PLANTATION LIFE IN THE PIEDMONT: A PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION OF ROSEMONT PLANTATION, LAURENS COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

CHICORA FOUNDATION RESEARCH SERIES 29

PLANTATION LIFE IN THE PIEDMONT: A PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION OF ROSEMONT PLANTATION, LAURENS COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

RESEARCH SERIES 29

Michael Trinkley
Natalie Adams
Debi Hacker

CHICORA FOUNDATION, INC.
P.O. Box 8664 • 861 Arbutus Drive
Columbia, South Carolina 29202
(803) 787-6910

March 1992

ISSN 0882-2041

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Trinkley, Michael.
Plantation life in the Piedmont : a preliminary examination of Rosemont Plantation, Laurens County, South Carolina / Michael Trinkley, Natalie Adams, Debi Hacker.
p. cm. -- (Research series, ISSN 0882-2041 ; 29)
Includes bibliographical references.
1. Rosemont Plantation (S.C.) 2. Plantation life--South Carolina--Laurens County--History. 3. Laurens County (S.C.)--History, Local. 4. Laurens County (S.C.)--Antiquities. I. Adams, Natalie, 1963-. II. Hacker, Debi III. Title. IV. Series: Research series (Chicora Foundation) ; 29.
F279.R67T75
975.7'31--dc20 92-4376
CIP

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences - Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

What distinguishes the historian from the collector of historical facts is generalization.

-- E.H. Carr

ABSTRACT

Rosemont Plantation is situated in Laurens County, near the confluence of the Saluda and Reedy Rivers in the Piedmont of South Carolina. It was first established by Patrick Cunningham, his family, and slaves in the mid-eighteenth century. The plantation continued to be owned and operated, first producing indigo and latter cotton, into the early twentieth century.

While the plantation's historical significance is often linked with Ann Pamela Cunningham, who formed the organization in 1854 to purchase Mount Vernon for the nation, Rosemont represents a "typical" piedmont plantation. As such it assumes tremendous historical significance in its own right, representing a variation on the plantation theme more commonly studied in the coastal area of South Carolina.

This study is the result of limited historical, architectural, archaeological, and garden landscape examinations at Rosemont conducted by Chicora Foundation for the Laurens County Historical Society. Although a major goal of the work was to assemble and document the information necessary to nominate Rosemont Plantation to the National Register of Historic Places, these studies offer a rare opportunity to examine an upland plantation. They lay the foundation for more detailed investigations which hold the promise of expanding our knowledge of eighteenth and nineteenth century plantation life beyond the sea islands of South Carolina.

Just as the examination of upland plantations is rare in Southeastern archaeology, so too is the emphasis on garden landscapes. The work at Rosemont reveals that the promising field of landscape archaeology is not confined to Virginia or the low country, but extends well inland, encompassing all of South Carolina.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work was funded by the Laurens County Historical Society through donations from private individuals and corporations, as well as from the National Trust of Historic Preservation and the Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union. This project demonstrates the unique spirit and goals of heritage preservation, representing a number of diverse individuals and organizations banding together to help preserve a significant aspect of Laurens County history. Chicora Foundation appreciates the opportunity to play a small part in the preservation efforts and the support we have received from the Laurens community.

The work has been spear-headed by Mrs. Charles Allen of the Laurens County Historical Society. Her untiring enthusiasm and dedication to the history and heritage of Laurens County is an asset that cannot be measured. She has graciously shared that enthusiasm with us and made our stay in Laurens both hospitable and pleasant. Many other members of the Society are also to be thanked, including Mr. Phil Adair (president of the Society), Mr. Jerry Stoddard, Dr. John Womack, Mr. Jay Womack and other members of his Boy Scout troop. Mrs. Carl Ettinger of Clinton visited with us during our work and expressed a deep interest in the site and its archaeology. We appreciate her interest and support of our work. Mrs. Mary Pruitt of Columbia, South Carolina shared her memories of visiting the Rosemont Plantation house about 1928. This information has been of tremendous assistance.

We also wish to thank the Project Manager of the Rosemont research, Ms. Christy Snipes, M.L.A., with Historic Landscape and Garden Design of Columbia, South Carolina. Her patience and assistance was invaluable during the field investigations of Rosemont. In addition, she is responsible for obtaining the vast amount of historical documentation on Rosemont from family collections in Texas, the Alabama Department of Archives and History, the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union Archives, the Special Collections Department of Perkins Library at Duke University, and the Southern Historical Collection. Without her dedication and interest our understanding of Rosemont would be far less complete.

The owner of Rosemont Plantation today, Col. Niles Clark, granted permission for these investigations and visited with us during the work. His support and interest in the preservation of Rosemont is appreciated; as are his untiring efforts to protect the site from vandals and looters who would convert the heritage of Rosemont to their own possession.

We also want to thank Mr. Keith Derting and Ms. Sharon Peckrul of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology for their assistance in curating the collections from the Rosemont excavations. In addition, we appreciate the assistance of the staff of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History in the preparation of the National Register nomination of the site.

Finally, we want to thank Liz Pinckney and Mona Grunden who also worked on the Rosemont excavations with us.

INTRODUCTION

Background

The Rosemont Plantation was first examined, archaeologically, by Dr. Patricia Cridlebaugh with the South Carolina Department of Archives and History in the summer of 1989. Based on this initial survey of the plantation, Dr. Cridlebaugh noted that "I believe the site will prove to be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places based on its potential to yield significant scientific data relative to an upcountry eighteenth century plantation" (letter from Dr. Patricia Cridlebaugh to Mrs. Charles Allen, dated June 16, 1989). Chicora Foundation prepared a proposal for preliminary archaeological research at the site in October 1990 in response to a request for a proposal from Ms. Christy Snipes, Rosemont Project Manager. An agreement between Chicora and the Laurens County Historical Society to perform the initial archaeological reconnaissance, testing, and mapping of the site was signed on June 15, 1991.

The bulk of the historical research had previously been conducted by Ms. Snipes, although Chicora Foundation conducted additional research at the S.C. Department of Archives and History and the South Carolina Historical Society during November 1991. The Rosemont field work was conducted by Chicora Foundation from December 2 through December 6, 1991 with a crew of four. Dr. Michael Trinkley was the Principal Investigator for the project. A total of 143.5 person hours were devoted to the project during the week. This report preparation (including the necessary laboratory studies) was conducted intermittently from December 9, 1991 through January 15, 1992. Conservation of archaeological specimens is currently in process at the Chicora Foundation laboratories in Columbia, South Carolina.

The property is situated in southeastern Laurens County, east of the confluence of the Saluda and Reedy rivers. A portion of these rivers was flooded by the Buzzards Roost rural electrification project in the 1930s, creating Lake Greenwood. Rosemont is about 16 miles southwest of Laurens and 4½ miles south of Waterloo. Although the original plantation was over 2000 acres, this study concentrated on the vicinity of the main house, encompassing about 3 acres circumscribed by County Road 221 to the southwest, south, east, and northeast (Figure 1).

Although the area around the plantation has been intensively cultivated in the past, it is today in second growth hardwood forest and is managed primarily as a hunting preserve. At present no development activities are planned for Rosemont, although the fringe areas, on Lake Greenwood, have suffered random growth associated with river front seasonal cottages and a rural sprawl. A major planned community has recently been completed in Greenwood County, opposite Rosemont Plantation. Rosemont's high elevation overlooking the Saluda River section of Lake Greenwood to the southwest and an inlet to the east, makes the tract highly desirable for future development.

Scope and Goals

The purpose of this work is to assist the Laurens County Historical Society investigate the archaeological potential of the Rosemont Plantation site area and assist in the preparation of the National Register of Historic Places nomination form. The original scope of work covered five major research areas, including:

1. an archaeological survey of approximately 23 acres surrounding the main plantation complex,

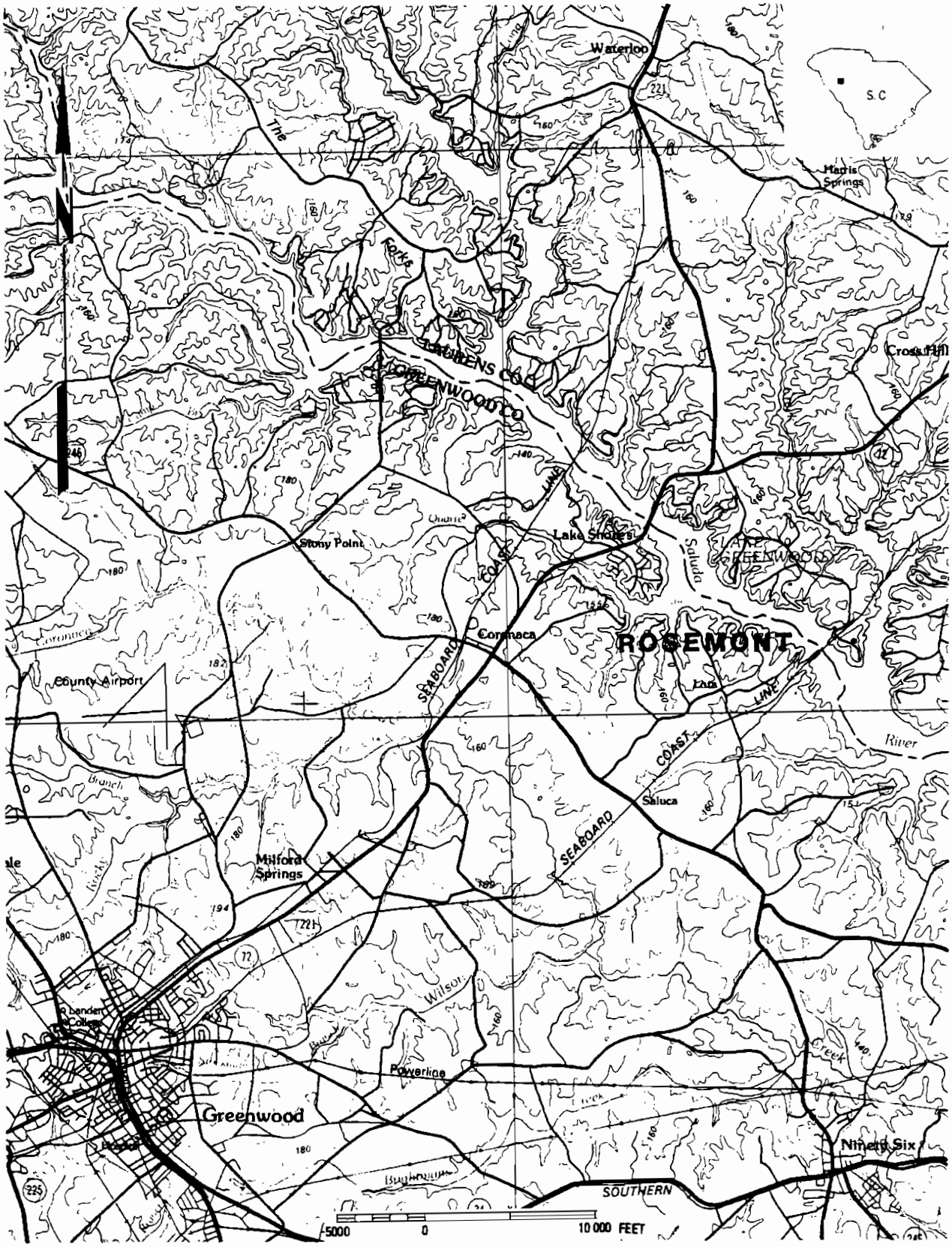

Figure 1. Vicinity of Rosemont Plantation in Laurens County, South Carolina.

2. an intensive archaeological survey of the approximately three acres comprising the main plantation area,

3. preparation of base maps suitable for use with the National Register nomination,

4. preparation of a draft National Register nomination,

5. preparation of a technical report on the undertaken investigations, and

6. development of a long-range management plan for the site.

During the course of visiting the site and refining the scope, it was decided that the archaeological research would concentrate on the area of the main plantation complex, and survey of the surrounding 23 acres would not be undertaken. It was felt that it would be more productive to use the limited resources to more fully understand the main plantation occupation than to search for additional sites surrounding Rosemont.

While Chicora Foundation originally proposed the use of shovel testing every 100 feet on 100 foot transects, an initial walk-over survey suggested that such a large interval would fail to provide the precision necessary for understanding activity areas and structural remains within the 3 acre core of the site. Consequently, the interval was decreased to 25 feet and in several areas an additional modification was made, using testing at 10 foot intervals. These changes have resulted in much more thorough coverage of the main plantation complex, although admittedly less area was covered.

The project scope initially included mapping of "boxwoods" and "magnolias" which form the major pattern of the Rosemont gardens. As work by the Project Manager continued at the site it became clear that the gardens were more complex than originally anticipated and as a result the mapping by Chicora incorporated a larger area and a greater number and variety of plants. This represents not only the first such research at an upland plantation in South Carolina, but also the first time that the garden of any South Carolina plantation has been intensively studied.

Several other modifications of the initial research design were made as work progressed at the site. Initially Chicora anticipated integrating the efforts of an architectural historian at the site. We discovered, however, that the building remains were virtually all below ground and that little architectural research could be accomplished during this early phase of research. Consequently, this effort was shifted to the transcription and review of the voluminous historical documentation and to the additional needs of archaeological conservation of recovered remains. In addition, Chicora Foundation undertook the excavation of four 5-foot units in the main site area to better document site preservation and integrity, and artifact quantity and variety. While not required by the initial scope of work, these test excavations will provide essential support for the nomination of Rosemont Plantation to the National Register of Historic Places.

Beyond these "preservation" oriented goals, Chicora Foundation recognized that the research at Rosemont provided an exceptional opportunity to explore a piedmont plantation. Previous research at up country plantations is scarce, of variable quality, and typically associated with compliance projects where the site ceased to exist after the archaeological investigations. Further, plantation garden research, uncommon in the coastal zone, is totally absent in the up country.

Consequently, the Rosemont research provided several unique opportunities to explore the heritage of South Carolina's up country plantations. This research

was guided by relatively simple, but fundamental, explanatory objectives and questions integrating the history and archaeology of Rosemont: who lived at the plantation, when was the site occupied, what activities were performed at the site, what types of structures were present, what were the construction techniques employed at the plantation, how were the gardens laid out, what evidence remains of the garden orientation and form, what can be determined regarding the lifestyles and economies of the various owners at Rosemont, and what differences and similarities can be detected in up country and low country plantations.

Curation

The field notes, photographic materials, and artifacts resulting from Chicora Foundation's investigations have been curated at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (SCIAA), University of South Carolina. The Rosemont Plantation has also been recorded as site number 38LU323 with SCIAA and the artifacts cataloged using that Institution's lot provenience system. The specimens 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 Artifact Analysis section of this report. All original records and duplicate copies were provided to the curatorial facility on pH neutral, alkaline buffered paper and the photographic materials were processed to archival permanence.

NATURAL SETTING

Physiographic Province

Rosemont Plantation is situated on the southwestern edge of Laurens County, overlooking the Saluda River, now Lake Greenwood. The county is bordered to the southwest by the Saluda, to the north and northeast by the Enoree River, to the northwest by Greenville County, and to the southeast by Newberry County (previously the boundary was the Old Ninety-Six Road). Laurens falls within the Piedmont Physiographic Province. The general slope of the terrain is eastward, which is the general direction of the major drainages within the County (Camp et al. 1975). The land ranges from level to steep, but most areas are gently sloping to moderately steep.

The drainages form a dendritic pattern and throughout the Piedmont the terrain has been extensively dissected and degraded. Elevations range from about 870 feet at Big Knob, in north central Laurens County to about 350 feet, at the junction of the Tyger and Broad rivers in the southeastern part of the county. In the vicinity of Rosemont Plantation the elevations range from about 450 to 500 feet MSL.

Most of the rocks of the Piedmont are gneiss and schist, with some marble and quartzite (Haselton 1974). Some less intensively metamorphosed rocks, such as slate, occur along the eastern part of the province from southern Virginia to Georgia. This area, called the Slate Belt, is characterized by slightly lower ground with wider river valleys. Consequently, the slate belt had been favored for reservoir sites (Johnson 1972). In Laurens County the underlying geology consists primarily of granite, gneiss, schist, and gabbro, and the soils of the region are derived from the weathering of these rocks.

The Rosemont Plantation is situated on Hiawassee sandy clay loams with 2 to 6% slopes which are classified as eroded (Camp et al. 1975:Map 98). Surrounding the site are Cecil sandy loams with slopes of 6 to 10%. The Hiawassee soils are found on the irregular ridge top around the plantation, while the Cecil soils are on the slopes of the drainages on either side of the plantation. These soils have lost 4½ to 7 inches of soil from erosion during the cotton growing efforts of the Antebellum and Postbellum periods (Trimble 1974). This area of Laurens County has been classified as suffering from moderate sheet erosion and occasional gullying (Lowry 1934).

In 1820 Robert Mills remarked that the soils were primarily "clay and gravel," where were "well adapted to the culture of cotton, corn, wheat, tobacco, &c. . . . Some little attention is paid to agriculture in the management of land; but while cotton commands so good a price, we may despair of much progress in this valuable system" (Mills 1972:605). Fairfield planter William Ellison remarked in 1828 that "the successful cotton planter sits down in the choicest of his lands, slaughters the forest, and murders the soil" (quoted in Ford 1988:38). In 1842 agricultural reformer Edmund Ruffin warned of impending disaster from the reliance on cotton and observed that little effort was made to protect the land (Ruffin 1843:73). In spite of these early warnings, the South Carolina Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Immigration, as late as 1907, found no reason to remark on the threat of erosion, noting only that "the second best cotton lands are found in Anderson and Laurens Counties" (State Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Immigration 1907: 255).

Today the soils are largely stable and there is evidence that a new A horizon is developing over most of the Rosemont tract. The plantation area was saved from the most damaging erosion since it has never been under cultivation

and episodes of logging avoided the main plantation complex.

The soils surrounding the main settlement, which would have supported the cotton and earlier indigo are primarily the upland soils of the Hiawassee-Cecil and Wilkes-Pacolet-Enon associations. All are strongly acidic and most include strongly sloping areas subject to serve erosion. Today these soils are expected to produce from 200 to 500 pounds of cotton lint per acre (Camp et al. 1975:Table 3), although these figures are probably much higher than could be expected with antebellum agricultural practices. Barry remarks that the original Piedmont soils were highly fertile and very productive. However, "mismanagement, overcropping, erosion, and a multitude of other factors have reduced the once fertile lands to eroded ridges that require high applications of fertilizers" (Berry 1980:57).

Climate

Elevation, latitude, and distance from the coast work together to affect the climate of South Carolina, including the Piedmont. In addition, the more westerly mountains block or moderate many of the cold air masses that flow across the state from west to east. Even the very cold air masses which cross the mountains are warmed somewhat by compression before they descend on the Piedmont.

Consequently, the climate of Laurens County is temperate. The winters are relatively mild and the summers warm and humid. Rainfall in the amount of 44 to 48 inches is adequate, although less than in neighboring counties. About 24 to 28 inches of rain occur during the growing season, with periods of drought not uncommon during the summer months. As Hilliard illustrates, these droughts tended to be localized and tended to occur several years in a row, increasing the hardship on those attempting to recover from the previous year's crop failure (Hilliard 1984:16). Perhaps the best wide-scale example of this was the drought of 1845 which caused a series of very serious grain and food shortages throughout the state.

The average growing season is 192 days, although early freezes in the fall and late frosts in the spring can reduce this period by as much as 20 or more days (Landers 1975:63). Consequently, most cotton planting, for example, did not take place until early May, avoiding the possibility that a late frost would damage the young seedlings. The growing season would also have affected efforts to establish the Rosemont garden, although with such plants a greenhouse can effectively extend the growing season.

Mills described the climate of Laurens as:

> a temperature of air most favorable for health. The sky is generally clear and serene, and seldom obscured by moist, misty weather; rains comes on suddenly, fall hastily, and terminate at once; leaving a clear and settled sky. The air is pure and temperate, and, although variable, is seldom subject to sudden and great changes.
>
> Argues and fevers are more rare than formerly; they seem to have merged in the more violent forms bilious fevers. Though the first effects of clearing the land, particularly along the water-courses, were unfavorable to health, there is ground to hope, that, when it is better cultivated it will be more healthy than even at present (Mills 1972:606-607).

Floristics

Piedmont forests generally belong to the Oak-Hickory Formation as established by Braun (1950). The potential natural vegetation of the Laurens area is the Oak-Hickory-Pine Forest, composed of medium tall to tall forests of broadleaf deciduous and needleleaf evergreen trees (Küchler 1964). The major

components of this ecosystem include hickory, shortleaf pine, loblolly pine, white oak, and post oak. In actuality, the Piedmont is composed of a patchwork of open fields, pine woodlots, hardwood stands, mixed stands, and second growth fields. Shelford (1963) includes the Carolina Piedmont in the Oak-Hickory zone of the Southern Temperate Deciduous Forest Biome. The floodplain forests include sweetgum, tulip poplar, ash, elm, and red maple. Beyond the floodplains are small sections of mixed mesophytic woodlands, which are typified by tulip poplar, beech, red oak, white oak, and hickories. The forest is open, allowing the development of a shrub layer with numerous herbaceous species.

Mills observed that in the early nineteenth century Laurens was "well timbered" with pine, oak, poplar, chestnut, beech, dogwood, hickory, linden, and locust. Fruits included apple, peach, grapes, plums, and a variety of berries (Mills 1972:606).

Of considerable interest to the reconstruction of the environment of the Historic Period are the descriptions of the early explorers and surveyors. In the uplands the principal trees were pine, oak, hickory, and chestnuts. The denser virgin forests were clear with little undergrowth and widely spaced trees. These open woods were interspersed with areas of "prairie." Concerning the North Carolina Piedmont, Byrd speaks of "thickets . . . hereabouts so impenetrable" and soils so good that "large Trees of Poplar, Hiccory, and Oak . . . and wild Angelica grew plentifully upon it" (Byrd 1929:188).

The loamy, humus filled soils of the upland were held in place by the roots of plants and covered by a protective layer of organic material. As soon as this protective covering was breached, however, there was a rapid and devastating cycle of erosion (see Trimble 1974:20). The early settlers selected their land according to the abundance or height of the cane on the bottomlands, as this was considered indicative of fertile land. According to Byrd, cane:

> . . . grows commonly 12 to 16 feet high, and some of them as thick as a Man's wrist . . . . Ours continue green thro' all the Seasons during the Space of Six years, and the Seventh shed their seed, wither away and die. The spring following they begin the shoot again, and reach their former Stature the Second or Third year after (Byrd 1929:192).

An analysis of the early historic plat records is another approach to vegetation studies of the Georgia-South Carolina Piedmont area. DeVorsey (1971) compared tree species noted on the 1700s plats of the Ogeechee River in Green County, Georgia to modern coverage and found a 50% loss of hardwoods and a 300% gain of pine. It appears that the original forest, with more hardwoods, would have provided significantly greater numbers of edible fruits and nuts, as well as a more attractive setting for various animals, than the present forest cover. Today none of the original forests remain in Laurens County and the area has been cut over several times. Considerable land has been cultivated and abandoned, and is now covered by inferior second-growth forest.

The historic land use of the Rosemont area has greatly affected the extant vegetation of the property. While the surrounding tracts offer clear evidence of previous cultivation, second growth stands, and logging, the main plantation complex is more clearly affected by nearly 150 years of intensive human interaction producing an artificial biome of garden plants. It has only been in the last 60 to 75 years that the property has begun to revert to a natural ecological system. Today the Rosemont Plantation is characterized by a diverse range of hardwoods, such as the Japanese varnish tree, willow oak, hackberry, scarlet oak, post oak, southern red cedar, red oak, black oak, ironwood, tulip poplar, shagbark hickory, black walnut, and dogwood (Christy Snipes, personal communication 1991).

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE UPCOUNTRY

Previous Historical Archaeology Research

The Piedmont of South Carolina generally has been ignored by historical archaeology. This is perhaps best evidenced by Orser's (1988:10-20) discussions of "Southern Plantation Archaeology" in his Millwood monograph, which relied exclusively on coastal archaeological sites. The work which is available is concentrated on either military sites, such as Fort Independence in Abbeville County (Bastian 1982) and Ninety Six in Greenwood County, or individual house sites, such as the Bratton House in York County (Carrillo 1975), the Howser House in Cherokee County (Carrillo 1976), and the Gillebeau House in McCormick County (Lewis 1979).

Orser's archaeological and historical research at Millwood Plantation in Abbeville County, the home of James E. Calhoun, cousin of John C. Calhoun, represents the only detailed investigation of an antebellum plantation (Orser 1988; Orser et al. 1987). The only research from the up country which deals even generally with garden related items is the work by Carrillo (1979) at the Kilgore-Lewis Spring in Greenville County.

Consequently, the research at Rosemont takes on considerable significance to an understanding of South Carolina up country history and archaeology. Not only does this research represent the first investigation of an up country garden, but it also represents only the second historical and archaeological examination of a Piedmont plantation.

Up Country Historical Synopsis

Historical accounts of the territory encompassing the Piedmont began with the DeSoto expedition in 1540 (Swanton 1946). This area, referred to as the "Up Country" or "Back Country" interchangeably, was recognized by the Indians and the early settlers to be the hunting grounds of the Lower Cherokee (Logan 1859:6). In these early years the principal source of interaction between the European settlers and the Cherokee involved a loosely organized trading network.

After the establishment of South Carolina as a British province in 1670, organization and delineation into more manageable territorial units began. In 1685, the Proprietors sectioned the new province into four counties. Present Laurens County was included in the largest of these, Craven County, which remained as Indian land until 1755 (Kennedy 1940:34). A further refinement of boundaries in 1769 saw the creation of the Ninety Six District. It was not until 1785 that Laurens County was created by an act of the South Carolina legislature which divided the district into six units of approximately 45 square miles each.

The 1755 treaty between the Cherokee and Governor James Glen ceded nearly half of the territory of present South Carolina to the whites (Mills 1972:604). An early and sparse influx of settlers from the north was composed mainly of cattlemen and Indian traders. These semi-permanent settlements were concentrated along the streams and rivers where land was both productive and easily cleared. Cattlemen constructed temporary "cowpens" and planted small sections of corn, grains, and produce for home consumption.

After the initial settlements of the 1750s the white population of the Up Country did not increase significantly until 1761, with the expulsion of the Native American population at the end of the Cherokee War. This created a second wave of immigration and settlement, spearheaded by farmers from the northern colonies of North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. These settlers

developed a self-sufficient economy based on planting flax, tobacco, corn, wheat, and oats, and raising cattle and hogs for their own use. Slaves were relatively uncommon until the early 1800s.

