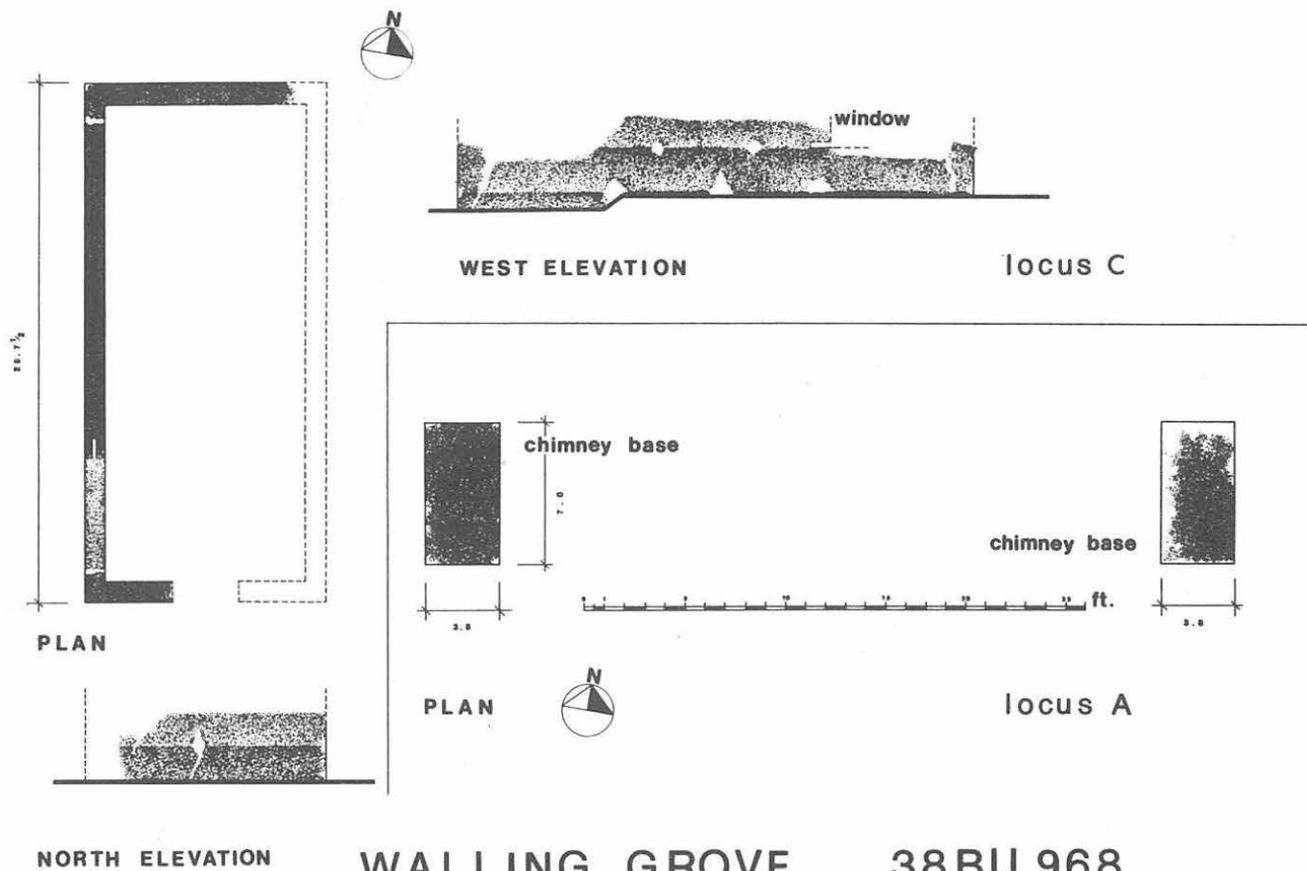


AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF PHASE I OF THE WALLING GROVE PLANTATION DEVELOPMENT, LADYS ISLAND, BEAUFORT, SOUTH CAROLINA



WALLING GROVE 38BU 968

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF PHASE I OF THE WALLING GROVE
PLANTATION DEVELOPMENT, LADYS ISLAND,
BEAUFORT COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

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What do I think ob slavery? I think slavery
is just a murdering of de people.

-- Sam Mitchell
Stories from Slavery
Beaufort, South Carolina

ABSTRACT

This study represents a preliminary historical and intensive archaeological survey of the 37.5 acre Phase I portion of the Walling Grove Plantation development, situated on the north end of Ladys Island at the confluence of Broomfield Creek and the Coosaw River. The primary purpose of this investigation was to identify and assess the archaeological remains present in the proposed development, although secondary goals were to examine the relationship between aboriginal and historic settlement patterns and soil types and to explore the economic activity associated with what appeared to be a small, but successful, antebellum plantation, known as St. Queuntens.

As a result of this work three archaeological sites were identified, primarily through the use of systematic shovel tests along the property's boundaries with waterways and transects placed into the interior of the tract. Data on potential high probability areas, useful for future archaeological surveys, is generated by this study and the historical findings are compared to the very limited previous research on nearby plantations.

Of the identified archaeological sites, one is a historic plantation and two are aboriginal sites. The historic site, 38BU968, represents the late eighteenth through mid-nineteenth century St. Queuntens Plantation. This site minimally contains remains of the main house, a probable kitchen, several utility buildings constructed of tabby, and a slave row. The site is recommended as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. The preferred alternative is avoidance of the site through green spacing or preservation easements. If this is not possible, data recovery is possible. The prehistoric sites, 38BU969 and 38BU970, which date from the Early through Middle Woodland periods, appear to represent small camp sites with very sparse cultural remains. These sites do not appear to be eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places and no additional archaeological investigations are recommended.

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The staffs of the Thomas Cooper Map Repository, the South Caroliniana Library, and the Search Room at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History were particularly helpful in providing copies of documents on very short notice. Without their assistance the preliminary historical research conducted for this study would have required more time and would not be as complete as it is.

I also wish to acknowledge the skill and dedication of Mona Grunden and Debi Hacker, who participated in the field work and laboratory processing, and our architectural consultant, Colin Brooker. Obviously, much of this work should be credited to these individuals.

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INTRODUCTION

Background

In accordance with with the Coastal Zone Management Act of 1977, the South Carolina Coastal Council, in consultation with the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Officer, stipulated in its permitting process that an archaeological survey of the Walling Grove development tract should be conducted by the Walling Grove Development Company. The purpose of the survey was to identify Geographic Areas of Particular Concern (GAPC) listed on, eligible for, or potentially eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.

This investigation was conducted by Dr. Michael Trinkley of Chicora Foundation, Inc. for Walling Grove Development Company, Inc. (Bill Pierce, principal), developer of the 390 acre Walling Grove tract. This property is situated about 4.2 miles northeast of Beaufort and about 1.5 miles west from the small community of Wilkens on Ladys Island. The tract is bounded to the north by the Coosaw River, to the east by a parcel not owned by the developers, to the south by Brickyard Point Road (S-72), and to the west by Broomfield (or Johnsons) Creek (Figure 1). Bisecting this tract, north-south, is a dirt access road.

The proposed development plan calls for approximately 18,500 linear feet of road construction and the creation of over 150 lots. The proposed roads will require clearing, grubbing, filling, and paving. The development will also require the placement of water lines, storm drainage, and other utilities. Current plans involve the construction of a new dock into the Coosaw River and long-range plans may involve a small marina. The development of the lots will result in considerable land alteration and potential damage to archaeological and historical resources which may exist in the project area.

Within the development boundaries are two tracts slated for immediate development. One area, termed the north tract, includes 14 planned lots, as well as two standing structures from the 1950s, and involves about 18 acres. The second area, termed the west tract, includes 20 planned lots and incorporates about 19.5 acres. Combined, these two tracts account for approximately 9.6% of the total development (or 12.6% of the highland area) and 33% (or 3400 linear feet) of the total water frontage. This current study involves historical and archaeological investigations only of these two areas, termed the Phase I development, and not the entire Walling Grove Plantation.

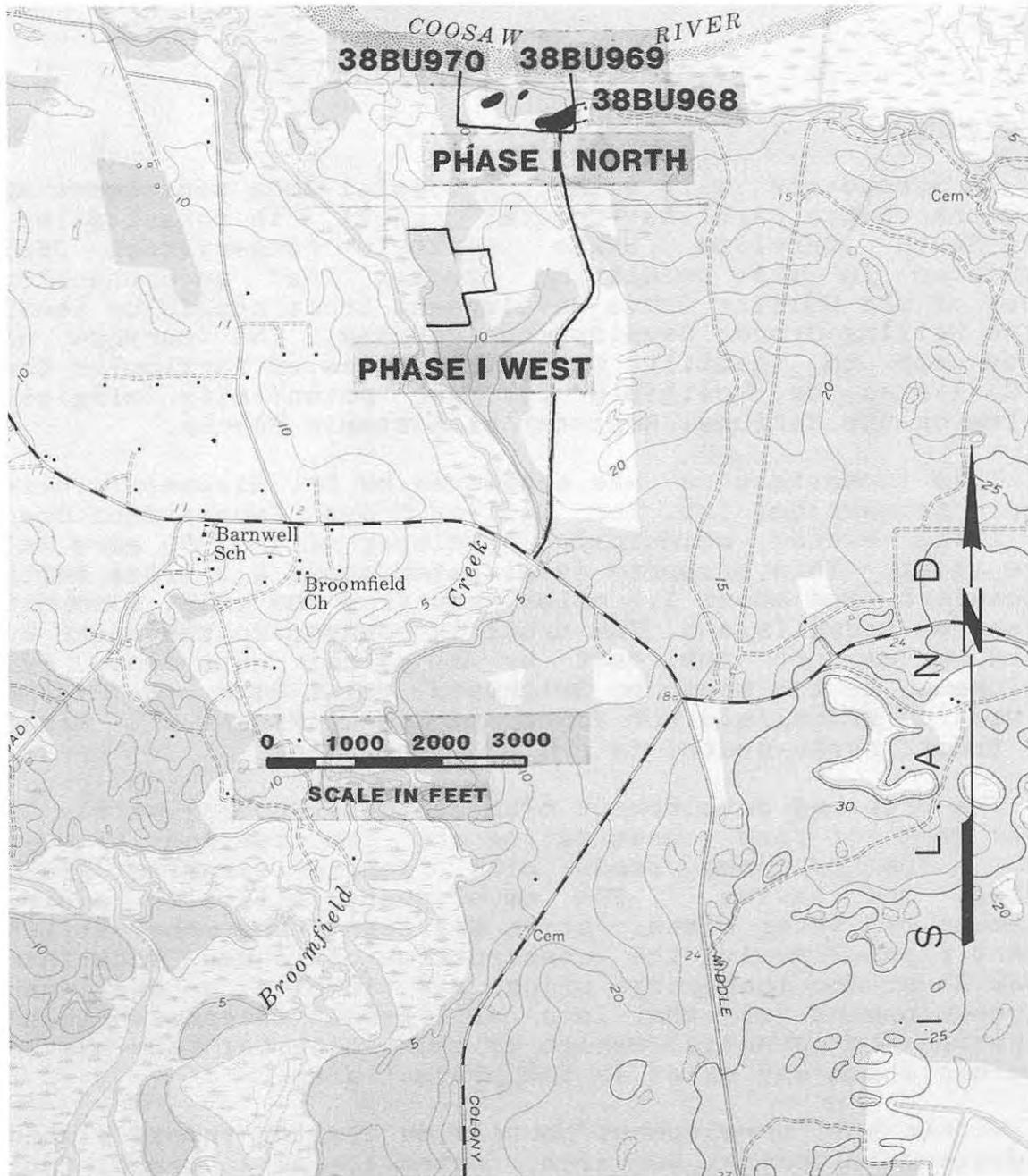


Figure 1. A portion of the Beaufort USGS topographic map showing the Walling Grove Plantation development.

The decision to examine only the first phase of the project was based on an immediate need to proceed with development activities and was approved by the South Carolina Coastal Council. As additional portions of the Walling Grove Plantation development are advanced, further investigations will be necessary.

The background and archival research for this project was conducted on May 9 through 11, the field work was conducted on May 12 through 15, and the report preparation (including the necessary laboratory studies) was conducted on May 18 through 20, 1989. A management summary was provided on May 17, 1989, with three sites, 38BU968, 38BU969, and 38BU970, identified on the north tract and no sites identified on the west tract. A total of 32 person hours were devoted to the archival research (not including the work conducted by Title Abstract Services of Beaufort), while 40 person hours were devoted to the field survey. Conservation of the archaeological specimens is currently in process at the Chicora Foundation laboratory in Columbia.

Goals

The primary goals of this study were, first, to identify the archaeological resources of the Phase I development tracts and, second, to assess the ability of these sites to contribute significant archaeological, historical, or anthropological data. The second aspect essentially involves the site's eligibility for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places, although Chicora Foundation only provides an opinion of National Register eligibility and the final determination is made by the lead compliance agency in consultation with the State Historic Preservation Officer at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History. The secondary goals were, first, to examine the relationship between site location, soil type, and topography, expanding the previous work by Brooks and Scurry (1978) and Scurry and Brooks (1980) in the Charleston area, and Trinkley (1987, 1989) on Hilton Head and Daufuskie islands; second, to explore the economics and operation of what appeared to be an average (in both size and productivity) plantation in the Beaufort area. This second goal is of considerable importance since little of the previous plantation archaeology conducted in this area has been published (cf. Grunden 1985).

To identify sites within the development tract, a strategy of intensive, systematic shovel testing was undertaken adjacent to the marsh edge and along transects through a portion of the interior of the development. This approach, which was most feasible due to the vegetation and ground cover, is further discussed in the Research Strategy and Methods section of this study. Combined with the field survey was a preliminary examination of archival and secondary records pertaining to the tract. This archival study revealed several nineteenth century

and a variety of early twentieth century maps which were useful in establishing the settlement and agricultural patterns on the property over the past several hundred years.

Once identified, the sites were evaluated for their potential eligibility for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. It is generally accepted that "the significance of an archaeological site is based on the potential of the site to contribute to the scientific or humanistic understanding of the past" (Bense et al. 1986:60). Site significance in this study was evaluated on the basis of five archaeological properties: site integrity, site clarity, artifactual variety, artifactual quantity, and site environmental context (Glassow 1977). These qualities stress properties of the archaeological record, rather than a site's ability or potential to assist in providing data to a limited, and possibly transient, research design. Such an approach is particularly reasonable for evaluating a number of sites, from a limited geographic area, at one time. If a site exhibits integrity it is likely that it may address at least some research questions and contribute information, but to be eligible the contribution should be major. The use of Glassow's "archaeological properties" also ensures that factors beyond site integrity are considered.

The questions regarding soil-site correlations were addressed during the Phase I Walling Grove survey, although as additional portions of the development are included in the cultural resource study, the information will become more reliable. At the present time areas of excessively well drained, moderately well drained, and poorly drained soils are included in the study and this work has direct parallels to work previously conducted on Daufuskie Island (Trinkley 1989). The topographic location of aboriginal and historic sites on Hilton Head Island was briefly discussed by Trinkley (1987b). The work at Walling Grove on Ladys Island expands our knowledge to another area of Beaufort County.

Although extensive archaeological investigations have been conducted on Dataw, Calliwasee, and Spring islands, little of this research has been published. Grunden (1985) has provided a brief account with some valuable information on artifact patterns among nineteenth century slave populations in the area, but additional information is currently unavailable. Chicora Foundation has been involved in extensive research on Daufuskie Island (Trinkley 1989), but this work does not appear to be directly comparable. As a consequence, the research on St. Queuntens Plantation represents a significant addition to our knowledge of plantation life in the Beaufort area. The plantation represents the potential to examine economic activities associated with a "middling" status plantation on an island not generally associated with successful plantations.

