also frequently assumed (instead of "Mrs.") by English or American professional signers or musicians, and by women engaged in businesses such as dressmaking, in which native tastes or skills were reputed to be inferior to that of the French. Finally, the term "madame" has, within the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, been applied to a kept mistress, courtesan, or prostitute. It is not possible, given the currently available information, to determine why the city directories so consistently referred to the single women at these selected addresses using the term "madame."

seems that during the late antebellum or early postbellum the project block acquired a "bad reputation," being noted for drinking, gambling, crime, and prostitution. The nature of the block continued into the first quarter of the twentieth century, although changes began to be seen as early as 1902, when the number of small tenements began to be reduced. By the 1930s the block was more noted for its garages and parking lots than for its houses of prostitution. The residences left were largely rental units and the area was primarily the home to black laborers. The Victoria Hotel (going under a number of different names) and the two groceries at the corners of Princess and Market streets on Archdale continue to be landmarks.

The historical research alone illustrates a number of potentially significant research topics — including the socioeconomic study of middle-class whites, free persons of color, and black laborers during different periods; the changing site functions of the block, as the commercial importance grew and then waned in the nineteenth century; a better understanding of subsistence strategies among a range of different social classes, all in close physical proximity to one another; and the study of the trash disposal practices of the different groups (free persons of color, black laborer, white middle-class).

Archaeological Findings

The archaeological evidence reveals that there are intact deposits, at least on the western half of the block. While there has been some disturbance associated with the environmental remediation project, this work has affected a very small area of the project. The auger testing found areas of dense brick rubble, likely sealing earlier deposits. Artifact density maps reveal variable, although consistently high, quantities of artifacts throughout the project area. The ceramics evidence an early nineteenth century mean date, somewhat earlier than the mean historic date. A vast array of artifacts are present, including well preserve faunal material. Examination of the composite artifact profile from the project area suggests a strong resemblance to other middle-class patterns — not unexpectedly considering the historical evidence.

The evidence from the environmental remediation project conducted at the corner of Archdale and Princess streets reveals that subsurface features such as privies and cisterns are likely present. Evidence from other, nearby areas, such as the Charleston Center project, subjected to almost identical development pressures (i.e., building, demolition, and rebuilding) suggest a very high potential that a broad range of archaeological materials and features will be present.

The only exposure available for the eastern half of the block consists of an undocumented excavation apparently designed to locate underground storage tanks. This work disturbed an area of ground approximately equal to that at the corner of Archdale and Princess streets. The backfill from this excavation produced historic remains, such as brick rubble and ceramics, suggesting that at least the area under the paved parking lot is in a similar condition to the western half of the block. The portion of the site under the bank building is somewhat more problematical. While grubbing in an urban setting is often necessary to allow the placement of pile foundations, the bank building is only one story. It seems likely that relatively little ground disturbing activity took place during the demolition of the brick buildings along King Street and the construction of the bank building. Consequently, if this building is carefully removed, it is likely that the underlying archaeological materials will be intact.

National Register Assessment and Future Research Options

This study has succeeded in identifying the site's data sets. There are present eighteenth and nineteenth century remains such as kitchen artifacts, architectural artifacts, personal artifacts, furniture artifacts, and activity artifacts. There is preserved faunal material. There are also features, such as privies or cisterns. Our historical research, combined with the exceptional previous studies by Zierden and her colleagues, have offered a historic context for the project area, focusing on free persons of color, dual commercial and residential structures, and lower socio-economic residents. Likewise, a broad range of potential research questions have been offered by the numerous previous projects conducted in urban Charleston.

The archaeological survey, briefly recounted above, documents the archaeological integrity of the majority of the western half of the block. By analogy, we have argued that the eastern half has a similar level of archaeological integrity. Finally, we have briefly suggested that some research questions — focusing on free persons of color, exploring subsistence strategies, examining different socioeconomic status levels, and understanding how refuse disposal patterns on the block have changed — are particularly appropriate and suitable.

In sum, there is compelling evidence that the archaeological remains present on the block are significant and eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. Sites may be eligible for inclusion because they meet one of four carefully developed criteria. They may be sites:

- that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- that are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
- that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Consequently, the site (considered for the purposes of this study, the block) is likely eligible for inclusion on the National Register under Criterion D: its information potential.

Not all portions of the site (i.e., the block) have equal levels of information potential. Obviously, the two recent excavations for

remediation of ground water contamination² have destroyed the archaeological potential of these limited areas. Similarly, not all portions of the block will be equally accessible for archaeological research. For example, the area under the standing building at 40 Archdale Street (which will be rehabilitated) will not be open for research. Finally, not all areas of the block are likely to be equally able to address the research questions proposed. For example, the King Street structures are unable to provide information concerning free persons of color.

Added to these problems is the equally significant limitation of time. Archaeological research was introduced into this project very late in the planning stage. The Beach Company has already closed on the property in question and construction, literally, will begin within days. It is our understanding that delays are both financially and logistically impossible. The existing MOA provides little latitude for extensive research. Consequently, we have identified the five areas which are likely most capable of providing significant additional data and a number of the specific research questions for each area:

- **The area at the rear of the Victoria Hotel.** This area, currently under the parking lot of the bank building, was the scene of a number of small buildings

² Underground storage tanks (USTs) are regulated by 42 USC 6991 et seq. through regulations contained in 40 CFR parts 280 and 281, as well as state regulations. Unlike USTs, above ground storage tanks (ASTs), such as the one located at the corner of Archdale and Princess streets at the site of Rumph's Garage, are not regulated under any comprehensive federal program. However a number of separate federal and state laws do provide some regulatory coverage for ASTs. In this case, the federal Clean Water Act provided regulation for the AST, since it stored a petroleum product. The point is that all of the remediation carried out on this block was conducted under the auspices of federal laws and may have required compliance with historic preservation legislation. Regardless, no cultural resource studies were conducted during either the initial 1989 soil removal, the May 1994 soil removal, or the late 1994 exploration for USTs.

and activity areas. Included are likely privies, the kitchen area, and areas of refuse disposal for the hotel. Similar areas have not yet been explored in downtown Charleston³ and this area offers the potential to explore hotel life, learn more about the clientele of the hotel, and the lives of those who worked at this establishment. Since historic research suggests that this hotel was never among Charleston's most fashionable and situated in a fringe area, the remains will help address our interest in middling status individuals traveling to Charleston (typically described as traveling business men). It is likely that the refuse deposits will be intermingled, so we must be willing to view the occupants as a collective. While this (that is, our inability to separate patrons from staff) presents problems, it still offers the potential to research specific questions:

- How do these remains compare to those identified by Zierden and her colleagues at other middle class or status occupations in Charleston, such as those at the President Street site on the west side of Charleston? Will the artifact pattern derived from this site describe the patterning found at the hotel? Will there also be evidence of the public interaction pattern, which at least superficially seems more appropriate?

³ The one exception to this statement may be Feature 124 from Herold's research at Charleston Place (see Zierden and Hacker 1987). This feature was apparently associated with the Waverly Hotel, a nineteenth century establishment. While remains from this hotel would certainly provide useful comparative materials, the feature was a privy and it is impossible to completely ascertain the origin of the materials. In addition, the feature fill was not screened, further reducing its comparative value.

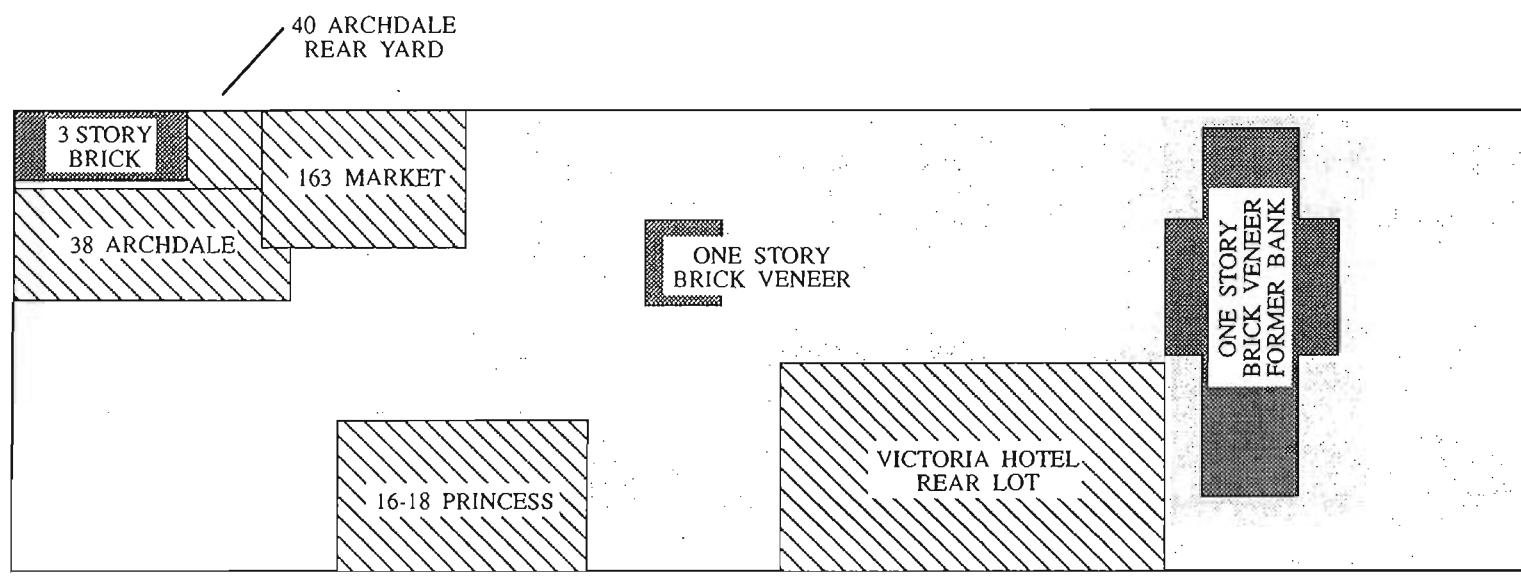


Figure 54. Areas of proposed greatest significance.

- What can the site tell us about site formation at an unusual "dual-function" site — one that incorporates both a stable servant class and a transient middle class? Did the hotel have sufficient open space to dispose of refuse through sheet middens? Through time, and with increasing crowded conditions, did disposal change from sheet middens to the use of other techniques, such as filling of wells, cisterns, and privies? How much trash, compared to either traditional dual purpose or residential sites, do hotels in the nineteenth century generate?
- Zierden and her colleagues have identified differences in the spatial patterning of suburban sites and those in the urban core. While superficially the spatial patterning at the hotel site is similar, clearly the density of activities was greater since a greater number of individuals were served. Will this affect the spatial patterning? Will support structures be found to serve multiple functions? Can archaeological research help us better understand the placement and organization of support structures?
- Exploration of subsistence patterns has concentrated on more traditional sites (i.e., "dual purpose," townhouse, alley dweller, suburban settlement). How will the subsistence information from the Victoria Hotel compare to these previously explored sites? In particular, will it reflect a predominantly middle class approach? While the diet of the wealthy tended to be more diverse than the diet of more middling status individuals, how is this reflected in a nineteenth century hotel setting?
- **The area of 163 Market Street.** This house and lot was known to be have been rented to free persons of color (fpc) during the late antebellum period and to have continued into the late nineteenth century as a rental unit used by black laborers.
- **The area of 16-18 Princess Street.** These two lots, like 163 Market Street, were used by free persons of color in the antebellum period and by black laborers during the remainder of the nineteenth century. Research questions for these three locations are primarily descriptive and exploratory. Historical research is just beginning to scratch the surface of middle and low status free persons of color. No archaeological investigations at such sites have yet been undertaken at any site in Charleston. Yet, there are a variety of issues which are appropriate for these three locations.
 - Is it possible to identify zones or features in which the remains of fpc and freedmen are temporally distinct? This will determine our ability to proceed with additional research at the level of precision we would like. However, even if it is not possible to segregate the two episodes, it is still important to explore a class of people about whom we have very little urban information. Much of the Charleston research, based on the vagaries of where research opportunities have presented themselves, have lead to research on the wealthy and the white. Work on this project offers the potential to expand that research to the poor and the black.
 - What was the socioeconomic status of the fpc who lived at these sites? How does the resulting artifact pattern compare to both middle status whites and also African American slaves in rural contexts? Although no urban slave sites have been explored in Charleston, some indication of urban slavery has been identified by work at the Owens-Thomas Carriage House (Trinkley et al. 1993), providing at least some tentative comparative material. Status, of course, can be reflected in

at least three other aspects of the archaeological record (besides the artifact pattern or items of material culture): subsistence remains (diet), housing, and site location. At these two locations site location is relatively consistent (within, at least the same neighborhood), so issues of diet and housing are of particular concern.

- How does the diet of fpc compare to that found in middle class white sites? Did the marginal status of these individuals lead to a distinctive diet? Is this diet similar to that found at rural slave settlements? What cuts of meat are present? Is there a similar reliance on one-pot stews and soups?

- The archaeological record may be able to provide significant information concerning the housing of fpc. Although it will be impossible to reconstruct the exact footprint of these houses, even quantification and identification of nails can provide information on construction techniques, building materials, and appearance. Presence of building hardware can help us understand the house and its organization. Location of window glass can assist in reconstruction of the floor plan. Most importantly, how does the architecture at these sites compare to that found at middling status dwellings, at the dwellings of urban slaves, and at the dwellings of rural slaves?

- What was the nature of trash disposal at these sites? Were auxiliary structures present and if so, how were they arranged? Is there evidence of unreported, but not necessarily unexpected "dual-function" activities at these sites?

■ **The area of 38 Archdale Street.** This house and lot was owned by a long-established white, middle-class family. Investigation of the lot can potentially contribute information not only to

comparison with previous Charleston research into middle class lifeways, but can also serve as a standard of comparison for other research on the block.

- The most appropriate comparison of this site is perhaps to the work by Zierden and her colleagues at the President Street site (Zierden and Raynor 1988). Conducted on the west side of Charleston, it is one of the few collections from a middle class neighborhood and is of particular importance for the framing of research. We anticipate, based on the previous research, that this site will exhibit an artifact pattern more typical of residential (as opposed to dual-function) activities, where artifacts reflect status, not function. Zierden and her colleagues make an important observation that these middle class neighborhoods begin to separate work from home life. How dramatically will this be observed at this particular location, especially since it is on the fringe of both a dual function area (King Street) and also a lower socio-economic status neighborhood (Princess and Market streets)? While somewhat particularistic, will it be possible to identify evidence of the Aimer family's pharmaceutical activities? This is one of the relatively few sites owned by one family for a long period of time who had a very strong occupational orientation.

- What spatial patterning will be reflected at this site? Typically middle class sites have exhibited fewer auxiliary buildings than higher status dwellings. This seems to be supported by the historic evidence, but is it realistic archaeologically? And perhaps more importantly, can these support structures be found archaeologically? Zierden and her colleagues note from the President Street investigations that lots from middle class neighborhoods typically exhibited only privies and kitchens — both of which should be readily identifiable archaeologically. The

organization of the lot will also help us better understand trash disposal practices. Was trash deposited at rear and side lot lines, or was it more frequently deposited as sheet middens?

- Examination of diet, while previously discussed, remains of considerable interest at this middling status site. Typically diet of the wealthy was more diverse than that of the lower classes — a pattern found in previous Charleston studies. Typically wealthy Charlestonians enjoyed a diet that was expensive — either in terms of time invested or in terms of money spent. Unfortunately, the President Street data, the best available for a middle status site, was too small for very detailed analysis. Consequently, 38 Archdale assumes special research importance.

■ **The lot of 40 Archdale Street.** This standing structure, built at least by the late antebellum period, has been used as a grocery, saloon, or pool hall for virtually all of its nineteenth and early twentieth century history.

- Like the hotel, this site reflects a part of urban life which has received little archaeological attention. Not only does it mean that the archaeological remains are of particular interest, but it also means that the site's research questions must be largely explorative and descriptive. While there is some evidence that occasionally the upper floors were used as a residence, the owner, throughout the building's history, lived elsewhere. It seems reasonable that this lot will reveal a relatively unique archaeological pattern. Although we have historical information concerning the importance of these saloons and gambling halls, not only to prostitution, but apparently also to the lower status blacks, there is relatively little information concerning the activities which took

place at these sites.

- We have already identified that there is considerable refuse accumulation along the southern side lot. Of equal concern is whether the rear lot was also used for trash disposal? Likewise, we are not sure what types of auxiliary buildings might have been present on this lot.

These areas are shown on Figure 54. Comparison of these areas with the auger test density maps reveals that 38-40 Archdale are both areas of dense artifacts, although both areas selected for the examination of free persons of color seem to have relatively low artifact density (perhaps because of the nature of the occupants). All four areas, however, exhibit noticeably higher levels of brick density and one (38 Archdale Street) exhibits high levels of faunal remains. While there are certainly a number of other structures and activity areas worthy of attention, these represent the minimal areas worthy of attention prior to construction.

The Memorandum of Agreement for this project, signed by the South Carolina Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer on December 16, 1994 stipulated that any data recovery efforts "will be devised and implemented in conjunction with the project construction schedule." Given that construction was scheduled to begin within three to four weeks of the survey's completion, data recovery plans were severely constrained.

Although a broad range of research questions have been identified to help support the eligibility determination of this site, archaeology's ability to address these questions is directly tied to the nature of the data recovery plan. Many of the research questions, for example, could be addressed only through controlled excavations and the careful collection of large quantities of remains in securely dated contexts. Specifically, distinguishing between deposits by free persons of color and postbellum freedmen will rely on identifying intact zones with secure dating. Likewise, exploration of subsistence questions depends on the recovery of screened faunal collections using a consistent methodology.

The archaeological survey, completed by January 13, 1995, was passed to the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (S.C. SHPO) for review and comment. Our recommendations concerning eligibility were accepted by the S.C. SHPO in a letter dated February 24, 1995 from Ms. Mary Edmonds, Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer to The Honorable Joseph Riley, Jr., Mayor of Charleston. This letter also recommended that a data recovery plan be developed "in order to mitigate the adverse effect of construction to this National Register eligible site."

A series of letters, conference phone calls, and meetings between the S.C. SHPO, representatives of The Beach Company, and City of Charleston officials took place or were exchanged over the next several days. The goal, of course, was to determine how to conduct archaeological studies of an entire block in only a few weeks with less than \$10,000 funding.

On February 28 the S.C. SHPO agreed, in principle, to a plan which would "consist of one archaeological test unit in each of five areas of the site" previously identified and conducted over a week (letter from S.C. SHPO Staff Archaeologist R. Niels Taylor to Mr. John Darby of The Beach Company, dated February 28, 1995). On March 1 Chicora Foundation submitted a data recovery plan based on this agreement.

While we take full responsibility for the research, the plan was developed after discussions with Ms. Martha Zierden of The Charleston Museum. She recommended against monitoring, which was being considered, and felt that even very limited excavations would produce better data offering a greater potential for meaningful analysis. She also cautioned that it is usually impossible, especially in very limited excavations, to know how much trash has moved around on and between city lots. This leads to concerns that materials may not be in primary context and can skew results of research on specific lots.

Based on our review of the survey data, the historical research, the time and funds allotted to the project, and our discussions with Ms. Zierden, we developed a research plan which was approved by The Beach Company on March 1 and

by the S.C. SHPO on the following day. There can be no disputing that the proposed data recovery plan was minimal. Constrained by both time and funds, however, it was the best that could be operationalized. The methodology, findings, and analysis of the recovered artifacts are discussed in the following sections of this study.

EXCAVATIONS

Strategy and Methods

Upon our arrival on-site for data recovery efforts March 6, we discovered that the site area had dramatically changed from that present during the initial survey (Figure 55). Fences and other artificial boundaries in the western half of the block were no longer present. The bank building which was located on the eastern half of the block was demolished with the rubble piled up for removal. The surrounding asphalt parking lot was also removed, although the underlying crush-run was still in place. A security fence had been constructed around the block and rehabilitation was proceeding on the standing structure at 40 Archdale Street (Figure 56). In addition, heavy rains over the previous week had left the soils very wet, with significant areas of standing water.

As previously discussed, five different site areas were identified for archaeological excavations: (1) behind the standing structure at 40 Archdale Street, (2) 163 Market Street, (3) 38 Archdale Street, (4) 16-18 Princess Street, and (5) the rear lot of the Victoria Hotel. In each case the excavation area was defined based on the survey data, including artifact density and potential intact remains, as well as historical data, including the posited location of structures and yard areas.

Where necessary construction vehicles or equipment was moved. In each area a relatively large work area, measuring upwards of about 30 feet square, was laid out to prevent any additional damage from construction activities. Since we had a very accurate topographic map of the block, time was very short, and construction hindered access to some areas, we decided not to establish a site grid. Instead horizontal control was maintained by reference to distances to street curbs, which had been previously identified on the block plans. This not only allows the locations to be precisely identified, but also allows locations to be compared to historic plats and maps. The excavations were

identified as Units 1 through 5, based on the order of their investigation (Figure 57).

Vertical control was maintained by using what was identified as Temporary Bench Mark 3—a nail set in power pole number 331830 on the north side of Market Street approximately midway between King and Archdale streets with an elevation of 12.50 feet above mean sea level (AMSL). Situated immediately outside the security fence entrance, this bench mark was easily transferred to other points within the construction area.

All excavations were by natural stratigraphic zones. Soils were water screened through $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch mesh using an on-site water supply provided by The Beach Company. Units were minimally troweled at the top of subsoil, photographed using color transparency and black and white print films, and plotted. Many units were actually cleaned, photographed, and plotted at multiple zone interfaces. Soil samples were routinely collected from each zone. Brick and mortar rubble was weighed and, except for occasional samples, were discarded in the field. Features encountered were usually bisected, with both small soil samples (approximately 2 quarts) and flotation samples (approximately 5 gallons) collected. Features were also excavated by natural soil zones and were separately photographed, plotted, and profiles drawn during their removal. The feature fill was also water screened through $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch mesh.

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 curated at The Charleston Museum. All specimens have been evaluated for conservation needs and are in the process of being treated prior to curation (this process is discussed in greater detail in a following



Figure 55. Eastern half of the project block showing construction activity and the removal of the demolished bank building.



Figure 56. Rehabilitation had already begun on 40 Archdale Street by the time of our excavations. This view also shows the location of Units 1 (background) and 2 (foreground).

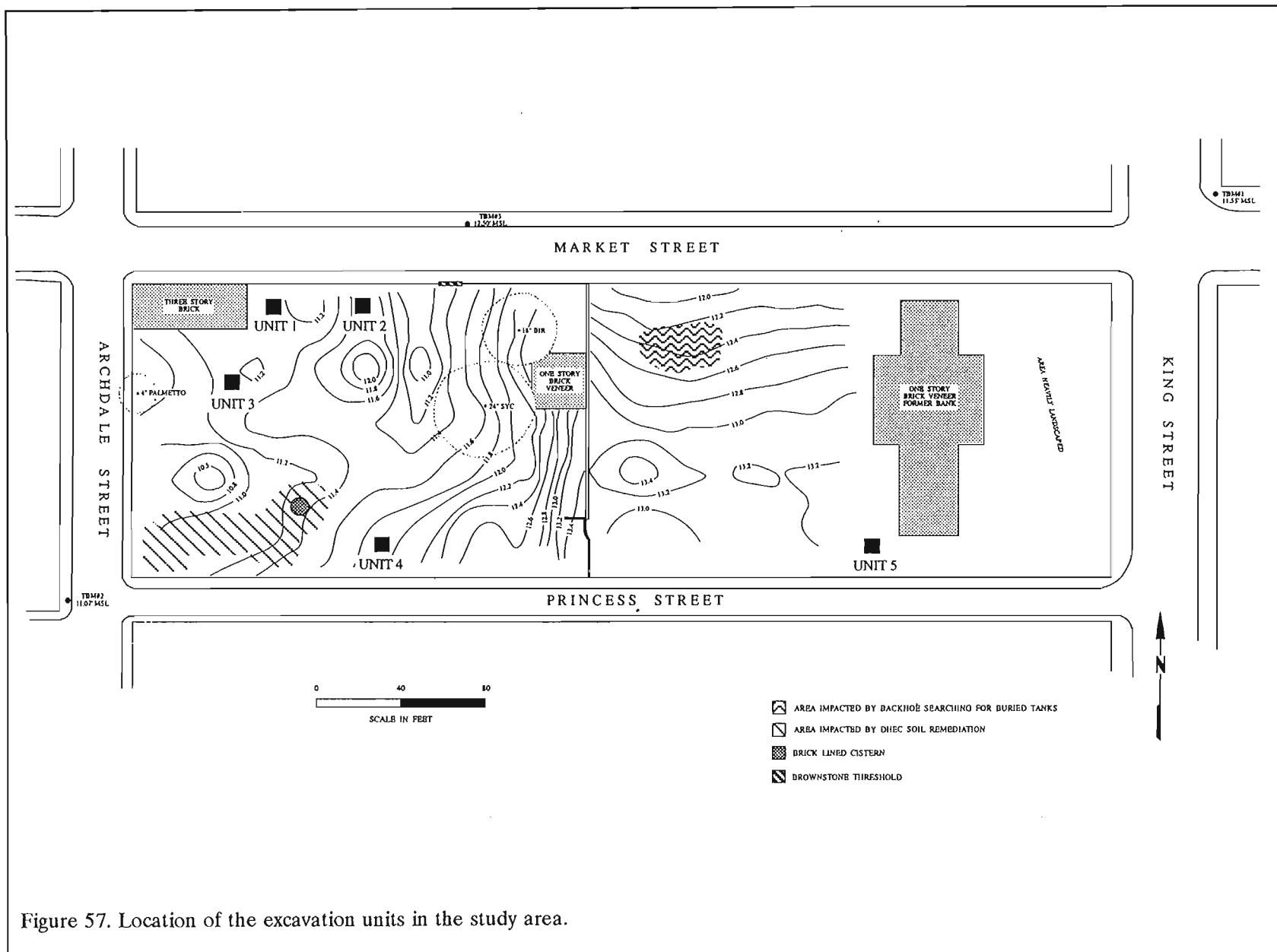


Figure 57. Location of the excavation units in the study area.

section of this study). The materials have Accession Number 1995.19 and are cataloged as ARL 42,125 through ARL 42,xxx.

Archaeological excavations were begun by a crew of three¹ on March 6 and continued through March 10, 1995. A total of 150.5 person hours were spent at the site (an average of about 10 hours per day). During this period five 5-foot units were opened, excavating a total of 204.9 cubic feet. Nearly 8.5 cubic feet of artifacts and other samples were recovered from the work.

Unit 1 at 40 Archdale Street

Unit 1 was situated behind the standing structure at 40 Archdale Street. The southeast corner of the unit was situated 15 feet south of Market Street and 15.8 east of the rear wall of the building (Figure 58). The unit was designed to investigate the rear yard of this grocery store/saloon dating from the mid-nineteenth century on.

Excavation proceeded by natural levels. Zone 1, measuring about 0.55 foot in depth, was a brown sand mixed with crush-run, and small fragments of concrete. Only a quarter of this zone (taken from the southeast corner of the unit) was water screened, with the remainder excavated and discarded. Zone 2, which began at the base of the crush-run, was a compact brown sand with streaks of reddish-yellow sandy clay. Later discovered to represent the fill for a cast iron sewer pipe, this zone began at about 13.1 feet AMSL and extended to a depth of 12.4 feet AMSL. Along the south edge of the unit there was a black sandy loam, which formed part of Zone 3, discussed below. At the base of the Zone 2 fill along the north wall of the unit, at an elevation of 12.35 feet AMSL, the top of a brick wall was encountered. To the south of this wall was mixed brown to black soils designed as Zone 3. Besides the relatively dark color of these soils the most characteristic aspect was their dense brick rubble, tentatively associated with the adjacent brick wall. This wall was 13

inches in width. The bonding pattern, however, could not be determined as the interior (i.e., south face) was covered with about a ¼-inch of portland cement stucco. As excavation continued the soils began to be increasingly wetter and the brick rubble became very dense, frequently forming large voids. Zone 4, designated at an elevation of 11.06 feet AMSL, was based primarily on the amount of water, rather than any clear difference in soil color or artifact contents. Standing water was encountered at an elevation 10.97 feet AMSL and excavation was terminated (Figure 59).² It appears that the cistern was abandoned, partially demolished with the rubble being dumped into the cistern, and then covered with additional soils.

In many respects this was the most disappointing unit since the brick wall identified at the base of Zone 2 was quickly realized to represent the north wall of a cistern which extended southward, encompassing the whole of Unit 1. The upper zones represented relatively recent deposits, while the lower zones, although dating to the abandonment of the cistern, might represent a mixture of both on- and off-site debris. There is no way of determining if fill from elsewhere was brought in to help cover this cistern.

Unit 2 at 163 Market Street

Unit 2 was laid in 112 feet east of Archdale Street and 20 feet south of Market Street to investigate the structure known to have existed at 163 Market which was occupied during the antebellum by free persons of color. This was unfortunately one of the more shallow units, with

¹The excavations were conducted by Ms. Missy Trushel and Ms. Susan Rauton. Dr. Michael Trinkley served as the Field Director and Principal Investigator and was present on-site throughout the excavations.

² Although excavation could have continued through the use of even as simple a device as a mud hog, we decided that the cost of such an undertaking in time far exceeded any possible benefits. Under different circumstances such work, coupled with the more complete excavation of the cistern, might provide significant information on late nineteenth and early twentieth century use of the lot. Under the current circumstances, however, we did not believe that we had this luxury. In addition, under different circumstances once the existence of the cistern was recognized (during excavation of Zone 3) the fill would have been designated as a feature. We saw little reason for this under the current circumstances, however, since the entire excavation unit was encompassed in the cistern.

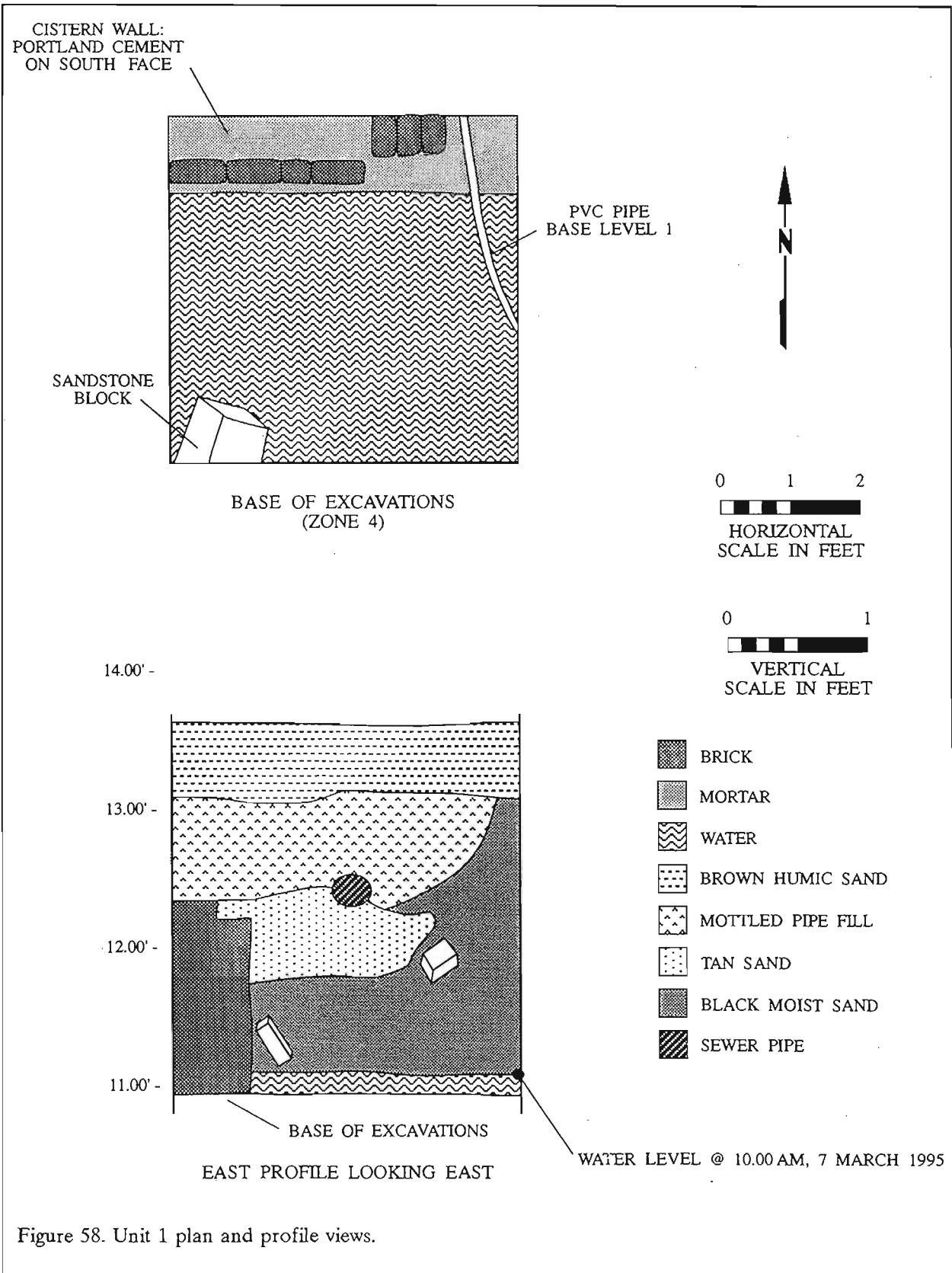


Figure 58. Unit 1 plan and profile views.