In this early period of European settlement there was little connection with the legal authorities on the coast (i.e., Charleston), leaving the Up County largely autonomous. This led to the emergence of the Regulator Movement of the 1760s, a vigilante organization which attempted to maintain order and provide security through a system of courts and offices (Racine 1980:13). By the eve of the Revolution, two-thirds of the South Carolina population lived in the Up Country (Racine 1980:14).

By the onset of the American Revolution, the population of the Carolina Up Country was quite diverse in its ethnic, religious, and political backgrounds. These differences seemed to localize the hostilities between Whigs and Tories living side by side.

Though the end of the Revolutionary War brought few changes to the life of the Up Country farmers, a solid framework of social and political organization was beginning to emerge. In 1785, an act of the State Legislature formed Laurens County and provided that a court be held at the county seat every three months. The town of Laurensville was established the same year, solely as the county seat, and the first court was held in June 1785. The town was laid out as a rectangle surrounding the square, with five radiating streets (Laurens County Historical Society 1982:60).

In 1790 the Piedmont, with 81,533 inhabitants, accounted for 32.7% of South Carolina's population. By 1800 the population of this area had increased to 120,805, an increase of 48.2% over the previous decade. One obvious reason, clearly, was the promise of good agricultural lands, by this time a rare commodity in the coastal region.

Tobacco remained the economic mainstay of the Up Country until the early 1800s (Ford 1988:6). The dogged persistence of tobacco, in spite of low yields, poor quality, and strong competition, was to foreshadow the impact of cotton on South Carolina.

Interspersed with subsistence crops was indigo, a crop best known from the coastal region, but produced on a number of up country plantations as well. In fact, Henry Laurens and John Lewis Gervais planned to establish a 13,200 acre indigo plantation in the Ninety Six District, but the Revolution diverted them from this plan. Other planters, however, found near immediate wealth in indigo, planting as much as 40 to 100 acres. Others favored smaller acreage, ranging from 10 to 25 acres, which required fewer slaves but still allowed profits during the period from 1740 to 1770 (Huneycutt 1949; Rembert 1990).

The importance of South Carolina indigo waned after the Revolutionary War. Never considered of high quality, the indigo from South Carolina could not compete on the open market after its favored status ended with independence from Britain. Coupled with this political development was the development of improved processing techniques in India which drastically reduced the profitability of South Carolina indigo. The final blow was the 1793 invention of the cotton gin, which opened a new economic era in the State. Indigo continued to be grown into the eighteenth century, and in 1830 nearly 200,000 pounds were exported from South Carolina. Yet, this represented little profit and the bulk of the crop which continued to be grown in South Carolina is best considered a cottage industry.

James Henry Hammond's defence of the South before the United States Senate declared, "No, you dare not make war on cotton. No power on earth dares to make war upon it. Cotton is King." This sentiment was the culmination of nearly fifty years of agricultural and economic practices that led the South to the brink of

destruction. The Up Country's participation in this economic roller coaster has been described in some detail by Ford (1988) and only a brief synopsis will be presented here.

Lacking a consistently profitable staple crop, the Up Country concentrated on the production of subsistence crops until the early 1800s with the introduction of the cotton gin and the rise of English textile mills, the outgrowth of the industrial revolution. This early emphasis on food stuffs, while retarding upward mobility, had a lasting influence on the region, its economy, and its world view.

Cotton spread quickly during the first decade of the 1800s and by 1811 the Up Country was exporting over 30 million pounds of short-staple cotton (Ford 1988:7). This cotton boom promoted tremendous growth in the region, a growth that even the yeomen farmers could participate in since it required little capital outlay and was subject to no particular economies of scale.

As in the coastal area, the history of cotton in the Up Country is also the history of slavery. While Laurens County had only 1,919 slaves in 1800 (one household in five was a slaveholder), the number grew to 7,243 by 1830, and 13,000 by 1860. At the eve of the Civil War slaves outnumbered the white inhabitants of Laurens by 3000 persons (Burnside 1982:13-14). The boom in cotton radically changed the face of the Up Country, adding hundreds of slaveholders. The percentage of whites in Laurens County declined from 84.9% in 1800 to 72.1% in 1820 to 48.6% in 1850 (Ford 1988:45). In spite of the increase in both number of slaveholders and number of slaves, by 1820 only 64 individuals in the entire region owned fifty or more slaves, revealing that many of the farms and plantations continued to be operated solely by whites, or with a minimal number of Black slaves (Ford 1988:12-13).

Slave holding did become, in Ford's terms "a widely recognized symbol of social respectability" (Ford 1988:14). And this respectability was purchased by the profits of cotton. Flush, but fragile, cotton produced an economic system not unlike rice -- bound to the world economy over which the planter had no control. Consequently, the Napoleonic Wars caused a downturn in prices, with a revitalization of the boom in 1815 at the end of the war. By 1818 the prices were up to 30¢ a pound, from a low of 10¢ a pound during the war. By 1819 the prices began to drop as the world experienced a serious depression or deflation, with no real recovery until the 1830s. Even this recovery was short lived, with the Panic of 1837 drastically reducing cotton prices into the 1840s.

In 1850 there were 11,953 slaves in Laurens County, working on 1,603 farms totalling 182,525 improved acres (or about 40% of the total acreage in the county). The total value of Laurens County farms was $4,060,899, ranking fifth in the state, behind only Charleston, Edgefield, Beaufort, and Abbeville. Laurens ranked fourth in number of horses (n=7,286), fourth in swine (n=55,288), 10th in cattle (n=22,848), and 11th in sheep (n=11,583). Agricultural production was high, with the county producing more wheat and oats than any other in the state (129,694 and 66,337 bushels respectively). It produced the third largest corn crop (895,291 bushels). The cotton crop, composed of 15,842 bales, was the seventh largest in the state (surpassed only by Abbeville, Edgefield, Newberry, Sumter, Fairfield, and Chester counties). Laurens also ranked fourth in the total value of slaughtered livestock (n=$174,336). Even in manufacturing the County was prospering. It ranked eighth in total capital (n=$184,475) and third in production (n=$419,715) (DeBow 1854:304-307).

At least part of this agricultural diversification was the result of the reform movement of Edmund Ruffin (1843), who argued for increased food crops, decreased cotton, and greater industrial development. While having some short-term impact during the period of depressed cotton prices, as soon as cotton prices recovered, it was again planted in mass. In 1849 Up Country farmers produced 75% more cotton than they had a decade earlier (Ford 1988:43). In spite

of this the Up Country remained largely self-sufficient, with this self-sufficiency being more pronounced in the Upper Piedmont counties of Anderson, Lancaster, Greenville, Pickens, Spartanburg, and York, than in the Lower Piedmont counties, such as Laurens.

Ford remarks that while the agricultural reform movement didn't wean the Piedmont from cotton:

> it did force many Upcountry whites to confront the possible tension between the ideological devotion to personal independence and their economic interest in commercial agriculture. At least in theory, production for the market encouraged specialization rather than self-sufficiency and involved the producer in an increasingly complex network of economic relationships which threatened to undermine his independence. Unless properly leveraged, participation in the market economy portended an end to the splendid isolation of self-sufficiency which did so much to preserve personal independence (Ford 1988:52).

Even in Laurens County the Milton Agricultural Society reported, "we raise among ourselves nearly all the hogs, and all the cattle, that we need for consumption" and that "every farmer raises all the grain which he consumes, and usually markets a surplus of wheat and flour" (quoted in Ford 1988:54).

Ford also cautions against the easy trap of accepting the "dual-economy" hypothesis that views the Up Country as divided into planters raising cotton and yeoman farmers raising food stuffs. Ford notes:

> by and large, Upcountry yeomen were not forced to make an all-or-nothing choice between commercial agriculture and subsistence farming, or between traditional mores and market values. Instead Upcountry yeomen made a set of crop-mix decisions each year, balancing their need for a sure and steady food supply with their desire for cotton profits, a cash income, and a higher standard of living (Ford 1988:72).

There remained an uneasy peace between yeoman and plantation owner in the Up Country. In order to maintain the political support of the yeoman majority, planters were forced to moderate their economic and legal power, molding themselves to the community mores and opinion.

Ford argues that the Up Country actively participated in Secession because of the:

> "country-republican" ideal of personal independence, given particular fortification by the use of black slaves as a mud-sill class. Yeoman rose with planter to defend this ideal because it was not merely the planters' ideal, but his as well (Ford 1988:372).

The Civil War had little military impact on Laurens and no battles were fought in the County. It did, however, change Laurens' history, destroying the basis of its wealth and creating in its place a system of tenancy -- the hiring of farm laborers for a portion of the crop, a fixed amount of money, or both.

Immediately after the Civil War cotton prices peaked, causing many Southerners to plant cotton again, in the hope of recouping losses from the War. The single largest problem across the South, however, was labor. While some freedmen stayed on to work, others, apparently many others, left. An Englishman traveling through the South immediately after the war remarked that, "Thirty-seven thousand negroes, according to newspaper estimates, have left South Carolina already, traveling west" (quoted in Orser 1988:49).

The hiring of freedmen began immediately after the war, with variable results. The Freedmen's Bureau attempted to establish a system of wage labor, but the effort was largely tempered by the enactment of the Black Codes by the South Carolina Legislature in September 1865. These Codes allowed nominal freedom, while establishing a new kind of slavery, severely restricting the rights and freedoms of the black majority (see Orser 1988:50). Added to the Codes were oppressive contracts which reinforced the power of the plantation owner and degraded the freedom of the Blacks. The freedmen found power, however, in their ability to break their contracts and move to a new plantation, beginning a new contract. With the high price of cotton and the scarcity of labor, this mechanism caused tremendous agitation to the plantation owners.

Gradually owners turned away from wage labor contracts to two kinds of tenancy -- sharecropping and renting. While very different, both succeeded in making land ownership very difficult, if not impossible, for the vast majority of Blacks. Sharecropping required the tenant to pay his landlord part of the crop produced, while renting required that he pay a fixed rent in either crops or money. In sharecropping the tenant supplied the labor and one-half of the fertilizer, the landlord supplied everything else -- land, house, tools, work animals, animal feed, wood for fuel, and the other half of the needed fertilizer. In return the landlord received half of the crop at harvest. This system became known as "working on halves," and the tenants as "half hands," or "half tenants."

In share-renting, the landlord supplied the land, housing, and either one-quarter or one-third of the fertilizer costs. The tenant supplied the labor, animals, animal feed, tools, seed, and the remainder of the fertilizer. At harvest the crop was divided in proportion to the amount of fertilizer that each party supplied. A number of variations on this occurred, one of the most common being "third and fourth," where the landlord received one-fourth of the cotton crop and one-third of all other crops. In cash-renting the landlord provided the land and housing, with the renter providing everything else and paying a fixed per-acre rent in cash.

Between 1880 and 1925 the number of owner-operated farms in the Piedmont increased by 35.3%, while the number of cash renters increased by 375.4% and the number of sharecroppers increased by 155.8%. Moreover, 1880 was the only year between 1880 and 1925 during which a majority of Piedmont farmers were owners, and this occurred in only three counties. One of these was Laurens, where 58.6% of the farmers were listed as owners in 1880. Afterwards the population of owner-operators in the Piedmont remained at about 30% (Orser 1988:60).

In 1884 the labor system of Laurens County was described:

> Land is usually furnished for services rendered. One-third of crop is paid for rent. Wages do not prevail such. When they do, the laborer gives the whole time [a 10-hour day] and is paid as above [board and $8 to $10 a month for men and $4 to $6 a month for women] (The News and Courier 1884:n.p.).

The account continued by noting that the cost of cotton production was about $40 per 500 pound bale. There were about 200 gins operating in Laurens County and the distance cotton would be hauled to a gin never exceeded 3 miles. The report indicated that freedmen "never succeed [as farm owners] unless under advice and using the judgement of white farmers of experience" (The News and Courier 1884:n.p.).

Orser notes that the period from 1880 to 1920 is one of consistent agricultural expansion, with a concomitant increase in cotton production. This trend, however, changed between 1920 and 1925, when both the number of farms and the cotton production dramatically decreased (Orser 1988:69). The causes of this reversal are at least two-fold: increasing Piedmont erosion and the introduction of the boll weevil (cf. Orser 1988:77).

HISTORY OF ROSEMONT PLANTATION

Colonial History of Rosemont

The first documented owner of the Rosemont (also variously spelled Rosemonte and Rose Monte in family correspondence) Plantation was Patrick Cunningham who apparently purchased land in the area during the mid-eighteenth century. The exact date of the land purchase is unknown and no deed or plat has been found to clearly establish ownership or acreage of the original tract.

A Loyalist, Patrick played a relatively minor role in the Revolutionary War, although it was sufficient to cause his eventual banishment from South Carolina. His elder brother, Robert Cuninngham, was a General in the British Army and took an active part in the war, eventually residing in Charleston until that city was evacuated by the British in late 1782. Both Robert and Patrick moved to Florida where they established plantations and cut live oak timber (O'Neall 1859:395).

Between 1783 and 1790 General Robert Cuninngham requested reimbursement from England for the losses he sustained in the American Revolution. His petition noted that his deeds for property in the Ninety Six District had been looted from his house, although he claimed ownership of 750 acres (100 acres cleared) on Saluda River with a good frame house and outhouses, an apple and peach orchard. An additional plantation was held on Beaver Dam Creek in Georgia, including 250 acres (10 acres cleared) with dwelling and out houses. Other losses included 20 head of horses, 100 head of cattle, 300 hogs, 40 sheep, one wagon, three plows, tools and implements, 100 bushels of wheat, 500 bushels of corn, 500 bushels of oats, and money due on bonds and notes. A witness, commenting on an unspecified plantation, stated that in 1783 there was a "house of logs, logs squares; rather small, but good one for that country; seemed more than one story high; floored and shingled; could not have been made for less that £20." His total loses were placed at £2355 (Abstract of Ms. Books and Papers of the Commission of Inquiry into the Losses and Services of the American Loyalists, South Carolina Historical Society, 30-04).

Although no such detailed document has been found for Patrick Cunningham, a family history written by Ann Pamela Cunningham in the 1840s mentions that:

> an old Lady now alive distinctly remembers the small framed building put up by Patrick as a temporary residence, used for several years until he built the house at present occupied by his Descendants. This House was commenced before the "War," is built in the massy heavy style of those days & entirely of Lightwood (Pine) most of which was seasoning for 7 or 8 years. The family have always been under the impression that it was the first of the kind built in the upper country and have religiously preserved it as first constructed, accept where absolute comfort (according to present ideas) required some slight alteration. Patrick's household establishment for the 1st year consisted of 9 servants (an unusual number in that region). As he was exclusively devoted to his profession, and there is an entry of overseer Salary in 1772, we presume he did not commence "planting" til then - "Lands" not "Negroes" seemed the principal object with him, and I meet with entries of tracts after tracts "taken up," & often rented out. But there is at this day, no clue to enable us to ascertain the amount of the immense body (for those days) said to be in his possession at the breaking out of the Revolution (MS. 21904, Alabama Department of Archives and History).

After the Revolution, it is clear that he returned to South Carolina in 1784 and appealed for amercement. He was removed from the list of confiscation and banishment, amerced at 12% of his property value, and was temporarily disqualified from holding public office (Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers, copy in possession of Chicora Foundation). Patrick served in General Assembly for two terms, beginning in 1790, but O'Neall remarked that, "believing that he was overlooked in the duties of the House by the malignity of those who governed, he refused to serve any longer" (O'Neall 1859:396). He was appointed a Deputy Surveyor in 1793, a position he held until his death three years later in 1796.

Ann Pamela's family history also reveals that:

> in the spring [of 1785], he proceeded to his old residence on Saluda, to finish the house commenced so long before - much of the "timber" for which was of the richest lightwood & had been seasoning during the whole war. In the fall, he carried his family up. With his usual activity & energy, he set to work to repair losses & relieve himself of the many embarrassments which surrounded him. In order to get rid of the "fine" at once I find his house in town & 9 tracts of land sold for that purpose! Which, in a few years would have been worth quadruple the sum. Indigo was the staple of the "Upper County" then, & he cultivated it most successfully - tho the sickness its cultivation generates, added to that of living on a very unhealthful place, made it in the end, a losing business. I will mention one instance to give an idea of his energy & perseverance. Indigo required a great deal of moisture and if the season proved dry the planter sustained a much greater loss from it than in cotton (which has supplanted it under the same circumstances). He was want to say, he could never fear an entire loss of "crop" so long as Goldman (a creek emptying in Saluda near his house) & Saluda had water in them. It was his custom, when the season was very unpropitious, to haul the water in casks & have each plant watered late in the evening . . . & then a piece of "bark" placed over each during the day, to prevent ill effects from the "Sun." Tedious as was this operation, he found it profitable (MS. 21904, Alabama Department of Archives and History).

Patrick's October 2, 1796 will stipulated that his plantation:

> Lying on Saluda and Reedy River be Divided by a Line beginning at a plant patch on Saluda and Running to a branch Called The Middle fork and Continue up to the head of the said branch and from thence a direct Course to my back Line beyond the Dry ford Leaving the old Race ground One hundred Yards to the left hand the upper tract joining Reedy River I give to my son William Cunningham and his heirs forever and the Lower tract whereon my house is I give to my son Robert Cunningham and his heirs forever (South Carolina Will Transcripts 1782-1868, Laurens County, volume 1, 1766-1825, South Carolina Historical Society SC-AR-M/9-16).

He also left a Beaverdam Creek tract to his son John Cunningham and a provision that any other lands he might have be divided between his three sons, John, William, and Robert. His stock, slaves, plantation furniture, and associated items were also to be equally divided between his three sons and wife. His wife was to have a life interest in the plantation house tract with Robert.

O'Neall mentions that Patrick's "fine homestead, on the Saluda, near the mouth of the Reedy River, he, perhaps, acquired soon after his return from Florida, though it is possible he owned it before the Revolution" (O'Neall 1859:396). An autobiography by Dr. Abner Pyles, examined by Marion Wilkes (1947) strongly suggests that the Rosemont house was built about 1790 (this autobiography, reported to be in the possession of A.S. Salley by Wilkes has been

identified in the Special Collections Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University). Ann Pamela's family history, written about 30 years after the Revolution and with benefit of the various documents surviving at that time, suggests that a temporary structure was erected by Patrick Cunningham prior to the Revolution while the main house was being constructed. After the Revolution, the main house was finished.

The inventory of Patrick Cunningham's estate reveals land holdings of approximately 10,216 acres, including three main plantation holdings. The first, situated on Little River and Beaverdam Creek, contained 1190½ acres and appears to have been assembled between 1790 and 1794. The second, on the north side of the Reedy River, contained 1540 acres and was assembled around 1790. The third major tract, appears to be Rosemont, and contained 1646 acres. At least a part of this tract was granted as early as September 2, 1769. The remaining tracts were found on Reyburn or Reaburn's Creek, Saluda River, Cane Creek, and Walnut Creek. This inventory suggests that while Patrick Cunningham may have been amassing his landed estate prior to the American Revolution, most of it dates from after his amercement, indicating that he was able to complete his reintegration in economic society.

In addition to the lands, his inventory reveals 53 slaves, a watch, surveying instruments, two wagons, plantation equipment and tools, 29 horses, 100 cattle, 200 hogs, and 40 sheep. The 1796 crop included tobacco, indigo, cotton, and several grains (Laurens County Probate Court, Inventory Book --, pp. 187-189).

Development of the Antebellum Plantation and Gardens

Our knowledge of Rosemont under the ownership of Robert Cunningham from 1796 to his death in 1859 is spotty. It was, however, under the ownership of Robert Cunningham, and the oversight of his wife, Louisa, that the gardens of Rosemont were established and flourished. An August 1838 letter from Louisa Cunningham reveals that fences (described as a "running of . . . palings") were being erected and when complete would "save my poor garden from the fowls, which for years past has so infested it." She goes on to describe "a delightful fruit year" at Rosemont, yielding strawberries, apricots, nectarines, figs, peaches, raspberries, and grapes. She also mentions moving shrubbery, although no details are given (letter from Louisa Cunningham to B.C. Yancey, dated August 30, 1838, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

In February 1839, John Cunningham wrote his cousin, Ben Yancey, that "Mother was out laying off her grounds, planting & executing old & inventing new schemes of improvement. The place looks very different from what it was when you last saw it" (February 24, 1839 letter from John Cunningham to Ben Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

The laying out of new gardens and even the August 1838 fence construction appears to have been an ongoing process at Rosemont. An April 1839 letter from Louisa to her ward, Benjamin Yancey, remarks that new fences were being made and the garden expanded and revitalized:

> my altering the plan of my flower garden - those little tiny beds which were literally all box wood I have enlarged by taking up the box and throwing them together only having a center bed and corner beds . . . . all the Roses that were in the yard I have taken up and planted in a hedge each side of the avenue next the fence . . . I have enlarged the garden as far out as the Lower end of the school house which is now designated the Library - and back of it I have laid out in a handsome flower parterre . . . being divided from the old part by a long bed of 8 feet wide with a walk ea [ ] the bottom of the garden - only dividing by the cross walks - when it's planted up it will shew well, as you enter the house - there is no paling

> running across dividing the yard from the avenues the fences extending just beyond the bridge with a gate, at the end of the bridge-joining (Southern Historical Collection, April 8, 1839 letter from Louisa Cunningham to Benjamin Yancey).

Louisa went on to mention that the buildings and fences at Rosemont were all whitewashed and that "across the river it looks like a village."

Upon her death in 1873, Louisa was eulogized by long-time friend and ex-governor of South Carolina, B.F. Perry. He recalled that her husband, Robert:

> lived in baronial style, surrounded by all the luxuries which fortune can give. His house was ever the resort of friends and acquaintances, from the lower and upper country (Perry 1874:1).

Speaking of Louisa's gardening, Perry remarked:

> her passion for flowers was unsurpassed; she collected them from all parts of the world. Her flowers and shrubbery covered acres of ground around "Rose Monte," which she watched over and cultivated with the care of a mother for her infant children. She has the honor of being the pioneer florist of the up country. . . . great pleasure of receiving a collection of rare flowers from Mount Vernon, sent her by Judge Bushrod Washington. Years afterwards, when I saw her flower garden and shrubbery, they were surpassingly beautiful, and laid off with great taste and artistic skill. She was most generous, too, in the distribution of her rare and beautiful flowers and plants amongst her friends and acquaintances (Perry 1874:4-5).

Ann Pamela Cunningham was born in 1816 and although suffering a back injury as an adolescent, she appears to have been an active participant in the affairs of Rosemont by at least the early 1840s. Moltke-Hansen reviews the affect of this injury on Ann Pamela, remarking that she was a "semi-invalid" for the remainder of her life. "Kept at home, away from the society and pleasures of her peers and the solicitous eyes of her parents, she found that time hung heavy on her hands" (Moltke-Hansen 1980:38).

In January 1840 Ann Pamela wrote to Mrs. Benjamin Perry that she had converted the Library into a house for herself, since it was both more quiet and "the house is so low to the ground that in mild weather I can step out myself - then again from each window I see a cheering prospect of evergreens etc.; before [when she was confined to her second story bedroom in the main house] there was nothing but the "clouds"(January 13, 1840 letter from Ann Pamela Cunningham to Mrs. B. Perry, Alabama Department of Archives and History). She also mentioned in the letter that she has divided the one room library into two rooms, creating a bedroom and sitting room.

In 1842 there is additional information concerning the gardening activities of Louisa. At that time she was sent "rare French roses" in exchange for "yellow rose trees," and was planting oleanders, live oaks, palmettos, and sour oranges (December 10, 1842 letter to Louisa Cunningham from Margaret Crawford, Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Collection). Besides the beauty of the garden, the Rosemont estate apparently produced more "useful" articles. In an 1842 letter peaches were again mentioned, as was fig preserves, tomato catsup, peach marmalade, and cabbage pickle, as well as corn and "fat" (December 13, 1842 letter from Ann Pamela Cunningham to Laura Hines [wife of Ben Yancey], Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

In 1846 a loom house "with all of its contents" at the plantation burned (February 25, 1846 letter from Louisa Cunningham to Ben Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill). This

suggests that Rosemont produced cotton goods, at least for home consumption. While the letter fails to provide any clear location for the structure, it was apparently in the immediate vicinity of other structures since Louisa mentions their luck that the "wind carried in the direction of the Bridge" and nothing else caught on fire.

Ann Pamela continued to be as interested in her family history as in her mother's gardening. She was corresponding with Benjamin Perry about her meeting with Hugh O'Neall, remarking in an 1843 letter that she:

> ransacked an old trunk covered with the dust of half a century . . . and brought to light documents . . . confirming what I had heard from Mr. O'Neal, but of which we were ignorant. We were not aware before of the enormous fine my grandfather had to pay to be allowed to return to his home (March 25, 1843 letter from Ann Pamela Cunningham to B.F. Perry, Alabama Department of Archives and History).

This interest resulted in Ann Pamela publishing a family history or apologia concerning the Loyalist attitudes of her grandfather in 1843. She argued that Patrick and his brother, Robert, were defending their rights against Whig abuses of power. This view was immediately rebuked by William Gilmore Simms, which both angered and deeply depressed Ann Pamela (see Moltke-Hansen 1980).

In spite of her ill-fated efforts to defend her Tory ancestors, Ann Pamela continued to evidence a tremendous interest in the history surrounding her family. In 1845 she wrote about Patrick Cunningham:

> the place upon which his descendants always have & do reside is the one upon which he first settled in 1769. That the land was first run off, & bought by him tho' few fields had been cleared by squatters and that the first framed dwelling house erected in the upper country was the one he commenced before the war which we now live. All his lands were not returned to him, tho' from the useless titles being principally burnt by my uncle, his executor, we have no idea of the amount withheld further, than it was enough to be a valuable acquisition to us now (July 2, 1845 letter from Ann Pamela Cunningham to B. Perry, Alabama Department of Archives and History).

This is one of the very few, even partially trustworthy, accounts which suggests that the Rosemont construction may have at least begun prior to the American Revolution.

A recurring possessiveness of Rosemont is indicated in an 1847 letter by Ann Pamela, as well as the brewing family dissention:

> Father has talked much about selling out everything & investing his property, but I shall go to the death against it - The home of my Fathers shall never belong to strangers while I am alive, if I can help it - & I hope & believe I can. John has long advised Father to sell a portion of useless land & unprofitable negroes, now while we could without perfect sacrifice (March 31, 1847 letter from Ann Pamela Cunningham to Mrs. Perry, Alabama Department of Archives and History).