Curation

Archaeological site forms have been filed with the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, and the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office. In addition, archival copies of the site forms have been provided to The Environmental and Historical Museum of Hilton Head Island.

The field notes, photographic materials, and artifacts resulting from these investigations have been curated at The Environmental and Historical Museum of Hilton Head Island as Accession Number 1989.3. The artifacts are cataloged as ARCH-1352 through ARCH-1407 (using a lot provenience system). The artifacts have been cleaned and/or conserved as necessary or are in the process of conservation. Further information on conservation practices may be found in the Research Strategy and Methods section of this report. All original records and duplicate copies were provided to the Museum in archival condition and will be maintained by that institution in perpetuity.

NATURAL SETTING

Beaufort County is located in the lower Atlantic Coastal Plain of South Carolina and is bounded to the south and southeast by the Atlantic Ocean, to the east by St. Helena Sound, to the north and northeast by the Combahee River, to the west by Jasper and Colleton counties and portions of the New and Broad Rivers. The mainland primarily consists of nearly level lowlands and low ridges. Elevations range from about sea level to slightly over 100 feet above mean sea level (MSL) (Mathews et al. 1980:134-135). Ladys Island is a sea island bounded by the Coosaw River to the north, Brickyard Creek and Beaufort River to the west, Chowan Creek to the south, and Lucy Point Creek to the east. The island measures about 9 miles north-south by 5.4 miles east-west. Elevations range up to about 20 feet MSL.

The Walling Grove Plantation tract is situated on the north end of Ladys Island and is dominated by the Coosaw River to the north and Broomfield Creek (previously known as Johnsons Creek) to the west. Topography on the tract tends to flat, with the western edge characterized by a gradual slope to the saltwater marshes of Broomfield Creek. The northern edge of the tract has a slightly higher elevation.

Climate

In the early nineteenth century the Beaufort climate was described as "one of the healthiest" (Mills 1826:377), although Thomas Chaplin's antebellum journal describing life at nearby Tombee Plantation on St. Helena Island presents an entirely different picture (Rosengarten 1987). In 1864 Charlotte Forten wrote that "yellow fever prevailed to an alarming extent, and that, indeed the manufacture of coffins was the only business that was at all flourishing" (Forten 1864:588). By 1880, however, Henry Hammond wrote that "the sea islands enjoy in a high degree the equable climate peculiar to the islands generally" and that the seasonal variation in temperature "destroys the germs of disease, as of yellow fever and of numerous skin diseases that flourish in similar regions elsewhere" (Hammond 1884:472).

The major climatic controls of the area are the latitude, elevation, distance from the ocean, and location with respect to the average tracks of migratory cyclones. Ladys Island's latitude of about 32°N places it on the edge of the balmy subtropical climate typical of Florida. As a result, there are relatively short, mild winters and long, warm, humid summers. The large amount of nearby warm ocean water surface produces a marine climate, which tends to moderate both the cold and hot weather.

The Appalachian Mountains, about 220 miles to the northwest, block shallow cold air masses from the northwest, moderating them before they reach the sea islands (Landers 1970:2-3; Mathews et al. 1980:46).

Maximum daily temperatures in the summer tend to be near or above 90°F and the minimum daily temperatures tend to be about 68°F. The summer water temperatures average 83°F. The abundant supply of warm, moist and relatively unstable air produces frequent scattered showers and thunderstorms in the summer. Winter has average daily maximum and minimum temperatures of 63°F and 38°F respectively. Precipitation is in the forms of rain associated with fronts and cyclones; snow is uncommon (Janiskee and Bell 1980:1-2).

The average yearly precipitation is 49.4 inches, with 34 inches occurring from April through October, the growing season for most sea island crops. Nearby Hilton Head Island has approximately 285 frost free days annually (Janiskee and Bell 1980:1; Landers 1970).

Along the Sea Islands severe weather usually means tropical storms and hurricanes; tornados are infrequent and waterspouts tend to remain over the ocean. The tropical storm season is in late summer and early fall, although storms may occur as early as May or as late as October. The coastal area is a moderately high risk zone for tropical storms, with 169 hurricanes being documented from 1686 to 1972 (0.59 per year) (Mathews et al.1980:56).

Geology and Soils

The Sea Island coastal region is covered with sands and clays originally derived from the Appalachian Mountains and which are organized into coastal, fluvial, and aeolian deposits. These deposits were transported to the coast during the Quaternary period and were deposited on bedrock of the Mesozoic Era and Tertiary period. These sedimentary bedrock formations are only occasionally exposed on the coast, although they frequently outcrop along the fall line (Mathews et al. 1980:2). The bedrock in the Beaufort area is below a level of at least 1640 feet (Smith 1933:21).

The Pleistocene sediments are organized into topographically distinct, but lithologically similar terraces parallel to the coast. The terraces have elevations ranging from 215 feet down to sea level. These terraces, representing previous sea floors, were apparently formed at high stands of the fluctuating, although falling, Atlantic Ocean and consist chiefly of sand and clay (Cooke 1936; Smith 1933:29). More recently, research by Colquhoun (1969) has refined the theory of formation processes, suggesting a more complex origin involving both erosional and

depositional processes operating during marine transgressions and regression.

Cooke (1936) reports that virtually all of Ladys Island is part of the Pamlico terrace and formation, with a sea level about 25 feet above the present sea level. Colquhoun (1969), however, suggests that Ladys Island is more complex, representing both the Silver Bluff Pleistocene terrace with corresponding sea levels of from 8 to 3 feet above the present level and the Talbot Pleistocene terrace with a sea level about 40 feet above the present level.

Another aspect of Sea Island geology to be considered in these discussions is the fluctuation of sea level during the late Pleistocene and Holocene epochs. Prior to 15,000 B.C. there is evidence that a warming trend resulted in the gradual increase in Pleistocene sea levels (DePratter and Howard 1980). Recent work by Colquhoun et al. (1980) clearly indicates that there were a number of fluctuations during the Holocene. Their data suggest that as the first Stallings phase sites along the South Carolina coast were occupied about 2100 B.C. the sea level was about 3.9 feet lower than present. However, by 1600 B.C., when a number of Thom's Creek shell rings were occupied, the sea level had fallen to a level of about 7.2 feet lower than present levels. By the end of the Thom's Creek phase, about 900 B.C., the sea level had risen to a level 2.6 feet lower than present, but over 4.5 feet higher than when the shell rings were first occupied. Quitmyer (1985b) does not believe that the lower sea levels at 2100 B.C. would have greatly altered the estuarine environment, although drops of 10 feet would have reduced available tidal resources.

Data from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries suggest that the level is continuing to rise. Kurtz and Wagner (1957:8) report a 0.8 foot rise in Charleston, South Carolina sea levels from 1833 to 1903. Between 1940 and 1950 a sea level rise of 0.34 feet was again recorded at Charleston. These data, however, do not distinguish between sea level rise and land surface submergence.

Within the Sea Islands section of South Carolina the soils are Holocene and Pleistocene in age and were formed from materials that were deposited during the various stages of coastal submergence. The formation of soils in the study area is affected by this parent material (primarily sands and clays), the temperate climate (to be discussed later), the various soil organisms, topography, and time.

The mainland soils are Pleistocene in age and tend to have more distinct horizon development and diversity than the younger soils of the Sea Islands. Sandy to loamy soils predominate in the level to gently sloping mainland areas. The island soils are less diverse and less well developed, frequently lacking a well-

defined B horizon. Organic matter is low and the soils tend to be acidic. The Holocene deposits typical of barrier islands and found as a fringe on some sea islands, consist almost entirely of quartz sand which exhibits little organic matter. Tidal marsh soils are Holocene in age and consist of fine sands, clay, and organic matter deposited over older Pleistocene sands. The soils are frequently covered by up to 2 feet of salt water during high tide. These organic soils usually have two distinct layers. The top few inches are subject to aeration as well as leaching and therefore are a dark brown color. The lower levels, however, consist of reduced compounds resulting from decomposition of organic compounds and are black. The pH of these marsh soils is neutral to slightly alkaline (Mathews et al. 1980:39-44).

In the project area on Ladys Island the four dominant soil series include Coosaw, Seabrook, Wando, and Williman. The north tract of Phase I consists of the excessively well drained Wando and moderately well drained Seabrook soils. The west tract consists of the poorly drained Williman soils (Stuck 1980:Map 39). While the Wando and Seabrook soils are typically very well drained, with their water tables at least two feet below the surface, the Williman soils are wet and have a water table at or near the surface for about half of the year. The typical Wando soil profile consists of a dark brown fine sand A or Ap horizon 0.8 foot in depth overlying a brown to yellow sandy C horizon. The Williman Series soils generally exhibit a gray loamy sand A horizon up to 2.1 feet in depth overlying a light grayish-brown B horizon (Stuck 1980).

Florestics

Ladys Island today exhibits three major ecosystems: the maritime ecosystem which consists of the upland forest area of the island, the estuarine ecosystem of deep water tidal habitats, and the palustrine ecosystem which consists of essentially fresh water, non-tidal wetlands (Sandifer et al. 1980:7-9).

Mathews et al. (1980) suggest that the most significant ecosystem on Ladys Island is the maritime forest community. This maritime ecosystem is defined most simply as all upland areas located on barrier islands, limited on the ocean side by tidal marshes. On sea islands the distinction between the maritime forest community and an upland ecosystem (essentially found on the mainland) becomes blurred. Sandifer et al. (1980:108-109) define four subsystems, including the sand spits and bars, dunes, transition shrub, and maritime forest. Of these, only the maritime forest subsystem is likely to have been significant to either the prehistoric or historic occupants and only it will be further discussed. While this subsystem is frequently characterized by the dominance of live oak and the presence of salt spray, these are less noticeable on the sea islands than they are on the narrower barrier islands (Sandifer et al.

1980:120).

The barrier islands may contain communities of oak-pine, oak-palmetto-pine, oak-magnolia, palmetto, or low oak woods. The sea islands, being more mesic or xeric, tend to evidence old field communities, pine-mixed hardwoods communities, pine forest communities, or mixed hardwood communities (Sandifer et al. 1980:120-121, 437).

Robert Mills, discussing Beaufort District in the early nineteenth century, states,

[b]esides a fine growth of pine, we have the cypress, red cedar, and live oak . . . white oak, red oak, and several other oaks, hickory, plum, palmetto, magnolia, poplar, beech, birch, ash, dogwood, black mulberry, etc. Of fruit trees we have the orange, sweet and sour, peach, nectarine, fig, cherry (Mills 1826:377).

He also cautions, however, that "[s]ome parts of the district are beginning already to experience a want of timber, even for common purposes" (Mills 1826:383) and suggests that at least 25% of a plantation's acreage should be reserved for woods. One of the few accounts describing Ladys Island during the mid-nineteenth century comes from Whitelaw Reid, who toured the area in 1865:

On steaming up to Beaufort we found carriages, in waiting, on the opposite side, at the upper end of Lady's Island. . . . The sandy road led off among the cotton fields down the island. . . . Sometimes, for half a mile, the road passed through a splendid avenue of live-oaks, from the limbs, the pendulous Spanish moss, from the limbs, sweeping across our carriage tops Then the avenue faded away into a thicket of dwarf live-oaks, trespassing for several yards, each side of the road, upon the cotton fields, and mingling presently with cotton woods, bayonet plants and other like species of the palmetto, yellow pines and a clambering growth of grape-vines and honeysuckles. Through this undergrowth could still be seen the long rows of cotton stretching along on either hand out of sight (Reid 1866:96-97).

The estuarine ecosystem in the Ladys Island vicinity includes those areas of deep-water tidal habitats and adjacent tidal wetlands. Salinity may range from 0.5 ppt at the head of an estuary to 30 ppt where it comes in contact with the ocean. Estuarine systems are influenced by ocean tides, precipitation, fresh water runoff from the upland areas, evaporation, and wind. The tidal range for Ladys Island is 6.2 to 7.3 feet, indicative of an area swept by moderately strong tidal currents. The system may be subdivided into two major components: subtidal and

intertidal (Sandifer et al. 1980:158-159). These estuarine systems are extremely important to our understanding of both prehistoric and historic occupation because they naturally contain such high biomass (Thompson 1972:9). The estuarine area contributes vascular flora used for basket making, as well as mammals, birds, fish (over 107 species), and shellfish.

The last environment to be briefly discussed is the freshwater palustrine ecosystem, which includes all wetland systems, such as swamps, bays, savannas, pocosins and creeks, where the salinities measure less than 0.5 ppt. The palustrine ecosystem is diverse, although not well studied (Sandifer et al. 1980:295). A number of forest types are found in the palustrine areas which attract a variety of terrestrial mammals. On Daufuskie the typical vegetation consists of red maple, swamp tupelo, sweet gum, red bay, cypress, and various hollies. Also found are wading birds and reptiles.

PREHISTORIC AND HISTORIC OVERVIEW

Prehistoric Archaeology

There is sufficient coastal research to develop a sequence of occupation and at least some information on how the prehistoric occupants in the Ladys Island area lived. This section is intended to provide only a brief review of the temporal periods. Several previously published archaeological studies are available for the Beaufort area that provide additional background, including Brooks et al. (1982), DePratter (1979), and Trinkley (1981, 1986). A considerable amount of archaeology has been conducted in the Beaufort area and these works should be consulted for broad overviews.

The Paleo-Indian period, lasting from 12,000 to 8,000 B.C., is evidenced by basally thinned, side-notched projectile points; fluted, lanceolate projectile points; side scrapers; end scrapers; and drills (Coe 1964; Michie 1977; Williams 1968). The Paleo-Indian occupation, while widespread, does not appear to have been intensive. Artifacts are most frequently found along major river drainages, which Michie interprets to support the concept of an economy "oriented towards the exploitation of now extinct mega-fauna" (Michie 1977:124).

Waring (1961) reported the discovery of three Paleo-Indian points in the vicinity of Bluffton in 1961 and Michie (1977:105) reports that two additional points have been found on Daws Island, also in Beaufort County. It is possible that early Paleo-Indian remains may be found on the Pleistocene portions of the island. Sea level during much of this period is expected to have been as much as 65 feet (20 meters) lower than present, so many sites may be inundated (Flint 1971).

Unfortunately, little is known about Paleo-Indian subsistence strategies, settlement systems, or social organization. Generally, archaeologists agree that the Paleo-Indian groups were at a band level of society (see Service 1966), were nomadic, and were both hunters and foragers. While population density, based on the isolated finds, is thought to have been low, Walthall suggests that toward the end of the period, "there was an increase in population density and in territoriality and that a number of new resource areas were beginning to be exploited" (Walthall 1980:30).

The Archaic period, which dates from 8000 to 2000 B.C., does not form a sharp break with the Paleo-Indian period, but is a slow transition characterized by a modern climate and an increase

in the diversity of material culture. The chronology established by Coe (1964) for the North Carolina Piedmont may be applied with little modification to the South Carolina coast. Archaic period assemblages, characterized by corner-notched and broad stemmed projectile points, seem rare in the Sea Island region, although the sea level is anticipated to have been within 13 feet of its present stand by the beginning of the succeeding Woodland period (Lepionka et al. 1983:10). Brooks and Scurry note that,

Archaic period sites, when contrasted with the subsequent Woodland period, are typically small, relatively few in number and contain low densities of archaeological material. This data may indicate that the inter-riverine zone was utilized by Archaic populations characterized by small group size, high mobility, and wide ranging exploitative patterns (Brooks and Scurry 1978:44).