Figure 59. Unit 1, east profile at base of excavations showing the northern cistern wall and standing water.



Figure 60. Area of Unit 2, surrounded by flagging tape, showing construction disturbances.

only about a foot of sheet midden present, much of which had been disturbed by twentieth century activities and by the recent start-up of construction activities (Figure 60). In fact, a very distinct backhoe cut was identified in the northern third of the unit.

The sheet midden, which evidenced thorough disruption, was removed as one zone. Incorporated in this zone were several somewhat discrete levels, including (along the southern edge not disturbed by the back-hoe cut) very compact black sandy loam overlying crush-run and portions of what appeared to be a brick drive or floor. Below this was a level of heavily mottled brown sand representing a leveling course for the above construction activities. These distinct levels were thoroughly blended, or absent, along the northern edge of the unit, where the upper level consisted of mottled yellow sand and brick rubble overlying a homogenized level of black sand and rubble within the back-hoe cut (Figure 61).

Below these disturbances and upper levels of modern activity we identified a large, and very well preserved feature, designated Feature 1. Originally encompassing perhaps 90% of the unit, the northern edge of the feature had been clipped by the back-hoe cut and was no longer intact. Portions of the western and northern edges of the feature were present in the unit, with the stain continuing to the south and east, beyond the five-foot square. As the feature was excavated a slight ledge was encountered (at about 10.27 feet AMSL) along the western edge, beyond which the pit dropped steeply to the base (at about 9.39 feet AMSL) (Figure 62). The feature fill consisted of an upper zone of brown sand and rubble overlying a more uniform light brown sand. Between the two was a small lens of gray sand about 0.1 foot in thickness. At the base of the feature was a thick zone of lensed gray and yellow sands. The portion of the feature excavated contained abundant artifacts, including relatively dense faunal remains and a solid shot cannon ball. It seems likely given the available profile that the portion exposed represents perhaps a fifth of the total feature. No certain function can be ascribed to the pit, although it appears to have been filled with domestic trash. The material at the top of the feature appears to represent building rubble which was used to complete the filling of the pit.

Unit 3 at 38 Archdale Street

This five-foot square was laid out behind the structure we believe occupied 38 Archdale Street, allowing us to sample from the yard of a middle-class white family. The southeast corner of the unit is 55 feet east of Archdale Street and 50 feet south from Market Street (Figure 63).

The unit revealed a number of "disturbances" typical of the urban environment. Most prominent were an abandoned PVC monitoring well hidden by overlying construction debris and an abandoned water line running east-west. Zone 1, removed without screening, consisted of very hard packed crush-run and cement which served as paving. Over this, in a few areas, was upwards of 0.2 foot of tan sand, probably transported in from elsewhere on-site. Below, Zone 2 consisted of compact black sand. Although no crush-run was present, it was obvious that this zone was mixed with twentieth century activities. Along the north profile a series of dry laid bricks (the top of which was at a level of 13.30 feet AMSL) were identified, perhaps representing a drive way. The previously mentioned water line ran through Zone 2, introducing further modern refuse. Half of the Zone 2 fill was water screened, with the remainder discarded without screening.

Zone 3 consisted of a gray-brown fine loamy sand which represents the primary artifact bearing level in this unit. At the base was a yellow sand subsoil. Penetrating the subsoil, and apparently originating within Zone 3, were Features 2 and 3 (Figures 64 and 65).

Feature 2 is a north-south running trench in the western third of the unit. Having a maximum width of about 1 foot, the trench sloped from the north to the south and had a depth ranging from 0.89 to 1.5 feet. The feature was excavated by shovel and, at the base of the trench where it intruded into a thick yellow-colored clay, shovel imprints were clearly visible. There was, however, no pipe in the feature and the artifacts were consistent with those found in Zone 3. Feature 3 was an east-west running trench feature which originated at the top of Zone 3. It terminated at Feature 2 and the fill was mottled brown sand. No function can be ascribed to either trench, although the fill for both appears to be

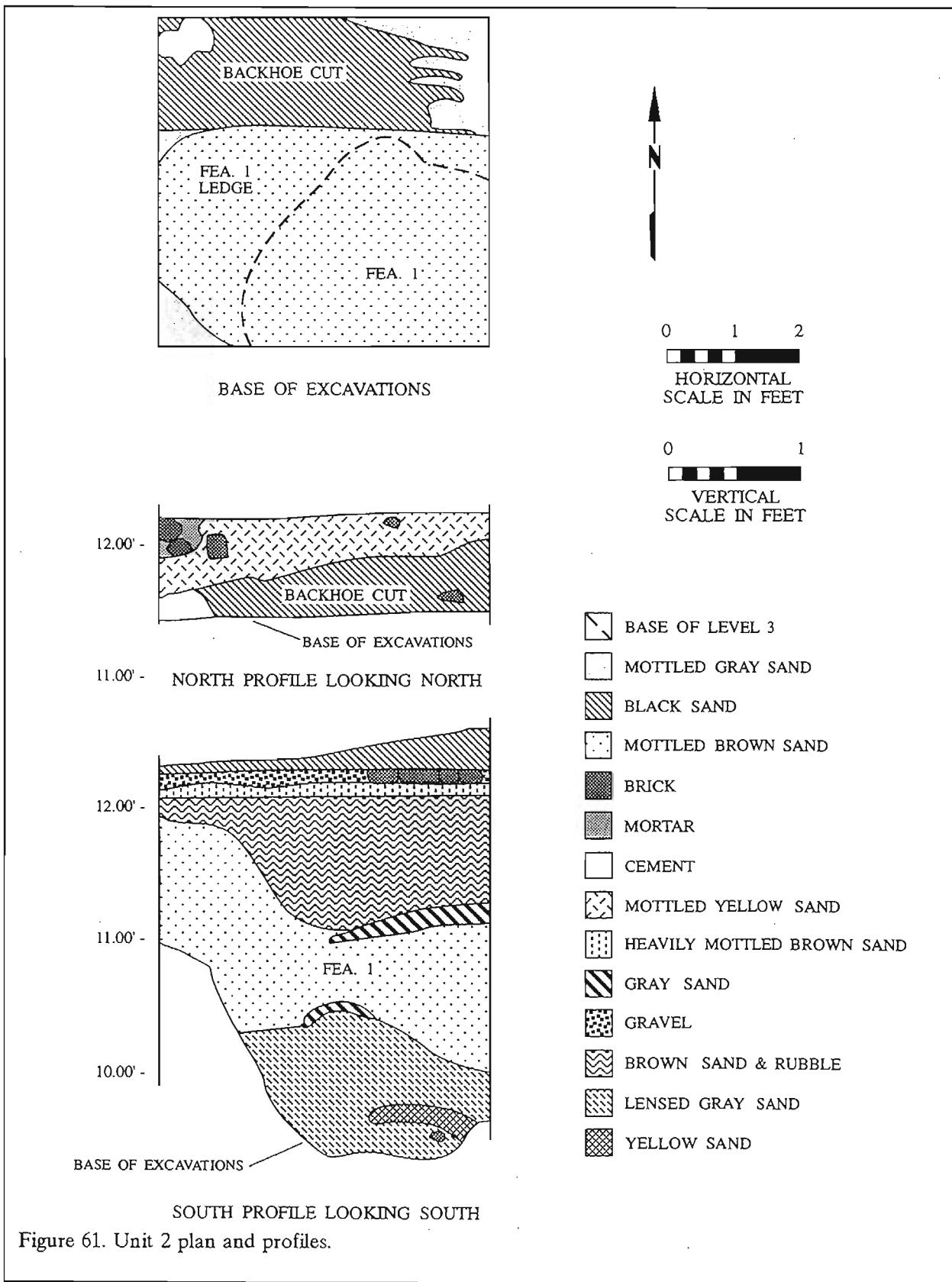


Figure 61. Unit 2 plan and profiles.



Figure 62. Suzanne Rauton excavating Feature 1 in Unit 2. View to the south-southwest.



Figure 63. Area of Unit 3, south of 40 Archdale Street, behind 38 Archdale. View to the northwest.

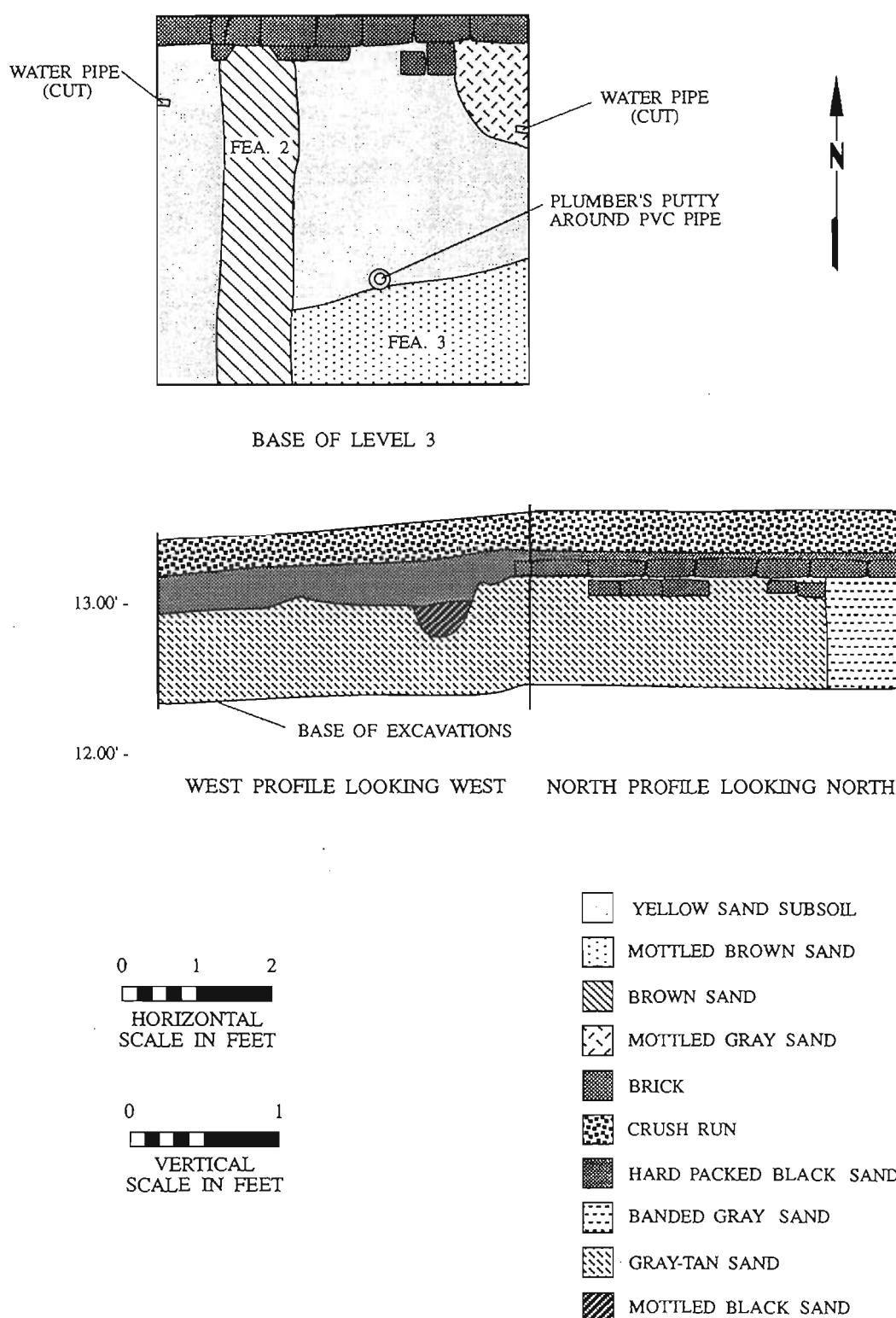


Figure 64. Unit 3, plan and profiles.

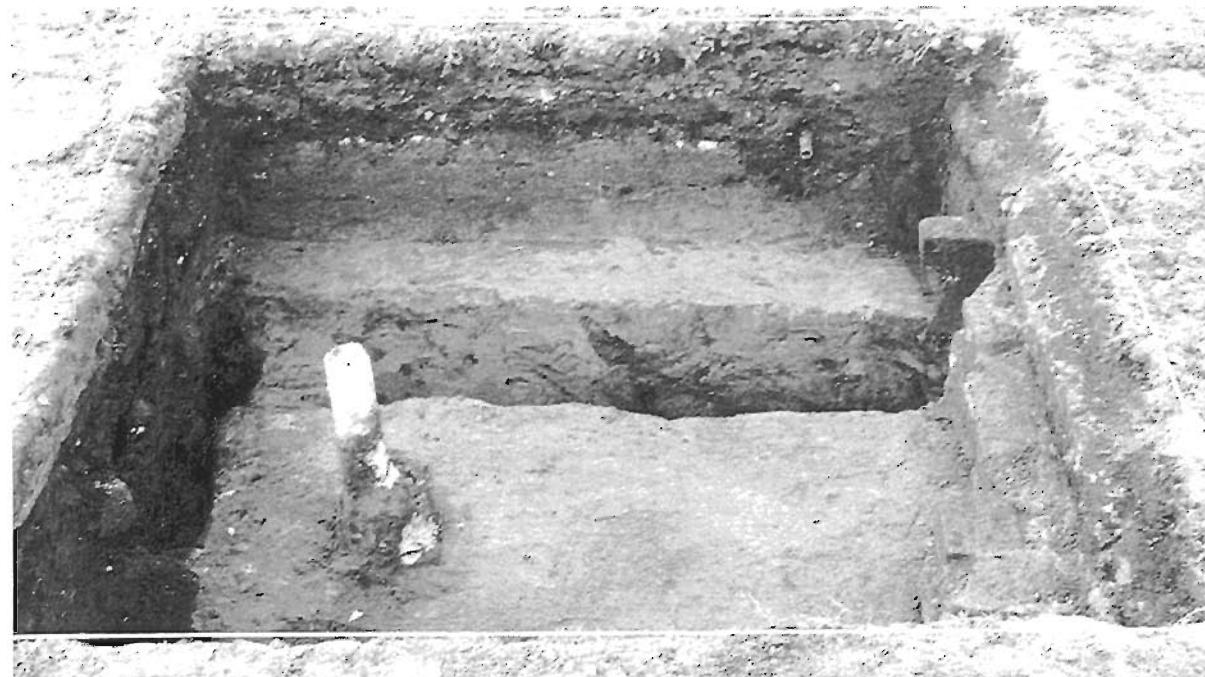


Figure 65. Unit 3 excavated with Features 2 and 3 excavated. View to the south.

generally contemporaneous with Zone 3. At the base of the excavations it became apparent that a third feature existed in the north wall of the unit, below the brick pavement. Consisting of mottled gray and white sands it continued, with very straight walls, to the base of the unit. This may represent yet another monitoring well, although no pipe was found.

Unit 4 at 16-18 Princess Street

The southeast corner of Unit 4 was laid in 15 feet north of Princess Street and 130 feet from Archdale Street. This is a second area though to be associated with free persons of color, but was associated with what we thought might be either a front or mid-yard area to the side of a posited structure. Previous testing in this area had produced relatively little brick rubble and the historic research suggested that this portion of Princess Street contained a number of wood tenements.

Zone 1 here was a light brown sand and humic zone, perhaps representing recent wind-blown deposits. Very few artifacts were present and

only half of this level was water screened. The remainder was discarded to reveal Zone 2, a black sand with rubble. As this rubble was removed it revealed a corner pier in the southeast corner of the unit, with arms oriented to the north and east (as though representing the southwest corner of a structure). This top of this pier was revealed at 13.46 feet AMSL and as excavation continued it was found to be five courses in height to a depth of 11.98 feet AMSL. Also present was a poorly laid brick rubble wall beginning at the eastern wall of the unit and extending west, just to the edge of the pier. This wall, about 9 inches or one brick in width was laid up in three courses and bedded on mortar (13.60 to 12.80 feet AMSL) (Figures 66 and 67). The rubble found in Zone 2 appears to be associated with these two pier segments. The linear arrangement appears to be a latter repair, perhaps added to provide support to a rotted sill plate.

Zone 3 was a dark brown sand with very reduced quantities of brick rubble. The upper portion of the zone, however, contained abundant charcoal and a five-gallon soil sample was collected for water flotation. Plaster and mortar rubble was also encountered in this zone. It appears that Zone

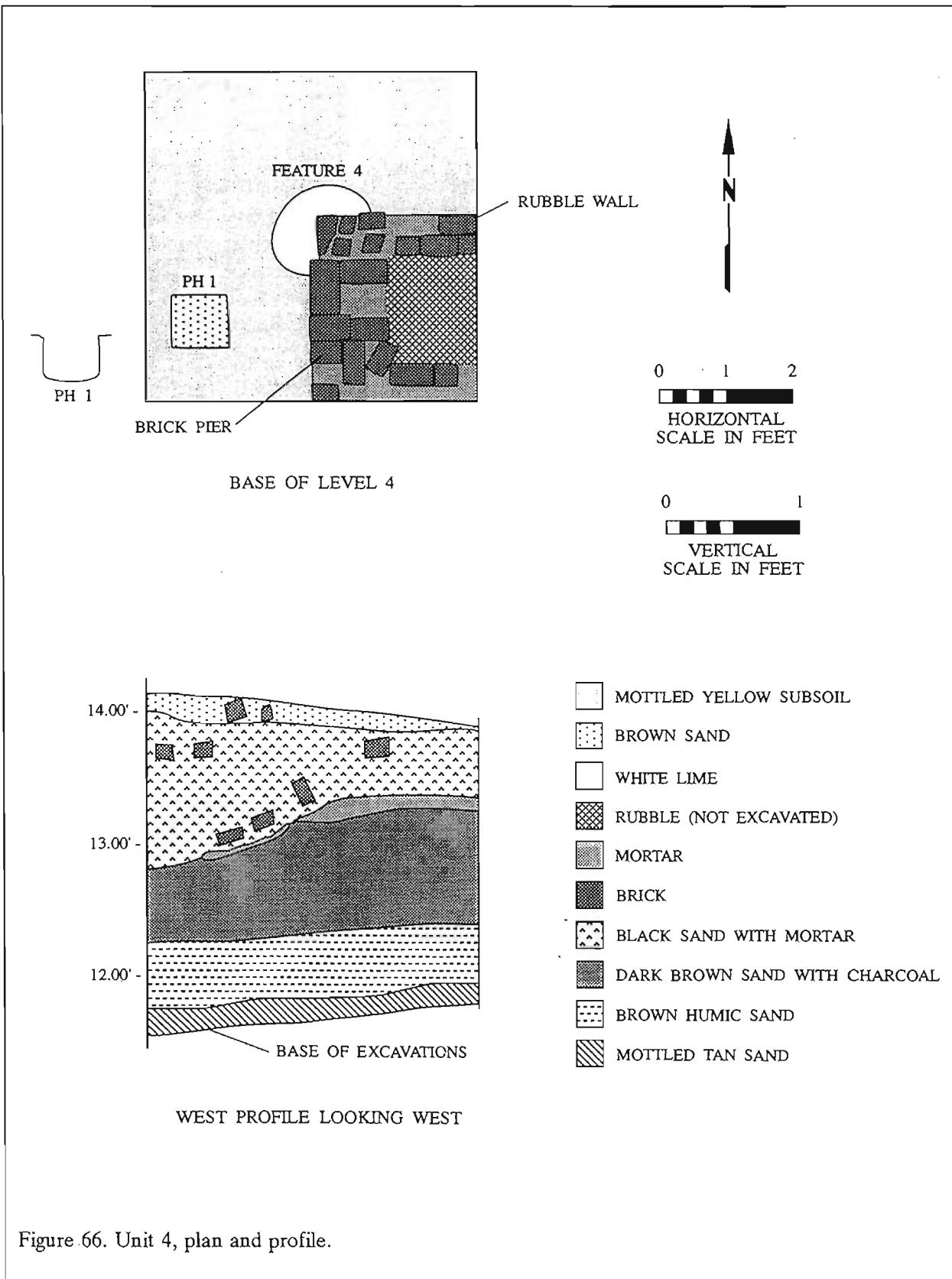


Figure 66. Unit 4, plan and profile.



Figure 67. Unit 4, base of excavations, showing the brick pier and rubble wall, Feature 4 in profile under the wall, and the post hole in the floor of the unit.



Figure 68. Area of Unit 5 with the yellow sand fill removed, prior to unit excavation. View is to the east (toward King Street in the background).

3 represents a burn zone associated with a fire along Princess Street during the nineteenth century. What was identified as Feature 4 was found around the outside or western end of the east-west pier or wall segment. Measuring about 1.5 foot in diameter, the feature consisted of a mass of lime which appears to have been placed to support the overlying pier or wall. No other materials were associated with the feature.

Underlying the burned remains of Zone 3 was a brown humic sand, designated Zone 4, which contained relatively few artifacts. This is thought to represent the original humus present on the block and predates the extensive development in the late eighteenth—early nineteenth century. This gradually graded into a sterile mottled tan sand which represents a transition to subsoil. A single, square post hole was identified at the base of the excavations. Measuring about 0.4 foot square, it penetrated 0.3 feet into the subsoil.

Unit 5 at the lot behind the Victoria Hotel

This unit was placed in the lot behind the early nineteenth century Victoria Hotel in an area thought to have been the access alleyway. The southeast corner of the unit was situated 20 feet north of Princess Street and 120 feet west of King Street. Unit 5 was found to be one of the more complex units and the site, and like Unit 4, revealed that very complex architectural remains were present for investigation on the block had more time been available.

This portion of the site originally had asphalt and about 0.5 foot of crush-run overlying about 1.5 feet of yellow sand fill. The paving and crush-run was removed prior to our work and we had The Beach Company remove the sand fill in a 20 foot work area (Figure 68). Afterwards hand excavation began with the removal of Zone 1, a hard packed, dense brick rubble about 1.4 feet in depth. Present in this zone were both "modern" and nineteenth century artifacts, suggesting that it may represent the demolition rubble from the hotel which was compacted for the bank construction. Also present were abundant coal fragments and large portions of brick wall fall. Below this rubble was a brown sand lens, gradually grading into a tan sand, about 0.8 foot in depth

and designated Zone 2. Underlying this was a mottled gray sand which was originally thought to represent the subsoil. The presence of occasional artifacts found in troweling, however, revealed this to be another level, called Zone 3, about 0.3 foot in depth which was laid over yellow sand subsoil (Figure 69). During excavation of Zone 2 a brick wall of indeterminate width was identified along the east edge of the unit. Only the lowest three courses of the wall were still extant, suggesting that the upper portions had been sheared off during demolition. This wall may represent the eastern edge of the alley.

During the excavation of Zone 1 the first feature was encountered — a collapsed brick arch over a brick drain running north-south through the unit and thought possibly to represent the edge of the alleyway. Designated Feature 5, this drain measured 1.3 feet in width and the interior height of the drain varied from about 1.0 to 1.05 foot. Most of the drain had collapsed, perhaps during the demolition of the hotel or construction of the bank building. In fact, the original configuration of the drain could only be detected in the south profile of the unit (Figure 70), elsewhere the drain had not only collapsed, but only portions of the lowest course of the brick work was intact. During excavation it was discovered that the drain had a wood floor, largely rotted out, and the base was filled with a tan, lensed fine sand.

Feature 5 was intrusive into an earlier drain running east-west across the base of the unit and designated Feature 6. It was found to have begun as a large pooled area which fed water eastward (Figure 71). There were two areas where portions of wood planks served as "gates" to control or hold back the water. The feature extended eastward, under the later Feature 5 brick drain, to the opposite side of the unit. We were able to determine that as the Feature 6 fill settled, portions of the brick drain began to sink into the previous drain, causing significant cracking and displacement of brick. No waterlaid deposits were found in Feature 6, suggesting that it may have been an open drain which permitted frequent cleaning. Only the eastern half of the feature was excavated.

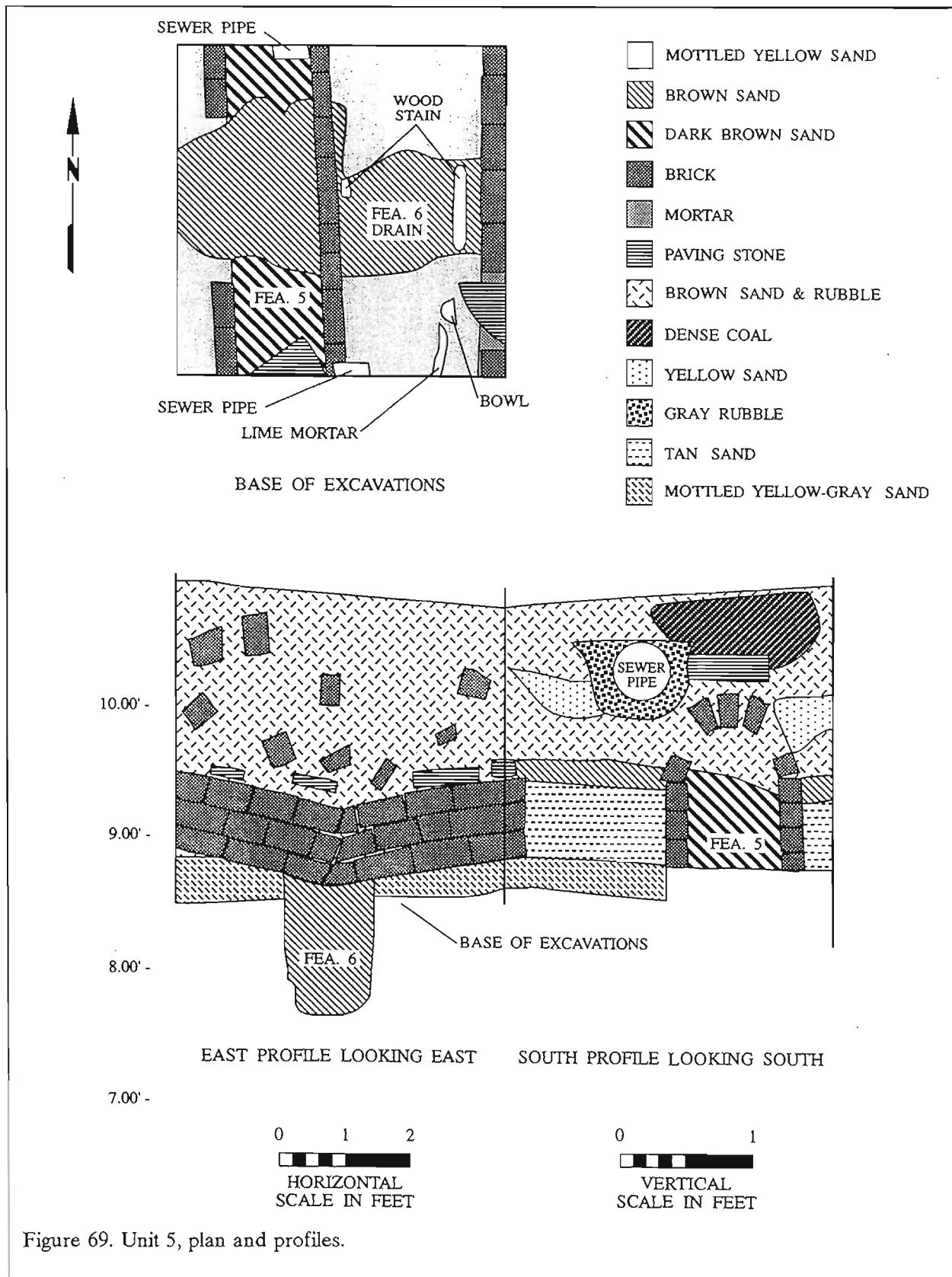




Figure 70. Close-up view of Feature 5, south wall of Unit 5. View is to the south.



Figure 71. Unit 5 after excavation of Feature 5, but prior to excavation to Feature 6, which is visible to the left of Feature 5. View is to the south.

ARTIFACTS

Introduction

This section is intended to provide an overview of the material culture present at the Saks site. Since the excavations consisted of only five units and were conducted both by unit numbers and also lot number, these discussions are also organized in this manner. A general overview of the recovered artifacts, their contribution toward architectural or feature reconstructions, mean ceramic dating, artifact pattern analysis, and exploration of status indicators (including, where appropriate, Miller's indices) are provided for each block. At the conclusion of this section there is a summary, which draws together the different areas on the study block and offers more generalized observations concerning the artifacts and their contribution to our understanding of late eighteenth and nineteenth century urban life in Charleston.

Laboratory Processing, Conservation, and Analysis

The cleaning of artifacts was conducted in Columbia, after the conclusion of the excavations. Cataloging and analysis of the specimens was conducted intermittently from May through October 1995. Conservation treatments have been conducted by Chicora personnel at the Columbia laboratory intermittently from July 1995 and are still on-going for some specimens.

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 $\mu\text{mhos}/\text{cm}$ 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. 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 $\mu\text{mhos}/\text{cm}$), 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.

As previously discussed, the materials have been accepted for curation by The Charleston Museum as accession number 1995.019. Inclusive specimen numbers for the excavation collection are ARL 42125-42150. 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 with this facility. All materials have been delivered to the curatorial facility.

Analysis of the collections followed professionally accepted standards with a level of intensity suitable to the quantity and quality of the remains. 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 (1979), 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, as appropriate for different types of materials, 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 which could reflect behavioral categories. Initially developed for eighteenth-century British colonial assemblages, this approach appears to be an excellent choice for the Saks collection. Although criticized for problems in sample comparability (see, for example, Joseph 1989), even the system's detractors note that:

whatever its flaws, the value of artifact patterning lies in the fact that it is a universally recognized method for organizing large collections of artifactual data in a manner which can be easily understood and which can be used for comparative purposes (Joseph 1989:65).

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 ceramics¹ and also as a prerequisite to the

¹Although 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 — 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,

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 which would indicate matches with previously defined vessels. Those which fail to match either mended vessels or other rims are counted as additional vessels. Where there were multiple proveniences from an excavation unit, all 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.

Two methods were used to determine the occupation span of the various excavation units. The first method is South's (1977) mean ceramic dating approach. The other is his bracketing technique. This second method consists of creating a time line where the manufacturing span 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

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 affect the study, or comparison, of different assemblages which may have a different level of brokenness.

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.

The observant reader will also note that both metric and English units of measurement have been used in the analysis. We recognize that this departure from consistency may be troubling, and may require some conversion back and forth. We have, however, tried to ensure an internal consistency. Where the artifact was likely described by its maker or user in English measurements, they have been retained. The only exception to this is when there has been extensive research on the artifact class which uses metric measures (one example being the work on English "wine" bottles by Olive Jones). When the maker or user of the object probably had no reason to refer to a specific measurement (such as the length or diameter of a pencil), we have used metric units.

In the following discussions, the first time a particular artifact type, or class, is encountered, it will be discussed in greater detail than it is when found in subsequent contexts. While this may cause some difficulty for those interested in only one particular unit at the site, it will reduce the shear volume of text and will make these discussion flow in a more readable fashion.

Unit 1 at 40 Archdale Street

Unit 1 was located behind the standing structure at 40 Archdale Street in order to explore the artifacts associated with a nineteenth century saloon and grocery. The excavations at this unit produced 2791 artifacts from 25 square feet, yielding an artifact density of 111.6 artifacts per square foot or 41.7 artifacts per cubic foot.

This unit was placed within a cistern which had been filled with demolition rubble and sheet midden, apparently gathered up from the immediate vicinity. The excavations revealed three distinct levels within the unit, each of which could be dated using a TPQ technique. The *terminus post quem* (or TPQ) date is that date *after which* the zone was deposited. It is based on the latest dated artifact present in the assemblage. Zone 1 produced a TPQ date of 1986 (based on a coin).

Zone 2 has a TPQ date of 1951 (based on a Coca Cola® bottle design). Zone 3 produced a TPQ of

Table 6.
Major Types of Pottery from Unit 1

Porcelain	16	4.1%
Stoneware	25	6.4%
Brown	7	
Blue/Gray	2	
White	3	
Black basalt	1	
Alkaline	1	
Ginger beer bottle	10	
UID	1	
Earthenware	349	89.5%
Slipware	5	
Coarse	2	
Refined	2	
Creamware	41	
Pearlware	97	
Whiteware	167	
Yellow ware	7	
Burnt	28	

1928 (based on a ceramic maker's mark). Although the artifacts recovered span a considerable period, there seems to be no doubt that the cistern was filled in during the second quarter of the twentieth century.