There is remarkable little information on Rosemont during the 1840s. Ann Pamela mentions "sick negroes" in 1844, the record drought in 1845, and rains injuring the rye and wheat in 1846. It appears that these years were typical and few of the plantation activities interested Ann Pamela (November 9, 1844 letter from Ann Pamela Cunningham to B. Perry, July 2, 1845 letter from Ann Pamela Cunningham to B. Perry, June 27, 1846 letter from Ann Pamela Cunningham to B. Perry, Alabama Department of Archives and History). In November 1846 Louisa had

been convinced to build a "Green House" by the "parlor" (letter from Ann Pamela Cunningham to Mrs. Perry, Alabama Department of Archives and History). There are also occasional mentions of the Rosemont garden, indicating that the various planting activities continued unabated during the period.

In 1848 Robert Cunningham of Rosemont sold 45 slaves to his son, John, for one dollar (March 31, 1848 bill of sale, Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers). This appears to be the earliest record of Robert beginning to divide his estate prior to his death.

John wrote Ben Yancey in 1850 that:

> Father & I do not agree very well as to a place in Laurens for me. He refuses to convey to me or give me any valid legal claim to the land, and I refuse to put labor, expense and improvements on a tract, of which I may be deprived at any time by himself, or after his death by the contest of others (December 1850 letter from John Cunningham to Ben Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

Apparently this continuing family dispute was at least temporarily settled. In 1851 Robert sold 1013 acres, representing part of Rosemont, to John (Laurens County Deed Book P, page 196).

In May 1854 John mortgaged the 1018 acres to the Bank of the State of South Carolina, along with 22 slaves, to cover his note for $10,000. A second mortgage was recorded in September 1855 (Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers). Both mortgages were apparently paid in full.

Louisa continued to escape from the surrounding political and family turmoil by working in her garden. A January 1852 letter remarks on the success of her peas and lettuce, indicating that vegetables were as large a concern as the flowers and shrubbery (January 30, 1852 letter from Louisa Cunningham to Ben Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill). A visitor to Rosemont in April 1852 found Louisa "busy setting out plants," and remarked that "the garden is beginning to look as 'Rose Monte' always looks to my eye" (April 14, 1852 letter from Charlotte Perceval to Mrs. Benjamin Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

Robert Cunningham died at Rosemont on July 7, 1859. His will, dated May 24, 1854, proved and filed on July 12, 1859 was to be the source of considerable family infighting and bitterness. It stipulated that Robert had previously provided his son, John, with 1000 acres of land and 45 slaves. To his wife he gave a life estate of 1000 acres "to be laid off so as to include my homestead" and 45 slaves, as well as half of his stock, household and kitchen furniture, wagons, and plantation tools. At her death the property would be equally divided between John and Ann Pamela. To Ann Pamela he gave the 1000 acre "Dry Fork" tract, 45 slaves, and the remaining one-half of his stock, household and kitchen furniture, wagons, and plantation tools, but that if Ann Pamela did not have children at her death that the property would go to John or his heirs. Finally, Robert also provided in the fifth clause of his will that the balance of his land and slaves should be divided between Louisa, John, and Ann Pamela. However, the property given to Louisa was to be a life estate and that given to Ann Pamela would revert to John (or his heirs) if she failed to have children (Laurens County Probate Office, Will Book, page 324).

The Inventory and Appraisement of Robert Cunningham's personal estate was made on July 14 and 15, 1859. It included 155 slaves, divided into the categories of "household servants," "mechanics," "men," "women," "boys and children," and "girls and children." Household servants include a coachman, house servants, seamstresses, maid, cooks and weavers, washer, milker, and unspecified. Also

included in this category was Sam, listed as the gardener. The mechanics included three blacksmiths, a carpenter, two tanners and shoemakers, and a miller. The total value of the slaves was listed as $108,900 (Inventory and Appraisement of Robert Cunningham, Laurens County Probate Court, Book B, pages 140-149).

While this inventory provides no information on the African American families converted into slavery and little information on their lives, it does provide a clear indication of the size and complexity of the Rosemont Plantation. The range of mechanics clearly indicates that Rosemont was largely self-sufficient, providing its own metal work, probably including architectural hardware (such as hinges and nails), as well as horse shoes, plows, and hoes. The presence of a miller suggests that the Cunningham's Cane Creek mill was still active. Given the frequent mention of corn, the mill was probably largely devoted to this commodity, although the occasional mentions of wheat and rye suggest that other grains may have been milled as well. All of the mechanics are males and their ages range from 42 to 75, with two of the six being described as infirm. George the blacksmith, 43 years old, was listed as the son of Jess, aged 75 and also a blacksmith.

The household servants include 15 individuals, 10 of whom were females, ranging in age from 11 to "over 80." Only one of these females, Maria the "washer," was listed as infirm, while three of the five males had some form of disability. Sam the gardner is listed as being 63 years old. Curiously, the cook is listed as Harry, 45 years old and infirm. Harriet, 40 years old, is listed as a cook and weaver. The other weaver, Ephraim, is listed as 60 years old. The presence of two weavers confirms the 1842 letter mentioning the plantation's loom.

These two categories of African American slaves are dominated by middle aged to elderly individuals. The mean age is 46 years and 41% are cluster between the age of 43 and 55 years. The total value assigned by the appraisers to these individuals was $15,000. Thus, 14% of the slave population at Rosemont was assigned approximately 13.9% of the total slave value. This suggests that contrary to popular belief, slaves serving as household servants or mechanics did not necessarily carry a higher value than field servants (although they may have been treated differently). The average value of these specialized workers was $682, with this increasing to an average value of $747 if the unsound slaves are removed from consideration. Yet, those slaves under 25 years of age had an average value of $1140. This suggests that while the wisdom and experience of age might be valued on a daily basis, the hard reality of the slave trade considered age a detriment.

This is more clearly shown by the field slaves, 36 of whom were listed as men by the appraisers (apparently the division between men and boys was not constant but occurred around the age of 16). The average age of these slaves was 35 years, considerably younger than the household servants and mechanics. The average value of these slaves was $988, about one-third more than the household servants and mechanics. The average value increased to $1074 if the "unsound" individuals were excluded and it increased to $1217 if only those 30 or less years old were included. One male, listed as over 90 years old, was identified as "cotton man," suggesting that he had some special expertise in cotton planting. In spite of this, he was valued at only $100.

Looking at the female slaves a similar pattern emerges. The 28 females (all over the age of 12 years) had an average value of $760, or about 76% the value of the males. Excluding those listed as unsound, the average value increases to $784, although this represents only 73% of the sound male average value. The average value of females 30 years old or younger was $1,056, or 87% of the male value. Silvy was identified as both a spinner and nurse, although she was listed with the field hands. In spite of these attributes, she was valued at only $100.

It appears that African American field hands were more highly valued for

their physical labor potential than for any special expertise they might possess. This interpretation, of course, is based on data from only one plantation. Yet, it does appear that while some prestige might be associated with a special position, the plantation owner was more concerned with acreage plowed and planted.

While the sex ratio of adult male and females is very similar, males were slightly more common (female to male ratio of 1:1.2). Given the differences in values placed on African American males and females, this difference may simply represent Robert Cunningham's preference to have male workers. The ratio of female to male children is essentially the same (1:1.3).

The appraisal also provides an inventory of furnishings in the drawing room, Dining Room and Hall, Bed Room No. 1 (downstairs), Bed Room No. 2 (upstairs), Bed Room No. 3 (upstairs), Bed Room No. 4 (upstairs), Bed Room No. 5 (upstairs), Bed Room No. 6 (upstairs), Library (separate building), Kitchen and Cellar. This document reveals that if the house was ever enlarged (discussed below), this process had been completed by 1859. The contents of these rooms and separate buildings was valued at $1963, including $500 for approximately 1000 volumes of books in the Library. The house also contained variety of small items, with an estimated value of $1154. These items included two bed room gilt china sets, six bed room crockery sets, a set of painted tin water vessels, a lot of knives and forks, china, glass, silver plated wares, and Britannia ware. Silver in the house, including two pitchers, tea set, spoons, and so forth, was valued at $723. A large quantity of wines, brandy, sugar, tea, coffee, cordials, salt, molasses, preserves, hams, shoulders, sides, meats, and so forth were present, but not valued.

Items associated with the plantation included two looms and spinning wheels, washing and ironing utensils, carpenter's tools, and blacksmith tools, valued at $95. Other plantation tools, including 70 hoes, 34 plow stocks, and six wagons, were valued at $875.50. The plantation had 40 head of oxen, 21 milk cows, 15 calves, 15 "dry" cattle, and two bulls, for a value of $737.50. Also inventoried were 190 head of hogs, 120 head of sheep, 21 head of horses, and 23 mules, for a total value of $4190. Corn, wheat, oats, peas, and fodder were found "on-hand," as well as a wheat crop in the fields which had not yet been thrashed.

The items associated with the plantation suggest that agricultural activities at Rosemont were intensive. The quantity of slaves, plantation tools, horses, and mules suggest that a considerable amount of acreage was being cultivated and the cattle, hogs, and sheep add yet another dimension to the plantation operation. Yet the inventory provides no indication of cotton production at Rosemont. The associated returns on the estate of Robert Cunningham, however, reveal that T. Grange Simons & Sons were cotton factors for Rosemont and that in 1859 they paid the estate $350 on account. In April of 1860 the estate was credited with $1410.20, "proceeds of cotton sold in Hamburg." These records also reveal that Rosemont had been under the direction of an overseer, J.J. Gennings in 1858 and 1859 (Laurens County Probate Court, Estate of Robert Cunningham, page 240).

In January 1860 Louisa wrote to William Yancey that she had been "all alone" at Rosemont since November 2, 1859 and found a "miserable crop." She also mentions that she has some better prospects in another overseer in 1860, suggesting that J.J. Gennings was found to be less than ideal. Louisa also mentions that she is "much engaged in improving this place in my economical way - and I never throw away a root," apparently a reference to her frugal gardening activities (January 18, 1860 letter from Louisa Cunningham to William Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

It was also in January 1860 that Louisa, John, and Ann Pamela filed a deed to partition the estate of Robert Cunningham. The matter, seemingly straight forward in Robert's will, was made complicated by his having sold off the Dry

Fork tract, bequeathed to Ann Pamela, prior to his death. In the January 1860 deed, John agrees to sell a portion of his property, previously given him by his father and agrees that his allotment need not be adjacent to his other property. The lands of the estate amounted to 2915.4 acres. Once the 1000 acre homesite was deducted for Louisa, there remained 1915.4 acres to be divided between the three parties. Ann Pamela and Louisa agree that John's share should be 638.5 acres, to be taken from north half of the tract, between the Reedy River and the public road from Waterloo to the ferry at the mouth of the Reedy River (Laurens County Deed Book Q, page 289).

The actual sale of 785 acres of John's land to Louisa and Ann Pamela, however, was not recorded until December 4, 1862, almost two years after the original partition. This tract was also situated in the northern part of the plantation on the Reedy River and bounded to the northeast by Puckett's Ferry Road (Laurens County Deed Book Q, page 305).

It was during this period that Ann Pamela wrote an undated note apparently relating to her share of the estate:

> the land is the thinnest, & most valueless of the whole Estate injured from working & ought not to be appraised higher - 355 acres only were in cultivation this year - Of negroes 9 (not 7 as formerly stated) are unsound - 1 with broken leg - 1 disjointed hip, girl of 14 useless, so far, from spinal affliction. There is one aged 70 - 3 over 60 - 5 from 50 to 60. Of house servants there are only two - a woman & child not 12 - in February. The woman is a seamstress, & was valued at 1200 in 1859 - but I am told the "appraisement" of the negroes of the "Estate" was higher than the market price justified (Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Collection).

While this may have been written for tax purposes, Ann Pamela was clearly bitter over her inheritance. She wrote to Dr. Dickson in 1865:

> I was greatly distressed at my father's will for two reasons: entailing the property, and disposing of two-thirds of the land he had willed to me, after he had made his will. . . Negroes are an expense under the most energetic and economical management. I had neither friend, relative nor capable neighbor to look to; and overseers are proverbially unreliable even under the constant surveillance of a potent master. From ill health and old age my father had been, for years before his death, incapable of managing his plantation; his overseer proved faithless, his negroes careless and wasteful; consequently at death, the plantation had gone to rack and ruin, and needed more than it produced to support the negroes and make a living. I received nothing for a year after his death, and was compelled to incur debts. When I returned home I found my affairs and my prospects depressing indeed. Additional debts had to be incurred to carry on farming at all (quoted in King 1929:125).

Regardless, Ann Pamela is known to have paid $448.98 in taxes on 58 bales of cotton in 1863 (Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers). If this cotton was raised on her "injured" land it appears to have been less devalued than she had claimed.

Rosemont During the Civil War and the Postbellum

While the partitioning of the Estate began immediately prior to the outbreak of the Civil War, it was not until the latter half of the conflict that the upcountry residents began to realize its full implications. In August 1864 Louisa wrote Sarah Yancey that she had taken "refuge" in Cross Hill. Ann Pamela, however, refused to come with her and stayed instead at Rosemont. Louisa also mentions that she was unable to obtain an overseer and that John's increasing blindness and absence in Columbia prevented him from taking on the

responsibility. Consequently, she was obliged to get along with "black Dave" and "yellow Jake." She also mentions that her wheat crop was largely lost by a "faithless overseer" (August 27, 1864 letter from Louisa Cunningham to Sarah Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

In 1865, at the end of the Civil War, Ann Pamela wrote:

> this is the only Dist[rict] free from demoralization where plantations have not been deserted. John & I talked to ours [Black freedmen]. They go on as usual (July 24, 1865 letter from Ann Pamela Cunningham to Ben Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

She also mentions in this letter that "the Negroes are greatly attached to him [John], has done much to keep all things *going on in the old way*." This simple phase suggests that by 1865 Ann Pamela had little concept of the changes taking place and how radically different the "new order" would be from that of slavery. Ann Pamela also wrote from Rosemont the same year:

> Our own plantation has been called a model plantation, so perfectly have our Negroes behaved so far, everything going on as formerly. But thus far in all insurrection those most trusted have joined or led it. We are conscious that latterly the leaven of demoralization is showing daily, it is true in little and trifling ways, but they are seen as straws to show the wind (quoted in Thane 1966:286-287).

Yet less than a year latter Ann Pamela complained that the Freedmen began making demands for better wages:

> I have no idea of retaining those who have behaved ill, but they compose all the young and able-bodied men and most of the women. Do you not see that I have my hands full here? I am confined to my room, shivering at every blast, my head feeling as I have no words to describe. I would gladly leave the country but I am powerless to move. Winter has come and neuralgia is beginning to lay hold (quoted in Thane 1966:294).

The letters during the late 1860s and 1870s provide some indication of the social and economic upheaval. In 1866 Ann Pamela wrote that she planted 65 acres in 1864, expecting 30 bales of cotton, but only realized 4-1/2 bales. She attributed this failure to the slave refusing to work since they had heard "rumors of freedom," although she had an overseer who was better than most in the region (September 28, 1866 letter from Ann Pamela Cunningham to Ben Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill). By November this event was described as a total crop failure (November 11, 1866 letter from Emma Floride Cunningham to Ben Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill). In 1867 she attempted to plant 80 to 90 acres in cotton to obtain 25 bales, but achieved only 8. Again she complained that the Freedmen, "would not work, they would not contract, and they would not go off the plantation when ordered. One day not a servant came to the house" (quoted in King 1929:127).

The partition of the property in the 1860s continued to haunt the operation of Rosemont. Louisa wrote a long letter to her friend, Benjamin Perry, in 1867. She complained that he had no friends who could counsel her in business matters and that she is being driven to ruin by her son John. She wrote:

> My husband left me by his will . . . a third part of all his landed property and negroes possessed at his death - together with half of all other property then in possession at his death, during my natural life - in trust, descending to his children after my death -

> For 6 years I engaged the privilege of managing it, unmolested to the best of my ability, through the critical & direful times of the disastrous war - As successfully as could be expected - After the close of the war - better than 2 years ago - John returned, broken up entirely in fortune - as he was some years previous, his family being almost exclusively on me - I have bowed under the weight. He now, virtually assumes almost every power - without being successful in any thing - This year, I endeavored to make my interest separate - I gave him land to work - more than I assumed myself - having rented (a portion out exclusive). I furnished him with as many horses and more than I kept myself (November 18, 1867 letter from Louisa Cunningham to Benjamin Perry, Alabama Department of Archives and History).

She goes on to ask Perry if he can direct her to an overseer to carry on the plantation in manner than will provide her an income and allow her to leave Rosemont in order to avoid her son. She also notes with bitterness typical of unreconstructed Southerners that, "we are ruined almost beyond redemption, by the elevation of the negro race - there can be no hope left for us."

The following year Louisa again writes Perry advising his that her "tenant" has "taken great advantage" of her - failing to fulfill his part of the contract, failing to get the cotton crop in, and refusing to use the Rosemont gin (January 8, 1868 letter from Louisa Cunningham to Benjamin Perry, Alabama Department of Archives and History).

By 1870 Ann Pamela again writes of a worthless overseer who is sending her into ruin, a brother who is incapable of supporting his family, and a mother who is helpless in all matters (Thane 1966:383). It is clear from these letters that the beauty of Rosemont diminished during the war years. The only letter describing the postbellum garden was written by Ann Pamela in 1871. She recounts touring the garden with her mother prior to Louisa going to a nursing home in Washington, D.C.:

> Our home no home for us any more - oh, how I felt it when on that last Sabbath at Rosemonte I went round the grounds, my mother by my side, supported by her walking-stick, and a little girl bearing a chair for me, to rest every few steps. I took a long look at each turn in walks and shrubbery, a farewell - for I felt that I could never again fear to go over these spots to be given up to desolation, till some one more fortunate than our family claimed them as their own (quoted in Thane 1966:404-405).

Louisa Cunningham died on October 6, 1873 at Rosemont. According to the will of her husband, Robert, the 1000 acre tract on which the Rosemont homesite was situated was to pass from Louisa to John and Ann Pamela. This partition took place in two deeds dated January 25, 1875. Ann Pamela sold to John 867 acres, including an 8 acre tract on the east side of the Neely Ferry Road which contain three log cabins, as well as an 859 acre tract between the Reedy and Saluda rivers (Laurens County Deed Book U, page 231). In turn, John sold to Ann Pamela a life estate including a 760 acre tract containing the "homestead of the late Robert and Louisa," a 318 acre tract, and a 356 acre tract between Neely and Puckett Ferry roads (Laurens County Deed Book U, page 235).

Finally the outright owner of the Rosemont Plantation, Ann Pamela was able to little enjoy the home of her ancestors. She died only three months later, on May 1, 1875. Ann Pamela's will, dated April 13, 1871, provided that what property she held in her own right would be given to her nephew, Clarence Cunningham (youngest son of her brother, John) (Laurens County Probate Court, Box 418). The appraisement of her property reveals the depth of her poverty. A total value of $1720.75 is listed, including one silver spoon and fork, one set of knives and forks, three teacups, a lot of crockery, two pieces of furniture, a few books,

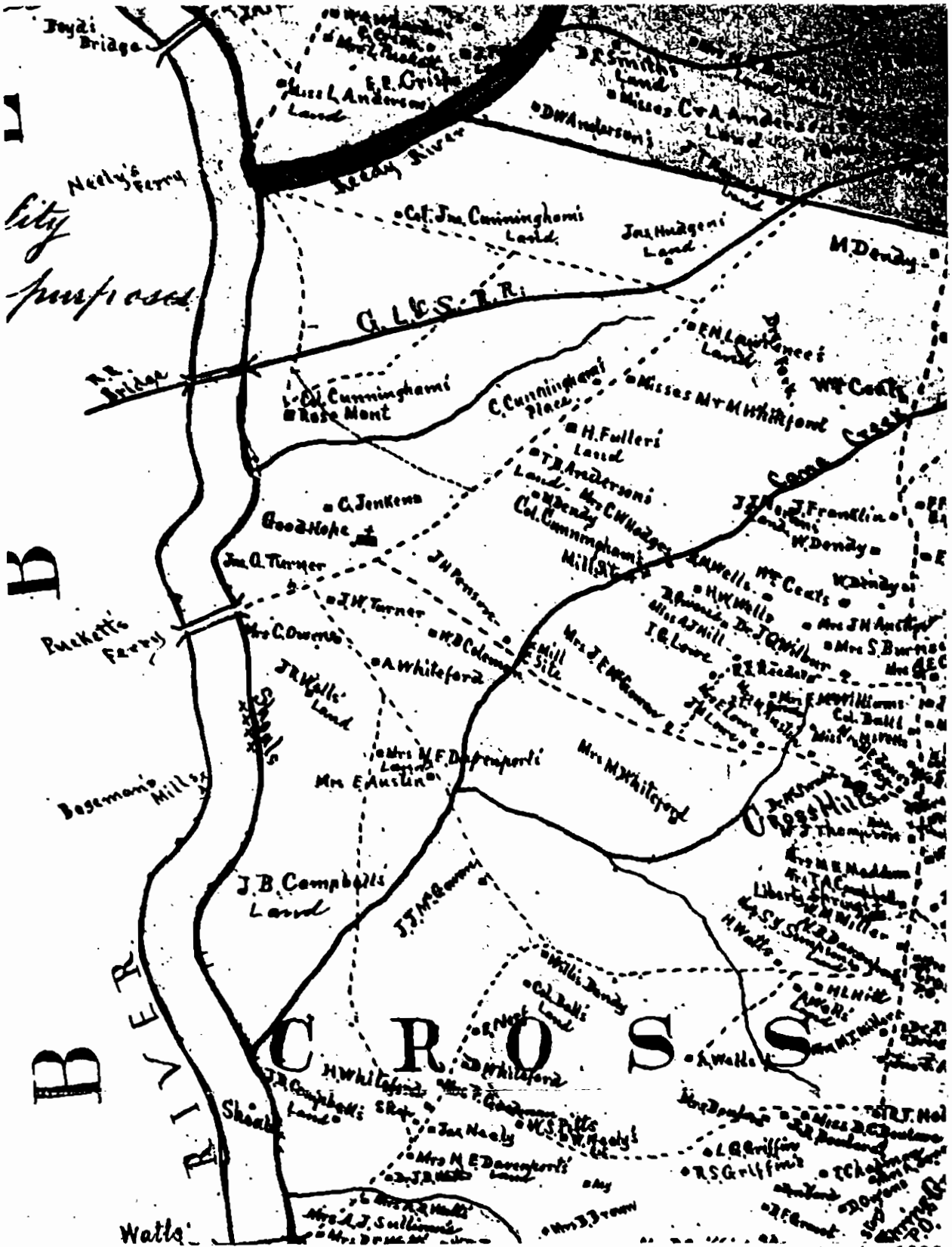

Figure 2. A portion of the Kyzer and Hellans map of Laurens County in 1883 showing Rosemont Plantation and surrounding property owners.

and a small quantity of jewelry. Plantation equipment was sparse, including only three wagons, blacksmithing equipment, carpentry tools, hoes, six mules, a carriage, 50 bushels of corn, oats, one sheep, and 10 bags of cotton lint (Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers).

The period between 1875 and 1882 is silent except for two letters. Both concern the continuing infighting over Rosemont and its legal ownership. One is a legal opinion, apparently prepared for John Cunningham by the law office of Simpson & Simpson on December 4, 1875, offers a legal opinion that John is the sole, legal owner of 2300 acres of Rosemont property. It goes on to note:

> These lands are among the most valuable in this County. They are situated on Saluda River, within easy access to the Greenville and Columbia Rail Road and are considered to be the very best Cotton lands. They are valued on the tax Books of the County by the Tax assessor at ten Dollars per acre, and could not have been purchased before the war at Twenty dollars per acre (Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers).

The other letter is from Clarence Cunningham to Ben Yancey, making inquires on how the Rosemont property had been divided up since Robert Cunningham's death in 1859. Clarence notes that he is in litigation with his father and wants to obtain clear title to the tract of the Rosemont house. He observes that his family is largely destitute and he wants to obtain the property to put himself at "the head of my own home & throw open my door to my mother's daughters" (August 22, 1882 letter from Clarence Cunningham to Ben Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

Clarence wrote the following month that progress continued around them while fighting over the land, "the Railroad, building from Spartanburg to Greenwood and connecting with the A.K. passes through the full length of Rosemont - over where the old stables were" (September 4, 1882 letter from Clarence Cunningham to Ben Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill). Later that same month Clarence mentioned that his brother, Robert, was planting at Rosemont and mentioned that he is a "good planter, but tells me every year he cannot make ends meet," yet he has been able to pay off some of his father's debts and is able to provide the rest of the family with money (September 27, 1882 letter from Clarence Cunningham to B.C. Yancey, Southern Historical Society, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

The suit by Clarence against his father, John, was referred to a Master in Equity on September 26, 1882 and eventually to the Circuit Court on May 28, 1883. As previously mentioned, Clarence contended that a portion of the lands deeded to Ann Pamela by John as a life estate were actually intended to be deeded in fee simple. John contended that, in fact, no mistake had been made and that his father's will was clear than Ann Pamela was to have the lands only until her death (assuming she left no children). Without detailing the court proceedings, the Circuit Court held that Ann Pamela and John held the 760 acre (that portion of Louisa's land given to Ann Pamela by the partition of her estate) tract as tenants in common, fee simple, while the remainder of the land belonged to John.

The case was appealed by Clarence to the State Supreme Court, which affirmed to lower court's judgement. Clarence and John entered into an agreement to partition the lands, with Clarence to receive 385.75 acres and John to receive the remainder of the property in dispute (Laurens County Court of Common Pleas, Judgement Roll 1723). The initial division, however, was unsatisfactory to both parties and a second round of division was undertaken (Mrs. Thomas Smith Papers). Eventually a division was completed which gave the Rosemont Plantation home to John Cunningham (Mrs. Thomas Smith Papers), although Clarence continued to live at Craigends, a house located on his portion of the Cunningham property.

The condition of the plantation, during this period of extended family litigation and no clear owner, rapidly deteriorated. Emma Floride remarks that she was:

> shocked and grieved at the gloom and desolation of the place. The piazza outside of Grandma's room and the parlor and the one above it, have to be pulled down. In its present condition it is dangerous to life and limb and there is some plastering and other things to be done before we can be comfortable or settled. . . . the beautiful grounds area a thing of the past and where roses and tulips bloomed vegetables and cotton flourish. Unfortunately, Grandma crowded things too much and the shrubbery and undergrowth became so dense that it killed each other and had to be cut away (February 28, 1887 letter from Emma Floride Cunningham to Ben Yancey, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

John Cunningham died in 1893, leaving a will and codicil, in which he directed that his lands be divided into five equal parts for his five children (including Emma Floride, Elizabeth, Robert N., Benjamin, and John, excluding Clarence and Louisa Bird). He indicated that Clarence had already been provided for by Ann Pamela and the court settlement and that Louisa Bird was married to Charles H. Banks of Charleston who adequately supported her. The codicil also directed that:

> It is my will, my and Roberts home and Mansion, but not under it the land on which it stands for me and my other heirs to leave said Mansion to the said Robert N. to be included in said one fifth going to him (Laurens County Probate Court Will Book 418, page 133).

