IN THE SHADOW OF THE BIG HOUSE: DOMESTIC SLAVES AT STONEY/BAYNARD PLANTATION, HILTON HEAD ISLAND

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IN THE SHADOW OF THE BIG HOUSE: DOMESTIC SLAVES AT STONEY/BAYNARD PLANTATION, HILTON HEAD ISLAND

RESEARCH SERIES 40

Prepared For:
Friends of Stoney/Baynard Plantation
The Environmental and Historical Museum of Hilton Head Island

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Custom calls me to 't:
What custom wills, in all things should we do 't,
The dust on antique time would be unswept,
And mountainous error be too highly heap'd
For truth to o'erpeer.

Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*

ABSTRACT

This study presents the results of two years of archaeological research at Stoney/Baynard Plantation (38BU58) on Hilton Head Island by Chicora Foundation. The archaeological investigations focussed on the house slaves' quarters and the kitchen. In addition, testing was performed inside the main house and at a depression where locals believe a well was located.

The goals of this research were to:

- better understand the temporal location and function of the structures;
- gather data from the house slaves' quarter and the planter's kitchen for comparative purposes;
- investigate the architecture and surrounding landscape features; and
- better understand trash disposal patterns.

As a result of these investigations we began to better understand the complexity of nineteenth century plantation landscape. The architectural features uncovered challenged our way of looking at antebellum plantations by revealing that there is a great deal of diversity in design possibly related to adapting to living in the frontier atmosphere of an isolated sea island.

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INTRODUCTION

Background

The Stoney/Baynard ruins are situated on the southwestern end of Hilton Head Island within the modern confines of Sea Pines Plantation. The area is defined by Baynard Park Road and Plantation Drive and is shown on the Beaufort County, Hilton Head Tax Map 17. The site is composed of the massive tabby ruins of the main plantation house and three additional structures. There is limited archaeological and considerable documentary evidence that this is the location of an eighteenth and nineteenth plantation owned by James and John Stoney and later by William E. Baynard.

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

Today the site is a green spaced preserve within the Sea Pines development and is protected from the immediate threats of development. This step has largely aided in preserving the integrity of the site -- the topography and immediate natural surroundings have not been significantly altered (although, of course, the site would have originally been entirely cleared and intentionally landscaped). The ruins themselves, however, are not currently protected from the less obvious, but just as pervasive, effects of natural erosion and deterioration. There has been considerable collapse of the main structure's tabby walls and those still standing evidence some impairment. Portions of main house have recently been capped with a masonry similar to the original tabby in an effort to protect what is left of the remains. In addition, this same masonry was used to elevate one corner of the wall to its original height. This provides visitors with some sense of the original mass of the house. Wood sills were placed in two of the windows and infilled to prevent their collapse.

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

The site was visited by Chicora Foundation, Inc. in 1990, and historic documentation was conducted from December 1990 through January 1991 at the request of Mrs. George Plante who is currently engaged in efforts to preserve the ruins. Subsequent archaeological survey and testing was performed at the site in May of 1991. The results of this field work are reported in Adams and Trinkley (1991). This work focused on identifying activity areas, determining period of occupation, and ascertaining the function of the various structural ruins. Based on the conclusions drawn from this field work, two additional field seasons were scheduled in November 1992 and November 1993. This work focused on two structures: the posited house slaves' quarters and the posited kitchen. In addition, the interior of the main house and a depression thought to represent the location of a well were tested.

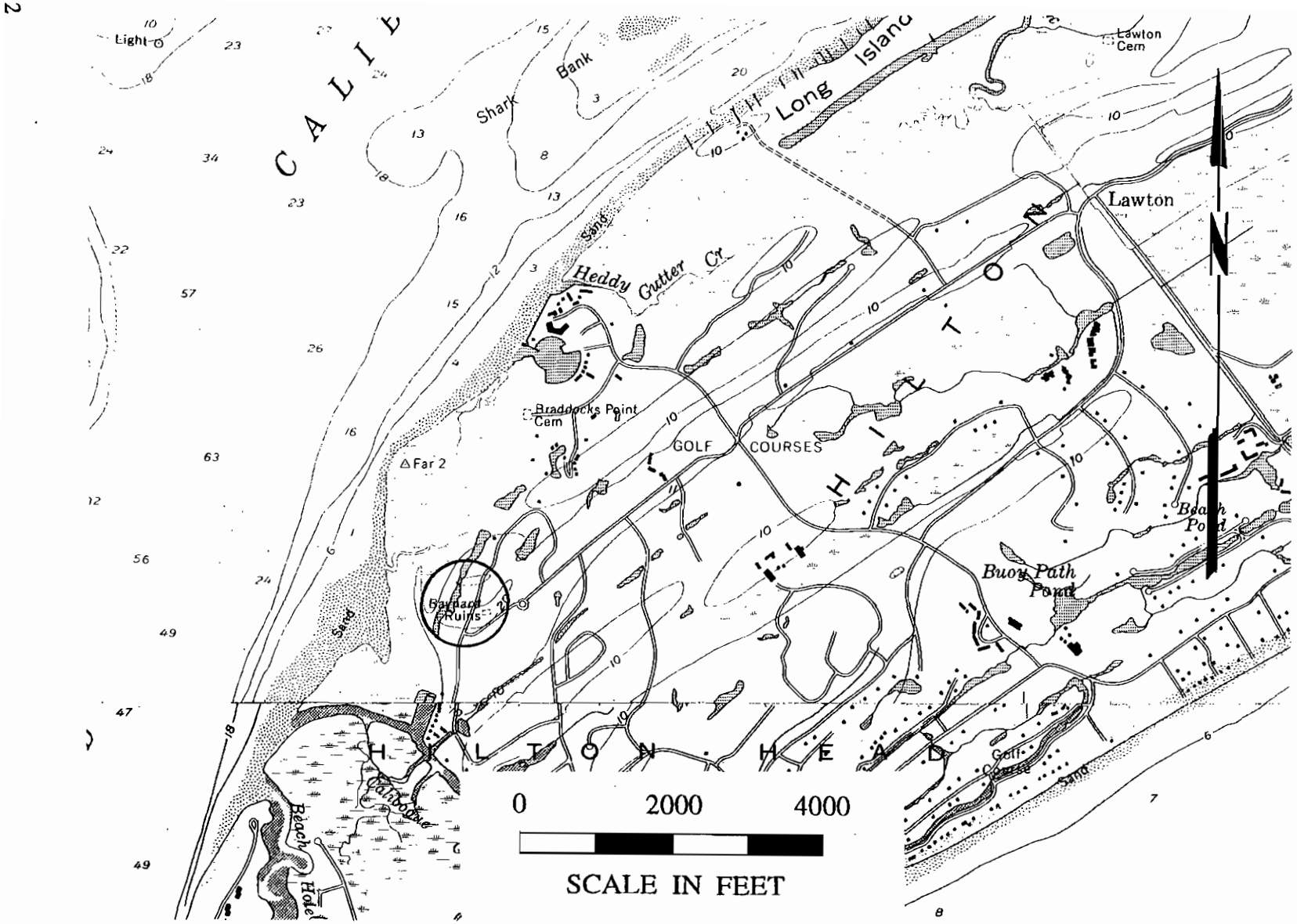

Figure 1. Location of Stoney/Baynard Ruins on Hilton Head Island.

In September 1993 the house was placed on the National Register of Historic Places. The National Register is a list of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture at a national, state, or local level. The Baynard ruins on Hilton Head are one of only three tabby complexes known to exist on the island, and it is the only one representing a main plantation house. While not providing any additional assurance of preservation, or providing additional sources of funding, the designation as a National Register site does recognize the significance of the site both to Hilton Head and to the State of South Carolina.

The field work at Stoney/Baynard ruins (38BU58) was conducted from November 11 to November 24, 1992, and again from November 6 to November 15, 1993, by Michael Trinkley and Natalie Adams as well as a variable number of volunteers. In 1992, a total of 415 hours were devoted to the field work and 60 hours to field processing of specimens. In 1993, a total of 346.5 person hours were devoted to the field work and 46.5 hours devoted to field processing of specimens. Field processing was performed at The Environmental and Historical Museum of Hilton Head Island by volunteers. Conservation of archaeological specimens is currently in process at the Chicora Foundation laboratory in Columbia.

At the main house a total of 1,139 pounds of rubble were recovered in excavations. At the house slaves' quarters a total of 620 pounds of rubble and 1151 pounds of shell were recovered. At Structure 3 a total of 374 pounds of rubble and 2,841 pounds of shell were recovered. A total of 200 square feet (135 cubic feet of soil) at the main house, 825 square feet (457.5 cubic feet) at the house slaves' quarters, 800 square feet (555 cubic feet) at the kitchen, and 25 square feet (20 cubic feet) at the "well" were excavated.

Scope and Goals

The green spaced Stoney/Baynard main plantation complex contains the home of the plantation owner, a house slaves' quarters, a military structure, and what was originally thought to be an overseer's house, all dating to the antebellum period. It must be noted that during the course of the 1993 field season, it was determined that the posited overseer's house probably represents a plantation kitchen. While a number of archaeological investigations have been performed at field slaves' quarters in the South Carolina low country, the Stoney/Baynard site offers the opportunity to examine the life styles of those persons working among the planter "elite" in a rural context. There are no published reports of investigations at a site such as this. Therefore, the examination of the house slaves' quarters, the main house, and the plantation kitchen provides some "ground breaking" information, or at least, a foundation for future investigations at such sites. Both the owner's kitchen and main house provide a baseline for comparison to the material culture of the house slaves.

The planter's greatest sphere of control was in the main house complex. It is from here which he built his perspective of the plantation world. Therefore, it is expected that the slaves working "in the shadow of the big house" would be more strongly affected by this perspective than their field slave counterparts. This might result in incorporating aspects of the white world into their own lives, such as a desire to possess fine ceramics, crystal goblets, or elegant clothing. Although they may have been expected to dress in a manner acceptable to the planter since they were working in the main house, historical documents indicate that while slaves desired to have "fine" things they sometimes saw no value in having possessions that whites took such pride in. One of the goals of the research at Stoney/Baynard Plantation was beginning to better understand how constant exposure to the planter's value system affected the house slaves.

Although affected by the white world, the African-Americans working at the main house were still slaves bound together by a common condition and separated from the planter by their status as slaves and by their cultural differences. Due to this situation there were likely to have been points of resistance. Resistance here is not restricted to the conscious intent to undermine the planter's goals and wishes. Resistance also could have been more subconscious, as in doing things the "traditional African-American way." For instance, the orderly neat plantation complex envisioned by the planter as part of the prevailing Georgian world view was probably compromised by the slaves, perhaps by allowing possessions to accumulate in their yards. Many

African cultures (as well as other cultures in warm climates) used the yard area as an extension of their home. As Dell Upton (1988:357) has stated, the slave quarters were where black and white landscapes intersected and represented the confrontation of world views or cultures. Investigations at Stoney/Baynard can begin to examine the influences of these cultures on each other, since both planter and slave occupied the same small plot of land.

While some of the goals were to answer fairly simple questions, the research at Stoney/Baynard was oriented to understanding the relationship between planter and house slave and their influences one upon another. Research questions include:

- What was the function of the structure represented by the tabby chimney block? While previous work (Adams and Trinkley 1991) concluded that the structure was possibly an overseer's house, it was believed that a larger collection of artifacts and a better understanding of the architecture was needed to better support that conclusion.

- What was the function or source of the depression or "well"? While local lore had described the depression as a well, was it a well or simply a hole left by a tree fall?

- What was the range and intensity of occupation at the main house? Can the artifacts provide a clear date of initial occupation? Can they identify periods of more intense use? What was the terminal date of occupation?

- What is the terminal history of the main house? Were personal belongings still in the house when it was destroyed? Were all of the belongings removed and the house abandoned? Were architectural artifacts salvaged from the house during the Civil War as was a common practice?

- How was the basement of the main house used and how was it constructed? Was the basement used for storage, to house slaves, or for some other purpose? What type of floor did the basement have?

- What were the trash disposal patterns at the house servants' quarters and the tabby chimney block? Was the yard area kept relatively clean, was it cluttered, or was garbage kept hidden in areas not within view of the main house?

- What types of landscape features were there around the house servants quarters and the tabby chimney block structure?

- How does the house slaves' assemblage compare to that of the owner? How does the value of the ceramics differ? What types of food were the house slaves and owner eating? How does this diet compare to the diet of field slaves and freedmen at other Hilton Head Island sites?

- What does the artifactual makeup at the house slaves' quarters indicate about the household(s) living there? Is there evidence of men, women, and children? What kinds of activities were they engaged in? Where did these activity occur?

- Does the Stoney/Baynard main house complex reflect a "typical" complex layout? Is the architecture typical or unusual in some way?

Curation

The field notes, photographic materials, and artifacts from Chicora Foundation's investigations have been curated at the Environmental and Historical Museum of Hilton Head Island as Accession Numbers 1992.5 and 1993.2. The artifacts from the 1992 (Accession Number 1992.5) excavations at 38BU58 have been cataloged as ARCH 3305 through ARCH 3329 and the 1993 (Accession Number 1993.2) as ARCH 3349 through ARCH 3377 (using a lot provenience system). The artifacts have been cleaned and/or conserved as necessary or are in the process of conservation. Further information on conservation practices may be found in the 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 standards of archival permanence.

NATURAL SETTING

Physiographic Province

Stoney/Baynard Plantation is located in Beaufort County on Hilton Head Island, South Carolina. The island is located between Port Royal Sound to the north and Daufuskie Island to the south. Hilton Head is separated from Daufuskie by Calibogue Sound and from the mainland by a narrow band of tidal marsh and Skull Creek. The island is about 11.5 miles in length and has a maximum width of 6.8 miles and incorporates just under 20,000 acres of highland and 2,400 acres of marsh (Figure 2). Elevations range from sea level to 25 feet mean sea level (MSL) at the top of the highest natural beach ridges (Mathews et al. 1980). The main plantation complex is found at elevations ranging from about 14 to 24 feet MSL, one of the highest ridges of the island.

Hilton Head is situated in the Sea Island section of South Carolina's Coastal Plain province. The coastal plain consists of the unconsolidated sands, clays, and soft limestones found from the fall line eastward to the Atlantic Ocean, an area of more than 20,000 square miles or about two-thirds of South Carolina (Cooke 1936:1-3). Elevations in the Coastal Plain range from just above sea level on the coast to 600 feet MSL adjacent to the Piedmont province. The coastal plain is drained by three large, through-flowing rivers -- the Pee Dee, Santee, and Savannah -- as well as by numerous smaller rivers and streams. On Hilton Head there are two major drainages, Broad Creek which flows almost due west into Calibogue Sound and Jarvis Creek which empties into Mackay Creek just north of Broad Creek. Historically, Calibogue Sound could be viewed from the main house area. Today, that view is obscured by mixed hardwood-pine tree growth.

From Bull Bay southward, the coast is atypical of the northern coastline. The area is characterized by low-lying, sandy islands bordered by salt marsh. Brown (1975) classes these islands as either Beach Ridge or Transgressive, with the Transgressive barrier islands being straight, thin pockets of sand rapidly retreating landward with erosion rates of up to 1600 feet since 1939. The Beach Ridge barrier islands, however, are more common and consist of islands such as Kiawah and Hilton Head. They are characterized by a bulbous updrift (or northern) end.

Kana (1984) discusses the coastal processes which result in the formation of barrier islands, noting that the system includes tidal inlets at each end of the barrier island; the central part of the island tends to be arcuate in shape, while the ends tend to be broken. Hilton Head has the typical central bulge caused by sand wrapping around the tidal delta and then depositing midway down the island. Further, the south end has an accreting spit where sand is extending the shoreline. The central part of the island, however, has experienced a 25 year erosion trend averaging 3 to 10 feet a year (Kana 1984:11-12; see also U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1971). More recent work by Kana et al. (1986) confirms considerable shoreline reorientation.

Hilton Head, however, is also a different shape than most of the other islands since it has a Pleistocene core with a Holocene beach ridge fringe. To understand the historical significance of this situation, it is important to realize that the sea islands and the barrier islands technically are different. The classic sea islands of colonial and antebellum fame (such as James, St. Helena, and Sapelo islands) are erosional remnants of coastal sand bodies deposited during the Pleistocene high sea level stands. They are crudely elongate, parallel to the present day shoreline, and rectangular in outline. Their topography is characterized by gentle slopes, poorly defined ridges and swales, and elevations from 5 to 35 feet MSL. Typical barrier islands include

Figure 2. Hilton Head Island, showing the location of the Stoney/Baynard Plantation on the Beaufort 1:100,000 topographic map.

Pawleys, Kiawah, and Hunting islands. Some islands, such as Hilton Head, Daufuskie, and St. Catherines, have an oceanward fringe of beach dune ridges constructed during the Holocene high sea level stands (Mathews et al. 1980: 65-71; Ziegler 1959). Ziegler (1959:Figure 6) suggests that Hilton Head Island is composed of several sea or erosion remnant islands joined together by recent Holocene deposits.

Stoney/Baynard Plantation is situated on the southwest end of Hilton Head Island adjacent to Calibogue Sound, in an area historically known as Braddock's Point. The site area consists of a relatively level, wooded, sandy ridge with the topography dropping off in every direction. It is surrounded on all sides by residential roads (Baynard Park Road and Plantation Drive) within the Sea Pines development. It is likely that the main house was situated, at least partially, to take advantage of the breeze coming off Calibogue Sound to the north, if not to display the wealth of the owner. Several dirt paths wind through the site providing access to the various building ruins as well as serving as a short nature walk.