Kitchen Group Artifacts

A total of 1787 Kitchen Group artifacts was recovered, most (1356 or 79.5%) representing glass. Ceramics account for a relatively small proportion of the kitchen group (390 specimens or 21.8%). Recovered were a small number of eighteenth century wares, such as porcelain, Westerwald stoneware, white salt glazed stoneware, and lead glazed slipware. More common were a range of pearlwares (24.9% n=97) and whitewares (42.8%, n=167).

The major types of ceramics are shown in Table 6, revealing that tablewares, such as the porcelains, white salt glazed stonewares, slipware, creamwares, pearlwares, and whitewares account

for 89.4% of the ceramics. Utilitarian wares,² such as the ginger beer stoneware, coarse earthenware, and brown stoneware, account for about 15.1% of the collection.

The most common primarily late eighteenth century ware are the examples of creamware. Developed in the 1750s by Josiah Wedgwood, this cream colored earthenware was considered a revolution in ceramic production. It provided a fine glazed ware at a relatively inexpensive cost, and came in sets with a wide variety of vessel forms and styles. In Unit 1, the vast majority are undecorated (38 or 92.7%), although three polychrome hand painted creamwares were also identified. These creamwares represent one undecorated plate (Royal motif) 9-inches in diameter and one 9-inch bowl.

The next most common eighteenth century ware is the lead glazed slipware, accounting for five examples. Slipware was a traditional eighteenth century form of pottery decoration in which a white or cream-colored slip is trailed over an buff or red earthenware body. A clear lead glazed slip is then applied before firing. The one identifiable

Table 8.
Mean Ceramic Date for Unit 1

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	# (fi)	$\bar{x} \times xi$
Overglaze enamelled porcelain	1660-1800	1730	3	5190
Westerwald	1700-1775	1738	1	1730
White SGSW	1740-1775	1758	3	5274
Black basalt	1750-1820	1785	1	1785
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	5	8665
Creamware, hand painted undecorated	1765-1810 1762-1820	1805 1791	3 38	5415 68058
Pearlware, poly hand painted blue hand painted blue transfer printed edged molded undecorated	1820-1840 1780-1820 1795-1840 1780-1830 1780-1830 1780-1830	1805 1800 1818 1805 1805 1805	5 8 40 9 1 29	9025 14400 72720 16245 1805 52345
Whiteware, blue edged poly hand painted blue transfer printed non-blue transfer printed poly decalcomania annular undecorated	1811-1880 1826-1870 1831-1865 1826-1875 1901-1950 1830-1900 1820→	1853 1848 1848 1851 1926 1866 1860	2 6 11 7 4 7 130	3706 11088 20328 12957 7704 13062 241800
				595,306 ÷ 325 ≈ 1831.7
				325

vessel was a 12-inch diameter dutch oven form.

While comprising a small percent of the ceramics present, the three overglazed enamelled Chinese porcelain fragments represented one 6-inch saucer. Other eighteenth century wares include Westerwald, black basalt, and white salt glazed stonewares.

The most common nineteenth century wares present in Unit 1 are the whitewares. Recovered were examples of blue edged, polychrome hand painted, blue transfer printed, polychrome decalcomania, annular ware, and plain whitewares. They account for at least 22 vessels, including eight undecorated plates ranging in size from 6- to 10-inches, and single examples of molded, blued edged, and polychrome whitewares plates. Seven whiteware bowls were also identified in Unit 1, including three undecorated specimens ranging from 5- to 9-inches in diameter. Other bowl forms included polychrome hand painted, annular, and brown transfer printed motifs. Three whiteware cups were found, ranging from 3- to 3½-

Table 7.
Shape and Function of Ceramic
Vessels from Unit 1

Shape	#	%
Tableware	38	84.5
Plates/saucers	25	65.8
Bowls	13	34.2
Serving	-	-
Tea and Coffeeware	5	11.1
Utilitarian	2	4.4

² Utilitarian wares are those used in food preparation and storage. They typically include stonewares and coarse earthenwares, but exclude Colono ware, because of the possible ethnic differences in food preparation and consumption practices.

inches in diameter. Finally, two whiteware saucers were also identified — one undecorated and one molded.

Although pearlware examples were less common, a wide range of motifs were identified, including polychrome hand painted, blue hand painted, blue transfer printed, edged, annular or cable, molded, and undecorated. These 97 ceramics represent 14 different vessels. Identified were nine plates, including one molded pearlware plate 8-inches in diameter; three blue edged plates, including one 9-inch diameter plate and two 10-inch plates; three green edged plates; and two blue transfer printed plates, both 8-inches in diameter. Other vessel forms included two annular ware bowls (both 5-inches in diameter), one polychrome hand painted bowl (also 5-inches in diameter), one blue transfer printed cup, and one blue transfer printed saucer.

The mean ceramic date for Unit 1 is shown in Table 8. This table also provides information concerning manufacturing date range for the various ceramics.

Container glass accounts for 1356 fragments or 75.9% of the Kitchen Group total. A wide range of glass colors are present, although clear glass comprises 51.6% of the collection ($n=700$), followed by "black" glass ($n=173$, 12.8%) and brown glass ($n=171$, 12.6%). Combined, these 1356 fragments represent a minimum of 38 bottles, including six intact bottles.

The clear glass accounts for 15 vessels. The fragmentary specimens include one with a blown base, seven with molded bases, one exhibiting a twist lip, one with a crown cap lip, and two with jar lips. Three clear bottles are intact and are identical. Each has a base measuring $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches, a height of 5 inches, and a shoulder height of $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The lips are all flanged, typical of nineteenth century medicine or pharmaceutical bottles.

The next most prevalent glass type is that commonly called "black," which is actually dark green in transmitted light. These represent "wine" bottles commonly used in Europe and North America. Olive Jones (1986) has conducted

extensive research on this bottle style, discovering that the cylindrical "wine" bottle, at least up to the mid-nineteenth century represents, four distinct styles — two for wine and two for beer — linked to their size and intended contents. These four styles, however, were not just used for wines and beers. Other products, such as cider, distilled liquors, vinegar, and mineral waters might also have been sold in these bottle styles. In addition, they would have been used by private individuals as containers for decanting, storing, and serving beverages either bought in barrels or made at home.

Four "black" glass bottles are present in the Unit 1 collection. Three exhibit blown bases with diameters of 83, 90, and 102 mm. The fourth example is a molded base with a diameter of 71 mm.

The next most common container glass, represented by 171 fragments, was brown glass. Five fragmentary vessels and two intact bottles are included in this assemblage. The fragmentary specimens include one blown base, one molded base, one bottle with a cork lip, one with a pharmaceutical lip, and one with a twist lip. The two intact bottles include one with a basal diameter of $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, a height of 6 inches, and a shoulder height of $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The bottle is embossed on its shoulder and base, DR JCB SEIGERT & SONS. The second example measures $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height, and $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in shoulder height. Embossed on its shoulder and base is CW ABBOTT & CO BALTIMORE. The Seigert bottle post-dates 1909 (Fike 1987:42) while the Abbott bottle likely dates from the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Fike 1987:50). Both likely contained Angostura Bitters, a popular digestive remedy.

Other bottles identified from Unit 1 include one "Sprite" green bottle, five light green bottles (likely Coca Cola®), four aqua bottles (including one intact panel bottle), and one dark aqua bottle.

Taken together the assemblage represents a range of pharmaceutical, medicinal, condiment, and alcohol (beer and wine) bottles. Just as importantly, the collection spans the period from

about 1810 through perhaps 1940.

Twenty five tableware items were recovered from Unit 1, representing about 1.4% of the Kitchen Group artifacts. Included are one manganese glass tumbler, four clear glass tumblers, one clear glass plate, and one "Sprite" green glass plate. The last item is commonly called "Depression Glass" by collectors and the specimen recovered is an oval with rounded cutout corners. It exhibits a pressed delicate scroll pattern with diamond-shaped ornament encircling a cross at the center. The plate was probably produced by the Federal Glass Company in Columbus, Ohio and probably represented either a relish plate or possibly a gravy boat platter (Spillman 1982:218).

Only 16 Kitchenware items were found in Unit 1. These include three crown caps, one brass lid, one iron handle (probably to a "tin" cup), one milk glass canning lid, nine metal can fragments, and one partially reconstructible can measuring about 3 inches in height and about 2½ inches in diameter.

Architecture Group Artifacts

A total of 879 architectural specimens (excluding brick) was recovered from Unit 1, representing about 31.5% of the unit's total assemblage.

The single largest category is that of flat glass, with 436 specimens recovered (representing 49.6% of the architecture group artifacts). The bulk is fairly thin and light green in color and is almost certainly window glass.

Eight construction hardware items were recovered, including one strap hinge fragment (which includes one 8d machine cut nail driven through one of the attachment holes), one tile fragment, five flat marble fragments, and one porcelain electric insulator.

The remainder of the collection consisted

Table 9.
Buttons Recovered from Unit 1

Type	Description	#	Other (measurements in mm)
9	brass flat disc, hand stamped face, no foot	1	27.1
15	bone disc, 1-hole	2	11.7, 14.5
19	bone disc-5-hole	1	17.8
22	flat back shell, 4-hole	2	9.0, frag
23	porcelain, 4-hole, convex	2	10.1, 10.3
25	plain brass face, iron back and eye	1	10.4
27	domed, Eagle w/anchor	1	15.1 (R="Scovill/Extra")
-	shell, 2-hole	1	13.8
-	glass, blue	1	9.9
-	glass, green	1	9.5
-	glass, clear with flower in center	1	13.6
-	opaque glass	1	10.0
-	badly corroded brass	1	11.9
-	plastic, beige, 2-hole	2	9.7, 12.3
-	plastic, brown, 4-hole	2	14.0, 17.0
-	rubber, black, 2-hole	1	21.6

of 425 nails. Of these, 416 were unidentifiable fragments, heavily corroded and often little more than spalls. One fragmentary wire nail was identified, along with 17 intact wire nails, ranging from 2d to a 20d in size. Wire nails, while available in at least small sizes in the 1850s, were not common until the 1870s and 1880s (Nelson 1968:9-10). Only one machine cut nail was found in the collection.

Furniture Group Artifacts

Sixteen furniture artifact items, representing 0.6% of the total collection, were recovered from Unit 1. These included one plain brass knob, one brass knob with a floral pattern, one wick tube holder from a kerosene lamp, seven fragments of light bulb, one light bulb base, one brass light shade, and two phonograph record fragments.

The two brass knobs likely represent drawer or cabinet pulls. Two of the light bulb fragments pre-date 1925, while five others post-date 1925, based on manufacturing techniques.

Also recovered are two blue "slate" fragments which represent fragments of a billiard table bed. Slate beds were introduced in the mid-1830s and are still produced. These remains

support the historic documentation that the study block included several billiard or gaming parlors, mixed with saloons and "groceries."

Arms Group Artifacts

Only two arms items were recovered from the excavations at Unit 1. Combined, they represent only 0.1% of the total assemblage and include one .32 calibre shell casing and one honey colored gunflint.

Tobacco Group Artifacts

Unit 1 produced five tobacco artifacts, representing 0.2% of the total assemblage. These include three pipe stems (2 have 5/64-inch bore diameters and one has a bore diameter of 6/64-inch). Also present are two pipe bowls. One is a plain kaolin pipe bowl. The other is a glazed redware pipe bowl with a distinct rim. The bowl itself is decorated by small raised dots.

Clothing Group Artifacts

This category include 21 buttons and five other items associated with clothing, accounting for 0.9% of the total collection from Unit 1. The buttons, classified by South's (1964) types, are listed in Table 9. Those which fit South's typology are about evenly divided between the 1726-1776, 1800-130, and 1837-1865 contexts, suggesting that the collection represents a mixture of a broad range of different period (a conclusion which is certainly obvious from the previous discussions).

The type 27 button is Albert's (1969:99-100) type NA-86-Bv, a Navy button with border and circles or rope with 13 six-pointed stars. This particular design was apparently used between 1830 and 1856.

Other clothing items include a female snap, three brass shoe grommets, and one small leather shoe heel fragment.

Personal Group Artifacts

Twelve personal group artifacts, accounting for 0.4% of the total assemblage, were recovered from Unit 1. These items include five coins, three

jewelry fragments, a bus token, a mirror fragment, a brass cosmetics box, and a pencil fragment.

The coins include four pennies, dating 1901, 1950, 1971, and 1986. Also recovered is an unidentifiable (heavily worn and corroded) silver coin with a punched hole. The bus token is stamped on the front, "S.C. Electric/Bus/Gas Co." while on the reverse is "[]/Bus/One Fare."

The jewelry fragments include a white metal (probably aluminum) bracelet link, a paste (cut glass) diamond setting, and an oval brass pin setting or backing. The mirror is heavy glass with beveled edges, perhaps representing a large mirror behind a bar or other commercial setting. The brass cosmetics box measures 1 1/4-inches in diameter and was only 5/16-inch in depth. The upper lid is stamped and the reverse (which has the same stamping) also has in small lettering, "KISS PROOF/USA." The container likely held lip rouge.

The pencil has a graphite core surrounded in wood which is painted green. Present are a green rubber eraser and a brass surround.

Activities Group Artifacts

Unit 1 produced 64 activities group artifacts, which account for 2.3% of the total assemblage. Included are storage items, miscellaneous hardware, toys, and an "other" category.

The two storage items are fragments of strap metal, such as might be found on barrels or around small wooden shipping boxes. One fragment measures 1/2-inch in width, the other measures 1 1/4-inches. Hardware items include one porcelain plumbing fixture fragment, two washers, one eye bolt, one "L" brace, one staple, one rubber washer, two small chain links, one brass nail, and one wood screw fragment. The "other" category includes a range of objects which don't necessarily fit any other functional group. They include four flower pot fragments, one iron pipe fragment, one iron spring, a large iron hook, two fragments of iron wire, one unidentifiable iron object, one small brass screw, three brass strips, one fragment of brass wire, three fragments of brass metal, two

unidentifiable brass objects, one lump of melted lead, one unidentifiable stainless steel wire rod impressed "erman," and 13 fragments of thick milk glass. These last objects, which are ½-inch in thickness, may represent counter tops or even architectural materials.

Toys account for 16 objects and include 11 glass marbles, one clay marble, one stone marble, and one porcelain marble, as well as one green plastic lobster and one porcelain doll fragment.

The stone marbles often include examples produced in Germany from limestone during the eighteenth century, although they continued to be readily available into the early twentieth century. Porcelain marbles were also produced in Germany from the end of the eighteenth century, but appear to become very uncommon after about 1900 (Baumann 1991:35). The clay marbles were produced at least to about 1928, although their popularity declined as glass became more common and affordable. Baumann (1991:138-147) briefly reviews the various games of chance which used marbles. Although we commonly think of marbles as a child's game, it is important to realize that they were just as often used by adults in gaming. Games such as "ringer" and "spanner" were likely played for cash wagers and formed the nucleus of urban backlot gaming.

Unit 2 at 163 Market Street

Unit 2 was situated in the front portion of the lot at 163 Market Street — an address historically associated with free persons of color. The excavations at this unit produced two zones, under which lay a large feature. Zone 1 has a TPQ date of about 1890, based on a maker's mark on a ceramic, although materials dating as late as the 1960s were also included, suggesting that Zone 1 was likely deposited over a number of years during the very late nineteenth through mid-twentieth centuries. Zone 2 has a TPQ of perhaps 1750, based on a brass trigger guard.

The excavations at this unit produced 2446 artifacts from 25 square feet, yielding an artifact density of 97.8 artifacts per square foot or 108.7 artifacts per cubic foot.

Kitchen Group Artifacts

A total of 1452 Kitchen Group artifacts

Table 10. Major Types of Pottery from Unit 2		
Porcelain	38	5.6%
Stoneware	28	4.2%
Brown	10	
Blue/Gray	8	
Black basalt	1	
Alkaline	1	
Ginger beer bottle	7	
Eler's	1	
Earthenware	607	90.2%
Slipware	1	
Coarse	7	
Refined	24	
Delft	5	
Creamware	66	
Pearlware	221	
Whiteware	251	
Yellow ware	10	
Burnt	21	
Other	1	

was recovered, most (756 or 52.1%) representing glass. Ceramics are the next most common artifact, accounting for 673 specimens or 46.3% of the group total. Only a very few eighteenth century wares were encountered, including 19 porcelains, one black basalt, one lead glazed slipware, one Jackfield, and five fragments of plain delft. Much more common were late eighteenth century creamwares and nineteenth century pearlwares and whiteswares.

The major types of ceramics are shown in Table 10, revealing that tablewares, such as the porcelains, white salt glazed stonewares, slipware, creamwares, pearlwares, and whitewares account for 90.0% of the ceramics. Utilitarian wares, such as the ginger beer stoneware, coarse earthenware, and brown stoneware, account for the remainder of the collection.

As with Unit 1, the most common eighteenth century wares, dating from the latter third of the century, are the creamwares. Plain creamwares account for 65 of the 66 specimens,

with the other specimen being hand painted. The plain creamwares represent two plates, one of which is the Royal motif; two bowls, one 7-inches in diameter and the other 9-inches; and one 3-inch diameter cup.

The underglazed blue Chinese porcelain represents a 3½-inch diameter cup, while the hand painted overglaze Chinese porcelain represents a 6-inch saucer. The single identifiable delft vessel is an ointment jar with a mouth diameter of 2¾-inches. The single Jackfield sherd is identifiable as the spout from a teapot.

The pearlwares, which account for 32.8% of the ceramics, include a wide range of styles: polychrome hand painted, blue hand painted, blue transfer printed, edged, annular/cable, and undecorated. Twenty-nine vessels are represented by the collection. The assemblage is dominated by 17 bowls, compared to only five plates, four saucers, and three cups. The bowls, found with hand painted, annular, and transfer printed motifs, range in size from 4- to 8-inches, although the mean is 5.6-inches and the mode is 5-inches.

The whitewares include an almost identical range of motifs: blue edged, polychrome hand painted, blue transfer printed, non-blue transfer

Table 12.
Mean Ceramic Date for Unit 2

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	# (fi)	fi xi
Overglaze enamelled porcelain	1660-1800	1730	5	8650
Underglaze blue porcelain	1660-1800	1730	14	24220
Eiers	1763-1775	1769	1	1769
Black basalt	1750-1820	1785	1	1785
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	5	8665
Jackfield	1740-1780	1760	1	1760
Clouded wares	1740-1770	1755	14	24570
Delft, undecorated	1640-1800	1720	5	8600
Creamware, hand painted	1765-1810	1805	1	1805
undecorated	1762-1820	1791	65	116415
Pearlware, poly hand painted	1820-1840	1805	17	30685
blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	34	61200
blue transfer printed	1795-1840	1818	56	101808
edged	1780-1830	1805	17	30685
annular	1790-1820	1805	18	32490
undecorated	1780-1830	1805	79	142595
Whiteware, blue edged	1811-1880	1853	9	16677
poly hand painted	1826-1870	1848	5	9240
blue transfer printed	1831-1865	1848	15	27720
non-blue transfer printed	1826-1875	1851	19	35169
poly decalcomania	1901-1950	1926	1	1926
annular	1830-1900	1866	18	33588
sponged	1836-1870	1853	2	3706
undecorated	1820→	1860	182	338520
			590	1075846
$1,075,846 \div 590 \approx 1823.5$				

printed, annular, sponged, undecorated, and even one decalcomania example. The whitewares, which account for 37.3% of the ceramics, also contribute 31 identifiable vessel forms, including 12 plates, 13 bowls, four cups, one saucer, and one rectangular serving platter. The whiteware bowls, while not forming as significant proportion of the whiteware assemblage, have a similar range in size, from 4- to 9-inches. The plates, dominated by undecorated examples, range from 6-inches to 12-inches in diameter, although most (58.3%) fall between 8- and 9 inches.

In all, Unit 2 produced 73 vessels: 19 plates (representing 26.0% of the collection), 33 bowls (45.2%), nine cups (12.3%), six saucers (8.2%), one platter (1.4%), two bottles (one of gray stoneware, the other ginger beer stoneware, together accounting for 2.7%), one ointment jar

Table 11.
Shape and Function of Ceramic Vessels from Unit 2

Shape	#	%
Tableware	59	80.8
Plates/saucers	25	42.4
Bowls	33	55.9
Serving	1	1.7
Tea and Coffeeware	10	13.7
Utilitarian	4	5.5

(1.4%), and one teapot (1.4%). Table 11 reveals that tablewares dominate the collection, and that within the tableware group, bowls are more common than plates. The increasing proportion of plates from the pearlware to the whiteware collection suggests that the preference for bowls was slowly changing among the lot's occupants through time.

The mean ceramic date for Unit 2 is shown in Table 12. This table also provides information concerning manufacturing date range for the various ceramics. The mean ceramic date for the unit is 1822.5, although as previously mentioned the TPQ date for Zone 2 is about 1750. South's bracketing technique suggests that the occupation span was fairly extensive. In fact, it is impossible to obtain either a beginning or ending date where at least half of the different ceramic times line converge. Accepting convergence of only 10 of the 24 ceramics reveals a beginning date of about 1760 and a terminal date of 1830. If the bracket is adjusted to include the beginning date for the latest ware present, the terminal date might extend as late as 1900.

Container glass accounts for 756 fragments or 52.1% of the Kitchen Group total. The most common glass present is "black" glass, which accounts for 31.1% of the total ($n=235$), followed closely by clear glass ($n=207$, 27.4%) and aqua glass ($n=166$, 22.0%). A total of 14 vessels are represented by the container glass from Unit 2.

The most prevalent glass type is that commonly called "black," which is actually dark green in transmitted light. Four "black" glass bottles are present in the Unit 2 collection. All have blown bases with diameters from 77 mm to 103 mm. These are likely alcohol bottles, probably originally holding beer or stout. Later they would almost certainly have been used by the site occupants for other purposes.

The clear glass accounts for three vessels (one of which is a modern Pepsi® bottle from Zone 1). The other two bottles are molded and have bases from 51 to 64 mm in diameter. The aqua bottle glass suggests four vessels, a round bottle typical of medicines and three panel bottles.

Other bottles identified by the minimum

vessel count include one "Sprite" green bottle, one eight-paneled blue blown into a mold bottle, and one dark aqua bottle.

Although representing a relatively small collection, the bottles present at Unit 2 (excluding the obviously modern "intrusions") represent either alcohol containers (the "black" glass) or medicine bottles (identified as the aqua and probably clear examples).

Tableware items are represented by 19 items, accounting for 1.3% of the total kitchen artifact group. All of the items are of clear glass and include seven tumblers represented by 11 glass fragments, and one plain stem goblet represented by one glass fragment. The remaining seven glass fragments are likely portions of these vessels.

Also present in the collection are four sherds of what have been identified as Colono ware ceramics (representing 0.006% of the ceramic assemblage). Colono ware is a low fired earthenware produced by African Americans in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century for both their own use and for use by plantation owners. While Colono ceramics have been extensively examined on the plantation (see Trinkley et al. 1995:198-224), relatively little has been written about their urban counterparts, probably because Colono wares tend to be found in relatively low proportions.

An examination of previous Charleston archaeology reveals that Colono wares represent between 12% and 17% of the ceramic assemblages at "high status" sites, such as the Nathaniel Russell or Rutledge houses, dropping to a mean of 1.4% in the nineteenth century as Colono wares become less common even in the plantation setting. At lower status sites, such as Lodge Alley, First Trident, and McCrady, Colono wares represent a mean of 4.4% of the ceramics in the eighteenth century, falling to 1.3% in the nineteenth century.

The difference in the contribution of Colono wares among higher and lower status dwellings may be associated with the access to slaves producing the wares, the more wealthy tending to have more slaves and hence greater access. The difference, however, may also be associated with the dichotomy and tensions

between the different emerging classes in the urban setting. Lower status whites may have been more included to reject the use of Colono wares, fearing that the use of this slave made pottery might blur the already tenuous social divisions. Clearly the presence of Colono wares in the urban setting is worthy of considerably more study.

Architecture Group Artifacts

A total of 905 architectural specimens (excluding brick) was recovered from Unit 2, representing about 36.9% of the unit's total assemblage.

The single largest category is that of nails, which comprise 75.9% ($n=687$) of the architectural items. Unfortunately, fully 99.6% ($n=684$) of these are unidentifiable nail fragments. Only one intact nail, a 10d machine cut example, was identified in the collection. Also present were two spike fragments.

Flat glass, with 217 specimens recovered, is the next most common architectural artifact in Unit 2. The only construction hardware item present in the assemblage was a pintle fragment.

Furniture Group Artifacts

The furniture group consists of seven artifacts, including one brass tack, one kerosene lamp wick ratchet, two fragments of kerosene lamp chimney glass each with a scallop rim, and three fragments of phonograph records.

Arms Group Artifacts

Only one arms items were recovered from the excavations at Unit 2 — a cast brass trigger guard. The identified specimen is almost identical to one illustrated by Hamilton (1980:113) and assigned at date of 1720 to 1750. Similar to at least one specimen from Fort Frederica the trigger guard may have been from a military flint lock.

Tobacco Group Artifacts

Unit 2 produced 22 tobacco artifacts, representing 0.9% of the total assemblage. These include 20 pipe stems (3 have 4/64-inch bore diameters and 17 have bore diameters of 5/64-

inch). Also present are two pipe bowls. One is entirely plain while the other has leaves running up the mold lines.

Clothing Group Artifacts

This category include 12 buttons, one brass hook, and one leather shoe sole, accounting for 0.6% of the total collection from Unit 2. The buttons, classified by South's (1964) types, include one Type 15 one-hole button, two Type 22 four-hole shell buttons, and eight Type 23 porcelain buttons (three with what collectors call "piecrust" rims). Also present is one very badly corroded brass button which cannot be accurately typed.

The Type 15 button is typically associated with a colonial context, while the remainder are more often associated with early antebellum assemblages. The collection appears to be consistent with the recovered ceramics and other components of the total assemblage.

Personal Group Artifacts

Five personal group artifacts, accounting for 0.2% of the total assemblage, were recovered from Unit 2. These items include one badly worn silver coin, two slate pencil fragments, one bone toothbrush stock, and one bone toothbrush handle. Based on Mattick's (1993) examination of toothbrushes, this example likely post-dates 1860 and may date as late as 1890-1910.

Activities Group Artifacts

A total of 40 activities related artifacts were recovered from Unit 2, including five items classified as storage items, 12 classified as miscellaneous hardware, four toys, and 19 placed into the category of "other."

The five storage items are all strap metal, ranging in width from $\frac{1}{8}$ -inch to $1\frac{1}{4}$ -inches. The 12 hardware items include five brass nails, one brass nail fragment, one brass rivet and rove, two screws, one washer, and two lock washers.

There were noticeably fewer toys present in Unit 2 than were found in Unit 1. However, three of the four specimens were marbles (two glass and one stone). The fourth item was a bone

Table 13.
Major Types of Pottery from Feature 1

Porcelain	25	4.3%
Stoneware	11	1.9%
Brown	7	
Blue/Gray	4	
Earthenware	543	93.8%
Slipware	5	
Coarse	12	
Refined	21	
Delft	1	
Creamware	100	
Pearlware	198	
Whiteware	171	
Yellow ware	13	
Burnt	22	

die measuring 11.3 by 10.6 by 10.7 mm. No exclusively "children's" toys were recovered from the excavation and the collection continues to focus on adult gaming.

In the "other" category are one flower pot fragment, four lead fragments, one length of brass wire, two brass fragments, two unidentifiable finished brass items, one threaded brass cap, one link of brass chain, and four unidentifiable fragments of iron. Also included in with these items is one human molar.

Feature 1

At the base of the excavation, as previously discussed, was a large pit feature. This feature produced 2023 artifacts, nearly as many as were recovered in the upper two zones. The feature, as a sealed provenience, provides considerable insight into the activities on this

Table 14.
Shape and Function of Ceramic
Vessels from Feature 1

Shape	#	%
Tableware	69	74.4
Plates/saucers	30	43.5
Bowls	36	52.2
Serving	3	4.3
Tea and Coffeeware	9	10.3
Utilitarian	9	10.3

particular lot and, in consequence, is worthy of some detailed attention.

Kitchen Group Artifacts

A total of 1015 Kitchen Group artifacts was recovered, most (579 or 57.0%) representing ceramics. Glass specimens are the next most common artifact, accounting for 395 items or 38.9% of the group total. As in the overlying unit, relatively few of the artifacts date from the eighteenth century, although small quantities of Chinese porcelains, Westerwald, slipware, and delft are present. The feature is dominated by creamwares ($n=100$, 17.3%), pearlwares ($n=198$, 34.2%), and whitewares ($n=171$, 29.5%). Table 13 reveals the range of different wares present in the feature.

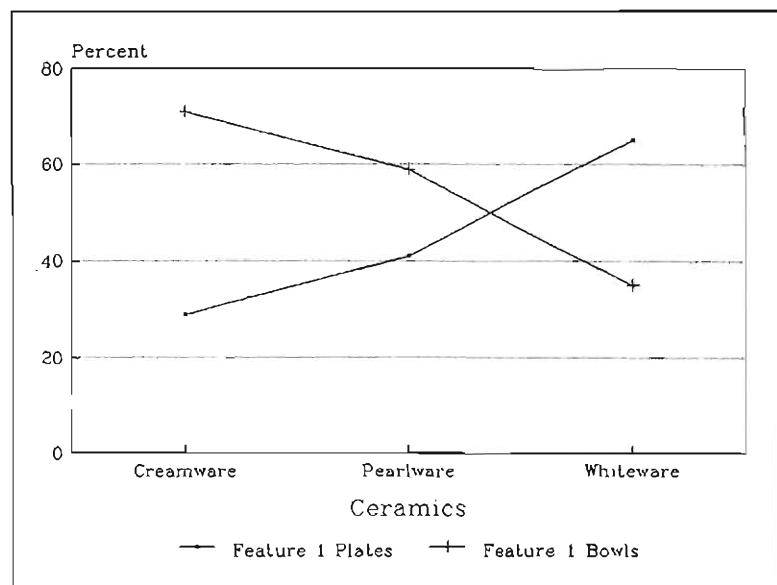
A minimum vessel count for the collection identified 87 different vessels. The creamware contributed 12 vessels, including two plates, five bowls, two cups, one saucer, and two unidentifiable forms (both are straight sides and have basal diameters of 3- and 3½-inches).

The pearlware specimens contributed a total of 14 plates, 12 of which could be accurately sized. The collection includes three with diameters of 6-inches, one 7-inch plate, two 8-inch plates, two measuring 8½-inches, one 9-inch, two with diameters of 10-inches, and one with a diameter of 12 inches. Most common were the edged wares, accounting for 10 of the 14 specimens. The remaining four were all blue transfer printed. Twenty pearlware bowls were present in the collection, only one of which was annular wear. Eight were polychrome hand painted, six were blue hand painted, one was undecorated and four were transfer printed. Bowl diameters ranged from 3½-inches (this small bowl also exhibited scalloped edges) to 8-inches, with most hovering between 4 and 4½-inches in diameter. Also included in the pearlware collection were one cup, one saucer, two pitchers, and two unidentifiable vessels.

Twenty-six whiteware vessels were identified, including 11 plates, seven bowls, five cups, and three unidentifiable forms. The most common whiteware plate decoration were transfer prints ($n=6$), although four examples of edged

wares were also present. Of the seven whitewares bowls, six were undecorated.

Also identifiable in the collection were three yellow ware bowls, one Chinese porcelain saucer, one gray stoneware bottle or jar with a diameter of 8½-inches, a small brown stoneware pitcher, and a coarse red earthenware bowl measuring about 4½-inches in diameter. Table 14 provides information on the different vessel forms identified from the feature, revealing that tablewares dominate the collection. As a whole the tableware collection reveals slightly more bowls (hollow ware) than plates (flatware). Yet as Figure 72 reveals, the proportion gradually shifts from a clear reliance on bowls among the creamware collection to plates in the whiteware collection. It seems reasonable that this shift reveals the changing dietary and social patterns of the free persons of color as they moved away from one pot meals to more "anglo" foods, food preparation techniques, and serving methods.



The mean ceramic date for Feature 1 is shown in Table 15. The date of 1819.3 is 4.2 years earlier than the mean ceramic date calculated for the overlying unit fill, suggesting that the feature was likely excavated during, not prior to, the lot's primary period of occupation.

Using South's bracketing technique, the feature suggests deposition of materials spanning the period of about 1790 through 1830 — an almost identical range to that previously suggested for the unit. The TPQ for the unit, 1831, is provided by the presence of blue transfer printed whiteware.

The feature also contains 395 container glass fragments. Black glass is the most common, accounting for 128 fragments or a MNV of two. Clear glass is the next most common ($n=94$) and the specimens suggest two bottles with narrow mouths, such as medicinal bottles. Although there are only 25 fragments of dark aqua glass, the specimens represent one bottle and one jar. Other vessel forms include one blue bottle, one aqua panel bottle, and one green bottle. Also present are brown, purple, and milk glass fragments.