The original will had allotted only 33 acres to his son Benjamin.

Initially only the original will was admitted to probate, whereon Benjamin contested the document and demanded that the codicil be produced. Robert Noble Cunningham, the Executor of the Estate produced the codicil, stating to the Court that he felt that his father was not in sound mind when the codicil was made and had been later directed by his father to burn the document. Eventually the Court directed that the Codicil was legal and Commissioners were appointed to partition the Rosemont estate. Tract No. 1 of this division contained 376.5 acres, including the Rosemont house, and was conveyed to Robert Noble Cunningham about 1894 (Mrs. Thomas Smith Papers) (Figure 3). Clarence Cunningham continued to live at the Craigends cottage on the Rosemont property.

Rosemont During the Twentieth Century

Nothing is known of Robert Noble Cunningham's ownership of Rosemont. He died in 1911 leaving a will directing that 100 acres of his property be set aside for Wade Hampton Culbertson, along with two mules or two horses. The remainder of his real property was conveyed to his nephew, Charles Henry Banks. To his brothers and sisters (John, Clarence, Emma Floride, and Louisa Bird) he conveyed the sum of $1.00 each, suggesting that the dissention in the Cunningham family ran deep.

Apparently Charles, who lived in Denver, Colorado, requested that his brother, Hugh Cunningham Banks (who lived in San Francisco) take possession of the plantation and manage its operations. Hugh moved his family to Rosemont in early 1912 and immediately set about appraising Rosemont and attempting to "set right" the years of neglect the plantation had suffered (Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers).

A letter written in early 1912 outlined that he was preparing to replace the roof, having purchased wood shingles, and that the work would also require the replacement of 7/8 inch by 12 inch planking on which the shingles were

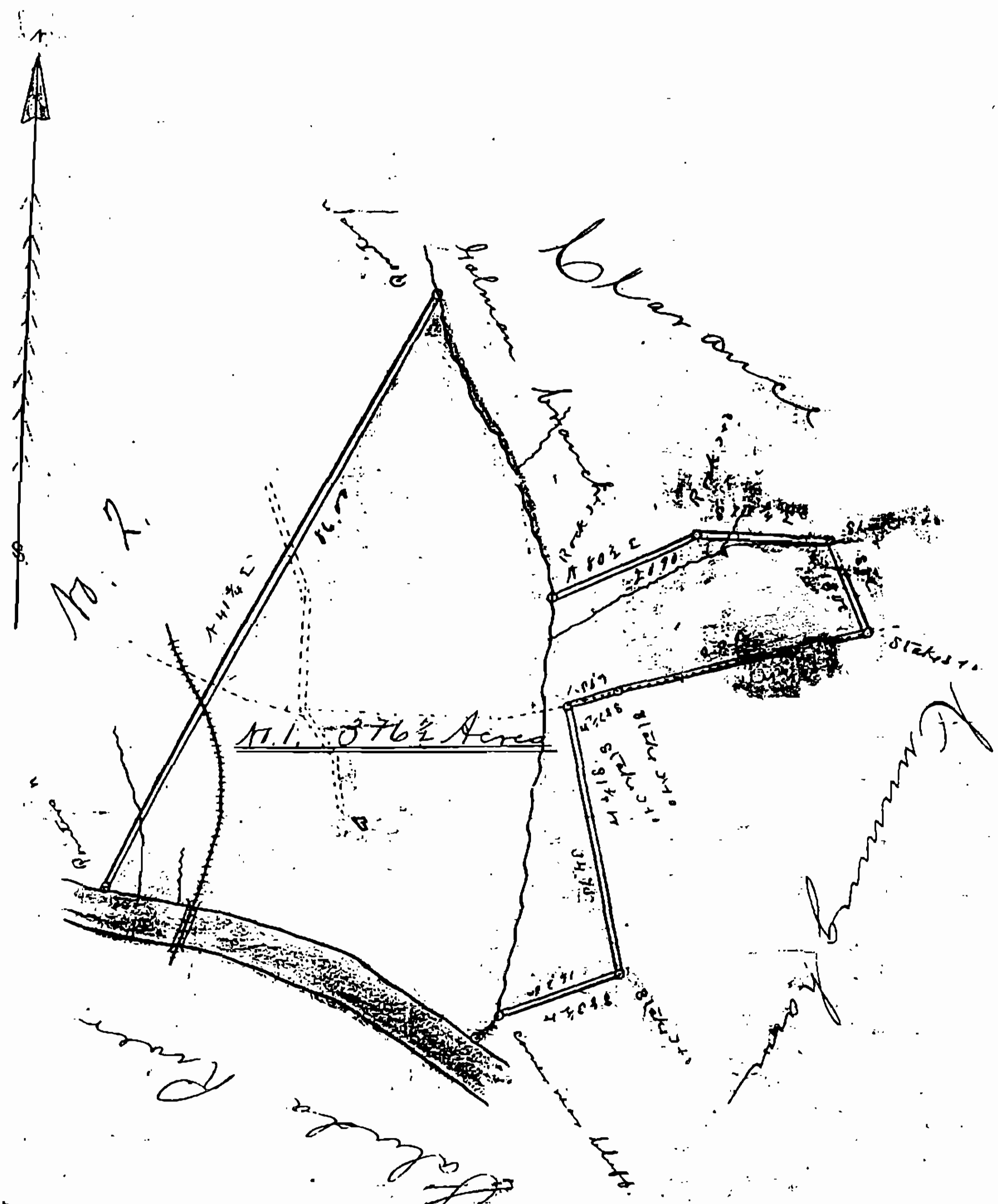

Figure 3. Plat of Tract No. 1, Rosemont Plantation in 1894.

attached. He states:

> as you know the large two story porch is rotted away and the roof for this porch comes on top of the main roof of the house. To replace this roof would require the replacing of certain brick foundations under the porch. It will also be necessary to fix up one chimney and a foundation of Uncle Robert's [Robert Noble Cunningham] Room. . . . I also proposed to plumb the chimney adjacent to the drawing room and see whether the chimney or the house is out of plumb. Whichever is out of plumb should be brought back (Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers).

Hugh also remarked that:

> Pinson has planted about 15 acres and Whit Campbell about 5 acres at Rosemont. Long, who had proposed to plant about 15 or 20 acres may not do so as he says he is overcropped. In the meantime I have supplied the guano, the seed and use of a mule to a man named Hollingsworth and gone in on halves with him for myself on a piece of land at Rosemont. . . . I am also going to plant a little more land for myself over there. There is still a possibility of Longs taking up more land. . . . I have planted about 30 acres in cotton and 12 acres in corn. . . . I have built a large chicken house. Agnes [his wife] . . . immediately spotted the remains of the Alfalfa (Lucerne) patch planted by our great grandmother [Louisa Cunningham]. The patch is adjacent to the smokehouse, the four large oaks at the rear of the house and around the fence of the vegetable garden.

Also in 1912 Clarence Cunningham agreed to make Hugh Banks his legal heir for his section of Rosemont, if Hugh would agree to change his name to Hugh Banks Cunningham. An agreement stipulating Hugh as Clarence's legal was signed on June 1, 1912. Nineteen days later, Hugh's name was legally changed (Laurens County Clerk of Court, Judgement Roll 8715).

By 1920 Hugh was undertaking additional renovations and repair at the Rosemont house, although various letters indicate that he was living both at Rosemont and at nearby Craigends or Craigends Plantation. He stated:

> I am farming some patches around the house here and some remnants of land. I have one wage hand and have cleared about two acres to add to thin patches I am planting - that is will plant - long staples, hoping to help out the small acreage with this more valuable staple. . . . I have cleared much of the underbrush between the house and the spring, all of the underbrush near the house, dug my well, built a garage, revived the garden, cut off many sprouts in my patches and taken up and burned dozens of the miserable wild (Cherokee) Rose bushes. These are as bad as a barbed wire entanglement to attack. I have put hog wire around the barn making a lot or corral of about an acre, built a chicken house and partly ploughed my lands. In the house I have bought wire screening for all windows, together with the strips for making up the screens and have screened one bed room and part of the dining room (old miss' room). The dining room is now hoisted up on screw jacks as the foundations are in very bad repair and one pier firmly footed on concrete started. . . . Under the main hall at the edge of the cellar was a large brick pier very much damaged and decayed. I dug a deep trench alongside this pier and filled this trench with concrete and on this rebuilt the damaged portion with brick and cement mortar. Very substantial and the concreted trench cutting off much water that formerly found its way into the cellar. The stone steps on the back hall entrance - the one we used when you and CC & I used were coming down. I jacked these up

reset them with cement mortar and they are now in good condition. The small colonial porch they led to has been painted one coat of white paint and is to receive the second. The doors leading from this porch have been painted black! The large front porch also has had one coat white paint and the front doors painted black. Agnes has done much of the painting herself. She has also had the wainscoting and walls of the main hall washed and scraped - preparatory to painting. The white porches against the weathered gray of the house and the black doors against the white of the porches is very pleasing. . . . clearing is of underbrush and that the rare trees, the boxwood, the flowering apples, the Japanese quince, the Wisteria, are all preserved and being trimmed.

You recollect that the drawing room chimney leaned far off from the house. My transit showed that the house was plumb and that the chimney leaned. I tore down the foundations under the hearth excavated under the inner (under the house) side of the chimney, saturated this excavation with water, put poles against the outer side of the chimney, and a rope twisted at the attic line and managed to put the chimney back perfectly plumb. Then I excavated under the outer edge and put in concrete foundation so that it now remains in its correct position.

While I was working from the attic windows I noticed a brick at the lurl of the attic window (one of the bricks of the chimney you understand) with 1786 very neatly graven in it. The weatherboarding at this side of this chimney had some short lengths (one foot long) abutting against the lower part of the chimney indicating to my mind that this chimney was a later chimney than the one on the library side of the house. And that this chimney when it was rebuilt in 1786 was made narrower than its mate ~~of~~ on the library side and then short pieces of weatherboarding was put in to fill up the gap. Again these short pieces of weatherboarding were nailed on with bought nails whereas the other weatherboarding was put on with the older hand made nails. Where the chimney was pushed back into place I found it projected well into the room above the drawing room. I took down the mantle attacked the plastering above the mantle and found this plastering had been put on a curtain made of half bricks laid up against the chimney. I ripped off all these half bricks and will now lath and plaster even with the adjacent walls. In the drawing room was real camouflage. The large gold frame mirror being taken down showed an inch gaping depression which it had covered. Attacking this plastering and ripping it off I found slats nailed against an under plaster wall which in turn was plastered against the chimney. This bottom layer of plaster carried the original wall paper matching the wall paper in the balance of the room.

The story of this chimney being: - that as it leaned out further and further from the house the brick veneer was placed on its inside in the bedroom, then as it continued to go the slats were nailed on the plastering in the drawing room and new plastering put on then the mirror to hide the absence of paper then in time the mirror hiding a gaping depression under it. The old darkies say that never was a fire lit in this chimney for 50 years as it was regarded as unsafe.

I bought 2" x 6" dressed to 1-5/8" x 5-5/8" and have made a very good job of replacing the floor ripped out with axes by the soldiers. Brought back some laths with me today, have the plaster and hope to have this bedroom ready for occupancy at the end of this next rainy spell. After the bedroom will come this drawing room with its hearth & plastering - I have already replaced the hearth in the bedroom. The finding of the date on this chimney induced us to hunt

on the other (our library the old dining room). Agnes discovered figures on the very topmost bricks. I brought my transit telescope to bear and sure enough we read A U, ?, 17. The portion of the question mark is indistinct but I think it is A U, 6, 1 7 which may mean August 6th 1817. The top of this chimney has also been rebuilt but as I argued it seems the older. Even if struck by lightening (as one of them was) it was struck later than 1817. There is a possibility that the date is August 1777 as the one (1) has a little tail on it. I will find out further and let you know.

I have gotten rid of the bees and have bought and placed on the house new weatherboarding where it had been torn and damaged by many a [?] winter. There again as an Engineer I found conclusive proof of this house having been framed at some Where than its building site. When a house is built at the site the lumber is hauled & cut to fit as you go along but when you frame or build a bridge or building in wood or iron for some distant point you mark the piens (April 13, 1920 letter from Hugh Banks Cunningham to Charles Henry Banks, Jr., Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers).

Hugh continued his work at Rosemont and noted that he received periodic visitors who came to see the house and gardens. On one occasion he mentioned that he was visited by Mr. and Mrs. Baily "of Clinton (Laurens Co.) Millionaire Bankers and Cotton Mill people . . . . the Bailys live in the handsomest house in the County and poor Rosemont was rather shabby." He also mentioned that Clarence had removed:

all of the glass, china, & much of the furniture sometime before we decided to move into Rosemont. Remaining are two davenports, marble table, console table, three large mirrors, the small sofa, chairs, old sideboard, bookcase, the mahogany table we had on the Savannah River place, the large Carpet (remarkably fine yet tho about 150 years old), a chest of Drawers and some four posters (in the attic). . . . Our attic is to me a treasure house of interest which I explore at odd moments. Packed tight with trunks, boxes, books, letters, furniture, household ornaments, etc. (September 9, 1920 letter from Hugh Banks Cunningham to Charles Henry Banks, Jr., Mrs. Thomas Smith Papers).

Hugh's letter of October 1920 provides the only detailed information about agricultural undertakings at Rosemont during this period:

Your rent is all in - Eight bales plus 100#. We are all in consternation however about the price now a little up 22¢ against the low of 18¢. George Mills will pay out easily, and just like a darkey when he gets on his feet, is going to leave. Lucius Cuningham was backed by an outsider so does not affect me. Ward may pay out. I am quite sure I can rent George's farm but I must go slow. The boll weevil is here, all over this section, and did me some damage this year. Agnes' brothers and sister have had a disastrous year from its ravages. . . . I must say I do not like to hear our people squeal but it tickles me to see them fight. Of course every one says they are in the same boat and that we must all take our loss. But the textile mills here - a great many of them declared dividends of 100% equal to their entire capitalization last year. Food, clothing, rents are cut 10% to 20% but cotton is cut 50%. . . . Am in hopes that my long staple will carry me over all right but one cannot figure on a cotton crop until he has collected his check for it.

The visitors who come to Rosemont are always sincerely interested and polite, from the rough old farmer who sees hidden witches in the uncleared labyrinth between the house and spring, picturing to

himself what cotton it could grow to the more educated person interested in the history of the place (October 27, 1920 letter from Hugh Banks Cunningham to Charles Henry Banks, Jr., Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers).

It is ironic that Hugh, who changed his name to be accepted as the Rosemont heir of Clarence Cunningham, died on August 19, 1930, two years prior to both Clarence and Charles. While the details are poorly reconstructed, it appears that Hugh was murdered by intruders who set the Rosemont Plantation house on fire. Although an individual was arrested and tried, the jury acquitted the individual and no one else was ever charged ("Probes Burning of Old Mansion," "Many Priceless Relics Destroyed When Historic Mansion Burned," *The State*, Columbia, S.C., August 24, 1930). The lurid accounts of his death included references to his "charred body is found in ruins," and "the skull and bones were found at a spot near the place where the front door stood."

While never inheriting Clarence's portion of Rosemont, his brother Charles had conveyed the remainder of Rosemont, including the plantation home, to Hugh in 1929. Hugh Banks Cunningham's will devising Rosemont to his son, Hugh Ross Cunningham, with the stipulation that Hugh Ross pay his sister, Kathleen, an annuity. Upon Clarence's death in 1932 the remainder of Rosemont was also devised to Hugh Ross Cunningham (Laurens County Probate Court, Will Book --, page --; Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers). For the first time since Robert Cunningham's death in 1859 the larger portion of Rosemont was consolidated under one owner.

In lieu of the yearly annuity a December 1932 agreement to partition the lands was developed by Hugh Ross Cunningham and Kathleen Cunningham Riley, with Hugh obtaining the main Rosemont settlement situated on 1087 acres and Kathleen obtain a second tract of 882 acres. Kathleen, however, was "entitled to one half of the box wood on the portion of the lands . . . known as Rosemont, and may remove or sell the same at anytime she sees fit and proper" (Laurens County Deed Book 64, page 34; Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers). In 1936 Hugh Ross sold the timber on the Rosemont tract to J.T. Hollingsworth, perhaps representing the first time that the Rosemont estate was clear cut (Laurens County Deed Book 70, page 34).

However, the Cunningham family history of litigation continued to haunt Rosemont and in May 1936 Kathleen Cunningham Riley brought suit against her brother for his failure to repay a promissory note for $4500. She obtained a judgement against Hugh Ross Cunningham (Laurens County Court of Common Pleas, Judgement Roll 2706).

Hugh Ross eventually formed the Ross Real Estate and Investment Corporation and deeded his lands to the corporation (Laurens County Deed Book 69, page 552). Apparently this move was at least partially anticipated to reduce the taxes on the Rosemont property, which by this time was no longer being farmed and was producing no income (Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers). As late as 1943 Hugh Ross was attempting to sell off the last vestiges of the Cunningham family, offering oil portraits of "Grandmother and Grandfather Banks, Grandmother and Grandfather John Cunningham, Ann Pamela" and "one four poster mahogany bed, handcarved" which Clarence Cunningham had removed from Rosemont prior to its occupancy by Hugh Banks Cunningham (Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Papers).

A Retrospective Examination of Rosemont History

The history of Rosemont Plantation closely parallels the history and development of the upcountry of South Carolina. When there were economic booms, they are reflected in the writings of Rosemont and actions of its owners. When there were hard times, the impacts were quickly felt at Rosemont. Through all of the social and economic turmoil, the owners of Rosemont continued to fight not only the lost cause of slavery, but also themselves.

Built sometime between 1750 and 1790 by Patrick Cunningham, Rosemont Plantation was quickly embroiled in the American Revolution. Patrick lost a large part of his fortune and was forced to abandon Rosemont for several years because of his Tory sympathies. When able to return to the plantation about 1784 it seems likely that additional work was conducted to the house, most clearly documented in the repair work undertaken in the early twentieth century.

It was not until the early nineteenth century that Rosemont became known for its grand gardens and imposing house. Louisa, the wife of Robert Cunningham, appears to be the moving force behind the modifications of the Rosemont landscape and the gardens reached their zenith between 1820 and 1850. With Robert Cunningham's death in 1859 and the ensuing Civil War the plantation, as well as the Cunningham family, fell on hard times. This is reflected both in the gradual deterioration of the plantation and the increased in-fighting among the family. There is no real evidence that the gardens continued in any formal sense after the Civil War and it is likely that the house received only minimal maintenance.

There seems to be some evidence that the rather diversified agricultural base of Rosemont in the early antebellum had shifted almost entirely to cash cropping in the postbellum, a trend seen throughout much of the South Carolina Piedmont. The history of the plantation through this period is poorly known, although there is some evidence that it continued to be marginally profitable through Hugh Banks Cunningham's lifetime. By the mid-twentieth century the Rosemont tract, like others in the area, had been converted to timber and held value only for that timber, coupled with nostalgia for the "old days."

Three issues are of particular concern to this historic overview of Rosemont. The first is the location of the various plantation buildings and activity areas, especially as their locations may have changed through time. The second is the development of the garden and its implications to the changing landscape at Rosemont. And the third is the development of the Rosemont mansion and the archaeological footprint the house (and associated structures) have left.

The Rosemont Structures

Through time at least 17 buildings and areas are referenced in the various historical documents, including the main house, the kitchen, the Library, a smoke house, barn, mill, grave yard, race grounds, a bridge, a loom house, a green house, various walks, the garden (discussed below), a well, a spring, stables, a chicken house, and a garage. Of these, the house, kitchen, library, smoke house, barn, mill, race grounds, bridge, loom house, green house, garden, spring, and stables date from the colonial or antebellum periods. The chicken house was built by Hugh Banks Cunningham about 1912 and the well and garage were added about 1920. Prior to the excavation of the well it is likely that the spring served not only as a source of water, but may also have been used for cooling plantation goods. Consequently, a spring house may also have been present.

It is extremely difficult to use the historic documents to reconstruct the location of various structures on the Rosemont landscape. Unfortunately, no detailed plats of the property have been identified, and it is likely that they were either distributed to various parts of the Cunningham family or were among the documents lost when Rosemont burned in 1930.

The main house is the central element around which the other plantation buildings and areas were constructed. Apparently the main house was oriented approximately northeast-southwest, with the "front" (i.e., northeast) entrance overlooking an inland road and the "back" (i.e., southwest) entrance overlooking the Saluda River. To the southwest of the house was the grave yard, now under the waters of Lake Greenwood, as well as a large field which was previously the race ground. Also in this area was the smokehouse and the vegetable garden, which appears to have fenced from about 1838 on. The building reported to have been situated to the southwest of the main house, <u>may</u> have been the smokehouse.

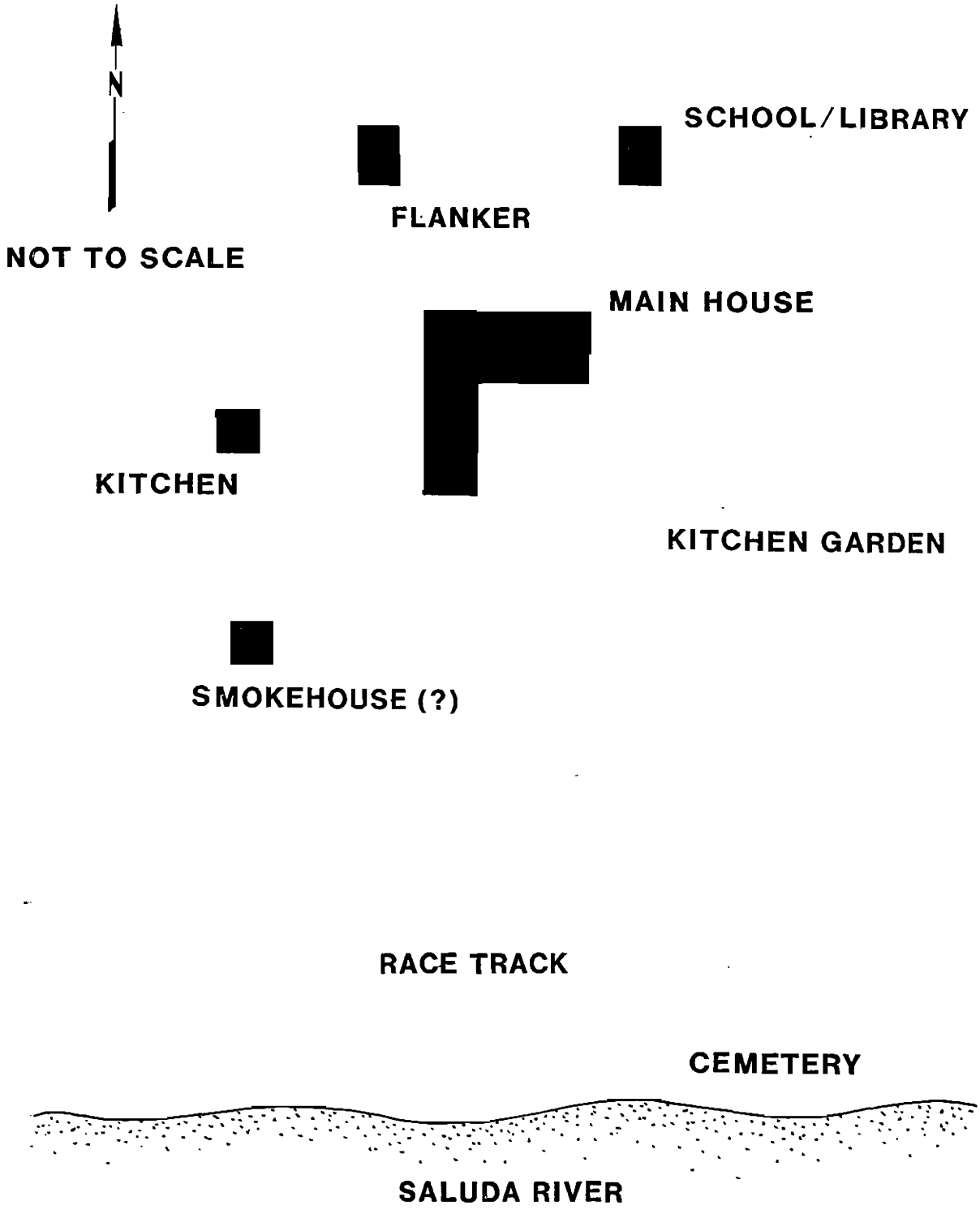

Figure 4. Reconstructed historical arrangement of the various Rosemont structures.

The barn was situated west of the main house, but within sight of the house, according to Mrs. Mary Pruitt, who saw the structure during her 1928 visit. It is likely to have been situated in what is recognized today as a plowed area.

To the back of the house stood two buildings or dependencies. One of which (apparently the eastern) served initially as a school house. By the 1830s it was a library and by 1840 Ann Pamela had converted it into her bedroom. The other building is not referenced in the papers and may have served as an office, wash room, or any number of similar support functions. The library is seen in a ca. 1926 photograph as a one story, frame building with a gable roof, immediately north of a large magnolia. The structure's long axis is oriented northeast-southwest and the west facade is punctated by a central doorway with windows to either side. By the time of this photograph the other dependency was no longer standing (Mrs. Thomas Smith Family Collection).

The location of the kitchen (burnt sometime after 1859) appears to have been on the west side of the structure, at the end of a brick path, probably only 30 or 40 feet from the main house. The location of the loom house, like that of the spring, is unknown, although there is some evidence, based on a handwritten notation on the back of a photograph, that the spring was situated to the north of the house. The green house mentioned in 1846 was situated very close to the west of the main house (see Figure 4).

The location of the garage and chicken house cannot be determined from the historical documents. The well constructed by Hugh Banks Cunningham appears to have been situated within a short distance of the rear entrance.

The mill site was about 2-3/4 miles to the southeast on Cane Creek. The stables were also located at some distance from the main house, apparently in the vicinity of the 1882 railroad, between a quarter and a half a mile to the north.

The location of the Rosemont slave settlement is known only from several vague references found in early twentieth century newspaper accounts. All are similar and one states:

> the remains of these black villages can be seen today in the raised mounds at intervals in the great forest around ("The Story of Rosemont, *The State*, Columbia, SC, June 12,1904).

Another reads in part:

> the Cunninghams raised over 500 negroes and had large quarters for the slaves scattered over their plantations. You to-day see the remains of those black villages in the mammoth oaks and raised mounds where the chimneys of their humble cabins stood ("Visit to Rosemont," *Piedmont Headlight*, Spartanburg, S.C., May 28, n.d.).

These accounts tend to suggest that the slaves may have lived in a number of scattered locations across the plantation, rather than in one central row or settlement.