Alternatively, the general sparsity of Archaic sites in the coastal zone may be the result of a more attractive environment inland adjacent to the floodplain swamps and major drainages. Of course, this is not necessarily an alternative explanation since coastal Archaic sites may represent only a small segment in the total settlement system.

The Woodland period begins, by definition, with the introduction of fired clay pottery about 2000 B.C. along the South Carolina coast (the introduction of pottery, and hence the beginning of the Woodland period, occurs much later in the Piedmont of South Carolina). It should be noted that many researchers call the period from about 2500 to 1000 B.C. the Late Archaic because of a perceived continuation of the Archaic lifestyle in spite of the manufacture of pottery. Regardless of terminology, the period from 2500 to 1000 B.C. is well documented on the South Carolina coast and is characterized by Stallings (fiber-tempered) and Thom's Creek series pottery (see Figure 2 for a synopsis of Woodland phases and pottery designations).

The subsistence economy during this early period was based primarily on deer hunting and fishing, with supplemental inclusions of small mammals, birds, reptiles, and shellfish. Various calculations of the probable yield of deer, fish, and other food sources identified from shell ring sites indicate that sedentary life was not only possible, but probable. Recent work at sites characterized by fiber-tempered pottery on the southern Georgia coast has led Quitmyer to note that there was,

a specialized economy heavily dependent on marine resources. Marine invertebrates, primarily oyster, were the most significant of the zoological resources. Marine vertebrates, primarily drum, accounted for other important aspects of the diet. To a lesser extent sea

catfishes (Ariidae) and mullet were part of the diet. Terrestrial animals, like deer, represented only an occasional resource (Quitmyer 1985a:90).

Toward the end of the Thom's Creek phase there is evidence of sea level change and a number of small, non-shell midden sites are found. Apparently the rising sea level drowned the tidal marshes (and sites) on which the Thom's Creek people relied.

The succeeding Refuge phase, which dates from about 1100 to 500 B.C., suggests fragmentation caused by the environmental changes (Lepionka et al. 1983; Williams 1968). Sites are generally small and some coastal sites evidence no shellfish collection at all (Trinkley 1982). Peterson (1971:153) characterizes Refuge as a degeneration of the preceding Thom's Creek series and a bridge to the succeeding Deptford culture.

The Deptford phase, which dates from 1100 B.C. to A.D. 600, is best characterized by fine to coarse sandy paste pottery with a check stamped surface treatment. The Deptford settlement pattern involves both coastal and inland sites. The coastal sites, which always appear to be situated adjacent to tidal creeks, evidence a diffuse subsistence system and are frequently small, lack shell, and are situated on the edge of swamp terraces. This "dual distribution" has suggested to Milanich (1971:194) a transhumant subsistence pattern. While such may be the case, it has yet to be documented on the coast. The Pinckney Island midden, north of Hilton Head Island, evidences a reliance on shellfish and was occupied in the late winter (Trinkley 1981). The Minim Island midden, on the coast of Georgetown County, indicates a greater reliance on fish, but was also apparently occupied in the fall or winter (Drucker and Jackson 1984).

The Middle Woodland period (ca. 300 B.C. to A.D. 1000) is characterized by the use of sand burial mounds and ossuaries along the Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina coasts (Brooks et al. 1982; Thomas and Larsen 1979; Wilson 1982). Middle Woodland coastal plain sites continue the Early Woodland Deptford pattern of mobility. While sites are found all along the coast and inland to the fall line, sites are characterized by sparse shell and few artifacts. Gone are the abundant shell tools, worked bone items, and clay balls. In many respects the South Carolina Late Woodland period (ca. A.D. 1000 to 1650 in some areas of the coast) may be characterized as a continuation of the previous Middle Woodland cultural assemblages. While outside the Carolinas there were major cultural changes, such as the continued development and elaboration of agriculture, the Carolina groups settled into a lifeway not appreciably different from that observed for the previous 500 to 700 years. This situation would remain unchanged until the development of the South Appalachian Mississippian complex.

The Middle and Late Woodland occupations in South Carolina are characterized by a pattern of settlement mobility and short-term occupation. On the southern coast they are associated with the Wilmington and St. Catherines phases, which date from about A.D. 500 to at least A.D. 1150, although there is evidence that the St. Catherines pottery continued to be produced much later in time (Trinkley 1981). The tenacity of this simple lifestyle suggests that the Guale intrusion was relatively minor in many areas, or at least co-existed with the native inhabitants whose lifestyles were generally unchanged (Trinkley 1981). In addition, there are small quantities of pottery which resemble the more northern Middle Woodland Mount Pleasant series (Phelps 1984:41-44; Trinkley 1983) which were classified as "Untyped" by Trinkley (1981) at the Pinckney Island midden.

The South Appalachian Mississippian period (ca. 1100 to 1640) is the most elaborate level of culture attained by the native inhabitants and is followed by cultural disintegration brought about largely by European disease. The period is characterized by complicated stamped pottery, complex social organization, agriculture, and the construction of temple mounds and ceremonial centers. The earliest coastal phases are named the Savannah and Irene (A.D. 1200 to 1550). Sometime after the arrival of Europeans on the Georgia coast in A.D. 1519, the Irene phase is replaced by the Altamaha phase. The ceramics associated with this period were made,

at least through the end of the Spanish Mission period in the 1680s, when the various Guale groups were either relocated to the St. Augustine vicinity or dispersed by the English (DePratter and Howard 1980:31).

The history of the numerous small coastal Indian tribes after contact is poorly known. As Mooney noted, the coastal tribes,

were of but small importance politically; no sustained mission work was ever attempted among them, and there were but few literary men to take an interest in them. War, pestilence, whiskey and systematic slave hunts had nearly exterminated the aboriginal occupants of the Carolinas before anybody had thought them of sufficient importance to ask who they were, how they lived, or what were their beliefs and opinions (Mooney 1894:6).

Considerable ethnohistoric data has been collected on the Muskogean Georgia Guale Indians by Jones (1978, 1981). This group extended from the Salilla River in southern Georgia northward to the North Edisto River in South Carolina (Jones 1981:215). Jones suggests that the Guale may have been divided into chiefdoms, with two, the Orista and the Escaumacu-Ahoya, being found in South Carolina (Jones 1978:203). During the

period from 1526 to 1586, Jones places the Escaumacu-Ahoya in the vicinity of the Broad River in Beaufort County, while the Orista are placed on the Beaufort River, north of Parris Island. By the late seventeenth century the principal town of the Orista appears to have been moved to Edisto Island, about 30 miles to the north (Jones 1978:203).

Waddell considers Orista a variant of Edisto (Waddell 1980:126-168) and places them on Edisto Island by 1666. Prior to that time they were situated in the Port Royal/Santa Elena area. The Escamacu are noted to also have lived in the Port Royal area, between the Broad and Savannah rivers (Waddell 1980:3, 168-198). Nearby were the Yoya, Touppa, Mayon, Stalame, and Kussah (Waddell 1980:3). Many of these tribes (such as the Kussah and Edisto) shifted northward as a result of the Escamacu War (1576-1579) when the Spanish sent out major expeditions. The Combahee are thought to have abandoned Ladys Island in 1686 as a result of additional Spanish raids. Waddell believes that the Escamacu War "probably left the area between the Broad and the Savannah rivers deserted" (Waddell 1980:3). He notes that in 1684,

the Proprietors decided to clear their title to the coast between the Savannah and the Stono rivers . . . , so they had eight separate cessions and one general cession made to give them a paper claim to all of this territory. The Witcheaught (previously unknown), St. Helena (Escamacu), Wimbee, Combahee, Kussah, Ashepoo, Edisto, and Stono surrendered all their claims (Waddell 1980:4).

Historic Synopsis

The Spanish Period

The first Spanish explorations in the Carolina low country were conducted in the 1520s under the direction of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon and Francisco Gordillo. One of the few areas explored by Gordillo which can be identified with any certainty is Santa Elena (St. Helena). Apparently Port Royal Sound was entered and land fall made at Santa Elena on Santa Elena's Day, August 18, 1520. "Cape Santa Elena," according to Quattlebaum (1956:8) was probably Hilton Head (Hoffman 1984:423).

Gordillo's accounts spurred Ayllon to seek a royal commission both to explore further the land and to establish a settlement in the land called Chicora (Quattlebaum 1956:12-17). In July 1526 Ayllon set sail for Chicora with a fleet of six vessels and has been thought to have established the settlement of San Miguel del Galdape in the vicinity of Winyah Bay (Quattlebaum 1956:23). Hoffman (1984:425) has more recently suggested that the settlement was at the mouth of the Santee River (Ayllon's Jordan River). Ferguson (n.d.:1) has suggested

that San Miguel was established at Santa Elena in the Port Royal area. Regardless, the colony was abandoned in the winter of 1526 with the survivors reaching Hispaniola in 1527 (Quattlebaum 1956:27).

The French, in response to increasing Spanish activity in the New World, undertook a settlement in the land of Chicora in 1562. Charlesfort was established in May 1562 under the direction of Jean Ribaut. This settlement fared no better than the earlier Spanish fort of San Miguel and was abandoned within the year (Quattlebaum 1956:42-56). Ribaut was convinced that his settlement was on the Jordan River in the vicinity of Ayllon's Chicora (Hoffman 1984:432). Recent historical and archaeological studies suggest that Charlesfort may have been situated on Port Royal Island in the vicinity of the Town of Port Royal (South 1982a). The deserted Charlesfort was burned by the Spanish in 1564 (South 1982a:1-2). A year later France's second attempt to establish their claim in the New World was thwarted by the Spanish destruction of the French Fort Caroline on the St. John's River. The massacre at Fort Caroline ended French attempts at colonization on the southeast Atlantic coast.

To protect against any future French intrusion such as Charlesfort, the Spanish proceeded to establish a major outpost in the Beaufort area. The town of Santa Elena was built in 1566, a year after a fort was built in St. Augustine. Three sequential forts were constructed: Fort San Salvador (1566-1570), Fort San Felipe (1570-1576), and Fort San Marcos (1577-1587). In spite of Indian hostilities and periodic burning of the town and forts, the Spanish maintained this settlement until 1587 when it was finally abandoned (South 1979, 1982a, 1982b). Spanish influence, however, continued through a chain of missions spreading up the Atlantic coast from St. Augustine into Georgia. That mission activity, however, declined noticeably during the eighteenth century, primarily because of 1702 and 1704 attacks on St. Augustine and outlying missions by South Carolina Governor James Moore (Deagan 1983:25-26, 40).

The British Proprietary Period

British influence in the New World began in the fifteenth century with the Cabot voyages, but the southern coast did not attract serious attention until King Charles II granted Carolina to the Lords Proprietors in 1663. In August 1663 William Hilton sailed from Barbados to explore the Carolina territory, spending a great deal of time in the Port Royal area (Holmgren 1959). Almost chosen for the first English colony, Hilton Head Island was passed over by Sir John Yeamans in favor of the more protected Charles Town site on the west bank of the Ashley River in 1670 (Clowse 1971:23-24; Holmgren 1959:39).

Like other European powers, the English were lured to the

New World for reasons other than the acquisition of land and promotion of agriculture. The Lords Proprietors, who owned the colony until 1719-1720, intended to discover a staple crop whose marketing would provide great wealth through the mercantile system, which was designed to profit the mother country by providing raw materials unavailable in England (Clowse 1971). Charleston was settled by English citizens, including a number from Barbados, and by Huguenot refugees. Black slaves were brought directly from Africa, as well as the Barbados.

The Charleston settlement was moved from the mouth of the Ashley River to the junction of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers in 1680, but the colony was a thorough disappointment to the Proprietors. It failed to grow as expected, did not return the anticipated profit, and failed to evidence workable local government (Ferris 1968:124-125). The early economy was based almost exclusively on Indian trade, naval stores, lumber, and cattle. Rice began emerging as a money crop in the late seventeenth century, but did not markedly improve the economic well-being of the colony until the eighteenth century (Clowse 1971).

Meanwhile, Scottish Covenanters under Lord Cardross established Stuart's Town on Scot's Island (Port Royal) in 1684, where it existed for four years until destroyed by the Spanish. It was not until 1698 that the area was again occupied by the English. Both John Stuart and Major Robert Daniell took possession of lands on St. Helena and Port Royal islands. That same year a warrant was prepared for Governor Joseph Blake's "Island commonly Known by ye Name of Combahee [Ladys] Island" (Salley and Olsberg 1973:585) and Waddell notes that as late as 1700 a map was prepared showing Ladys Island as "Cambahé I." (Waddell 1980:109). Additional grants on the island were made in the early 1700s. The town of Beaufort was founded in 1711 although it was not immediately settled.

While most of the Beaufort Indian groups were persuaded to move to Polawana Island in 1712, the Yemassee, part of the Creek Confederacy, revolted in 1715. By 1718 the Yemassee were defeated and forced southward to Spanish protection. Consequently, the Beaufort area, known as St. Helena Parish, Granville County, was for the first time relatively safe from both the Spanish and the Indians. The Yemassee, however, continued occasional raids into South Carolina, such as the 1728 destruction of the Passage Fort at Bloody Point (Starr 1984:16). In the same year the English raid on St. Augustine succeeded in breaking the Spanish hold and the remnant Indian groups made peace with the English. The results for the Beaufort area, however, were mixed. While there was a semblance of peace, frontier settlements were largely deserted, population growth was slow, and the Indian trade was diverted from Beaufort to Savannah.

The British Colonial Period

Although peace marked the Carolina colony, the Proprietors continued to have disputes with the populace, primarily over the colony's economic stagnation and deterioration. In 1727 the colony's government virtually broke down when the Council and the Commons were unable to agree on legislation to provide more bills of credit (Clowse 1971:238). This, coupled with the disastrous depression of 1728, brought the colony to the brink of mob violence. Clowse notes that the "initial step toward aiding South Carolina came when the proprietors were eliminated" in 1729 (Clowse 1971:241).

While South Carolina's economic woes were far from solved by this transfer, the Crown's Board of Trade began taking steps to remedy many of the problems. A new naval store law was passed in 1729 with possible advantages accruing to South Carolina. In 1730 the Parliament opened Carolina rice trade with markets in Spain and Portugal. The Board of Trade also dealt with the problem of the colony's financial solvency (Clowse 1971:245-247). Clowse notes that these changes, coupled with new land policies, "allowed the colony to go into an era of unprecedented expansion" (Clowse 1971:249). South Carolina's position was buttressed by the settlement of Georgia in 1733.

By 1730 the colony's population had risen to about 30,000 individuals, 20,000 of whom were black slaves (Clowse 1971:Table 1). The majority of these slaves were used in South Carolina's expanding rice industry. In the 1730 harvest year 48,155 barrels of rice were reported, up 15,771 barrels or 68% from the previous year (Clowse 1971:Table 3). Although rice was grown in the Beaufort area, it did not become a major crop until after the Revolutionary War. Rice was never a significant crop on the Beaufort Sea Islands, where ranch farming was favored because of its economic returns and favorable climate (Starr 1984:26-27). Elsewhere, however, rice monoculture shaped the social, political, and economic systems which produced and perpetuated the coastal plantation system prior to the rise of cotton culture.