Twenty-three tableware specimens were recovered from Feature 1. These include the remains of three bone utensil handles — two plain and one with a cross-hatch pattern. Also present were the remains of three plain panelled tumblers, and two etched tumblers.

The "plain" tumblers have basal diameters of 2-, 3- and 3½-inches. They were common during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although they were not necessarily "cheap," since glass was often sold by weight and tumblers, even those which were not leaded, tended to be rather heavy (McNally 1982:63). Even more impressive are the etched tumblers. Noël Hume (1969:24-25) comments that although never as competent as the Germans, there were a number of English engravers who tended to specialize in floral or foliate motifs. The motif on this specimen, however, consists of a checker board design with alternating squares where the glass has been cut

Table 15.
Mean Ceramic Date for Feature 1

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	# (6)	$\bar{x} \times xi$
Overglaze enamelled porcelain	1660-1800	1730	3	5190
Underglaze blue porcelain	1660-1800	1730	4	6920
Westerwald	1700-1775	1738	1	1738
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	5	8665
Delft, undecorated	1640-1800	1720	1	1750
Creamware, annular undecorated	1780-1815	1798	5	8990
	1762-1820	1791	95	170145
Pearlware, poly hand painted blue hand painted blue transfer printed edged annular undecorated	1820-1840 1780-1820 1795-1840 1780-1830 1790-1820 1780-1830	1805 1800 1818 1805 1805 1805	34 25 32 31 7 69	61370 45800 58176 55955 12635 124545
Whiteware, blue edged poly hand painted blue transfer printed non-blue transfer printed annular undecorated	1811-1830 1826-1870 1831-1865 1826-1875 1830-1900 1820→	1853 1848 1848 1851 1866 1860	12 1 28 37 3 90	22236 1848 51744 68487 5598 167400
			497	904194
$904.194 \div 497 \approx 1819.3$				

away leaving a rough, unpolished surface, frosted in appearance. In the center of each engraved square is a starburst pattern. Around the rim is a rope design.

Eight kitchenware items were recovered from the feature, including four fragments of lead foil, one brass lid, and three iron container fragments. The foil is typical of that used to cover bottle tops. The brass lid measures ¾-inch in diameter and has holes in the top for sprinkling. As Jones and Sullivan (1985:150) note, this item may have been used to dispense any number of different items, ranging from sauces to tooth powders. It is included in the kitchenwares simply as a matter of convenience. The iron fragments appear to be the remains of a can, although size and construction attributes could not be determined.

Also present in the feature were 10 Colono ware sherds, which comprise 1.7% of the feature's ceramics. Given the late date of the feature it is difficult to make too much out of the

proportion of the Colono ware at the site.

Architecture Group Artifacts

Architecture group artifacts comprise 39.7% of the feature assemblage (n=804) and include 659 nails, one spike, and 144 window glass fragments. Like the overlying unit, the vast majority of the nails present were very corroded and fragmented.

Furniture Group Artifacts

The single furniture group artifact is one photograph record fragment. Photograph records were not produced prior 1894, suggesting that the feature was created after this date. Given the adjacent disturbance created by the backhoe cut, and examining the remainder of the collection from the feature, it seems likely that this item is intrusive into the feature and should not be used to date the deposition of the materials present.

Arms Group Artifacts

Two arms items are present in the feature. One is a dark brown gunflint, typical of those used on long arms. The other is solid shot cannon ball, just under five inches in diameter. Although heavily corroded, there was no obvious indication of damage or impact. Considering the amount of corrosion, it seems likely that this was originally a ball intended for a 12 pounder field, siege or garrison smoothbore and would have measured about 4.52 inches in diameter. These weapons, present from before the American Revolution through the Civil War were typically smaller weapons (Peterson 1969:41-42; Ripley 1984).

Tobacco Group Artifacts

Feature 1 produced 94 tobacco artifacts, representing 4.6% of the total assemblage. These remains include 77 kaolin pipe stems (eight have bore diameters of 4/64-inch, 55 are 5/64-inch, and

13 are 6/64-inch, and one is too fragmentary to measure).

Also included are 17 fragments of kaolin pipe bowls, which represent five different pipe bowls. One (represented by a single fragment) is a plain bowl, while four others (represented by 16 specimens) have an identical motif — a skull enclosed in a triangle.

Although this symbol may have been used by a number of secret societies, it is most common among the Odd Fellows and is occasionally used by the Knights of Pythias (see Montgomery Ward Catalog 1895 and Sears and Roebuck Catalog 1902). Both the Odd Fellows (organized in 1843) and the Knights of Pythias (which was organized after the Civil War) are black fraternal orders which developed as a result of their members' exclusion from the mainstream of white society. Just as importantly, however, these groups provided African Americans with avenues for status, respect, leadership, and recreation, eventually developing into a major aspect of black culture.

Clothing Group Artifacts

This category include 29 buttons and seven other clothing items, accounting for 1.8% of the total feature assemblage.

Fifteen or 51.7% of the buttons are South's Type 15 one-hole bone buttons. Three are Type 19 five-hole bone buttons and an additional nine (31.0%) are South's Type 20 four-hole bone buttons. Four-hole porcelain buttons account for an additional four examples (one has a blue calico design stenciled on the face). Three of the specimens are South's Type 24 buttons, fabric covered examples with iron backs. The final two examples are not typed. One is lead with a glass insert, while the other is a badly corroded brass button.

The other clothing items include one brass grommet, a brass hook and eye set, and fragments of two leather heels. Also present are three buckles. One iron buckle measures 1 1/4-inches square. A brass buckle measures 1 by 1 1/4-inches and is an example of a shoe buckle. The final brass

buckle measures 3/8 by 3/4-inch.

Personal Group Artifacts

Feature 1 contains 14 personal artifacts. The most common, accounting for over 71% of the collection ($n=10$), are slate pencil fragments. Also present is a single fragment of graphite which is rectilinear in cross section, most likely representing the core of a carpenter's pencil. The prevalence of writing implements at a lot occupied by free persons of color suggests the importance attached to education and the ability to fit into the white world.

Two coins are also present. One is an 1848 penny, while the other one, also a penny, was too worn to date. A single brass jewelry fitting was also recovered.

Activities Group Artifacts

Fifty seven activities artifacts were recovered from Feature 1. The most common are those placed in the "other" category, including two fragments of writing slates, one unidentified work bone fragment, two brass strips, two unidentified brass fittings, one fragment of brass wire, three fragments of iron wire, 20 fragments of unidentifiable iron, and one mica fragment, perhaps associated with a stove view window.

Eighteenth storage items were recovered — all examples of strap metal ranging in width from 5/8-inch to 1 1/2-inches.

Four items of miscellaneous hardware are present, including two brass nail fragments, one brass chain length (consisting of four links and measuring 1 1/4-inches), and one fragment of iron pipe. A single home-made lead fishing weight was also recovered, as was a badly corroded flat shovel measuring 10 inches in width and 12 inches in length. A single toy was also recovered from the feature — a clay marble.

Unit 3 at 38 Archdale Street

Unit 3 was located in the mid-yard of 38 Archdale Street, a lot which historically was associated with a white middle-class family. The

excavations in this unit produced 1034 artifacts, with an additional 554 artifacts coming from Features 2 and 3, both trench-like features found at the base of the excavations. Considering only the unit excavations, this 5-foot square yielded an artifact density of 41.2 artifacts per square foot or 34.3 artifacts per cubic foot.

Kitchen Group Artifacts

A total of 723 Kitchen Group artifacts was recovered, most (570 or 78.8%) representing ceramics. Like elsewhere on site eighteenth century ceramics such as Chinese porcelains, slipware, and delft are relatively uncommon and the vast majority of the collection includes creamwares, pearlwares, and whitewares (Table 16).

The pearlwares are the most common earthenware (representing 45.4% of the earthenwares and 40.7% of the ceramics) and include a wide range of motifs. Transfer printed and hand painted wares account for 35.8% of the pearlware collection, compared to edged and annular wares which account for only 15.5% of the assemblage. In the slightly later (and less common) whiteware collection the hand painted and transfer printed wares account for 48.9% of the collection, while the edged and annular wares comprise only 17.0% of the whitewares.

The collection consists of a minimum vessel count of 63 (Table 17). The Chinese porcelains contributed one cup and one saucer to the collection. Only one ginger beer bottle was present, as was one brown stoneware bottle. The single delft specimen is an ointment jar measuring 2½-inches in height and 2½-inches in diameter, with a flaring rim.

The creamwares contributed three plates, three bowls, one cup, and one pitcher. The plates range from 7-inches to 11-inches in diameter and two are the Royal pattern. The bowls also represent considerable variation, ranging from 4½-inches to 8-inches in diameter. The cup, a hand painted overglaze example, is 2½-inches in diameter.

Pearlware examples include 14 plates, including two blue edged, 11 green edged, and two

Table 16.
Major Types of Pottery from Unit 3

Porcelain	55	9.7%
Stoneware	4	0.7%
Brown	2	
Black basalt	1	
Ginger beer	1	
Earthenware	511	89.6%
Slipware	2	
Coarse	6	
Refined	4	
Delft	2	
Creamware	157	
Pearlware	232	
Whiteware	47	
Yellow ware	7	
Burnt	5	
Other	49	

blue transfer printed. Diameters range from 6-inches to 9-inches, although nine of the plates are 8-inches in diameter. Nine pearlware bowls were identified in Unit 3. Three are annular ware, two are poly hand painted, two are blue transfer printed, and one is a green transfer print. Five cups and saucers are present. Also present in the pearlware collection is one rectilinear platter. Finally, there are two unidentifiable vessels, one possibly representing a gravy boat and the other a lid to a rectilinear vessel. Both of these unidentifiable vessels have been placed in the serving category.

Seven whiteware plates were identified in the collection, including two undecorated, four edged, and one transfer printed. Four bowl forms

Table 17.
Shape and Function of Ceramic
Vessels from Unit 3

Shape	#	%
Tableware	51	80.9
Plates/saucers	32	62.7
Bowls	16	31.4
Serving	3	5.9
Tea and Coffeeware	9	14.3
Utilitarian	3	4.8

were found, along with two cups and one saucer.

Although the transfer printed and hand painted sherds are more common than the annular ware or edged sherds, when vessel forms are evaluated the two groups are about equal. Twenty five edged and annular vessels are included in the assemblage compared to 22 hand painted and transfer printed vessels.

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	# (f)	fx xi
Overglaze enamelled porcelain	1660-1800	1730	16	27680
Underglazed blue porcelain	1660-1800	1730	21	36330
Black basalt	1750-1820	1785	1	1785
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	2	3466
Clouded wares	1740-1770	1755	1	1755
Delft, undecorated	1640-1800	1720	2	3440
Creamware, annular	1780-1815	1798	15	26970
hand painted	1765-1810	1805	4	7220
undecorated	1762-1820	1791	138	247158
Pearlware, poly hand painted	1820-1840	1805	33	59565
blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	11	19800
blue transfer printed	1795-1840	1818	39	70902
edged	1780-1830	1805	25	45125
annular	1790-1820	1805	11	19855
undecorated	1780-1830	1805	113	203965
Whiteware, green edged	1811-1830	1828	3	5484
blue edged	1811-1880	1853	3	5559
poly hand painted	1826-1870	1848	4	7392
blue transfer printed	1831-1865	1848	12	22176
non-blue transfer printed	1826-1875	1851	7	12957
poly decalcomania	1901-1950	1926	1	1926
annular	1830-1900	1866	2	3732
undecorated	1820→	1860	12	22320
Yellow ware	1826-1880	1857	7	12971
			486	875356
$875,356 \div 486 \approx 1801.1$				

The mean ceramic date of 1801 for Unit 1 is shown in Table 18. This table also provides information concerning manufacturing date range for the various ceramics. When South's bracketing technique is used for this collection, the beginning date of deposition is 1780 and the terminal date (ignoring the single decalcomania sherd) is about 1830. If the decalcomania sherd is included the

terminal date would be extended to 1900.

Container glass, which accounts for 20.3% of the total kitchen group, tends to be relatively fragmentary from this unit. The most common container glass was clear (n=71), followed by black (n=37) and aqua (n=20). Small quantities of brown, green, milk, and melted glass were also present. Out of this assemblage only one identifiable vessel is present — an aqua blown in mold pharmaceutical bottle with a basal diameter of 2½-inches.

Only two tableware items were recovered from Unit 3. One is bone utensil handle fragment and the other is a fragment of pressed glass tableware with a starburst pattern. The vessel form, however, could not be identified.

Two kitchenware items are also present. One is an iron kettle fragment and the other is a milk glass preserve jar lid liner. These were first developed in 1869, so this item provides a relatively secure TPQ date for Zone 2 of Unit 3 (Toulouse 1977:135).

Also present are two Colono ware sherds, representing 0.003% of the ceramic assemblage. Like elsewhere on the block, the Colono wares appear to be very minor components of the assemblage.

Architecture Group Artifacts

A total of 279 architectural specimens (excluding brick) was recovered from Unit 3, representing about 26.9% of the unit's total assemblage.

The single largest category is that of unidentifiable nails, which account for 201 specimens or 72% of the architectural artifacts. Identifiable nails included one 12d wrought nail, one cut nail fragment, and (from Zone 2) one

fragmentary wire nail. Also present were one spike fragment and 74 fragments of flat glass, all of which appears to represent window glass.

Furniture Group Artifacts

Two furniture artifacts, representing 0.2% of the total assemblage, were recovered. One, from Zone 2, is a fragment of a phonograph record. The other is a brass tack.

Arms Group Artifacts

Only one arms item was recovered from the excavations — a lead shot measuring 16.4 mm in diameter. This lead shot, which measures 0.64 inch, is only slightly smaller than the standard French Infantry ball of the Revolutionary War period, so that it would work well with any guns built on the Charleville pattern (Hamilton 1980).

Tobacco Group Artifacts

Unit 3 produced 10 tobacco artifacts, representing 1.0% of the total assemblage. These include five pipe stems (four have 4/64-inch bore diameters and one has a bore diameter of 5/64-inch). Also present are four plain kaolin pipe bowls and one bowl adorned with ribs and leaves.

Clothing Group Artifacts

The Clothing category includes three buttons and one brass buckle. The buttons represent two examples of South's Type 15 one-hole bone buttons and one Type 23 four-hole porcelain button. The buckle measures 23 mm by 30.5 mm. While it was probably a clothing item it may also represent harness equipment.

Personal Group Artifacts

Four personal group artifacts, accounting for 0.4% of the total assemblage, were recovered from Unit 3. One item, from Zone 3, is a silver Mexican coin dating from the eighteenth century (the date is worn so that only 17_2 is readable). Also present is a plain brass finger ring (size 5), a faceted blue glass bead, and a mirror fragment.

Activities Group Artifacts

Unit 3 produced 11 activities group artifacts, which account for 1.1% of the total assemblage. The collection includes one storage item, a fragment of strap metal measuring 1-inch in width. Two toys were present, both stone marbles. Eight items were placed in the "other" category, including five flower pot fragments, two fragments of unidentifiable iron, and one unidentifiable fragment of worked bone.

Features 2 and 3

These two features represent trenches identified in Zone 3. Although neither has an obvious function, the fill appeared to be generally consistent with that associated with the overlying zones. Feature 2 appeared to be intrusive into Feature 3. Feature 2 contributed 339 artifacts and Feature 3, 215 specimens.

The mean ceramic date for Feature 2 is 1817.6, while Feature 3 has a mean date of 1819.6. These are only slightly later than the 1801 mean date derived for the unit excavation. Feature 2 produced no materials which suggested that any of the materials were intrusive or which provided a TPQ date later than the mid-nineteenth century. A careful examination of the Feature 3 artifacts, however, revealed a single fragment of green transfer printed whiteware which evidenced a Homer Laughlin mark identified to the period of about 1900 (Lehner 1988:247).

Consequently, this feature must post-date 1900 and Feature 2 must post-date Feature 3. It appears that whatever their purpose they intruded into Zone 3 but contributed relatively few "modern" artifacts. After being filled, the evidence of the features in the upper profile quickly faded, allowing them to be identified only toward the base of Zone 3.

Unit 4 at 16-18 Princess Street

This unit was excavated in the side or mid-yard area of two lots historically associated with free persons of color. The excavations produced 3479 artifacts or an artifact density of 139.3 artifacts per square foot or 54.9 artifacts per cubic foot. The excavations revealed a TPQ of about

1925 (based on the manufacturing mark for Brockway Glass) for Zone 1. Zone 3 has a TPQ of about 1909, based on a Dr. J.C.B. Siegert bottle. Zone 4 appears to be the least "disturbed," evidencing a TPQ of 1863. In spite of these relatively late dates, the mean ceramic dates and artifact assemblage appears to suggest an early nineteenth century assemblage which has been somewhat moved around the site and otherwise mixed with later materials.

Kitchen Group Artifacts

A total of 2254 Kitchen Group artifacts was recovered, most (1143 or 50.7%) representing container glass. Ceramics are the next most common artifact, representing 47.7% of the collection (n=1075).

Although eighteenth century wares are more common in this unit, so too are later nineteenth century whitewares (including the presence of even one example of tinted whiteware). The different ceramics present are shown in Table 19. Creamwares, pearlwares, and whitewares comprise 86.4% of the earthenwares and 77.5% of the ceramics collection.

The pearlwares are the most common earthenware (representing 34.4% of the earthenwares and 30.9% of the ceramics) and include six different motifs — polychrome hand painted, blue hand painted, blue transfer printed, edged, annular/cable, and undecorated. The transfer printed and hand painted wares account for 35.5% of the pearlware collection, while the edged and annular wares which account for 27.4% of the assemblage. In the slightly later (and nearly as common) whiteware collection the hand painted and transfer printed wares account for 23.5% of the collection, while the edged and annular wares comprise only 14.4% of the whitewares.

The collection consists of a minimum vessel count of 110 (Table 20). One black basalt teapot is represented in the collection by a spout and base. the small delft collection includes one 3½-inch bowl. At least one brown stoneware blacking bottle was also recovered. This specimen measures about 7¼-inches in height by 3-inches in diameter.

Table 19.
Major Types of Pottery from Unit 4

Porcelain	32	3.2%
Stoneware	76	7.1%
Brown	54	
Black basalt	11	
Gray	5	
Nottingham	1	
Earthenware	964	89.7%
Slipware	16	
Coarse	27	
Refined	4	
Delft	17	
Creamware	224	
Pearlware	332	
Whiteware	277	
Yellow ware	17	
Burnt	37	
Other	13	

The creamware collection consists of eight plates, seven of which are undecorated including three in the Queen's pattern. One additional plate evidenced a thin red hand painted border stripe. Three creamware bowls were also identified, ranging in diameter from 4½-inches up to 9-inches. Also present was one creamware cup with a red hand painted floral design.

The pearlwares are better presented with 29 plates, 18 bowls, five cups, three saucers, and three unidentifiable vessels. Of particular interest in the pearlware collection is that one plate, two bowls, and three cups exhibit the same polychrome hand painted design, suggesting the presence of at

Table 20.
Shape and Function of Ceramic
Vessels from Unit 4

Shape	#	%
Tableware	91	82.7
Plates/saucers	61	67.0
Bowls	29	31.9
Serving	1	1.1
Tea and Coffeeware	14	12.7
Utilitarian	5	4.5

least one set of matching china.

Although plates and saucers (accounting for 55.1% of the pearlware MNV) more common than bowl forms (representing 31.0%), the higher priced hand painted and transfer printed wares comprise 48.3% of the pearlware collection, compared to the annular and edged wares (which represent 51.7% of the pearlwares).

Whiteware ceramics are not only less common, but they also represent fewer vessels, with only 30 identified from the collection. This includes 18 plates and saucers, four bowls, five cups and one mug, one jar form, and a black transfer printed asparagus serving dish. The collection is clearly dominated by flatware forms (60% of the vessels). It is, however, only weakly dominated by transfer printed and hand painted wares which comprise 33.3% of the collection compared to the annular and edged wares which account for 26.6% of the whitewares.

The mean ceramic date of 1816 for Unit 4 is shown in Table 21. This table also provides information concerning manufacturing date range for the various ceramics. When South's bracketing technique is used for this collection, the beginning date of deposition is 1790 and the terminal date is about 1910 (based on the presence of the tinted glazed whiteware).

The container glass from Unit 4 exhibits a considerable range in colors, but like the other units from the Saks block, the collection is dominated by clear (46.1%, n=527), black (18.4%, n=210), brown (13.8%, n=158), and aqua (12.7%, n=145) glass fragments. The remainder of the collection consists of blue, green, "Sprite" green, dark aqua, milk, amber, and melted glass.

An examination of the collection reveals a minimum vessel count of 17, including three clear

Table 21.
Mean Ceramic Date for Unit 4

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	# (fi)	$\bar{f}_i \times xi$
Underglazed blue porcelain	1660-1800	1730	6	10380
Nottingham stoneware	1700-1810	1755	1	1755
Westerwald	1700-1775	1738	1	1738
White salt glazed stoneware	1740-1775	1758	5	8790
Black basalt	1750-1820	1785	11	19635
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	16	27728
Delft, decorated	1600-1802	1750	5	8750
undecorated	1640-1800	1720	12	20640
Creamware, annular	1780-1815	1798	1	1798
hand painted	1765-1810	1805	4	7220
undecorated	1762-1820	1791	219	39229
Pearlware, poly hand painted	1820-1840	1805	52	93860
blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	6	10800
blue transfer printed	1795-1840	1818	60	109080
edged	1780-1830	1805	51	92055
annular	1790-1820	1805	40	72200
undecorated	1780-1830	1805	123	222015
Whiteware, green edged	1811-1830	1828	2	3656
blue edged	1811-1880	1853	5	9265
poly hand painted	1826-1870	1848	10	18480
blue transfer printed	1831-1865	1848	40	73920
non-blue transfer printed	1826-1875	1851	15	27765
poly decalcomania	1901-1950	1926	3	5778
annular	1830-1900	1866	33	61578
tinted glaze	1911-1970	1941	1	1941
undecorated	1820→	1860	168	312480
Yellow ware	1826-1880	1857	17	31501
			907	1647037

$$1,647,037 \div 907 \approx 1815.9$$

glass molded bottles with diameters of 2½-inches; four black glass bottles, three of which are case bottles and one is molded with a cork lip; three brown bottles, two with molded bases and one blown in mold base; and four aqua bottles, include one 2½-inch round bottle (with a blown base) and three panel bottles. The other bottles identified include one 2-inch square bottle of green glass which was blown in mold, one dark aqua round bottle, and two molded bottles of "Sprite" green glass.

Twenty-one tablewares items were identified from the excavations. Present are six utensil fragments, including one bone utensil handle, one stamped stainless steel handle, two

iron spoon fragments (which mend), and one two-tine fork handle. Also included in the collection are thirteen clear glass fragments representing five tumblers and one glass lid. The tumblers include two plain examples, one with thumbprint panels, one with vertical pressed lines, and one with a pressed sunburst pattern. The clear glass collection also includes one clear glass bowl with a diameter of 4½-inches. This item might represent a finger bowl. A similar example, measuring about 4¼-inches in diameter and 3½-inches in height is illustrated by McNally (1982:Figure 96) as a nineteenth century finger bowl. McNally notes that:

finger bowls were part of the table setting at genteel dinners during the Regency period, although a French observer is on record as finding the custom of washing hands and rinsing out mouths at the table "extremely unfortunate" (McNally 1982:120).

Also present in the tableware collection is a fragment of light green glass with a molded floral pattern and a light orange glass, also with a molded floral pattern. Too little is present of either to allow speculation on either vessel form or dating.

In spite of the large number of tableware items, only eight kitchenware specimens were identified. Seven represent container fragments, while the other is a fragment of a milk glass canning jar lid.

Seven Colono ware sherds are present in the collection, representing 0.006% of the ceramics collection. The sherds from this provenience are smaller than those found elsewhere on the site, with six being under 1-inch in diameter.

Architecture Group Artifacts

Architectural group artifacts comprise 29.9% of the Unit 4 collection ($n=1041$), with nails being the single largest contributor to the assemblage. Six hundred thirty three unidentifiable nail fragments were recovered from the excavations, along with one 9d cut nail and two 16d wire nails. In addition, two spike fragments

were also identified in the collection.

The remainder of the architectural assemblage consisted of 400 fragments of flat glass, all of which appear to be window glass. Like other collections are the site the better preserved specimens are light green in color.

Construction hardware consists of one iron strap hinge, one sandstone paving stone, and one marble fragment 1½-inches thick. The paving stone may have served as a step, while the marble appeared to be interior decoration.

Furniture Group Artifacts

Twelve furniture artifacts, representing 0.3% of the total assemblage, were recovered. These include two brass tacks, a brass candlestick, one glass lamp prism with molded flowers and stars, three kerosene lamp chimney glass fragments (one with a beaded rim), one white porcelain knob, and four light bulb fragments.

The lamp prism, while similar to those used with chandeliers, was more likely attached to a smaller table light — a practice common to nineteenth century lamps. The porcelain knob is typical of those used as drawer pulls or on cabinets.

Tobacco Group Artifacts

Forty seven tobacco group artifacts were recovered in the excavation of Unit 4. The bulk of this collection consists of kaolin pipe stems, including four with 4/64-inch bores, 19 measuring 5/64-inch, and six measuring 6/64-inch. Two were fragmentary. The remaining 16 specimens are all plain pipe bowls, although one specimen was found with a foot.

Clothing Group Artifacts

The Clothing category, which comprises 1.0% of the total assemblage, includes 22 buttons and 14 other clothing items. Fifteen of the buttons could be placed in South's typology and include two Type 15 one-hole buttons, two Type 18 stamped brass buttons, one Type 19 five-hole bone buttons, two Type 21 iron buttons with fiber

centers, three Type 22 shell buttons, three Type 23 porcelain buttons, one Type 25 machine stamped brass face button, and one Type 27 domed brass button. Seven additional buttons could not be placed into South's typology. These include one iron two-hole button with a brass cover, one black glass two-hole button, one glass domed button, one milk glass button painted to resemble pearl, one faceted black glass button, and two plastic buttons.

Although the Type 15 buttons are typically associated with colonial contexts, the remainder are usually found at early antebellum sites. Only a few of the buttons likely post-date about 1830, with the plastic buttons probably dating to the early twentieth century.

The other clothing items include a fragment of a leather shoe heal, a clothespin spring, four brass grommets, a brass hook, a brass eye, a brass straight pin fragment lacking a head, and a bone thread spool. Also recovered from Unit 4 were four collar studs. One was of brass, two were milk glass, and one was cream colored porcelain. Collar studs are associated with the stiff collars which were introduced in the late 1820s and continued in use throughout the Victorian period and, in some cases, into the twentieth century (Payne 1965:460).

Personal Group Artifacts

Ten personal group artifacts, accounting for 0.3% of the total assemblage, were recovered from Unit 4. These include two mirror glass fragments, a fountain pen fragment, a slate pencil, a pencil fragment, an amber plastic comb fragment, and two coins. These coins include an 1849 penny from Zone 4 and an 1863 penny from Zone 3. Also recovered were two round opaque beads, one yellow and one blue.

Activities Group Artifacts

This category includes 79 artifacts from the sub-categories of toys, tools, fishing, storage, stable, miscellaneous hardware, and "other" comprising 2.3% of the total assemblage. Nine toys were identified in the collections including a bisque porcelain doll's arm, a toy porcelain teacup handle, and seven marbles (five glass, one porcelain, and one clay).

The single tool identified is a half-round file, typically used to shape metal or wood items. The single fishing item recovered is a lead fishing weight. The one storage item is a 1-inch wide fragment of strap metal. A valve stem from Zone 2, used in inflatable tube tires, comprises the one item placed in the stable category.

Miscellaneous hardware items include a brass rivet, two brass nail fragments, a brass washer, three wood screws ranging from $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch to 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ -inches, four bolt/screw fragments, two iron washers, a fragment of iron wire, a $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch threaded pipe fragment, two iron plumbing couplings, a rubber washer, and a fragment of insulated electrical wire. Also recovered is a wrought iron leader hook, a drive hook used to attached gutters and round down spouts.

The "other" category includes 14 fragments of thick milk glass, four flower pot fragments, six unidentifiable iron fragments, five lumps of melted lead, two unidentifiable brass objects, six small brass shavings, two brass rings, and two fragments of leather, possibly belt fragments from machinery.

The Activities Group Artifacts from this unit include a number of "industrial" objects. The brass shavings, the leather belt, and the quantity of brass objects, suggests that some form of metal working may have been conducted at, or near, the structure identified in the excavations.

Feature 4

Feature 4 was identified around at the outside edge of a pier or wall segment found in Unit 4. The feature was found to consist of a mass of lime apparently placed to support or buttress the pier. Excavations recovered 108 artifacts, which apparently were mixed into the lime mass as it was put into place. These materials, therefore, should help to date the repair work to the structure. There was no indication during the excavation that the feature has been intruded into by latter activities at the site.

The materials recovered include 79 kitchen artifacts (representing 73.2% of the total assemblage), 26 architectural items (24.1%), one clothing items (0.9% of the assemblage), and two

activities group artifacts (1.8%).

The ceramics represent a mix of eighteenth and nineteenth century materials which produced a mean ceramic date of 1804.8 (Table 22). South's bracketing technique suggests that the feature consists of materials deposited between 1790 and 1830. The feature TPQ is 1831, based on the presence of blue transfer printed whiteware. No other materials were present in the feature to refine or alter this projected dating. It seems likely, therefore, that the feature was laid down in the mid-antebellum, suggesting that the structure being repaired was already dilapidated at this time.

Unit 5 at the lot behind the Victoria Hotel

This unit was laid in to explore the alley and rear lot activity associated with a middle-class "business man's" hotel during the early nineteenth century. Regardless, the unit produced 2554 artifacts from three zones. An additional 115 artifacts were recovered from two features at the base of the excavations. The artifact density for this unit is 102.2 artifacts per square foot or 40.9 per cubic foot.

The TPQ identified for Zone 1 is about 1940, based on the presence of glass with Owens-Illinois Manufacturing Company marks. Zone 2's TPQ is about 1900, based on the presence of a maker's mark for the Thatcher Manufacturing Company. The TPQ for Zone 3 is provided by an aqua or light green glass stopper embossed "Lea & Perrins." These items, covered with cork, were used from at least 1858 to stopper the famous pepper sauce (Switzer 1974:59; Wilson 1981:134).

Kitchen Group Artifacts

A total of 1843 Kitchen Group artifacts was recovered, most (1106 or 72.2%) representing ceramics. Container glass (708 or 38.4%) is the second most common kitchen artifact.

Table 22.
Mean Ceramic Date for Feature 4

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	# (n)	fx xi
Underglazed blue porcelain	1660-1800	1730	1	1730
White salt glazed stoneware	1740-1775	1758	1	1758
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	1	1733
Delft, decorated	1600-1802	1750	1	1750
undecorated	1640-1800	1720	1	1720
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	13	23283
Pearlware, poly hand painted	1820-1840	1805	4	7220
blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	2	3600
blue transfer printed	1795-1840	1818	10	18180
edged	1780-1830	1805	2	3610
annular	1790-1820	1805	1	1805
undecorated	1780-1830	1805	18	32490
Whiteware, green edged	1811-1830	1828	1	1828
blue transfer printed	1831-1865	1848	2	3696
non-blue transfer printed	1826-1875	1851	1	1851
annular	1830-1900	1866	1	1866
undecorated	1820→	1860	3	5580
			63	113700
113,700 ÷ 63 ≈ 1804.8				

Table 23 lists the various ceramics present in Unit 5, revealing that whiteware is by far the most common ware, accounting for 53.2% of the ceramics. While undecorated whitewares comprise the largest proportion of the assemblage (82.1%, n=483), edged and annular wares combined account for 4.6% of the whitewares while transfer printed and hand painted examples account for 12.1%.

Whitewares also account for 47.3% (n=44) of the 93 identified vessels in the Unit 5 collection. Twenty (45.5%) of these vessels are undecorated, compared to seven (15.9%) which are edged or annular wares and 14 (31.8%) which are transfer printed or hand painted.

The collection is also dominated by flatwares, with plates and saucers accounting for 31 (70.5%) of the identified whiteware vessels. Bowls account for only 20.4% (n=9) of the vessels. Two serving vessels (both pitchers) are also present in the collection. Curiously, only two cups were identified.

Table 23.
Major Types of Pottery from Unit 5

Porcelain	30	2.7%
Stoneware	53	4.8%
Brown	30	
Blue/Gray	9	
White	1	
Nottingham	8	
Other	5	
Earthenware	1023	92.5%
Slipware	15	
Coarse	13	
Refined	14	
Delft	3	
Creamware	172	
Pearlware	151	
Whiteware	588	
Yellow ware	43	
Burnt	18	
Other	6	

Creamwares and pearlwares are the next most common ceramics present in the assemblage, with the creamwares accounting for 15.5% ($n=172$) and the pearlwares accounting for 13.7% ($n=151$). The creamwares contribute 18 vessels to the assemblage (19.4%), while pearlwares include 24 vessels (25.8%).