The Rosemont Garden

At least three gardens are known to have existed at Rosemont: a vegetable or kitchen garden, a fruit garden or orchard, and an ornamental (flower and tree) garden. Unfortunately, the documentary sources provide little information about any of these features.

The vegetable garden was apparently located to the southwest of the house, perhaps in the area still evidencing fence posts today. Specific mention is made of grapes (1838), raspberries (1838), strawberries (1838), tomatoes (1842),

cabbage (1842), peas (1852), and lettuce (1852). Nearby was also a patch of alfalfa (also known as Lucerne). All of these are recognized today, with the possible exception of alfalfa, which is a hardy perennial leguminous forage plant. The historical account suggest that it had been planted in the 1830s by Louisa Cunningham. Different varieties have purple or yellow flowers and it may have been planted for this purpose, although it was more likely planted as a source of fodder. Why it would be in the garden area is, however, difficult to answer.

The location of the fruit orchard is impossible to determine from the accounts. Through time, however, mentions are also made of apricots (1838), nectarines (1838), figs (1838 and 1842), and sour oranges (1842). Peaches are mentioned, after 1783, again in 1838 and 1842. Peaches are common fruits at plantation sites throughout the Carolinas and tend to grow successfully in the area. Apples are somewhat more difficult to grow, since they require a period of over wintering after each harvest, and hence do best in cold climates (Root 1980:7). Apricots are even more difficult than apples, requiring the cold weather, but having very fragile blooms easily killed by a late frost (Root 1980:12). It is likely that such plants would have been placed in the Rosemont greenhouse. The nectarine is a smooth-skinned variety of the peach and has identical requirements for cultivation. Figs are fairly easy to propagate and can survive the climate of Laurens County, although they prefer warmer areas. It is significant that the orange specified by the 1842 account was the sour orange, also known as the bigarade. This species is the hardiest and is the only type of orange which grows true to form from a seed. It is most often used in cooking (Root 1980:306).

Based on the historic accounts the Rosemont flower garden was constantly changing, going through forced metamorphosis on a regular basis. A series of 13 plants are mentioned in the historic accounts, including box woods, flowering apple (almost certainly crab apple), Japanese quince, live oak, wisteria, evergreens (possible box wood or live oak), oleander, and palmetto, as well as roses, wild Cherokee roses, rare French roses, and yellow rose trees. The presence of the quince suggest that the fruit trees may have been scattered throughout the garden, rather than being contained in a separate fruit orchard. The only other tree mentioned in historic accounts is the mulberry. It is interesting that during the era of "silk mania" from 1826 through 1841, more of these trees were probably sold than any other (Favretti and Favretti 1978:149).

The historical accounts are sadly lacking in the detail necessary to reconstruct the garden arrangement and organization. One of the most specific accounts comes from Louisa Cunningham in 1839, where she explained that there was a center and two side beds of boxwood, apparently in the front yard of the house. The roses formed a hedge on each side of the avenue. The garden was expanded from the house toward the library and behind the library (meaning probably to the east), Louisa laid out flower beds in a complex pattern. The garden area also was interspersed with walkways, although no mention is made of their construction.

Mrs. Mary Pruitt, who visited the house and gardens about 1928, remembered the large quantity of boxwoods and roses "around the house," as well as wisteria vines and "watermelon red crepe myrtle." She also remembers a plant not previously reported from the historic documents, china-berry. A path led from the house down to the graveyard on the edge of the Saluda River. At the time of her visit the property was becoming overgrown and only remnants of the garden could still be seen.

A secondary account of the garden is provided by Shaffer, who described the area from the house southward as, "a long stretch of park-like forest." The garden included:

> a double avenue winding through the flower garden encircled the house and led on to the park and the river shore; this can be traced

> today by magnolias that tower above the forest. In front of the house the flower garden was laid in formal arrangement with borders and circles of English box, while English roses formed the chief floral accent (Shaffer 1937:255).

Another account is offered by Marion Wilkes, who claimed to have visited the site in 1947:

> soon we encountered difficult going to the site where once stood the old dwelling, for the avenue of bygone days, which led to the house and the surrounding garden and park, has long since disappeared. We traveled a narrow, rutted and winding road, hardly more than a trail at times, through the cutover forest to reach a point nearby the site of the burned home. . . . we made the rest of the way on foot through the tangled forest, guided by an increasing number of rose bushes whose flowers had contributed, in the long ago, their name to the plantation.
>
> The rich, heavy scent of blooming honeysuckle filled the air as we walked to the garden, now a mass of weeds and vines. English ivy and the dainty violet-blue flowered periwinkle . . . ran riot and made thick spots of green carpeting. Occasionally we saw a perennial struggling bravely to survive. Great plants of American box and some of the smaller English species, were scattered among the trees and undergrowth . . . . Here and there were many bushes of Cherokee roses, grown large through years of inattention and lack of pruning . . . . White roses spread their branches over nearby shrubs and trees. . . . Round about were giant magnolias . . . . There were also trees of several non-indigenous varieties and of holly, as well as numerous shrubs and plants, all easily recognizable as ornaments of the once lovely garden and park. . . . Despite the ravages of the years, the lines of the garden may still be traced and the restoration of the garden and park would not be a too difficult or expensive task since there still exists a sufficiency of ornamental trees, shrubbery and design to bring back again their bygone beauty (Wilkes 1947:12-13).

A 1904 newspaper account provides somewhat more detail about the design of the garden, stating:

> seven acres of flowers and 30 acres in a park surrounding the flowers! Beautiful avenues, making a cross, lead from the front of the house into the park [to the south]. Remains of this great park are seen today in a few gigantic magnolias, rare trees and a wilderness of shrubbery. The flowers have all gone. Where they once grew and developed their beauty and fragrance now lies cultivated ground ("The Story of Rosemont," *The State*, Columbia, SC, June 12, 1904).

A somewhat later account describes the avenue leading from the house to the Saluda River as formed by cedars, with the garden also containing magnolias, Japanese magnolias, crepe myrtle, box woods, mimosas, and lilies ("Rosemont, Built in 1787, Is In Excellent State of Repair, A Shrine of Cuninghams," *Index Journal*, Greenwood, S.C., August 19, 1928).

From these vague descriptions it can be discerned that the garden consisted of essentially three sections: the informal park-like area between the house and the Saluda River, the more formal flower and thicket gardens immediately north of the house and extending around the library to the northeast of the main house, and the kitchen garden to the southwest of the main house. There was an avenue leading from the north to the south, apparently consisting of hedge rows of rose and boxwood, while a winding avenue of cedars and/or magnolias (depending on

whose account you accept) lead down to the river. While some secondary accounts call also for an east-west axis, this is less clear from the historic accounts.

This generalized reconstruction is certainly appropriate for the time. The picturesque landscape movement evolved in the eighteenth century in reaction to the strict, formalized gardens typical in Europe. While the Age of Reason demanded that order be imposed on nature, the succeeding period strove to work with natural elements and create a pastoral view (Cooper 1982; Favretti and Favretti 1977).

The Rosemont plan seems to incorporate features of both Sir Humphrey Reston, who emphasized the use of a variety of trees and flowers, and J.C. Loudon who also used trees, shrubs, and flowers as the most important part of the landscape. Regardless of the exact influence, Rosemont's use of winding paths, the park or natural area to the south of the house, and "thickets" all are typical of the broad theme of the picturesque movement. Even the presence of the kitchen garden, in close proximity to the house, but shielded from immediate view, is typical of the period. Coupled with these, however, are also the formal gardens to the front of the house, incorporating the box avenue and circles, and the flower parterre. These areas seem to emphasize order and control, clearly distinguishing them from the more picturesque areas. Consequently, the Rosemont gardens reflect a combination of ideas and themes.

The Rosemont House

An incredible wealth of material is available on the Rosemont mansion, including numerous photographs of both the interior and exterior taken in the late 1920s, family drawings of the floor plans, and verbal descriptions of the rooms and their contents. In spite of this plethora of documentation there are still numerous questions concerning the house and its construction.

In simple terms, the historic core of the Rosemont structure was a two story L-shaped frame weatherboarded structure with a partial basement and a partial attic. According to the account of Mrs. Mary Pruitt the weatherboards were not painted in 1928 and did not appear to have ever been painted. The roof was cross side-gabled (Figure 5). The back (i.e., north) porch was one story in height and was found over one bay, but less than the full facade, centered on a single door. A balustrade was found along the sides of the porch. This porch roof was half-hipped and was supported by classical Tucson columns and simple arches. The from (i.e., south) porch was a two storied tiered style, and was found over one bay, but less than the full facade, centered on double doors with a fanlight and sidelights at its lower level. The elaborate treatment of this entrance, particularly when compared to the simplicity of the north doorway, clearly reveals that, at least when initially constructed, the main aproach for Rosemont was intended to the be from the river, to the south. The entrance way to the second story of the porch is not visible in the photographs. This porch roof is not visible in the photographs of the house, but the lower columns were supported on pedestals and are square. Those of the second floor were also square. A balustrade was found only around the perimeter of the second story porch, and was identical to that of the front porch. The side (i.e., west) porch was one story in height with a front gable roof. The porch was centered on the entrance bay only and the door was of a single, six-panel style. The support columns were squared and the balustrade was found on the sides. Unlike those of the front and rear, the side balustrade consisted of a simple spindle-style.

The structure had three chimneys, one exterior end double-shouldered chimney on the west side of the main core, one exterior end chimney on the east side of the main core, and one end chimney on the L-extension. The western end chimney was laid in Flemish bond. Windows on the north elevation formed a three-bay facade. Those on the first floor, on either side of the entryway, were tripartite double hung with nine-over-nine glazing. Those on the second floor were also double hung, but with six-over-six glazing. The gable ends of the core

Figure 5. Photograph of the Rosemont house from the northwest, taken about 1926 (South Caroliniana Library Collection).

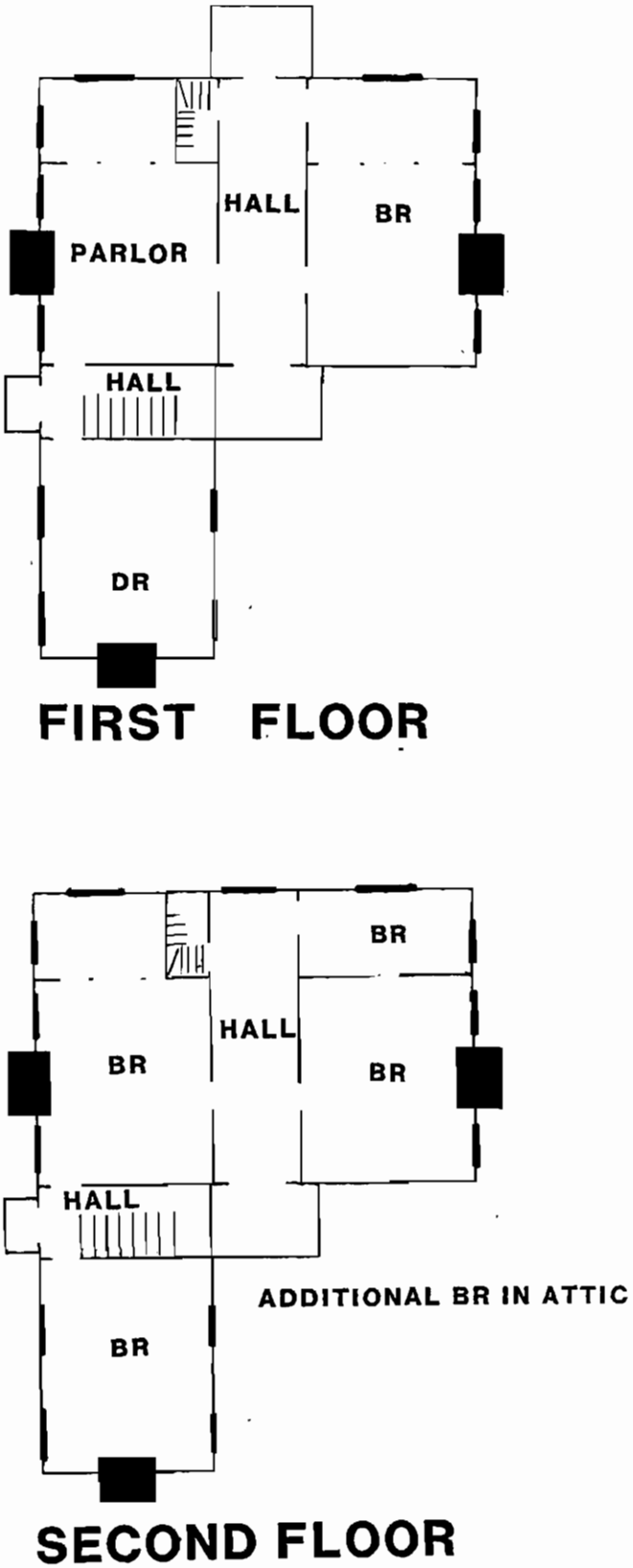

Figure 6. Reconstructed floor plans of the Rosemont Plantation house.

structure had two windows on each floor, one on each side of the chimney. The windows, excepting those on the first story of the north elevation, all appear to have had louvered shutters. One photograph shows a hand-forged shutter dog. The attic level had a shuttered window to the north of the chimney, which off-set from the center-line of the gable roof. The L-extension also had a three bay facade.

Roof materials, based on the photographs, appears to have been wood shingles. The L-extension was supported on brick piers of American bond. The main core of the structure appears to have been supported on a continuous brick foundation laid up in Flemish bond. It is under this portion of the house that newspaper accounts report a vaulted basement. This use of two different bonds may support an interpretation that the L-extension was a later addition on the structure. This may also be supported by the suggestion in some photographs that the weatherboarding on the west elevation of the L-extension had been patched into the core of the structure. It seems likely that when the L-extension was added, the main emphasis was no longer on the south facade and the river entrance, but had switched to the north.

Based on the photographs, newspaper accounts, and a sketched floor plan drawing of the house made from memory by a member of the Cunningham family, the core structure consisted of a simple I-form house with a through-hall and two rooms off either side on both the first and second floors. The stairs were found immediately to the right (i.e., west) of the front entrance way. On this first floor was the dining room (in the L-extension), the parlor or drawing room (the western room of the I-house), and a bed room (the eastern room of the I-house). The central hall of the I-house was panelled in wide boards, while the remaining rooms appear to have been plastered. A hall also separated the dinning room from the parlor or drawing room, and here were a second set of stairs to the upper floor. The first floor plan was essentially repeated on the second floor, where four bed rooms were located (the eastern room of the I-house divided into rooms (Figure 6). Based on the 1859 appraisement of Robert Cunningham's estate there must also have been a bed room in the attic, probably situated in the northwestern corner, which was paneled rather than plastered. Newspaper accounts mention that the house had "wide cellars underneath . . . . The famous old wine cellar used today . . . to store lime in" ("The Story of Rosemont," *The State*, June 12, 1904).

The flooring was apparently heart pine and all of the door hardware seen in photographs suggests eighteenth century rim locks, described in one newspaper account as "large solid brass locks" ("Visit to Rosemont," *Piedmont Headlight*, May 28, n.d.).

At least one mantle seen in photographs ("Rosemont," *The Greenville News*, July 20, 1924) is consistent with a construction date of 1780 to 1790 and appears to be original to the structure. Other interior detailing, such as the molding around door and the use of six-panel doors, is also consistent with a late eighteenth century construction date, although dating based on stylistic grounds must be viewed with extraordinary caution. The use of truss numbering and peg construction reported by Hugh Banks Cunningham also represents common craft practice up to the early nineteenth century. The practice, contrary to his explanation, is however not related to the fabrication of the structural members at a location different from that of the erection. The use of rim locks, rather than mortise locks also suggests an early date.

Consequently, there is considerable circumstantial evidence to place the construction of the house prior to 1800, although it is not possible, based on the available stylistic evidence, to determine whether the house was built prior to, or after, the American Revolution. Considered within a historic context, it seems more reasonable to suggest a construction period of 1780 to 1790 than between 1760 and 1770. Likewise, there is some evidence that the "L-extension" was not part of the original structure, but was added to the house prior to 1859.

It is not uncommon to see structures go through this process of renovation, modification, and expansion during the early nineteenth century.

INVESTIGATIONS

Strategy and Methods

There is oral history of the main house being "picked through" by local authorities after the August 1930 fire and by the next-of-kin. In addition, it appears that Rosemont has been a favorite spot for those with metal detectors looking for nineteenth century "relics." The site had also been visited by the Staff Archaeologist with the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office in 1989, although no subsurface investigations were undertaken.

This current work by Chicora Foundation, therefore, represents the first professional archaeological investigation of Rosemont Plantation. Given that a primary goal was the investigation of the approximately 3 acres surrounding the main plantation complex, a program of intensive shovel testing was developed for the site. While initial plans called for testing at 100 foot intervals on transects spaced 100 feet apart, the complexity of the site clearly indicated that this interval would fail to yield the detailed results necessary. Consequently, the testing interval was changed to 25 feet, with two areas (in the vicinity of the library and the kitchen) using a 10-foot interval. Shovel testing was used at the site rather than auger testing because of the dense vegetation which tends to increase the difficulty of maneuvering the auger.

Since the goal of the shovel testing was to identify activity areas surrounding the main complex, as well as recover a sample of artifacts useful for dating and pattern analysis, the site grid was aligned on the apparent orientation of the house and garden layout, N42°E, with two permanent datums established along the centerline passing through the boxwood and cedar allées. One is situated about eight feet grid south of the Ann Pamela Cunningham marker and the other is situated 75 feet grid south. The entire grid was established using a transit and tapes. A datum for vertical control was established at the southeast corner of the Ann Pamela Cunningham marker and was assigned an assumed elevation of 100.00 feet (Figure 6).

Shovel test points were laid out on this grid at 25 foot intervals, with the tests numbered from west to east and south to north for a total of 90 tests. Additional tests, at 10-foot intervals, were established in the vicinity of the eastern dependency (or library) and the posited kitchen (Figure 6). An additional 22 tests were excavated in the vicinity of the library and 25 tests were excavated in the kitchen area, for a total of 137 tests.

Shovel tests were excavated to red clay subsoil, which typically ranged from 0.5 to 0.8 foot below the current ground surface. All soil was screened through ¼-inch mesh and all remains were retained, except brick which was noted and discarded. Individual shovel tests were flagged in the field and backfilled.

Artifact density was generally light across the yard areas of the site, although Figure 8 identifies seven areas of relatively dense remains. A large concentration is associated with the main house area (**Structure 1**), while two smaller concentrations reveal the dependencies to the north of the house (**Structures 6** and **7**). Another clear concentration of artifacts is found around **Structure 2**. In addition, three scatters of yard trash are also identified by the work. One is found just south of the well, another just south of the posited kitchen area, and a third downslope from Structure 2.

In addition to the shovel tests, work at the site included the excavation of three 5-foot units (discussed below, see Figure 7). These tests were approximately oriented on the site grid and were correlated with the site grid.

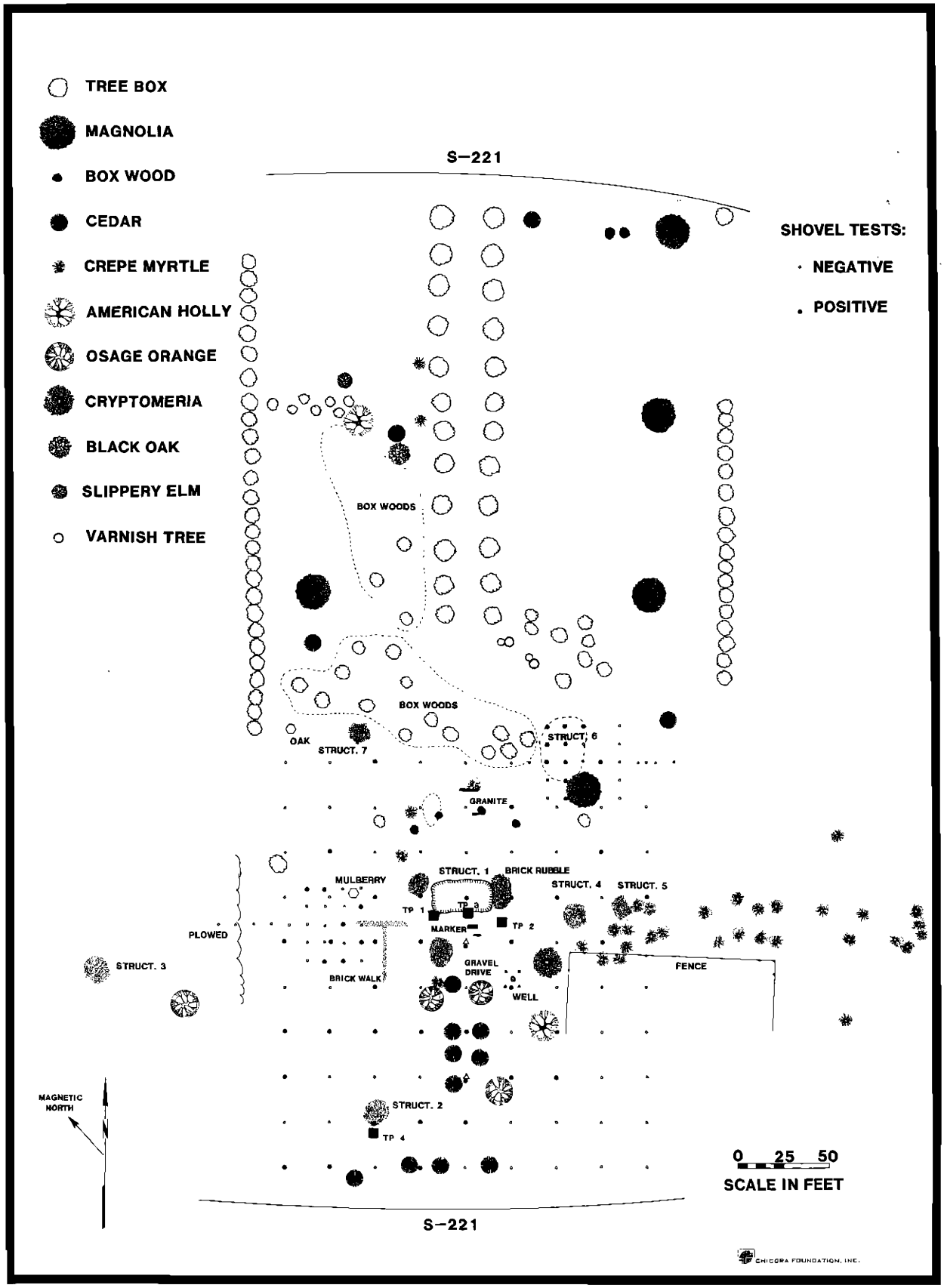

Figure 7. Rosemont Plantation.

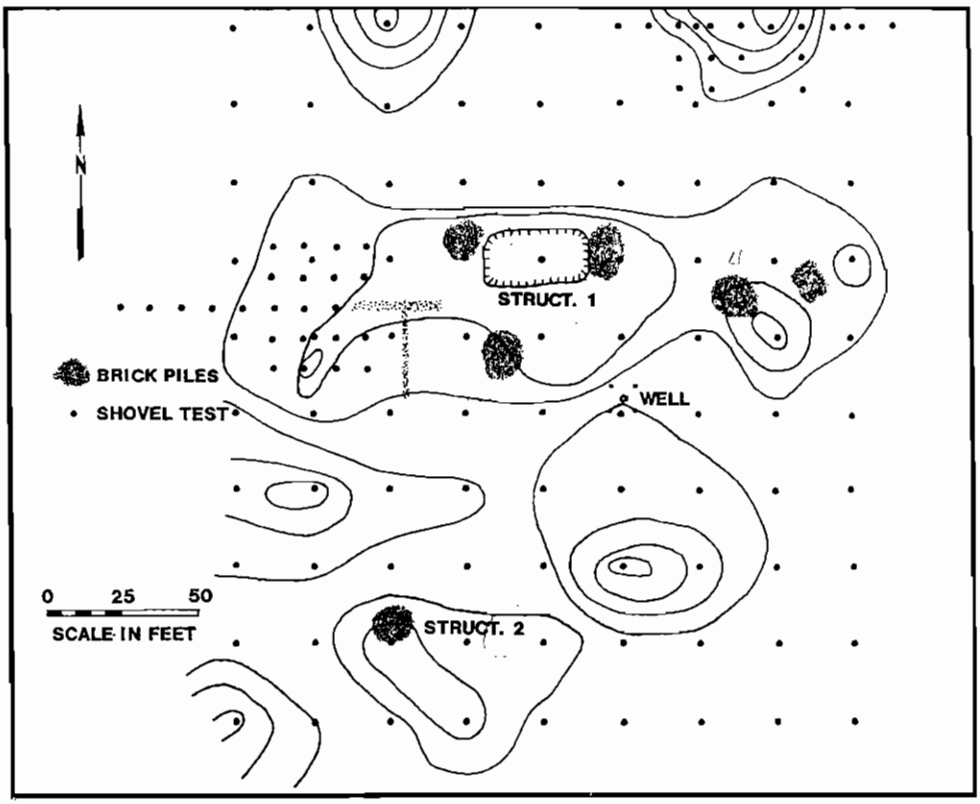

Figure 8. Artifact density as revealed by shovel tests at Rosemont.