Although indigo was known in the Carolina colony as early as 1669 and was being planted the following year, it was not until the 1740s that it became a major cash crop (Huneycutt 1949). While indigo was difficult to process, its success was partially due to it being complementary to rice. Huneycutt notes that planters were "able to 'dovetail' the work season of the two crops so that a single gang of slaves could cultivate both staples" (Huneycutt 1949:18). One major indigo plantation on Ladys Island was the 1800 acre tract owned by John Stuart across from Beaufort (Rowland 1978:273). Indigo continued to be the main cash crop of South Carolina until the Revolutionary War fatally disrupted the industry.

During the war the British occupied Charleston for over two and one-half years (1780-1782). A post was established in Beaufort to coordinate forays into the inland waterways after Prevost's retreat, which passed through Ladys Island, from the Battle of Stono Ferry (Federal Writer's Project 1938:7; Rowland 1978:288). British earthworks were established around Port Royal and on Ladys Island (Rowland 1978:290). The removal of the royal bounties on rice, indigo, and naval stores caused considerable economic chaos with the eventual "restructuring of the state's agricultural and commercial base" (Brockington et al. 1985:34).

The Antebellum Period

While freed of Britain and her mercantilism, the new United States found its economy thoroughly disrupted. There was no longer a bounty on indigo, and in fact Britain encouraged competition from the British and French West Indies and India "to embarrass her former colonies" (Huneycutt 1949:44). As a consequence the economy shifted to tidewater rice production and cotton agriculture. Lepionka notes that "long staple cotton of the Sea Islands was of far higher value than the common variety (60 cents a pound compared to 15 cents a pound in the late 1830s) and this became the major cash crop of the coastal islands" (Lepionka et al. 1983:20). It was cotton, in the Beaufort area, that brought a full establishment of the plantation economy. Lepionka concisely states that,

[t]he cities of Charleston and Savannah and numerous smaller towns such as Beaufort and Georgetown were supported in their considerable splendor on this wealth An aristocratic planter class was created, but was based on the essential labor of black slavery without which the plantation economy could not function. Consequently, the demographic pattern of a black majority first established in colonial times was reinforced (Lepionka et al. 1983:21).

Mills, in 1826, provides a thorough commentary on the Beaufort District noting that,

Beaufort is admirably situated for commerce, possessing one of the finest ports and spacious harbors in the world There is no district in the state, either better watered, of more extended navigation, or possessing a larger portion of rich land, than Beaufort: more than one half of the territory is rich swamp land, capable of being improved so as to yield abundantly (Mills 1826:367).

Describing the Beaufort islands, Mills comments that they were "beautiful to the eye, rich in production, and withal salubrious" (Mills 1826:372). Land prices ranged from \$60 an

acre for the best, \$30 for "second quality," and as low as 25 cents for the "inferior" lands. Grain and sugarcane were cultivated in small quantities for home use while,

[t]he principal attention of the planter is . . . devoted to the cultivation of cotton and rice, especially the former. The sea islands, or salt water lands, yield cotton of the finest staple, which commands the highest price in market; it has been no uncommon circumstance for such cotton to bring \$1 a pound. In favorable seasons, or particular spots, nearly 300 weight has been raised from an acre, and an active field hand can cultivate upwards of four acres, exclusive of one acre and half of corn and ground provisions (Mills 1826:368).

Reference to the 1860 agricultural census reveals that of the 891,228 acres of farmland, 274,015 (30.7%) were improved. In contrast, only 28% of the State's total farmland was improved, and only 17% of the neighboring Colleton District's farm land was improved. Even in wealthy Charleston District only 17.8% of the farm land was improved (Kennedy 1864:128-129). The cash value of Beaufort farms was \$9,900,652, while the state average by county was only \$4,655,083. The value of Beaufort farms was greater than any other district in the state for that year, and only Georgetown listed a greater cash value of farming implements and machinery (reflecting the more specialized equipment needed for rice production). There are postbellum accounts, however, which suggest that Ladys Island was always considered a poor second to St. Helena in terms of general agricultural productivity, cotton yields, and wealth of its planters. Edward Philbrick wrote in 1862,

the greater part of the plantations on Ladies Island are miserably poor, being the property of small proprietors who had not sufficient capital to make planting profitable. The soil is poor and the negroes for the most part have not sufficient food on hand for the coming year. The cotton crop is proportionally small and poor. No ginning apparatus being found there, I shall have it all taken to Beaufort for the steam-gins (Pearson 1906:117).

The record of wealth and prosperity, such as it was, is tempered by the realization that it was based on the racial imbalance typical of Southern slavery. In 1820 there were 32,199 people enumerated in Beaufort District, 84.9% of whom were black (Mills 1826:372). While the 1850 population had risen to 38,805, the racial breakdown had changed little, with 84.7% being black (83.2% were slaves). Thus, while the statewide ratio of free white to black slave was 1:1.4, the Beaufort ratio was 1:5.4 (DeBow 1853:338). Pierce found that of the three sea islands in

St. Helena Parish, Ladys Island had the fewest blacks, only 1,259. Nearby St. Helena Island had a black population of over 2,700 and Parris Island had a slave population of nearly 2,000 (McGuire 1982:24).

An interesting account of slavery on Ladys Island is presented by the W.P.A. slave narrative of Sam Mitchell, who, interviewed at age 87, clearly remembered the Woodlawn Plantation of John Chaplin on Ladys Island. The plantation was located immediately south of the study tract. Woodland was a minor holding of Chaplin, who lived at Brickyard Plantation in the winter and in Beaufort during the summer. Mitchell remembered about 15 slaves on Woodlawn, which had a slave street or row. Each cabin had two rooms, although Chaplin "gib you nutting for yo' hourse -- you hab to git dat de best way you can" (Rawick 1972:200). Each Tuesday the slaves were given one peck of corn as a ration, with sweet potatoes provided when available. Twice a year cloth was provided for clothing, and shoes were provided once a year. Each slave was allotted two tasks of land to cultivate for their own use and a family was allowed to raise one pig. Mitchell's father was a carpenter, although at night he would go fishing or cut wood for a source of independent income. Woodlawn had no overseer, but operated under a slave driver. Woodland also had its own chapel, with a black minister. Slaves were allowed to leave the plantation on Saturday for Beaufort (Rawick 1972:200-204). Mitchell's story is similar to many other, unrecorded, accounts of slavery in St. Helena Parish.

Hilton Head Island fell to Union forces on November 7, 1861 and was occupied by the Expeditionary Corps under the direction of General T.W. Sherman. Beaufort, deserted by the Confederate troops and the white towns-people, was occupied by the Union forces several weeks later. A single white person, who remained loyal to the Federal government, was found on Ladys Island (Johnson 1969:189). Hilton Head became the Headquarters for the Department of the South and served as the staging area for a variety of military campaigns. A brief sketch of this period, generally accurate, is offered by Holmgren (1959), while a similarly popular account is provided by Carse (1981). As a result of the Island's early occupation by Union forces, all of the plantations fell to military occupation, a large number of blacks flocked to the island, and a "Department of Experiments" was born. An excellent account of the "Port Royal Experiment" is provided by Rose (1964), while the land policies on St. Helena are explored by McGuire (1985).

Recently, Trinkley (1986) has examined the freedmen village of Mitchelville on Hilton Head Island. One result of the Mitchelville work was to document how little is actually known about the black heritage on Hilton Head and the sea island's postbellum history. Even the social research spearheaded by the University of North Carolina's Institute for Research in Social

Science at Chapel Hill in the early twentieth century (e.g. Johnson 1969, Woofter 1930) failed to record much of the activities on Hilton Head or Ladys Island.

Charlotte Forten comments that at some plantations on Ladys Island, "the masters, in their hasty flight from the islands, left nearly all their furniture; but much of it was destroyed or taken by the soldiers who came first, and what they left was removed by the people to their own houses" (Forten 1864:590). The depredations of the Federal troops on Ladys Island is a common thread in many accounts. Not only was virtually all of the corn removed from Ladys Island in 1862 to feed the blacks on nearby St. Helena (see Pearson 1906:54), but Philbrick mentions that,

on the north end of Ladies Island the pickets are changed every little while, and have killed nearly all the negroes' poultry. The people don't dare to leave their houses, and take all their hens into their houses every night. They shoot their pigs and in one case have shot two working mules!" (Pearson 1906:118).

Earlier, Edward Pierce reported that the Union soldiers were slaughtering all of the livestock they would find on the plantations, sometimes killing as many as "fifty or more head on a plantation" (quoted in Johnson 1969:159).

While it seems likely that the Union pickets were stationed at a number of places on Ladys Island, the major post was "Coosaw" or "Sams" fort, an earthwork on the northeastern point of the Island (Pearson 1906:240; U.S. Coast Survey chart entitled "Coast of South Carolina From Charleston to Hilton Head," dated 1862). These outposts were established, in part, as a response to the fear of Confederate attack from the north (see Official Records, Series I, volume 14, page 189). A letter dated August 31, 1862 briefly describes the outposts and mentions the presence of the 6th Connecticut Volunteers in the area (South Caroliniana Library, letter of Sam B. Shepard).

Of the 30 or 31 plantations on Ladys Island, the Federal government purchased all but seven through the Direct Tax sales held in 1863 (McGuire 1982:23, 35). The seven plantations not purchased by the Federal government were sold to private investors, including both black and white individuals. McGuire (1982, 1985) provides a detailed account of the land policies in the area during the Civil War and her studies should be consulted for detailed information. In general, however, blacks slowly came to own a large proportion of the available land. Certificates of possession were eventually issued for nineteen plantations on Ladys Island (McGuire 1982:36). During the postbellum period previous owners slowly came forward to reclaim, or redeem, land confiscated by the Federal government. The 1872

redemption process was not totally successful, partially because some tracts had such low value. By the 1890s a program was established to provide owners unsuccessful at either restoration or redemption with token compensation. Twenty-nine plantations on Ladys Island were covered under this process (McGuire 1982:77; S.C. Department of Archives and History, Secretary of State Records, Beaufort County Tax Claims, Direct Tax Compensation Book IX/2/4/3B).

One of the more unique government programs of the "Port Royal Experiment" was the formation of "school farms." These were small portions of plantations set aside as mini-farms. Rent and sale proceeds from these acreages formed a public school fund intended to assist with the education of the Beaufort freedmen. Redemption of school farms came about even more slowly than other lands, largely because of their association with the funding of public education for freedmen. In addition, the lands, never first choice to begin with, were often eroded and poorly tended. By 1886 the school farm concept was abandoned. Curiously, the funds resulting from this system were not made available to the State by the Federal government until 1909 (McGuire 1982:68-69, 135-137, 217).

During the late nineteenth century Ladys Island continued as a rural, isolated agrarian community. The new plantation owners attempted to forge an economic relationship with the free black laborers and found a multitude of problems, including the need to pay higher wages, increasing problems with the cotton boll weevil, and decreasing fertility. The letters of G.C. Hardy, the manager of the Eustis Plantation on Ladys Island in the 1870s, clearly reveal the problems faced during this period. Hardy, in his letters to Frederic Eustis, discusses the rising labor costs and the serious losses of cotton to the boll weevil (South Caroliniana Library, Frederic A. Eustis Collection).

In the 1870s a new form of livelihood was introduced -- the mining of phosphate for fertilizer. While both land and river rock mining were conducted in South Carolina, the Beaufort area saw primarily river dredging to acquire the phosphate ore present as gravel, although land mining of phosphate nodules also took place (Mathews et al. 1980:27, 31). The Farmers' Phosphate Company, located at Dale's Creek on Ladys Island, was one of the largest ventures in the State (Dabbs 1983:177; Johnson 1969:205). As the industry began to decline in the early twentieth century, blacks returned to agriculture and oyster factories.

Woofter (1930) provides information on the agricultural practices of the St. Helena blacks in the early twentieth century, noting that the population was largely stable, with most blacks remaining in the vicinity of their parents' "home" plantations (Woofter 1930:265). In 1927 the first bridge was built connecting Ladys Island and Beaufort. This signalled the

end of an era. Since that time the island has continued to become more urban and the black population with its distinctive rural lifestyle has become more uncommon.

The specific history of the study tract has been only partially reconstructed during this brief historical study. In November 1706 a memorial for 500 acres was issued to Henry Quintyne. This tract was described as being in "Granville County, butting and Bounding to the north on Cusa River to the West on a creek coming out of Cusa River to the East on land not yet laid out on the head of the said creek and to the South on lands not yet laid out" (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Memorials, v. 1, p. 354). This tract included the western most portion of the survey property (Figure 3). A note appended to the Memorial, and dated January 1732, states,

Which said five [sic] acres held and pofsed by me William Bull of Berkley County in the province of South Carolina in Right of my wife Mary being Sister and heir at law to the Henry Quintyne who died Intestate the grant of which Said five hundred Acres is hereby required to be registered pursuant to the act of afsembly in that case made and provided by me the said William Bull (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Memorials, v. 1, p. 355).

A more detailed survey of this tract was prepared for William Bull in April 1752 and shows "an overplufs of Seven Hundred and Ten Acres of Land and Marsh" (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Pre-Revolutionary Loose Plats, Oversize Folder 41; Figure 4). This plat indicates not only that the original Quintyne tract contained more acres than originally surveyed, but also that two additional tracts had been acquired. By 1752 William Bull owned what would later become Brickyard Point, Johnson Plantation, and St. Queuntens Plantation. The plat identifies modern day Brickyard Point as "Quintyne's Point in Beaufort Creek," modern day Broomfield (or Johnsons Creek) as "Quintyne's Creek," and a landing at the west end of modern Walling Grove.

The land is shown as "St. Quintins Point" on the 1780 William Faden "Map of South Carolina and a Part of Georgia." Unfortunately, no additional record of ownership has been located until the 1825 Mills Atlas of Beaufort District (Figure 5) which indicates that the property is owned by Fickling. It is possible that the period between ca. 1752 and 1820 can be filled in through additional archival research at the Charleston County RMC.

