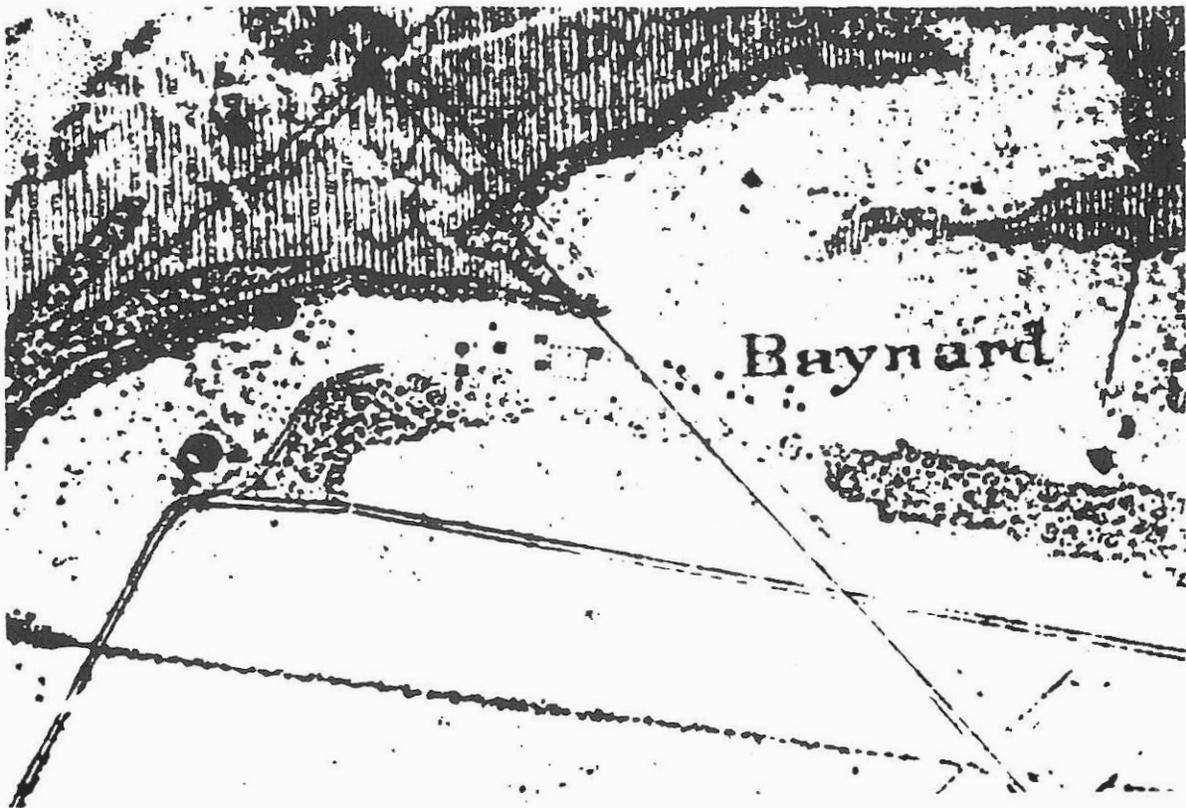


**PRELIMINARY HISTORICAL RESEARCH
ON THE BAYNARD PLANTATION,
HILTON HEAD ISLAND,
BEAUFORT COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA**



CHICORA FOUNDATION RESEARCH SERIES 24

PRELIMINARY HISTORICAL RESEARCH ON THE BAYNARD PLANTATION,
HILTON HEAD ISLAND, BEAUFORT COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

Research Series 24

Michael Trinkley



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The past is the only dead thing that
smells sweet.

-- Edward Thomas

ABSTRACT

This study provides a historical context and the results of primary historical document research for the Baynard Plantation on Hilton Head Island in Beaufort County, South Carolina. Originally part of the Bayley Barony on Hilton Head Island, it was originally sold as individual parcels or farms in the late eighteenth century with the tract eventually consolidated by James Stoney. The Stoney estate lost the plantation in the early nineteenth century as a result of mounting debts. Good documentary sources, however, are absent until the second quarter of the nineteenth century when the plantation was purchased by William E. Baynard. By combining historical and cartographic sources, it has been possible to provide a preliminary understanding of the events and activities which took place on the plantation during the antebellum and postbellum periods.

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In addition, this research has been aided by several Beaufort area individuals, including Ms. Mona Grunden, Mr. Colin Brooker, and Mr. Robert Peeples. The investigations have also benefitted from the support and enthusiasm of the staffs of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, the South Caroliniana Library, and the South Carolina Historical Society. I greatly appreciate their patience. Review comments were graciously offered by Ms. Nancy Hewitt, Ms. Margaret Greer, Mr. Robert Peeples, and Mr. Michael Taylor. I appreciate their time and consideration.

I wish to express my considerable thanks to my associates, Ms. Debi Hacker and Ms. Mona Grunden for their thorough research. Without their dedication and persistence much of the information contained in this study would still be unavailable.

INTRODUCTION

The Baynard Ruins are situated on the southwestern end of Hilton Head Island within the modern confines of Sea Pines Plantation. The area is defined by Baynard Park Road and Baynard Cove Road and is shown on the Beaufort County, Hilton Head Tax Map 17. The site is composed of the massive tabby ruins of a main plantation house, and three additional structures. There is limited archaeological and considerable documentary evidence that this is the location of an eighteenth and nineteenth plantation owned by James and John Stoney and later by William E. Baynard. It is judged to have a high degree of architectural and archaeological integrity, coupled with an excellent natural context.

The plantation complex consists of the main structure, measuring 40 feet 6 inches by 46 feet 6-1/2 inches feet and oriented essentially north-south, a tabby chimney pier measuring 6 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 7 inches, and two smaller outbuildings measuring 30 feet 3-1/2 inches by 13 feet and 26 feet 1-3/4 inches by 16 feet 6 inches (Brooker 1991). These latter three structural remains are oriented approximately N40°E and they may represent an earlier building phase than the main house.

Topography falls off noticeably from the sandy ridge on which the settlement is located and it is likely that the main house was situated, at least partially, to take advantage of the breeze coming off Calibogue Sound to the north, if not to display the wealth of the owner (Figure 1). The main house is at an elevation of 24 to 25 feet MSL, with the other various structures at an elevation several feet lower. The entire site is found on well drained Wando Series soils (Stuck 1980:Map 105).

Today the site is a green spaced preserve within the Sea Pines development and is protected from the immediate threats of development. This step has largely succeeded in preserving the integrity of the site -- the topography and immediate natural surroundings have not been significantly altered (although, of course, the site would have originally been entirely cleared and intentionally landscaped). The ruins themselves, however, are not currently protected from the less obvious, but just as pervasive, effects of natural erosion and deterioration. There has been considerable collapse of the main structure's tabby walls and those still standing evidence some impairment (Colin Brooker, personal communication 1990).

Recent efforts by Mrs. George Plante have resulted in clearing much of the vegetation which has threatened the site, substantially opening the area and serving to make it more appropriate as a

historic park. The bulk of the remaining vegetation consists of small oaks, scrub wax myrtle, and palmettos, evidence of the site's abandonment for the last century.

The site, first reported to the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology in 1971, was described simply as "the ruins of a tabby house and the foundations of three outbuildings" (38BU58 site form, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology). Little additional information was provided, although a brief note was made that "Alan Calmes tested the site a few years ago." Unfortunately, no records remain of Calmes' excavations, conducted under the auspices of Fred Hack, although some artifacts from the work are to be curated at the Environmental and Historical Museum of Hilton Head Island. The identification of the site as the "Baynard Ruins" was apparently based on the name given the site on the USGS Bluffton topographic sheet (Figure 1), which most likely can be traced to oral accounts during the 1950s.

Although no archaeological investigations were undertaken at the site as part of this historic documentation, the site visit, combined with this study, suggests that the actual dispersal of archaeological remains may be slightly more tightly confined than the 2 acres currently reported (38BU58 site form, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology). The area green spaced for the Baynard Park is approximately 9.8 acres, clearly providing a buffer around the ruins. The actual boundaries for this component of the site are anticipated to follow the topography of the sand ridge.