Unfortunately, no detailed topographic map has yet been made of the entire site[1], and it is therefore difficult to understand the landscape complexity. As previously mentioned, the structures follow the orientation of a sand ridge which tends roughly southwest-northeast at elevations ranging from 14 to 24 feet MSL. Yet when examined at a more detailed level, it becomes apparent that the builders also had other design elements in mind when the complex was laid out. For example, the main house is not oriented to the ridge, but takes a more formal magnetic north-south orientation resulting in a steep descent with no clear landscaping remnants. The slave quarter and kitchen take off from the northeast corner of the main house, generally following the sandy ridge, but each at a slightly different orientation which seems to allow them to maintain some degree of orientation to the approach to the main house. Our tentative examination of the Stoney/Baynard landscape has revealed that several of the various paths and access roads to the site were likely created using bulldozers which left behind spoil piles to further confuse the natural topography.

Climate

During the early eighteenth century the Carolina low country was described as a paradise, largely to entice potential European settlement. Even in the early nineteenth century the Beaufort climate was described as "one of the healthiest" by Robert Mills (1972 [1826]:377). Later, Harry Hammond wrote that "the sea islands enjoy in a high degree the equable climate peculiar to the islands generally" and that the seasonal variation in temperature "destroys the germs of disease, as of yellow fever and of numerous skin diseases that flourish in similar regions elsewhere" (Hammond 1884:472). Of course, Hammond also mentions that, "doubtless the prophylactic use of quinine has had something to do with the apparently increased healthfulness of this section" (Hammond 1884:474).

A mid-nineteenth century description of the Sea Island climate, while extolling the wonders of autumn, also explored the reality of the long Carolina summers:

> if there is one month in the whole year distinguished above all others for its soft sunny days and refreshing breezes, when the over-wearied denizen, exhausted by the pent-up atmosphere and malarionic nite dews of the long summer weeks, rejoices in the renewed strength and alacrity of body and spirit, it is the month of November (*The Knickerbocker*, January 1843, page 36).

Carolina planters, by the mid-eighteenth century, began to see the connection between malaria and the low-lying swamps, and the descriptions were often more realistic (see Merrens and Terry 1984:548). A proverb popular in England was, "They who want to die quickly, go to Carolina", and a German visitor told

[1] Detailed topographic maps, however, are available for the immediate vicinity of the slave house and the kitchen. These are provided in a following section of this study.

his readers that "Carolina is in the spring a paradise, in the summer a hell, and in the autumn a hospital" (quoted in Merrens and Terry 1984:549). In 1864 Charlotte Forten wrote that "yellow fever prevailed to an alarming extent, and that, indeed the manufacture of coffins was the only business that was at all flourishing" (Forten 1864:588). A letter written in December 1861 is quoted by Walkley,

> between [the fleas] and malarial headache sleep is anything but restful . . . The matted vines trail down into the dank edges of the swamps and the hot sun by day decays them enough to exhale malarious gases by night [Walkley 1905:34].

The major climatic controls of the area are the latitude, elevation, distance from the ocean, and location with respect to the average tracks of migratory cyclones. Hilton Head's latitude of about 32°13'N places it on the edge of the balmy subtropical climate typical of Florida. As a result, there are relatively short, mild winters and long, warm, humid summers. The large amount of nearby warm ocean water surface produces a marine climate which tends to moderate both the cold and hot weather. The Appalachian Mountains, about 220 miles to the northwest, block shallow cold air masses from the northwest moderating them before they reach the sea islands (Landers 1970:2-3; Mathews et al. 1980:46).

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

While the temperature on the Sea Islands are not extreme, the relative humidity is frequently high enough to produce muggy conditions in the summer and dank conditions in the winter. Relative humidity ranges from about 63% to 89% in the summer to 58% to 83% in the winter (Landers 1970:11; Mathews et al. 1980:46).

The average yearly precipitation is 49.4 inches with 34 inches occurring from April through October, the growing season for most sea island crops. The diary of Thomas Chaplin (Rosengarten 1987:196-197) clearly illustrates how important weather was to the planter class. Chaplin began almost every daily entry with a report on the weather noting what effect it would have on the daily work schedule and the status of planting, crop growth, or crop destruction. Weather certainly was an important factor in the financial productivity of a plantation, and Chaplin was concerned enough to try to spot weather trends from year to year and apply the information to his agricultural practices.

Hilton Head Island has approximately 285 frost free days annually (Janiskee and Bell 1980:1; Landers 1970). This mild climate, as Hilliard (1984:13) notes, is largely responsible for the presence of many southern crops, such as cotton. It was also responsible for the production of oranges, lemons, limes, and even bananas on the Sea Islands during the eighteenth century (see Hammond 1884:19; Kemble 1984:113-114; Rosengarten 1987).[2]

Hilliard also points out that "any description of climate in the South, however brief, would be incomplete without reference" to a meteorological event frequently identified with the region -- the tropical hurricane. Hurricanes occur in the late summer and early fall, the period critical to antebellum cane, cotton, and rice growers. These storms, however, are capricious in occurrence:

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[2] By the nineteenth century the climate was changing and it was apparent to many planters that subtropical plants, such as oranges, could no longer be grown easily. This climatological shift even pushed the date for safe cotton planting from late March into mid-April.

> [i]n such a case between the dread of pestilence in the city, of common fever in the country, and of an unexpected hurricane on the island, the inhabitants . . . are at the close of every warm season in a painful state of anxiety, not knowing what course to pursue, nor what is best to be done (Ramsay, quoted in Calhoun 1983:2).

The coastal area is a moderately high risk zone for tropical storms, with 169 hurricanes being documented from 1686 to 1972 (one every two years) (Mathews et al.1980:56). The last Category 5 hurricane to hit this area was the August 27, 1893, storm which had winds of 120 miles and hour and a storm tide of 17 to 19.5 feet. Over 1000 people in South Carolina were reported killed by this storm (Mathews et al. 1980:55). Other notable historic storms have occurred in 1700, 1752, 1804, 1813, and 1885.

Geology and Soils

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

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

Cooke (1936) found that most of Hilton Head is part of the Pamplico terrace and formation, with a sea level about 25 feet above the present sea level. Colquhoun (1969), however, suggests that Hilton Head is more complex, representing the Princess Anne and Silver Bluff Pleistocene terraces with corresponding sea levels of from 3 to 20 feet.

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

Within the Sea Islands section of South Carolina, the soils are Holocene and Pleistocene in age and were formed from materials that were deposited during the various stages of coastal submergence. Sandy to loamy soils predominate in the level to gently sloping mainland areas. The island soils are less diverse and less well developed, frequently lacking a well-defined B horizon. Organic matter is low and the soils tend to be acidic. The Holocene deposits typical of barrier islands and found as a fringe on some sea islands, consist almost entirely of quartz sand which exhibits little organic matter. Tidal marsh soils are Holocene in age and consist of fine sands, clay, and organic matter deposited over older Pleistocene sands. The soils are frequently covered by up to 2 feet of salt water during high tide. These organic soils usually have two distinct layers. The top few inches are subject to aeration as well as leaching and, therefore, are a dark brown color. The lower levels, however, consist of reduced compounds resulting from decomposition of organic compounds and are black. The pH of these marsh soils is neutral to slightly alkaline (Mathews et al. 1980:39-44). Historically, marsh soils have been used as compost or fertilizer for a variety of crops, including cotton, (Hammond 1884:510) and Allston mentions that the sandy soil of the coastal region "bears well the admixture of salt and marsh mud with the compost" (Allston 1854:13).

The antebellum occupants did not always recognize the nature of the soil under their feet, as evidenced by Nordoff's observations upon seeing Hilton Head for the first time in 1863:

> [t]he soil on which the famous long staple cotton was -- and is -- grown, instead of the rich black mould which I expected to find it, is a pale yellow sand, which seems to you useless for agricultural purposes, till you notice that it glistens with white particles, which are the pulverized shells, the lime of which gives the soil its strength and substance [Nordoff 1863:111].

The soils in the immediate vicinity of Stoney/Baynard Plantation consist of excessively drained, rapidly permeable Wando series soils that formed in thick, sandy Coastal Plain sediment (Stuck 1980:Map 105). During the nineteenth century the road network, consisting of sandy paths, was not always easy to travel. In a letter to her sister, Eliza Ann Summers indicates that "[t]he roads are so sandy here that the horses can only walk..." (Martin 1977:8).

The availability of groundwater was of primary importance to historic settlement of the island. Mathews et al. state that "[g]roundwater may well be the most important material economic resource of the Sea Island Coastal Region" (Mathews et al. 1980:31). The principal deep water artesian aquifer is the limestone of Eocene age known as the Santee Formation. Based on 1880 data this head was so great that wells in the Beaufort County area were free flowing at the surface, and on Hilton Head, the head forced water in wells to an elevation of at least 10 feet MSL. By 1971, however, this aquifer was so depleted that no surface flowing water was known, and the head would not force water above mean sea level on Hilton Head Island (Mathews et al. 1980:31-32). Today there is also a serious problem of salt water encroachment. Work by Hassen, however, suggests another source of potable water during both the prehistoric and historic periods. He notes, based on a study of the Ladies and St. Helena islands, that:

> ground water in the shallow aquifer occurs under unconfined conditions, allowing rapid rates of recharge by local rainfall. Water levels in these deposits respond frequently to changes in the rates of rainfall, evaporation, and transpiration. . . . [W]ater levels in shallow wells range from zero to 10 feet below land surface, averaging 3 feet in the study area (Hassen 1985:17).

The historic documents suggest that both deep and shallow wells were common. Roe, discussing February 1863 events on St. Helena Island, mentions that "[n]earby is a settlement of contrabands, and it is not long before trouble ensues as to the taking of water from several wells, which apparently, the colored folks have had in sue hitherto" (Roe 1907:180). Numerous accounts (e.g. Davis 1866:186; Denison 1879:22; Palmer 1885:22) mention the digging of shallow wells, but the best account is by Copp:

> [i]n our camp at Hilton Head, every company had its well, by digging through the sand to a depth of from four to six feet [1.2 to 1.8 meters], empty barrels would be inserted, and the well was complete, with plenty of water: although brackish to the taste it was not as bad as we were frequently obliged to use in our later campaigns [Copp 1911:94].

Even plantations relied on deep wells for potable water. Chaplin comments on his need to dig wells, the unpredictability of such undertakings, and the foul taste when the well fails to penetrate good water (Rosengarten 1987).

Floristics

Hilton Head today exhibits four major ecosystems: the coastal marine ecosystem of land having unobstructed access to the ocean, the maritime ecosystem of the upland forest area of the island, the estuarine ecosystem of deep water tidal habitats, and the palustrine ecosystem of essentially fresh water, non-tidal wetlands (Sandifer et al. 1980:7-9). However distinctly precise they may sound in this discussion, it is important

to remember that in practice one grades into another in such a way that separation can be difficult, as evidenced by Harry Hammond's description:

> here the palmetto meets you, standing often solitary and alone, a conspicuous landmark in the picture. Beyond rise the dark-green turrets of the pine, beneath which a tangled growth of myrtles and vines is found. Sometimes more than one ridge of sand hills . . . must be traversed before the border of the salt marsh is reached. The salt marshes, their stiff green reeds rising out of the black ooze visible at low tide, and at the flood apparently floating on the water, with here and there a stray palmetto or a group of undersized live-oaks, their limbs covered with the long gray moss, form the scarcely varying framework of all landscapes among the sea islands. Everywhere these marshes are penetrated by salt rivers and creeks of greater or less width and depth, and surround islands which vary from a few acres to many square miles in area (Hammond 1884:16).

The coastal marine ecosystem consists of that area from the dunes extending seaward to the level of extreme low spring tide so that there are both intertidal and subtidal components. This ecosystem shelters a number of food resources, such as sea turtles, resident and migrational species of fish, marine, and pelagic birds, and several sea mammals, including dolphins, whales, and the manatee. Traditionally, this open water environment has not been thought particularly important to the sea island planters or slaves. It seems likely, however, that use varied greatly depending on the plantation, the ease of deep water access, and the ability of either whites or blacks to break free from other activities. The deep water areas, for example, provided excellent sources of fish such as drum, sharks, blackfish, sheepshead, cavally, and sea bass. Rosengarten (1987:130) observes that the drum were a particularly important food source and that a "side of drum" might be given as a gift.[3] Sheepshead were considered sufficiently important for the St. Helena Lands End planters to create artificial feeding grounds for them. McKee, in his history of the 144th Regiment, does describe the "capture" of a 200 pound turtle which brought $5.00 on the Hilton Head market. He continues:

> soldiers with hunter instincts learning of this habit of the turtle [laying eggs in the dunes] would get a "leave of absence" for the night and following down the beach would note turtle tracks leading across the beach toward the sand hills and following would find Mrs. Turtle. Laying hold of her shell they would proceed to turn her on her back and then search for others. Sometimes several would be found in the course of the night. In the morning a wagon would be procured and the night's "find" would be gathered up (McKee 1903:166).[4]

Mathews et al. (1980) suggest that the most significant ecosystem on Hilton Head is the maritime forest community. This maritime ecosystem is defined most simply as all upland areas located on barrier islands and limited on the ocean side by tidal marshes. On sea islands the distinction between the maritime forest community and an upland ecosystem (essentially found on the mainland) becomes blurred. Sandifer et al. (1980:108-109) define four subsystems, including the sand spits and bars, dunes, transition shrub, and maritime forest. Of these, only the maritime forest subsystem is likely to have been significant to either the historic occupants and only it will be further discussed. While this subsystem is frequently characterized by the dominance of live oak and the presence of salt spray, these are less noticeable on the sea islands than they are on the narrower barrier islands (Sandifer et al. 1980:120).

The barrier islands may contain communities of oak-pine, oak-palmetto-pine, oak-magnolia, palmetto,

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[3] Frances Anne Kemble (1984:307) remarked upon first seeing the drum that it was the "biggest fish food I ever saw" and that it must the "first cousin to the great Leviathan."

[4] The collecting of turtle eggs was also practiced by those before the Union troops. Rosengarten (1987:131) for example mentions that Chaplin, during one outing, robbed more than 400 eggs from nests on the beach.

or low oak woods. The sea islands, being more mesic or xeric, tend to evidence old field communities, pine-mixed hardwoods communities, pine forest communities, or mixed hardwood communities (Sandifer et al. 1980:120-121, 437). Several areas of Hilton Head evidence upland mesic hardwood communities, also known as "oak-hickory forests" (Braun 1950). These forests contain significant quantities of mockernut hickories as well as pignut hickory. Other areas are more likely to be classified as Braun's (1950:284-289) pine or pine-oak forest. Wenger (1968) notes that the presence of loblolly and shortleaf pines is common on coastal plain sites where they are a significant sub-climax aspect of the plant succession toward a hardwood climax. Longleaf pine forests were likewise a common sight (Croker 1979).

Robert Mills, discussing Beaufort District in the early nineteenth century, stated:

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

He also cautions, however, that "[s]ome parts of the district are beginning already to experience a want of timber, even for common purposes" (Mills 1826:383) and suggests that at least 25% of a plantation's acreage should be reserved for woods. On Stoney/Baynard Plantation, it is reasonable that those areas of poorest drained soils were never exploited for cultivation but were left in woods. These areas were probably not opened for cultivation until the twentieth century, after extensive late nineteenth and early twentieth century logging.

A letter written from Hilton Head Island in November 1861 provides a very descriptive view of the nineteenth century landscape as seen by a northern solder:

> [h]ere we are, surrounded by cotton, sweet potatoes, corn, beans, mules, oranges, palmetto trees, Southern pines, niggers, palm and peanut, with here and there a live oak. . . . [T]he island is one great pine plain, interrupted only by an occasional swampy run (quoted in Eldridge 1893:69).

This account suggests that the vegetation on Hilton Head was intensively affected by farming and logging as early as the nineteenth century. In examining maps from the 1860s and 1870s (see Figure 5, below) much of the land adjacent to the Stoney/Baynard main settlement and slave row appears to be either cultivated or in pasture. Only narrow strips of land appear to be wooded and may represent low lying swampy drainages. As a result, the Eldridge quote seems to provide an accurate account of the visual landscape.

The estuarine ecosystem in the Hilton Head vicinity includes those areas of deep-water tidal habitats and adjacent tidal wetlands. Salinity may range from 0.5 ppt at the head of an estuary to 30 ppt where it comes in contact with the ocean. Estuarine systems are influenced by ocean tides, precipitation, fresh water runoff from the upland areas, evaporation, and wind. The tidal range for Hilton Head Island is 6.6 to 7.8 feet, indicative of an area swept by moderately strong tidal currents. The system may be subdivided into two major components: subtidal and intertidal (Sandifer et al. 1980:158-159). These estuarine systems are extremely important to our understanding of both prehistoric and historic occupation because they naturally contain a high biomass (Thompson 1972:9). The estuarine area contributes vascular flora used for basket making, as well as mammals, birds, fish (over 107 species), and shellfish.