By 1825 the property once owned by Henry Quintyne was owned by Josphe and Sarah Fickling, who are listed in the 1820 census as residents of St. Helena (South Carolina Department of Archives

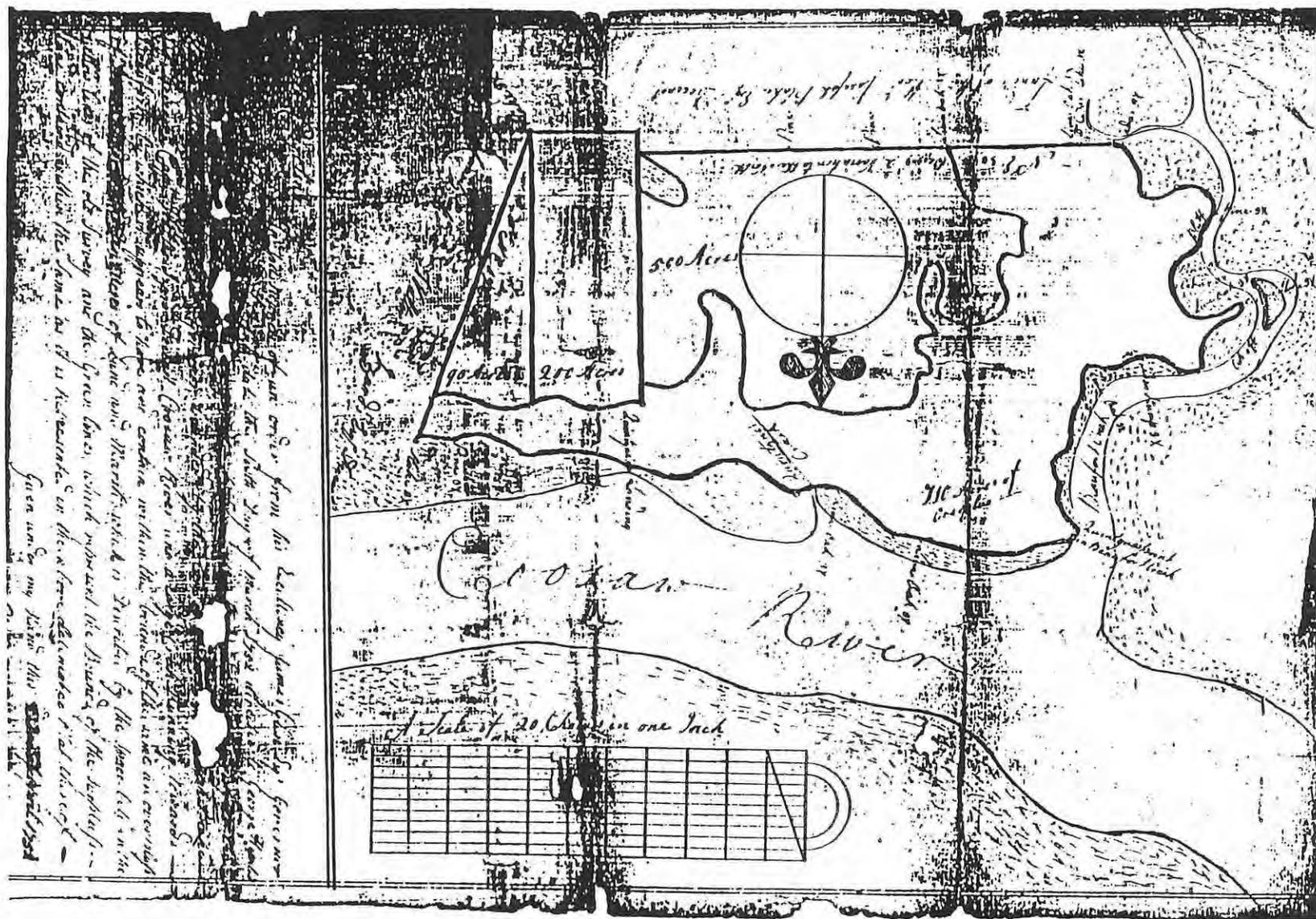


Figure 4. 1752 plat of the William Bull property on Ladys Island.



Figure 5. Mills Atlas of 1825 showing Ladys Island.

and History, 1820 Beaufort District Census, page 5). An 1824 tax return for Joseph Fickling reveals his ownership of a 500 acre plantation in St. Helena Parish, valued at \$860, a Beaufort town lot valued at \$1600 and goods valued at \$1500, as well as 38 slaves (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Microfilm 0015 052 1824 02046). Sarah Fickling owned an additional 460 acres in St. Helena, valued at \$966, a town lot valued at \$1250, and 49 slaves (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Microfilm 0015 052 1824 02047). It appears that Fickling was a moderately successful planter, representative of the vast majority of "middling" planters.

Both Joseph and Sarah continue to be listed in the 1830 census (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1830 Beaufort District Census, page 289). By 1840, however, only Sarah is listed (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1840 Beaufort District Census, page 264). In 1830 and 1831 Sarah Fickling sold at least nine slaves (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Microfilm 0002 001 005K 00186-187, 0002 001 005K 00354, 0002 001 005T 00272). These circumstances suggest that Joseph Fickling died around 1830 and that Sarah began to sell excess property. The only property listed in the 1850 agricultural census is Sarah Fickling's 460 acre tract mentioned in the 1824 tax return. The 500 acre tract is no longer mentioned (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1850 Beaufort District Agricultural Census, page 297). Based on the census records, Sarah Fickling died sometime between 1850 and 1860.

The ownership of the Walling Grove tract is again unknown for the period from about 1830 until 1863 when it is purchased from the United States Tax Commission by Joseph S. Reed (Beaufort County RMC, DB 7, page 201). At that time the tract is described as the

tract of land on Ladies Island Known as "St. Quenten."
Bounded northerly by Coosaw River, southerly by
Woodland, Easterly by the Edward Cuthbert Place
Westerly by the John Johnson Place, Containing five
hundred and thirty acres more or less (Beaufort County
RMC, DB 7, page 201).

While the plantation maintained the name "St. Quentens," there is no indication of the previous owner. Examination of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History Consolidated Computer Index for variations of St. Queunten, the Freedmen Bureau records for Restoration of Property, and the Secretary of State, Beaufort Direct Tax Claims, Direct Tax Compensation Book provided no additional information. As late as 1882 the original owner was listed as "not given" by the Federal government (Senate Documents, vol. 4, no. 82, 1881-1882, page 11).

Given the excellent records for restoration, redemption, and restitution of Ladys Island lands, it is unusual not to find any mention of this tract. Its early purchase by Joseph Reed, a private individual, may have discouraged its previous owners from pressing claims. Alternatively, the land may have been too unprofitable to warrant any serious attempt at restitution, there may have been no heirs to the property after the war, or the records may simply have been lost or not yet identified. Additional work, including efforts at completing the chain of title to the adjacent tracts, may provide plats or ownership information.

Information on Joseph Reed is sparse, although it appears that he was a superintendent of several plantations on the north end of Ladys Island. Philbrick, in 1862 mentions riding to

Cuthbert's Point to sleep with Joe Reed and Mr. Hull. I found them delightfully situated in a small house on Beaufort River surrounded by a superb grove of live-oaks, clear of brush and nicely kept (Pearson 1906:116-117).

Reed purchased both the Walnut Hill (east of St. Queunten) and St. Queunten tracts in the 1863 land sale. He also acquired the Johnson School Farm (west of St. Queunten), Pleasant Hill (or Pleasant Point School Farm, or Cuthbert on the Beaufort River). As a result, he owned 690 acres in four parcels.

By 1869 Reed had moved to Chicago, leaving James G. Cole as the overseer of these four tracts. Cole was to receive \$600 per year for his work, but by 1875 he had received no payments and sued Reed for his back pay and interest (Beaufort County Judgement Roll 1171). Reed was also sued by George Waterhouse in the same session for goods purchased at Waterhouse's store by Cole on credit (Beaufort County Judgement Roll 1170). Reed, residing in Chicago, did not appear before the court and apparently did not even respond to the summons. As a result, the Court ordered the various tracts sold at auction to pay the judgements of \$4701.79 to Cole and \$469.38 plus costs to Waterhouse.

This action is most interesting not because it provides information on Reed's solvency, but rather because Waterhouse appended his accounts to the complaint. As a result, it is possible to examine the goods that were being purchased by Cole for plantation supplies and for resale to the plantation freedmen. Food, hardware, general merchandise, and clothing are among the items listed. Large numbers of nails were purchased, probably for the rehabilitation of the slave rows still being used by the freedmen. The other goods do not appear to be markedly different from those provided to slaves during the antebellum, and include items such as inexpensive "cups and

saucers," lard and flour, and cotton and calico cloth.

The court action also resulted in an inventory of goods at the plantations owned by Reed. The rather sparse list includes three horses, one mule, one colt, one boat, one flat, two gins, one corn mill, one 5-horsepower engine, 45 head of cattle, three carts, one set harnesses, two plows, two bedsteads, one crib, six dining room chairs, three additional chairs, six chamber sets, one side board, two wash stands, two mattresses, one French china dinner set, one French china tea set, two chamber stands, one wardrobe, one book case, one bureau, and 50 yards of matting. This inventory suggests rather meager equipage and furniture for two structures.

The 1873 Coast Chart 55, entitled "Coast of South Carolina and Georgia From Hunting Island to Ossabaw Island, Including Port Royal Sound and Savannah River," shows a main house for St. Queuntens about 0.5 mile from Johnsons Creek and a slave row about 0.2 mile east of the main house. The slave row consisted of two rows of structures (a total of nine) parallel to the Coosaw River. Although the map is based on topography gathered from 1852 through 1872, it seems likely that during Reed's ownership of St. Queuntens the original plantation house and the antebellum slave row were both intact.

When put up for auction by the Sheriff in 1876, St. Queuntens (along with Pleasant Point, Johnson School Farm, and Walnut Hill) was purchased by Cole (Beaufort County RMC, DB 10, page 80). Cole apparently continued to operate the tracts until his death. In 1904 the tracts were sold by George Cole's heirs to F.W. Schaper (Beaufort County RMC, DB 26, page 46). St. Queuntens was sold by Schaper three months later to W.F. Sanders (Beaufort County RMC, DB 26, page 156). Two years later, in 1906, Sanders sold the tract to Joab Mauldin of Hampton, South Carolina (Beaufort County RMC, DB 26, page 515). Throughout these transactions St. Queuntens consistently is described as 500 acres, the same amount of land shown in the 1824 tax return for Joseph Fickling.

Upon Joab Mauldin's death, sometime prior to 1920, the property was passed to an heir, Leonora M. Dowling (see Beaufort County RMC, DB 53, page 546). A plat of the Mauldin property was prepared in 1920 (Figure 6) and "St. Quinton" was divided into two tracts of 400.6 and 278.5 acres (McCrary Plat 3152). The increase in acreage is not surprising since this represents the first known survey of the tract. Both the 1912 Corps of Engineers 15' Beaufort topographic map and the 1920 plat show the main house (at the northeastern edge of an "old field" on the 1920 plat). By 1912, however, the slave row shown on the 1873 map is no longer present (Figure 7).

The 400.6 acre portion of St. Queuntens, known as tract 1,

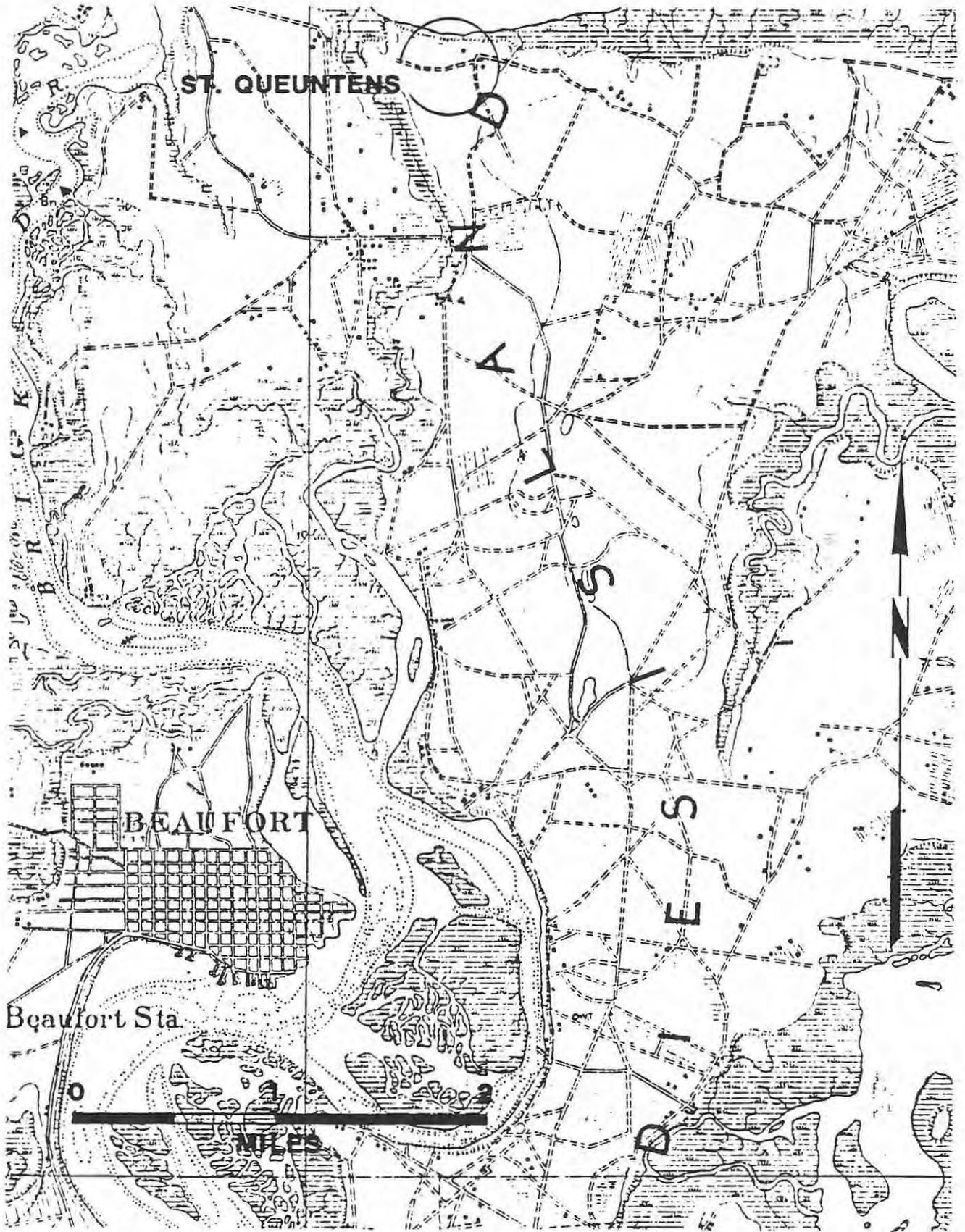


Figure 6. A portion of the 1912 Beaufort topographic map showing the St. Queuntens vicinity.

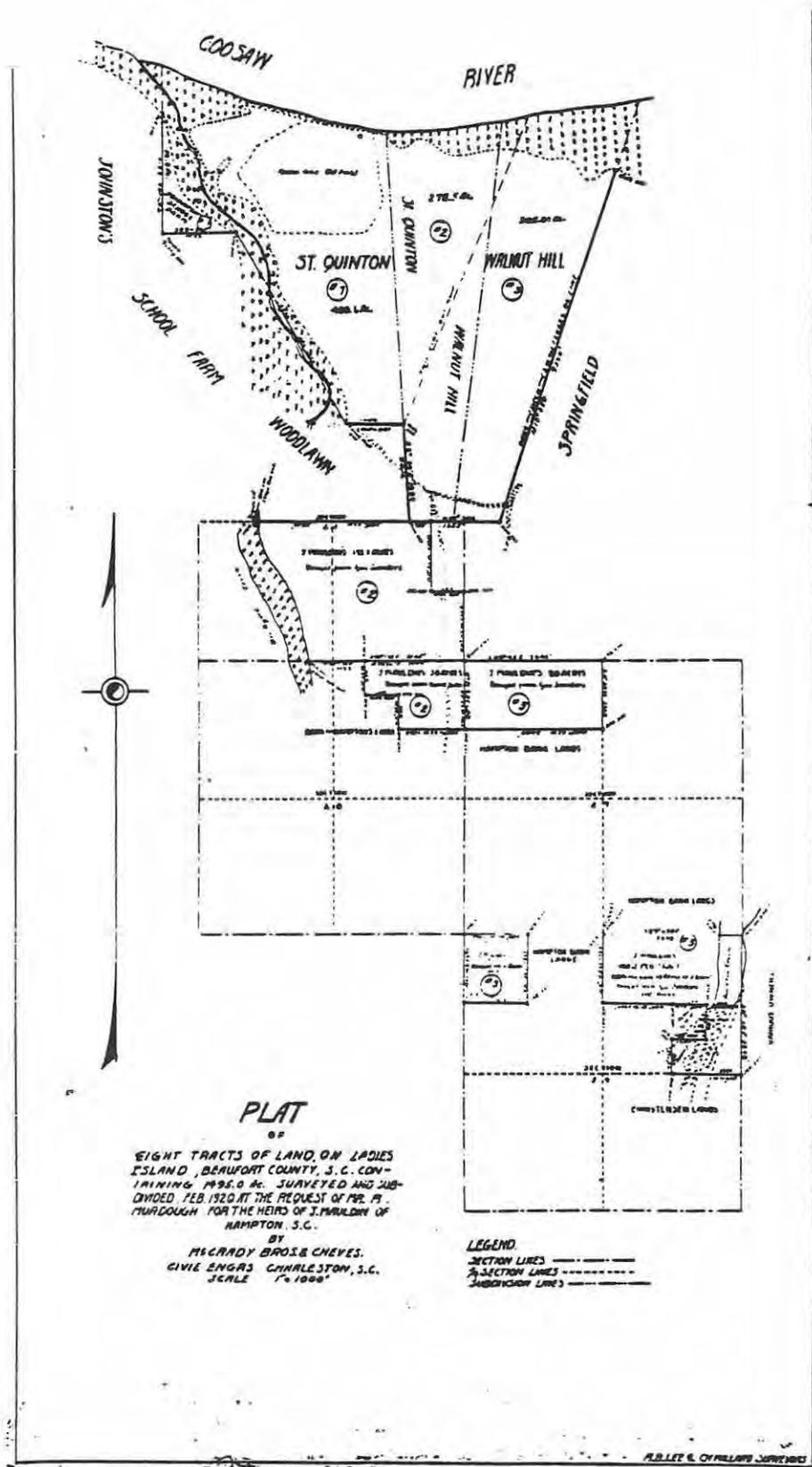


Figure 7. 1920 plat of St. Queuntens, showing the division into two tracts.

and Johnson School Farm, was conveyed by Leonora M. Dowling through Louise Dowling to G.G. Dowling in 1938 (Beaufort County RMC, DB 53, page 546; Beaufort County RMC, DB 61, page 402). By this time, however, there is a mortgage on the property. The 1939 Soil Conservation Service aeriels for Beaufort County show the ruins of a structure, thought to be the main house on the property (CDU-3-103).