The historic documentation was conducted by Chicora Foundation in December 1990 and January 1991 at the request of Mrs. George Plante, who is currently engaged in efforts to preserve the ruins. Involved in the research were Ms. Debi Hacker, Ms. Mona Grunden, and the author. Sources consulted include the Beaufort County Register of Mesne Conveyance, the Charleston Register of Mesne Conveyance, the South Carolina Historical Society, the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, the South Caroliniana Library, and the Thomas Cooper Map Repository. In addition, the published calendars of the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill were consulted.

There are two sources of information which were only minimally examined during this study, but which may prove useful for more detailed research. The first includes the holdings of the National Archives in Washington, D.C. These include the materials available in the Cartographic Division, materials of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (Record Group 105), Records of the Southern Claims Commission (Record Group 56), Records Relating to Captured and Abandoned Property (Record Group 56), Records of the Direct Tax Commissions or Relating to Direct Taxes (Record Group 58), and Records of Civil War Special Agencies of the Treasury Department (Record Group 366). The second includes the many Union

regimental histories which may contain information specific to the plantation being studied. Unfortunately, these books are rather widely scattered, being found at the South Caroliniana Library, the Rare Book Room of Thomas Cooper, and the Library of Congress. The examination of these sources would require considerable time (the sources at the National Archives alone include over 1,000 linear feet of records) and was beyond the scope of the current project.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE PLANTATION

Previous Historical Commentary

Scholarly research concerning the historic resources of Hilton Head Island is scarce and of varying quality. This is partially the result of the poor state of historic documentation relating to Beaufort County since the records prior to 1861 were destroyed during the Civil War and those prior to 1890s were heavily damaged in a later fire. Consequently, colonial and antebellum records for the Beaufort District are difficult to locate and frequently incomplete. In spite of this, previous efforts at piecing together historical studies have demonstrated that through considerable effort the available documents can make a substantial contribution (see, for example, Trinkley 1990a).

One of the earliest discussions of the Baynard Ruins is that offered by Peeples (1970). He mentions that "James and John Stoney . . . owned . . . 1000-acre Braddock's Point" plantation (Peeples 1970:4-5). He reports:

[j]ust south of Lawton's Calibogia Plantation was 1000-acre Braddock's Point Plantation, named for David Cutler Braddock, Captain of the Scout Boat maintained as a lookout against the Spaniards from 1740 until the 1763 Treaty of Paris. It belonged to the Stoney family until circa 1840 when it became the property of William Eddings Baynard who also purchased the handsome Davenport House [Savannah, Georgia]. . . . Local tradition recalls his poker-playing proclivity which is credited with winning for him the deed to Braddock's Point (Peeples 1970:12).

While not mentioned by name, it appears that Peeples believes the plantation was burned by Confederate forces after the fall of Hilton Head Island to Union troops, mentioning, "[t]he following night Captain Stephen Elliott burned fourteen Island plantation homes in a scorched-earth program" (Peeples 1970:14). Unfortunately, no citations are provided for these comments.

This history was essentially repeated, without citations, by the Lowcountry Council of Governments:

[t]wo-foot thick tabby foundation walls are all that remain of Braddock's Point Plantation House, built between 1800 and 1820 by James Stoney (1772-1827). William Edings Baynard (1800-1849) acquired the 1,000-acre plantation ca. 1840. Concurrently, he bought as a townhouse the Davenport House in Savannah. . . .

(Lowcountry Council of Governments (1979:87)).

The Baynard Ruins were briefly mentioned by Lepionka (1982) as part of a rather superficial reconnaissance of tabby structures in the Beaufort, South Carolina area. No historic documentation was provided and it is unclear whether the site was actually visited during this investigation.

Historical Reconstruction and Context

Although British influence in the "New World" began as early as the fifteenth century with the Cabot voyages, the South Carolina coast did not attract any serious attention until King Charles II granted Carolina to the Lords Proprietors in 1663 (Clowse 1971:1-7; Wallace 1951:23-24). Charles Town was not settled on the west bank of the Ashley River until 1670. Like other European powers, the English were lured to the "New World" for reasons other than the acquisition of land and promotion of cultivation. The Lords Proprietors, who owned the colony until 1729, intended to discover a staple crop whose marketing would provide greater wealth through the mercantile system (Clowse 1971).

Because of the Spanish threat, which destroyed Stuart's Town on Port Royal Island in 1684, and the inept policies of the Proprietors, the Beaufort area was slow to develop (Clowse 1971:158-159; Wallace 1951:41). Both John Stuart and Major Robert Daniell took possession of lands on St. Helena and Port Royal islands, and on August 16, 1698 Hilton Head was included as part of a 48,000 acre barony granted to John Bayley (Smith 1988:110-112). The town of Beaufort was founded in 1711, although structured settlement did not begin until 1717 and by 1720 there were few actual residents (John Milner Associates 1979:1).

Smith notes that the original John Bayley (also spelled Bayly, Bailey, and Baily) apparently never came to Carolina to take possession of his 14,000 acre Hilton Head Island barony. At his death the title, and the lands, passed to his son, also named John. The son, perhaps desiring to see at least some of the wealth inherent in the barony executed a power of attorney with Alexander Trench of Charles Town in 1722, empowering him to dispose of the lands (Smith 1988:110-111). Holmgren (1959:46-47) notes that Trench began to acquire title or use much of Bayley's property and several eighteenth century maps refer to Hilton Head as "Trench's Island" (see 1729 Francis Swaine's "Port Royal" map and 1777 J.F.W. Des Barres' "Port Royal in South Carolina"; see Figure 2). Of course, the power of attorney signed by John Bayley did allow Trench to "take possession" of the lands in order to sell them (Smith 1988:111).

Braddock's name is attached to the area rather late. Both Mouzon in 1775 ("Accurate Map of North and South Carolina") and DeBrahm in 1780 ("Map of South Carolina and a Part of Georgia")

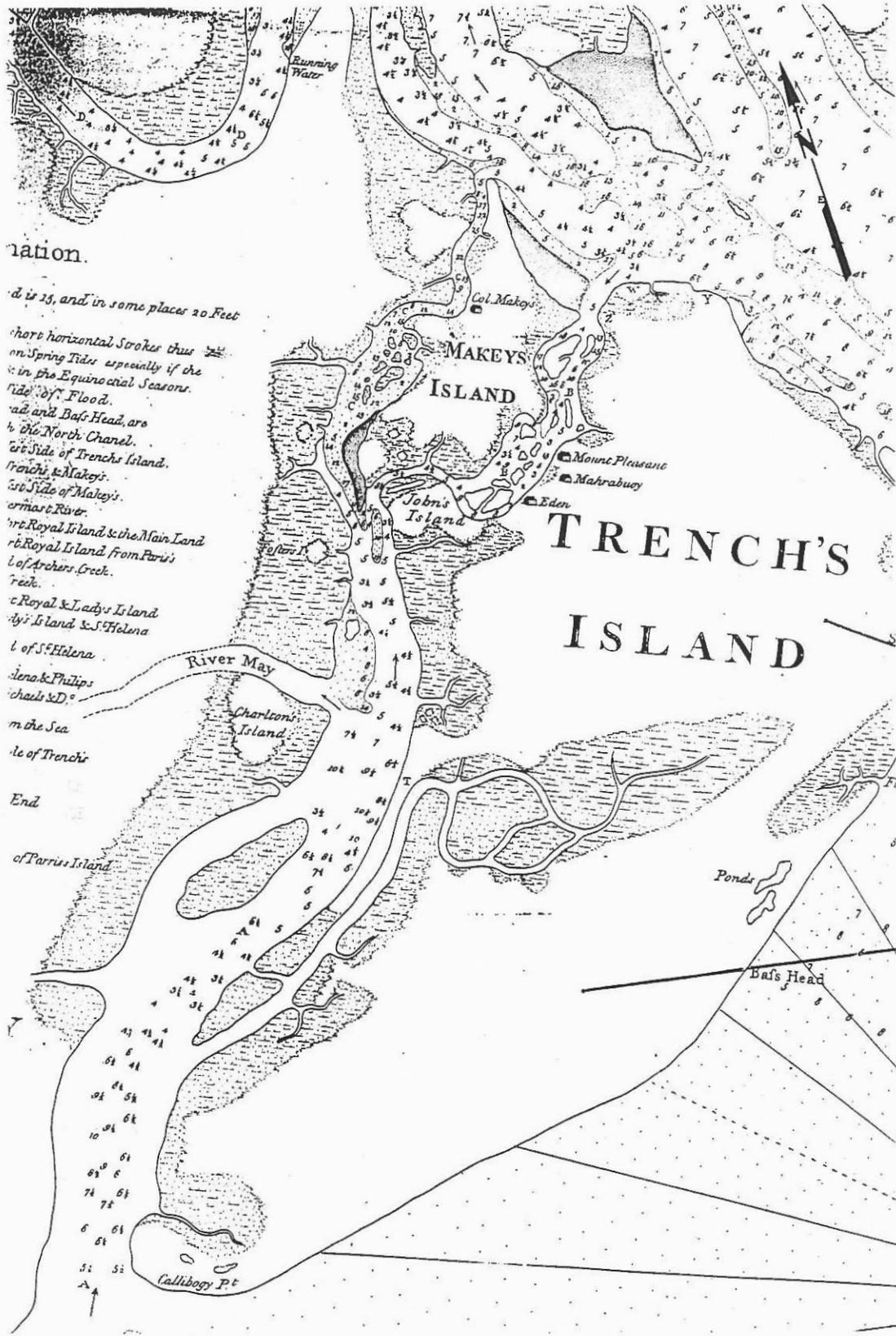


Figure 2. "A Plan of Port Royal in South Carolina" by John Gascoigne.