The creamware collection, while dominated by undecorated examples (160 fragments and 11 vessel forms), also includes annular wares and hand painted examples. Overall, the most common vessel form is the plate, with 10 identified in the collection (representing 55.5% of the assemblage). Only seven bowls were identified, along with a single saucer.

Pearlwares were represented by 12 plates (50% of the collection), including one undecorated example, five blue edged examples, and six green edged specimens. Ten bowls were identified, including four annular examples, one blue hand painted specimen, one polychrome hand painted bowl, and four blue transfer printed examples. The last two specimens were both saucers — one was a polychrome hand painted specimen while the other was blue transfer printed.

Other vessel forms identified include four yellow wares, including one 8-inch plate and three

bowls (measuring 9- and 10-inches). A single Nottingham bowl was identified in the collection, as was one Chinese porcelain bowl and one white porcelain cup.

In all, over 96% of the vessels represent tableware, with flatware outnumbering hollow ware by nearly two to one. Serving vessels and teawares are uncommon, while utilitarian vessels were totally absent (Table 24).

The mean ceramic date of 1834.5 for Unit 5 is shown in Table 25. This table also provides information concerning manufacturing date range for the various ceramics. Using South's bracketing technique the date of deposition for this unit is between 1790 and 1900, with the latest ware being the polychrome decalcomania.

As previously mentioned, container glass accounts for 708 fragments. A wide range of glass colors are present, although clear glass comprises 44.6% of the collection ($n=316$), followed by "black" glass ($n=173$, 24.4%) and aqua glass ($n=77$, 10.9%). Combined, these 708 fragments represent a minimum of nine bottles, including one intact bottle.

The clear glass accounts for two vessels. One is represented by a 1-inch square molded base while the other represents an oval South Carolina Dispensary bottle. The black glass includes only one vessel, a 2½-inch square blown case bottle. The brown glass fragments revealed the presence of two fragmentary bottles, both with molded bases as well as one intact medicinal bottle (having a height of 2½-inches). The 77 aqua glass fragments include one Lea & Perrins bottle stopper.

Table 24.
Shape and Function of Ceramic
Vessels from Unit 5

Shape	#	%
Tableware	90	96.8
Plates/saucers	57	63.3
Bowls	31	34.5
Serving	2	2.2
Tea and Coffeeware	3	3.2
Utilitarian	-	-

Also recovered were blue, green, dark aqua, milk, and amber glass. The dark aqua glass collection suggests two additional bottles, both medicinal with cork lips.

Twenty-four tableware items were recovered in the collection, all of which are clear glass fragments. Present in the collection are two goblets and nine tumblers ranging in diameter from about 2½- to 3¼-inches. The two kitchenware items are a tin can fragment (lacking seams or other diagnostic attributes, but having a diameter of about 2½-inches) and a kettle fragment.

Three small Colono ware sherds were recovered from Unit 5. These represent 0.002% of the ceramics collection.

Architecture Group Artifacts

A total of 602 architectural specimens (excluding brick) was recovered from Unit 5, representing about 23.6% of the unit's total assemblage.

The single largest category is that of flat glass, with 403 specimens recovered (representing 65.6% of the architecture group artifacts). The nail collection includes 183 unidentifiable nails, one 8d cut nail, four wide nails, and one wire nail fragment. Like the other units at the Saks site, the nails were heavily corroded and fragmented.

Ten construction hardware items were recovered, including two fragments of delft tiles, one paving stone fragment, and seven marble stair fragments. The tile fragments were about ¼-inch in thickness. Noël Hume (1970:285) notes that tiles of this thickness were almost exclusively used for fireplace and wall skirtings (as opposed to flooring tiles which were substantially thicker). Lounsbury (1994:374) notes that "Dutch tiles" were more commonly applied to the jambs of fireplace

Table 25.
Mean Ceramic Date for Unit 5

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	# (fi)	fi x xi
Underglazed blue porcelain	1660-1800	1730	6	10380
Nottingham stoneware	1700-1810	1755	8	14040
Westerwald	1700-1775	1738	6	10428
White salt glazed stoneware	1740-1775	1758	1	1758
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	15	25995
Jackfield	1740-1780	1760	2	3520
Delft, decorated	1600-1802	1750	2	3500
undecorated	1640-1800	1720	1	1720
Creamware, annular	1780-1815	1798	4	7192
hand painted	1765-1810	1805	8	14440
undecorated	1762-1820	1791	160	286560
Pearlware, poly hand painted	1820-1840	1805	17	30685
blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	9	16200
blue transfer printed	1795-1840	1818	22	39996
edged	1780-1830	1805	12	21660
annular	1790-1820	1805	12	21660
undecorated	1780-1830	1805	79	142595
Whiteware, green edged	1811-1830	1828	2	3656
blue edged	1811-1880	1853	7	12971
poly hand painted	1826-1870	1848	13	24024
blue transfer printed	1831-1865	1848	52	96096
non-blue transfer printed	1826-1875	1851	6	11106
poly decalcomania	1901-1950	1926	7	13482
annular	1830-1900	1866	18	33588
undecorated	1820→	1860	483	898380
Yellow ware	1826-1880	1857	43	79679
			995	1825311

1,825,311 ÷ 995 ≈ 1834.5

openings, resulting in them also being called "chimney tiles." He places their peak in popularity around mid-eighteenth century.

Furniture Group Artifacts

Six furniture artifact items were recovered from Unit 5. These included one brass drawer pull, one white metal drawer pull, a brass tack, one plate glass mirror fragment, and two lamp chimney glass fragments.

Arms Group Artifacts

Only two arms items were recovered from the excavations at Unit 5. Combined, they

Table 26.
Buttons Recovered from Unit 5

Type	Description	#	Other (measurements in mm)
7	brass spun disc, cast with eye in place	1	28.5
8	molded brass, cast with eye in place	1	17.5
15	bone disc, 1-hole	4	12.3, 12.9, 13.3, 13.4
18	stamped brass	1	24.0
20	bone disc, 4-hole	3	13.3, 14.2, 17.0
21	iron with fiber center	1	21.0
22	flat back shell, 4-hole	5	8.4, 9.5, 14.0, 17.4, 17.6
23	porcelain, 4-hole, convex	9	8.8, 9.1, 10.3, 2-10.7, 2-10.9, 11.6, 16.0
-	rubber, brown, 4-hole	2	14.0, 19.0

represent only 0.1% of the total assemblage and include one fragmentary lead bullet fragment (the caliber of which could not be determined) and one lead shot, with a diameter of about 15.9 mm. This is approximately the size of a musketoon ball, a post-1800 infantry ball. It is also important to realize that while gunsmithing was precise, there seems to have been a considerable range of variation in bore diameters (Hamilton 1980:130). Regardless, this lead ball was likely intended for either a military weapon or a rather large sporting gun.

Tobacco Group Artifacts

Twenty kaolin pipe stems were recovered from Unit 5. Of these 12, or 60%, have a 5/64-inch bore diameter. Five are 4/64-inch and two are 6/64-inch in diameter. One was too fragmentary to measure. Also recovered were six plain pipe bowl fragments and one ribbed bowl fragment. These 27 specimens account for 1.0% of the total assemblage.

Clothing Group Artifacts

This category include 27 buttons and three other items associated with clothing, accounting for 1.2% of the total collection from Unit 5. The buttons, classified by South's (1964) types, are listed in Table 26.

About 22% of the collection, according to South's typology, represents colonial items. Types 18 through 23 (about 70% of the collection) represent early antebellum button styles. This

distribution seems consistent with the ceramic collection.

The three other clothing items recovered from the excavations include a milk glass collar stay, a brass buckle fragment, and a fragmentary pair of iron scissors.

Personal Group Artifacts

Seven personal group artifacts, accounting for 0.3% of the total assemblage, were recovered from Unit 5. These items include three slate pencil fragments, three beads, and a fossilized bone pendant.

Activities Group Artifacts

Unit 5 produced 37 activities group artifacts, which account for 1.4% of the total assemblage. Included are fishing gear, miscellaneous hardware, toys, and "other" items.

The single fishing gear item is a fragment of an iron fishing hook. The miscellaneous hardware collection includes a wood screw, an iron rivet, a nut, an eye bolt fragment, and a rubber washer. In the toy category are four clay marbles, two glass marbles, one bisque porcelain marble, a porcelain bisque doll's head, and a bone die. The die is unusual only in that a small flower has been carefully carved on the "6" face.

In the "other" category are seven flower pot fragments, eight iron strips ranging from 0.5 to 0.6 mm in thickness, one brass strip, one lump of melted brass, three brass wires, one unidentifiable brass object, and one brass tube. These items, like those in Unit 4, may represent debris from some nearby craft activity.

Features 5 and 6

Two features were encountered in the excavation of Unit 5. Both were interpreted to be drains and both were found at the base of the excavations. Feature 5 produced only 19 ceramics, nine of which were dateable. These wares (two undecorated creamwares, one undecorated pearlware, one polychrome hand painted

whiteware, and three undecorated whitewares) yield a mean ceramic date of 1835.7 and suggest a TPQ date of 1826, based on the presence of the polychrome hand painted whiteware.

Feature 5 was intrusive into an earlier drain, designated Feature 6. This feature contained 72 ceramics (comprising 81.0% of the total assemblage). Of these 44 were suitable for incorporation into a mean ceramic dating formula, shown in Table 27. The mean ceramic date is nearly 1798, somewhat earlier than Feature 5, but the TPQ for this feature is also 1826, based on the presence of yellow ware. This suggests that the two drains both date from perhaps the late 1820s or early 1830s.

Dating Synopsis

Although the discussion of each provenience included information on the mean ceramic date, this information is summarized in Table 28. All of the excavations reveal considerable consistency in both their mean ceramic dates and also in the bracketing dates, which tended to fall

Table 27.
Mean Ceramic Date for Feature 6

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	# (fi)	fi x xi
White salt glazed stoneware, scratch blue	1744-1775	1760	1	1760
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	4	6932
Delft, decorated	1600-1802	1750	2	3500
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	14	25074
Pearlware, poly hand painted blue transfer printed	1820-1840 1795-1840 edged annular undecorated	1805 1818 1805 1805 1805	1 5 3 1 8	1805 9090 5415 1805 14440
Whiteware, undecorated	1820→	1860	3	5580
Yellow ware	1826-1880	1853	3 44	5580 79107
$79,107 \div 44 \approx 1797.9$				

between about 1780 or 1790 and 1830 to 1900. These dates suggest that all of the activities on the block are contemporaneous. Further, these excavation dates are very close to the 1824 mean date obtained from the initial survey efforts (see Table 5).

These dates appear consistent with the historical synthesis of the block. Historic maps reveal that development began between 1790 and 1800 and by the early 1830s the block was extensively developed. Portions of the block were affected by the 1838 fire, although development was quickly resumed by the early 1840s.

It seems reasonable, in other words, to accept these collections, for the most part, as representative of the project block in the first half of the nineteenth century. Although there are intrusive and late artifacts, and although the upper zones consistently date from the either the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, the "core" of each area examined represented good nineteenth century deposits capable of providing a view of the "other side" of Charleston's urban life in the early nineteenth century.

Table 28.
Mean Ceramic Dates

Unit 1	1831.7
Unit 2	1823.5
Feature 1	1819.3
Unit 3	1801.1
Feature 2	1817.6
Feature 3	1819.6
Unit 4	1815.9
Feature 4	1804.8
Unit 5	1834.5
Feature 5	1835.7
Feature 6	1797.9

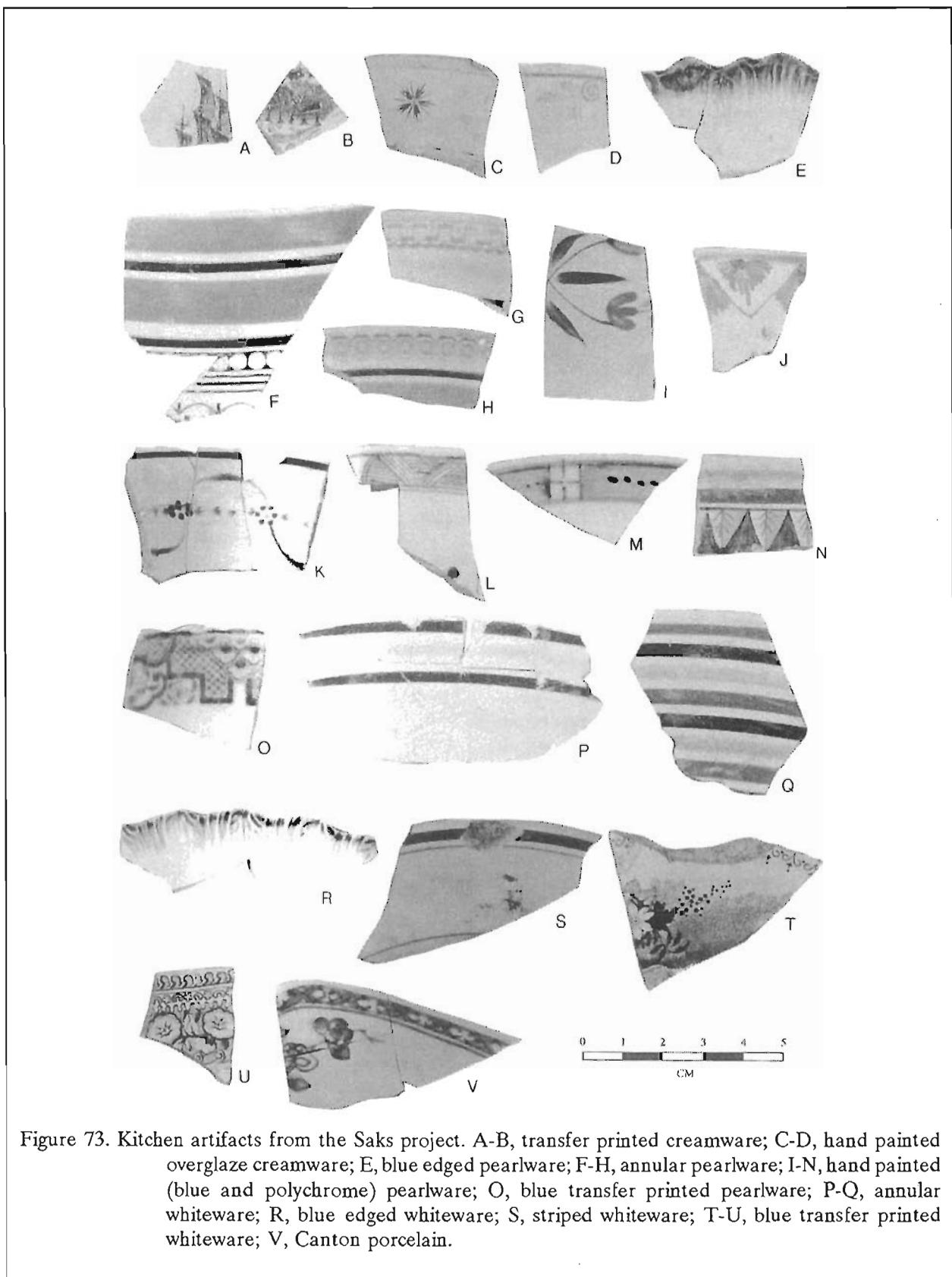


Figure 73. Kitchen artifacts from the Saks project. A-B, transfer printed creamware; C-D, hand painted overglaze creamware; E, blue edged pearlware; F-H, annular pearlware; I-N, hand painted (blue and polychrome) pearlware; O, blue transfer printed pearlware; P-Q, annular whiteware; R, blue edged whiteware; S, striped whiteware; T-U, blue transfer printed whiteware; V, Canton porcelain.

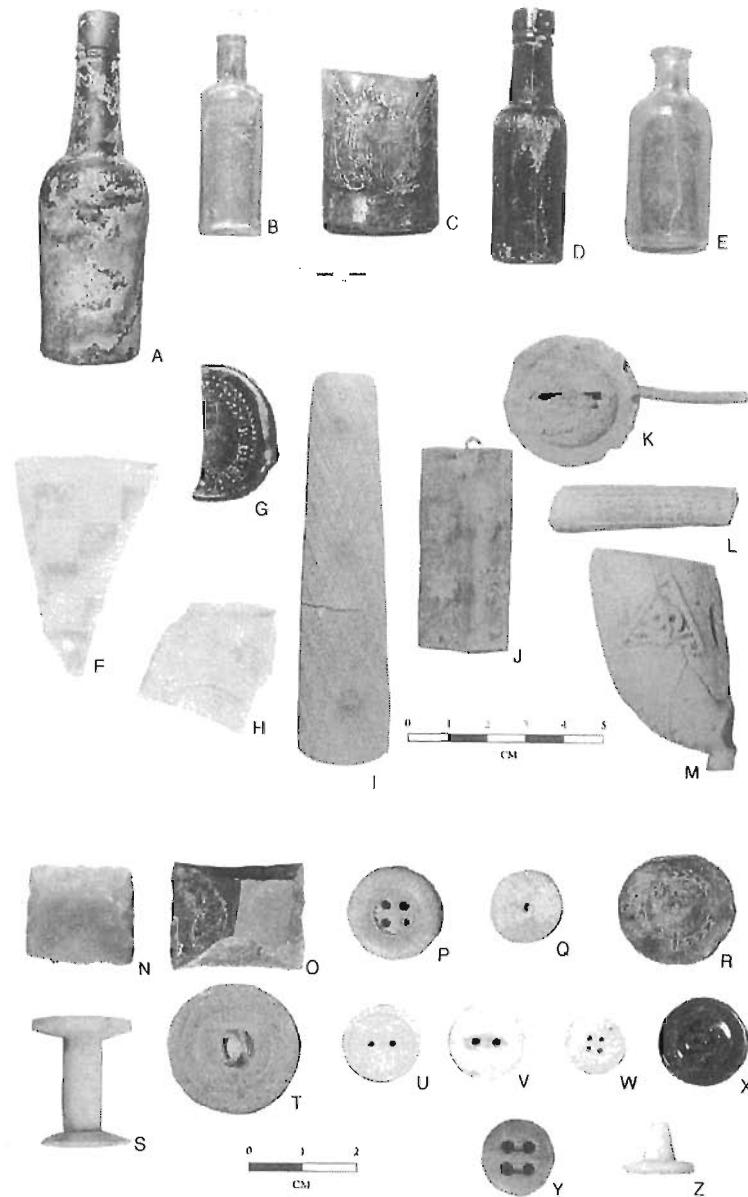


Figure 74. Kitchen, Furniture, Tobacco, Arms, and Clothing artifacts from the Saks project. A, C.W. Abbott & Co. brown bottle; B, aqua panel bottle; C, black glass bottle with molded eagle and shield; D, Dr. J.C.B. Seigert & Sons brown bottle; E, clear glass bottle; F, etched glass tumbler fragment; G, Maurice Riben black glass bottle seal; H, clear pressed glass tumbler rim; I, bone utensil handle; J, pressed glass prism from a table lamp; K, kerosene lamp wick tube holder; L, kaolin pipe stem molded "R.R.I Lomillard's Tobacco/16.18.20 Chamier St. New York"; M, skull and cross-bones kaolin tobacco pipe bowl; N, honey colored gunflint; O, black gunflint; P, 4-hole bone button; Q, single hole bone button; R, brass button; S, bone thread spool; T, brass button; U-V, 2-hole shell buttons; W, 4-hole white porcelain button; X, 2-hole black porcelain button; Y, 4-hole rubber button; Z, porcelain collar stud.

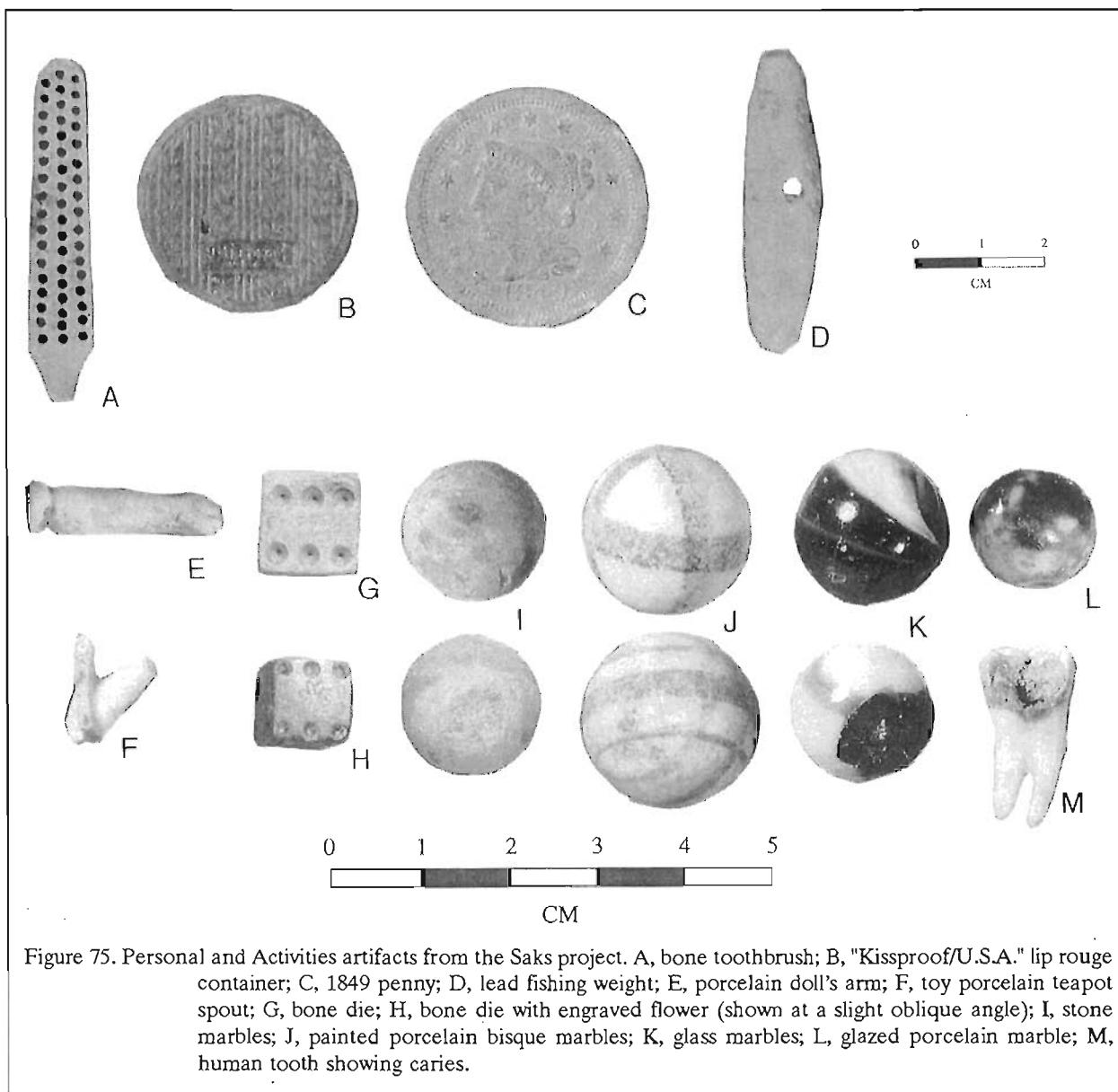


Figure 75. Personal and Activities artifacts from the Saks project. A, bone toothbrush; B, "Kissproof/U.S.A." lip rouge container; C, 1849 penny; D, lead fishing weight; E, porcelain doll's arm; F, toy porcelain teapot spout; G, bone die; H, bone die with engraved flower (shown at a slight oblique angle); I, stone marbles; J, painted porcelain bisque marbles; K, glass marbles; L, glazed porcelain marble; M, human tooth showing caries.

Artifact Pattern Analysis

The various artifact patterns for the different site areas are illustrated in Table 29. In general the feature information should be disregarded, since the collections are small and in nearly every case there are probably very special circumstances surrounding the deposition of the materials recovered. The units, on the other hand, likely represent generally representative collections of the cultural remains generated on, or immediately surrounding, each of the various lots.

Kitchen Group artifacts dominate each unit, representing from 59.4% to 72.2% of the collections. Units 1 and 4 cluster together between 64.0% and 64.8%, while the others are scattered within the range. Architecture artifacts, the other major category, range between 23.1% and 36.9% of the assemblage. There are no obvious clusters within this range.

Furniture Group artifacts range from 0.1 to 0.3% of the collection. Arms artifacts never represent more than 0.1% and are absent from Unit 4. Tobacco artifacts represent a range wide

range from 0.2% in Unit 1 to 1.4% in Unit 4. The other three units cluster between 0.9 and 1.0%. Clothing artifacts, like architectural remains, are spread over a wide range, from 0.3 to 1.1%, with no real clusters. Personal Group artifacts, in all five units are clustered between 0.2 and 0.3%. The Activities Group artifacts range from 1.1% in Unit 3 to as high as 2.3% in Units 1 and 4.

These artifact patterns are more meaningful when they are compared to those derived from previous research, especially research in downtown Charleston. A range of previously defined artifact patterns are provided in Table 30. Over the past decade Zierden and her colleagues have developed what they have the dual-function and townhouse profiles (see Zierden et al. 1988). The townhouse pattern has been obtained from domestic only suburban townhouses. These sites represent the homes of Charleston's elite, being first occupied in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. In general they exhibit no major rebuilding efforts.

In contrast, the dual-function pattern is derived from sites which exhibit some commercial sites. This pattern is based on sites where the merchant and his family lived over the street-level shop, so the archaeological record includes craft-domestic occupations. They note that the elevated activities group is likely a reflection of commercial activity at urban sites.

The Lodge Alley example from Charleston is one of the relatively few collections from a "fringe-area" of the city. Historical research revealed that while the alley was on the edge of city's commercial district during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the alley itself was used for primarily residential purposes by lower class citizens (Zierden et al. 1983). In a similar manner, the data from 66 Society Street represents a residential property for the white middle class (Zierden et al. 1988).

The differences between the two seem to be almost a matter of degree. Both Lodge Alley and 66 Society Street are dominated by kitchen artifacts, ranging between means of 70.2% and 76.2%, reflecting the importance of domestic activities. The Lodge Alley collection, however, has an appreciable lower architectural percentage,

about 17.8, compared to 26.6% at 66 Society Street. This difference is almost certainly reflects the difference in wealth of the two. In the case of furniture, arms, and personal artifacts the difference is between less than 0.1% and upwards of 0.3%. While these are not large differences they likely represent significant differences in lifeways, with the alley-dwellers possessing fewer pieces of furniture and fewer personal items. The difference in arms may also reflect fewer items of fresh, wild meat (which often contain shot).³ In a similar manner, there seems to be societal difference between the two, with those in alley smoking considerably more pipes than the middle class owners or renters. Activity artifacts are significantly higher at the middle class dwelling, perhaps representing a greater range of activities conducted on-site.

Recently Charleston artifact patterns have also been examined diachronically, with the discovery that the overall trends change with time (Zierden et al. 1995). Three general periods have been used: 1720-1760, which includes data from the Heyward-Washington House, the John Rutledge House, the Miles Brewton House, Charleston's Beef Market, the First Trident Site, and McCrady's Longroom; 1760-1830, which includes components from the Rutledge, Brewton, Beef Market, and First Trident sites, as well as data from the William Gibbes and 66 Society Street; and 1830-1880, which includes components from the Brewton, Rutledge, Heyward-Washington, and 66 Society Street sites, as well as data from the Aiken-Rhett site. While these constructs do not include a large number of low-status sites, they do clearly reveal the temporal changes which are present in Charleston.

The Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern was originally developed by South (1977) with some

³ Zierden has supported numerous faunal studies in Charleston, virtually all conducted by Reitz and her students. The various assemblages have been carefully explored for dietary differences across status lines, but only minor variations have been found. The major difference is that the elite ate a more varied diet and much of this variety was provided by wild game which those of less substance had difficulty in obtaining (see Zierden et al. 1995:118).

Table 29.
Artifact Patterns for Excavation Units and Selected Features

	Unit 1	Unit 2	Feature 1	Unit 3	Feature 2	Unit 4	Feature 4	Unit 5	Feature 5	Feature 6
Kitchen Group										
Ceramics	390	673	579	570	91	1075	72	1106	9	49
Colono ware		4	10	2		7		3		2
Glass	1356	756	395	147	59	1143	7	708	10	21
Tableware	25	19	23	2	1	21			24	
Kitchenware	16		8	2		8		2		
Subtotal	1787	1452	1015	723	151	2254	79	1843	19	72
%	64.0	59.4	50.2	69.9	44.5	64.8	73.2	72.2	73.1	81.0
Architecture Group										
Window glass	436	217	144	74	17	400	5	403	3	10
Hardware	8	1				3		10		
Nails	435	685	659	204	160	636	21	189	3	4
Spike		2	1	1		2				
Subtotal	879	905	804	279	177	1041	26	602	6	14
%	31.5	36.9	39.7	26.9	52.2	29.9	24.1	23.6	23.1	15.7
Furniture Group										
Hardware	6	7	1	2		12		6		
Subtotal	16	7	1	2		12		6		
%	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.2	-	0.3	-	0.1	-	-
Arms Group										
Balls, shot				1				2		
Gun parts	1	1								
Flints			1							
Other	1		1							
Subtotal	2	1	2	1				2		
%	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	-	-	-	0.1	-	-
Tobacco Group										
Pipe Stems	3	20	77	5	2	31		20		
Pipe Bowls	2	2	17	5		16		7		1
Subtotal	5	22	94	10	2	47		27		1
%	0.2	0.9	4.6	1.0	0.6	1.4	-	1.0	-	1.1
Clothing Group										
Buttons	21	12	29	3	1	22	1	27		1
Other	5	2	7	1	1	14		3		
Subtotal	26	14	36	4	2	36	1	30		1
%	0.9	0.6	1.8	0.4	0.6	0.3	0.9	1.2	-	1.1
Personal Group										
Beads				1		2		3		
Personal Items	12	5	14	3	1	8		4		
Subtotal	12	5	14	4	1	10		7		
%	0.4	0.2	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.3	-	0.3	-	-
Activities Group										
Tools			1			1				
Fishing gear			1			1		1		
Storage	2	5	18	1		1				
Stable and barn						1				
Misc. Hardware	11	12	4		5	18		5		
Toys	16	4	1	2	1	9		9		
Other	35	19	32	8		48	2	22	1	1
Subtotal	64	40	57	11	6	79	2	37	1	1
%	2.3	1.6	2.8	1.1	1.8	2.3	1.8	1.4	3.8	1.1

later modifications by Garrow (1982). The pattern reflects British Colonial domestic activity, although it does include some assemblages of combined domestic-craft activities.

Finally, the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern developed by Singleton (1980) is included for comparison. The pattern reflects the assemblages of nineteenth century Sea

Island Georgia (and South Carolina) plantation slaves. This pattern is primarily distinct from that found at 66 Society Street based on the more minor constituents, such as furniture, arms, personal, and even activity artifacts. The general similarity with the Lodge Alley pattern is probably the result of a "culture of poverty," regardless of whether one was a slave or freeman.

Unit 1, placed to explore a nineteenth century saloon-grocery store with its upper floors rented out, encompassed a cistern which had been filled with yard trash and architectural debris during the early twentieth century. The resulting pattern, consequentially, cannot be convincingly associated with any one lot or cultural activity. Considering these problems, it is somewhat surprising that the assemblage as closely resembles Charleston's dual-function pattern as it does. The elevated architectural percentage may be resulting of using demolition rubble for filling purposes, with the result that activities artifacts are less common than they might ordinarily be. The activities group, however, does include several artifacts related to the social function of saloons and groceries in the

Table 30.
Comparative Archaeological Patterns

	Townhouse Profile ¹	Dual-Funct Profile ¹	Lodge Alley ²	66 Society St ³	Charleston 1720-1760 ⁴	Charleston 1760-1830 ⁴	Charleston 1830-1880 ⁴	Carolina Pattern ⁵	Georgia Slave ⁶
Kitchen	58.38	63.10	76.20	70.20	55.81	58.47	43.63	58.40	70.78
Architecture	36.00	25.03	17.79	26.60	26.00	33.64	48.32	28.30	24.34
Furniture	0.21	0.08	0.07	0.10	0.25	0.20	0.18	0.40	0.02
Arms	0.32	0.20	0.43	0.60	0.19	0.30	0.24	0.20	0.14
Tobacco	2.79	5.97	4.23	0.30	11.25	4.45	1.39	7.90	3.32
Clothing	0.91	1.18	0.60	0.40	0.64	1.13	3.52	3.00	1.03
Personal	0.24	0.14	0.21	0.50	0.29	0.45	0.61	0.35	0.09
Activities	1.10	4.14	0.77	1.30	5.47	1.31	2.05	1.30	0.28

¹ Zierden et al. 1988:Table 3

² Zierden et al. 1983:Table 9

³ Zierden et al. 1988:Table 3

⁴ Zierden et al. 1995:Table 8

⁵ Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern is form South (1977) and Garrow (1982)

⁶ Singleton 1980: Table 18

neighborhood, specifically the remains of the billiard table and the relatively large number of marbles (which represent a quarter of the Activities Group Artifacts).