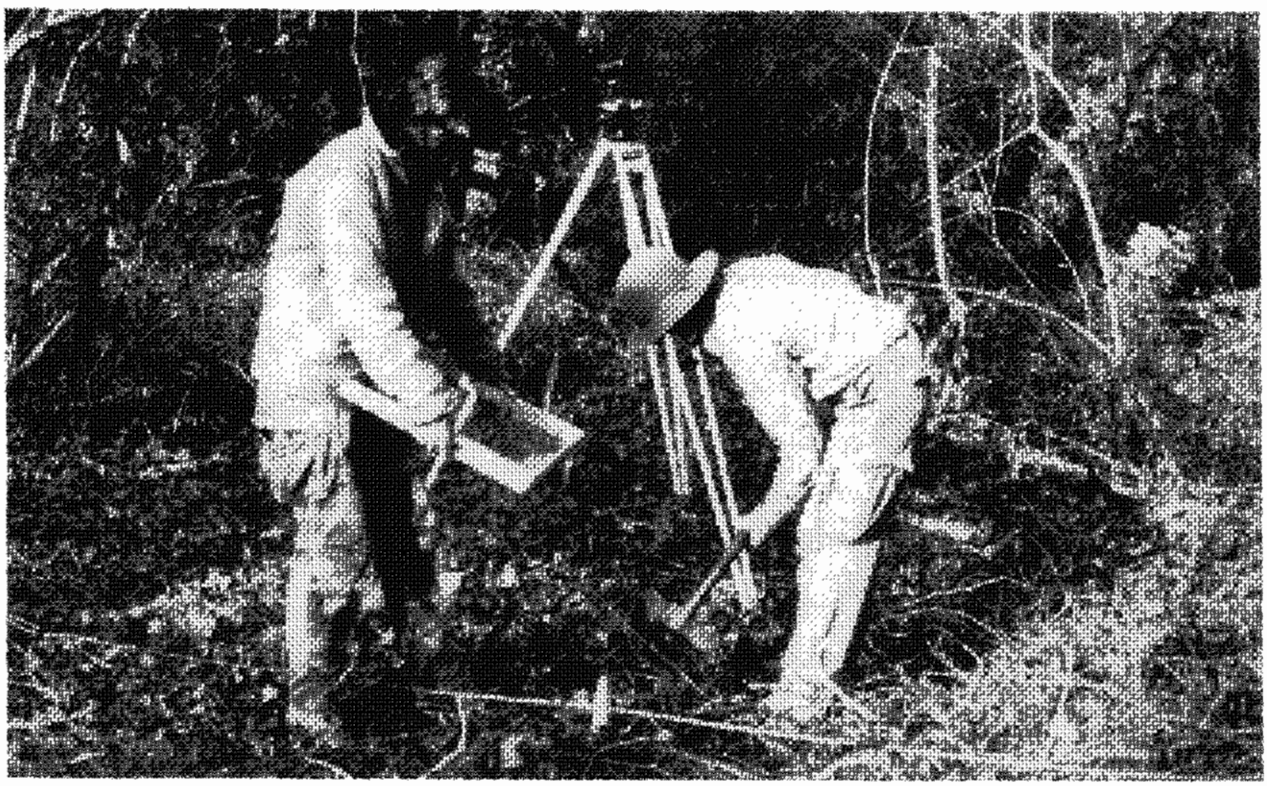

Figure 9. Shovel testing at Rosemont Plantation.

Each unit was excavated by natural stratigraphy with all remains screened through ¼-inch mesh. All materials, except brick which was weighed and discarded, were retained. These tests were arbitrarily numbered 1 through 4.

Units were troweled at the top of the subsoil, photographed in black and white and color, and plotted. Excavation was by natural soil zones and soil samples were routinely collected. At the completion of the work plastic was laid in the base of each unit and they were backfilled. No features were excavated during this initial phase of investigations at Rosemont, although they were plotted and photographed. Vertical control was maintained through reference to the assumed elevation site datum.

This study also resulted in an intensive pedestrian survey of the main Rosemont complex. The main house area was recognized by a large quantity of brick rubble representing the three chimney falls and by the depression of the cellar. The main house area is designated **Structure 1**. Southwest of the main house was a brick rubble pile suspected to represent the smokehouse (**Structure 2**) and to the northwest another rubble pile was designated **Structure 3**. Two additional rubble piles, termed **Structures 4** and **5**, were found to the east of the main house, in the vicinity of the crepe myrtle allée. The western dependency was identified based on a brick rubble pile and is identified as **Structure 7**. The twentieth century well was found southwest of the main house, evidenced by a shallow depression and four brick piers to support the roof enclosure.

No surface evidence for either the library (the eastern dependency) or the kitchen (west of the main house) was found during the surface survey of the site area. The Library was identified by the shovel testing and is designated **Structure 6**. The definition of the kitchen area is more difficult. A vague concentration of artifacts was found through shovel testing in the area west of the main house and a yard smear was found just to the south (Figure 8). While an examination of the artifact assemblage for these two areas fails to provide convincing evidence of a kitchen, it is clear than some type of activity was taking place. Architectural remains document a structure and domestic materials, such as ceramics and glass, are also found.

The mapping of the Rosemont garden was conducted by triangulation from the various known shovel test points. Plants were identified in the field by the Project Coordinator, Ms. Christy Snipes. In several areas of dense box woods the larger plants were individually identified and plotted, with the extent of associated smaller plants noted (rather than plotting each plant). This was done because it was expected that many of the smaller plants represented propagation of the older plants through seeding or suckers.

Field notes were prepared on pH neutral, alkaline buffered paper and photographic materials were processed to archival standards. All original field notes, with archival copies, are curated at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, under archaeological site number 38LU323. All specimens have been evaluated for conservation needs and have been treated, or are in the process of treatment (this process is discussed in greater detail in a following section of this study).

Archaeological Remains

Stratigraphy

Stratigraphy at the site was relatively uniform. Typically only one zone, consisting of a very dark gray (10YR3/1) sandy clay loam, overlaid the red (2.5YR4/6) clay subsoil. This upper A horizon varied from 0.4 to 0.8 foot in depth. Evidence of plowing is limited to the western most portion of the site, outside the area of the main house complex, where plow ridges and troughs can still be seen in forest floor.

In the area of the main house shovel testing and test units revealed a slightly different stratigraphy. Zone 1 consisted on the very dark gray sandy clay loam, although often brick rubble was very dense. Below this, especially in the cellar area, is a zone of pale brown (10YR6/3) ash and sand, representing the burnt remains of the Rosemont house. Termed Zone 2, this level may be from 0.2 to 1.0 foot in depth. Below, in the cellar area, is the clay floor, burnt to a reddish yellow (7.5YR7/6) color.

Test Pit 1

This unit was placed at the western edge of the main house core and identified the western foundation wall and the southern cellar wall (Figure 10). The unit produced 436 pounds of brick rubble, representing collapsed wall sections. Excavation revealed that cellar wall had been whitewashed and that both the exterior (i.e., western) and cellar walls were laid up in Flemish Bond and were both about 13 inches in width. The mortar tended to be very sandy and varied from a reddish color to a pure white. It is clear from the bonding that the cellar was an integral component of the original house.

The cellar area was filled with brick rubble and ash, while the exterior of the structure evidenced little burning, although one burnt timber was found in situ. The exterior subsoil was at a level of 99.26 feet AE. The subsoil under the house (in the "crawl space") was at a level of 98.04 feet AE, indicating that the entire area under the house had been excavated slightly, although only the cellar excavations were extensive.

Test Pit 2

This unit was placed on the eastern wall of the house, opposite Test Pit 1 and revealed that the main core of the Rosemont house was 40 feet east-west (Figure 11). Unlike the western wall, this wall, also 13 inches in width, was laid up in English bond. No evidence of the cellar was found tying into the eastern wall, indicating that the cellar did not extend the entire 40 foot distance.

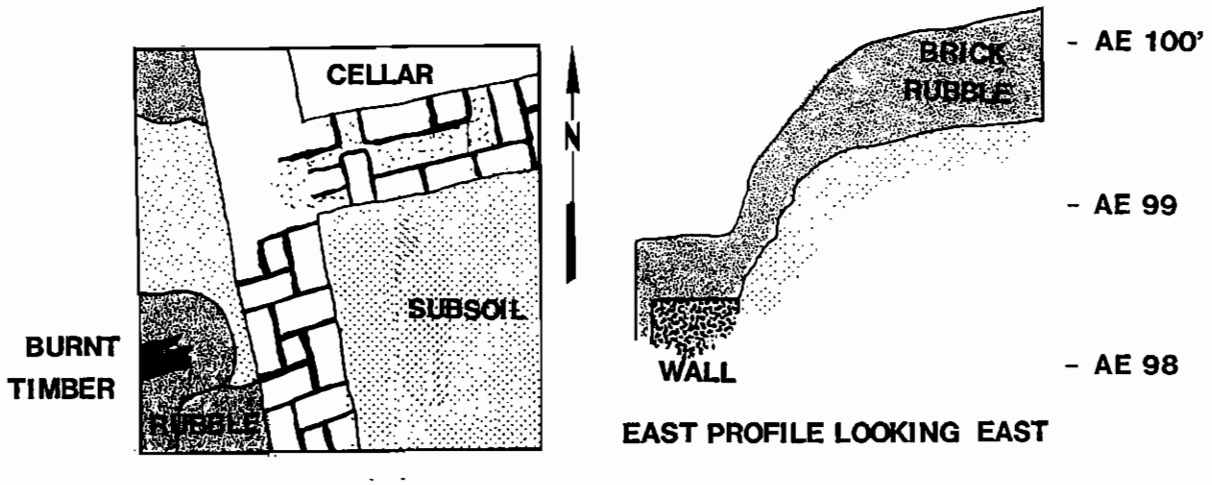

Figure 10. Test Pit 1, base of excavations.

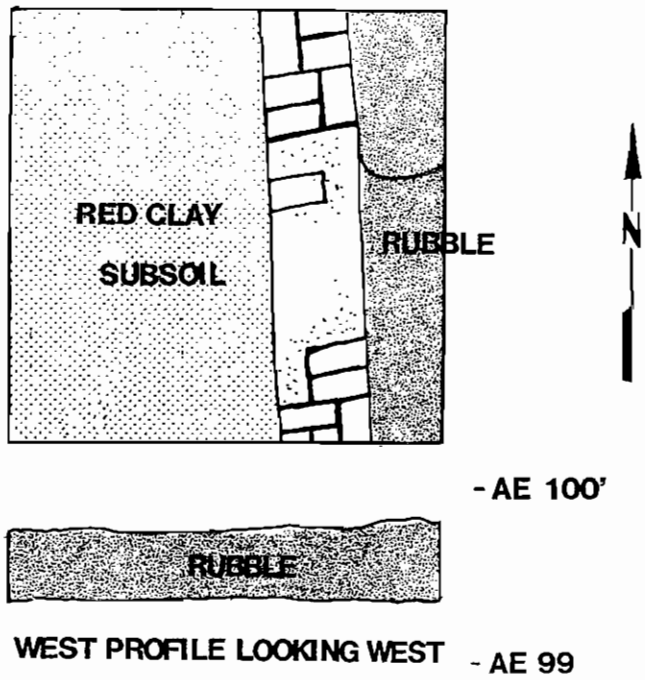

Figure 11. Test Pit 2, base of excavations.

The unit varied from about 0.3 to 0.6 foot in depth and produced 286 pounds of brick rubble, primarily associated with the collapsed foundation wall. Some evidence of burnt timbers was found on the outside of the foundation wall, in the northeastern corner of the unit.

Test Pit 3

This unit was placed between Test Pits 1 and 2 in order to identify the eastern cellar wall, which was found along the eastern wall of the unit (Figures 12 and 13). The bonding patterns of both walls was Flemish Bond and the walls were each 13 inches in width. The east-west internal distance of the cellar was determined to be 21 feet, only slightly more than half the structure's length.

The unit was excavated in two zones. Zone 1 consisted of very dark gray sandy clay loam and rubble about a foot in depth, overlying a foot of pale brown ash on the basement floor (designated Zone 2). Zone 1 produced 466 pounds of brick rubble, while Zone 2 yielded 158 pounds of rubble. Several carbonized timber fragments (identified as pine, *Pinus sp.*) were found in Zone 2. Zone 1 represents a rubble layer which incorporates some material from the original 1930 fire, as well as debris added since that time. Zone 2 represents the rubble resulting solely from the fire. At the base of Zone 2 was the original basement floor, hard packed (and burnt) sandy clay.

The basement floor was found at an elevation of about 96.33 feet AE and the base of the foundation wall was found at 95.94 feet AE. No footer was identified on either the back or side wall.

Test Pit 4

This unit was placed just south of the large rubble pile identified as Structure 2. Zone 1, about 0.4 foot in depth, overlaid the red clay subsoil. A possible feature was identified in the southwest corner of the unit on the basis of a slightly darker soil color, a coarser soil texture, and a greater density of artifacts. This feature, while plotted, was not excavated.

Walkways

Two segments of brick walkways were identified west of the main structure, each about 0.2 to 0.3 foot below the existing ground surface. One consists of 4.3 foot wide path running east-west with a 3.75 foot wide path leading off to the south. The second segment of the path, south of the first, represents the continuation of the southern arm and was also 3.75 feet in width.

The southward path follows the natural slope of the ground, being at an elevation of 98.77 feet AE toward the north and 98.19 feet AE at the south. The east-west path also follows the general slope of the ground, from 98.95 feet AE at its eastern edge to 98.65 feet at its western. Both paths were originally dry laid in a basket weave pattern with the bricks laid flat. Bricks were laid on edge at the sides to retain the walkway. Overtime the original pattern has been lost in areas, probably because of frost heaving and the associated repair.

About 25 feet south of the south shovel tests also identified an area of small (¼ to ½ inch in size), smooth gravel about 0.2 foot below the existing ground surface. This gravel probably formed a drive area or associated walks, perhaps to the well.

Garden

Plotting of the extant garden revealed evidence of plantings north and south of the main house, the kitchen garden to the southeast of the house, and a few plantings around the main house (Figure 7). While the results may seem modest, given nearly 100 years of neglect and documented removal of plants by local individuals, the patterns remaining are impressive.

Leading north from the posited entrance to the house is a central allée of tree box about 25 feet in width. This central pathway is adequate for a carriage path and it may have formed the central avenue to Rosemont. Asymmetrically centered on this allée are tree box planted as borders. The western row is found about 120 feet from the central pathway, while the eastern row is found about 140 feet. Magnolia are also found bordering the central tree box allée, 85 feet to the west and 100 feet to the east. These features form two park-like areas on either side of the central allée.

On the western edge an east-west row of smaller tree box form a partial, irregular partition between the outermost row of box and the central allée about 250 feet from the main house. No similar feature is found on the eastern side, although further north, about 350 feet, several tree box are found in the center of the side open area. These box may have formed a similar partition, breaking up the large open area into smaller garden compartments.

The only remaining evidence of box wood lined paths may be found in the southwestern garden partition, where a small number of box are found which do not form any clear pattern. They tend to blur into the another, larger area of box to the northwest of the main house area, immediately north of the western dependency and west of the eastern dependency.

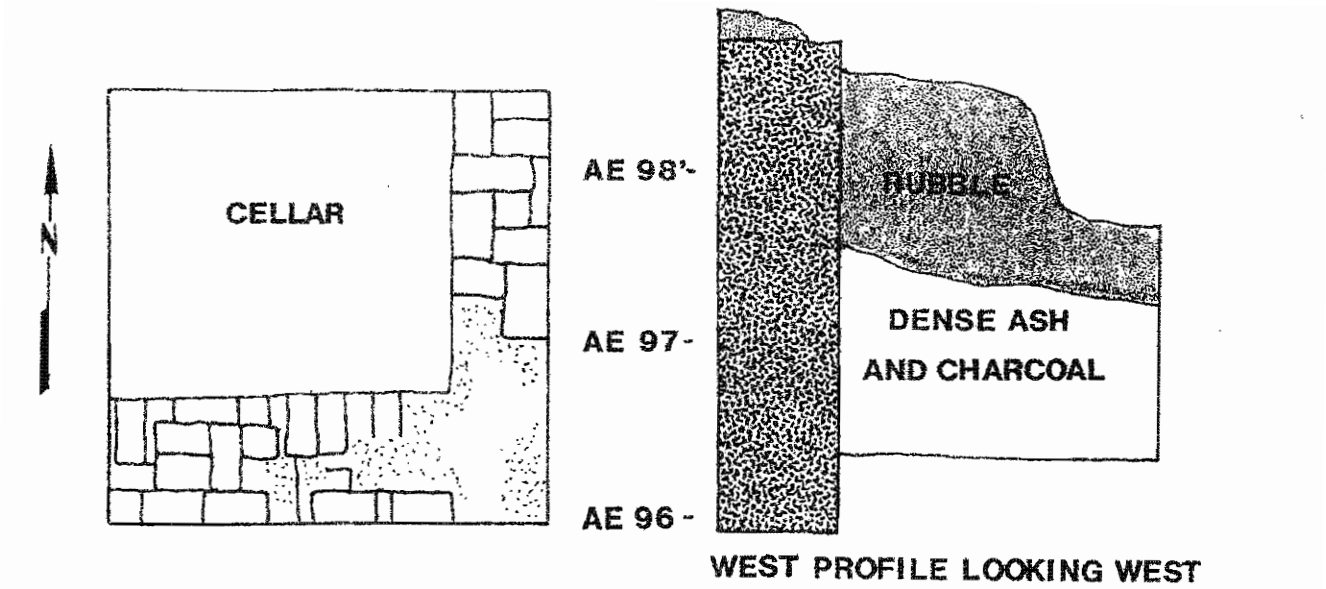

Figure 12. Test Pit 3, base of excavations.

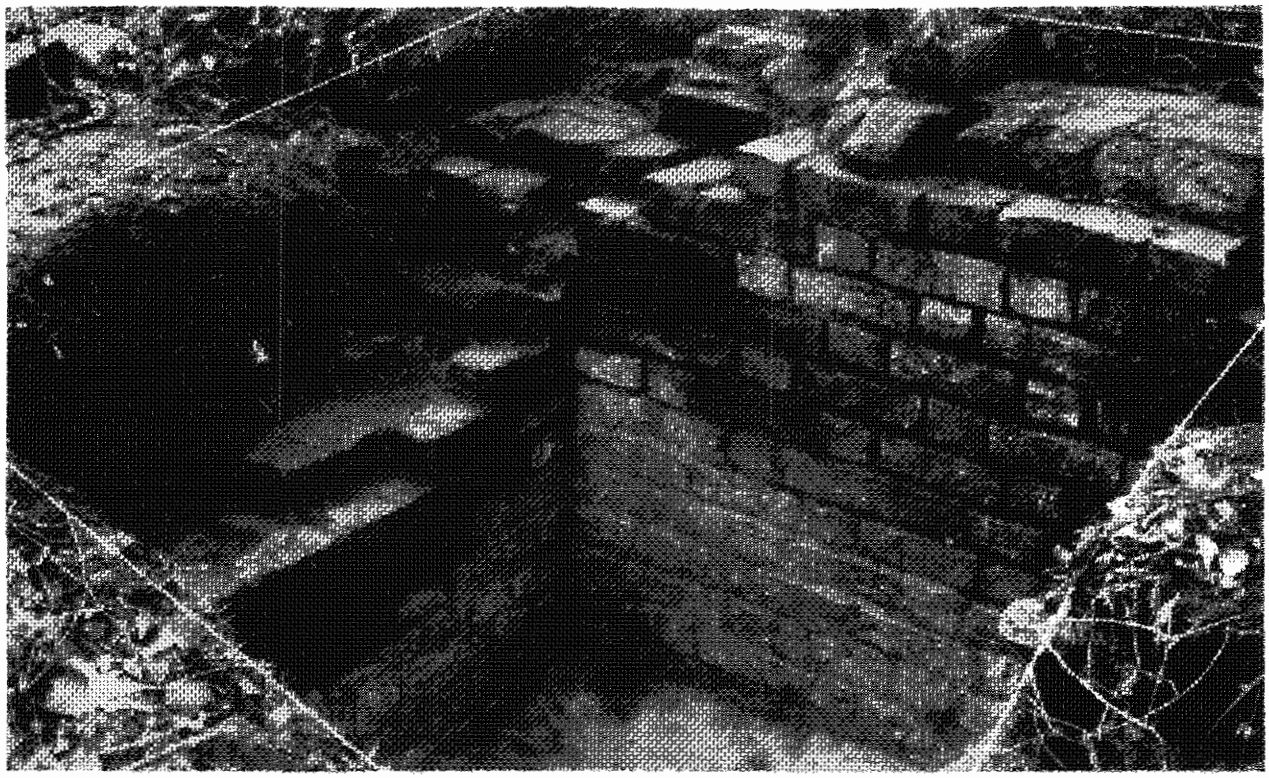

Figure 13. Test Pit 3, view to the southwest.

Immediately in front of the main house are four small box woods and two tree box which form an arc, accentuating the main entrance. Also in this area are the remains of several crepe myrtles.

Leading east from the main house complex are the remains of a crepe myrtle allée about 15 feet in width and 150 feet in length. At the end there are additional crepe myrtles which may have formed an enclosure. Also east of the house is what may have been the kitchen or vegetable garden, enclosed by cedar posts. The east-west dimension is about 112 feet and the north-south dimension was not determined.

Leading south from the main house to the river are the remains of the cedar allée. Initially only 15 feet in width, the path widens to 25 feet. Shovel tests in this path reveal no evidence of gravel or other surface preparation. The soil is very thin, suggesting extensive erosion. It is not known if the path continued to widen since it has been destroyed by the road and adjacent housing on the side of Lake Greenwood. Likewise, nothing remains of the park and race track south of the house.

ARTIFACT ANALYSES

Introduction

The investigations at Rosemont Plantation have produced 2,552 historic artifacts. Although the artifacts suggest an initial occupation during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, most of the remains date to the nineteenth century.

Seven structures were identified through archaeological survey and above ground remains. Two of these, Structure 1 (main house) and Structure 2 (smoke house), were tested. The previous investigations section provides a thorough discussion of the test units, but this information is synthesized here for the convenience of those using this section:

Structure 1: Test Unit 1 (25 square feet) - This unit located the southwestern corner of the basement.

Test Unit 2 (25 square feet) - This unit located the eastern wall of the Rosemont Plantation house.

Test Unit 3 (25 square feet) - Situated against the southern basement wall, this unit revealed a layer of architectural rubble which sealed approximately 1 foot of ash above the dirt floor of the basement.

Structure 2: Test Unit 4 (25 square feet) - Located to the south of the Smoke House, this unit yielded a relatively large quantity of animal bone.

Descriptions and Interpretations

The 2,552 historic artifacts from Rosemont will be discussed using South's (1977) artifact groups (e.g., kitchen, architecture, etc.) since such an approach allows the quantification and discussion of artifacts in a broad functional framework. One modification of South's original classificatory scheme was made for this study. Military buttons were placed in the Clothing Group instead of the Activities Group. This was done based on the historical documents which fail to reveal any substantial military presence at Rosemont.

A large quantity of the historic artifacts required some form of conservation by Chicora prior to their curation at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. Ceramics and glass artifacts did not require stabilization after the initial washing.

The bulk of the recovered objects requiring conservation are made of ferrous metal. All ferrous objects to be conserved were treated in one of two ways. After the mechanical removal of gross encrustations, the artifact was tested for sound metal by the use of a magnet. Items lacking sound metal were subjected to multiple baths of deionized water to remove chlorides. The baths were continued until a conductivity meter indicated a level of chlorides no greater than 1.0 ppm. These items were then coated with acryloid B-72 , not only to seal out moisture, but also to provide some additional strength. Items which contained sound metal were subjected to electrolytic reduction in a bath of sodium carbonate solution in currents no greater than 4.5 volts for a period of 5 to 20 days. When all visible corrosion was removed, the artifacts were wire brushed and placed in deionized water soaks, identical to those described above, for the removal of soluble chlorides. When the artifacts tested free of chlorides, they were dried in a series of acetone baths and phosphoric (10%) and tannic (20%)

acid solutions were applied. The artifacts were then coated with acryloid B-72.

Non-ferrous objects (copper, brass, silver, lead) recovered from Rosemont normally did not require conservation unless they evidenced active corrosion (such as bronze disease in the case of cuprous artifacts). Those exhibiting active corrosion were subjected to electrolytic reduction in a sodium carbonate solution with up to 5 volts for periods of 1 to 24 hours. Hand cleaning with soft brass brushes or brass wool followed the electrolysis. Afterwards the soluble chlorides were removed with baths in deionized water and dewatered in acetone. They were then coated with acryloid B-72 to seal out moisture.

The small amount of leather recovered was first soaked in successive deionized water baths to remove soluble chlorides. The leather was also mechanically cleaned to remove soil and rootlets. It was then allowed to soak for 6 weeks in sulfonated neets foot oil. After soaking, it was air dried in a space with controlled temperature (75° F) and relative humidity (50% RH).

Kitchen Artifact Group

Excavations produced 796 Kitchen Group artifacts. These include 223 Euro-American ceramics (28% of the group total); 535 glass container fragments (67.2% of the group total); 1 specimen of tableware (0.1% of the group total); and 37 kitchenware items (4.6% of the group total).

The ceramics include a variety of eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth century wares. Those with mean ceramic dates (MCD) typical of the eighteenth century include one overglazed enamelled porcelain (MCD 1730; South 1977:210), 10 underglaze blue porcelain (MCD 1730; South 1977:210), and three undecorated creamware (MCD 1791; South 1977:212).

Creamware is recognized by an off-white (cream colored) paste and a distinctive yellowish lead glaze which exhibits a greenish color where thickly puddled (Brown 1982:15-16).

The nineteenth century specimens include 17 examples of pearlware, 47 examples of whiteware, and two fragments of yellow ware. In addition, unidentifiable burned stonewares accounted for 54 specimens, alkaline glazed stonewares account for 11 fragments, ginger beer bottle fragments account for 40 specimens and there are five examples of other stonewares. The ginger beer bottle specimens were cream colored with a yellow-ochre slip covering the upper portion of the vessel. While these bottle were manufactured with and without shoulders, all specimens from Rosemont were shouldered. These bottles were usually sealed with a cork, wire bails, and covered with thin foil (Switzer 1974:13). Two fragments of these wire bail closures were recovered at Rosemont.

A total of 27 fragments of white porcelain were also recovered. Red earthenwares, which have a very long temporal range (see, for example, Lasansky 1979:6), account for an additional five sherds, all of which are unglazed.

Pearlware, characterized by a cream colored paste and a blue to white glaze, was perfected by Josiah Wedgewood in 1779 (Noel Hume 1970:128; Price 1979; South 1977:212). The most common types at Rosemont are undecorated (n=6) and edged (n=6), both of which have a mean ceramic date of 1805 (South 1977:212). Decorated pearlwares include three blue transfer printed examples (MCD 1818; South 1977:212); one annular (MCD 1805; South 1977:212); and one molded (MCD 1805; South 1977:212).

The largest category of ceramics from Rosemont consist of whitewares (n=45). The difficulty distinguishing between whiteware and ironstone has been discussed by South (1974:247-248), who uses an "ironstone-whiteware" category, and Price (1979:11), who uses a "whiteware" category which includes ironstone. Both researchers point out that differentiating between whiteware and ironstone using

vessel hardness (or degree of vitrification) is an uncertain or even invalid approach (cf. Worthy 1982). For the purposes of this study, whiteware will encompass both categories of ceramics.

Undecorated whiteware includes 26 specimens. Price notes that while undecorated whitewares "were probably introduced somewhat earlier [than decorated varieties], undecorated whiteware vessels were most common in the period following the Civil War" (Price 1979:22). It seems equally likely, therefore, that these examples are from plain and decorated vessels.

Rather than using the broad category of "whiteware" for dating all specimens, regardless of decoration, we have chosen to use the dates offered by Bartovics (1978) and Orser et al. (1982). Plain whiteware has a mean date of 1860 (South 1977:211). Other specimens include three blue edged (MCD 1853), one polychrome handpainted (MCD 1848); three blue transfer-print (MCD 1848), and 11 non-blue transfer print (MCD 1851).