refer to the southwestern tip of Hilton Head as "Callibogue Point." It is not until the nineteenth century when references to Braddock appear to occur (i.e., John Wilson's 1822 "Map of South Carolina"). David Cutler Braddock, a "mariner of England" is listed in the St. Helena's Parish Register as marrying Mary Lyford in 1742 and having a child, John Cutler, in October of the following year (Barnwell and Webber 1922:15-16). In December 1743 he was granted Lot 314 in Beaufort (Smith 1908:158). During the 1740s Braddock is also listed as the owner of two schooners out of Beaufort or Port Royal (Olsberg 1973:237, 255). While Braddock's local importance appears to have peaked during the first half of the eighteenth century, it was not until the nineteenth century that his name begins to be commonly associated with the vicinity of Baynard Plantation.

Whether Trench was successful in selling portions of Hilton Head is not clearly known, although it was not a good time to be investing in property. While peace was present at the regional level, 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 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).

The economy of South Carolina improved steadily from the 1730s with indigo assuming a major role in the agriculture of the region. The Revolutionary War, however, brought considerable economic hardship to the Beaufort planters. During the war the British occupied Charleston for over two and a half years (1780-1782) and a post was established in Beaufort to coordinate forays into the inland waterways (Federal Writer's Project 1938:7). Holmgren (1959:55-59) notes that on Hilton Head only skirmishes between the island Whigs and Tories from neighboring Daufuskie took place.

Smith (1988:112) reports that Trench died about 1731, but it is clear that a significant portion of the original barony on Hilton Head Island remained intact. The Bayley property on Hilton Head was seized by the State after the Revolutionary War and sold at an auction in Jacksonsburgh on August 15, 1782 (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Comptroller General, Commissioners of Forfeited Estates 1782-1783, Account Book). About this same time a map of the lands on Hilton Head was prepared to show the various lots set out (Figure 3; South Carolina Department of Archives and History, MC5-9).

The property eventually to be included as the Baynard Plantation incorporate three parcels, numbered 45 through 47, totaling 1,238 of the 14,924 acres. A series of notations on the reverse of the plat indicate that "lots" 45 and 47 were "formerly

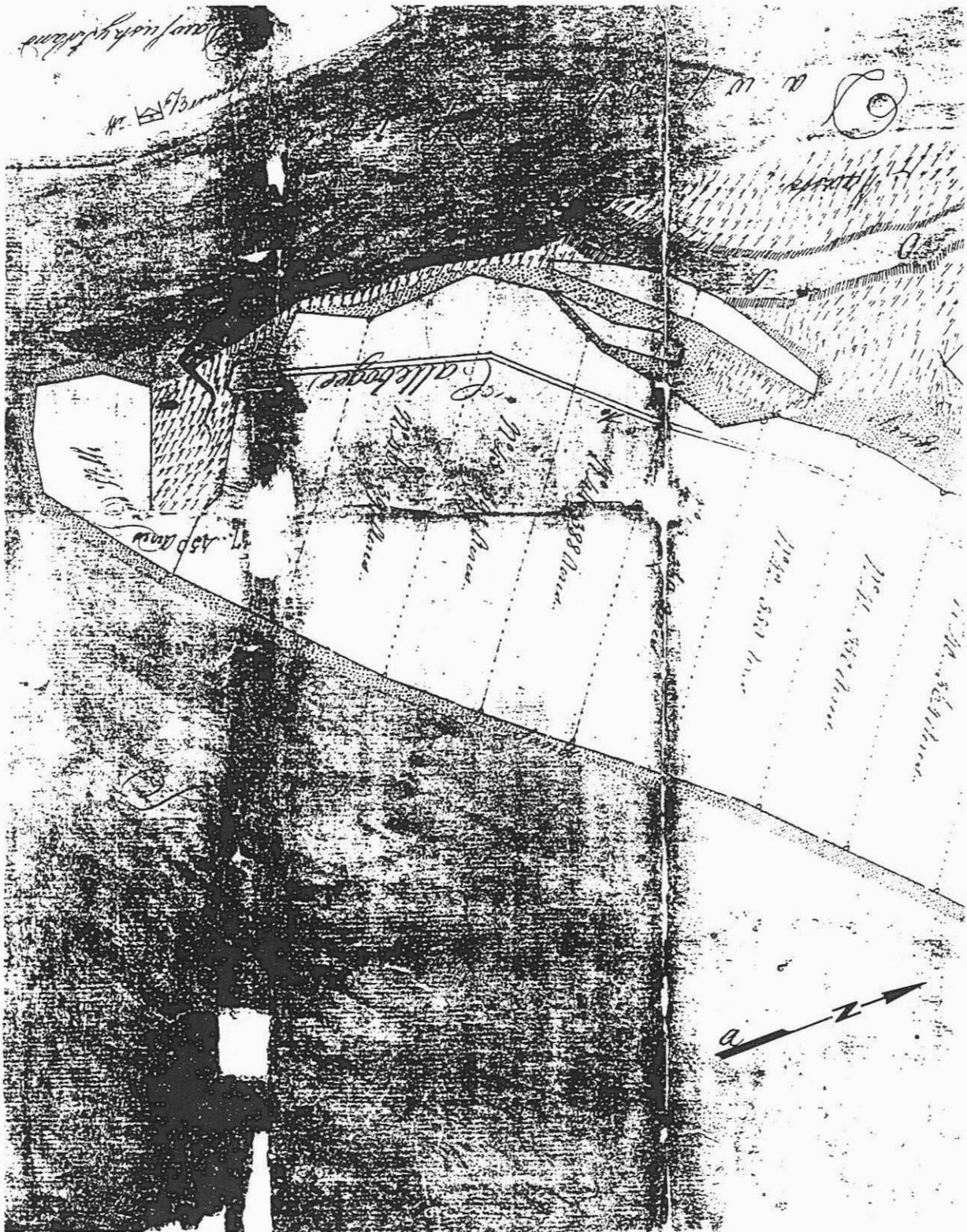


Figure 3. Bayley lots established on Hilton Head in the vicinity of the nineteenth century Baynard Plantation.

leased by John Gray," while "lot" 46 was "formerly leased by John Gambol." Both individuals were also lessee's of a number of tracts on Hilton Head, although it seems likely that this activity was more related to speculation than any agricultural activity.

The Jacksonsburch sales resulted in lot 45 being purchased by Beaufort merchant John Mark Verdier and lots 46 and 47 being purchased by Thomas Ferguson. These properties, and the bulk of the Bayley barony on Hilton Head, however, were eventually restored by the State to Benjamin Bayley, heir of John Bayley, although disputes continued over an error made against the state in the redemption process (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Join Committee Reports, 1794, Number 182).

The eventual disposition of the Bayley property is not clearly understood, although by the early nineteenth century the property was owned by either James Stoney outright, or as a tenant-in-common with his brother, John Stoney. The few deeds available indicate that as early as 1811 John Stoney, a merchant in Charleston, and James Stoney, a planter on Hilton Head Island, were purchasing large tracts of land and slaves (Charleston RMC, DB 07, p. 71; C8, p. 365; C9, p. 179; C9, p. 185).