In 1949 G.G. Dowling conveyed his portion of St. Queuntens Plantation to Bert H. Walling (Beaufort County RMC, DB 69, page 117). Walling apparently entered into an agreement with Emil H. Klatt to raise dogs on the property, but the partnership failed in 1962 and Klatt went to court to dissolve the agreement and force a settlement (Beaufort County Judgement Roll 10297). The property was sold at public auction to Bert Walling in 1963 (Beaufort County RMC, DB 117, page 3). Walling sold two small tracts to Ladys Island Resort, Inc. in 1965 (Beaufort County RMC, DB 132, page 257) and sold the remainder to Walling Enterprises, Inc. (Beaufort County RMC, DB 113, page 112). Walling Enterprises then sold the property to Ladys Island Resort, Inc. (Beaufort County RMC, DB 132, page 244). In 1967 Ladys Island Resort was sued by Cortinental Corporation and a judgement was obtained ordering the property to be sold (Beaufort County Judgement Roll 13389). The land was sold to Doris B. and Edwin S. Brock (Beaufort County RMC, DB 149, page 232), who sold the property to the current owners, Walling Grove Development Corporation, in 1988 (Beaufort County RMC, DB 508, page 398).

In summary, the historical research specific to the survey tract has revealed that its origin can be traced back to the early eighteenth century, although ownership and land use is unknown for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. By 1820 the property was owned by Joseph and Sarah Fickling. Fickling was a planter of moderate means and it is likely that St. Queuntens was relatively small. By the 1830s the property left the Fickling hands and does not reappear until 1863 when it was purchased by Joseph Reed. Since the antebellum owners are not mentioned in any of the government documents examined, it is possible that the tract was relatively unimportant during the late antebellum. It is likely that the plantation slave row was standing, and probably used through the nineteenth century, and that the main house was standing into the early twentieth century. Clear evidence of the house pattern is visible on aerial photographs dating from 1939.

RESEARCH STRATEGY AND METHODS

Introduction

As was previously indicated, the primary goals of this survey are to identify, record, and assess the significance of archaeological sites within the 37.5 acre Phase I portion of the Walling Grove Plantation development. Secondary goals include an examination of the soils, drainage, and site locations, and an examination of the St. Queuntens Plantation activities and economics. No major analytical hypotheses were created prior to the field work and data analysis, although certain expectations regarding the secondary goals will be outlined in these discussions. The research design proposed for this study is, as discussed by Goodyear et al. (1979:2), fundamentally exploratory and explicative.

The previous discussions regarding soils and drainage lead to the conclusion that prehistoric sites will be found in areas of moderately to well drained soils. Further, the bulk of the site components will be Middle to Late Woodland, since the high sea level stands during these periods are thought to have restricted the dispersion of resources such as large mammals and forest products. Finally, sites are expected to be small and exhibit low artifact diversity since the use of extractive sites is brief, the sites represent a narrow range of activities, and group size was small (Brooks and Scurry 1978). Previous research has also clearly exhibited a non-random pattern to prehistoric site settlement. Even when vast areas of well drained soils are available for settlement, the sites tend to be found clustered around small tidal inlets and marsh areas (see Scurry and Brooks 1980:77 for Charleston County data, Trinkley 1987b for Beaufort County data). Based on these data, prehistoric sites at Walling Grove were expected to occur on the better drained Wando and Seabrook soils, but were not anticipated in the areas of Coosaw and Williman soils. Prehistoric sites, however, were not expected inland, away from marsh or tidal creeks. This situation was anticipated because of the "edge effect" where a variety of resources are brought into close proximity.

Turning to historic site locations, previous research has suggested that the main house or major plantation complex will be situated in areas of "high ground and deep water," which incorporate the positive attributes of well drained soils and immediate access to water transport (Hartley 1984; South and Hartley 1980). As plantation crops and owners changed during the colonial and antebellum periods, it is possible that settlement areas might also change location. Additionally, it might be

impossible to locate the plantation complex in an area which was healthful, centrally located, and adjacent to a deep water access. In such cases compromises on the ideal would be made, but the weight given to each of the various attributes is unclear. While the health and well-being of the owner's slave chattel was of considerable concern, slave rows were not commonly situated on the best land, and in some cases were located on very poorly drained soils (Singleton 1980; Zierden and Calhoun 1983).

The historic documentation, previously discussed, revealed the location of the antebellum plantation complex (main house and slave row), in addition to the location of a colonial landing. The plantation complex, while in an area of relatively well drained soils and adjacent to a bluff to take advantage of the healthful breezes, was not located next to a deep water access. A landing has been identified from the colonial period at the mouth of Broomfield (Johnsons) Creek. While the creek location has gradually shifted to the west, eliminating any contact with deep water today, this appears to have been a relatively recent event. Apparently, such access was less significant in the antebellum period than a central location, healthful climate, or other as yet undetermined attributes. One research question for the historic period involves the choice of the site location.

Also of interest is whether any plantation complex existed in the project area. Previous research at Bellview and Sanders plantations in the Charleston area has suggested that colonial occupations may leave little archaeological record. At Bellview only 20.5% of the ceramics (N=654) date from the eighteenth century (Scurry and Brooks 1980:72), while 32% of the Sanders' ceramics (N=654) date from the colonial period (Trinkley 1985:62). This suggests that some colonial sites may have a lower archaeological visibility than many antebellum sites. This is partially the result of an increased access to ceramics and other goods in the nineteenth century, and in part to the nature of colonial "plantations" when compared to antebellum sites.

Finally, based on the historical research, it appears that St. Queuntens was a relatively small plantation and that the Ficklings were representative of the "middle class" plantation owners. It would be useful to compare the archaeological remains from nearby Beaufort County wealthy plantations such as Sams on Dataw Island with those from St. Queuntens. The archaeological record is also expected to provide evidence of freedmen's lifestyles.

Archival Research

This study incorporated a review of the site files at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. In addition, archival and historical research was conducted at the South Caroliniana Library, the Thomas Cooper Library, the South

Carolina Department of Archives and History, and the Beaufort RMC. Throughout this historical research an emphasis was placed on the primary, rather than secondary, sources as the appropriate level of initial study. While the historical research is not exhaustive, and does not include resources at the Charleston RMC, the South Carolina Historical Society, or the Duke University collections, it does provide a clear background and is a sufficient base for future work in the project area. This historical and archival research was conducted by the author of this study, with assistance from Ms. Mona Grunden and Ms. Debi Hacker.

Field Survey

The initially proposed field techniques (discussed with the Staff Archaeologist of the State Historic Preservation Office at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History) involved (1) an intensive survey of the marsh edge with shovel testing at 50 to 100 foot intervals and screening of the soil through 1/4-inch mesh, (2) less intensive survey of any interior areas associated with marsh or fresh water sloughs using shovel tests and screening of the soil through 1/4-inch mesh, and (3) intensive shovel testing in the area thought (based on the remnants of a tabby structure) to represent a plantation complex.

Should sites be identified by the shovel testing, further tests at closer intervals would be used to obtain data on site boundaries, artifact quantity and diversity, site integrity, and temporal affiliation. The information required for completion of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology site forms would be collected and photographs would be taken, if warranted in the opinion of the field investigator.

All soil would be screened through 1/4-inch mesh, with each shovel test numbered sequentially. Each test would measure about 0.8 foot square and would be excavated to at least the base of the A or Ap horizon (normally a 1.0 to 1.5 feet deep). All cultural remains (except brick, mortar, tabby, or shell) would be collected. Brick, mortar, tabby, and shell recovered from shovel tests would be noted with occasional samples collected. Consistent notes would be made of soil profiles for comparison with the county soil survey.

These plans were put into effect with no major exceptions. A total of 120 shovel tests was excavated. Tests 1-7 were placed in the immediate vicinity of the tabby ruins. Tests 8-12 were placed along a transect running south from the tabby ruins at 30 foot intervals. Tests 13-16 were also placed at 30 foot intervals north of the tabby ruins. Tests 17-32 were placed along a transect running west from the tabby ruins at 30 foot intervals. Tests 33-58 were placed along the edge of the marsh at 50 foot

intervals and include several additional tests in areas of positive results. Tests 59-62 were placed on a transect running east of the tabby ruins at 50 foot intervals, while Tests 63-65 were placed within a power line easement at the western edge of the north Phase I tract. Tests 67-71 were placed at 50 foot intervals in the area east of posited main house to investigate a possible kitchen area. Tests 81-95 were placed along a north-south transect at both 50 and 100 foot intervals adjacent to Broomfield (Johnsons) Creek in the west Phase I tract. Tests 96-104 ran east-west in this tract, at 100 foot intervals, in order to investigate the more interior area adjacent to a fresh water slough. Finally, an additional 16 tests were placed on the southern (interior) edge of the north Phase I tract (Figures 8 and 9).

Surface survey was conducted only in the area of the posited plantation structures, with roads, cleared ground, erosional areas, and a recent ditch examined for evidence of features and artifacts. Elsewhere the ground cover prevented any meaningful surface collecting.

Laboratory and Analysis Methods

The cleaning of artifacts was conducted in Beaufort on May 15, 1989. Cataloging of the specimens was conducted at the Chicora laboratories in Columbia on May 19. All artifacts except brass and lead specimens were wet cleaned. Brass and lead items were dry brushed and evaluated for further conservation needs. Conservation treatments are being conducted by Chicora personnel in Columbia.

Brass items, if they exhibit active bronze disease, are being 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 follows the electrolysis. Afterwards, the surface chlorides are removed with deionized water baths and the items are dried in an acetone bath. The conserved cuprous items are coated with a 20% solution of acryloid B-72 in toluene. Ferrous objects are being treated in one of two ways. After the mechanical removal of gross encrustations, the artifacts are tested for sound metal by the use of a magnet. Items lacking sound metal are subjected to multiple baths of deionized water to remove chlorides. The baths are continued until a conductivity meter indicates a level of chlorides no greater than 1.0 ppm. The specimens are dewatered in acetone baths and given an application of 10% acryloid B-72 in toluene, not only to seal out moisture, but also to provide some additional strength. Items which contain sound metal are 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 is removed, the artifacts are wire brushed and placed in a series of deionized water soaks,

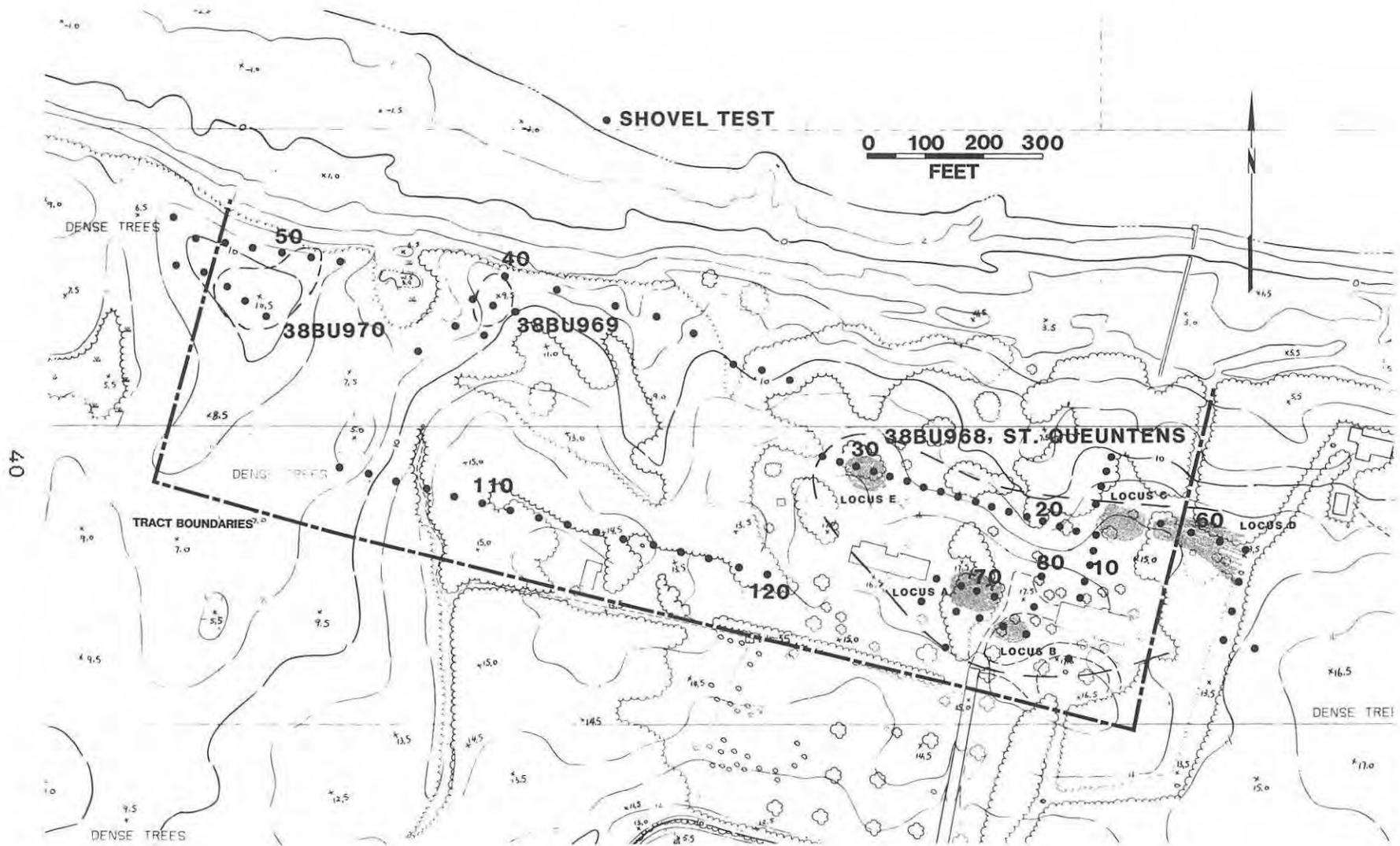


Figure 8. Topographic map of the north Phase I tract.