Yellow ware, distinct from the yellow-glazed earthenwares of the eighteenth century, is a simple kitchen and table ware with a buff or yellow paste and a clear glaze (Ramsay 1947:7). Two examples were recovered from Rosemont and the mean ceramic date is 1853 (Bartovics 1978).

Only one whiteware ceramic evidenced a legible maker's mark. It is printed BAKER & CO. while the remainder is illegible. These printed marks occur on these Staffordshire potteries from c. 1893 onwards (Godden 1964:51), indicating that it was probably deposited in the early twentieth century.

Other twentieth century examples consisted of six pieces of a green underglazed porcelain saucer which exhibited the maker's mark -- ORLEANS//Z S & Co.//BAVARIA. This was produced by Zeh, Scherzer and Company in Rehau, Bavaria, Germany from 1880 to the present (Kovel 1986:195), giving it a mean date of 1935.

The major types of pottery from Rosemont are summarized in Table 1. Stonewares are the most common, accounting for 49.8% of the collection. Earthenwares represent 32.2% of the collection, and porcelains represent 18.0% of the collection. The dominance of stonewares in the collection is interesting, since earthenwares normally make up the major bulk of plantation collections. It may that earthenwares are more uncommon, because the "tea ceremony" was not performed to the extent found on the coastal plain where there were stronger British ties and contact. Alternatively, stonewares may have been easier to obtain than earthenwares in the piedmont. At Millwood, the only other piedmont

Table 1.
Major Types of Pottery at Rosemont Plantation

Creamware	3	
Pearlware	17	
Whiteware	46	
Yellow ware	2	
Total Earthenwares	68	32.2%
Burned Stonewares	54	
Salt-glazed	40	
Alkaline-glazed	11	
Total Stonewares	105	49.8%
Underglazed Blue	16	
Overglazed	1	
White	21	
Total Porcelains	38	18.0%

plantation investigated in South Carolina, earthenwares comprised 63.3% of the collection, while stonewares and porcelains consisted of 21.8% and 14.1% respectively (Orser et al. 1982:816). Although earthenwares make up the bulk of the collection there, the stoneware percentages are quite high when compared to coastal elite sites. For instance, stonewares at St. Quinten's Plantation on Ladys Island consisted of 3.3% of the collection (Trinkley 1989), and at Vanderhorst Plantation on Kiawah Island, stonewares made up 9.1% of the collection (Adams and Trinkley 1991).

The shovel tests, the main house and the smoke house all have sufficient quantities of ceramics to warrant application of South's Mean Ceramic Date Formula (South 1977:217-218). Dates for specifically datable ceramics (such as those including maker's marks) were included in the Mean Ceramic Date Formula to obtain a truer picture of mean site occupation. The dates obtained range from about 1834 to 1852.

The shovel tests yields a mean date of 1837.1. Since the Rosemont main house is believed to have been occupied by 1790 and was burned in 1930, the mean historical date is 1860. The main house yields a mean date of 1852.1, while the smoke house yields a mean date of 1833.7. The earlier dates from the shovel tests and the smoke house may indicate that some structures and site areas were abandoned sometime before the main house burned.

The next collection to be considered in the Kitchen Group is the container glass. A total of 535 fragments were recovered, of which 280 (52.3%) are clear, 182 (34.0%) are aqua, 17 (3.2%) are blue, 16 (3.0%) are dark olive green, 15 (2.8%) are light olive green, 14 (2.6%) are brown, five (0.9%) are amethyst, five (0.9%) are amber, and one (0.2%) is milk glass.

The olive green glass fragments are typical of wine or ale bottles. Bottle fragments with thicker walls, gentle lines, and kick ups are attributed to

Table 2.
Mean Ceramic Dates from Shovel Tests, Structure 1, and Structure 2

		Shovel Tests		Structure 1		Structure 2	
Ceramic	(xi)	(fi)	fi x xi	(fi)	fi x xi	(fi)	fi x xi
Overglazed porcelain	1730			1	1730		
Underglazed porcelain	1730	2	3460	7	12110	1	1730
Porcelain (Orleans/Bavaria)	1935			6	11610		
NA Salt glazed stoneware	1866	2	3732	33	55980	5	9330
Creamware, undecorated	1791	1	1791	1	1791	1	1791
Pearlware, blue transfer print	1818	3	5454				
edged	1805	1	1805			5	9025
annular	1805					1	1805
molded	1805					1	1805
undecorated	1805	1	1805			5	9025
Whiteware, blue edged	1853	1	1853			2	3706
poly hand paint	1848			1	1848	1	1848
blue trans print	1848					3	5544
non-blue trans print	1851	2	3702			9	16659
undecorated	1860	7	13020	16	29760	3	5580
"Baker & Co."	1942	1	1942				
Yellow ware	1853	1	1853	1	1853		
TOTAL		22	40417	63	116682	37	67848
MCD		1837.1		1852.1		1833.7	

champagne, wine, or brandies, while those with thinner walls, pronounced shoulders, and flat bases are characteristic of stout or ale. Examples of both types may have existed at Rosemont, however, since approximately ninety percent of the glass fragments were melted, body form was impossible to discern. Based on color and distinct proveniences, the minimum vessel count is five.

Clear, amethyst and aqua glass represent 12 vessels. Two are melted, six are cylindrical, two are paneled, and two are jar forms. One clear cylindrical vessel was embossed REGISTERED//CRACKER JACK//LAURENS, S.C. (Figure 14h) which was a machine made oval slug plate soda bottle manufactured circa 1920 (Jeter 1987:47). Two separate South Carolina dispensary bottles were recovered. The first was a clear, cylindrical monogrammed vessel of undetermined capacity similar to Huggins' No. 306 (Huggins 1971:80). Monogrammed quart-sized cylindrical dispensary bottles are the most common type although they came in half-pint, pint and quart capacities (Huggins 1971:69). The second was an aqua, probably union flask-shaped, palmetto tree embossed vessel of undetermined capacity similar to Huggins' No. 170. The half pint was by far the most common size, and in 1929 the union flask gained fame in DuBose Heyward's book *The Half-Pint Flask* (Huggins 1971:57). These bottles were manufactured between 1891 and 1905 (Huggins 1971). One amethyst cylindrical bottle was embossed [T]RADE//__VOLI//[MA]RK//__RIA. While no reference to this embossing could be found, the presence of TRADE MARK on the vessel occurs on English pieces after the Trademark Act of 1862, and on American pieces after 1875 (Kovel 1986:233). The bottle appears to be machine made, indicating that the vessel is twentieth century (Miller and Sullivan 1984:94). One ribbed-bodied jar base was found with the word MASON embossed on the outer edge. This is likely a Ball sculptured pattern mason jar which was manufactured from 1888 to the present (Toulouse 1977:8). All embossed vessels were found at Structure 1.

Only one drinking container was recovered from Rosemont. This vessel, found at Structure 2, probably represents a plain, clear glass tumbler.

Tin or light gauge iron containers are evidenced at Rosemont by the recovery of 14 fragments from excavations around Structure 2. One base was recovered measuring 2 5/8 inches in diameter. The base did not evidence a hole-in-cap or soldering seal, suggesting that it was manufactured after 1904 (Rock 1984:105).

Two keys for a key-opened, rolled, scored strip can were also recovered from Structure 2 (Figure 14i). This type of opening was widely used by Edwin Norton in Chicago in 1895. While this method had been known previously, it was not widely employed until Norton adapted it for his processed meat tins (Rock 1984:105).

Two crown caps were also recovered from Structure 2. The crown cap was patented in 1892 by William Painter and by 1900 most soda and beer bottlers had switched from the cruder hutchinson and blob type closures to the crown cap (Jeter 1987:27). At Structure 1, seventeen melted tinned iron pot fragments were recovered.

In addition, 151 grams of animal bone was recovered from Structure 2 in good preservation. Identifiable pieces consist of cow, pig, and chicken with some bones exhibiting butchering marks. Also, three oyster shell fragments were recovered.

Architectural Artifact Group

Excavations at Rosemont produced 1,627 Architectural Group artifacts. These remains include primarily nails (n=1,232 or 75.8% of the group total). Other remains include 359 fragments of window glass, one fragment of structural marble, and two construction hardware items. Not included in the totals, but briefly discussed in this section, are examples of brick.

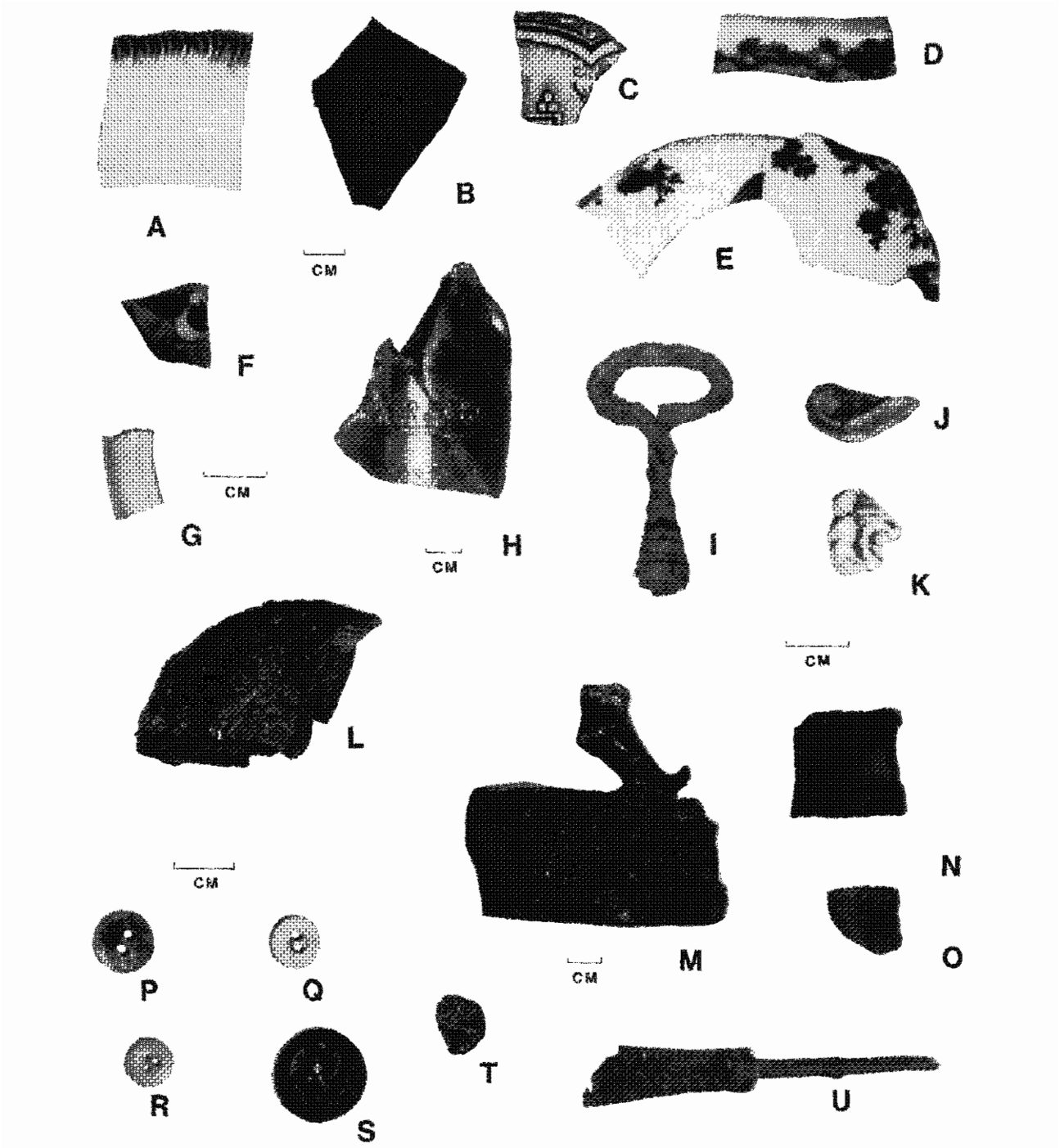

Figure 14. Artifacts from Rosemont; a) blue edged whiteware; b) brown salt-glazed stoneware; c) brown transfer print whiteware; d) underglazed blue porcelain; e) overglazed gilted porcelain; f) green underglazed porcelain (ORLEANS//L.S. & Co.//BAVARIA); g) creamware; h) CRACKER JACK soda bottle; i) can key; j-k) decorative plaster; l) agate ware door knob; m) figurine fragment; n) gun flint; o) coarse earthenware pipe bowl; p-q) shell buttons; r) porcelain button; s) military button; t) jewelry item; u) wood-carving chisel.

Three types of nails have been recovered from Rosemont Plantation -- hand wrought (n=271 or 22.0% of the recovered nails), machine cut (n=450 or 36.5% of the recovered nails), and wire (n=74 or 6.0% of the recovered nails). The remainder (35.5%) were unidentifiable. The hand wrought nails which range in size from 2d to 16d, date from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries, with the peak in popularity during the eighteenth century (Nelson 1968). The shanks are rectangular in cross-section and both round "rose head" and "T head" examples are found. While these two head patterns did serve different functions, it seems likely that they were used interchangeably at Rosemont.

"Modern" machine cut nails count for the majority of the collection, although only 280 are sufficiently intact to allow penny weight measures. These nails were first manufactured in the late 1830s and have uniform heads and shanks with burrs on the edges (Nelson 1968:7; Priess 1971:33-34).

Wire nails which range in size from 2d to 30d, did not become the dominant type until the 1890s. Although they were manufactured for building purposes as early as the 1860s, they were only gradually accepted. The greater holding power of cut nails made many builders prefer their use well into the twentieth century (Nelson 1968).

Because different size nails served different self-limiting functions, it is possible to use the relative frequencies of nail sizes to indicate building construction details. Nails were early designated by their penny weight which compared the weight of a nail to that of a silver penny. Gradually the term came to designate length rather than weigh, but the equivalence varied over time and it was not until the 1890s that penny weights were thoroughly standardized (Orser et al. 1982:675). To avoid confusion, Table 3 lists both the penny weight size and the Standard Average European (SAE) size for the nails which were sufficiently complete for analysis. Both of the two structures tested produced a sufficient number of nails for this study.

Table 3, however, provides only limited information, revealing peaks at the 4d and 8d sizes in Structure 1, and peaks at 6-8d in Structure 2. One of the commonly accepted rules in nail length is "to have the nails a full three times as long as the Sheathing Board is thick" (Bettesworth and Hitch 1981:2:n.p). With certain broad limits the size of nails used to perform a certain task is flexible, depending on the craftsman and the supply of nails. This variation is reflected in Orser et al. (1982:677). A rough guide, however is provided by Table 4.

Structure 1 is attributed to the late eighteenth century and evidences a distribution of nails which appears typical for architecture during that period. There are a number of nails which would have served roofing and finishing purposes, a number for sheathing associated with frame construction, but relatively few for framing. The absence of framing nails suggests pegged construction techniques, consistent with the posited date of construction.

Structure 2 is also believed to have been constructed in the late eighteenth century. The nail distribution indicates relatively few nails for shingles or finishing work which would be more numerous in a domestic structure where fine detailed work might be found. The majority of the nails are for sheathing associated with frame construction, but few for framing which, again, indicates pegged construction.

The category of window glass includes 359 fragments of primarily light green rolled glass. These specimens were classified as window lights based on thickness, degree of clarity, color, and lack of curvature. Of this collection 93.6% (n=336) come from Structure 1, while 1.7% (n=6) come from Structure 2. The abundance of window glass from Structure 1 is consistent with a high status domestic dwelling, while the paucity of window glass at Structure 2 is consistent with oral history stating that the building may have functioned as a smoke house.

Table 3.
Intact Nails from Structures 1 and 2

		Structure 1			Structure 2		
Penny Weight	SAE	Wrought	Cut	Wire	Wrought	Cut	Wire
2d	1"	5	0	1	0	1	0
3d	1 1/4"	26	20	25	3	3	1
4d	1 1/2"	60	30	12	0	2	0
5d	1 3/4"	29	23	6	1	2	0
6d	2"	22	24	7	8	28	0
7d	2 1/4"	17	11	3	1	12	0
8d	2 1/2"	22	72	3	12	4	1
9d	2 3/4"	18	10	2	2	0	1
10d	3"	18	13	1	1	1	0
12d	3 1/4"	12	10	3	0	1	0
16d	3 1/2"	1	12	0	3	0	0
20d	4"	0	3	1	0	1	0
30d	4 1/2"	0	0	1	0	0	0

Table 4.
Probable Function of Intact Nails for
Structures 1 and 2 at Rosemont

	Structure 1		Structure 2	
Function	#	%	#	%
Small timber, shingles (2-5d)	237	45.3	13	14.6
Sheathing, siding (6-8d)	181	34.6	66	74.2
Framing (9-12d)	87	16.6	6	6.7
Heavy framing (16-50d)	18	3.5	4	4.5

Previous work (see, for example, Trinkley and Hacker 1986:241-242 and Michie 1987:120-130) has attempted to use window glass thickness to determine the mean construction dates. The major shortcoming of this technique is that the regression formulae have a number of correction factors (for a detailed discussion see Adams 1980 and Orser et al. 1982). Studies by Jones and Sullivan (1985) have cast doubt on he validity of this dating technique. The comment that, "the very nature of window glass suggests that one should take great pains to avoid using it for dating except under special circumstances" (Jones and Sullivan 1985:172). Based on this advice and the generally poor results obtained in previous studies, no effort has been made to date the recovered window glass from Rosemont.

Construction hardware included one shutter pintle from the main house, and one fragment of a redware drainage pipe. In addition, two fragments of finely detailed molded decorative plaster were recovered from the main house (Figure 14j-k). Bricks from the main house and Structure 3 all measured 7⅞ inches by 2½ inches by 3½ - 3⅝ inches. Bricks from the west flanker (Structure 7) were much smaller, measuring 7 inches by 2⅝ inches by 3⅛ - 3⅜ inches.

Furniture Artifact Group

A total of 18 furniture items were recovered from the excavations at Rosemont, including six bud vase fragments, five porcelain figurine fragments, one cabinet iron door hinge, one agate ware door knob fragment, three brass escutcheon fragments, one iron hinge mount for a chest, and one iron reinforcement plate, possibly for furniture.

The six bud vase fragments are all identical in design with five mendable pieces coming from the vicinity of the main house and one from the vicinity of

Structure 6. The vase specimens exhibit a closely ribbed design. The porcelain figure fragments represent two figurines and were found at Structure 1. One is a burned base with a human foot attached (Figure 14m). The other is an unburned base with no further decorative details. The iron cabinet hinge from Structure 1 measures 3 by 2.7 cms and exhibits two screw holes on each mounting plate. The agate door knob fragment found in the main house is badly burned (Figure 14l). While South (1977:211) indicates that agate ware ceramics were manufactured between 1740 and 1775, door knobs of this material were manufactured up through the twentieth century (Sears, Roebuck Catalogue 1902).

Arms Artifact Group

Arms related artifacts included only two specimens. One shot gun shell casing was recovered at Structure 1, and one gray colored gun flint (Figure 14n) was found at Structure 2.

Clothing Artifact Group

Clothing related items (Figure 14p-s) consist of two coarse fabric pieces, five buttons, 10 grommets (nine brass, one iron), two hooks (for hook and eye catch), two brass snaps, one brass jeans-type button, and three pieces of shoe leather with grommets attached.

The buttons consist of one 8 mm porcelain three hole button, one 10 mm shell two hole flat disk button, one 15 mm shell two hole button (Type 22; South 1964), and two 14 mm brass military buttons (Type 27; South 1964). Both Type 27 buttons are United States Navy buttons exhibiting an eagle clasping the shank of an anchor, surrounded by 15 stars. This button dates after 1852 when the Secretary of the Navy issued a change in the button design. Instead of the eagle being perched on the stock of a foul anchor, the eagle was now made to rest on the shank of the anchor (Albert 1969:87). This type of button went out of production in 1941 (Albert 1969: 104). One of these buttons has a backmark of Extra Quality.

The grommets varied in size from 7 mm (n=5), 12 mm (n=1), and 15 mm (n=4). The brass jeans type button was marked J. HARBAND//TRUNKS//S.F..

Personal Artifact Group

Only two personal artifacts were recovered at Rosemont. These include one stamped brass escutcheon for a purse or hand bag, and one silver plated decorative jewelry item (Figure 14t). Both were found at Structure 2.

Tobacco Artifact Group

The tobacco category includes two items. Both are coarse earthenware pipe bowls. One is plain, while the other is faceted (Figure 14o).

Activities Artifact Group

The activities group contains one tool, three stable and barn items, 31 miscellaneous hardware, and 49 other activities artifacts.

The one tool recovered from the excavations appears to represent a brass wood sculpting chisel (Figure 14u). Stable and barn items include one harness buckle and two horseshoe fragments. Miscellaneous hardware include 18 flat head screws, two fence staples, one nut with bolt, one screw eye, two hooks and one eye (from hook and eye latch), one hose coupling, and one unidentified mounting device. Office related items were also included under miscellaneous hardware and were represented by one paper clip, two thumb tacks, and one envelope clasp. Other items include two dirt dauber's nests, three pieces of wire, one unidentified machinery part, six pieces of sheet iron, 34 pieces of sheet copper,

one unidentified iron item, and two pieces of melted lead.

Dating Synthesis

The previous discussion have indicated that a number artifacts may provide temporally sensitive information with which to date the various components at Rosemont. Ceramics, in particular, have been shown to be useful for obtaining mean occupation dates (South 1977). Other artifacts, while useful in dating, are often not found in sufficient numbers to provide confidence in their associations. Some artifacts are useful for providing terminus post quem (TPQ) dates, or a date after which the assemblage was deposited. Most artifacts, however, provide only a general time frame, such as "typical of the nineteenth century."

The ceramic dates have been previously considered in Table 2, with the site yielding nineteenth century dates. The significant number of wrought nails in the collections from Rosemont is consistent with the site's initial occupation in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the presence of wire nails is consistent with the known terminal occupation in 1930. Specific artifacts which are sensitive temporal markers are all from the postbellum period and are summarized in Table 5 which presents temporal range, mean artifact date, and mean site deposition (obtained from beginning manufacturing date and the date Rosemont burned).

Table 5.
Embossed or marked artifacts from Rosemont

Artifact description	Temporal Range	Mean Date	Mean Site Deposition	Reference
Porcelain, ORLEANS/Z S & CO./BAVARIA	1880 - present	1935	1905	Kovel 1986
Whiteware, BAKER & CO.	1893 - present	1942	1911	Godden 1964
S.C. Dispensary Bottle (monogrammed)	1891 - 1905	1898	1898	Huggins 1971
S.C. Dispensary Bottle (union flask)	1891 - 1905	1898	1898	Huggins 1971
Soda Bottle, CRACKER JACK	unknown	1920	1920	Jeter 1987
Bottle, with TRADE MARK	1875 - present	1933	1902	Kovel 1986
Jar, MASON	1888 - present	1939	1909	Toulouse 1977

These items, along with the strong presence of whiteware (82.5% of all earthen wares) at Rosemont indicate a more intensive occupation of the site in the late nineteenth/ early twentieth century.

Pattern Analysis

Up to this point South's artifact groups and classes have been used as simply as a convenient and logical means of ordering data, clearly recognizing that other methods are available (e.g. Sprague 1981). In this section these functional categories are used for an "artifact pattern analysis" developed by South (1977) who believes that the patterns identified in the archaeological record will reflect cultural processes and will assist in delimiting distinct site types. South has succinctly stated that, "we can have no science without pattern recognition, and pattern cannot be refined without quantification" (South 1977:25). The recognition of patterns in historical archaeology is not an end in itself, but rather should be one of a series of techniques useful for comparing different sites with the ultimate goal of distinguishing cultural processes at work in the archaeological record (South 1988).

There can be no denying that the technique has problems (see, for example, Joseph 1989), some of which are very serious, but no more effective technique than South's has been proposed. While a number of factors influence the

construction of the pattern, Joseph states:

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

Even at this level of a fairly simple heuristic device, pattern analysis have revealed five, and possibly seven, "archaeological signatures" -- the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern (Garrow 1982b; Jackson 1986:75-76; South 1977), the Revised Frontier Artifact Pattern (Garrow 1982b; South 1977), the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern (Garrow 1982b; Wheaton et al. 1983), the Georgia Slave Pattern (Singleton 1980; Zierden and Calhoun 1983), and the Public Interaction Artifact Pattern (Garrow 1982b), as well as the less developed and tested Tenant/Yeoman Artifact Pattern (Drucker et al. 1984) and the Washington Civic Center Pattern (Garrow 1982b) which Cheek et al. (1983:90) suggest might be better termed a "Nineteenth Century White Urban Pattern". Work at the freedmen's village of Mitchelville on Hilton Head Island has revealed a loose clustering of artifact patterns midway between that of the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern and the Tenant/Yeoman Artifact Pattern (Trinkley and Hacker 1986:264-268). Several of these patterns are summarized in Table 6. A careful inspection of these patterns surprisingly reveals no overlap in the major categories of Kitchen and Architecture, which suggests that these two categories are particularly sensitive indicators of either site function (including intra-site functional differences) or "cultural differences" (see Cheek et al. 1983:90; Garrow 1982a:4; Joseph 1989:60; South 1977:146-154).

Table 7 presents the artifact patterns for the shovel tests, Structure 1, and Structure 2. Both the shovel tests and Structure 2 correspond with the Piedmont Tenant/Yeoman artifact pattern, while Structure 1 has a much more inflated architectural category. This is not surprising since the excavations were placed on top of the structure rather than in the yard area. Unfortunately, no artifact pattern was published for Millwood Plantation (Orser et al. 1982), which is the only other piedmont plantation excavated in South Carolina; therefore, no comparison can be made. Future research in the piedmont area may indicate that the Piedmont Tenant/Yeoman artifact pattern represents an overall piedmont pattern rather than a pattern for a specific economic class.

Status and Lifestyle Observations

Miller (1980) has suggested a technique for the analysis of ceramic collections to yield information on the economic value of the assemblage which, as Garrow notes, "theoretically provides a means of roughly determining the economic position of the household that used and discarded the ceramics" (Garrow 1982b:66; see also Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987 and Garrow 1987). In addition, Otto (1984) has noted that vessel shapes and decorative styles are good indicators of economic position. He noted that undecorated, edged, annular, and hand painted vessels were found at lower status sites, while high status sites yielded higher quantities of transfer-printed wares.

Although the investigations at Rosemont did not yield enough ceramics to perform these analyses, earthenware could be classified by decorative type. Table 8 presents proportions of these types found at Rosemont.