The legal documents remaining clearly indicate that the two brothers were equal partners in the venture (Charleston RMC, DB C9, p. 179), with each entitled to one moiety or a half-interest in the combined property and slaves. During this activity, the brothers purchased Bayley's lots 10, 15, 16, 17, 18, 25, 26, and 27, amounting to over 2500 acres, as well as close to 100 slaves.

The exact nature of the partnership is unknown, although it is likely that the brothers were engaging in land and slave speculation, perhaps with the ultimate goal of James Stoney operating the plantations and using his brother John to handle the factorage of the cotton. Regardless, some evidence has survived which suggests that this venture ended in disaster.

John Stoney died in November 1838. During the following several years a series of court cases evolved from the indebtedness of the estate and its inability to satisfy all of the creditors. According to testimony, John Stoney became engaged "to a very heavy extent in some commercial engagements and in consequence of the Bankruptcy of the Parties with whom he was connected a debt for a very heavy amount devolved upon him and for the discharge of which he was legally bound" (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Charleston Equity Bills, 1840, #85, Roll CH247). In an effort to repay the creditors, Stoney mortgaged virtually all of his real and personal property to the Bank of Charleston in 1837 for the amount of \$400,000. Lands specifically on Hilton Head include Leamington and Calibogie plantations, as well as over 300 slaves.

Upon Stoney's death, his executors were unable to repay the mortgage to the Bank of Charleston or a number of additional debts, including one for over \$19,000 owed to the Estate of Francis Dalcour. Stephen C. Tennant, Administrator of the Dalcour estate, then sued to obtain payment. The Master in Equity, Edward R. Laurens, sold several tracts, including Leamington and Shipyard plantations, between 1841 and 1846 in order to pay of the debts of the estate (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Charleston Equity Bills, 1840, #85, Roll CH247). Some of Stoney's property was purchased by the Bank of Charleston, while other parcels, such as Leamington and Shipyard, were sold to individuals.

After the initial sales the widow of John Stoney filed suit in circuit court alleging that her rights of dower were not protected in the sale of Stoney's estate and that she did not receive her one-third share of the property. The circuit court denied her petition, ordering the case dismissed, upon which Elizabeth Stoney appealed the case in February 1843. The Court of Appeals in Equity concurred with decree of the circuit court and the appeal was also dismissed (1 Richardson 275).

As previously mentioned, a clear understanding of the relationship between James and John Stoney is difficult. A connection between the heavy speculation in which the two brothers were involved during the early nineteenth century and the collapse of John Stoney's financial empire in the mid-nineteenth century is ambiguous and circumstantial at best. This rise and fall, however, seems all too well tied to general economy of South Carolina. While the price of cotton in 1816 was as high as 30¢, it dropped to an average of 16¢ in 1821, and continued to fluctuate between 20 and 16¢ a pound during the 1830s (DeBow 1854:191; Wallace 1951:402). The fall in cotton prices had a dramatic effect on the economy of South Carolina and Wallace quotes a report of the Charleston City Council in 1828 which stated:

Charleston . . . has for several years past retrograded with a rapidity unprecedented. Her landed estate has, within eight years, depreciated in value one-half. Industry and business talent driven by necessity, have sought employment elsewhere. Many of her houses are tenantless, and the grass grows uninterrupted in some of the chief business streets (quoted in Wallace 1951:448-449).

Rosen has expressed the situation in Charleston from the 1820s into the 1830s dramatically:

the simplistic picture of the "Queen City of the South" painted by Charleston's antebellum boosters . . . was pretty but inaccurate. Charleston's golden era was coming to a close (Rosen 1982:75).

Unfortunately, no deeds have been identified which document how or when James Stoney acquired what was later to become Baynard Plantation. Some additional information, which yields even greater weight to the scenario, is provided by the deed for the tract from the Bank of Charleston to William E. Baynard.

On December 17, 1845 the Bank of Charleston sold William E. Baynard:

[a]ll that plantation tract or piece of land on Hilton Head said to contain twelve hundred acres more or less Bounding to the North on lands now or late of Henry Bond to the East on the Atlantic Ocean to the South and South West by Calibogue or Tybee Sound as the same by deed bearing date the Twenty eighth day of February, which as in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty two by Edward Laurens Master in Equity was conveyed to the Bank of Charleston South Carolina (Charleston RMC DB 19, p. 442).

The Bank of Charleston, at the same time it purchased this tract, also purchased Foot Point Plantation (Charleston RMC DB T-11, p. 257). Reference to the original Court of Equity case confirms that the Master in Equity sold Foot Point Plantation, a detached tract of pine lands, Fording Island tract, Ferry Tract, and "Hilton Head" lands to The Bank of Charleston.

There is virtually no doubt that John Stoney, probably on the death of his brother James, acquired the plantation at the southwestern tip of Hilton Head Island and that the tract was a part of his estate sold to pay debts. James Stoney's gravestone confirms that he died prior to John:

Sacred/To the Memory of/James Stoney,/who died at his late residence/on Hilton Head Island, St. Luke's Parish,/State of So. Carolina/on the 10th of February 1827/aged 54 years 10 months and 11 days (Little 1937:18).

The inscription also confirms that Stoney was living on Hilton Head in 1827. This indicates that a structure of some sort was present for Stoney's use at that date.

A rambling remembrance of Baynard history is provided by a 1926 letter in the collections of Mr. Robert Peeples. The letter, from Richard A. Ellis to B.E. Willingham mentions, "William E. Baynard lived on Edisto Island, where he had larg [sic] laned property; and he owned besides, the splendid Buckingham Plantation near Bluffton, S.C. and on Hilton Head Island." This suggests, probably correctly, that the Hilton Head property was considered an adjunct, but not the primary plantation for Baynard.

Baynard died four years after purchasing the tract from the Bank of Charleston in 1845 and this short period of ownership is relatively undocumented. The 1850 Agricultural Census for St. Luke's Parish fails to provide a listing for William E. Baynard or for the estate of William E. Baynard, although there are four listings for Baynard's son, Ephraim. One of these listings is for a 1200 acre tract, the acreage traditionally associated with Baynard's plantation; the others are for either much smaller tracts (600 and 800 acres) or much larger (1400 acres). It seems likely, therefore, that the plantation was inherited, or at least was being managed, by Ephraim.

The census reports a total value of \$12,000, \$2000 more than the property's purchase price in 1845. The plantation produced 36 bales of cotton, 1000 bushels of corn, 500 bushels of peas, 1000 bushels of sweet potatoes, and 350 pounds of butter. The value of animals slaughtered was listed as \$350, while the total value of livestock was \$4,200 (this included five horses, one ass or mule, 40 milk cows, eight oxen, 95 head of cattle, and 70 pigs (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1850 Beaufort County Agricultural Census, Beaufort County, p. 164). In comparison with other, known, Hilton Head Island plantations, the Baynard Plantation appears to meet the norm -- clearly more wealthy than some, less than others.

Interpretation of the 1860 agricultural census is not as simple since of the three plantation listed for Ephraim Baynard none are 1200 acres. All of the plantations, however, again seem fairly typical, with the exception that no pigs are listed. Cotton production ranges from a low of 30 bales (on a tract of 900 acres) to a high of 60 bales (on a tract of 1300 acres) (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1860 Agricultural Census, Beaufort County, p. 281). Based on other, limited, documentary evidence, it is possible that the listing for 1300 acres may reflect the Baynard Plantation tract.