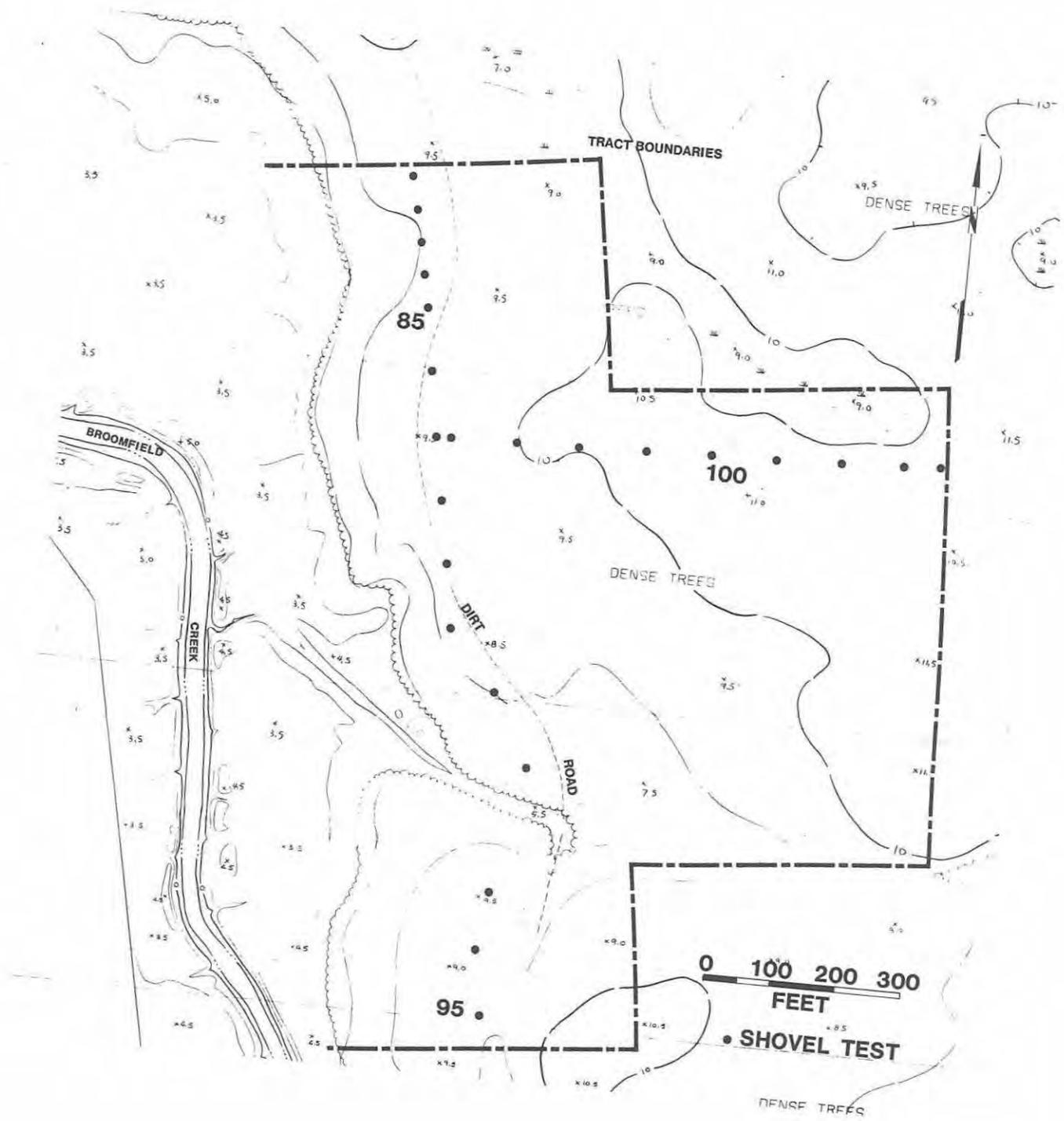


Figure 9. Topographic map of the west Phase I tract.

identical to those described above, for the removal of chlorides. When the artifacts test free of chlorides (at a level less than 0.1 ppm), they are air dried and a series of phosphoric (10%) and tannic (20%) acid solutions are applied. The artifacts are air dried for 24 hours, dewatered in acetone baths, and coated with a 10% solution of acryloid B-72 in toluene.

As previously discussed, the materials have been accepted for curation by The Environmental and Historical Museum of Hilton Head Island as Accession Number 1989.3 and have been cataloged using that institution's accessioning practices (ARCH-1352 through ARCH-1407). Specimens were packed in plastic bags and boxed. All material will be delivered to the curatorial facility at the completion of the conservation treatments.

Analysis of the collections followed professionally accepted standards with a level of intensity suitable to the quantity and quality of the remains. Prehistoric pottery was classified using common coastal Georgia and South Carolina typologies (DePratter 1979; Trinkley 1983). The temporal, cultural, and typological classifications of the historic remains follow Noel Hume (1970), Miller (1980), Price (1970), and South (1977).

IDENTIFIED SITES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

38BU968, St. Queuntens Plantation

Site 38BU968 is situated at the end of the dirt Walling Grove Road, about 400 feet south of the Coosaw River at the eastern corner of the north Phase I tract (Figure 8). The UTM coordinates for the site are E532600 N3595300. The site represents the remains of St. Queuntens Plantation and consists of at least four loci. The plantation remains are situated on the excessively well drained Wando soils at an elevation of about 11 to 13 feet MSL. The vegetation in the site area incorporates grassed lawn, open hardwood forest, and mixed hardwood with an herbaceous undergrowth.

Boundaries have been established through shovel tests, natural topography, very limited surface collection, and the artificial boundaries imposed by the Walling Grove tract. The site encompasses an area 800 feet east-west by 300 feet north-south and was examined by a total of 27 shovel tests (detailed below). Although this site area is quite large, it includes at least four, and probably five, loci representing occupation from the late eighteenth through late nineteenth centuries.

Locus A, representing the main house, is situated between the two standing twentieth century structures in an open yard area with small clumps of scrub trees. This locus was examined by Shovel Tests 67-71 and 75-78. The only above ground remains identified in this survey are two tabby blocks, approximately 3.5 feet (east-west) by 7 feet (north-south) which are oriented N10°E. These blocks are placed 30 feet apart and represent tabby supports for the two end chimneys of the main house. While not verified by this survey, it appears likely from the location of scrub tree clumps that additional tabby corner piers will be found preserved. The structure is thought to measure about 30 by 20 feet, was of frame construction, and probably dated to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. The standing tabby remains are briefly discussed in Appendix 1 by Colin Brooker.

Locus B is the posited kitchen structure, situated about 100 feet east-southeast of the main house. This locus was investigated by Shovel Tests 67, 72-74, and 79. The locus is immediately southwest of the eastern most twentieth century structure in an area of grassed lawn. While a number of items were recovered from the dirt road immediately west of this locus, it is unlikely that the road has caused any serious damage and the recovered specimens are thought to represent midden debris eroding into the road. This evaluation is based on the apparent

antiquity of the road bed.

Locus C represents the remains of a partially standing tabby structure and the below ground remains of a second, probably very similar, structure. The tabby ruins are situated about 250 feet northeast of the main house and were examined by Shovel Tests 1-8. Based on the partially standing ruins, discussed in Appendix 1 by Brooker, the structures were about 25 feet (north-south) by 12 feet (east-west). The western, partially standing structure, opened on the south elevation (facing the yard area of the main house), and had two windows on at least the west elevation. Based on construction techniques this structure is thought to have been built in the 1840s. The design appears to be utilitarian rather than domestic. Recovered artifacts suggest, however, that it was used as a dwelling in the postbellum. The locus is found in a grassed yard area immediately north of the eastern most twentieth century structure.

Locus D represents a portion of the plantation slave row. Remains begin about 100 feet east of Locus C and extend off the Phase I tract onto a tract for which we had no legal access. It should be remembered that Walling Grove represents only the western two-thirds of the original St. Queuntens Plantation. This locus, therefore, extends into the adjacent tract which has only recently been subdivided from the plantation. This locus was examined by Shovel Tests 59-63 and the area includes grassed lawn, mixed hardwoods, and a power line easement.

A possible fifth locus has been identified at the western edge of the plantation. The remains from this area appear to date entirely from the postbellum and appear to be lower status domestic items. A review of the available late nineteenth century maps for the tract do not reveal any structures in this area (see Figure 6). This possible locus is within the grassed yard of the western twentieth century structure.

Based on the current lot lines, Locus A is contained in the center of a single lot and may be damaged by construction of the house, access driveway, or placement of utilities. Locus B is partially contained within the lot currently occupied by the eastern most twentieth century structure, but is largely within the narrow access strip for a development lot. This locus may be subjected to development damage from the construction of an access road or the placement of utilities. Locus C is split by two lots, one within Phase I and the other just outside. This site area may be damaged by landscaping or house construction. Locus D appears to be outside the current Phase I tract and extends into the adjacent tract not currently owned by Walling Grove Plantation. Locus E is situated on lots immediately north of the western most twentieth century structure.

Artifacts

Collections from the shovel tests and surface proveniences are detailed in Table 1. While the sample is very small, the heavy use of shovel tests and screening tends to support the validity of the collections for use in pattern analysis (South 1977). The Kitchen Group comprises 62.6% of the collection, while the Architecture Group is 29.9%. Both are within the range of 51.8-60.0% for Kitchen and 25.2-31.4% for Architecture of the Revised Carolina Pattern (Garrow 1982). Although the collection represents a mix of material from main house, kitchen, and slave contexts, it appears to represent domestic material typical of a plantation assemblage.

The ceramics are useful for dating the period of site occupation. Materials from the early eighteenth through mid-nineteenth centuries are present. The application of South's (1977) Mean Ceramic Date Formula yields a date of 1817 (Table 2). A small quantity of ceramics, such as the white salt-glazed stoneware, whieldon ware, and lead glazed slipware, are colonial wares probably dating from the earliest extensive occupation of the plantation. At the present time it is unclear whether these remains are related to the ownership by William Bull or another individual. Fickling's antebellum ownership is probably typified by the abundance of pearlwares, while the late antebellum and postbellum occupation is evidenced by the whitewares (which represent 46% of the ceramics collected).

The date range evidenced by the ceramics is mirrored in the remaining artifact collection. Locus C, the tabby utilitarian structure, produced a small quantity of domestic refuse, including fragments of a South Carolina Dispensary bottle (TPQ of 1891), which clearly indicate its use as a domestic structure in the late nineteenth or possibly early twentieth century.

Site Evaluation

Site 38BU698 consists of a late colonial through postbellum plantation occupation including the remains of a main house, a probable kitchen, at least two tabby outbuildings, portions of a slave row, and a possible postbellum structure. Historical sources are available for the plantation, and the current research has not exhausted all of the available documentation. Site integrity for all components, with the possible exception of the slave row, is high. The main house and the two outbuildings are represented by tabby remains. The kitchen appears to be represented by midden deposits. The portion of the slave row found on Walling Grove has been disturbed by land modifications and possesses a lower level of integrity. However, it is clear that the row extends off the property to the east and the site off the survey tract has not been evaluated in this study. Site clarity, based on the limited information from shovel tests,

	Tests	Surface	Total
<u>Kitchen Group</u>			
Ceramics	36	31	67
Colono ware	17		17
Blk. bottle glass	15	2	17
Aqua bottle glass	19	1	20
Brn. bottle glass	5	2	7
Clear bottle glass	22	1	23
Green bottle glass	4	2	6
Manganese bottle glass	6	1	7
Glassware		1	1
Tableware		1	1
Kettle/pan fragments	2	3	5
Container fragments	8		8
			<hr/> 179 62.6%
<u>Architecture Group</u>			
Window glass	11	2	13
Cut nails & fragments	17	4	21
Hand wrought nails	4		4
Wire nails	2		2
UID nails	28		28
Spikes	1		1
Construction hardware	1		1
Padlock		1	1
			<hr/> 71 29.9%
<u>Furniture Group</u>			
Furniture hardware			<hr/> 0 0.0%
<u>Arms Group</u>			
Minie ball	1		1
			<hr/> 1 0.5%
<u>Clothing Group</u>			
Misc. items			<hr/> 0 0.0%
<u>Personal Group</u>			
Misc. items			<hr/> 0 0.0%
<u>Tobacco Group</u>			
Kaolin pipe stems	1		1
			<hr/> 1 0.5%
<u>Activities Group</u>			
Farm tools		1	1
Misc. hardware	1		1
UID iron	11	2	13
Lead scrap	1		1
Brass Scrap	1	2	3
			<hr/> 19 6.5%

Table 1. Artifact pattern analysis for 38BU968.

Ceramic	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Lead glazed slipware	1733	1	1733
White SG SW	1753	2	3506
Tortoiseshell	1755	1	1755
Jackfield	1760	1	1760
Creamware, undecorated	1791	8	14328
Pearlware, blue trans print	1818	5	9090
edged	1805	5	9025
annular	1805	3	5415
undecorated	1805	15	27075
Whiteware, blue edged	1853	1	1853
blue trans print	1848	2	3696
undecorated	1860	15	27900
Yellow ware	1853	2	3706
		<u>61</u>	<u>110842</u>

Mean Ceramic Date: $110842 \div 61 = 1817.1$

Table 2. Mean ceramic date for 38BU968.

appears to be high. The only area exhibiting disturbance is, again, the slave row. Artifactual variety and quantity are both high and representative of a plantation occupation.

This site is eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. It is likely that the development will adversely affect the site, through property access roads, utility construction, sewer systems, and house construction. There are two options, either site preservation through green spacing, or data recovery.

Green spacing is recognized as an appropriate, and often cost-effective, mitigation measure for archaeological site conservation. Such green spacing, however, must ensure the permanent protection and integrity of the archaeological data and architectural remains. Nine recommendations are offered if green spacing is to be considered; these provisions are subject to the review and approval of the State Historic Preservation Office.

1. All loci are to be blocked out in the field with a buffer sufficient to ensure complete protection of the remains.
2. Each area should be cleared, by hand, of understory vegetation. No heavy equipment should be used and all cut vegetation should be removed from the site area.
3. All tabby should be cleared of vegetation, taking all measures possible to ensure that the features are

not further damaged.

4. The areas should continue to be clearly defined during all phases of construction. No equipment should be allowed in these areas, or be allowed to use the areas as turn-arounds. The areas should not be used to stockpile supplies, or be otherwise disturbed. All personnel, including contractor's personnel, should be strictly prohibited from entering the areas. This is particularly important to prevent looting of the loci.

5. Any landscaping in the areas should be conducted by hand and ground disturbance should be limited to the upper 0.2 foot of soil. No utilities, including sprinkler lines, should be placed through the areas.

6. If more intensive landscaping is desired, then the sites should be protected by placing an isolating layer of clean builder's sand over the area. This layer should be at least 0.5 foot thick and it may be appropriate to also use filter cloth between the site and the sand zone. Additional topsoil then may be placed on top of the sand. Landscaping or sprinkler lines should not exceed the depth of the isolating level of top soil and sand.