These resources were important to the plantation whites since they served to relieve the tedium of the normal diet. Chaplin, on St. Helena Island, remarks in the mid-nineteenth century of collecting crabs, oysters, prawns, flounder, mullets, and wading birds. These resources were even more important to the slave population, since they often supplemented their rations by hunting and fishing. Tourtellotte comments that in August of 1862, "fresh fish in plenty . . . could be purchased in abundance from the floating horde of

contrabands" (Tourtellotte 1910:41). He also puzzled over the African-Americans' habit of fishing at night, commenting that "[m]any in the rank and file felt sure the coffee colored contraband who felt obliged to do his fishing at night was none too loyal" (Tourtellotte 1910:43). Joyner, however, quotes Waccamaw Neck planter J. Motte Alston who reported that slaves,

> would usually go to the seashore and lay in a supply of fish and clams. Large numbers of mullet were caught at night in cast nets, and sacks full brought home (Joyner 1984:130).

Shellfish, crabs, and shrimp are occasionally mentioned in nineteenth century accounts such as the 1867 letter from Hilton Head resident Eliza Ann Summers:

> [w]e are not going to eat any more oysters after this month. We are eating fresh fish and crabs every day, and the people bring us prawns [shrimp] which are very nice. They are about as long as your finger, are red like a lobster and taste very much like one' (Martin 1977:68).

They were equally plentiful in the creeks of nearby St. Helena (Rosengarten 1987), while further to the south, Kemble reported that "the waters round the island are prolific in shellfish, oysters, and the most magnificent prawns I ever saw" (Kemble 1984:257).

The last environment to be briefly discussed is the freshwater palustrine ecosystem, which includes all wetland systems, such as swamps, bays, savannas, pocosins, and creeks, where the salinities measure less than 0.5 ppt. The palustrine ecosystem is diverse, although not well studied (Sandifer et al. 1980:295). A number of forest types are found in the palustrine areas and attract a variety of terrestrial mammals. On Hilton Head the typical vegetation consists of red maple, swamp tupelo, sweet gum, red bay, cypress, and various hollies. Also found are wading birds and reptiles such as the cooter. It seems likely that these freshwater environs were of particular importance to the prehistoric occupants but probably of limited importance to historic occupants, who tended to describe them in the nineteenth century as "impenetrable swamps".

THE HISTORIC RECORD

Like most plantations, the Stoney/Baynard tract has attracted little scholarly interest among historians. This is at least partially because the owners, outside their brief and local fame, are relatively insignificant players in the broad drama of colonial and antebellum South Carolina history. Perhaps of even greater influence, the owners left behind relatively little documentary evidence of their influence or actions. There are no plantation journals or day books. There are no diaries describing their lives on Hilton Head or the passing of the various agricultural seasons. The few accounts which have been identified are annoyingly vague or incomplete. Even the more "routine" documents, such as slave and agricultural schedules created by the federal government, offer limited and often confusing evidence. There is very little for either the economic or social historian to study or manipulate. As might be expected, a great deal of local legend has filled this vacuum of hard data. Some oral history is almost certainly accurate, while other remembrances are distorted by time and desire.[5]

Consequently, while we are able to provide some basic information concerning the plantation -- its acreage, the crops grown, the layout of main buildings as shown on several maps -- and some basic information on the owners -- how they were related, when they died, how the plantation fit into their other holdings -- we are unable, using the historical documents, to provide much of a picture of life. We are certainly unable to provide any understanding of slave life on the plantation.

Some historical archaeologists, faced with this bleak historical view, might turn their backs on the plantation fearing that the historical records are simply inadequate to provide the requisite supportive documentation. We have, in fact, even heard archaeologists comment that historical sites were likely not eligible for inclusion on the National Register "since there are so few historical resources."

This view, however, incorporates an exceptional fallacy of logic. Expressed a different way, these colleagues may be seen to be arguing that a historic site is either worthy of attention (i.e., is "significant" or "eligible for inclusion on the National Register") because there is historical documentation or that the site is not worthy of attention since there is limited historical documentation. This is a fallacy of false dichotomy, which develops from an exceedingly dangerous conceptual device. Dichotomies, when perfectly drawn, consist of mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive parts. There is no overlap, no opening in the middle, and nothing omitted at either end. Unfortunately, these requirements, so easy in math, are very difficult to satisfy in empirical inquiry. Simply put, a site can warrant additional scholarly attention without having a mass of historical documentation. There is no "either...or" dichotomy, no matter how simple such an existence would make life.

This problem is not just the result of faulty pedagogical practice -- it also reflects a false dichotomy deeply embedded in many frames of reference. Historical documentation makes the archaeologist's life easier. Providing "hard data" to fall back upon, documentation allows the archaeologist to dig more and think less. In the absence of historical data, the archaeologist must actually use his or her birthright -- the ability to reconstruct the past using evidence in the ground.

Such an activity, of course, is fraught with equally frightening opportunities to fall into fallacies of

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[5] Examples of previous historical commentary about the Stoney/Baynard Plantation, much of which is incorrect legend, is provided by Adams and Trinkley (1991:18-19).

factual verification (such as offering pseudo, irrelevant, or most commonly, negative proof), fallacies of generalization (often arising from inadequate statistical sampling), and fallacies of causation (such as the reductive fallacy which reduces complexity to simplicity) to name but a few. Whatever the blunders committed, however, they are the result of an effort to examine all aspects of the past -- even those which resist examination through "traditional" historical techniques. This is an especially important issue since many historical sites with less than suburb historical documentation can tell us a great deal about the lives of the "invisible people," such as the African-American slaves.

History and historical sources, regrettably but understandably, are most often written by the powerful, the wealthy, and the literate. In antebellum South Carolina this means that history and the historical documents we rely on today were produced by the white plantation owners. They were rarely produced by the white yeoman farmer, the free black, the enslaved African-American, or the settlement Indian. History, then, takes on a very peculiar appearance. Archaeological studies (as well as good historical research) can provide a balance, allowing us to glimpse the lives of the "invisible people."

What Does History Tell Us About the Stoney/Baynard Plantation?

Although mentioned by explorers much earlier, the formal history of Hilton Head begins with the granting of a 48,000 acre barony[6] to John Bayley on August 16, 1698 (Smith 1988:110-112).[7] Smith notes that the original John Bayley (also spelled Bayly, Bailey, and Baily) apparently never came to Carolina to take possession of his 12,000 acre Hilton Head Island barony. At his death, the title and the lands passed to his son, also named John. The son, perhaps desiring to see at least some of the wealth inherent in the barony, executed a power of attorney with Alexander Trench of Charles Town in 1722 empowering him to dispose of the lands (Smith 1988:110-111). Holmgren (1959:46-47) notes that Trench began to acquire title, or use much of Bayley's property, and several eighteenth century maps refer to Hilton Head as "Trench's Island" (see 1729 Francis Swaine's "Port Royal" map and 1777 J.F.W. Des Barres' "Port Royal in South Carolina"). Of course, the power of attorney signed by John Bayley did allow Trench to "take possession" of the lands in order to sell them (Smith 1988:111).

Whether Trench was successful in selling portions of Hilton Head is not clearly known, although it was not a good time to be investing in property. While peace was present at the regional level, the Proprietors continued to have disputes with the populace, primarily over the colony's economic stagnation and deterioration. In 1727 the colony's government virtually broke down when the Council and Commons were unable to agree on legislation to provide more bills of credit (Clowse 1971:238). This, coupled with the disastrous depression of 1728, brought the colony to the brink of mob violence. Clowse notes that the "initial step toward aiding South Carolina came when the proprietors were eliminated in 1729" (Clowse 1971:241).

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

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[6] Technically, as a landgrave, Bayley received four baronies of 12,000 acres each, for a total of 48,000 acres. Hilton Head was but one of the four.

[7] To place this in a more regional framework, the town of Beaufort, while founded in 1711, did not see structured settlement until 1717. Even as late as 1720 there were few actual residents (John Milner Associates 1979:1).

The property eventually to be included as the Baynard Plantation incorporated three parcels, numbered 45 through 47, totaling 1,238 of the 14,924 acres. A series of notations on the reverse of the plat indicates that "lots" 45 and 47 were "formerly leased by John Gray," while "lot" 46 was "formerly leased by John Gambol." Both individuals were also lessee's of a number of tracts on Hilton Head, although it seems likely that this activity was more related to speculation than any agricultural activity.

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

The eventual disposition of the Bayley property is not clearly understood, although the Bluffton Historical Preservation Society suggests that the property was purchased about 1793 by Captain John Stoney based on his obituary which mentions Hilton Head property (Betsy Caldwell, personal communication 1991). By the early nineteenth century the property was owned by either James Stoney outright or as a tenant-in-common with his brother, John Stoney (sons of Captain John Stoney). The few deeds available indicate that as early as 1811 John Stoney, a merchant in Charleston, and James Stoney, a planter on Hilton Head Island, were purchasing large tracts of land and slaves (Charleston County RMC, DB O7, p. 71; C8, p. 365; C9, p. 179; C9, p. 185). The Braddock's Point[8] property was passed to one, or both brothers as heirs of Captain John Stoney.

The legal documents remaining clearly indicate that the two brothers were equal partners in the venture (Charleston County RMC, DB C9, p. 179), with each entitled to one moiety or a half-interest in the combined property and slaves. During this activity, the brothers purchased Bayley's lots 10, 15, 16, 17, 18, 25, 26, and 27, amounting to over 2500 acres, as well as close to 100 slaves. The exact purpose of the partnership is unknown, although it is likely that the brothers were engaging in land and slave speculation, perhaps with the ultimate goal of having James Stoney operate the plantations while his brother, John, handled the factorage of the cotton. Regardless, there is good evidence that whatever was intended, the venture ended in disaster.

An 1838 Federal hydrographic map of Hilton Head is the earliest plat found of the Stoney/Baynard tract (Figure 4). This map shows the main house with a smaller structure just to the northeast. Due north of the main house, along the shore, is another building with a second further inland. To the east are what appear to be 22 slave houses in two rows with a structure at the northeast end which may be a driver's house. Since this map was prepared by the predecessor of the National Ocean Survey, it was intended to be used for coastal or near shore navigation. Consequently, only those landmarks which were close enough to the shore, and large enough to be readily identified, were likely included. While certainly accurate (by the standards of the day) this means that there are many structures on the plantation which would not be included.

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[8] Braddock's name is attached to the area rather late. Both Mouzon in 1775 ("Accurate Map of North and South Carolina") and DeBrahm in 1780 ("Map of South Carolina and a Part of Georgia") refer to the southwestern tip of Hilton Head as "Callibogue Point." It is not until the nineteenth century when references to Braddock appear to occur (i.e., John Wilson's 1822 "Map of South Carolina"). David Cutler Braddock, a "mariner of England" is listed in the St. Helena's Parish Register as marrying Mary Lyford in 1742 and having a child , John Cutler, in October of the following year (Barnwell and Webber 1922:15-16). In December 1743 he was granted Lot 314 in Beaufort (Smith 1908:158). During the 1740s Braddock is also listed as the owner of two schooners out of Beaufort or Port Royal (Olsberg 1973:237, 255). While Braddock's local importance appears to have peaked during the first half of the eighteenth century, it was not until the nineteenth century that his name begins to be commonly associated with the vicinity of Baynard Plantation. The reason for this is not known.

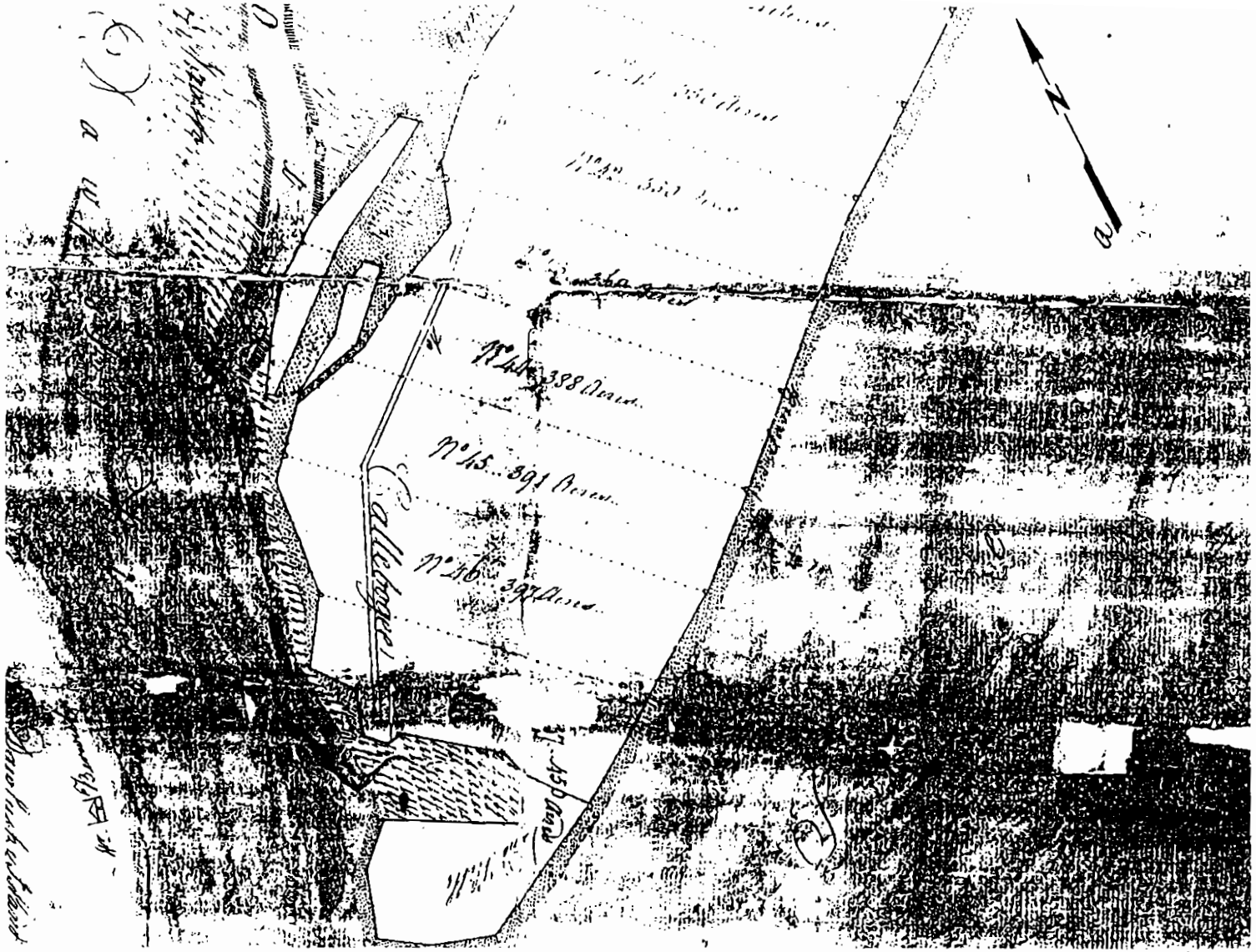

Figure 3. Bayley lots established on Hilton Head in the vicinity of Braddock's Point Plantation (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, MC5-9).

John Stoney died in November 1838. During the following several years, a series of court cases evolved as a result of the estate's indebtedness and inability to satisfy all of the creditors. According to testimony, John Stoney became involved "to a very heavy extent in some commercial engagements and in consequence of the Bankruptcy of the Parties with whom he was connected a debt for a very heavy amount devolved upon him and for the discharge of which he was legally bound" (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Charleston Equity Bills, 1840, #85, Roll CH247). In an effort to repay the creditors, Stoney mortgaged virtually all of his real and personal property to the Bank of Charleston in 1837 for the amount of $400,000. Lands on Hilton Head specifically mentioned included Leamington and Calibogie plantations, as well as over 300 slaves. While the Braddock's Point lands are not mentioned they were clearly incorporated in either this or a different mortgage.