It is from this time period that the best plat of the Baynard Plantation has been identified. Prepared in 1859-1860, the "Sea Coast of South Carolina from Mouth of the Savannah River to May River" reveals two clear clusters of plantation activity (Figure 4). The first, situated about 200 feet north of the main island road, consists of two structures centered in a fenced yard area about 250 feet square. This complex is clearly the main house with some associated structure. A less substantial road is shown leaving the main island road and winding northward toward the second cluster of plantation buildings. This second plantation nucleus, consisting of 17 structures, is situated about 1200 feet north-northeast of the main house. It extends linearly for 1500 feet and consists of a cluster of seven structures to the southwest and 10 structures to the northeast. Associated with several of the southwestern structures, which are probably plantation support buildings, is a fenced area about 140 by 160 feet. The seemingly

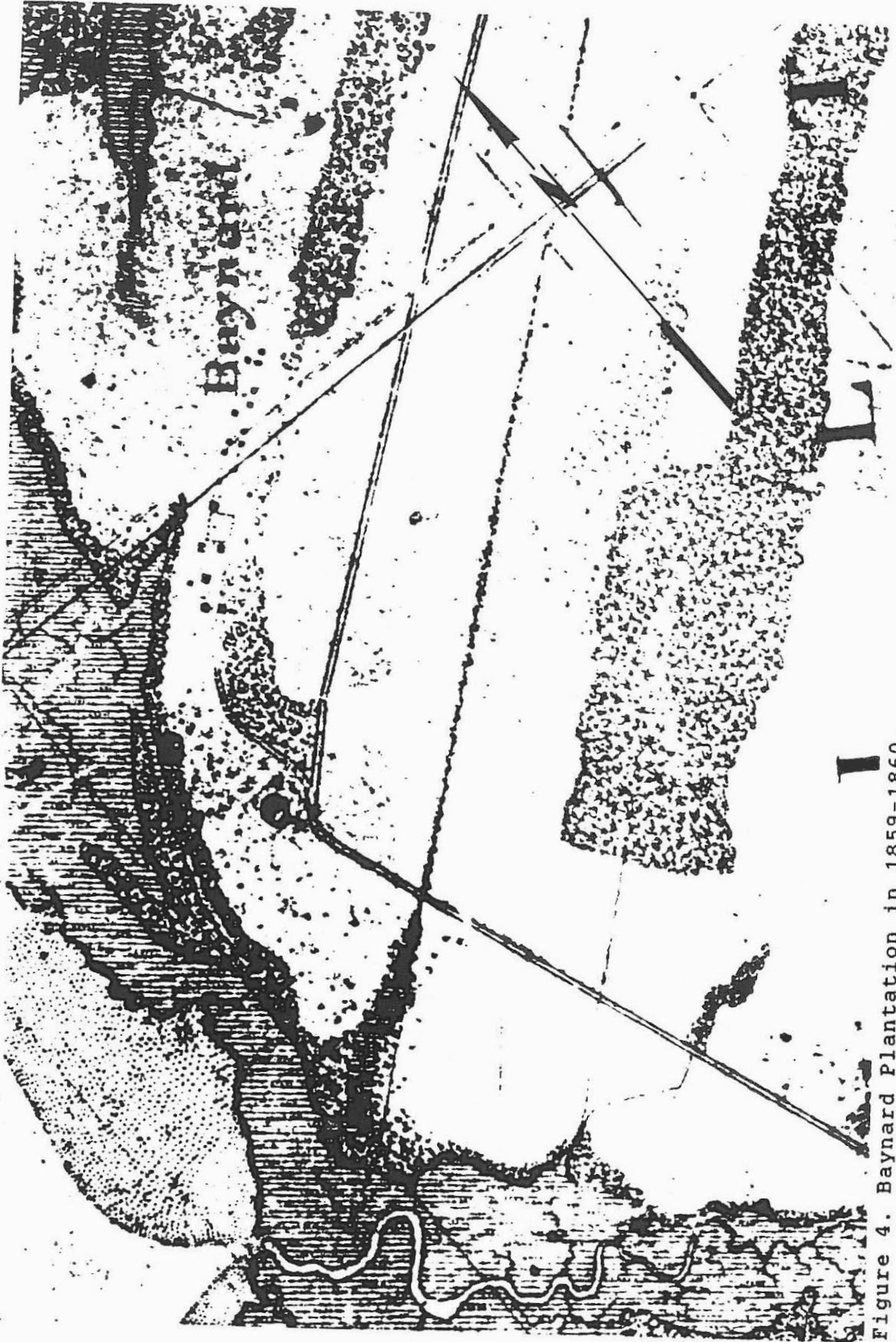


Figure 4. Baynard Plantation in 1859-1860.

smaller structures to the northeast are interpreted to be the slave settlement for the plantation.

While relatively little about landscape features can be determined from the map, it does reveal a small area of dense woods separating the main plantation settlement from the utilitarian and slave structures, while there is evidence of only light vegetation between the house and the Calibogue Sound to the northwest and west. The main house complex is oriented north-south, while the second settlement is roughly oriented with the nearby marsh frontage. The drainage ditch which runs about east-southeast - north-northwest represents the division between Baynard's plantation and that of Lawton to the east.

When Hilton Head fell to Union troops on November 7, 1861 the island had been deserted by its plantation owners, who also took with them many, but not all, of their Black slaves. The estate of William Baynard claimed losses of \$112,850, including 129 slaves valued at \$91,000, 150 bales of cotton valued at \$15,000, 2000 bushels of corn valued at \$1,600, 30,000 pounds of fodder valued at \$300, 230 head of cattle valued at \$2,300, one mule worth \$150, five horses valued at \$500, three boats valued at \$700, one flat valued at \$200, and the contents of the house, valued at \$900 (South Carolina Historical Society, Abstract of Property in the State of South Carolina Lost by the Citizens thereof from the War, 34/309). Interestingly, there was no claim made for any structures on the plantation.

Almost immediately after the occupation of Hilton Head, the Union troops began their reconnaissance of the more distant parts of the island. Captain Q.A. Gillmore lead five companies of the Seventh Connecticut Volunteers to Braddock's Point on November 10-11, remarking:

we reached Lawton's plantation [immediately adjacent to Baynard Plantation] about midnight By road Lawton's place is nearly 4 miles from Braddock's Point. At 4 o'clock the march was resumed, and the column reached the point where the road strikes the beach just at the break of day, where another halt was ordered (Scott 1882:31-32).

Although Gillmore discusses the battery at Braddock's Point in some detail, he fails to mention the tabby house which the troops marched immediately past. Clearly in the early moments of the campaign Captain Gillmore was more concerned with military tactics than with the island's architectural heritage.

Shortly after the Union reconnaissance there is a mention in the Official Records of Confederate activities in the area. Captain Stephen Elliott and Colonel William Martin conducted raids in the Port Royal area to destroy cotton and other essential military and

economic supplies. This may be the source for the speculation that Hilton Head plantation houses were burned by Confederate troops, although the only records identified placed this activity in the Port Royal and Beaufort areas, not on Hilton Head. Colonel Martin is also careful to state:

we proceeded respectively to the waters around the island where the plantations lie and burned all the cotton, except where the quantity was too inconsiderable to destroy the building or where the owners were engaged in removing it. . . . Where the cotton was in the dwelling-houses, or its destruction involved the loss of valuable buildings, it was thrown out and rendered valueless (Scott 1882:38).

In fact, there is certain evidence that the house was standing in 1864, when Captain Alfred Marple wrote his wife:

[t]hey are quartered in a large plantation House known as the Baynard property. Wild plums and dewberries are very abundant, and they have plenty of bird music I made a drawing of the House a quaint old building [the drawing does not accompany the letter] (South Caroliniana Library, Diary of Captain Alfred Marple, June 4, 1864).

In another letter dated June 11, 1864 Marple mentions that there are 1300 acres of land in the Baynard Plantation. Eldridge indicates that military details were using the Baynard plantation house as early as February 1862 (Eldridge 1893:105).

After the Civil War Major M.R. Delany listed the Baynard property in his Monthly Reports of Lands from February 1867 through August 1867 (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Monthly Reports for South Carolina). These tabulations reported 500 acres of cultivated land, 700 acres of woods, and 300 acres of cleared land. Mention is made of both "mansions and quarters," and the August 1867 Monthly Report indicates that the plantation had a population of 84 people.

The Treasury Department was almost immediately active in the land policies of the "Port Royal Experiment," with their actions directed by the Federal Tax Commissioners for Beaufort -- Dr. William H. Brisbane, Judge Abram D. Smith, and Judge William W. Wording. They were responsible for collecting South Carolina's share of a direct tax of twenty million dollars to support the war effort (the act for which was passed by Congress on June 7, 1862). McGuire notes that:

[u]nder this law Federal tax commissioners proceeded to rebellious districts falling under Union control to assess real estate on local 1860 guidelines, adding a

fifty percent penalty for disloyalty. Upon the failure of Confederate owners to pay both tax and penalty, land would be forfeited to the Federal Government and sold at public auction. Elaborate redemption provisions were the act's most distinctive feature (McGuire 1985:23).