7. Walling Grove Plantation should develop a historic easement or protective covenant protecting those areas set aside in green spacing and this protection should be in perpetuity.

8. Appropriate security should be provided to ensure that no one digs or otherwise disturbs the various loci.

9. All standing tabby architectural elements should receive immediate consolidation necessary to prevent their continued deterioration. This work should be performed by an architect with experience in tabby consolidation using appropriate methods.

If data recovery is the preferred alternative, it is anticipated that up to an additional 8 days of historic research may be required. Locus A, the main house, is expected to require approximately a week of field investigations by a crew of four. Locus B, the posited kitchen area, will require about the same level of effort. Locus C, the out buildings, will require five field days with a crew of four. Locus D, a portion of the slave row, will require only two days of investigation, and an additional two days should be devoted to the fifth locus which is thought to represent a small postbellum occupation. Historical studies should concentrate on completing the chain of title for

the plantation, developing a clearer understanding of plantation economics and agricultural productivity, and comparing this tract to nearby plantations. Field research should be directed toward a fuller understanding of the plantation architecture, evidence of activities taking place on the plantation, better understanding of the economic position of its occupants, developing information on food ways as evidenced by the kitchen area, and exploring postbellum transitions.

38BU969

Site 38BU969 is situated on the east side of a small tidal slough on the north Phase I tract about 700 feet west of 38BU968. The soils are moderately well drained Seabrook sands and the site elevation is about 9 feet MSL. The UTM coordinates are E532490 N3595400. Artifacts were first encountered during the shovel testing along the edge of the marsh and the site was further investigated with Tests 40 through 43. Only two of these tests produced artifacts. The area is wooded in mixed hardwoods with abundant live oaks and scrub palmetto. Site dimensions, based on the shovel tests, appear to be about 75 feet in diameter. Artifacts were recovered only from the upper A horizon to a maximum depth of 0.8 foot.

The site represents a small, sparse scatter of prehistoric remains dating from the Middle to Late Woodland period. Recovered materials include one St. Catherines Cord Marked sherd and two small, unidentifiable sherds.

This site evidences low artifact density and variety. Site integrity is judged to be moderate, primarily because of the limited extent and low density. In addition, a portion of the site has been damaged by grubbing activities which took place several years ago during a failed development attempt. As a result, this site is not eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places and no additional work is recommended.

38BU970

Site 38BU970 is situated on the west side of the slough on which 38BU969 was found and extends inland on a sandy ridge. Although site elevations range to 10 feet MSL, the soils in this area are the more poorly drained Williman Series. The UTM coordinates are E532380 N3595380 and the site vegetation is similar to that found at 38BU969. The Coosaw River is about 200 feet to the north. Site boundaries of 150 feet northeast-southwest by 100 feet northwest by southeast are based on a series of seven shovel tests (Tests 47-49, 55-58) and the natural topography of the area.

Materials recovered from three of the tests include one

Stallings Plain sherd, one Refuge Plain sherd, and two Mount Pleasant Cord Marked sherds. In addition, one shovel test produced a small quantity of historic material. This site appears to represent a small, sparse Early to Middle Woodland period prehistoric site with a core area on the sandy ridge intermediate between the Coosaw River marsh and a small interior fresh water pond or drainage.

Site integrity is moderate, as portions of this site have also been disturbed by previous development attempts. Site clarity is minimal since all of the recovered remains came from the upper 0.8 foot of the site. Artifact variety and quantity are low. The environmental context of this site is different from 38BU969, although previous studies have found sandy ridges such as this one to be favorite locations for prehistoric occupations. The site does not appear to be eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places and no additional work is recommended.

CONCLUSIONS

The previously stated secondary goals of this study were, first, to examine the relationship between site location, soil type, and topography, and second, to explore the economics and operation of what appeared to be a "middling" status antebellum plantation on Ladys Island in the Beaufort area. The completed study provides some input into both areas.

It was anticipated that the prehistoric sites would be found in areas of moderately well drained soils, while few, if any, sites would be found in the areas of poor soil drainage and low topography. Of the two prehistoric sites identified one was found on moderately well drained soil, while the other was found on poorly drained soil. The second site, technically on the poorly drained Williman soils, exhibited a soil profile more similar to the better drained soils than to the Williman soils. In addition, the site was in an environmental context suitable for taking advantage of both fresh water and marsh habitats. It seems likely that the presence of the sandy ridge and close proximity to several diverse habitats were deciding factors for occupation in this area. An examination of the west Phase I tract, composed entirely of the poorly drained Williman soils, reveals no evidence of prehistoric occupation. No sites were found more than 200 feet inland from the marsh.

It may be questioned whether the soil drainage today can be extended back in time to a period of lower sea levels. Although sea levels may have an effect on the water table, Edminster and Reeve note that the "ability of soils to transmit water has primary importance in the drainage of . . . lands" (Edminster and Reeve 1957:380). The permeability of most soils is not likely to be altered by sea level changes. Consequently, areas which are poorly drained today were probably equally poorly drained prehistorically.

As discussed by Scurry and Brooks (1980) for the Charleston area, the bulk of the site components are clearly late Early Woodland through Middle Woodland. Material representative of Early Woodland Stallings through late Middle Woodland (or early Late Woodland) St. Catherines periods are present at the two prehistoric sites found in the study area. These findings are consistent with recent research on Hilton Head Island (Trinkley 1987b). South Appalachian Mississippian and protohistoric components are absent from the study area. Also, as projected by previous studies, the sites are small and exhibit low artifact diversity.

Overall, the prehistoric site patterning predicted by studies such as Scurry and Brooks (1980) and Trinkley (1987a, 1987b) has been consistently documented. Although certain aspects of the predictive model might be intuitively predicted (such as sites will be located on better drained soils), the benefit of this well tested model is that it may now be used to allow more effective budgeting of time and effort in coastal surveys from Charleston south to Beaufort.

Turning to the historic settlement expectations, it is observed that the plantation tract offered no area of access to the deep waters of Coosaw Creek. In the colonial period, however, a landing was identified at the northwestern edge of Walling Grove and Broomfield (Johnsons) Creek (outside the Phase I tract) which may have remained close to land until relatively recently (Figure 4). Future surveys should target this area for intensive examinations. While removed from the main plantation complex, this landing may have been used into the antebellum period.

The area chosen for the plantation complex is characterized by well drained, sandy soils and an extensive flat area elevated above much of the surrounding plantation. These factors appear to have been of greater importance than adjacent deep water, which suggests that while "deep water and high ground" was the preferred settlement location, high ground may have been considered of greater importance for health and safety than deep water was to transportation. In other words, although deep water access was important, as long as it was available there might have been no reason to locate the main house at that access point. A similar situation is observed at the Sanders and Palmetto Grove plantations in Charleston County (Trinkley 1985, 1987).

A second research topic for St. Queuntens was whether the settlement changed location from the colonial to the antebellum period. The tabby construction technique in the main house suggests either a late colonial or early antebellum period as does the mean ceramic date. It seems unlikely that the settlement changed location after its initial settlement sometime between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The presence of potentially later tabby construction techniques in the standing out building suggests that the plantation was expanded at some point in the late antebellum.

Unfortunately, the bulk of the research questions proposed for this plantation can be studied only through more extensive investigation and particularly excavation. Excavations at the plantation settlement, for example, would be needed not only to yield collections suitable for comparing the wealth and status of St. Queuntens to other plantations, but also to study the plantation's response to postbellum economic conditions.

Excavations will be required to gain further insight on colonial period operations and lifestyle. Excavation is necessary to determine additional information on the construction and appearance of the various structures. Work on the slave row would be limited both by the current property division and also by the disturbance of that portion of the slave row on Walling Grove.

While the present survey has not been capable of answering many of the questions associated with the historic occupation, considerable information has been presented on both historic and prehistoric site patterning in the study area which should be applicable to the general vicinity. This preliminary study of the Walling Grove Phase I development provides a foundation for future work on the tract and better defines some of the research questions for the study area.

APPENDIX 1. ARCHITECTURAL EVALUATION OF TABBY RUINS
AT ST. QUEUNTENS PLANTATION

Colin Brooker

38BU968, Locus A

There can be no doubt that the two tabby blocks at Locus A represent chimney bases surviving from the site's main house. The blocks are approximately 33 feet 2 inches apart (allowing for erosion and measuring between the inside faces) (Figure 10). Construction is massive, with the better preserved western example measuring 3 feet 4 inches (east-west) by 7 feet (north-south). The eastern block has suffered attrition and is densely overgrown. It measures about 3 feet 4 inches (east-west) by 6 feet 3 inches (north-south). Both bases have their long sides oriented N10°E. Neither evidences any trace of a hearth or chimney, although small scatters of fired and tabby brick occur in the immediate vicinity.

Discussion

Given their spacing and form, it is clear that the two tabby bases represent end chimneys of an otherwise destroyed timber framed house oriented like local dwellings, north-south. End chimneys imply a relatively narrow plan, probably one room deep with either a hall dividing the enclosed space into two principal rooms organized about the central circulation area, or two principal rooms of unequal size, the larger accommodating through traffic. Such plans have a long history, appearing in South Carolina during the colonial period and, at a vernacular level, continuing into the twentieth century.

Few plantation houses from Beaufort County are documented. However, with respect to organization, if not construction, the late eighteenth century buildings at Dataw and Spring islands provide useful analogies. The Sams House, Dataw Island, is the better known of the two. Its initial phase (ca. 1770-1780) incorporated a tabby residence (now in ruins) measuring 38 feet 4 inches by 20 feet 4 inches which was furnished with end chimneys. Early nineteenth century drawings (Sams n.d.) show that the structure consisted of a main storey raised on piers with a front porch extending the entire building length and an attic lighted by dormer windows. The roof was gabled, extending at a slightly lower pitch over the front porch, assuming form closely resembling that at Wild Heron Plantation (ca. 1756) near Savannah, Georgia (see Linley 1982:17). John Julius Sam's memoirs state that the Dataw house "consisted of two rooms, a narrow

passage between, two attic rooms above and two cellars below" (Sams n.d.:n.p.).

The first phase of the Spring Island tabby Edwards House, thought to date to about 1770, must have been very similar before alterations occurred around 1800. The original structure measured 37 feet (excluding end chimneys) by 19 feet 9 inches (see Brooker 1989:Figure 26). The timber framed Chaplin House, in Beaufort, South Carolina, dates from about 1790 and exhibits a variation of the Dataw plan. This structure incorporates two rooms without an intervening passageway or hall, an attic space, and a narrow winding stair raising out of the larger first floor living area. Overall dimensions (excluding the late additions and porches) are 30 feet 6 inches by 17 feet 2 inches.

Regarding St. Queuntens, there is not firm evidence for building height. Chimney bases are somewhat larger than those of Dataw (3 feet 5 inches by 6 feet) and Spring Island (3 feet 2 inches by 6 feet), but would appear too narrow if the chimneys were more than one and a half stories high. Thus, it is possible that the house was a single storey structure raised on piers. Porches can be safely assumed, overlooking the Coosaw River (north) and internal areas of the plantation (south), but their shape will remain uncertain without excavation. It is certain that the plantation house was a relatively modest affair, sharing none of the extravagance brought to early phases of the Dataw and Spring Island houses by the early nineteenth century additions. The St. Queuntens Plantation house's scale and plan also differs from Fripp Plantation, St. Helena Island, built about 1825, which is a timber framed double pile structure, and the tabby Haig Point Plantation, Daufuskie Island, built about the same time period, which had a "T" plan.

Tabby chimney bases occur throughout Beaufort County. The popularity of such designs is explained by the scarcity of fired brick. The tabby chimney foundations, often elevated well above ground level, minimized the amount of expensive fired brick necessary for flue construction. This approach also reduced the quantity of less durable tabby brick necessary.

Temporal indicators for the St. Queuntens structure are limited. Dense and well made tabby indicates a date before 1825, while the narrowness of the hearths is consistent with local late eighteenth century building practice. Apparent dimensional similarity and typological analogy with early building phases at Dataw and Spring islands narrows the possible time frame, suggesting provisional attribution of the St. Queuntens house to the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

38BU968, Locus C

The standing ruins occupying Locus C are represented by

poorly preserved tabby wall fragments, 1 foot in width, defining three sides of a rectangular building, oriented N11°E along the long axis (Figure 10). Badly cracked and heavily abraded, the west elevation is preserved for its complete length of 25 feet 7-1/2 inches, although it is obviously reduced in height. The north elevation has suffered heavy mechanical damage. All trace of the east elevation is lost above ground level. The south elevation survives merely as an incomplete fragment. Thus, there is no certain evidence now visible for the structure's exact width. Wall elements together with a probe excavation near the presumed southeast corner suggest that this dimension is somewhere between 10 and 12 feet.

Insofar as can be determined, the structure contained one undifferentiated space entered centrally from the south. Fragments of this doorway are surviving, although the width is uncertain. A rectangular socket (measuring 2-1/2 inches by 3-1/2 inches in section) on the west elevation represents the bedding for a timber frame, suggesting that fenestration incorporated at least one and, assuming symmetry, perhaps two windows along the structure's east facade. Structural evidence tends to rule out the possibility of an external chimney; a probe excavation near the building's center revealed no evidence of an internal stack.

Ignoring the structure's impairment, the tabby construction appears crudely executed. Impressions show formwork was of irregular height, ranging between 20 and 25 inches, and was often not continuous for the entire building perimeter. The lack of structural continuity is particularly evident at the south doorway, which lacks foundations extending across the opening to provide a firm bearing upon which the door frame or sill could be erected (cf. Structure G, Haig Point, Daufuskie Island in Brooker 1989:215-219).

Heavy erosion has destroyed most evidence pertaining to formwork ties, although the north elevation contains evidence of 1-1/2 inch diameter circular timber dowels, which are thought to have been positioned (judging from the west elevation) between 4 and 5 feet on center. This dowel spacing is wider than normal, again suggestive of crude construction. Thomas Spalding (1816) recommended keeping formwork apart "by pins, at every three or four feet, which as soon as the Taby begins to harden are driven out." Most local tabby buildings exhibit this "pin" spacing (Brooker 1988:78).

Discussion

Structural discontinuity, widely spaced dowels, irregular and uneven pour heights are all factors pointing toward a degraded building tradition when compared with tabby of the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. In Beaufort County large scale tabby construction became increasingly rare after

about 1835, as improved transportation increased the availability of manufactured products such as fired brick. Among outlying areas or islands, tabby construction continued until the 1860s but diminution of size and quality is apparent, perhaps reflecting quantitative reduction of workers skilled in what was becoming an outmoded craft. A building date after 1835 and perhaps closer to 1840-1845 would therefore be appropriate at Locus C, even though other circumstances (such as poverty or indifference) might have exacerbated the various structural inadequacies.

Little can be said regarding function. Lack of a chimney excludes the structure being originally intended to provide year round domestic accommodation, suggesting rather storage or processing activities. This conclusion is strengthened by the single doorway located on the short south elevation, which indicates a plan typology differing from double entry, through-passage arrangements typical of local early nineteenth century slave housing (Brooker 1989:228-229). Nevertheless, domestic artifacts suggest that the structure was occupied during the postbellum period, a stove perhaps providing the necessary heat.

Relationships between the structure described and the main plantation house (Locus A) require further exploration. Clusters of service buildings located around the owner's dwelling are distinctive features at many southeastern plantation sites (Lewis 1979:25). These structures may be grouped either loosely or more formally about the main house yard. Common orientation of the structures occupying Loci A and C suggest a considered organization which may be of aesthetic or functional significance.

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