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

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

Shortly after the resolution of these court cases, on December 17, 1845, the Bank of Charleston sold William E. Baynard:

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

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

There is virtually no doubt that John Stoney, probably on the death of his brother James, acquired the plantation at the southwestern tip of Hilton Head Island and that the tract was a part of his estate sold to pay debts. James Stoney's gravestone[9] confirms that he died prior to John. The inscription also confirms that Stoney was living on Hilton Head in 1827. This indicates that a structure of some sort was present for Stoney's use at that date, just as his father's obituary of 1821 indicates that the structure existed six years

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

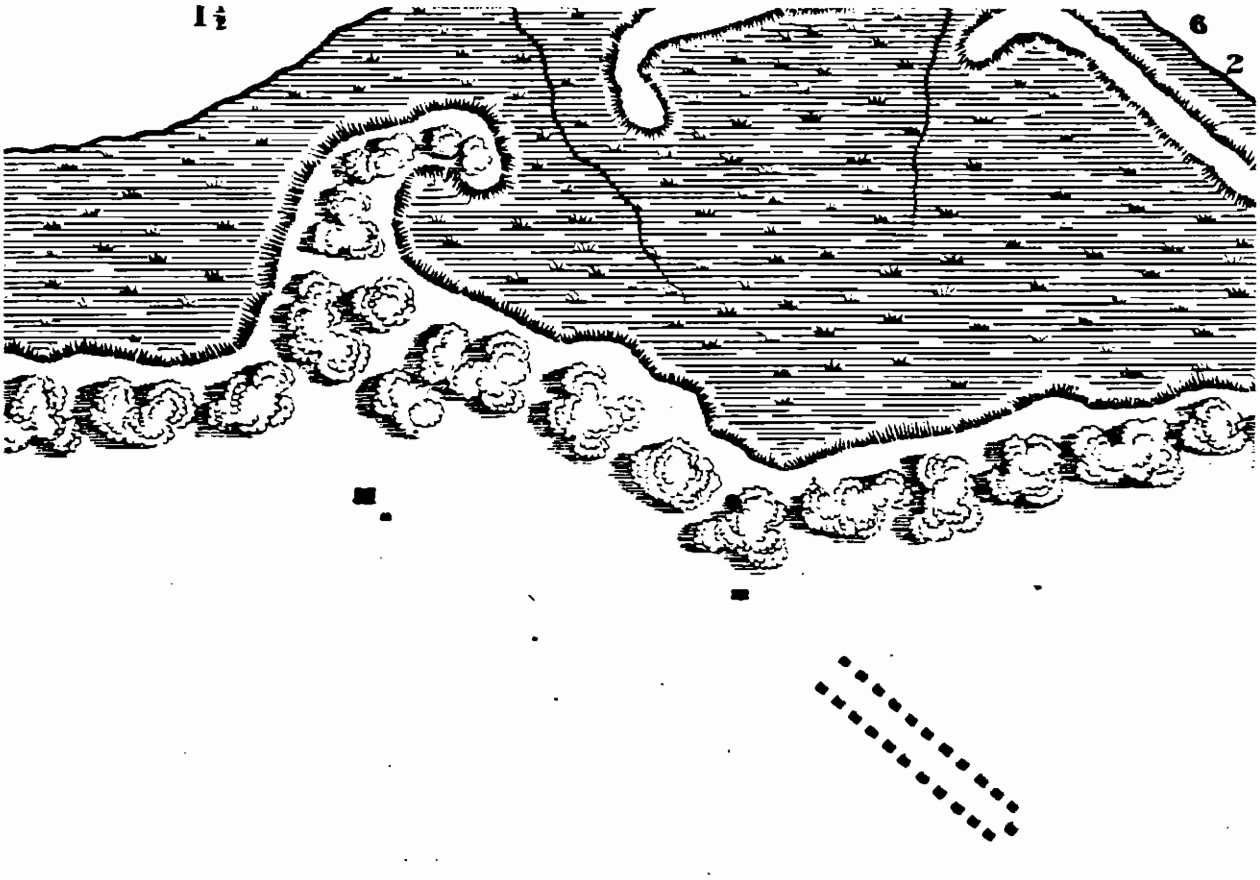

Figure 4. 1838 Federal Hydrographic Map of Braddock's Point or Stoney/Baynard Plantation.

earlier (*Charleston City Gazette*, October 19, 1821).[10]

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

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

[10] Since neither specifically mentions a plantation, it is possible that Stoney's house was at any of the various Hilton Head tracts -- there is no way to tie the structure to any of the archaeological features identified at the Stoney/Baynard site.

by Ephraim.

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

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

It is from this time period that the best plat of the Baynard Plantation has been identified. Prepared in 1859-1860, the "Sea Coast of South Carolina from Mouth of the Savannah River to May River" reveals two clear clusters of plantation activity (Figure 5). The first, situated about 200 feet north of the main island road, consists of two structures centered in a fenced yard area about 250 feet square. This complex is clearly the main house with some associated structure. A less substantial road is shown leaving the main island road and winding northward toward the second cluster of plantation buildings. This second plantation nucleus, consisting

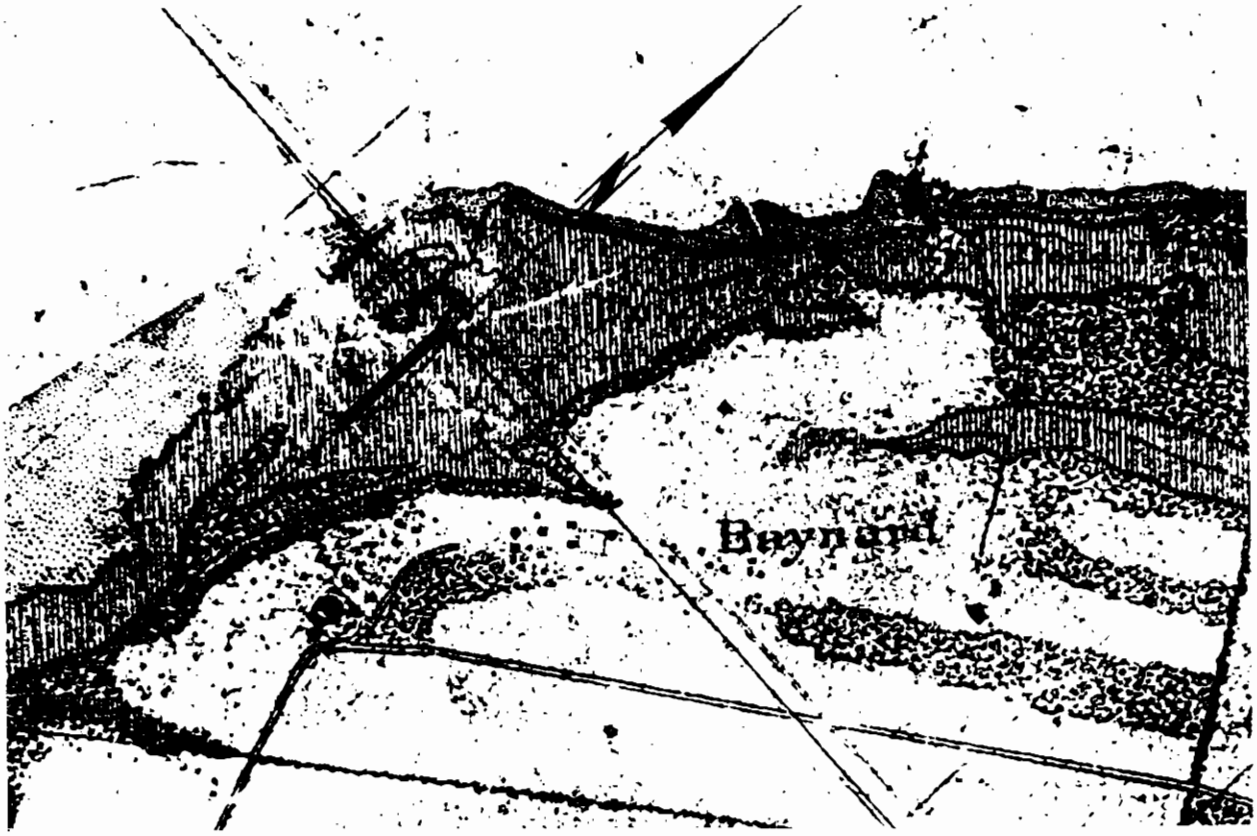

Figure 5. Stoney/Baynard Plantation in 1859-1860.

of 17 structures, is situated about 1200 feet north-northeast of the main house. It extends linearly for 1500 feet and consists of a cluster of seven structures to the southwest and 10 structures to the northeast. Associated with several of the southwestern structures, which are probably plantation support buildings, is a fenced area about 140 by 160 feet. The seemingly smaller structures to the northeast are interpreted to be the slave settlement for the plantation.

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

There are several similarities and differences in the 1838 Hydrographic map and the 1859-1860 map of Stoney/Baynard, suggesting landscape changes during these twenty years:

- the main house and a second nearby structure are present on both maps, but in 1859 the secondary structure is more clearly oriented at an angle to the main house, closely resembling what is present at the site today, and

- slave settlements are present on both maps, but in 1838 there are 22 structures and a driver's house, while by 1859 there are only ten structures.

In summary, it seems likely that the slave population declined and their houses were either not maintained or were torn down. This decline in the slave population is perhaps related to the economic decline of the plantation, although it may also suggest that Baynard did not focus much time or energy on this perhaps insignificant holding.

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

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

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

Although Gillmore discusses the battery at Braddock's Point[11] in some detail, he fails to mention the tabby house which the troops marched immediately past. Perhaps in the early moments of the campaign Captain Gillmore was more concerned with military tactics than with the island's architectural heritage. Alternatively, the house was perhaps shielded from the road by vegetation, masking it from immediate view.

Shortly after the Union reconnaissance there is a mention in the *Official Records* of Confederate activities in the area. Captain Stephen Elliott and Colonel William Martin conducted raids in the Port Royal area to destroy cotton and other essential military and economic supplies. This may be the source for the speculation that Hilton Head plantation houses were burned by Confederate troops, although the only records identified placed this activity in the Port Royal and Beaufort areas, not on Hilton Head. Colonel Martin is also careful to state:

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

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

> [t]hey are quartered in a large plantation House known as the Baynard property. Wild plums and dewberries are very abundant, and they have plenty of bird music . . . . I made a drawing[12] of the House a quaint old building (South Caroliniana Library, Diary of Captain Alfred Marple, June 4, 1864).

While it may be hazardous to infer too much from this brief mention, it is curious that the structure is referred to as "quaint," rather than "grand" and that it is specifically called "old." This may suggest that the mansion, by 1864, was in deteriorating condition, due not only to the war, but also because of the long period of absentee ownership.

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

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

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

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[11] The location of this Confederate battery, at the southern tip of Hilton Head Island, has been destroyed by erosion.

[12] The drawing no longer accompanies the letter and is presumed lost.

by Congress on June 7, 1862). McGuire notes that:

> [u]nder this law Federal tax commissioners proceeded to rebellious districts falling under Union control to assess real estate on local 1860 guidelines, adding a fifty percent penalty for disloyalty. Upon the failure of Confederate owners to pay both tax and penalty, land would be forfeited to the Federal Government and sold at public auction. Elaborate redemption provisions were the act's most distinctive feature (McGuire 1985:23).

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

While used sporadically by the military, the house apparently never served as a school, nor were any of the numerous Northern missionary teachers ever billeted there. In fact, only one letter from a teacher (at nearby Lawton Plantation) has been identified which mentions the plantation. On January 22, 1863, a teacher wrote that:

> Braddock's Point is occupied by the Baynard Plantation, and is the only place on the island which looks like a gentleman's Residence. It is the birthplace of John C. Calhoun (American Missionary Association H5178).

The Calhoun reference, while incorrect, suggests that the house was sufficiently grand to suggest that someone of his importance might have been born there. The comment also places the house in contrast to the other plantations on the island which were characterized by other teachers as poorly constructed, drafty, and little more than farm houses, yet this comment stands in contrast to Captain Alfred Marple's earlier observation.

While nothing more could be found concerning the Baynard mansion in the Tax Commission's files, examining the field notebooks of the surveyors responsible for compiling the various property maps used by tax commission did produce significant results and helped clear up several perplexing questions. A series of notations from December 1867, about four months after the last identified Monthly Reports of Lands, remarked that the "middle door way of the burned mansion on Braddock's Point" was being used as a back sight. The note book also mentions that on:

> December 12th 1867 I took my Boat hands Gabriel Parker, Richard Washington and William P. Finwick and located the ruins of the Braddock Point Mansion

and further describes the house as "burnt Tabby" and "concrete" (National Archives, RG 58, Direct Tax Commission, Hilton Head Island, SC Field Notebooks). This strongly suggests that the Stoney-Baynard mansion burned sometime between the middle of August and the middle of December 1867.

The field notes are also useful in helping to better understand the orientation of the main house. Since it was possible to sight on the "middle of the front door" from the Melrose Plantation house on Daufuskie Island (with a bearing of N46°27'E) and then sight from this door way to a freedman's house at a bearing of S54°35'W, the front door could ***only*** have been on the south facade of the house. There is no other location which would have allowed the sight lines described in the field notebooks.

Baynard's property was held by the federal government until August 2, 1875, when it was redeemed

by his heirs. It was described as the "Braddock Point Place, Bounded North and Northeast by Lawton Place, South east and South by Atlantic Ocean, West and North West by Calibogue Sound containing one thousand acres more or less always intending to conform to the original boundaries" excepting "about forty five acres on Braddock's Point at the South Western extremity of Hilton Head Island and on the Braddock's Point Place . . . which is reserved for Light House Property" (Beaufort County RMC DB 19, p. 441).

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

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

This plat, however, cannot be located in the Beaufort County records and is presumed lost. Baynard's other plantation on the island, Spanish Wells, was sold as a result of this same court case (Beaufort County RMC DB 19, p. 438). The third Baynard plantation on Hilton Head Island, Muddy Creek, was not available for redemption by the Baynard heirs since it was sold to Richard M. Bell by the Direct Tax Commission (Secretary of the Treasury 1882:13).

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

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

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

Certainly by 1939 the plantation had all but vanished, since the 1945 edition of the Bluffton 15' topographic map, based on 1939 aerial photography, shows only the three northeastern-most slave structures

land", this process allowed subsequent work to be better managed by the overseer or slave driver.

About the first of March, as the soil began to warm, the slaves would begin the process of hoeing the fields to create beds or ridges about five feet apart (from center to center) and several feet high. This would ensure that the cotton plants had good drainage. Planting, during the late antebellum, was begun about the first of April. One person drilled the hole, another dropped in a handful of seeds, and a third slave covered the hole. The task[16] for planting was a quarter acre.

Hoeing began when the cotton plant put out its fourth or fifth leaf and most planters attempted to get in at least five, and sometimes eight, hoeing over the course of the growing season. These hoeings allowed the grass to be chopped away from the cotton plants and also provided an opportunity to thin the cotton plants -- first so that the plants were 24 inches apart and later, in mid-July, so that they were no closer than 5 feet. This last thinning created the stand and the task for hoeing was usually half an acre.

Within a few weeks of the last hoeing the cotton would begin to flower and within a few more days the flowers would fall, leaving behind the cotton pods or bolls. Once the bolls began opening the fields would be in cotton for the better part of six months, but before picking the slaves were required to manure the fields at a rate of 40 ox-cart loads to the acre. It would sit in the fields until turned over the following winter. Some planters apparently preferred to manure their fields during the early February field preparations (see Hammond 1884:54).

As soon as the first good "blow," usually in the middle of August when the plant is 4 or 5 feet tall, the slaves were called into the fields and picking began. For Sea Island cotton to be profitable, expert care in the process of picking was required. Either including too much debris, allowing the cotton to become stained, or even handling it too much would dramatically lower the price it would bring. Rosengarten (1987:72) reports that 25 pounds of raw cotton per hand per day was a low average for a fair blow, while 35 to 50 pounds was considered excellent. A good crop might require a dozen pickings and each time there was a heavy opening of bolls, the planter rushed slaves into the field to pick the cotton before it was rained on (which would also reduce its value). Usually the picking was completed by the middle of December.

Miller (1993:159) reports that women and children ranked among the most productive in picking, which involved both manual dexterity and stamina.[17] While cotton production required great labor, it did not need the artisans or other special skills required by rice and indigo. Consequently, many cotton plantations included about as many women and children as men.

After picking, the cotton was placed through five operations to transform it from a raw agricultural product to a semi-finished product ready to be shipped to Charleston and then on to England. The first step was sorting in which a slave would manually separate the white cotton from yellow or stained cotton. The trash would also be removed. The cleaned cotton ginned easier and kept a "higher shine." One slave could typically sort 60 pounds of seed cotton per day. Afterwards the cotton would be whipped by a simple machine called a whipper. This brightened the cotton and helped throw out more trash. After sorting and whipping came the process of ginning to remove the sticky seeds from the lint. Using a foot gin one person could

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[16] On the Sea Islands slaves were assigned a specific quantity of work to do in a day -- a task. The basic task measured 105 feet square, or a quarter acre.

[17] Harry Hammond, in discussing the picking of Sea Island cotton, remarked that the bolls were smaller than the short-stable variety and "instead of being five-lobed, are only three-lobed -- those lobes being so sharp pointed as to prick the fingers to the serious inconvenience of pickers not accustomed to gather it. Of course, the small size of the bolls, requiring so many to make a pound, adds much to the tediousness and expense of harvesting the crop" (Hammond 1884:21).

process 25 to 30 pounds of "freed cotton" in a day.[18] Once ginned, the cotton was laid out in a frame for moting, during which all last vestiges of trash, yellow lint, and cracked seeds would be removed. Finally, the cotton would be packed into round bales, each with a weight of 350 to 400 pounds. Screw presses, such as those used on short-staple cotton, were not used since they damaged the fiber. Once baled, the cotton was stacked in the cotton house until the planter was ready to send the bales to his cotton factor in Charleston or Savannah. Good planters obtained about 245 pounds of ginned cotton, or about 1140 pounds of raw cotton, to the acre. Less successful planters might obtain a third of these figures (Rosengarten 1987:75).

Once in the hands of the factor the cotton was loosely graded by English buyers, often more on the basis of planter's past performance than any clearly identifiable grading process. White Sea Island cotton was divided into common (the great bulk of the crop falling into this category), fine, very fine, and finer cottons, each of which brought higher prices. The yellow cotton brought lower prices, with most planters realizing eight to ten bales of white to one bale of yellow or stained cotton (Rosengarten 1987:75). For the sale of the cotton factors usually took 4% of the proceeds. The remaining sum was used to clear the planter's account of mortgages or loans (provided at a rate of 8 to 12%). Whatever was left was passed on to the planter as "profit" from the sale.