Unit 2, placed on a lot historically associated with free persons of color, is very similar to the townhouse pattern previously developed for Charleston. Only the arms and tobacco groups are noticeably lower than expected.

Unit 3, placed to explore a lot historically associated with white middle-class families throughout the nineteenth century, is very similar to the pattern found at 66 Society Street, another Charleston site associated with the middle-class during the nineteenth century. Zierden and her colleagues suggest that the kitchen-architecture ratio (70.2% compared to 26.6%) is a result of the structure being standing and suggest that otherwise the proportions might be in the range of about 62% for kitchen artifacts and 32% for architectural remains (Zierden et al. 1988:51). These data (although tentative) suggest that the 66 Society Street data may reflect a more middle class pattern

than initially realized.

Unit 4, another excavation associated with free persons of color, most closely resembles the dual-function pattern. Reference back to the historical research reveals that a number of small shops were present along Princess Street into the late nineteenth century. These may have contributed sufficient commercial and craft related artifacts to yield a dual-function pattern. This tends to be supported by the higher than anticipated percentage of activities artifacts.

Unit 5 was placed in the alley area behind the Victoria Hotel. Historical research reveals that this area was first occupied by lower socio-economic alley-dwellers, but that it was quickly incorporated into the support area for the middle-class hotel. The resulting assemblage, while resembling both the collection from 66 Society Street and that from Lodge Alley, is most closely related to that from 66 Society. Kitchen, architecture, furniture, tobacco, and activities artifacts all more closely fit the middle class pattern than the alley pattern. Only the percentage of personal artifacts in Unit 5 more clearly fits the Lodge Alley pattern than the 66 Society Street pattern. This may suggest the anonymity of hotel life, with patrons contributing relatively few personal artifacts to the resulting refuse. Two other groups, arms and clothing, bear no resemblance to either pattern. In the case of arms, the hotel seems to contributed a very low amount — far lower than almost any other type of site. This may also be a reflection on the nature of boarders. Their short tenure would seem to minimize their need for arms related materials. A relatively large number of clothing specimens were present in Unit 5, more characteristic of dual-function sites than either middle class or alley sites. This, too, may be a reflection on the large number of individuals passing through the institution for short periods of time.

These five units present an interesting glimpse of life on the block during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Unit 1, while incorporating a range of materials, resembles the dual-function sites previously encountered in Charleston. Unit 2 reveals an artifact pattern most

Table 31.
Ceramic Decorative Types, by percent of MNV

Decorative Type	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5
plain	47.4	38.5	15.3	19.4	38.8
annular	10.5	9.2	6.9	12.2	8.2
edged	18.4	7.7	27.8	26.5	22.4
hand painted	7.9	23.1	30.6	18.4	7.1
transfer printed	13.2	20.0	18.0	21.4	21.2
decal	2.6	-	-	2.1	2.3
sponged	-	1.5	1.4	-	-

commonly associated with elite townhouse households, even though it was generated by free persons of color. Unit 3 exhibits a very convincing middle class artifact pattern, suitable for its long occupation by white middle class families. Unit 4, while also occupied by free persons of color, seems to reveal more craft or commercial activity than at first anticipated, presenting another example of a dual-function site. And finally, Unit 5, associated with a businessman's hotel, reveals an artifact assemblage most similar to the middle class pattern.

It is worthy of note that the free persons of color, in spite of their awkward social status during Charleston's antebellum do not seem to have lived in exceptional poverty — neither sample particularly resembles the collection from Lodge Alley, for example. Likewise, these individuals exhibit an assemblage that is clearly distinct from their brothers and sisters who lived as slaves. Nor is the pattern similar to that found in the work yard of the Owens-Thomas House in downtown Savannah where there is perhaps evidence of urban slavery (Trinkley et al. 1993:58-60). Free persons of color, it seems, were working to integrate themselves into Charleston society and their artifact assemblages suggest some considerable success in this endeavor.

Status and Lifestyle Observations

Since one goal of archaeological research (in general and certainly for this project), is to better understand how different people lived, a wide variety of techniques have evolved for looking at status and lifestyle. At times the efforts have devolved into rather simplistic statements, causing at least one researcher to remark, "It is well known that the rich lived better than the poor," and

Table 32.
Vessel Forms by percent of MNV

	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5
Tablewares	84.5	82.2	78.1	81.8	98.8
plates/saucers	65.8	41.7	64.0	67.8	63.3
bowls	34.2	55.0	32.0	32.2	34.5
serving	-	3.3	4.0	-	2.2
Tea/Coffeeware	11.1	12.3	14.1	12.7	3.2
Utilitarian	4.4	5.5	7.8	5.5	-

suggest that archaeologists should "count less and think more" (Friedlander 1990:109). Hopefully, it is possible to both count more (or at least in different ways) and to also think (both more and better).

In the past archaeologists have used assemblage level studies to gain some indication of status. For example, Otto (1984:64-67) has explored the percentages of decorated ceramic types, finding that nineteenth century coastal Georgia slaves tended to use considerably more undecorated, banded, edged, and hand painted wares than the plantation owner, who tended to use transfer printed wares. Zierden and Grimes (1989:96) have observed that while porcelains are typically taken as indicators of status in the eighteenth century, they were replaced by transfer printed wares in the early nineteenth century, with this decorative style at upperstatus townhouse sites typically accounting for around 22% of the ceramics.

Table 31 reveals the proportion of different designs on creamwares, pearlwares, and whitewares in the three units. When annular and edged wares (typically considered inexpensive) are compared to hand painted and transfer printed wares (typically considered more expensive and hence of higher status) some differences can be observed in the different collections.

In Unit 1 the proportions of the two are nearly equal, although the annular and edged wares comprise 28.9% of the collection compared to the hand painted and transfer printed ceramics which account for 21.1% of the collection. In Unit 2, associated with free persons of color, the higher status wares account for 43.1% of the collection, compared to the lower status which comprise only 16.9% of the ceramics. In this unit the preference

for the more expensive wares is clearly defined. The emphasis on transfer printed and hand painted wares is also seen in Unit 3, associated with a middle-class white family, where these higher status ceramics account for 48.6% of the collection. The difference between Units 2 and 3, however, is that Unit 3 also contains a relatively high proportion of banded and edged wares (34.7%). This may suggest that assemblages from both

the home owner and his slaves are mixed together. Unit 4 reveals an assemblage similar to that found in Unit 1, with nearly equal percentages of both high and low status wares. Unit 5, associated with the Victoria Hotel and the rear alley, is the only collection dominated by annular and edged wares. In this collection these low status ceramics account for 30.6% compared to 28.3% for transfer printed and hand painted. It may be that hotel patrons expected less by way of their tableware than they did from other aspects of transient life.

In a similar manner vessel form has been used to explore status and wealth, since slave assemblages most often contain relatively high percentages of bowls and utilitarian wares, while planters' sites tend to exhibit more plates and teawares. Unfortunately this topic has not been a focus of research at sites such as Lodge Alley, so there is little comparative research. At the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century Owens-Thomas Carriage House in Savannah, however, plate forms comprised between 46% and nearly 56% of the assemblage, while bowl forms ranged from nearly 37% to a high of about 54% and utilitarian wares were very uncommon (Trinkley et al. 1993:62). In this assemblage it seemed that plates were considerably more common than might have been anticipated at a site used by African American slaves (and likely exhibiting relatively little mixing with the yard trash of the main house). Table 32 reveals that in all of the proveniences at the Saks site except for Unit 2, plate forms dominate the collection, accounting for about 63% to 68% of the tablewares — considerably higher than identified at the Owens-Thomas House. The one exception, Unit 2 which represents the best free person of color assemblage, reveals plates accounting for 41.7% of the tablewares — a percentage slightly lower than even that found at the Owens-Thomas

House. This tentatively suggests that African Americans, even as freemen in the urban setting, maintained some connection with dietary preferences perhaps relating back to Africa.

This association is even stronger when the proportion of plates and bowls in Unit 2 is explored over time (most effectively examined by specific ware — creamware, pearlware, and whiteware; see Figure 72). When only Feature 1 (which represents a sealed context) is examined, the plate forms increase steadily through time from 29% to 65%, while the bowl forms decrease from 71% to 35%. The tendency is slightly less well defined when Feature 1 is included with the general proveniences, but plate use still increases from 36% with creamwares to 54% with whitewares and bowl forms decline from 64% to 46%. This suggests that while African Americans clung to a dietary pattern focusing on one pot meals in the eighteenth century, but the nineteenth century they had adapted a different dietary pattern — one similar to their white neighbors.

Of equal interest in this analysis is that Unit 5, representing discard from the Victoria Hotel, exhibits the lowest proportion of tea or coffeewares — only 3.2% compared with figures ranging from 11% to 14% — of the five units. This suggests that those using the hotel, even into the nineteenth century when the tea ritual had declined in social status, did not partake tea or coffee as often as those in more domestic settings. While all of the other units exhibit utilitarian wares comprising between about 4% and 8% of the ceramics, the hotel assemblage contained no utilitarian items, suggesting yet another difference between the domestic and hotel settings.

Miller (1980, 1991) has suggested a technique for the analysis of ceramic collections to yield information on the economic value of the assemblage which, as Garrow notes, "theoretically provides a means of roughly determining the economic position of the household that used and discarded the ceramics" (Garrow 1982:66). While this technique could have profound impact on urban archaeological research, revolutionizing our perception of economic status, it has not been embraced by all historic archaeologists, significantly reducing its usefulness in comparative studies.

Nevertheless, the approach is worth using at the Saks site, even if it provides only an opportunity to explore the collection on an intra-assemblage basis. In addition, this approach has been used on the small collection from the Owens-Thomas Carriage House, where the ceramic index ranged from 3.25 in the late yard (used by the African American domestic slaves) to 1.23 in the carriage house proper. It was noted that the index from the yard was quite high, comparable to that which might be expected from a planter's residence (Trinkley et al. 1993:62). Even when the various indices were average together, the overall index of 1.85 was still rather high, at least compared to slave indices (see Trinkley 1993:176).

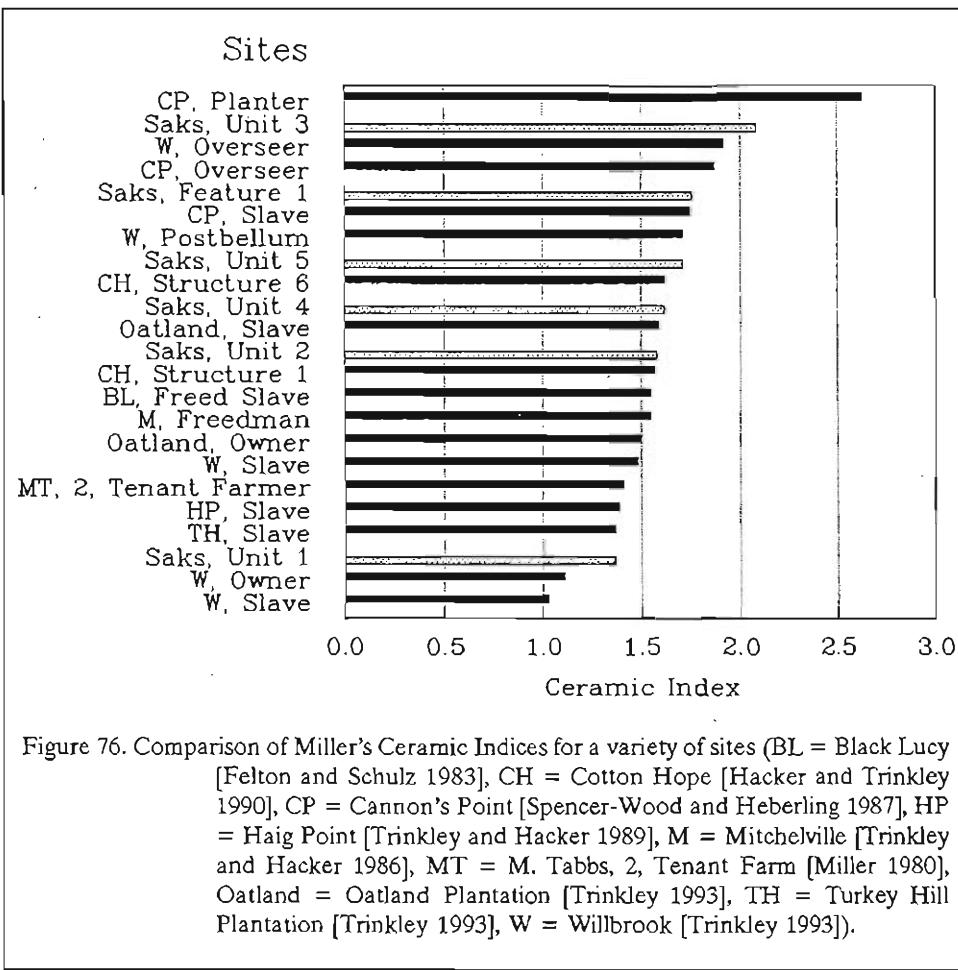
The results are shown in Table 33 and Figure 76. As Miller himself would point out, there are problems with the Saks assemblage — the proveniences are not totally sealed and there is the possibility of contamination and mixing. It seems likely, in fact, that the collections represent materials accumulated over relatively long periods of time, which may severely affect the results of Miller's indices. Some of this effect may be seen by comparing the index for Unit 2 with that for Feature 1 (which represents a sealed feature somewhat more temporally distinct than the general unit proveniences. The feature represents a higher index than the unit as a whole.

Indices for the project vary from a low of 1.37 to a high of 2.08. The lowest index is found associated with Unit 1 and the saloon/grocery with rented domestic quarters on the upper floors. The highest was associated with Unit 3, the white, middle-class residents. Unit 2 and Feature 1, both associated with the free persons of color, are intermediate, as are the data from Unit 4, a possible dual-function site also associated with free persons of color.

When the Saks ceramic index data are compared to other indices from the region, we see that the high of 2.08 associated with middle-class occupants, while well below that derived for the Cannon's Point planter, is above that expected for overseers. In this sense it does appear to represent a middling status. What is more surprising is that the data from Unit 2 and Feature 1 also appear to be consistent with a middling status. This provides

Table 33.
Ceramic Index Values

	Unit 1		Unit 2		Feature 1		Unit 3		Unit 4		Unit 5	
	index value	#										
Plates												
undecorated	1.00	11	1.00	9	1.00	3	1.00	5	1.00	10	1.00	18
edged	1.33	7	1.33	5	1.33	14	1.38	17	1.43	25	1.33	18
printed	2.67	2	3.33	4	3.33	10	4.33	3	2.86	9	3.00	10
painted	2.17	1							2.17	1		
sponged			1.20	1								
under stripe									1.43	2		
over stripe									2.22	1		
HPOG											2.22	3
Bowls												
undecorated	1.00	4	1.00	10	1.00	10	1.00	4	1.00	4	1.00	8
annular	1.20	4	1.20	6	1.20	3	1.60	4	1.20	12	1.20	7
painted	1.60	2	1.60	13	1.60	14	2.00	2	1.60	5	1.80	2
HPOG							2.80	1	2.80	1		
printed	2.80	1	2.80	3	2.80	5	3.14	4	2.80	4	3.00	7
sponged							1.10	1				
Cups/Saucers												
undecorated	1.00	3	1.00	5	1.00	6	1.00	2	1.00	3	1.00	5
painted			1.50	2	1.50	1	1.60	5	1.25	7	1.50	1
printed	2.57	2	3.00	5	3.00	3	5.36	5	2.25	8	3.00	1
HPOG							3.00	1				
Ceramic Index	1.37		1.58		1.76		2.08		1.62		1.71	



yet another line of evidence suggesting that the free African Americans in Charleston were working hard to integrate themselves into white society. The lowest index, derived for the saloon/grocery is comparable to slave and tenant farmers at the low end of the socio-economic scale. This seems consistent with the historic and archaeological data.

While thus far this exploration of status indicators in the archaeological record has focused on topics which have not been consistently integrated into Charleston research, Zierden and her colleagues have developed a broad range of indicators which they consistently use to help "place" sites within a framework of status.

They note, for example, that table glass is a potentially significant indicator of status since it represents expensive items. Examples include tumblers, stemware, punch bowls, and finger bowls.

years earlier.

At the Saks site, the proportion of table glass ranges from a low of 0.14% of the Kitchen Artifact Group in Unit 3, associated with the middle class home to a high of 1.39% in Unit 1, associated with the saloon/grocery at the corner of Market and Archdale streets. The range revealed in Table 34 suggests that none of the collections approach the levels found in the elite townhouses of Charleston, although the levels (with the exception of Unit 3) are at or above the middling status.

It seems likely that several factors are at play in these results. First, the very low figure obtained for Unit 3 is likely, as suggested previously, the result of the unit including both owner and slave refuse, which produced a severe moderating influence. The other relatively high levels may well reflect the mixing of earlier and

Leaded crystal is especially expensive, but since glassware tended to be sold by weight, all table glass was an expensive commodity. Especially during the late eighteenth century and into the early nineteenth century, there are distinct differences in the table glass items as a proportion of the kitchen artifacts. Upper status townhouse sites have a mean of 2.32%, while low status sites have a mean of only 0.04%. However, later in the nineteenth century table glass items become more common as glass manufacturing techniques change and middle status sites reveal levels of table glass which rival high status sites only a few

later nineteenth century collections, an unavoidable by-product of the data recovery approach. What is important, however, is that these levels seem appropriate for the types of sites envisioned and do, with certain qualifications, fit the patterns previously encountered in Charleston.

In a similar fashion, Zierden and her colleagues notes that status should also be reflected in the proportion of clothing, personal, and furniture items found in collections. They observe that the Charleston pattern during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries ranges from a high of 1.36% to a low of 0.88% with middle status sites exhibiting a mean of 1.09%. Some change is seen in the later nineteenth century, by which time the proportion of clothing, personal, and furniture items at middle status sites increases slightly to 1.14%.

At the study sites the proportion of these groups ranges from 0.9% (at Unit 4) to a high of 1.6% (at Unit 5). Unit 2, representing deposits by free persons of color, is within the expected range for a middling status occupation.

Zierden and her colleagues have also suggested that the percentage of porcelain and transfer printed wares in the ceramic collection may also be an indicator of status. They point out that porcelain was not only expensive, but extensively used in the tea ritual of the eighteenth century. In a similar manner, transfer printed ceramics were among the most expensive. This, of course, is reflected in both Miller's indices and also in the exploration of vessel decoration.

In Charleston, the proportion of porcelain and transfer printed wares ranges from a low of 9% at low status sites to a high of nearly 22% at elite townhouses. But these wares hold status only during the eighteenth and very early nineteenth century. By the mid-nineteenth century porcelains are more widely available and transfer printed pottery has declined in cost. Consequently, these wares may reach levels of nearly 23% at middle status Charleston sites.

The range of these wares at sites on the study block is from just under 10% to nearly 20%. None of the units produce levels associated with

Table 34.
Percentages of Status Indicators

	Table Glass (% of Kitchen)	Porcelain/Printed (% of ceramics)	Clothing Personal Furniture
<i>Study Area</i>			
Unit 1	1.39	18.97	1.40
Unit 2	1.31	19.02	1.10
Unit 3	0.14	19.82	1.00
Unit 4	0.67	13.67	0.90
Unit 5	1.30	9.95	1.60
<i>Late 18th/Early 19th Centuries Sites¹</i>			
Upper Status	2.32	21.97	1.36
Middle Status	0.69	18.80	1.09
Low Status	0.04	9.00	0.88
<i>19th Century Sites¹</i>			
Middle Status	3.30	22.70	1.14

¹Zierden and Grimes 1989:Table 7

high status sites in the late eighteenth century nor even middling status sites during the later nineteenth century.

This particular approach, it seems, offers clearer interpretations of anticipated status than does table glass, at least for these collections. The hotel excavation reveals the lowest percentage of porcelain and transfer printed, echoing previous observations. Unit 3, representative of the middle class dwelling, suggests that whatever yard mixing may have occurred, still reflects relatively high status in the overall assemblage. Unit 4, reflecting a dual-function site incorporating trash disposal by free persons of color and associated commercial activities, illustrates a relatively low proportion of high status ceramics. Finally, the assemblage from the free persons of color represented by Unit 2 seems relatively high, further supporting previous observations concerning the lifestyle of these individuals.

FAUNAL MATERIALS

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Introduction

The vertebrate faunal collections recovered from the Princess Street excavation in Charleston, South Carolina, were analyzed for this study. This collection provides an opportunity to compare subsistence patterns associated with different socio-economic conditions in an urban setting. Unfortunately, patterns of vertebrate use are difficult to define due to variability in urban locations, socio-economic and ethnic status, as well as preservation (Reitz and Weinand 1995). Animal use patterns are difficult to identify in archaeological collections recovered from Charleston because many of the vertebrate faunal assemblages are exposed deposits at residential or mixed residential/commercial areas which date to the late 1700s early 1800s. Additionally, little information is available on subsistence patterns proceeding or following this time period, therefore making it difficult to demonstrate animal use change in an urban setting (Reitz and Weinand 1995:145). Despite these limitations, the analysis presented here will hopefully provide a better understanding of urban subsistence patterns in the South.

The faunal assemblage recovered from the Princess Street excavation provides an opportunity to further examine patterns of animal use in the Charleston district and the economy of the city during the early 1800s. Animal remains were recovered from five units. Each unit has been dated using a mean ceramic index and its use-pattern determined by artifact analysis. The faunal materials were analyzed separately for each unit allowing for comparisons to be made between different areas in order to distinguish patterns. Unfortunately, the small size of the faunal sample

limits the development of models for pattern use and any presented in this study are preliminary at best. In several instances the unit samples are combined into a larger more representative sample in order to better understand animal-use patterns in an urban setting.

The Units

The units, their stratigraphy, and conclusions drawn from their cultural remains have been previously discussed, but are briefly reviewed here for the convenience of the reader.

Unit 1 has a mean ceramic date of 1831.7. The ceramic patterns reflects a dual-function pattern of commercial and domestic activities already identified at Charleston (Reitz 1990; Reitz and Weinand 1995; Zierden and Hacker 1987). This unit is commercially identified as a saloon/grocery area. The residential use of Unit 1 may increase the amount of domestic mammal present in the faunal assemblage.

Unit 2 has a mean ceramic date of 1823.5. This unit is identified with free persons of color who evidently were adopting certain characteristics usually associated with the elite. This sector of Charleston society probably had access to a variety of items and were not necessarily on the fringe of Charleston. For this study they are described as upwardly mobile, approaching middle-class status.

The mean ceramic date computed for Unit 3 was 1801. Analysis of the artifacts recovered from this unit signify a white middle-class household similar to one previously identified at 66 Society Street (Frank 1988). Evidence for slaves, possibly associated with the household, was also

suggested by the ceramic content of the unit.

Unit 4 dates sometime around 1815. Like Unit 1, Unit 4 is also recognized as a dual-function commercial/residential area. Historically this section of the city was occupied by free persons of color, but evidence of commercial activity appear more often in the artifacts. There are indications of somewhat lower status for this area reflected in the mid to low proportion of table glass and items of personal use.

The mean ceramic date for Unit 5 is 1834.5. This unit is associated with an alleyway behind the Victoria Hotel. The artifacts recovered from Unit 5 are similar to middle-class assemblages recovered from excavations completed elsewhere in Charleston.

The dates and functions determined for the five units provide an opportunity to compare the faunal assemblages used in different areas throughout Charleston. In order to identify patterns of animal use for each unit, data from other Charleston area collections are included in this study. The General Charleston Pattern provides an example of animal use in Charleston particularly from mixed residential/commercial contexts (Reitz 1990; Reitz and Weinand 1995; Zierden and Hacker 1987). Faunal use identified for Units 1 and 4 could be expected to resemble the General Charleston Pattern.

Two other faunal collections were recovered from excavations at the Nathaniel Russell House (Zierden 1995). Both represent upper-class residential units in the Charleston area. The Nathaniel Russell House dates from 1780 to around 1857 while the Andrus collection from the Nathaniel Russell house is estimated to date in the late 1800s (Reitz and Weinand 1995). A third sample representing a middle-class occupation in the Charleston area is the 66 Society Street faunal assemblage that dates to 1800-1870 (Frank 1988). Units 3 and 5 may reflect similar patterns of animal-use when compared to other middle-class faunal assemblages.

Data from two lower-class habitation sites in Charleston are also included. These are Lodge Alley (Reitz 1983) and the Charleston Convention Center (Honerkamp et al. 1982). These lower-

status collections will provide models for Unit 4.

Finally, two additional use-specific collections are included in this study. One is the faunal data from McCrady's Longroom and Tavern Site (Reitz 1983). This collection is somewhat unique since its patrons were more affluent, possibly middle-class, than those represented by the Charleston Convention Center site, and there appears to be a relatively high percentage of pig and sheep present (Reitz 1983: 85 and 92). The Charleston Beef Market (Reitz and Weinand 1995) is also included to compare with the subsistence data compiled for the Princess Street site.

Materials and Methods

The analysis of the Princess Street faunal collection involves three areas of investigation. The first inquiry involves an inventory of the animal remains associated with each of the units and the determination of their representation in the diet. This is followed by a second study where the number of bone elements representing different cuts of meat in the large domestic mammals (cow, pig, and sheep) are compared with other fauna data to provide information on butchery practices, subsistence, and socio-economic conditions. Finally, modifications of the bone elements, such as cut marks and rodent gnawing, are considered in hopes of providing insights into butchering techniques. The vertebrate faunal remains recovered from the Princess Street excavation were studied using standard zooarchaeological procedures. The comparative collection housed at Cobb Institute of Archaeology, Mississippi State University, was used to aid in the analysis. The faunal material was sorted to class, suborder, and/or species with individual bone elements identified by side whenever preservation permitted. In addition, the bones were weighed (weight in grams) to assess the relative abundance of each species (class or suborder) represented in the sample. Attempts were made to record age (immature/mature) and bone modifications such as burning, butchering, and rodent gnaw marks were also noted.

The minimum number of individuals (MNI) (see Grayson 1973) for each animal category was calculated using paired bone elements and age (immature or mature) as criteria.

Determination of MNI is a standard zooarchaeological procedure, but unfortunately this method generally provides a conservative estimate of the species represented at a given site (Hogue et al. 1995; Reitz and Weinand 1995). The use of MNI in faunal analyses is problematical in other ways. First, small animals are emphasized over larger ones but their overall contribution to the diet may be considerably less. One pig or cow, for example, would have provided more meat yield than 10 mice. A related problem concerns the resource use of animals at the site. Representation of an animal does not presume its use in entirety at the site (Reitz and Weinand 1995). Certain cuts may have been sold or traded elsewhere (Scott 1981; Thomas 1971; Welch 1991) affecting the representation of certain bone elements at the site.

For the Princess Street collection MNI was computed separately for the faunal remains recovered from each unit. The MNI calculated for the separate units were then added together to provide a total MNI for the site. Using this procedure probably provides a more accurate representation of MNI for each species.

Additionally, the biomass weight for each animal was calculated to approximate the meat yield. This model is based on the allometric principle that ratios of body mass, skeletal mass, and skeletal measurements change when size increases and its use is thought to provide a better estimate of animal representation than MNI (Reitz and Weinand 1995). Biomass is determined using the least squares analysis of logarithmic data. The basic premise of this method is that bone weight can be used to calculate the amount of soft tissue being supported by the skeleton (Casteel 1978; Reitz 1982, 1985; Reitz and Cordier 1983; Reitz and Scarry 1985; Reitz and Weinand 1995; Reitz et al 1987; Wing and Brown 1979). The relationship between body weight and skeletal weight is expressed by the equation $Y = a + b \log X$, which can also be depicted as $Y = \log a + b (\log X)$ (Simpson et al. 1960:397).

In the first formula, Y represents the biomass in kilograms, X is the bone weight in kilograms, a is the Y-intercept for a log-log plot using the method of least squares regression, and b is the constant of allometry, or the slope of the line defined by the least squares regression and the

best fit line (Casteel 1978; Reitz and Cordier 1983; Reitz and Weinand 1995; Reitz et al. 1987; Wing and Brown 1979). Allometric values used in this study to determine biomass are summarized in Reitz 1985.

Sample size can restrict the use of biomass and MNI in the analysis of faunal materials. Several studies have proposed using a sample size of at least 200 individuals or 1400 bones for reliable use of these methods (Casteel 1978; Grayson 1979; Wing and Brown 1979). According to Reitz and Weinand (1995) small faunal samples tend to be biased towards one species over another. In addition to the affects of excavation procedures and potential spacial differences in bone presence, differential preservation of certain bone elements, as well as different species, could lead to incongruent representation. Unfortunately, archaeological excavations do not normally yield the ideal sample size for faunal analysis and little can be done to correct for the biases inherent in the small faunal assemblages.

Recording the presence or absence of bone elements in an archaeological faunal assemblage provides useful information on butchery patterns and animal husbandry. Elements identified for domestic mammals were classified as "head" (cranial fragments and teeth), "vertebra" (vertebrae and ribs), "forequarter" (scapula, humerus, ulna, and radius), "forefoot" (carpals and metacarpals), "foot" (phalanges), "hindquarter" (innominate, femur, tibia, fibula), and "hindfoot" (tarsals and metatarsals). According to Reitz and Zierden (1991) in an unmodified complete cow skeleton the percentages of these categories are head, 25.8 percent; vertebra, 28.6 percent; forequarter, 3.2%; forefoot, 5.7%; foot, 24.2%; hindquarter, 6.9%; and hindfoot, 5.7%. These figures are compared with the number of bone elements from cow observed in the Princess Street faunal collection and other sites.

Observations of bone modifications classified as sawed, clean-cut, burned, chopped/hacked, gnawed, and worked were included in the analysis. Sawing is defined where bones exhibit parallel striations on the outer layer of compact bones. Clean-cut marks are generally

produced by sawing but the striations are absent. Burned bone was modified by exposure to fire while cooking and/or after discard. Cuts were defined as shallow incisions on the bone and are generally associated with cutting meat from the bone especially near the joint area. Chop/hack marks are typically deep, irregularly-shaped cuts created by a meat cleaver or ax. The presence of gnawed bone indicates bone that was not buried immediately following disposal and consequently was exposed to animals.. Worked bone is identified as human modifications bone that are not associated with butchering (Reitz and Weinand 1995).

Identified Fauna

A discussion of the general use and habitat preference for each species identified from the Princess Street excavation will be presented before discussing the results of the zooarchaeological study of the faunal assemblage. A total of 3,633 bones were present in the Princess Street faunal materials representing 18 species and 72 minimum number of individuals (MNI). Table 35 lists the various species identified at Princess Street including the MNI and biomass

Domestic Mammals

Three domestic mammals cow (*Bos taurus*), pig (*Sus scrofa*), and sheep (*Ovis aries*), were identified at the site. Domestic mammals used as food resources (cow, pig, and sheep), contributed to 82.01% of the total biomass for taxa for which MNI could be calculated. The principle domestic mammal was cow which represented 9.72% of the total MNI and 61.8% of the total biomass. Cattle have been an important meat source in the Southern United States but they are less efficient to raise than other domestic mammals such as the pig (Hilliard 1972; Rouse 1973; Towne and Wentworth 1950, 1955). Since cattle are large herbivores, they require large quantities of grain and grasses to keep weight on. Furthermore, beef does not preserve as well as other meats such as pork. Clearly, greater food and labor resources are required to make cattle production profitable (Tomhave 1925). Despite their cost, cattle supply other important resources such as milk products and hides, providing additional economic incentives for keeping herds (Hilliard 1972; Rouse 1973; Towne and Wentworth 1955).

Pigs represent a greater percentage of the total MNI than cow (13.89%) but less of the total biomass (14.5%). Pigs are one of the most important domestic animals used for food in the Southeast (Hilliard 1972). In general, pigs require little care and can roam freely scavenging naturally available food resources such as seeds, roots, fruits, eggs, and small mammals. Cattle store only 11% of the calories they consume while pigs store 35%. Unlike beef, pork preserves very well and because of its high fat content, is very appetizing. Additionally, pork is a very good source of thiamine (Towne and Wentworth 1950), a nutritional source important for the prevention of beri-beri (Wing and Brown 1979:38-39).