While undecorated wares dominate the collection, they are equally likely to be associated with either plain or decorated wares. The second most prominent decorative style is transfer printing which accounts for 23.7% of the collection, suggesting that the occupants of Rosemont were, indeed, wealthy. Although ceramics often yield measurable indices to gauge economic wealth, Garrow emphasizes the importance of converging evidence, stating, "the use of converging lines of evidence, as opposed to the use of one or even two of the techniques in

Table 6.
Comparison of Artifact Patterns

Artifact Group	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern[a]	Revised Frontier Artifact Pattern[b]	Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern[c]	Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern[d]	Piedmont Yeoman Artifact Pattern[e]
Kitchen	51.8 - 65.0	35.5 - 43.8	70.9 - 84.2	20.0 - 25.8	45.6 (40.0 - 61.2)
Architectural	25.2 - 31.4	41.6 - 43.0	11.8 - 24.8	67.9 - 73.2	50.0 (35.8 - 56.3)
Furniture	0.2 - 0.6	0.1 - 1.3	0.1	0.0 - 0.1	0.4
Arms	0.1 - 0.3	1.4 - 8.9	0.1 - 0.3	0.0 - 0.2	-
Clothing	0.6 - 5.4	0.3 - 1.6	0.3 - 0.8	0.3 - 1.7	1.8
Personal	0.2 - 0.5	0.1	0.1	0.1 - 0.2	0.4
Tobacco	1.9 - 13.9	1.3 - 14.0	2.4 - 5.4	0.3 - 9.7	-
Activities	0.9 - 1.7	0.5 - 5.4	0.2 - 0.9	0.2 - 0.4	1.8

[a] Garrow 1982b
[b] Garrow 1982b
[c] Wheaton et al. 1983
[d] Singleton 1980
[e] Drucker et al. 1984 (no range was provided, but has been partially reconstructed for the Kitchen and Architectural Artifact Groups)

Table 7.
Artifact Patterns from Rosemont

	Shovel Tests	Structure 1	Structure 2
Kitchen			
Ceramics	32	140	51
Glass	76	342	117
Tableware			1
Kitchenware		17	20
Subtotal	108	499	189
%	47.2	25.5	51.8
Architecture			
Window Glass	17	336	6
Nails	82	1029	151
Marble		1	
Construction Hardware	1	4	
Subtotal	100	1370	157
%	43.7	69.9	43.0
Furniture			
Furniture Hardware	6	12	
Subtotal	6	12	0
%	2.6	0.6	0
Arms			
Shot		1	
Flints			1
Subtotal	0	1	1
%	0	0.05	0.3
Tobacco			
Pipe stems			
Pipe bowls	2		
Subtotal	2	0	0
%	0.9	0	0
Clothing			
Buttons		4	1
Other	2	9	10
Subtotal	2	13	11
%	0.9	0.7	3.0
Personal			
Beads			
Other			2
Subtotal	0	0	2
%	0	0	0.5
Activities			
Tools		5	
Stable/barn		5	1
Miscellaneous hardware		22	3
Other	11	31	1
Subtotal	11	63	5
%	4.8	3.3	1.4

Table 8.
Decorative motifs on earthenwares at Rosemont

Decoration	#	%
Undecorated	38	64.4
Edged	4	6.8
Annular	1	1.7
Hand Painted	2	3.4
Transfer Printed	14	23.7

question, should yield accurate statements concerning the relative socioeconomic status level of the household or group that generated the study collections" (Garrow 1987:230). In addition to the ceramic information, other items such as bud vases, detailed molded plaster designs, jewelry items, intricately decorated brass furniture escutcheons, ceramic door knobs, as well as the ability to plant, maintain and manicure one of the finest gardens in the South Carolina piedmont reveals that the occupants of Rosemont Plantation achieved and maintained a lifestyle of opulence.

SUMMARY AND SYNTHESIS

Piedmont plantations have attracted periodic historical attention. Some historians, like Rosser Taylor (1942) present a somewhat stereotypic view of the Up Country as a rough area with few major "seats" or plantation dwellings. Others, such as Ford (1988) are beginning to unravel the social dichotomy of the region. Unfortunately, the archaeological contribution to our understanding of Piedmont plantations is paultry. After nearly two decades of archaeological research in other areas of South Carolina, much emphasizing plantation archaeology, the Piedmont remains unexamined.

Questions comparing the wealth of Piedmont short staple cotton plantations with Sea Island cotton plantations, or comparing the wide range of Piedmont social fabric, or examining the nature of Piedmont slavery, have not been examined -- and in most cases have not even been formulated. And landscape archaeology, whether on the Sea Islands or in the Piedmont, has not attracted the attention it deserves.

This preliminary research at one Piedmont plantation offers a clear indication that such work can bear fruit. Further, it is essential if archaeologists wish to make substantive contributions to the public's understanding of their heritage. Regardless, at present it is possible to only offer some brief concluding remarks about the one plantation at which a very modest amount of work has been undertaken.

Rosemont may represent a "typical" piedmont plantation. While land acquisition by Patrick Cunningham may have begun before the American Revolution, it was only after the war that the property was integrated into the plantation economy in a meaningful way. The construction of the Rosemont house, singled out by Taylor (1942:11) as an example of the rare elegance of the Piedmont, was completed at least by the 1790s. The production of tobacco, indigo, a variety of grain crops, hogs, sheep, and cattle reveals that Rosemont was participating in the diversified economy of many larger Piedmont plantations. It was only in the first quarter of the nineteenth century that cotton began to rule the Rosemont economy, and even then its monarchy was tenuous, constantly sharing power with subsistence crops.

The antebellum at Rosemont is marked by the design and elaboration of the gardens, making the plantation a showcase and entrenching the plantation in local history. Yet, like many other plantations, relatively little is known of the economic decisions which faced the owners. As cotton prices fluctuated, the Cunninghams, like other plantation owners, found themselves not in control of the market economy. Striving to maintain a way of life against forces they could not control, there is evidence that Rosemont continued the delicate balance between food and fortune -- producing both subsistence crops and cotton. The lives of the owners is known only from scattered letters. There are no plantation account books which might reveal the prosperity or the hardships of the various years. And while little is known of the Cunninghams, virtually nothing is known of their slaves.

There are enough letters from the postbellum to reveal that Rosemont, like other plantations, went through tremendous upheaval and that the residents were both unprepared and generally unwilling to accept the changes brought by the collapse of slavery. Cotton continued to be king, because it was only through cotton that plantation owners had any hope of recouping their war loses, much less rebuilding their grandeur. During this period it is likely that Rosemont fell into decay. The gardens began to go untended and the house no longer received constant attention, one of the luxuries of a slave-holding society.

By the late postbellum Rosemont had settled into a system of tenancy. And by the early twentieth century some improvements were again being made on the property. While the garden was not restored, there were at least efforts to reclaim it from the encroaching wilderness. Newspaper articles during this period kept alive the post glory of Rosemont, almost making it a shrine of the lost cause. During this period a number of legends grew up about Rosemont, such as the wood for the house being sent to England and the vast acreage of the Cunningham estate.

As Taylor remarks, "the four pillars of the social order in South Carolina were ancestors, possessions, occupations and education" (Taylor 1942:7). When the house was destroyed in August 1930, the history of Rosemont ended. In a last vain effort to maintain the social order, the descendants of Rosemont sifted through the ashes of the house, scavenging locks, keys, and bits of the house. Other family possessions had long since been sold off or carried away by various family members. Even garden plants were dug up and carried away.

The archaeological research conducted at Rosemont Plantation reveals clearly that the site is eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. In spite of scavenging and the aggressive Piedmont erosion, the remains at the site exhibit clear integrity, with the presence of features and intact architectural remains. The artifacts recovered from the site yield a mean ceramic date almost exactly the same as the mean historic date for the plantation. And while twentieth century artifacts may seem to overwhelm the colonial and early antebellum specimens, this is only an appearance based on the natural increase in material items during the twentieth century.

The examination of the artifact pattern at Rosemont reveals a similarity with other Piedmont sites, although the similar sites tend to be Yeoman or tenant sites. Without more archaeological investigations it is impossible to determine if the patterns at Rosemont are typical of Piedmont plantations, represent the long period of postbellum occupation, or have been affected by other, yet unrecognized, processes.

The artifacts from Rosemont, while perhaps not fitting into a pattern easily recognized at this stage of investigations, do suggest the wealth and prosperity of the Cunningham family over much of its existence. Creamware is found, rather than lead glazed wares, and transfer printed patterns are common during the later periods. Other artifacts, such as personal items, architectural detailing, and clothing objects, provide some sense of the planter elite during the antebellum.

The garden area, while certainly damaged by the loss of plants and years of neglect, still remains a recognizable form. And this garden is the only one still associated with a major Up Country plantation setting.

The major goal for the citizens of Laurens County should be preservation of Rosemont Plantation. This can be accomplished in a variety of ways. It should be clearly recognized that placing the site on the National Register signifies the site's importance to the state, it does not afford the site any real legal protection.

Consequently, it would be useful for the preservation community to obtain either a protective (i.e., conservation) easement for Rosemont, or receive the property as a remainder interest for conservation purposes. While not intending to provide legal advice, a conservation easement provides both income tax and estate tax savings, as does the gift of a remainder interest in the site. With the gift of an easement, the owner and his heirs relinquish some rights to the property, although they continue to own the property. The gift of a remainder interest differs for conservation purposes from that of an easement in that the owner gives the property to the charity, upon his or her death, reserving the right to live on the property until that time. In fact, it is possible for a land

owner to do both -- give both a conservation easement and a conservation remainder and this dual contribution provides both the best protection and the greatest economic benefits to the owner (see Small 1988).

Beyond this form of long-term site protection, there are additional steps which should be taken to ensure that Rosemont is not damaged by the public. These include an aggressive policy of posting the property and periodic inspections to determine the site's condition. There are differing views on the effectiveness of signage to protect archaeological sites. Some believe that such notices do little more than point out areas which may be fruitful for site looters. While there is some truth in this, the Rosemont site is already well known and it is unlikely that protective signage would alert additional collectors to its location. Such signage, however, would indicate the intent of the property owner to protect the site from vandals. Periodic visits would serve to reinforce the intent to prosecute trespassers.

The site today is essentially stable. There are no standing architectural ruins and those below ground are largely protected from disturbance and further erosion. Site stability could be enhanced by the careful removal of trees growing in around the cellar and various brick piles at the site. This should be done by topping the trees and gradually cutting them down to the base, not by allowing them to fall on the brick piles or causing the root mass to dislodge soil. The current ground cover is adequate to prevent erosion from limited site use and natural forces.

Rosemont is somewhat isolated from nearby communities which could promote the site's historical importance. However, it is a significant historical site in the community. More ambitious projects at the site would require the present owner to consent to at least occasional public use of the site area, perhaps on a restricted basis (i.e., through pre-arranged tours), or to donate the site outright through the mechanisms discussed above.

Such use would require that the site be thoroughly cleaned and paths created (or preferably re-created) with appropriate interpretative signage, benches, and passive park areas. For such an effort to be successful, the local community must take "ownership" of the site, keeping the area clean and well policed, reducing the administrative burden on the property owner. Naturally, all such work *must* be conducted under the direction of historic landscape and archaeology consultants to avoid damage to sensitive site elements and ensure accuracy of interpretations.

Local garden clubs could support such activities by donating time and materials to renovate, if not actually restore, the Rosemont gardens, also under professional guidance. Initial efforts could include pruning and cleaning the garden areas. More intensive efforts could include plantings of an authentic nature, emphasizing low maintenance perennials.

Future archaeological work at Rosemont is not only possible, but strongly recommended. Research could profitably continue in a number of areas, including:

The Main House - additional archaeological work can be used to document the architectural detailing of the main house, its precise location, and the artifacts associated with its occupants. Such work could also provide additional clues on its construction date and possible enlargement with the rear extension.

Associated Structures - future work should also conducted on the other six structures currently identified around the main house. This work would identify the function of structures such as those to the east of the main house, and explore the construction and artifact pattern associated with the dependencies. Of particular interest may be the library, once the home of Ann Pamela Cunningham. The "smoke house" is also worthy of additional

attention, especially given the large quantity of animal bone associated with the area.

Yard Area - archaeological work should continue the exploration of the various artifact scatters identified in the yard of the Rosemont structure and examining refuse disposal practices. In addition, this work should continue the search for the Rosemont kitchen.

Landscape Archaeology - further work should continue to explore the pathways currently identified for the site, and seek to find additional paths associated with the main area and the gardens. Such paths may be brick, as the one is to the west of the main house, although they may also be packed earth, gravel/stone, or even cinders. Archaeological research (i.e., excavations) may also be used to identify or verify the location of at least some plantings. For example, excavations should be able to verify the location of "missing" trees in the allées.

African American Archaeology - currently little is known of the African American slaves who lived on Rosemont. Additional survey could be conducted to expand the data base by incorporating larger areas of the extant Rosemont Plantation.

Broad research questions include the economics of the piedmont Rosemont Plantation as compared to other, Sea Island, plantations, the development of the plantation in the colonial period, and the lifestyles of the African American slaves on Rosemont.

It is essential that all future efforts at Rosemont proceed from a broadly defined base of heritage preservation which integrate research, public education, heritage marketing, and heritage tourism. No one component can be successful, in the long-term, without the involvement of the others. And through this multifaceted approach Rosemont can be preserved for future generations of South Carolinians.

SOURCES CITED

Adams, Natalie and Michael Trinkley
1991 *Management Summary of Archaeological Survey on the Vanderhorst Tract, Kiawah Island, Charleston County, South Carolina.* Chicora Research Contribution 66. Chicora Foundation, Inc. Columbia, S.C.

Albert, Alphaseus
1969 *Record of American Uniform and Historical Buttons.* Boyertown Publishing, Boyertown, Pennsylvania.

Bartovics, Albert
1978 The Archaeology of Daniels Village: An Experiment in Settlement Archaeology. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, Brown University, Providence.

Bastian, Beverly E.
1982 *Fort Independence: An Eighteenth Century Frontier Homesite and Militia Post in South Carolina.* National Park Service, Atlanta.

Berry, John M.
1980 *Natural Vegetation of South Carolina.* University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.

Bettesworth, A. and C. Hitch
1981 *The Builder's Dictionary*, 2 vols. Reprinted. Association for Preservation Technology, Ottawa. Originally published 1734, London.

Braun, Lucy
1950 *Deciduous Forests of Eastern North America.* Hafner Publishing, York.

Burnside, Robert
1982 History of Laurens County. In *The Scrapbook: A Compilation of Historical Facts About Places and Events of Laurens County, South Carolina.* Laurens County Historical Society, Laurens.

Byrd, William
1929 *The Dividing Line Histories.* Edited by William Boyd. North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh.

Camp, Wallace J., J.C. Meetze, W.H. Fleming, and L.E. Andrew
1975 *Soil Survey of Laurens and Union Counties, South Carolina.* U.S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, Washington, D.C.

Carrillo, Richard F.
1975 *Historical, Architectural and Archaeological Research at Brattonsville (38YK21), York County, South Carolina.* Research Manuscript Series 76. South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

1976 *The Howser House and the Chronicle Grave and Mass Burial, Kings Mountain National Military Park, South Carolina.*Research Manuscript Series 102. South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

1979 The Kilgore-Lewis Spring Restoration (38GR87): Archaeological, Architectural, and Historical Phase. Ms. on file, Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.

Cheek, Charles D., Amy Friedlander, Cheryl Holt, Charles M. LeeDecker, and Teresa Ossim
1983 *Archaeological Investigations at the National Photographic Interpretation Center Addition, Washington, D.C. Navy Yard Annex.* Soil Systems, Inc., Alexandria, Virginia.

Cooper, Mary Palmer Kelly
1983 *The Early English Kitchen Garden.* Trinity Press, Nashville.

DeBow, J.D.B.
1854 *Statistical View of the United States.* A.O.P. Nicholson, Washington, D.C.

DeVorsey, Louis J.
1971 Early Maps as a Source in the Reconstruction for Southern Indian Landscapes. In *Red, White, and Black*, edited by Charles M. Hudson, pp. 12-30. University of Georgia Press, Athens.

Drucker, Lesley, Ronald Anthony, Susan Jackson, Susan Krantz, and Carl Steen
1984 *An Archaeological Study of the Little River-Buffalo Creek Special Land Disposal Tract.* Carolina Archaeological Services, Columbia. Submitted to U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Savannah District, Savannah, Georgia.

Favretti, Rudy J. and Joy Putman Favretti
1977 *For Every House a Garden: A Guide for Reproducing Period Gardens.* Pequot Press, Chester, Connecticut.

1978 *Landscapes and Gardens for Historic Buildings: A Handbook for Reproducing and Creating Authentic Landscape Settings.* American Association for State and Local History, Nashville.

Ford, Lacy K., Jr.
1988 *Origins of Southern Radicalism: The South Carolina Upcountry, 1800-1860.* Oxford University Press, New York.

Garrow, Patrick
1982a *Archaeological Investigations on the Washington, D.C. Civic Center Site.* Soil Systems, Inc., n.p. Submitted to Historic Preservation Office, Department of Housing and Community Development, Government of the District of Columbia.

1982b Artifact Analysis. In *Archaeological Investigations on the Washington, D.C. Civic Center Site*, edited by Patrick Garrow, pp. 57-167. Soil Systems, Inc., n.p. Submitted to Historic Preservation Office, Government of the District of Columbia.

Garrow, Patrick
1987 The Use of Converging Lines of Evidence for Determining Socioeconomic Status. In *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology*, edited by Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, pp. 217-232. Plenum Press, New York.

Godden, Geoffrey A.
1964 *Encyclopaedia of British Pottery and Porcelain Marks.* Crown, New York.

Haselton, George M.
1974 Some Reconnaissance Geomorphological Observations in Northwestern South Carolina and Adjacent North Carolina. *Geologic Notes* 18(4):60-67.

Hilliard, Sam B.
1984 *Atlas of Antebellum Southern Agriculture*. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.

Huggins, Phillip K.
1971 *The South Carolina Dispensary: A Bottle Collector's Atlas and History of the System*. Sandlapper Publishing Co., Columbia, S.C.

Huneycutt, Dwight J.
1949 *The Economics of the Indigo Industry in South Carolina*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of Economics, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

Jackson, Susan
1986 Artifact Patterns and Site Profiles. In *Home Upriver; Rural Life on Daniel's Island, Berkeley County, South Carolina*, edited by Martha Zierden, Lesley Drucker, and Jeanne Calhoun, pp. 7-72 - 7-81. The Charleston Museum and Carolina Archaeological Services, Columbia. Submitted to the South Carolina Department of Highways and Public Transportation, Columbia.

Jeter, Paul
1987 *South Carolina Beverage Bottles, 1880-1980*. Published by the author.

Johnson, Thomas F.
1970 *Paleoenvironmental Analysis and Structural Petrogenesis of the Carolina State Belt near Columbia, South Carolina*. Unpublished M.S. Thesis, Department of Geology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

Jones, Olive and Catherine Sullivan
1985 *The Parks Canada Glass Glossary*. National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Ottawa.

Joseph, Joe
1989 Pattern and Process in the Plantation Archaeology of the Lowcountry of Georgia and South Carolina. *Historical Archaeology* 23:55-68.

Kennedy, Fronde
1940 *A History of Spartanburg County*. Spartanburg Unit of the Writer's Program of the Works Progress Administration, Band and White, n.p.

King, Grace
1929 *Mount Vernon on the Potomac*. Macmillan Company, New York.

Kovel, Ralph
1986 *New Dictionary of Marks*. Crown Publishers, New York.

Küchler, A.W.
1964 *Potential Natural Vegetation of the Conterminous United States*. Special Publication No. 36. American Geographical Society.

Landers, H.
1975 Climate. In *Soil Survey of Laurens and Union Counties, South Carolina*, edited by Wallace J. Camp, pp. 62-63. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, Washington, D.C.

Landrum, John Betton O'Neall
1897 *Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina*. Shannon and Company, Greenville, South Carolina.

Laurens County Historical Society
1982 *The Scrapbook: A Compilation of Historical Facts About Places and Events of Laurens County, South Carolina*. n.p., Laurens, South Carolina.

Lewis, Kenneth E.
1979 *The Gillebeau House: An Eighteenth Century Huguenot Structure in McCormick County, South Carolina*. Research Manuscript Series 145. South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

Logan, John H.
1859 *A History of the Upper Country of South Carolina from the Earliest Periods to the Close of the War of Independence*. S.C. Courtney, Columbia.

Lowry, M.W.
1934 *Reconnaissance Erosion Survey of the State of South Carolina*. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, Washington, D.C.

Michie, James L.
1987 *Richmond Hill and Wachesaw: An Archaeological Study of Two Rice Plantations on the Waccamaw River, Georgetown County, South Carolina*. Research Series 203. S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

Miller, George L.
1980 Classification and Economic Scaling of 19th Century Ceramics. *Historical Archaeology* 14:1-40.

Miller, George and Catherine Sullivan
1984 Machine Made Glass Containers and the End of Production for Mouth-Blown Bottles. *Historical Archaeology* 18(2):83-96.

Mills, Robert
1972 *Statistics of South Carolina*. Originally published 1826. The Reprint Company, Spartanburg, South Carolina.

Moltke-Hansen, David
1980 Why History Mattered: The Background of Ann Pamela Cunningham's Interest in the Preservation of Mount Vernon. *Furman Studies* 26:34-42.

Nelson, Lee H.
1968 *Nail Chronology as an Aid to Dating Old Buildings*. Technical Leaflet 48. American Association for State and Local History, Nashville.

News and Courier
1884 *South Carolina in 1884: A View of the Industrial Life of the State*. News and Courier Press, Charleston.

Noel Hume, Ivor
1970 *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

Orser, Charles E., Jr.
1988 *The Material Basis of the Postbellum Tenant Plantation: Historical Archaeology in the South Carolina Piedmont*. University of Georgia Press, Athens.

Orser, Charles E., Jr., Annette M. Nekola, and James L. Roark
1982 *Exploring the Rustic Life: Multidisciplinary Research at Millwood Plantation, A Large Piedmont Plantation in Abbeville County, South Carolina and Elbert County, Georgia*. National Park Service, Atlanta.

Otto, John S.
1984 *Cannon's Point Plantation, 1794-1860: Living Conditions and Status Patterns in the Old South*. Academic Press, New York.

Price, Cynthia R.
1979 *19th Century Ceramics in the Eastern Ozark Boarder Region*. Monograph Series 1. Center for Archaeological Research, Southwest Missouri University, Springfield.

Priess, Peter J.
1971 History Swings on a Poorly Described Hinge: Reflections on the State of Research in Building Hardware. *The Association for Preservation Technology Bulletin* 3(4):31-39.

Racine, Phillip N.
1980 *Spartanburg County, A Pictorial History*. Donning, Virginia Beach.

Ramsay, John
1947 *American Potters and Pottery*. Tudor, New York.

Rembert, David H., Jr.
1990 The Rise and Fall of South Carolina Indigo. *South Carolina Historical Society Carologue*. Winter 1990, 4-5, 14-17.

Rock, James T.
1984 Cans in the Countryside. *Historical Archaeology* 18:97-111.

Root, Waverley
1980 *Food*. Simon and Schuster, New York.

Ruffin, Edmund
1843 *Report of the Commencement and Progress of the Agricultural Survey of South Carolina for 1843*. A.H. Pemberton, Columbia.

Shaffer, Edward
1937 *Carolina Gardens*. Huntington Press, New York.

Shelford, Victor E.
1963 *The Ecology of North America*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

Singelton, Theresa
1980 *The Archaeology of Agro-American Slavery in Coastal Georgia: A Regional Perception of Slave Household and Community Patterns*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida, Gainesville. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.

South, Stanley
1964 Analysis of the Buttons from Brunswick Town and Fort Fisher. *The Florida Anthropologist* 17:113-133.

1977 *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*. Academic Press, New York.

Small, Stephen J.
1988 *Preserving Family Lands: A Landowner's Introduction to Tax Issues and Other Considerations*. Powers and Hall, PC, Boston.

Spencer-Wood, Suzanne M. and Scott D. Heberling
1987 Consumer Choices in White Ceramics: A Comparison of Eleven Early Nineteenth Century Sites. In *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology*, edited by Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, pp. 31-54. Plenum Press, New York.

Sprague, Roderick
1981 A Functional Classification for Artifacts from 19th and 20th Century Historical Sites. *North American Archaeologist* 2:251-261.

State Department of Agriculture, Commerce and Immigration
1907 *Handbook of South Carolina: Resources, Institutions and Industries of The State*. The State Company, Columbia.

Swanton, John R.
1946 *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*. Bulletin 137. Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D.C.

Switzer, Ronald R.
1974 *The Bertrand Bottles: A Study of 19th Century Glass and Ceramic Containers*. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Parks Service, Washington, D.C.

Taylor, Rosser
1942 Antebellum South Carolina: A Social and Cultural History. *James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Socience* 25(2).

Thane, Elswyth
1966 *Mount Vernon is Ours: The Story of its Preservation*. Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York.

Toulouse, Julian H.
1977 *Fruit Jars, A Collector's Manual With Prices*. Everybodys Press, Hanover, Penn.

Trimble, Stanley W.
1974 *Man-Induced Soil Erosion on the Southern Piedmont, 1700-1970*. Soil Conservation Society of America. Ankey, Iowa.

Trinkley, Michael
1989 *An Archaeological Survey of Phase 1 of the Walling Grove Plantation Development, Ladys Island, Beaufort, South Carolina*. Chicora Foundation Research Series 16. Columbia, South Carolina.

Trinkley, Michael and Debi Hacker
1986 Historic Artifacts. In *Indian and Freedmen Occupation at the Fish Haul Site (38BU805), Beaufort County, South Carolina*, edited by Michael Trinkley, pp. 214-281. Research Series 7. Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.

Wheaton, Thomas R., Amy Friedlander, and Patrick Garrow
1983 *Yaughan and Curriboo Plantations: Studies in Afro-American Archaeology*. Soil Systems, Inc., Marietta, Georgia. Submitted to National Park Service, Archaeological Services Branch, Atlanta.

Wilkes, Marion R.
1947 Rosemont and its Famous Daughter. Ms. on file, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston.

Worthy, Linda
1982 Classification and Interpretation of Late Nineteenth Century Ceramics. In *Archaeology of Urban America: The Search for Pattern and Process*, edited by Roy S. Dickens, pp. 329-360. Academic Press, New York.

Zierden, Martha and Jeanne Calhoun
1983 *An Archaeological Assessment of the Greenfield Borrow Pit, Georgetown County*. The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina.

Archaeological Investigations

Historical Research

Preservation

Education

Interpretation

Heritage Marketing

Museum Support Programs

Chicora Foundation, Inc.
PO Box 8664 ▪ 861 Arbutus Drive
Columbia, SC 29202-8664
Tel: 803-787-6910
Fax: 803-787-6910
www.chicora.org