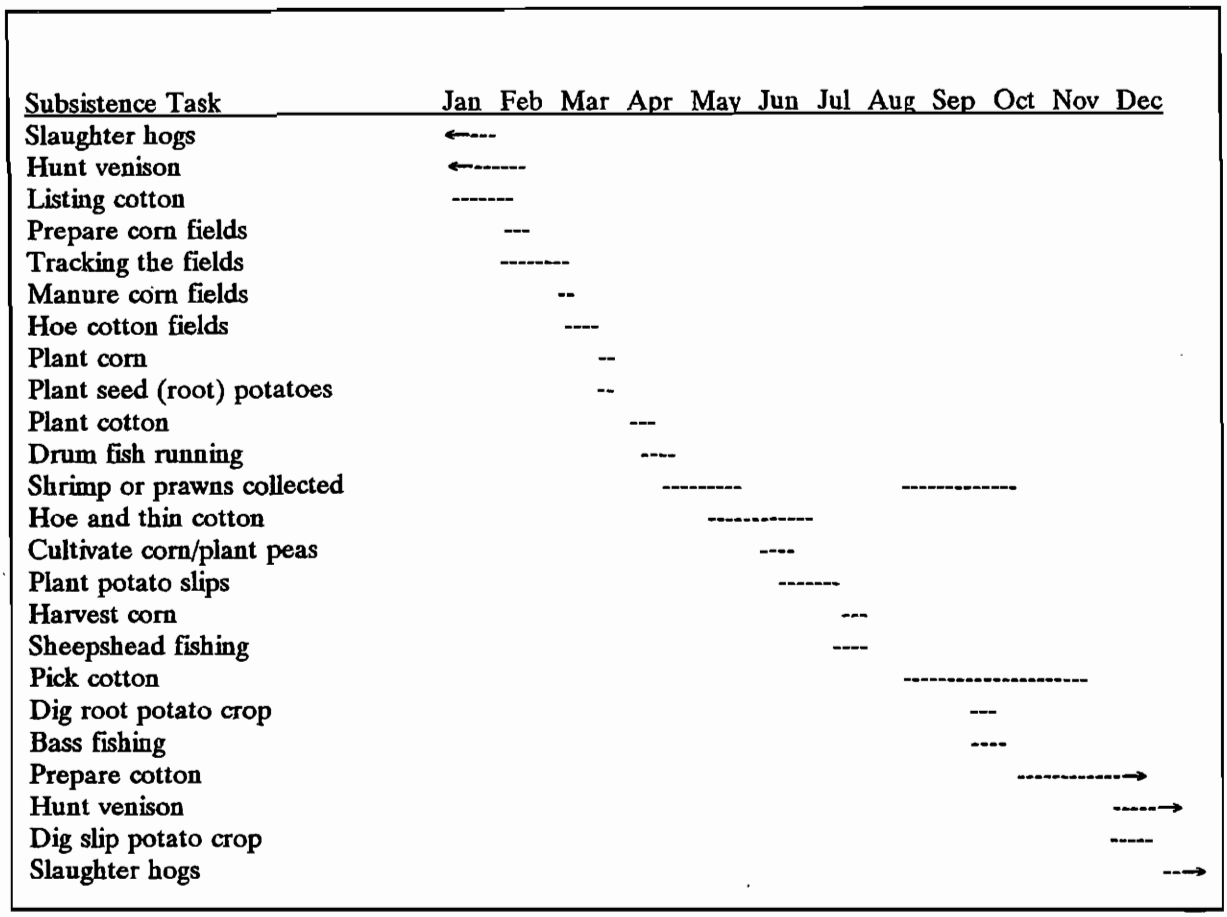
What is not fully described here, however, is the risk of cotton production. The entire crop could be destroyed by rust, blight, hurricanes, caterpillars, late frosts, drought, wet springs, poor processing, poor storage, or fire. It cost the planter between $75 and $150 (not including transportation and factorage costs) to produce one bale of cotton, or between 22¢ and 42¢ per pound, depending on the quality of the fiber (Rosengarten 1987:74). Planters chose this risk because of the exceptional returns -- one good year seemed to make it all worth while. The broad trends found cotton prices expanding from the mid-1790s until 1819, a period when many planters expanded their production of cotton, forsaking earlier efforts at indigo. It was during this period of expansion that the Stoneys purchased lands on Hilton Head in their scheme to profit from the high cotton prices. By 1820, however, this bubble had burst and cotton prices began a steady decline to a low of only 9¢ in 1827. By John Stoney's death in 1838, the 15-year depression had destroyed his financial empire, and in 1845 the plantation was sold to William Baynard. The first year was no better, with the cotton prices in 1845 lower than ever before (or since). Agricultural experts reported that during the early 1840s the "legal interest on the capital of the grower is rarely ever realized" (Whitemarsh Seabrook quoted in Rosengarten 1987:85). Prices fluctuated in 1846 and 1847, before a thirteen year climb which began in 1848. There was general prosperity, at least for the efficient planters, during the 1850s and Sea Island cotton often brought better than 50¢ a pound. In spite of these prices, Rosengarten determined that a modestly successful planter such as Thomas Chaplin on nearby St. Helena Island, even during his best years, saw a return of only 5½% on his agricultural capital (primarily land and slaves). In the poor years (which out-numbered the good, at least for Chaplin) there was a negative return -- or loss. As previously discussed, it is likely that Baynard was more successful than Chaplin, at least producing a modest profit.

Kitchens and House Slaves

Scholar, student, and lay person alike all carry some intellectual baggage concerning the appearance of the antebellum plantation. Obviously, the clearest expression of this is the perception of the plantation in *Gone With The Wind* where the "big house" sits on a distant hill, and society is divided into wealthy owners and happy slaves with perhaps some additional division between the field slave and the house slave. Added to this, although not so clearly referenced, is the belief that the kitchen was set off from the main house by a short distance. Landscape views and plantation organization are often not considered, perhaps because they seem so unimportant in "the big view." When they are considered they are often generalized to

[18] Whitney's saw gin could not be used with Sea Island cotton since its teeth would tear up the long fiber.

Table 1.
Major subsistence activities and their seasons



the point of absurdity -- offering no real assistance in understanding either individual plantations or even local trends.

Historical accounts which mention the kitchen, at least in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, are not common. When they occur, the writer found little reason to elaborate on the description. For example, John Davis, a young Englishman who visited plantations south of Charleston in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, remarked:

> to form an idea of Ocean Plantation, let the reader picture to his imagination an avenue of several miles, leading from the Savannah road, through a continued forest, to a wooden-house, encompassed by rice-grounds, corn and cotton fields. On the right, a kitchen and other offices; on the left, a stable and coach-house; a little further a row of negro-huts, a barn and yard; the view of the eye bounded by lofty woods of pine, oak, and hickory (Jones 1957:79-80).

A Maine visitor to the Medway Plantation, Almira Coffin, wrote in 1851 only that "the washing & cooking kitchens were out of doors in another house nearby" (Jones 1957:190). Mrs. Winchell M. French, one of the

missionaries who arrived at Port Royal after Hilton Head fell to Union troops in 1861, remarked that "the outbuildings here, as everywhere, struck me as most decrepit, dozing in all manner of queer attitudes" (French 1969 [1862]:31). She also complained that:

> Everything here, too, is so ill adjusted. Your kitchen . . . being down six or eight steps, across a hot, sandy yard, up as many more steps into a small room, with either too hot a fire on the hearth, or none, and the sun pouring in at the door, servants who had either "forgot" or found it "impossible," to do your bidding, quarters too dirty after repeated scrapings, and scrubbings, to sit down in, even did the room and the heat allow (French 1969 [1862]:80-81).

Even the slaves themselves apparently found little reason to comment on the kitchens, and Eugene Genovese quotes only one ex-slave narrative, that of Benny Dillard of Georgia:

> De fireplace was a heap bigger den day has now, for all de cookin' was done in open fireplaces den. 'Taters and cornpone was roasted in de ashes and most of de other victuals was biled in de big old pots what swing on cranes over de coals. Dey had long-handled fryin' pans and heavy iron skillets wid big, thick, tight-fittn' lids, and ovens of all sizes to bake in. All of dem things was used right der in de fireplace (quoted in Genovese 1976:545)

Fox-Genovese (1988) also comments that there are few descriptions of kitchens. She provides a few sketchy descriptions from narratives of interviews with the children or grandchildren of Georgia plantation cooks. One daughter remembers,

> I kin jus see dat kitchen now. It warn't built on to de big house, 'cept it was at de end of a big porch dat went from it to de big house. [A] great fire place [stretched] 'most all the way 'cross one end of dat kitchen, and it had racks and cranes for de pots and pans and ovens" (quoted in Fox-Genovese 1988:160).

Cicely Cawtorn's grandmother was a plantation cook. She remembered that the kitchen was separate from the main house:

> I never saw such a big one. The sticks of wood for the fireplace was twelve feet long. [There were hooks all around], two big hooks up in the chimney" (quoted in Fox-Genovese 1988:160).

She remembered seeing legs of lamb and calves' hind quarters on the hooks in the chimney, where they were smoked (Fox-Genovese 1988:160).

Synthesizing the historical understanding, Dell Upton remarked that from the seventeenth century on the:

> . . . fragmentation of domestic functions into a complex of small buildings was one of the most striking aspects of the southern landscape to outsiders, whose published commentaries repeatedly compared planters' residences to small villages. The creation of the southern domestic complex in the 17th century arose from altered relationships among English people. Although it later became a distinguishing mark of slave society, the separation of house and domestic outbuildings antedated the adoption of slave labor throughout the Lowland South.
>
> A typical domestic complex included a kitchen, usually a building similar in size and appearance to a one-room house; a milkhouse or dairy for the cool storage of dairy products, and a smokehouse for the preservation of meats. Larger complexes in the 18th and 19th centuries contained a laundry, often attached to the kitchen; an office; and, in a few instances,

a sunken icehouse, a school, or a small storehouse (Upton 1989:111).

Another modern commentator, Elisabeth Donaghy Garrett, describes the plantation setting:

> In the South, the kitchen was generally a detached outbuilding some twenty to one hundred yards away from the "Big House," thus removing at a distance the incessant commotion of the servants and the bothersome heat, troublesome smoke, and treacherous sparks of the open fire (Garrett 1990:95).

She expands on this, remarking that the kitchen would also "share proximity" with other support buildings essential for its operation, such as the pantry, buttery, and storeroom. A number of modern observers, including Garrett (1990), Rachael Field (1984) and Christina Hardyment (1992), remark that separating the kitchen from the main house was grounded not so much in the fear of fire (since even the main house frequently had large fires burning in virtually every room) but in the desire for more gracious living which flowered at the end of the seventeenth century. Kitchens began to be seen as unpleasant areas, full of smoke and, especially, the smell of food cooking.[19]

Although some English houses, especially town houses or villas, still had kitchens placed in the basement, most preferred to have the kitchen isolated from the house, so as not to damage the air of gracious living. The English architect Robert Adam, for example, sited a kitchen in a pit, sunk a considerable distance from the house and connected to the basement by an underground tunnel. Where food was prepared inside, extreme efforts were made to seal the kitchen from the house, so that no whiff or hint of food preparation would penetrate the elegant rooms.

The arrangement of the kitchen was largely common-sense. In 1845 Jane Loudon recommended an open grate four to eight feet wide and at least two feet deep. By 1851 Gervase Wheeler suggested that the fireplace be on an end, not side, wall. This would make the heat easier to avoid and would also provide more work space (Garrett 1990:99). Others suggested that doors be placed so as not to disturb the draw of the fireplace, while the need for ventilation was recognized as essential.

Turning to the architectural record, it is perhaps surprising that so few standing plantation kitchens have been carefully recorded. Stoney (1938), for example, provided detailed plans for no kitchens and illustrated only two. The Middleburg kitchen was one story of vertical board and batten construction raised on brick piers. There was an end chimney and the building had a minimum number of shuttered windows (Stoney 1938:95). The Oakland kitchen was similar, again one story with a gable roof and a large end chimney. Constructed of horizontal clapboards, the structure also evidenced a central chimney, perhaps indicative of combined building functions (Stoney 1939:168).[20]

Even many archaeologists paid little attention to the plantation kitchen. For example, Ivor Noel Hume remarked that:

> There is little than can be said about the excavation of *kitchen buildings* other than to note that their identification relies largely on the size of their chimneys and their relationship to a larger structure. When found on its own, many a kitchen is indistinguishable from a small home (Noel Hume 1969:138).

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[19] French (1969 [1865]:39) described the kitchen as "hideous," remarking that "visitors were too well bred to ever look toward the kitchen, or take its odious breath."

[20] The combination of kitchen and wash house was apparently common, resulting in a large double central chimney. Such a structure has been excavated at the Vanderhorst Plantation on Kiawah Island (Trinkley 1993b).

If relatively little has been documented concerning the kitchen building itself and its location on the plantation, what of those African-Americans who served there, and elsewhere in the main plantation complex, rather than in the fields? Is there any greater historical documentation regarding their lives?

Captain Basil Hall, visiting the Charleston area in the first half of the nineteenth century, spoke to a plantation owner who explained to him that "domestic slaves . . . were better fed and clothed, and generally better treated, than those employed out of doors; but, what was odd enough . . . every where the slaves preferred the field-work" (Jones 1957:102). Frederick Law Olmsted, visiting a plantation in the rice district of South Carolina, remarked that:

> The house-servants are more intelligent, understand and perform their duties better, and are more appropriately dressed, than any I have seen before. The labour required of them is light, and they are treated with much more consideration for their health and comfort than is usually given to that of free domestics. They live in brick cabins, adjoining the house and stables, and one of these, into which I have looked, is neatly and comfortably furnished. Several of the house-servants, as is usual, are mulattoes, and good-looking. The mulattoes are generally preferred for in-door occupations (Olmsted 1953:184).

He found, however, that there were plantation owners who found the house servants intolerable. One Southern woman remarked that:

> I dread to go home, and to have to take care of our servants again. We have a much smaller family of whites than you, but we have twelve servants, and your two accomplish a great deal more, and do their work a great deal better than our twelve. You think your girls are very stupid, and that they give you much trouble: but it is as nothing. There is hardly one of our servants that can be trusted to do the simplest work without being stood over. If I order a room to be cleaned, or a fire to be made in a distant chamber, I never can be sure I am obeyed unless I go there and see for myself. If I send a girl out to get anything I want for preparing the dinner, she is as likely as not to forget what is wanted, and not to come back till after the time at which dinner should be ready (Olmsted 1953:98-99).[21]

Many of these views were contradicted by Frances Anne Kemble, based on her residence at her husband's St. Simon plantations, Butler Island and Hampton Point, during 1838. She remarked:

> The house servants have no other or better allowance of food than the field laborers, but have the advantage of eking it out by what is left from the master's table -- if possible, with even less comfort in one respect, inasmuch as no time whatever is set apart for their meals, which they snatch at any hour and in any way that they can -- generally, however, standing or squatting on their hams round the kitchen fire; the kitchen being a mere outhouse or barn with a fire in it. On the estate where I lived, as I have mentioned, they had no sleeping rooms in the house; but when their work was over, they retired like the rest to their hovels, the discomfort of which had to them all the additional disadvantage of comparison with their owner's mode of living (Kemble 1984:361).

In spite of these comments, Kemble also mentioned that their cook, John, had a high and dignified position, accompanied by the "sweets of comparatively easy labor and good living from the remains of our table" (Kemble 1984:189).

Kemble's comments are supported by a Virginia planter who advised that weekly rations should

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[21] This may be one of the most convincing statements supporting the view of slave resistance.

consist of the following:

> Field Hands. -- To each man, three and a half pounds bacon and one and a half pecks meal. To each woman, girl, and boy, two and a half pounds of bacon and one peck meal.
>
> In-Door Hands. -- To each man and boy, two pounds bacon and one peck corn meal. To each woman and girl, two pounds bacon and one peck corn meal. To each child over two years and under ten years, one pound bacon, and half a peck of corn meal . . . . (quoted in Breeden 1980:103).

Genovese (1976) expands on these few accounts, providing a synthesis of the house servant's life. He finds, as suggested by even the few accounts repeated here, exceptional variation in how such slaves were treated. While they had somewhat greater security, they were subject to more abuse simply given their proximity to the owner. He also notes that while house servants and cooks, especially on the large, wealthy Sea Island plantations, developed a caste system distancing them from the field hands, there was also a bond between the two brought on by slavery and efforts to resist. Finally, he notes that many house slaves did fare better, materially, than the field hands, either because of their special bond with their white families or because they were in a position to take what they wanted.

In summary, it seems that historical research and documentation offers relatively little assistance in understanding the plantation kitchen or those who worked "in the shadow of the big house." The plantation kitchen was rarely seen by visitors, not simply because it was isolated from the main house but also because of cultural conventions which made the kitchen odors and activities "distasteful." While the distant location seems to be confirmed historically, there is little information on either the form or function of the plantation kitchen. House servants, if it is possible, seem to be even more invisible in history than the field hands, perhaps because they represent a minority of the slave population.[22]

This allows us to better establish the goals of archaeological research at plantations, and it outlines the need for more intensive investigation (1) of the plantation kitchen to explore its architectural form, identify its essential architectural features, distinguish its archaeological pattern, and analyze the refuse generated at the site, and (2) of the lives of the house servants to understand their place in slave society. Fortunately, Stoney/Baynard offers the opportunity to conduct research in both of these broad areas.

[22] Genovese (1976:328) estimates that about 5% of the slaves might have formed an elite status group, perhaps slightly more on the larger Sea Island plantations.

EXCAVATIONS

Strategy and Methods

A modified Chicago 10-foot grid was established during the first field season, with each square designated by its southeast corner from a 250R200 point at the northeast corner of the main house. This method was abandoned during the second and third seasons since the main house was oriented differently than the other structures and continued use of this grid would have resulted in excavating structures at an angle to their architectural features -- not only an inconvenience, but also a certain way to create errors in grid orientation and numbering. As a result, the grids for excavations at the various structures were aligned with extant structural walls, allowing grids to follow standing walls (Figure 6). Units were then designated by structure (such as main house or Structure 1, the house slaves' quarters) and a test unit number (numbered sequentially at each structure).