The tax commission faced a variety of challenges, not the least being an absence of tax maps and records for Beaufort District, but by November 25, 1862 they had fixed the taxes on Braddock's Point, one of 24 plantations recognized on the island (Figure 5). The plantation was "said to be or to have been owned by the Estate of William E. Baynard" and was thought to contain 1,000 acres (National Archives, RG 217, Records of the Beaufort, S.C. Tax District, Valuation Volume). When Baynard's heirs failed to come forward to claim the land and pay the taxes, penalty, costs, and interest of \$155 on the plantation valued at \$4,000, it was advertised for sale and purchased by the federal government for \$845 (Secretary of the Treasury 1882:13).

The property was held by the federal government until August 2, 1875 when it was redeemed by the heirs of William E. Baynard. Described as the "Braddock Point Place, Bounded North and Northeast by Lawton Place, South east and South by Atlantic Ocean, West and North West by Calibogue Sound containing one thousand acres more or less always intending to conform to the original boundaries" excepting "about forty five acres on Braddock's Point at the South Western extremity of Hilton Head Island and on the Braddock's Point Place . . . which is reserved for Light House Property" (Beaufort County RMC DB 19, p. 441).

On September 23, 1893, Elizabeth D. Ulmer sued Joseph S. Baynard and the other heirs for partition of the redeemed estate and the case was heard by the Beaufort Circuit Court the following year. The tract was ordered to be sold by Thomas Martin, Master-in-Equity and on February 19, 1894 a deed was recorded selling the property to William P. Clyde for \$4,683 (Beaufort County RMC, DB 19, p. 439). This deed describes the property as:

Braddock's Point containing 1561 acres Bounded by the Atlantic Ocean, Calibogue Sound and River and lands late of Lawton known as "The Sisters Place," excepting the 23 acres reserved by the U.S. Government for Light House purposes, the shape, mets, and bounds . . . delineated on a plat made by S. Reed Stoney . . . dated February 3, 1894 (Beaufort County RMC, DB 19, p. 439).

This plat, however, cannot be located in the Beaufort County records and is presumed lost. Braddock's other plantation on the island, Spanish Wells, was sold as a result of this same court case (Beaufort County RMC DB 19, p. 438). The third Baynard plantation on Hilton Head Island, Muddy Creek, was not available for redemption by the Baynard heirs since it was sold to Richard M.

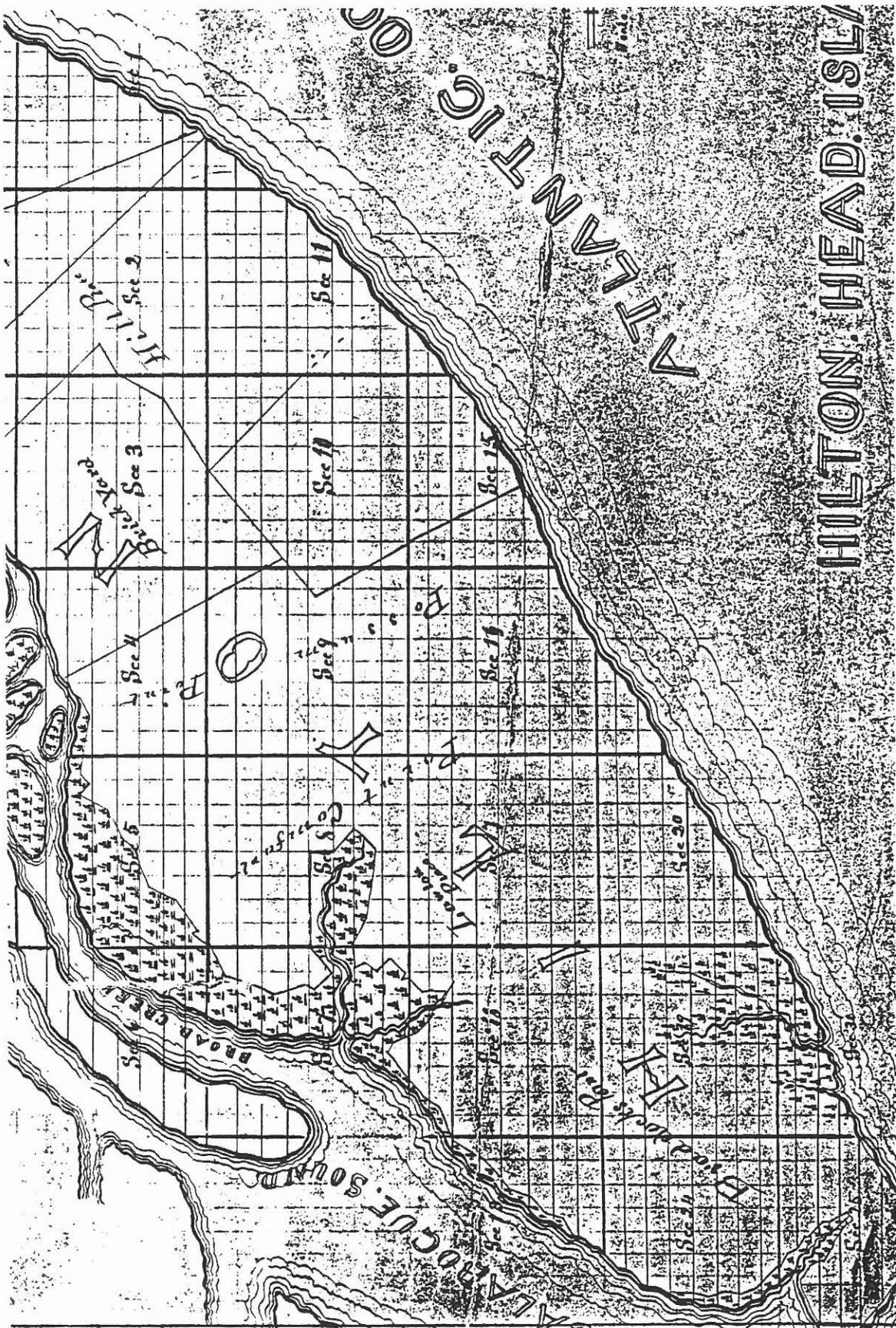


Figure 5. Hilton Head about 1864 (National Archives, RG 58, #15).

Bell by the Direct Tax Commission (Secretary of the Treasury 1882:13).

Clyde held the property until 1919 when it was sold to Roy A. Rainey as part of a 9,000 acre tract for a total of \$10,000. The Baynard Plantation is contained within the first tract described, being "all that certain tract of land on the southern end of Hilton Head Island" (Beaufort RMC DB 37, p. 61). Roy Rainey held the property until 1931 when the entire 9,000 acre parcel was sold to Landon F. Thorne and Alfred L. Loomis for \$180,000. A plat prepared by Richard G. Rhett in 1931 showing the land at the southwestern end of Hilton Head Island cannot be located, but an "exact copy of a portion" of this plat was filed in 1950 (Beaufort RMC, PB 7, p. 51) (Figure 6).

In 1950 Loomis and Thorne sold 8129 acres, including Braddock's Point or the Baynard Plantation to the Hilton Head Company for \$450,000 (Beaufort RMC DB 70, p. 7). Eventually a large portion of this property arrived in the hands of the Sea Pines Plantation Company. The area of the Baynard Ruins is listed as PIN 550-17-1107 and is identified as 423.8 acres of open land (the Baynard Park being incorporated with a number of other small parcels of undeveloped land). Unfortunately, the deed for this open land could not be readily identified at the Beaufort County Register of Mesne Conveyances. Both the PIN deed book reference (DB 371, p. 1127) and a microfilm property card reference (DB 234 or 254, p. 1036) are incorrect.

Land use during the twentieth century is difficult to infer from the limited historical documentation. However, the Baynard plantation is shown essentially intact on the 1873 Coast Chart 155, "From Hunting Island to Ossabaw Island, Including Port Royal Sound and Savannah River" (Figure 7). It continues to be found on the 1890 and 1901 editions of the map. Although the Corps of Engineers was making corrections on the chart for each edition, it is unclear whether cultural features, such as the structures for the Baynard Plantation would have been deleted in a very timely fashion. Consequently, while it seems likely that the plantation was relatively intact when it was redeemed by the Baynard heirs, it is uncertain how long it remained in that condition.

Certainly by 1939 the plantation had all but vanished, since the 1945 edition of the Bluffton 15' topographic map, based on 1939 aerial photography, shows only the three northeastern most slave structures identified on the 1859-1860 map (Figure 8). The 1939 vegetation pattern suggests that the plantation was rapidly being overtaken by second growth woods.