The third domestic mammal that probably served as a food resource was sheep. Sheep played a minor role as a subsistence resource in the Southeast (Hilliard 1972). This pattern is reflected in its representation in the identified fauna from Princess Street where sheep is

Species	MNI #	MNI %	Number	Weight	Biomass	Biomass
	From Units		of Bones	gm	kg	%
Mammal						
Cow, <i>Bos taurus</i>	7	9.72	406	4971.18	54.8	61.81
Pig, <i>Sus scrofa</i>	10	13.89	191	962.94	12.739	14.5
Sheep, <i>Ovis aries</i>	6	8.33	93	302.94	4.499	5.07
Deer, <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	4	5.55	19	267.81	4.026	4.6
Raccoon, <i>Procyon lotor</i>	1	1.38	4	4.83	0.108	0.12
Rabbit, <i>Sylvilagus</i> spp.	2	2.78	7	3.21	0.075	0.1
Rat, <i>Oryzomys palustris</i>	9	12.5	68	23	0.442	0.5
Unidentified Mammal	-	-	2335	2871.93	-	-
Aves						
Chicken, <i>Gallus gallus</i>	9	12.5	112	99.1	9.608	11
Turkey, <i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	4	5.55	21	35.66	0.528	0.6
Duck, <i>Anseriformes</i> spp.	2	2.78	14	13.06	0.004	0.01
Unidentified Aves	-	-	76	32.01	-	-
Reptile						
Florida Cooter, <i>Pseudemys floridana</i>	3	4.17	87	127.59	0.814	0.92
Diamondback Terrapin, <i>Malaclemys terrapin</i>	1	1.38	38	38.31	0.364	0.41
Mud Turtle, <i>Kinosternon subrubrum</i>	1	1.38	1	0.9	0.029	0.03
Pisces						
Bowfin, <i>Amia calva</i>	1	1.38	8	3.12	0.035	0.04
Catfish, <i>Ictalurus</i> , sp.	3	4.23	56	10.99	0.116	0.13
Bass, <i>Micropterus salmoides</i>	4	5.55	42	6.67	0.062	0.07
Drum, <i>Sciaenidae</i>	4	5.55	27	23.16	0.407	0.05
Perciforme spp.	1	1.38	1	0.19	0.003	0.01
Unidentified Pisces	-	-	27	6.61	-	-
Total	72	100	3633	9705.21	88.66	99.97

calculations for the entire collection.

represented by only 6 individuals. Sheep constituted 8.33% of the total MNI and 5.07% of the total biomass. One explanation for the unpopularity of sheep as a food resource was the early acquired taste for venison by European inhabitants (Carson 1985:2). In addition to mutton, sheep were a source of wool that had numerous uses to their owners (Hilliard 1972:141-142).

Domestic Birds

The only domestic bird species identified in the Princess Street faunal remains was the chicken (*Gallus gallus*). Chicken are relatively easy to keep. Like pigs, they can feed themselves scavenging for available foods or they can be kept in pens and cared for by humans. Chicken was a popular food resource for both slave and plantation owners in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In addition to meat, they provided eggs for food and cooking ingredients (Hilliard 1972:46-47), and possibly feathers which would have been useful for bedding.

In the Princess Street faunal collection, chicken was fairly well represented with nine individuals identified. The percentage of the total biomass represented by chicken was 11%, representing the third most popular food item after pig.

Wild Mammals

Several wild mammals presumably used for food were identified in the Princess Street faunal collection. These include deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*), raccoon (*Procyon lotor*), and rabbit (*Sylvilagus* spp.). White-tailed deer is the largest of the wild mammals. A total of four deer were identified from the individual units and contributed almost as much to the Princess Street diet as sheep, contributing 4.6% to the total biomass. One raccoon was represented at the site. The low representation of raccoon (0.12% of the total biomass), indicates that this species contributed minimally, if at all, to the overall diet. Two rabbits were identified at the site which provided about the same amount to the meat yield (0.1%) as raccoon.

Wild Birds

Turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo*) and duck (Anseriformes) represent the wild bird species identified in the Princess Street collection. The turkey MNI for the entire faunal assemblage is four, constituting 0.6% of the total biomass. Turkey was a valued food item for antebellum whites and blacks (Hilliard 1972:80-81) and its presence in an urban setting is not surprising. The MNI computed for duck species was two. The percentage of the total biomass represented by duck is 0.01%. A number of duck species commonly winter along the Carolina coast, and a small number may live year-round in the vicinity (Potter et al. 1980: 89-90). Because of their habitation preferences the presence of duck in the faunal assemblage is not surprising.

Reptiles

Three reptile species were classified as turtle in the collection. These species were river cooter (*Pseudemys floridana*), diamondback terrapin, (*Malaclemys terrapin centrata*), and mud turtles (*Kinosternon subrubrum*). The river cooter is found primarily in and around bodies of fresh water such as ponds, swamps, rivers, canals, and on occasion brackish waters (Obst 1986:109). These turtles can be seen on land sunning themselves or looking for areas to nest. According to Hilliard (1972:89), the river cooter was used as a food resource in the South during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Like the river cooter, the diamondback terrapin was also used for food (Hilliard 1972:89). Areas where this species is most likely to be located are estuarine settings or in brackish lakes and marshes along the Atlantic coast (Obst 1986:113). During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this reptile became an accepted food delicacy in the United States (Obst 1986:113, 183).

The third turtle species present in small quantities was the mud turtle. This turtle is usually found near freshwater sources such as swamps and occasionally in brackish water (Obst 1986: 109). The Florida cooter was represented by three individuals while the other two species by

one individual each. The percent of the total biomass for the river cooter is 0.92%, for the diamondback turtle 0.41%, and for the mud turtle 0.03%.

Pisces

Fish appear to play a rather small role in the Princess Street diet. Five species were identified in the faunal collection. Identified fish made up only 0.30% of the total biomass from the site. The species identified include bowfin (*Amia calva*, MNI = 1), catfish (*Ictalurus sp.*, MNI = 3), bass (*Micropterus salmoides*, MNI = 4), drum (*Sciaenidae sp.*, MNI = 4) and one perciforme species. Bowfin, catfish, and bass represent fresh water species. The bowfin is commonly found in sluggish clear waters of the Carolina Coastal Plain and average between 45 and 87 centimeters in length. (Lee et al. 1980:53). Catfish prefer sluggish waters as well, usually in areas of dense vegetation (Lee et al. 1980:442). The largemouth bass prefers clear, quiet waters with aquatic vegetation (Lee et al. 1980: 608). Drum represents the only fish that prefers a marine habitat. They are commonly found in bays and estuarine environments (Boschung et al. 1983). Perciformes are found in fresh and salt water habitats and include species such as basses, mullets, drum, snappers, and flounders (Wheeler and Jones 1989: 23-24).

Commensal Species

Commensal species include animals found near or around human habitations but are not generally consumed by humans. These animals include pets, pest, vermin and animals that feed on them. Dogs, snakes, amphibians, rats and mice are common examples of commensal species. Rat (*Oryzomys palustris*) represents the only commensal species identified in the Princess Street faunal collection. Rice rats have been identified as crop pests that prefers marshy or wet areas but

are commonly found in association with food resources such as human habitation sites.

Results and Discussion

Faunal Representation

The analysis of MNI, number of bones, weight, and estimated meat yield for the five Princess Street units are presented in Tables 36 through 40. Biomass was computed using only those species where MNI could be determined. This procedure was used to eliminate possible sample bias created by the unidentified mammal, aves, and pisces categories.

In all five units, cow represents the largest percent of the total biomass, generally followed by pig and then sheep. The one exception to this pattern was observed in Unit 3, where the biomass

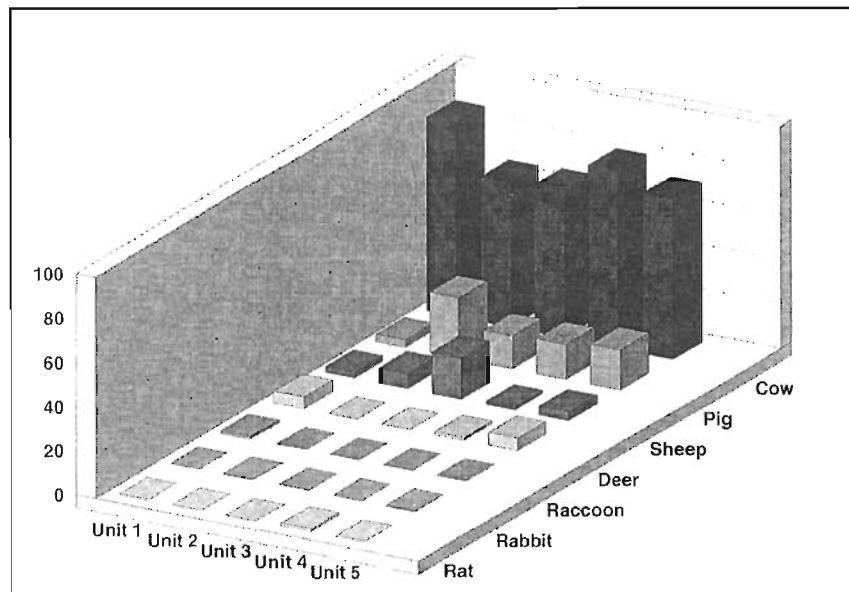


Figure 77. Biomass percentages of mammals recovered from each unit.

percentage calculated for sheep exceeded that for pig. This could reflect the middle-class residential use of this area and a preference for mutton over pork. Research on faunal materials associated with other middle-class residential areas in Charleston, such as Nathaniel Russell House (Reitz and Weinand 1995) and 66 Society Street (Frank 1988), however, indicate that pig was more popular than sheep as a food item. Given the small size of

Table 36.
Minimum number of individuals (MNI), number of bones, weight, and estimated meat yield for Unit 1

Species	MNI #	MNI %	Number of Bones	Weight gm	Biomass kg	Biomass %
Mammal						
Cow, <i>Bos taurus</i>	1	6.25	78	571.31	7.963	85.59
Pig, <i>Sus scrofa</i>	2	12.5	17	72.95	0.301	3.23
Sheep, <i>Ovis aries</i>	1	6.25	9	57.46	0.243	2.61
Deer, <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	2	12.5	8	125.95	0.493	5.3
Raccoon, <i>Procyon lotor</i>	1	6.25	4	4.83	0.108	1.16
Rabbit, <i>Sylvilagus spp.</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rat, <i>Oryzomys palustris</i>	4	25	24	9.18	0.003	0.03
Unidentified Mammal	-	-	448	651.65	-	-
Aves						
Chicken, <i>Gallus gallus</i>	1	6.25	6	4.92	0.008	0.08
Turkey, <i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	1	6.25	1	3.91	0.006	0.06
Duck, <i>Anseriformes spp.</i>	1	6.25	10	11.23	0.016	0.17
Unidentified Aves	-	-	12	7.99	-	-
Reptile						
Florida Cooter, <i>Pseudemys floridana</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Diamondback Terrapin, <i>Malaclemys terrapin</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mud Turtle, <i>Kinosternon subrubrum</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pisces						
Bowfin, <i>Amia calva</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Carfish, <i>Ictalurus sp.</i>	1	6.25	12	4.18	0.046	0.49
Bass, <i>Micropterus salmoides</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Drum, <i>Sciaenidae</i>	1	6.25	8	4.32	0.117	1.28
Perciforme spp.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unidentified Pisces	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	16	100	637	1529.88	9.304	100

Table 37.
Minimum number of individuals (MNI), number of bones, weight, and estimated meat yield for Unit 2

Species	MNI #	MNI %	Number of Bones	Weight gm	Biomass kg	Biomass %
Mammal						
Cow, <i>Bos taurus</i>	1	10	22	326.28	4.81	62.67
Pig, <i>Sus scrofa</i>	2	20	29	122.38	1.99	25.93
Sheep, <i>Ovis aries</i>	1	10	6	26.77	0.507	6.6
Deer, <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Raccoon, <i>Procyon lotor</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rabbit, <i>Sylvilagus spp.</i>	1	10	3	0.67	0.018	0.24
Rat, <i>Oryzomys palustris</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unidentified Mammal	-	-	211	266.51	-	-
Aves						
Chicken, <i>Gallus gallus</i>	1	10	10	5.4	0.005	1.25
Turkey, <i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	1	10	4	8.72	0.147	1.92
Duck, <i>Anseriformes spp.</i>	1	10	4	1.83	0.035	0.46
Unidentified Aves	-	-	4	2.88	-	-
Reptile						
Florida Cooter, <i>Pseudemys floridana</i>	1	10	12	8.38	0.029	0.55
Diamondback Terrapin, <i>Malaclemys terrapin</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mud Turtle, <i>Kinosternon subrubrum</i>	1	10	1	0.9	0.042	0.38
Pisces						
Bowfin, <i>Amia calva</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Carfish, <i>Ictalurus sp.</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bass, <i>Micropterus salmoides</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Drum, <i>Sciaenidae</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Perciforme spp.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unidentified Pisces	-	-	2	1.11	-	-
Total	10	100	308	771.83	7.673	100

Table 38.
Minimum number of individuals (MNI), number of
bones, weight, and estimated meat yield for Unit 3

Species	MNI #	MNI %	Number of Bones	Weight gm	Biomass kg	Biomass %
Mammal						
Cow, <i>Bos taurus</i>	1	16.665	47	467.81	6.65	65.29
Pig, <i>Sus scrofa</i>	1	16.665	23	87.81	1.47	14.43
Sheep, <i>Ovis aries</i>	1	16.665	31	115.18	1.88	18.47
Deer, <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Raccoon, <i>Procyon lotor</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rabbit, <i>Sylvilagus spp.</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rat, <i>Oryzomys palustris</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unidentified Mammal	-	-	339	283.15	-	-
Aves						
Chicken, <i>Gallus gallus</i>	2	33.34	22	11.09	0.182	1.79
Turkey, <i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Duck, <i>Anseriformes spp.</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unidentified Aves	-	-	13	5.08	-	-
Reptile						
Florida Cooter, <i>Pseudemys floridana</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Diamondback Terrapin, <i>Malaclemys terrapin</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mud Turtle, <i>Kinosternon subrubrum</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fishes						
Bowfin, <i>Amia calva</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Catfish, <i>Ictalurus</i> , sp.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bass, <i>Micropterus salmoides</i>	1	16.665	1	0.11	0.002	0.02
Drum, <i>Sciaenidae</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Perciforme spp.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unidentified Fishes	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	6	100	476	970.23	10.184	100

Table 39.
Minimum number of individuals (MNI), number of
bones, weight, and estimated meat yield for Unit 4

Species	MNI #	MNI %	Number of Bones	Weight gm	Biomass kg	Biomass %
Mammal						
Cow, <i>Bos taurus</i>	2	9.525	116	1353.1	17.302	76.93
Pig, <i>Sus scrofa</i>	2	9.525	60	220.13	3.375	15.01
Sheep, <i>Ovis aries</i>	1	4.76	5	16.04	0.319	1.42
Deer, <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	1	4.76	2	12.51	0.255	1.13
Raccoon, <i>Procyon lotor</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rabbit, <i>Sylvilagus spp.</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rat, <i>Oryzomys palustris</i>	4	19.055	39	12.87	0.262	1.17
Unidentified Mammal	-	-	715	951.88	-	-
Aves						
Chicken, <i>Gallus gallus</i>	2	9.525	38	29.74	0.447	1.99
Turkey, <i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	1	4.76	5	6	0.104	0.46
Duck, <i>Anseriformes spp.</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unidentified Aves	-	-	10	4.52	-	-
Reptile						
Florida Cooter, <i>Pseudemys floridana</i>	1	4.76	1	3.54	0.073	0.32
Diamondback Terrapin, <i>Malaclemys terrapin</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mud Turtle, <i>Kinosternon subrubrum</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fishes						
Bowfin, <i>Amia calva</i>	1	4.76	8	3.12	0.092	0.41
Catfish, <i>Ictalurus</i> , sp.	1	4.76	37	2.91	0.033	0.15
Bass, <i>Micropterus salmoides</i>	2	9.525	29	3.95	0.04	0.18
Drum, <i>Sciaenidae</i>	2	9.525	7	7.99	0.185	0.82
Perciforme spp.	1	4.76	1	0.19	0.003	0.01
Unidentified Fishes	-	-	25	5.5	-	-
Total	21	100	1098	2633.99	22.49	100

Table 40.
Minimum number of individuals (MNI), number of bones, weight, and estimated meat yield for Unit 5

Species	MNI #	MNI %	Number of Bones	Weight gm	Biomass kg	Biomass %
Mammal						
Cow, <i>Bos taurus</i>	2	10.53	143	2152.64	26.278	67.65
Pig, <i>Sus scrofa</i>	3	15.8	62	459.67	6.548	16.87
Sheep, <i>Ovis aries</i>	2	10.53	42	87.49	1.471	3.79
Deer, <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	1	5.26	9	129.35	2.091	5.38
Raccoon, <i>Procyon lotor</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rabbit, <i>Sylvilagus</i> spp.	1	5.26	4	2.54	0.061	0.17
Rat, <i>Oryzomys palustris</i>	1	5.26	5	0.95	0.006	0.01
Unidentified Mammal	-	-	622	718.74	-	-
Aves						
Chicken, <i>Gallus gallus</i>	3	15.8	36	47.95	0.691	1.8
Turkey, <i>Melagris gallopavo</i>	1	5.26	11	17.03	0.269	0.7
Duck, <i>Anseriformes</i> spp.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unidentified Aves	-	-	37	11.54	-	-
Reptile						
Florida Cooter, <i>Pseudemys floridana</i>	1	5.26	74	115.67	0.762	1.96
Diamondback Terrapin, <i>Malaclemys terrapin</i>	1	5.26	38	38.31	0.364	0.9
Mud Turtle, <i>Kinosternon subrubrum</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fishes						
Bowfin, <i>Amia calva</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Catfish, <i>Ictalurus</i> , sp.	1	5.26	7	3.9	0.043	0.1
Bass, <i>Micropterus salmoides</i>	1	5.26	7	2.61	0.028	0.07
Drum, <i>Sciaenidae</i>	1	5.26	12	10.85	0.232	0.6
Perciforme spp.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unidentified Pisces	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	19	100	1109	3799.28	38.844	100

the Unit 3 sample (476 bones) sample bias can not be ruled out as a factor contributing to the pattern observed.

biomass percentages were computed just for the mammal category. These percentages are illustrated in Figure 77. Cow represents the most important domestic mammal in all units especially in Units 1 and 4 which are identified as dual-function residential and commercial locations. Pig is the most prevalent in Unit 2, an area associated with free persons of color. The lowest percentages of sheep are found in Units 1 and 4, both residential/commercial areas with Unit 4 associated with lower-class free people of color. In contrast, the higher biomass percentage of sheep observed in Units 2, 3, and 5 may reflect the middle-class orientation of these areas in Charleston. Larger percentages of deer were found associated with Units 1 and 5. For Unit 1 this pattern may reflect the commercial use of the area. As one might expect rats were present more often in residential /commercial Units 1 and 4.

One of the questions raised in this study concerns the representation of the wild, domestic, and commensal species represented at each unit.

The percentages of the MNI represented in each of these samples are illustrated in Figure 78. As Figure 78 demonstrates, a higher percentage of wild species were recovered from Units 1 and 4. In addition, these Units have a higher percentage of commensal species, specifically rats. These two patterns are not totally unexpected given the commercial use of these areas. The highest frequency of domestic mammals are found in Unit 3 and Unit 5. Both are possible middle-class localities, however Unit 5 has almost three times the percentage of wild animals as Unit 3. This pattern

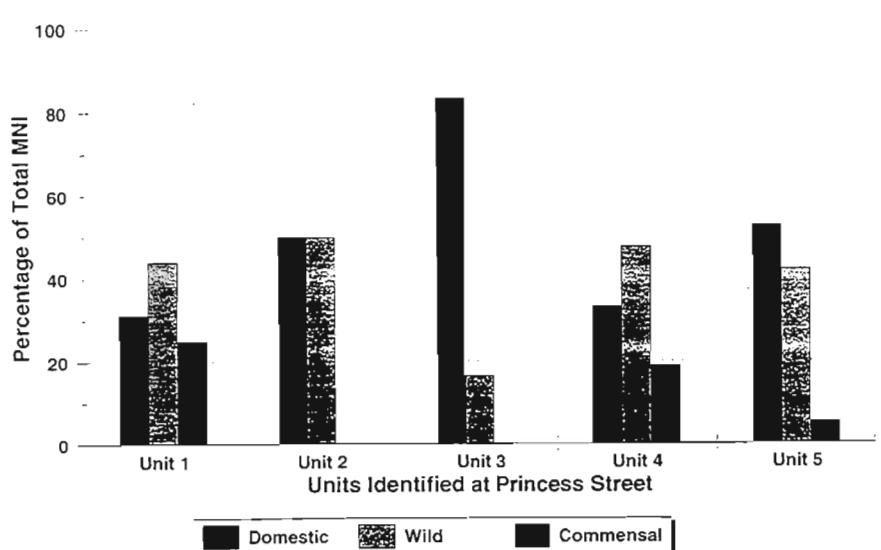


Figure 78. Percentage of domestic, wild, and commensal species for each unit.

In order to determine the relative importance of each mammal species within a unit,

may reflect the hotel use of the area and the possible desire by patrons for food diversity.

diversity. The pattern observed for Unit 2, an area associated with free persons of color, signifies that domestic and wild species were probably equally important.

Table 41 provides a more detailed list of MNI percentages of animal groups from Princess Street and other faunal collections. The categories used here are domestic mammals, domestic birds, wild mammals, wild birds, reptiles, fish, and commensals. The graph in Figure 79 allows for the comparisons of these MNI frequencies to be made in order to further investigate site use patterns. The data was sorted using the percentages calculated for the domestic mammal group.

One expected pattern is the nearly identical frequencies of each animal group from the General Charleston Pattern (GCP) and the

Table 41.
Comparison of the Princess Street faunal categories by MNI
percentages with various other faunal category patterns

Faunal Category	Prin St	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5	GCP	1780	Andrus	66 St	Lodge	Conv	Tav	BM
Domestic Mammals	31.94	25	40	50	23.8	36.84	31.4	43.8	69.4	36.8	36.4	34	36	42.3
Domestic Birds	12.5	6.25	10	0	9.52	15.8	14.8	6.3	11.1	15.8	15.9	22	15	9
Wild Mammals	9.72	18.75	10	0	4.76	10.53	8.4	3.1	2.8	21.1	9.1	10	10	15.4
Wild Birds	8.33	12.5	20	33.34	4.76	5.3	10.1	9.4	8.3	0	6.8	4	15	9
Reptiles	6.95	0	20	0	4.76	10.53	4.9	3.1	2.8	10.5	6.8	5	3.5	2.6
Fish	18.06	12.5	0	16.66	33.34	15.7	18.2	18.7	2.8	10.5	18.2	11	15	19.1
Commensals	12.5	25	0	0	19.06	5.3	12.2	15.6	2.8	5.3	6.8	14	5.5	2.6

Data for 1780 and Andrus (Nathaniel Russell House) Categories From Reitz and Weinand(1995)
Data for the General Charleston Pattern (GCP) and Beef Market (BM) from Reitz and Weinand (1995:Table 1)
Data for the Urban and Rural Patterns from Reitz (1988)
Data for 66 Society Street (66 St) from Frank 1988
Data for Lodge Alley (Lodge) from Reitz 1983
Data for Charleston Convention Center (Conv) from Honerkamp et al. 1982
Data for McCrady's Longroom and Tavern in Charleston(Tav) from Zierden et. al. 1983

Percentages were rounded up or down to equal 100

from the Princess Street excavation is representative. A familiar pattern is also observed in the Lodge Alley (Lodge), Charleston Convention Center (Conv) and the Unit 5 samples. Lodge Alley (Reitz 1983) and the Charleston Convention Center (Honerkamp et al. 1982) are both associated with lower-class residency in the Charleston area. The resemblance of Unit 5 with these collections is confusing unless there was a possible lower-class affinity for this area not seen in the artifact record. One explanation, of course,

is that the Unit 5 collection comes from an alley area perhaps used by the hotel's servants, resulting in considerable mixing of materials. The frequency of domestic mammals was lowest in Units 1 and 4 with wild animals and commensals representing over 60% of the samples. As mentioned earlier, this pattern may reflect the commercial use of these localities. Unit 3 sorted near two other middle to upper-class assemblages: Nathaniel Russell (1780) and the Andrus collection from the Russell House (Andrus). Although the Unit 3 sample does not contain the variety of animals observed in the other collections, a

possible middle-class affiliation is revealed in the large frequency of domestic mammals associated with the site. The pattern for Unit 2 indicates

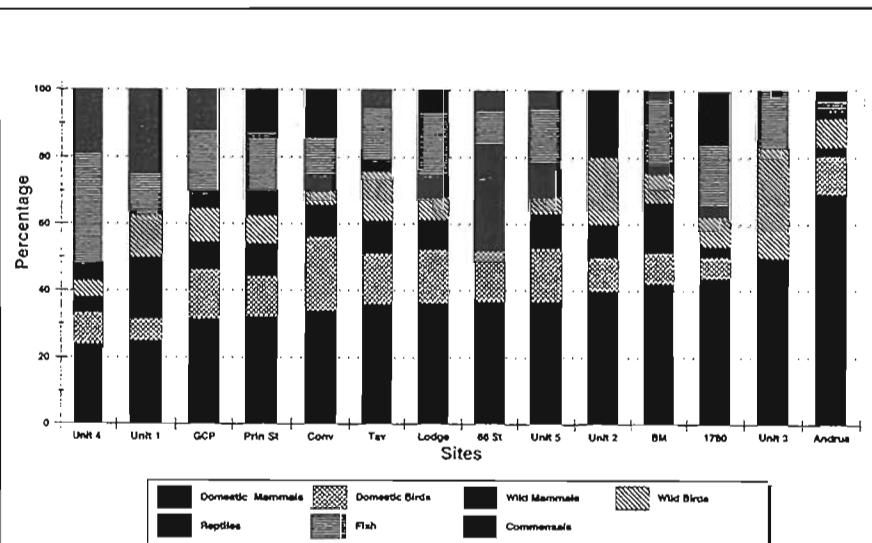


Figure 79. Percentage of animal groups from various sites.

combined data from Princess Street (Prin St). This similarity between the two sites indicates that as a whole, the faunal collection recovered

Table 42.
Percentages of cow elements from various sites

	HEAD	VERT	FORE 1/4	FOREFT	FOOT	HIND 1/4	HINDFT
Unit 1	0	82.5	10	0	0	7.5	0
Unit 2	23.5	29.4	0	5.9	5.9	35.3	0
Unit 3	4.3	47.8	13.04	0	8.7	26.1	0
Unit 4	15.7	50	2.8	4.3	5.7	10	11.4
Unit 5	5.3	53.7	5.3	4.2	7.4	17.9	8.3
Nathaniel Russell	1.3	0.03	36	34	5	13	10
66 Society Street	3.46	3.46	44.8	3.46	6.91	24.1	13.81
Lodge Alley	49.4	1.6	10.4	6	17	5.2	10.4
Charleston Convention Center	36.2	10.3	23.5	7	9.9	9.5	3.6
McCrady's Tavern	37.5	0	5	12.5	25	2.5	17.5
Standard Cow	25.8	28.6	3.2	5.7	24.2	6.8	5.7

See Table 41 for site references.

used and consequently this unit sorted close to the middle-class samples. This is not totally unexpected given the upwardly-mobile status of the inhabitants determined from the artifact analysis. One other pattern worthy of some discussion is the additionally large proportion of wild birds in the Unit 2 and 3 samples. Wild mammals, birds, reptiles and fish were probably sold in the Charleston markets, as the pattern seen in Units 1 and 4 demonstrate. Furthermore, studies have shown that deposits of high-status households have large percentages of domestic mammals but in addition they also have high ratios of wild animals as well, possibly reflecting the desire for these food items (Reitz 1987; Reitz and Weinand 1995).

Cuts of Meat

One important question addressed in this study is the determination of whether domestic meats were purchased or butchered on site. Meat purchased from a butcher shop can generally be identified in the faunal record by the presence of

two characteristics. First, there is usually a high percentage of skeletal elements from the body (vertebra, ribs, forequarter, and hindquarter) and fewer head and foot bones present. Second, a high percentage of skeletal elements would possess modifications indicative of sawing (Reitz and Weinand 1995). In order to pursue this investigation the individual skeletal elements (whole and fragmented) identified as cow, pig, or sheep were counted for each unit sample. The element frequencies observed in each unit are compared with available collections from the Charleston vicinity. The percentages computed for cow elements are given in Table 42 and Figure 80.

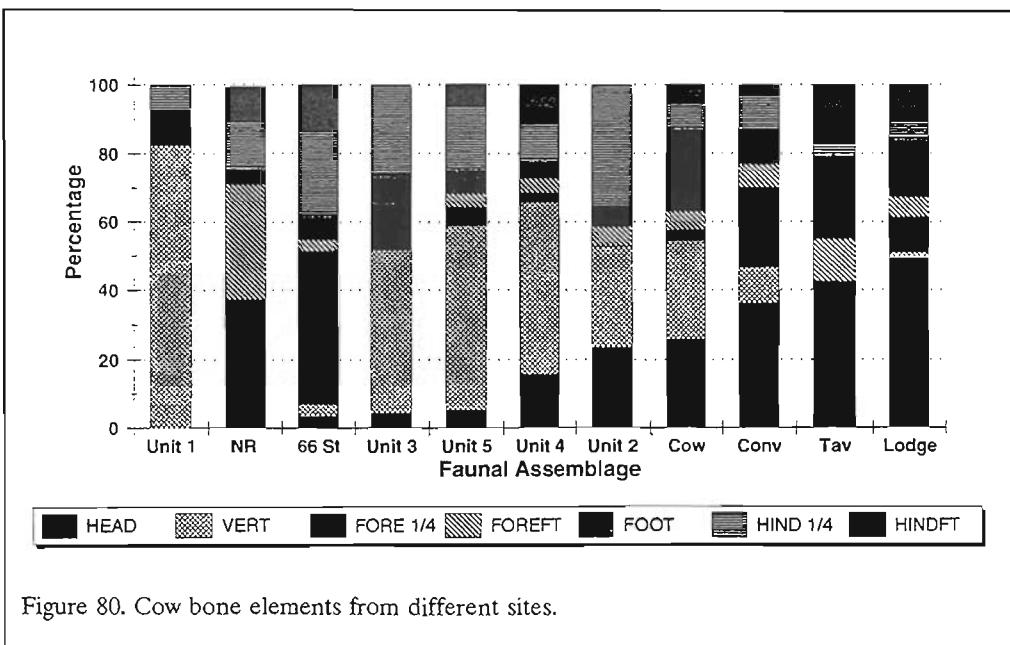


Figure 80. Cow bone elements from different sites.

Comparative information on cow elements was available for 66 Society Street (Frank 1988), the Charleston Convention Center (Honerkamp et al. 1982), McCrady's Tavern (Zierden et al. 1983), and the Nathaniel Russell House (Andrus Component) (Reitz and Weinand 1995: Table 20). This Andrus component dates from 1820-1870 (Reitz and Weinand 1995:156-157). Additionally, element percentages for the standard cow are also included (Reitz and Zierden 1991). From Table 42 it is evident that the body elements are represented more than the cranial and foot elements for the Princess Street samples. Units 2 and 4 have relatively high frequencies of cranial bones with

Table 43.
Percentage of pig elements from various sites

	HEAD	VERT	FORE 1/4	FOREFT	FOOT	HIND 1/4	HINDFT
Unit 1	35.75	35.75	0	7.1	0	21.4	0
Unit 2	46.7	6.7	20	0	6.7	19.9	0
Unit 3	18.7	43.8	12.5	0	0	12.5	12.5
Unit 4	9	22.7	4.5	13.7	18.2	13.7	18.2
Unit 5	22.9	20	11.4	2.8	0	22.9	20
Nathaniel Russell	10	0	30	0	0	40	20
66 Society Street	41.7	0	8.3	0	8.3	29.2	12.5
Lodge Alley	64.4	3.8	5.8	5.8	14.4	2	3.8
Charleston Convention Center	36.7	3.7	10.9	0	21.3	20	7.4
McCrary's Tavern	13.6	0	0	9.15	63.6	9.15	4.5

See Table 41 for site references.

Unit 4 having additionally high numbers of foot bones. This pattern for Unit 4 is not unexpected given its use in the commercial sector. However the total lack of cranial and foot elements associated with Unit 1 is confusing at best. The initial reaction is to explain this pattern as representative of a high-status residential area where meat was only purchased for consumption, or given the grocery/saloon affiliation of this unit, perhaps butchered beef was purchased for resale. However, given the information on animal groups (Table 41 and Figure 80) used in this area it seems quite reasonable that sample bias may be responsible. Addition bias may be seen in the number of cow elements identified. Unit 1 had 78 cow bones (Table 36) compared with 116 bones (Table 39) recovered from Unit 4.