Vertical control at the site was maintained through the use of an elevation datum established at the 250R200 point during the 1991 auger test grid. Elevations are expressed in feet above mean sea level (MSL) as determined by reference to this established datum (23 feet MSL marked by a metal marker at 250R200). This system allows widely separated areas of the site to be precisely compared, and the vertical controls can be easily re-established in the future.

Soil from the block excavations was screened through ¼-inch mesh using mechanical sifters and roller screens. Units were troweled at the top of the subsoil, photographed using black and white print and color slide print film, and plotted. Excavation was by natural soil zones and soil samples were routinely collected. Features encountered during the field work were excavated at the discretion of the field investigators and feature numbers were assigned. Those not excavated were recorded in plan view and await future investigation.

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 Environmental and Historical Museum of Hilton Head Island as Accession Numbers 1992.5 and 1993.2. All specimens have been evaluated for conservation needs and have been treated prior to curation (this process is discussed in greater detail in a following section of this discussion).

Archaeological Remains

Stratigraphy at the site was relatively uniform. Typically only one zone, consisting of brown humic sand overlying a mottled tan to yellow sand subsoil, is found at the site. Zone 1 varies from about 0.4 to 1.2 feet in depth. The site has received only minimal disturbance (primarily sheet erosion) and does not appear to have been plowed. Zone 1 appears to be a mixture of the original humus soil and more recent deposition. Mixing has probably resulted from a variety of activities, including the various episodes of clearing, recent pedestrian traffic, and normal soil movement. In the interior of the main house, this soil was mixed with tabby rubble.

Occasionally, the typical Zone 1 soils were underlain by a slightly lighter brown sand with oyster shell or reduced tabby. Where possible, the upper level was designated Zone 1a and the lower level was designated Zone 1b.

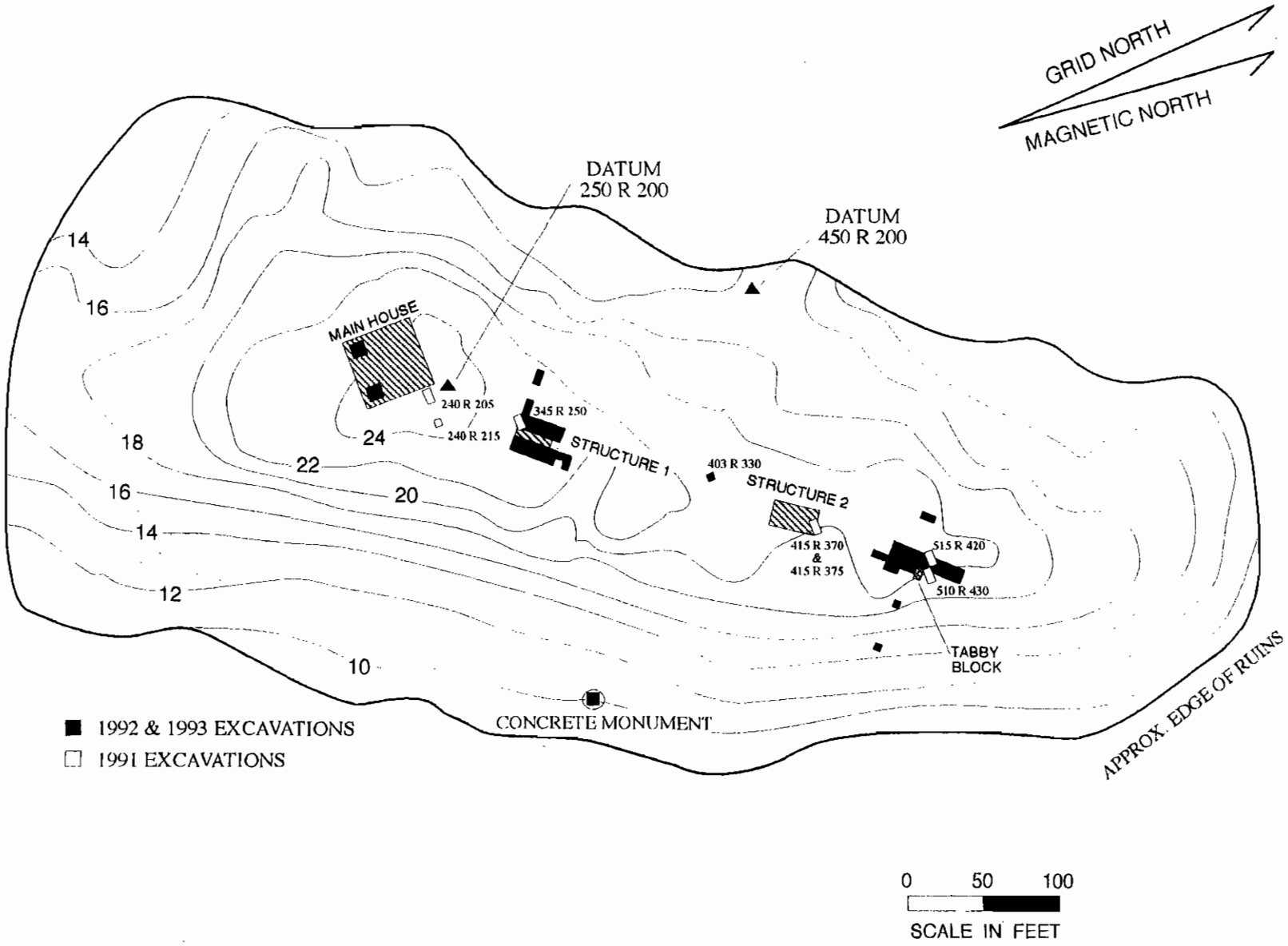

Figure 6. Location of excavation units from 1990-1993

Zone 2 soils were found only in Test Unit 1 in the interior of the main house. These soils consisted of grayish yellow sand with light rubble grading into yellow sand. Most of this zone appears to represent an artificial mixture of sand, shell, and lime leveling fill on which the thin mortar floor of the basement was originally laid.

Main House

Excavations inside the main house consisted of two 10 foot units (Figure 6). Test Unit 1 was situated in the southwest corner and Test Unit 2 in the southeast corner of the main house interior. As is apparent from Figure 7, these units were placed in two distinct rooms -- Test Unit 1 in a room measuring about 21 by 18 feet and Test Unit 2 in a room measuring about 21 by 24 feet. Both rooms had exterior access by way of sperate entrances on the structure's south elevation. The unfinished door opening to the southwestern room was 3.5 feet, while the opening to the southeast room was 3.2 feet. The southwestern room had a window opening on the west wall, while the southeastern room was penetrated by three window openings -- two on the east elevation and one on the south. There is no evidence that the rooms were joined and it is impossible to determine at this time if both gave access to the larger room running the length of the house to the north.[23] While it is not possible, given the limited excavation, to rule out the possibility that one or both of these rooms provided access to the first floor above, there seems to be little architectural precedent for such an arrangement. While the north wall is largely obstructed by tabby rubble, there is no obvious indication of fireplaces for either room.

Given our limited architectural understanding of the main house, there is little that can be said concerning the function of these rooms. The apparent absence of access to other parts of the house, coupled with the absence of fireplaces, suggests that the rooms were not intended to be used as quarters, offices, or even as a warming kitchen. In fact, the arrangement is more suggestive of storage facilities, although the work at this point is very limited.[24]

In Test Unit 1 the Zone 1 soils were found to a depth of 0.6 to 1.18 feet and consisted of brown humic soil mixed with tabby rubble. Interfacing Zone 1 and Zone 2 below was a thin ash lens related to the burning of the structure in the postbellum period. The Zone 1 soils represent a mixture of modern materials[25] deposited after the destruction of the house, as well as materials from the house itself[26] deposited after the fire. The thinness of the burn lenses, failure to identify a uniform burn, and absence of timber remains suggests that the structure may have been salvaged after the fire.

Zone 2 soils in Test Unit 1 consisted of a grayish yellow sand with a light amount of rubble 0.8 to 1.2 feet in depth. This soil appears to represent a lens of fill consisting of sand, shell, and lime. On top of this fill a thin mortar floor was laid. Although none of the floor was intact, an area of wall mortar was discovered which shows the joint where the floor began (at 22.7 feet MSL; see Figures 8 and 9). Such mortar floors are not uncommon at nineteenth century plantation houses in the low country. They are usually under a 0.1 foot

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[23] Certainly at least one did provide access, since there is no independent entry to this northern room from the outside.

[24] Basements were historically used for a wide range of activities. Chaplin at Tombee, for example, used his basement to store winter fire wood (Rosengarten 1987).

[25] Such as fragments of beer and soda bottles, as well as bits of plastic.

[26] Of particular note were fragments of three coat plaster with lath impressions, apparently from first floor walls which collapsed downward during the fire. These remains, however, were not nearly as abundant as might be expected.

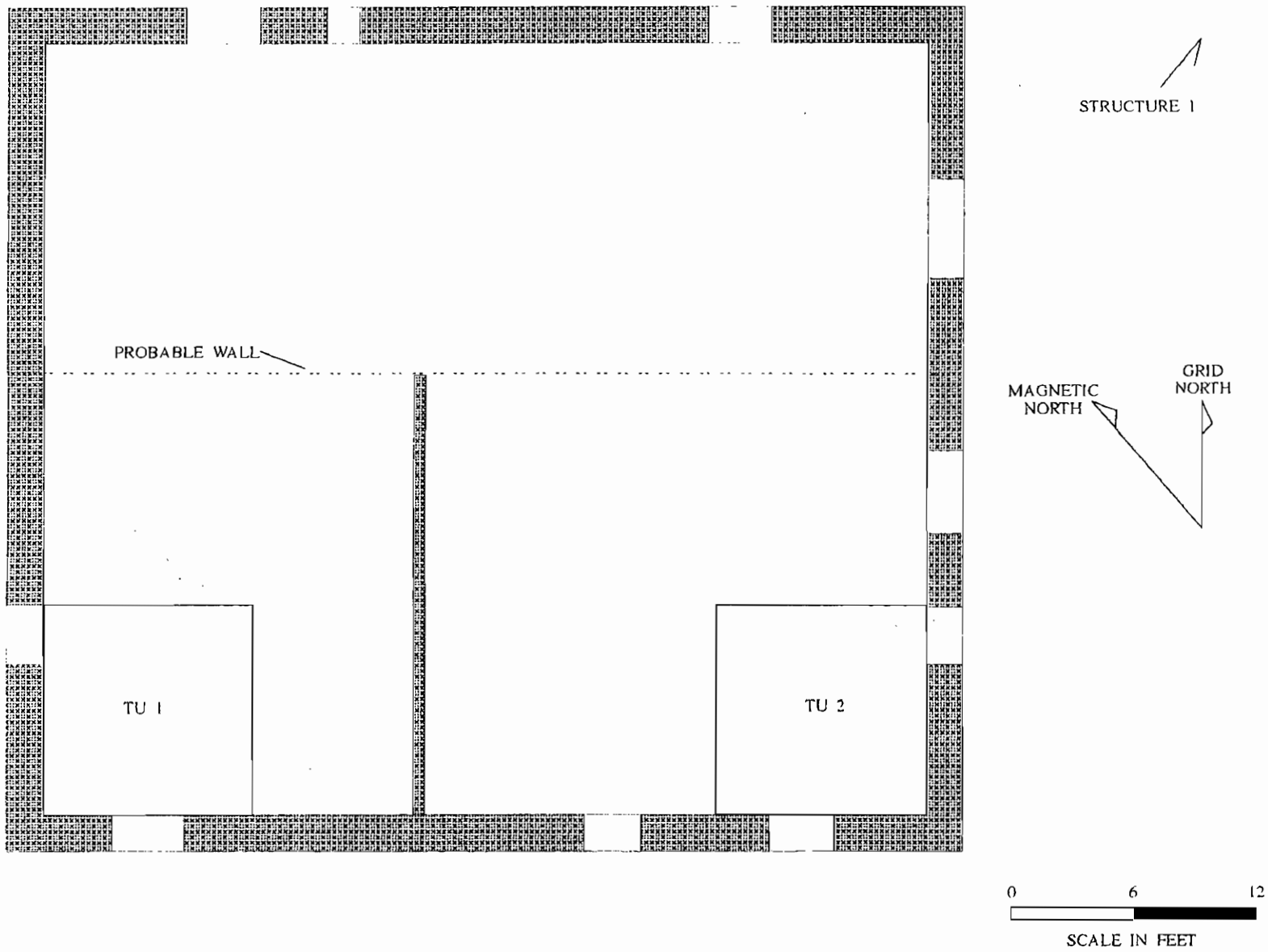

Figure 7. Plan of excavations in the main house.

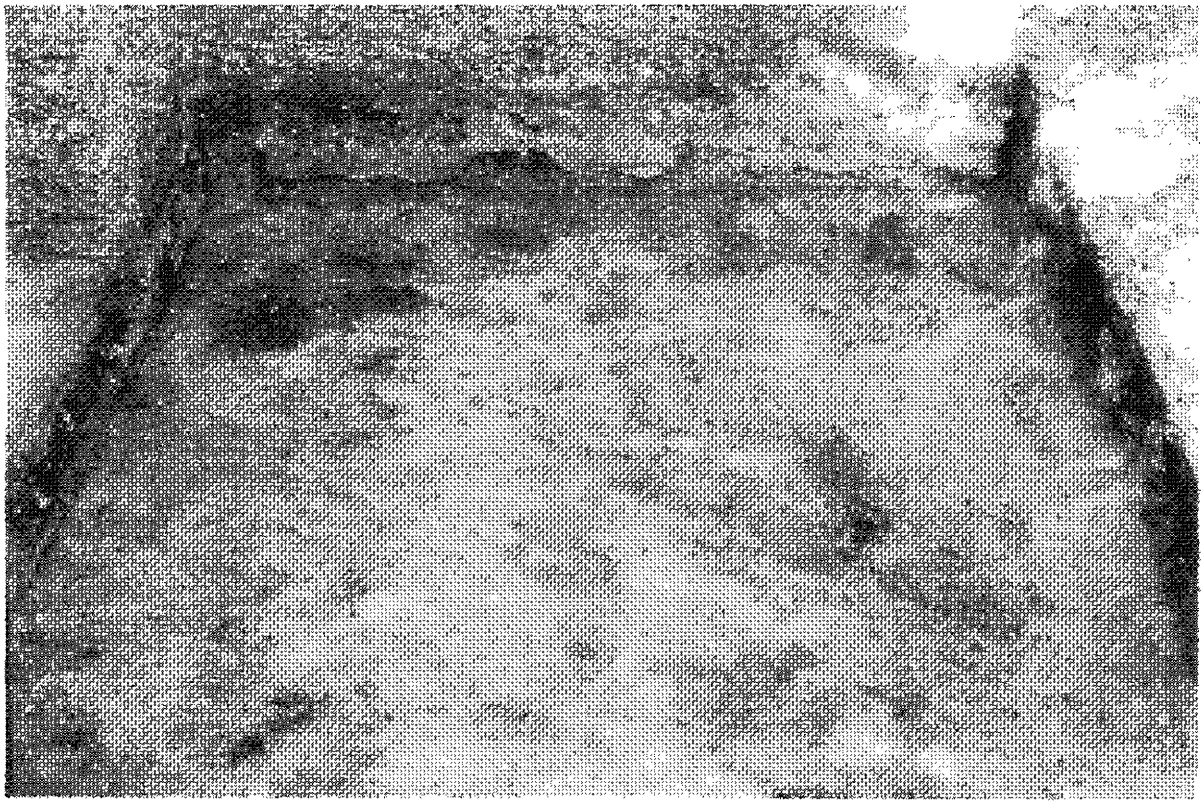

Figure 8. Main House, Test Unit 1 at the base of Zone 2. View is to the west. Notice the wall plaster and flooring remains on the west wall. The doorway is the left on the south wall.

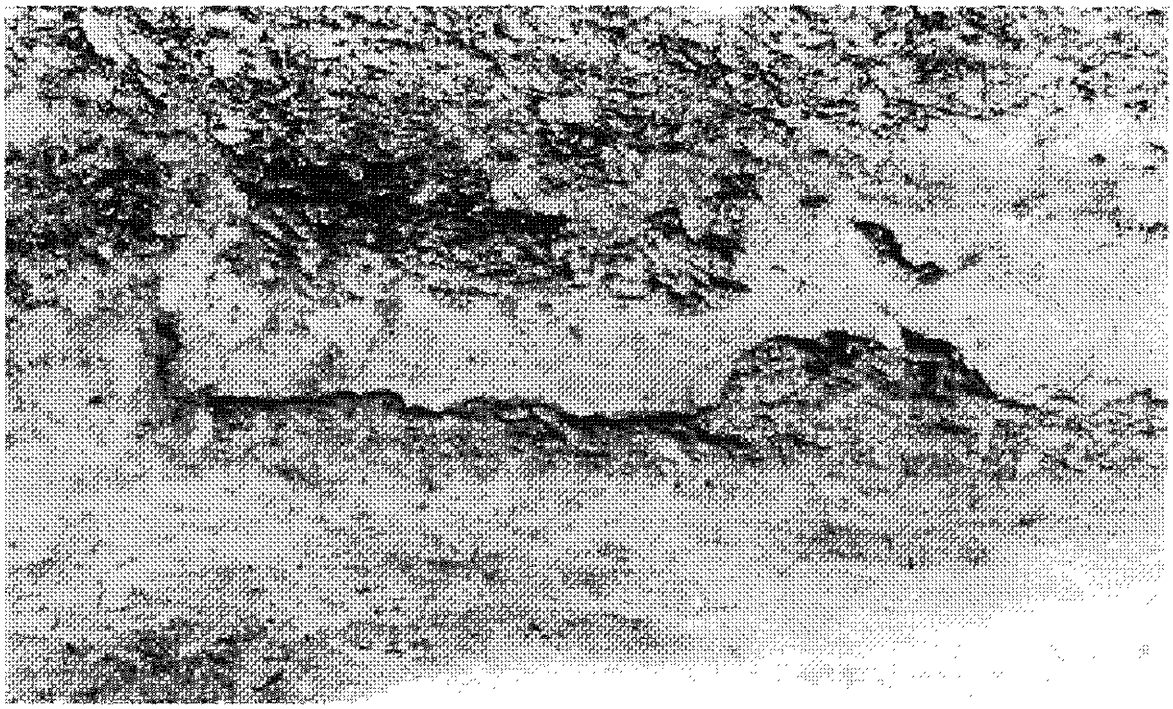

Figure 9. Closeup of wall and floor joint on the west wall. Below the plaster line was Zone 2 sand fill.

in thickness and are usually in deteriorated condition (or altogether destroyed, as in this case). The mortar is composed primarily of sand and lime with no other obvious binders. In this case the material is the same as that used to plaster over the interior tabby walls.