Significance

The Baynard Ruins are significant on a national level because of the nature of massive tabby building and the architectural

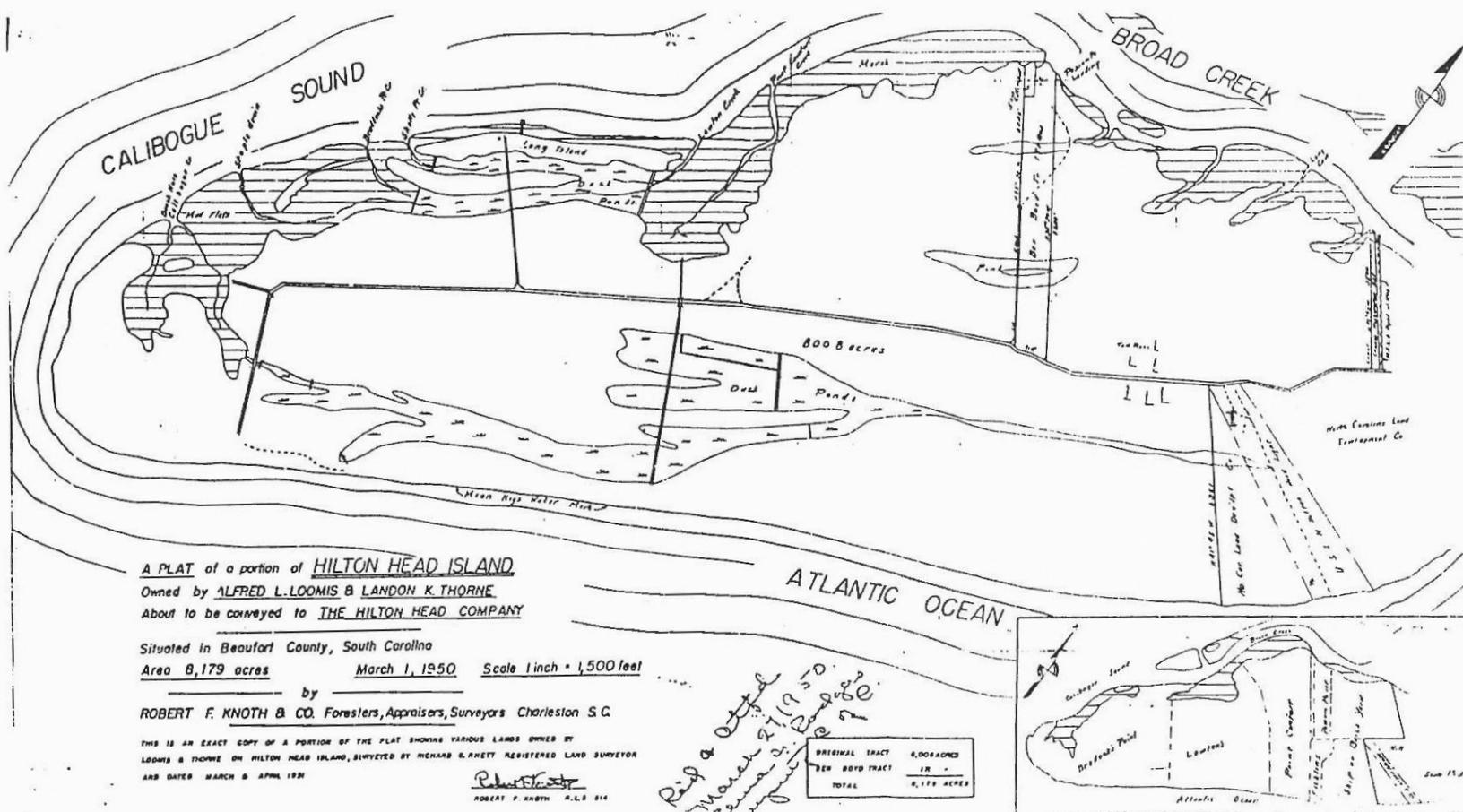


Figure 6. Copy of the 1931 plat showing Braddock's Point Plantation.

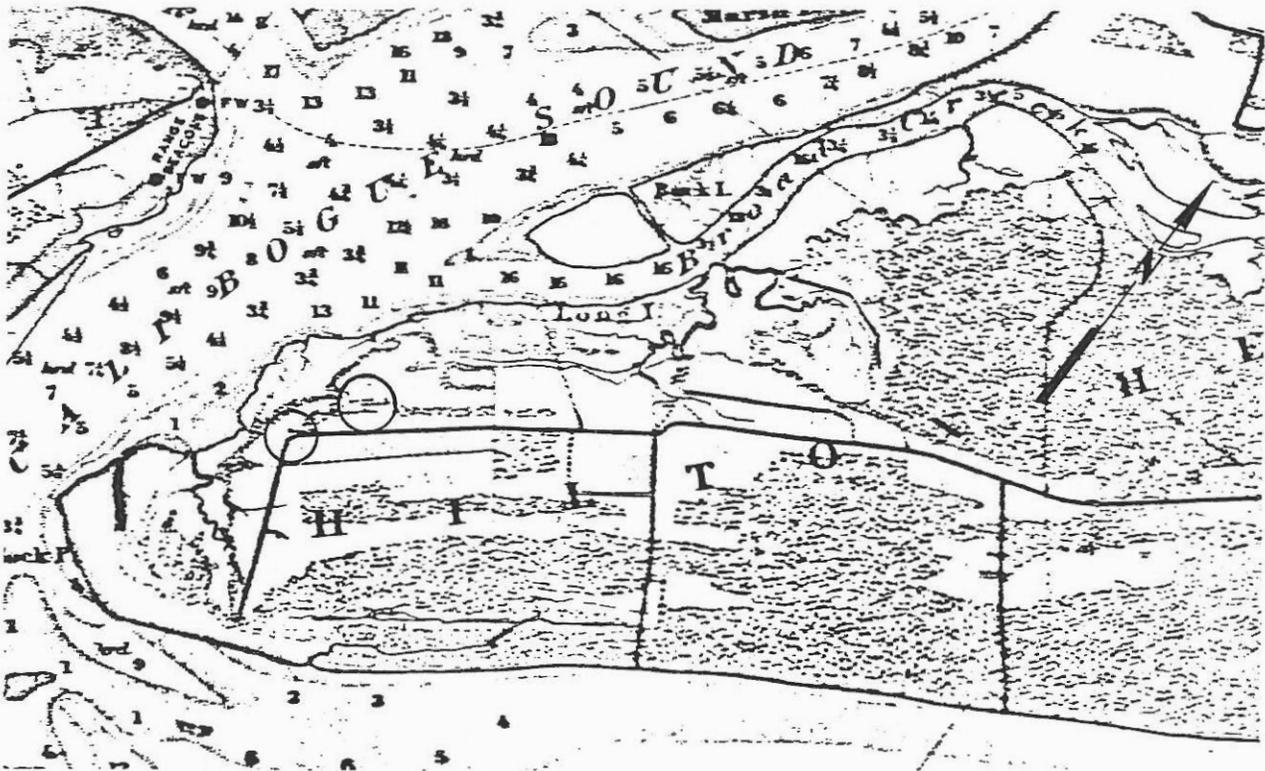


Figure 7. Hilton Head in 1873.