Although the Princess Street Unit samples are too small to compare for significant differences, several observations are made at this time. The data for cow bone elements presented in Figure 80 are sorted by the presence of cranial elements. The sites with the highest percentage of

cranial and foot elements are Lodge Alley (Lodge), McCrary's Tavern (Tav), the Charleston Convention Center (Conv), and the standard cow. This end of the graph sorted predictably with the low-status sites grouping together. At the opposite end of the are the middle-class sites, along with Unit 1, 3, and 5. Each of these sites contained fewer cranial and foot elements and more body elements. The one exception is the Nathaniel Russell sample that contains only 49.03% body elements. Reitz and Weinand suggest that the pattern associated with the Andrus component may indicate some on-site butchering or that the pattern for high-status households characteristically

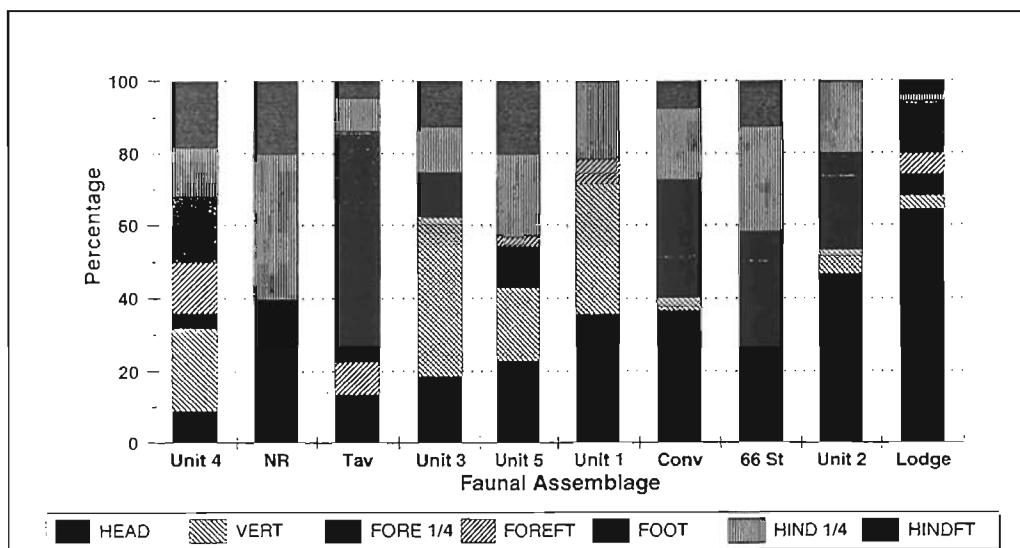


Figure 81. Pig bone elements from different sites.

contain large amounts of foot-bones (Reitz and Weinand 1995:158-159). For the Princess Street faunal samples, each contains large percentages (at least 62%) of body elements. The unusually high percentages of cranial elements associated with Units 2, 4 and the other sites, may indicate on-site butchering of cattle. On-site butchering has been suggested to be a more economical means of procuring meat than purchasing (Reitz and Weinand 1995: 158). Given that both units are identified with free persons of color, this pattern may reflect the poorer economic status of these occupants. The major difference between the two units is that the upwardly mobile Unit 2 affiliation contains more hindquarter parts,

Table 44.
Percentages of sheep elements from various sites

	HEAD	VERT	FORE 1/4	FOREFT	FOOT	HIND 1/4	HINDFT
Unit 1	66.7	0	0	0	0	33.3	0
Unit 2	0	40	0	0	20	40	0
Unit 3	3.8	57.7	11.5	3.8	0	23.2	0
Unit 4	25	25	0	0	25	25	0
Unit 5	21.4	21.4	0	0	14.3	35.7	7.2
Nathaniel Russell Lodge Alley	0	0	20	10	10	10	50
Lodge Alley	14.2	0	28.6	0	0	28.6	28.6

See Table 41 for site references.

a pattern similar to the middle-class collections.

The frequencies of pig and sheep bone elements were also compared. Unfortunately, the small sample size associated with these species and the lack of standard information on the number of bone elements for pig and sheep limit interpretations of the data. Table 43 and Figure 81 present the frequencies of

elements recovered for pig. Sorting the data by the percentage of cranial bones yielded some interesting patterns. Again, the collections tended to sort as middle-class and lower status. The exception was Unit 4 which contained few cranial bones but a high frequency of foot elements. Despite its sorting near lower-status collections, the high percentage of foot elements in Unit 4 supports the pattern for on-site butchering. The position of Unit 2 near lower-status collections when sorted by cranial remains also strengthens the idea of on-site butchering as an economical strategy for free people of color.

For sheep, the samples become even

smaller and comparative collections less available. The only pattern worth noting is the high percentage of body elements in all five units (Table 44). Sorting again by cranial elements, there is some continuation of a lower and middle-class grouping (Figure 82).

Bone Modifications

Each animal bone recovered from the Princess Street excavation was examined for the presence of bone modifications. Alterations were classified into one of the following categories: sawed, clean-cut, burned, chopped/hacked, gnawed, and worked. The results of this inventory are

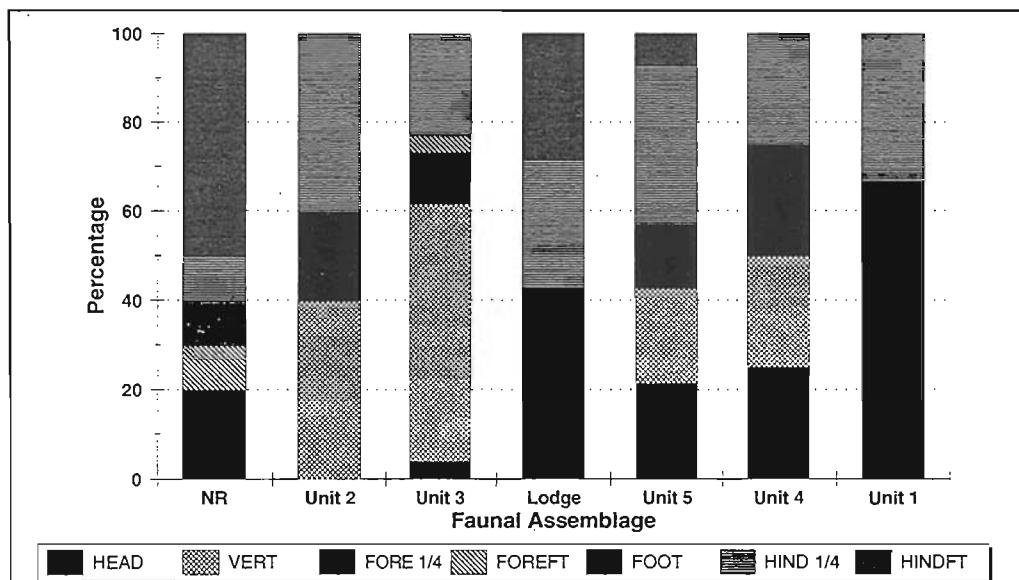


Figure 82. Sheep bone elements from different sites.

summarized in Table 45. Most of the bones with modifications had been sawed (82%) followed by burning (12.4%). Cow bones had the greatest frequency of alterations (67%) followed by pig (18.2%), unidentified mammal (14%) and sheep (0.8%). Two mammal bones showed signs of having been worked. Studies have indicated that high percentages of sawed bones have been associated with middle-class deposits and are thought to be consistent with purchasing meat elsewhere (Reitz 1990; Reitz and Weinand 1995). This pattern, for now, does not appear to hold for the Princess Street collection. Units 1 (33%), 4 (40 %), and 5 (20%) contained the largest total percentages of sawed bones observed in the

Table 45.
Number of animal bones with modifications observed in
the Princess Street units

	Sawed	Clean-Cut	Burned	Cut	Chopped/Hacked	Gnawed	Worked	Total
Unit 1								
Cow	27					1		28
Pig	5							5
Sheep	1							1
Unidentified Mammal				6				6
%	33							
Unit 2								
Cow	3							3
Pig	3							3
%	6							
Unit 3								
Cow	1							1
Pig								
Unidentified Mammal				3	1		1	4
%	1							
Unit 4								
Cow	32					1	2	35
Pig	7							7
Unidentified Mammal				6				6
%	40							
Unit 5								
Cow	14							14
Pig	6							6
Unidentified Mammal							1	1
%	20							
TOTAL	99	0	15	1	1	3	2	121

collection. Unit 3 (1 %), associated with a middle-class residence, had the smallest percentage of sawed elements. Additionally, Unit 2 contained a relatively small percentage of sawed bones (6% of the total) supporting the previous interpretations suggesting on-site butchering.

Conclusions

The faunal collection from Princess Street faunal collection is dominated by domestic species, specifically cow, pig, sheep, and chicken. These domestic fauna were supplemented by wild animal species that were either commensal to habitation at the site and/or exploited from the surrounding environments. A variety of nearby ecosystems were readily exploited including, forest, estuarine, and marine, providing deer, raccoon, rabbit, turkey, duck, turtle, and fish resources. The entire faunal collection recovered from the Princess Street excavation is almost identical to the General Charleston Pattern (see Figure 79) observed by Zierden and Hacker (1987). Comparative analysis of the individual unit faunal assemblages from the site led to some interesting findings. An inventory of the faunal remains (Tables 36-40) for each of the five units was completed and comparisons were made between these and other sites where a use-pattern had been established. This analysis indicated a possible middle-class status for Units 2, 3, and 5 supporting the use-pattern determined previously from artifact analysis. These three units were similar in their

reliance on domestic animals and additionally in Units 2 and 3 wild birds. Units 2 and 5 however contained more varieties of wild fauna than Unit 3, possibly reflecting the a "lower" middle class status. Interestingly, the patterns observed for Unit 5 and McCrady's Tavern were very similar (Figure 79) suggesting that although both businesses may have catered to a middle-class clientel, there is evidence for activity associated with lower status individuals. Units 1 and 4 contained more wild species than domestic, possibly reflecting the commercial use of the areas, or in the case of Unit 4, a residential area associated with lower-class free people of color.

Cuts of meat of the domestic mammals (cow, pig, and sheep) were then compared between the units and other sites. The purpose of this analysis was to determine whether domestic animals were purchased or butchered on site. Typically higher status households would have the means to purchase meat while lower status households would make use of the more economical on-site butchering. Two factors are usually associated with on-site butchering. The first is a high percentage of cranial and foot bones in the collection. The second characteristic of on-site butchering is a low percentage of sawed bones. The comparisons of meat cuts (Figures 80, 81, and 82) indicated that Units 2 and 4, both associated with free persons of color, contained either high frequencies of cranial elements (Unit 2) or foot bones (Unit 4). This pattern suggests that these areas may have used for on-site butchering. Interestingly, when the percentages of body elements are compared between these two units, Unit 2 has a greater frequency of meaty cuts. This pattern may reflect the upward mobility of these individuals as suggested by the artifacts. Additional information was provided by a count of modified bones. Unit 2 contained only 6% of the total percentage of sawed bones observed at the site. This supports the pattern of on-site butchering previously established for this unit. Interestingly, Unit 4 contained the largest percentage of sawed bones (40%). One explanation for this may be the use of the area for butchering animals for sale elsewhere. This would

fit the dual function residential/commercial use of the area.

Unit 1 is interesting in that it contained no cranial or foot bones from cow, but relatively high percentages of both from pig and sheep, and 33% of the total number of sawed bones came from this unit. This pattern is difficult to interpret but could reflect the grocery/saloon context of the area, where meats could have been both purchased and butchered for customer trade.

With the exception of cow elements, Unit 5 contained cuts of meats where proportionately more head and foot bones were present. This pattern coupled with a relatively high percentage of sawed bones (20 % of the total) creates a pattern similar to the one observed in Unit 1.

The meat cuts in Unit 3 resembled those associated with middle-class status, further supporting the artifact interpretation of the area. Sawed bones, however, were not highly represented (1 % of the total) which was totally unexpected.

The conclusions drawn from the Princess Street faunal analysis are preliminary at best. No individual unit contained the number of bones or MNI suggested by several researchers (Casteel 1978; Grayson 1979; Wing and Brown 1979) needed for reliable use of the methods used in this study. Additional analysis of larger more representative faunal samples associated with different use-patterns are necessary to better understand and interpret the Princess Street collection. Hopefully, the interpretations presented to this study will be useful in further investigations of urban use-patterns.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It is fortunate that the Saks project area received this archaeological and historical survey since the research offered a glimpse of Charleston's "other side," helping to explore the working class and poorer residents of the city. While much of the research in Charleston has focused on the wealthy and elite, this project offered an opportunity to expand that research base and incorporate a new range of data. It is, of course, unfortunate that the work was so modest. The 125 square feet of excavations might have been enough to sample a single lot, but it was probably not enough to explore the tremendous diversity found in the project area. Nevertheless, this was the level of effort possible given the late introduction of archaeological research into the project's development and an effort was made to make the best possible use of the time and funds present.

If this research stimulates further interest in the "other" side of Charleston and reveals the wealth of archaeological data and research possible then it will have been a success. If, at the same time, it points out that archaeology must be integrated into projects earlier than its success will be compounded. There is much to be learned about the range of activities which took place in Charleston. We are only beginning to understand the variability and complexity. Studies such as this, we hope, will point out some future directions and offer a foundation on which additional research can be built.

The Lot at 40 Archdale Street

The late antebellum standing structure at 40 Archdale Street has been used as a grocery, saloon, and pool hall for much of its late nineteenth and early twentieth century history. The goal of archaeological research in this location was to explore the evidence of these activities and learn more about the lifeways of the lower status blacks and prostitutes which seem historically to be

associated with the surrounding lots. More specific questions were raised concerning the artifact pattern which might be present, the trash disposal pattern present, and the presence of auxiliary buildings.

The excavation of Unit 1 on this lot, perhaps better than any other unit, reveals the potential frustration of archaeological research. With only one opportunity to obtain a sample of data sufficient to address the proposed research questions, the unit was found to totally within a collapsed, and filled, cistern. Although the mean ceramic date suggests that the debris filling the cistern date from the early nineteenth century, there is clear evidence that the filling was actually done during the early twentieth century. Consequently, the fill of cistern cannot be firmly associated with any one lot or cultural activity. In other words, this was close to the worst possible location in which to locate a unit to address the proposed research questions.

While it can't be proven, the artifacts suggest that they were derived from trash associated with this lot. Overall the artifact pattern resembles that of other dual-function sites in Charleston, where the upper floors are residential and the lowest floor is commercial. In addition, some artifacts clearly reflect the historic use of the property. The fragments of billiard table slate, for example, document the use of the area. Fully 25% of the Activities Group Artifacts are marbles, traditionally used in gaming. The unit also revealed a relatively high proportion of tableglass — 1.39% of the total assemblage — which almost certainly is associated with the building's use as a saloon. The artifact pattern revealed seemingly high proportions of clothing items, composed almost entirely of easily lost buttons, personal items, primarily coins, and furniture items, represented by a range typical of domestic sites.

The site exhibits the lowest ceramic index

found on the block — 1.37. This is supported by the dominance of annular and edged wares in the assemblage. Curiously, the assemblage has a relatively high proportion of porcelains, seemingly inflated by the introduction of late white porcelains. Clearly both those using the commercial floor and those renting the space above were unaccustomed to high status ceramics. Although the motifs were modest, reflecting less expensive and simpler tastes, the bulk of the collection represents flatwares, documenting dietary patterns not unlike the wealthier members of the community.

Relatively little can be said concerning trash disposal practices since the excavation unit focused on an intentionally filled cistern. No yard or sheet midden deposits were encountered, although the deposits in the cistern seem to imply that such deposits were tapped.

The faunal assemblage must be viewed with caution, not only because of its context, but also because of its small size. However, it is interesting that the collection produced no low status cranial or foot cuts of cow, although such cuts of pig and sheep were present. Equally interesting was the relatively large quantity of sawn, as opposed to chopped, bones present in the collection. One explanation, of course, is that the collection includes both on-site butchered meats as well as meats purchased for re-sale to the local community. The prevalence of pig over beef may represent cultural or economic forces.

Finally, although the only feature encountered in the excavation was the cistern, its presence does signal that water collection and storage was a major concern on the lot. As at other urban sites, this documents the constant problem urban residents had with their water supply. Wells were quickly polluted by privies as the density of the city grew. By the late nineteenth century cisterns, accompanied by their often elaborate piping systems, provided the only moderately secure water source.

Four cisterns were identified in the 1981 Charleston Place excavations (Zierden and Hacker 1987:Table 19) and another two were recorded during the 1985 work (Zierden and Hacker 1987:Table 27). All but one appear to have been

filled during the early twentieth century, like the one identified at 40 Archdale Street. Where it was possible to discern intentional fill from gradual accumulation, Zierden and Hacker remark that these cisterns were apparently kept clean and the fill was virtually sterile (Zierden and Hacker 1987:111). As municipal water supplies became available cisterns were abandoned, usually without being filled. It seems likely that the one at 40 Archdale Street was either intentionally or accidentally breached and then filled to establish a level and safe surface.

The Areas of 163 Market and 16-18 Princess Streets

The house and lot at 163 Market Street is known to have been rented to free persons of color during the antebellum and to have continued into the late nineteenth century as a rental unit used by black laborers. The 16-18 Princess Street location was similarly used by free persons of color and later black laborers, although here there was also some commercial activities. Investigations at these two lots were to focus on the lifeways of this previously unexplored class of people. It was hoped that temporally distinct features or zones could be found and isolated which would allow the comparison of antebellum and postbellum populations. Even if this was not possible, however, we suggested that it would still be important to establish a data base for these largely unknown Charleston citizens.

The excavations could perhaps compare the assemblage of free persons of color to middle class whites and slave populations. In addition to the exploration of artifact patterns, it was suggested that diet and housing might also be distinctive, helping to better establish the place of the free black in Charleston society before the Civil War. Finally, it was suggested that the trash disposal practices at these site might be unique and that evidence of commercial activities might be present (especially at the Princess Street site).

These questions were framed with the presumption that the free black assemblages would be relatively impoverished. Such was not found to be the case. Further, it was hoped that the excavations in each area would be sufficient to obtain trustworthy samples clearly tied to the

individual lot and perhaps even offering temporal distinctions. Unfortunately, these conditions were only partially met in the study.

Unit 2 offers the best overall understanding of the free persons of color who lived on the project block. The artifact pattern is strikingly similar to the townhouse pattern typically associated with the more elite groups in Charleston. The only real difference is that the arms and tobacco artifacts are less common at 163 Market Street than in the townhouse pattern. This finding alone suggests that the free persons of color were not especially impoverished and, in fact, may have been intentionally working to integrate themselves into mainstream Charleston society.

Looking at the ceramics, Miller's ceramic index varies from 1.58 to 1.76. These are roughly comparable to the index found at the Victoria Hotel. While not as high as the white middle class family studied in this research, these values are considerably higher than seen at the saloon. This suggests that the residents were gradually acquiring better and finer ceramics — a view supported by other lines of evidence as well. For example, the collection reveals a clear preference for the higher status painted and printed wares, which comprise over 43% of the collection. In comparison, the lower status edged and annular wares account for less than 17% of the assemblage.

The collection from Unit 2 reveals a relatively proportion of tableglass in the kitchen assemblage, as well as a high porcelain and transfer printed ware percentage. The clothing, personal, and furniture items, all taken as indicative of wealth, fall into a mid-range.

Only when the proportion of plates to bowls is explored does the collection hint at its possible lower status or African-American association. Unit 2 is the only excavation where bowls comprise a majority of the assemblage. This suggests that the dietary pattern still emphasized one-pot meals. But the collection also reveals that this pattern was changing over time. Plate forms increase over time from about 29% of the assemblage to as high as 65%. This has been taken as an indication that the free persons of color were working to integrate themselves into Charleston society.

Unit 4 offers a somewhat different view. The artifact pattern, rather than resembling that of Charleston's townhouses, is characteristic of dual-function sites. This is almost certainly the result of craft and commercial activities which took place in and around the structures on Princess Street. The assemblage is not at all similar to those found in alleyways in Charleston, nor is it similar to either rural slavery along the Carolina coast or urban slavery as seen at the Owens-Thomas House in Savannah, Georgia. There is no evidence of extraordinary poverty and this, perhaps more than any other feature, unites the collections from Units 2 and 4. Although the patterns are different, they are similar in helping to dispel our idea that free persons of color would exhibit marginal or impoverished assemblages.

The Princess Street collection reveals that the edged and annual wares are found in about the same amounts as the painted and printed wares. The ceramic index is 1.62 — considerably higher than the saloon and in the mid-range of that found in the Market Street excavations. There are, however, some indications that those living on Princess Street were less affluent than their Market Street neighbors. Unit 4 reveals what might best be described as a moderate to low proportion of tableglass, as well as a somewhat lower proportion of clothing, personal, and furniture related items.

Turning to the small faunal collections available for study, both units produced either high frequencies of cranial or foot bones, a pattern suggestive of on-site butchering. This is further supported, at 163 Market Street, by the high incidence of chopped bones. The very high quantity of sawn bones at 16-18 Princess Street is probably a further indication of the dual-function of this particular location.

Unit 2, from 163 Market Street, has a significantly higher proportion of meaty cuts, likely indicative of the more upwardly mobile nature of the individuals at this site. The faunal study clearly suggested a relatively middling status for the free persons of color at 163 Market Street.

Taken together, these two collections may help reveal the range in variation expected among free persons of color and, later, among black laborers. It appears, however, that the Unit 2

collection may represent the better assemblage, while Unit 4 has been to some degree influenced by the range of commercial activities which took place in this area of the block.

Other research goals were less satisfactorily met. For example, the single units excavated in the two lots fail to identify any distinctive refuse disposal practices. Nor did the excavations offer any particularly useful insights to the architecture of free persons of color. We found that the heavy corrosion of nails made architectural reconstructions difficult or impossible. Unit 4 did produce an architectural feature, with evidence of repair, this fails to offer the quantity of data necessary to address the proposed research questions. Clearly considerably more research at the lots would have been required.

The Area of 38 Archdale Street

The house at this location was owned by a long-established white, middle-class family and there is some evidence that this pattern extends into the antebellum period. The goal of research at this lot was to expand the existing Charleston at middle-class sites, although it was also hoped that this lot might serve as a marker, or standard of comparison, for the other areas investigated, helping to place them in a broader framework of status and wealth.

Previous Charleston research has begun to develop an understanding of middle-class sites and the work at 38 Archdale offers an opportunity to expand on that previous research. In addition, we believed that it offered an opportunity to better understand how a fringe area might affect the archaeological assemblage. Sandwiched between an area of dual-function sites (on King Street) and areas of lower socio-economic status (on Market and Princess streets), it seemed possible that the middle class here might be recognizably different than the middle class previously explored in Charleston.

Beyond this, the research questions posed also explored the possibility of identifying the Aimer family's influence on the lot, since this was one of relatively few sites owned by a family with a strong occupational orientation. We were also interested in exploring the possibility of identifying

support structures which were thought to be present on the lot, as well as better understanding the organization of the lot and the deposition of refuse. Finally, questions were posed of the diet of the lot's occupants, with a particular interest in exploring the diversity of the diet and comparing it with that found at the sites of free persons of color.

Many of these research goals could not be met by the level of research which was eventually conducted. For example, a single unit cannot hope to address questions of lot organization or refuse disposal practices. Nor can it be used to help distinguish between the refuse which might be associated with the family and that which might have been contributed by any African-American slaves which lived on the property. Here, like elsewhere on the block, the research questions were scaled back to address the more fundamental questions of pattern and process.

One of the most revealing findings was that the artifact pattern at 38 Archdale Street was similar to that found at 66 Society Street and other middle-class occupations in Charleston. Zierden and her colleagues have suggested that a low architectural and high kitchen pattern found at 66 Society was the result of the building being extant and contributing relatively little refuse to the assemblage. Curiously, this same ratio of kitchen and architecture items is found in Unit 3, where the structure was demolished a number of years ago. This finding suggests that the relatively low proportion of architectural items compared to kitchen artifacts may be integral to the pattern. Although there is not yet enough data to offer an explanation, it seems appropriate that this topic continue to be explored. Regardless, there does seem to be a fairly consistent middle-class pattern emerging in the Charleston studies.

This area produced the highest ceramic index, offering additional evidence that however integrated free persons of color were into Charleston society there was still a wide gulf between the races. Plates dominate the collection and the proportion of bowls is the lowest on the block. Printed and painted wares account for almost 49% of the assemblage. While the annular and edged wares account for less than 35% of the ceramics, this is still more than might be expected.

This perhaps suggests a moderating influence of lower status ceramics contributed by slaves or renters on the property. In a similar manner it seems that tableglass is relatively uncommon in the collection, although other aspects of the assemblage are more consistent with the lot's middle class residents. The proportion of clothing, personal, and furniture items is moderate, while porcelains and printed wares are very common.

The Area at the Rear of the Victoria Hotel

This was an area of much activity over the past two centuries. Situated "behind" a hotel which catered to the working or business class traveler, the rear areas were used for support structures, kitchens, privies, stables, and access. The area would have been used by the hotel's staff, but would have incorporated a range of debris generated by the hotel's patrons. A range of research questions were devised, ranging from how the artifact pattern might compare to other dual-function and middle-class sites to the spatial organization of the site to the exploration of the dietary pattern present at a hotel site. As might be imagined, our ability to explore only 25 square feet limits the applicability of many questions. The one which is most appropriate continues to focus on the artifact pattern and what this assemblage may be able to tell us about the patrons of the hotel.

Unit 5 produced a collection whose pattern resembles that of Lodge Alley, but is nevertheless closest to the pattern reported for the middle class site of 66 Society Street. Some of the differences are readily understandable. For example, the lower than anticipated number of personal artifacts perhaps reflects the anonymity of hotel life. The very low proportion of arms items is likely explained by boarders not needing to bring guns with them and the absence of fresh wild game on the hotel's table. The larger than anticipated quantity of clothing remains is best explained by the large number of individuals passing through the hotel and losing clothing items.

The ceramic index for the unit was 1.71 — about that of the free persons of color. This "middle range" of ceramic status seems to be supported by the quantity of annular and edged wares, which are more common than the more costly printed or painted wares. The hotel

assemblage also exhibited the lowest percentage of teawares (3.2% compared to 11 to 14% at the other sites). These findings suggest that business travelers were not particularly concerned with the tablewares present for meals or that fine teawares were present.

No utilitarian wares were found in the one collection. Whether this is simply a bias in sampling, or whether it reflects a subtle difference in storage and food preparation is currently not known. The hotel assemblage, however, did exhibit a high proportion of tableglass, likely an indication of the number of people being served (somewhat akin to the situation found at 40 Archdale Street).

As previously mentioned, one of the few assemblages available for comparison with the Victoria Hotel collection is that derived from Feature 124 at Charleston Place (Zierden and Hacker 1987:36, 243). Feature 124 was obtained from a privy associated with the Waverly Hotel, which was operated from 1838 to 1903. The materials, however, suggest that the privy was filled and abandoned in the 1850s — only about 15 years later than the collection associated with the Victoria Hotel. Curiously, the two assemblages show far more differences than similarities.

In fact, one of the few similarities is that both exhibit a relatively high percentage of tableglass in the kitchen group. Otherwise, the Waverly assemblage is dominated by plain wares followed by transfer printed specimens. Very few annular or edged wares were present. Teawares account for 23.2% of the Waverly collection and utilitarian vessels account for an additional 14.5%.

It is unknown whether these differences are the result of sample bias in one or both of the collections, are associated with the depositional context, or are perhaps even temporally related. It is clearly inappropriate to place too much emphasis on either a single 5-foot screened unit or a single unscreened privy feature. Clearly additional investigations are essential.

Comparison with Charleston Place

Since the Charleston Place block is only a few hundred yards away it seems appropriate to compare at least briefly the results of that work

(Honerkamp et al. 1982; Zierden and Hacker 1987) with the investigations at the Saks site. Given the extraordinary differences in intensity such comparisons must be guarded, but still offer some interesting observations.

The Charleston Place work is one of the few Charleston projects where Miller's indices have been used to suggest the status of ceramic collections. Zierden and Hacker (1987:Table 32) find indices ranging from a low of 1.54 to a high of 3.29. They note that the diversity is difficult to interpret since there was little information available concerning the owners of individual lots, but the results suggest "the Charleston Place population was not nearly as homogenous as previously suggested" (Zierden and Hacker 1987:101). They suggest that the absence of tremendous variation supports a middle-class status, although the range is sufficient to reflect the variation in income and occupation anticipated for the block.

The investigations on the Saks block exhibit a range from 1.37 to 2.08, less than found at Charleston Place. Yet, the same conclusions appear reasonable — the indices seem to reflect a generally middle status, although there are clear (and logical) differences. It seems that Charleston Place was perhaps overall occupied by wealthier individuals — consistent with our understanding of the Saks block representing the "other side" of Charleston.

Zierden and Hacker (1987:110) comment that their orientation was to explore the block as a cohesive "neighborhood" rather than as a number of independent sites. This was done at least partially out of necessity, since they too suffered under a less than ideal data recovery plan. Such an approach, however, is supported by the shared space and the cohesive nature of the inhabitants "in terms of ethnicity and socioeconomic status" (Zierden and Hacker 1987:110). Such an approach might be less appropriate on the Saks block, since there seems to be greater diversity and less cohesiveness at the level of socioeconomic status. Regardless, just as the realities of their research design affected the ability of Zierden and Hacker to examine their data by lots, so does the reality of single units in only five areas limit our ability to

speak of a "neighborhood."

Nevertheless, there are many similarities. Although we see no evidence of filling lowlying areas, a trait common to Charleston Place, there is at least historical documentation for the gradual encroachment into the interior of the block. While main structures typically fronted the street, the interior portions of the lots quickly became filled with support structures and, in some cases, additional tenements. A major difference between the Charleston Place block and the Saks block is that the former was dominated by commercial activities, while the later was dominated by the residences of typically poorer elements of the city. Only along King Street and portions of Princess Street did commercial activities dominate.

Although the nature of the Charleston Place study did not permit the calculation of artifact densities, Zierden and Hacker (1987:111-112) do not that refuse disposal was a major research issue. They observe that the urban environment required that refuse be deposited in virtually every available space. While low areas were first used, later refuse was recycled into large subsurface features and eventually was moved off-site. From the initial backhoe excavations at Charleston Place Honerkamp et al. (1982:Table 7-1) calculate artifact density based on artifacts per square meter. Unfortunately, these are not comparable to the Saks study since not selected proveniences from Charleston Place were screened.¹

Elsewhere Zierden and Grimes (1989:85-86) note that refuse density varies by site type. Suburban sites adjacent to open water have relatively low artifact densities, ranging from about 10.7 to 13.2 artifacts per cubic foot, presumably because trash was thrown into the marsh. Those

¹ When the Charleston Place figures are translated from density per square meters to density per square foot, the range is 0.8 to 14.6 artifacts. On the Saks block the density ranged from 41.2 to 139.3 artifacts per square foot, clearly revealing the bias caused by selective screening. It is inappropriate to compare the density of the two collections considering the dramatic differences in methodology.

sites further removed from lowlying areas have a greater density, ranging from 14.9 to 25.1 artifacts per cubic foot. Zierden and Grimes observe that the highest artifact densities, ranging from 44.9 to 55.3 artifacts per cubic foot, are found on "sites that were vacant, public spaces in the eighteenth century" (Zierden and Grimes 1989:86). These data, collected from carefully screened proveniences, can be compared to the Saks block, where artifact density ranged from a low of 34.3 artifacts per cubic foot to a high of 108.7 artifacts per cubic foot. These densities tend to support Zierden's account of heavy refuse disposal in open areas just outside of the town limits during the eighteenth century. This disposal practice also accounts for the occasional early materials incorporated into the collection.

Conclusions

The investigations on the Saks block have provided a seemingly rare glimpse of life on the "other side" of Charleston, exploring two lots used by free persons of color and, later, black laborers. It also examined a lot associated with one of the many "groceries" present in this part of the city where gaming and drinking were more common activities than purchasing bread or squeezing ripe fruit. Also explored was a hotel which catered to a business clientele, as well as the lot associated with white middle-class owners. A wide range of information was documented from these various excavation units which provides a block of comparative data for future Charleston research.

In many ways the data produced few surprises. Charleston has been the focus of much urban archaeological research and there is a vast storehouse of previous research. The white middle-class was easily recognizable. Evidence was found of "dual-function" sites. The business class hotel meet at least some of our expectations. Perhaps the only real surprise was that the structure associated with free persons of color exhibited an artifact assemblage which was far from impoverished and which, instead, suggests these citizens were striving to become integrated members of the Charleston community. There is even a hint of evidence that foodways were gradually changing as they moved away from one-pot meals to the European tradition of multiple courses. The faunal analysis suggests a middling

status pattern at 163 Market Street. In addition to the presence of domestic animals, the collection at this site suggests that wild birds formed about the same proportion of the diet as found at the middle class white household (38 Archdale Street).

The signs of poverty which we might expect to see associated with free persons of color, the black laboring class, and even prostitutes, simply was not convincingly encountered.

Beyond the information provided on the lifeways of Charleston's nineteenth century inhabitants, this study again documents the need for archaeological investigations to be integrated much earlier in the planning process. There was much this block might tell us, and this potential was only partially realized by the data recovery plan. There are increasingly few such opportunities in Charleston and loses become increasingly more critical. If archaeology and its potential to help explore the past are important then it is essential that they be given realistic opportunities to make a difference. Otherwise, Charleston may sum up yet another tragedy of the South as it rushes into the future forgetting its past.

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