Test Unit 2 evidenced only Zone 1 soils overlying a yellow sand subsoil. As excavation progressed it became apparent that the eastern half of the unit was extensively disturbed by some previous excavation (either one of Calmes' excavation units or a looting hole). There was no evidence of a previous floor on either the east or south tabby walls, and it appears that the floor of this room was sand during the structure's occupation. This sand floor, however, was at an elevation of about 22.6 to 22.7 feet, essentially that of the mortared floor found in Test Unit 1.

Excavation in these units revealed no other features. In particular, no evidence of a builder's trench was found in either excavation, indicating that the walls had been laid up from the exterior.[27] The artifacts in these units were primarily nails and melted window glass, with very little architectural hardware (such as pintles, hinges, and locks). Likewise, few kitchen, personal, clothing, or furniture artifacts were recovered. One scenario to explain these observations is that prior to the island's fall to Union troops in November 1861 Baynard had all of the movable items taken from the house. Afterwards, probably during the island's occupation by Union troops, the house was gutted, with all useable hardware (and possibly much of the framing timber and architectural elements) removed. Consequently, when the house burned there were few debris besides tabby rubble to be deposited in the basement -- personal items had long ago been removed, architectural fixtures had been salvaged, and probably even much of the interior plaster had been removed to gain access to framing timbers. The resulting artifact pattern, therefore, stands in contrast to the pattern obtained from previous work at the Shoolbred Plantation which burned with its architectural details intact (see Trinkley 1994).

House Slaves' Quarters

Excavation at the house slaves' quarters consisted of seven 10 by 10 foot units, two 5 by 10 foot units, and one 5 by 5 foot unit (Figures 6 and 10). These units were located primarily either in the interior of the structure or in the near rear yard area (although units were also placed to sample a midden in the rear yard and to determine refuse practices in the front yard).[28] Zone 1, on the exterior, was about 0.9 feet in depth and consisted of brown loamy sand, while on the interior this zone consisted of a relatively thin brown humus, about 0.5 foot in depth, overlying tan sand subsoil (Figure 11).

The house slaves' quarters, like the main house, have received little architectural attention. However, it is clear that the foundation represents a continuous cast. The northeast corner of the building was originally thought to be displaced, perhaps the result of heavy equipment damage. Excavations have revealed that this is not the case -- that the corner is situated where originally cast, suggesting that the builders had some other reason for the apparent mis-alignment. The explanation may be as simple as poor attention to detail or

[27] This conclusion is supported by test excavations on the east elevation conducted during 1991, at which time a 0.5 to 1.5 foot wide builder's trench was encountered (see Adams and Trinkley 1991:46).

[28] Throughout these discussions it will be assumed that the *front yard* is on the west side of Structure 1 and the Tabby Block, while the front yard of the main house would have been to the south of the structure. We presume that there was some form of access to the main house from the south, while a secondary access to the north or northeast followed the ridge northeastwardly. While Structure 1 and the Tabby Block themselves are oriented almost southwest-northeast, we are taking the northeastern "end" as grid north; hence, the long dimension of Structure 1 is oriented north-south.

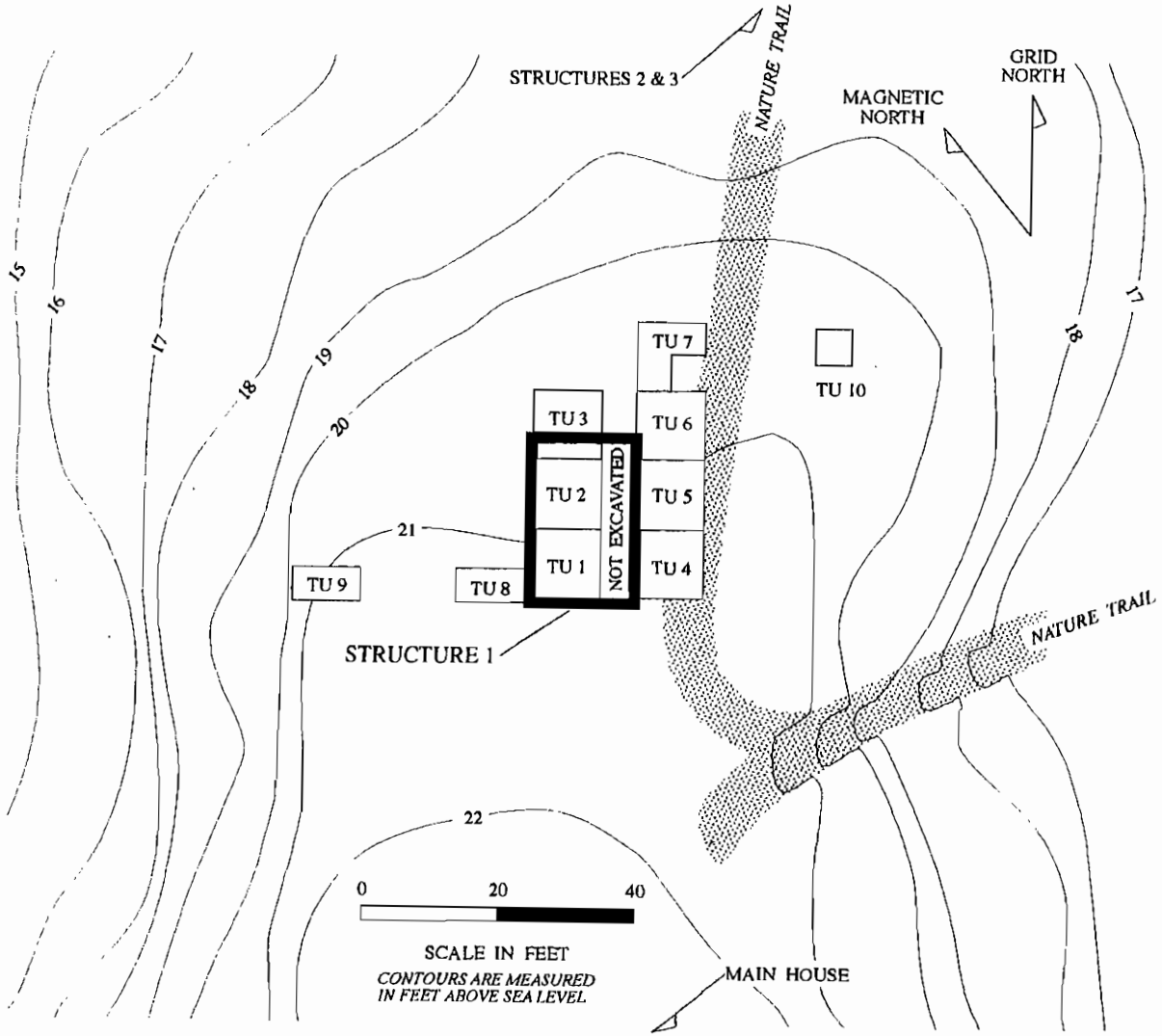

Figure 10. Plan view of excavations at the house slaves' quarters.

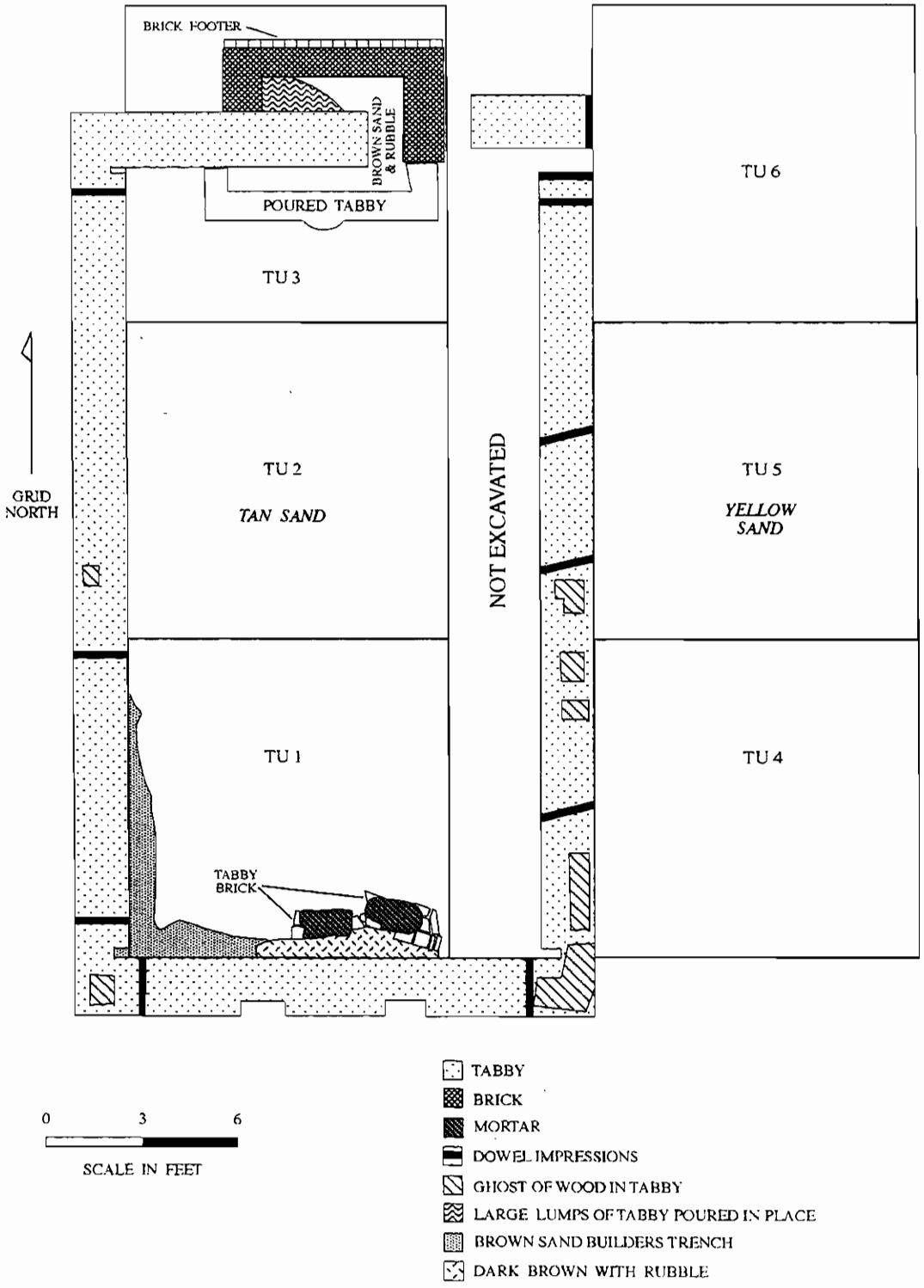

Figure 11. Plan view of architectural features at the house slaves' quarters.

lack of experience.

Examination of the remainder of the tabby foundation reveals that the impressions of dowels used to hold the tabby forms together are frequently skewed on the east wall. Notches in the northwest, southwest, and southeast corners are the result of the interior form boards being too long for a proper fit. The construction of the north and south chimneys (discussed below in greater detail) also suggests a general lack of attention to detail. Taken together, it is clear that the same level of effort which went into the main house was not expended on the house slaves' quarters.

Ghosting of wood timbers on the southern half of the house slaves' quarters indicates that framing was erected before the tabby had completely set. This ghosting reveals that some sort of balloon construction was used to erect the structure with a partition wall to create a double pen structure. Consequently, the house slaves' quarters appears to represent two separate rooms, each measuring about 14 feet in depth by 12 feet in length (with the north room perhaps a foot longer).

Of equal interest is the construction of the two chimneys -- both of which exhibit seemingly unique design features. Both were constructed, almost "added on," after the completion of the tabby foundation wall. The southern chimney consists of two parts. On the outside of the building the chimney was constructed of tabby brick forming a box 7 feet in length and 2.8 feet in depth. The interior of this box was filled with mortar rubble (probably from the original construction) and sand (burnt by the use of the fireplace). On the interior of the building was a similarly constructed hearth of tabby brick measuring about 5 feet in length and 1.5 feet in depth, forming the interior hearth. The length was shorter since the hearth apparently extended only the open dimension of the fire box. As can be seen in Figure 13 the construction was very sloppy, with very little attention to detail. The massive crack visible in the photograph is the result of settling (also visible in the wall behind the box) with the eastern portion of the box splaying to the north.

The northern chimney is perhaps even more complex and reveals a different approach to achieve the same ultimate goal. Figure 14 reveals that the foundation wall was laid up first and the chimney added afterwards, butting the wall to the west and forming a continuous eastern wall. The exterior chimney support, constructed of fired brick, measures 6.2 feet in length (excluding a footer course on the west and north exterior sides) by 2.0 feet in depth (again excluding a footer course to the north). The brick is laid up in random courses and includes considerable broken brick. The interior of the fire box was filled with rubble, the largest portion consisting of tabby probably left over from the construction of the foundation walls (Figure 15). On the inside of the structure the hearth is constructed of tabby and measures 7.0 feet in length by 1.5 feet in depth (in this case the hearth was longer than the actual exterior chimney measurements). The hearth area was filled with sand and rubble. In the central part of the wall there was a "bulge," apparently representing an area where the tabby was not adequately confined by the forms.

More importantly, as the hearth area was being cleaned, a series of what appear to be floor joist casts were found (Figure 16). This would suggest that after the foundation was laid up, but before the northern chimney was constructed, floor joists were laid directly on the soil and that afterwards the tabby hearth was cast around them. This interpretation, of course, presents a multitude of problems, not the least of which is that we know of no slave house where you are forced to step up over the foundation to gain entrance into a room at or slightly below the exterior grade (such an arrangement would also create damp rooms, make cleaning very difficult, and create floors constantly subject to rot and insect attack). In spite of its seeming improbability, the casts exist and are real, the hearths as constructed are the correct height to be capped with brick for a ground level floor, and there is remnant plastering on the interior of the tabby foundation which terminates about 8 inches from the base. The interpretation would explain also the darker soil color on the interior of the foundation than the exterior. It is possible that the structure was adaptively re-used,

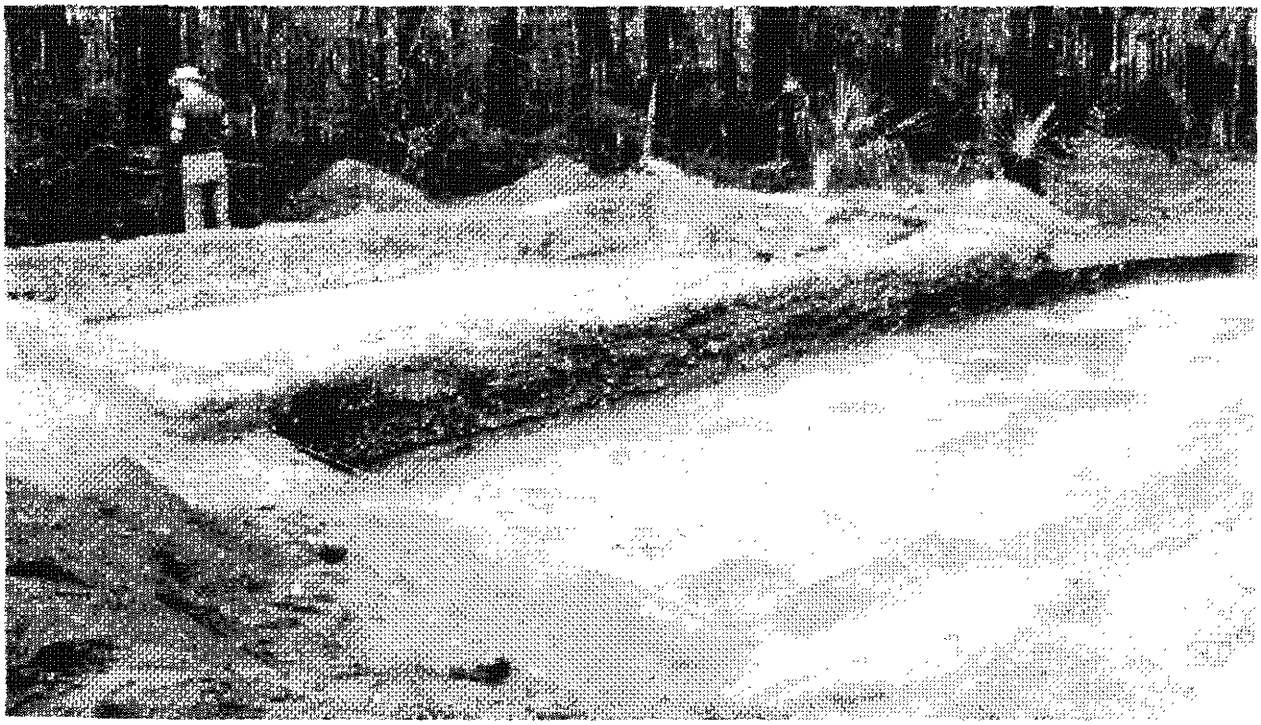

Figure 12. Excavations at the house slaves' quarters, view to the northwest.