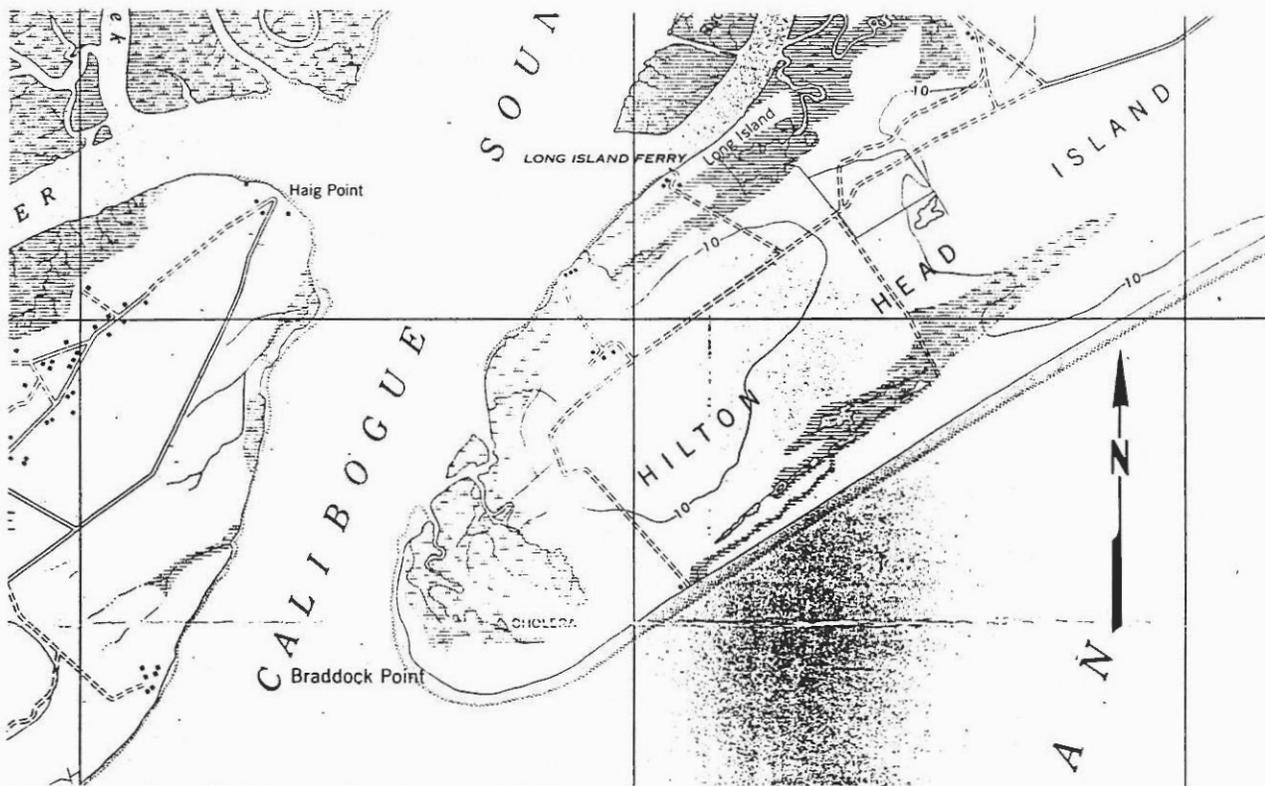


Figure 8. Hilton Head in 1945.

features of this particular structural complex (Colin Brooker, personal communication 1991). The site is also significant, at least at a State level, as a representative of the plantation system, incorporating economic and social factors, which operated in eighteenth and nineteenth century South Carolina.

Tabby is a unique form of building construction which was probably introduced into the "New World" by Spain. It is found in a tightly constrained geographic area along the coast from northeastern Georgia to the Charleston area of South Carolina. There are relatively few such tabby structures known, and fewer still are standing, even as ruins. Tabby has a high degree of inherent vice and tends to deteriorate seriously when it is not protected by a finish coat and a roof system. It is further placed at risk when the internal timber supports are absent. The Baynard ruins on Hilton Head are one of only three tabby complexes known to exist on the island and it is the only one representing a main plantation house. The Baynard Ruin has the potential to answer a number of questions relating to the development, modification, and elaboration of traditional lowcountry architectural styles during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as the role tabby played in this process of architectural evolution.

Plantation archaeology, while certainly having roots which extend back into the 1930s (Singleton 1991), is a relatively new field of research in South Carolina. While the 1850 agricultural census lists 100 plantations in St. Luke's Parish with over 500 acres of land, archaeological investigations have been published for only five and these largely deal with only specific areas of each plantation (Brooker 1991; Grunden 1985; Trinkley 1989a, 1989b, 1990a, 1990b). Not only are historic period plantation sites a relatively unexplored aspect of South Carolina heritage, they are also a rare and fragile part of our cultural resources. Of at least 20 plantations known to have existed on Hilton Head Island, at least six had been totally destroyed by 1987 and the others exhibited highly variable integrity (Trinkley 1987:52-54). The Baynard Ruins, therefore, take on specific significance since they are relatively well preserved, have some amount of collaborative historical documentation, and are expected to yield archaeological information concerning their architectural features, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth lifestyles of plantation owners, and the occupation of the site by Union forces during the Civil War.

Much of recent plantation archaeology has emphasized the investigation of slavery, cloaking itself in the idealism of Marxian theory examining power and racism on the plantation (see for example, Babson 1991 and Epperson 1991). While this approach may have merits and the examination of slave life is an extremely worthwhile undertaking, there has been a subtle inference that "main house" excavations are unnecessary or uninformative. Of course, some of the bias against "main house" or "upper status"

archaeology is the result of asking very simplistic questions. As explained by Friedlander:

it is already well known that the rich lived better than the poor. What is less well known is how everyday objects confirmed and reinforced relative positions and brought faraway decisions home to ordinary people (Friedlander 1991:109).

While there are many "particularistic" questions which may be addressed by research at the Baynard Ruins, such as what was the function of the three identified outbuildings, what evidence can be found regarding the dates of construction, what impact did military occupation have on the site, and what can archaeology contribute to the architectural reconstruction of the structures, it is equally clear that there are other, broader questions which are essential to our understanding of plantation life. As Singleton observed:

a more appropriate goal for plantation archaeology lies in understanding how a particular plantation society operated within an historical frame of reference. This goal will hopefully be realized in an approach that combines particularism and humanism with scientific analysis in order to understand the nature of plantation life and labor (Singleton 1991:77).

It is essential to view the research at the Baynard Ruins within the historical context which suggests that during the eighteenth century Stoney operated the plantation as an economic venture founded on incredible speculation while during the nineteenth century the plantation's economic framework appears to have been based on the operating techniques of an absentee owner with many other plantations. Tying these two owners and their styles together is the realization that both were confronted by economic realities, such as the fluctuation of cotton prices, over which they had virtually no control.

The indicators of wealth and status which may, or may not, be found at this site must then be interpreted within the broader context of economic and social pressures. Perhaps as Friedlander would ask, how might the broken ceramics and discarded food bone found at the site, within the mind of the owner, have reinforced his position in plantation society?

Ancillary to these questions is an equally interesting topic - the arrangement and use of space on the plantation. Architecture, both buildings and landscape, are often the lost artifacts of plantation research. The organization of Braddock's Point Plantation, ranging from the orientation of the structures to their location relative to each other, displays the mind-set of the owner. Each change in this organization may reflect a change in perception of the plantation, its function, and/or its prosperity.

SUMMARY

The historical research for Baynard's Ruins suggests that the plantation became an operating entity under the ownership of James Stoney at least by the early nineteenth century. Previous owners or lessors of the property were likely engaged only in speculation. An approximate date for James Stoney acquiring the plantation is 1810, although it may have occurred between 1800 and 1820. There is circumstantial evidence that a structure was built at the site by 1827, when James Stoney died. While the plantation continued under the ownership of John Stoney, it seems unlikely that he would have spent much time on Hilton Head. As an absentee owner, during a period of economic decline, it is possible that the plantation was as much of a drain on his resources as it was a viable, economic asset. It is unlikely that John Stoney made many improvements in the property between 1827 and 1837, and there was probably little incentive to make improvements to the plantation after his death given the severity of the legal problems surrounding the estate from 1837 to 1845.

Baynard held the property from 1845 to 1847, and while this was a period of expansionism for him, it seems doubtful that there was enough time to do more than make plans for the future of Braddock's Point. After William Baynard's death the property was managed by his son until Hilton Head fell to Union troops in 1861. As an absentee owner, or at least manager, of his father's plantations, it is unlikely that Ephraim Baynard would have made major changes in the plantation.

It seems likely that the tabby structures known as Baynard's Ruins were built sometime in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. They would have been occupied by James Stoney for perhaps as long as 25 years, after which it would not have been until 1845 before the house was again used intensively, and then for only two years. This is not to imply that absentee owners, such as John Stoney or even Ephraim Baynard may not have used the mansion on occasion.

The house was used by Union troops throughout the Civil War and there is good evidence that it was standing as late as the 1870s. Sometime in the early twentieth century the house fell into ruin, although this process certainly began during the 1860s and probably accelerated in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Today, the Baynard Ruins are the only component of the plantation known to exist. The nineteenth century slave settlement has been destroyed by housing developments and the construction of the nearby golf course. The only vestige which remains of this

settlement is the black cemetery associated with Baynard's plantation, recorded as archaeological site 38BU47.

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