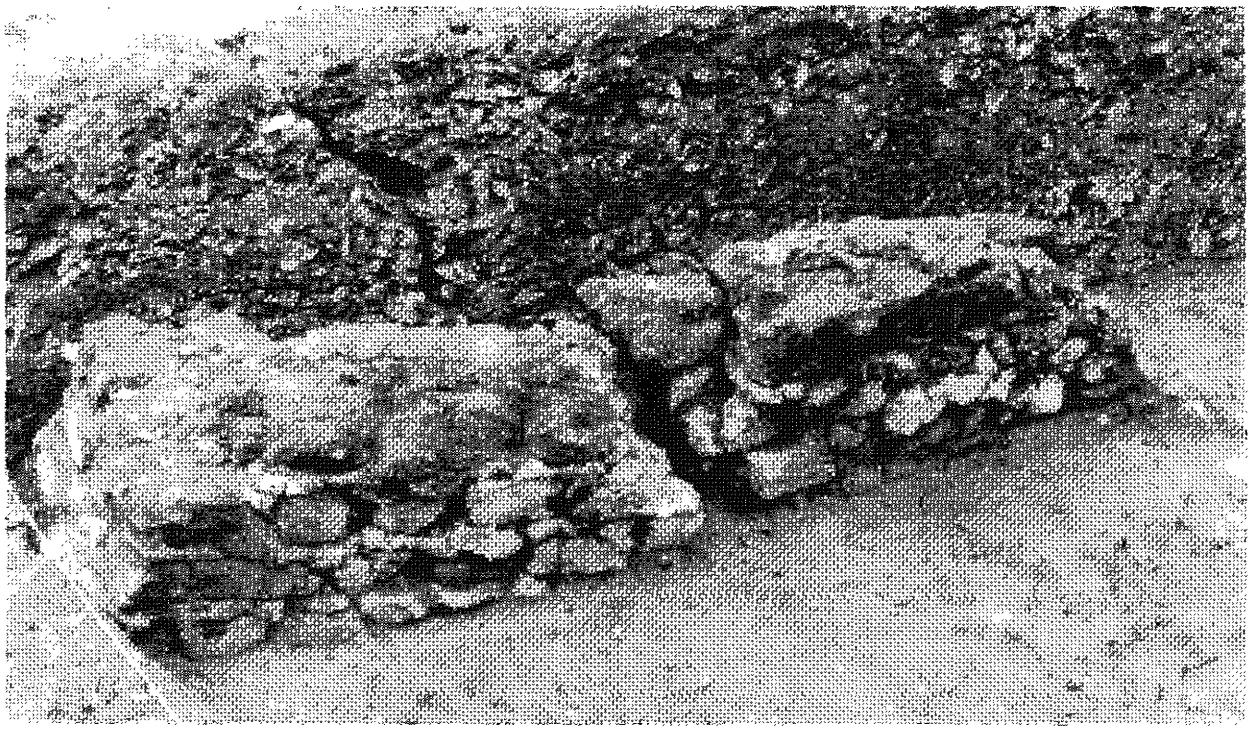

Figure 13. Interior hearth of southern chimney at the house slaves' quarters. View is to the southwest.

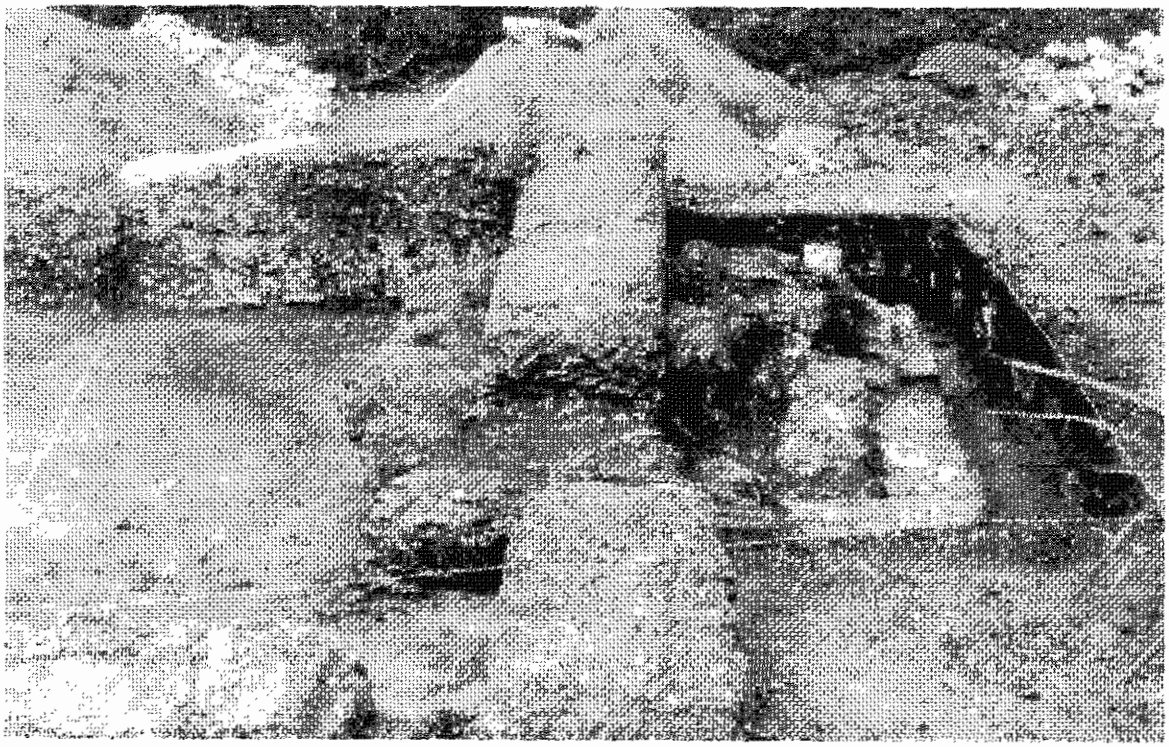

Figure 14. North chimney of the house slaves' quarters. View is to the west.

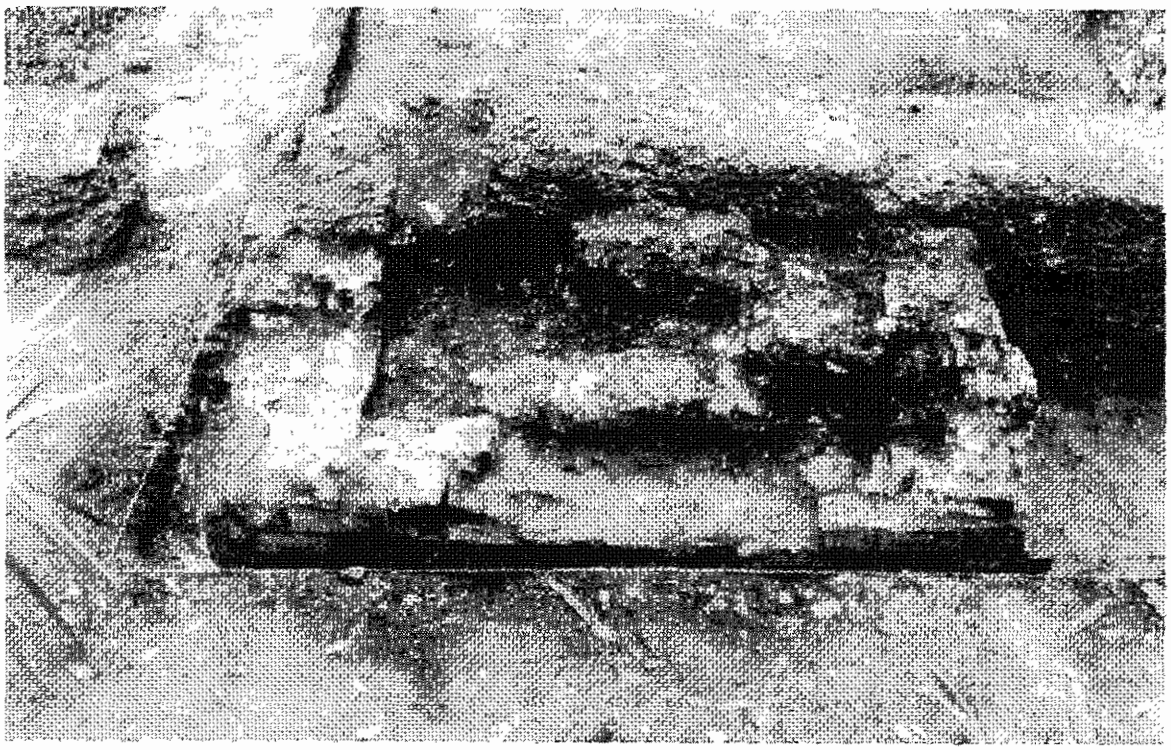

Figure 15. Exterior support of north chimney at house slaves' quarters. View is to the south.

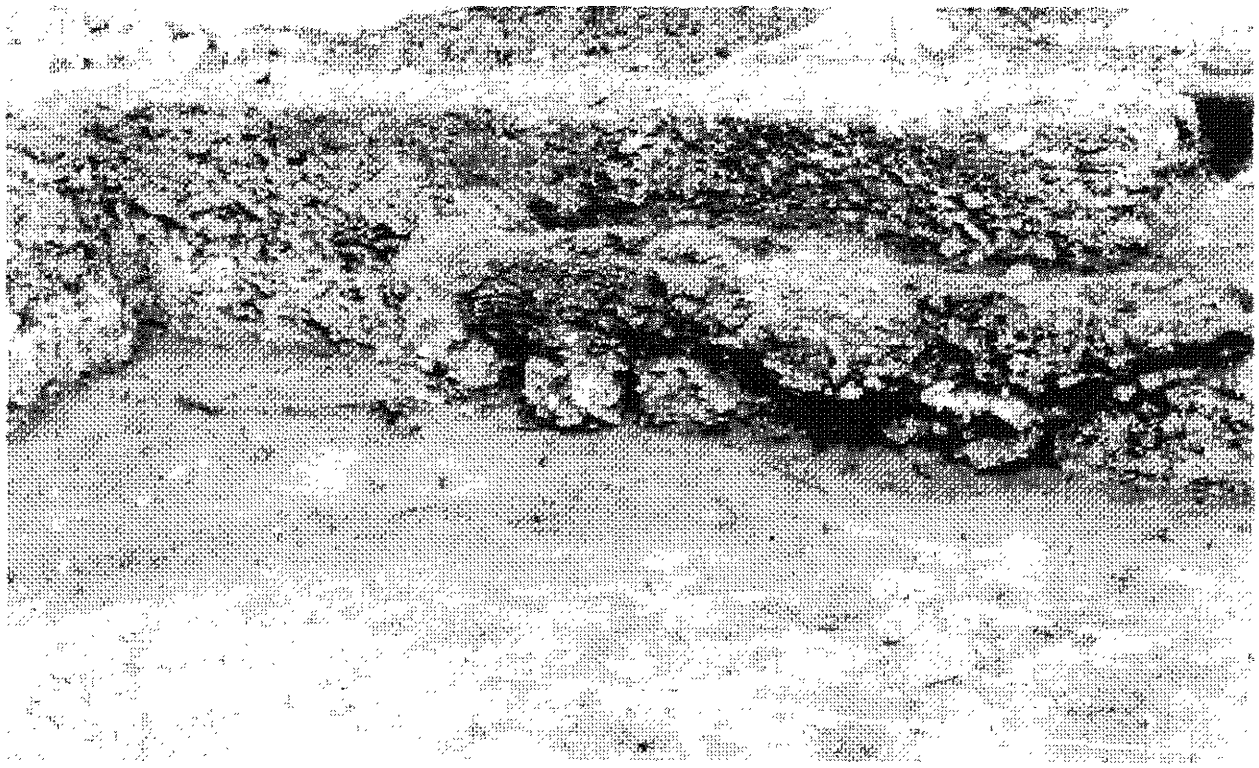

Figure 16. Interior hearth support of north chimney at the house slaves' quarters showing floor joist casts. View is to the northwest.

resulting not only in this unusual access problem, but also the clearly added-on chimneys.[29]

Beyond these architectural features, two archaeological features were noted in these excavations. First, a portion of the builder's trench was exposed in Test Unit 1 but was not continuous along either the southern or western walls. This trench averaged 0.4 foot wide and consisted of brown sand surrounded by a mottled yellow sand matrix. The builder's trench was not excavated but probably represents an area where excavations for the tabby were slightly deeper than elsewhere.

The second feature consists of a thick lens of shell located in the west yard area of the house approximately centered on the southern pen. This layer of shell probably served as a walkway from the structure, either to the main house or to the main house access road, which was occasionally supplemented with additional shell as repairs or to prevent erosion. As a result, the path over time increased to a depth or thickness of about 0.8 foot. The profile in Test Unit 9 suggests at least two major episodes of deposit or repair. The presence of such shell pathways at the site was originally noted during the 1991 excavations just east of the main house (Adams and Trinkley 1991:46). Similar shell walkways were reported by Ann Vander Horst from an Edisto Island plantation and were apparently used at her Kiawah Island plantation (Trinkley 1994).

[29] Such re-use is not unheard of, at least in the historical record. Thomas Chaplin reported both tearing down tabby structures to salvage the tabby brick and also converting a dairy into a smokehouse (which required the foundation to be extended deeper and the construction of an underground flue) (Rosengarten 1987:406, 453).

A small shell midden, located in the east yard area of the house, had been identified during the 1991 auger testing (see Adams and Trinkley 1991:43) and was investigated with a 5-foot unit (Test Unit 10) during the 1993 field season. The midden was found to a depth of 0.8 foot and contained a large number of kitchen related items (primarily ceramics, bottle glass, and animal bone). Such shell middens are common at slave settlements and are frequently found within yards of the structure. A photograph of Drayton's slave settlement at Fish Hall on Hilton Head shows piles of shell adjacent to many of the quarters (Trinkley 1989:Figure 4). Frances Anne Kemble, during her stay on a Georgia coastal plantation, reported nearly falling over a:

> great heap of oyster shells left in the middle of the path. This is a horrid nuisance, which results from an indulgence which the people here have and value highly; the water round the island are prolific in shellfish, oysters, and the most magnificent prawns I ever saw. The former are a considerable article of the people's diet, and the shells are allowed to accumulate, as they are used in the composition of which their huts are built [tabby] (Kemble 1984:257).

Excavations in the near east yard area recovered an unexpectedly large amount of artifacts and food bone. The mottled nature of the subsoil indicates the unevenness of the ground, probably associated with walking around on loose, beach-like sand. Due to the loose nature of the sand, walking in the yard probably allowed many items to be buried and to lie undiscovered by routine policing of the grounds. Situated behind the structure, this may also have been area rarely visited by the owners.

Kitchen

Excavations at the kitchen consisted of six 10 by 10 foot units, three 5 by 10 foot units, and two 5 by 5 foot units (Figures 6 and 17). These excavations incorporated an area immediately south and west of the kitchen extending to the north.[30] Additional excavations were conducted in suspected yard areas to the west and east of the structure. Throughout the work, Zone 1 was found to about 0.7 foot in depth and to consist of brown sandy loam. There were occasional dense pockets of tabby brick[31] rubble, primarily northwest of the kitchen, which represented chimney fall. The excavations, however, revealed that the chimney fall was inadequate to account for the original chimney stack and that extensive salvage of brick must have taken place.[32] In a few areas, primarily Test Units 3 and 4, just west and northwest of the kitchen, a Zone 1a was defined, based on the presence of dark brown midden soils and relatively dense shell midden. Excavation revealed that the midden diversity was low, consisting almost entirely of oyster, with occasional knobbed whelks and clams.

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[30] These units incorporated 515R420 and a portion of 510R430, tests excavated during the 1991 field season, in Test Unit 3.

[31] Strictly speaking these bricks are not tabby, but were made of a shell lime mortar. Sizes of these bricks at Stoney/Baynard are typically 7½ by 2¼ - 2¾ by 4⅛ - 4⅜ inches, suggesting very limited uniformity.

[32] It is perhaps of interest that we, like many of our colleagues, have dismissed the concept of recycling "tabby" bricks. They are very friable and it seemed likely that the amount of damage and loss would make such efforts unprofitable. A single comment in the diary of Thomas Chaplin, "Carpenters pulling down the old tabby house . . . I will get some very good lime brick from it," (Rosengarten 1987:406), reveals that our assumption may be incorrect. It may be that the labor expenditure of salvaging brick was less than the labor (or monetary) expenditure of using new brick (either "lime" or fired clay). This revelation speaks volume s concerning the isolation of the Sea Islands and the constant process of renewal which took place, probably at virtually all plantations.

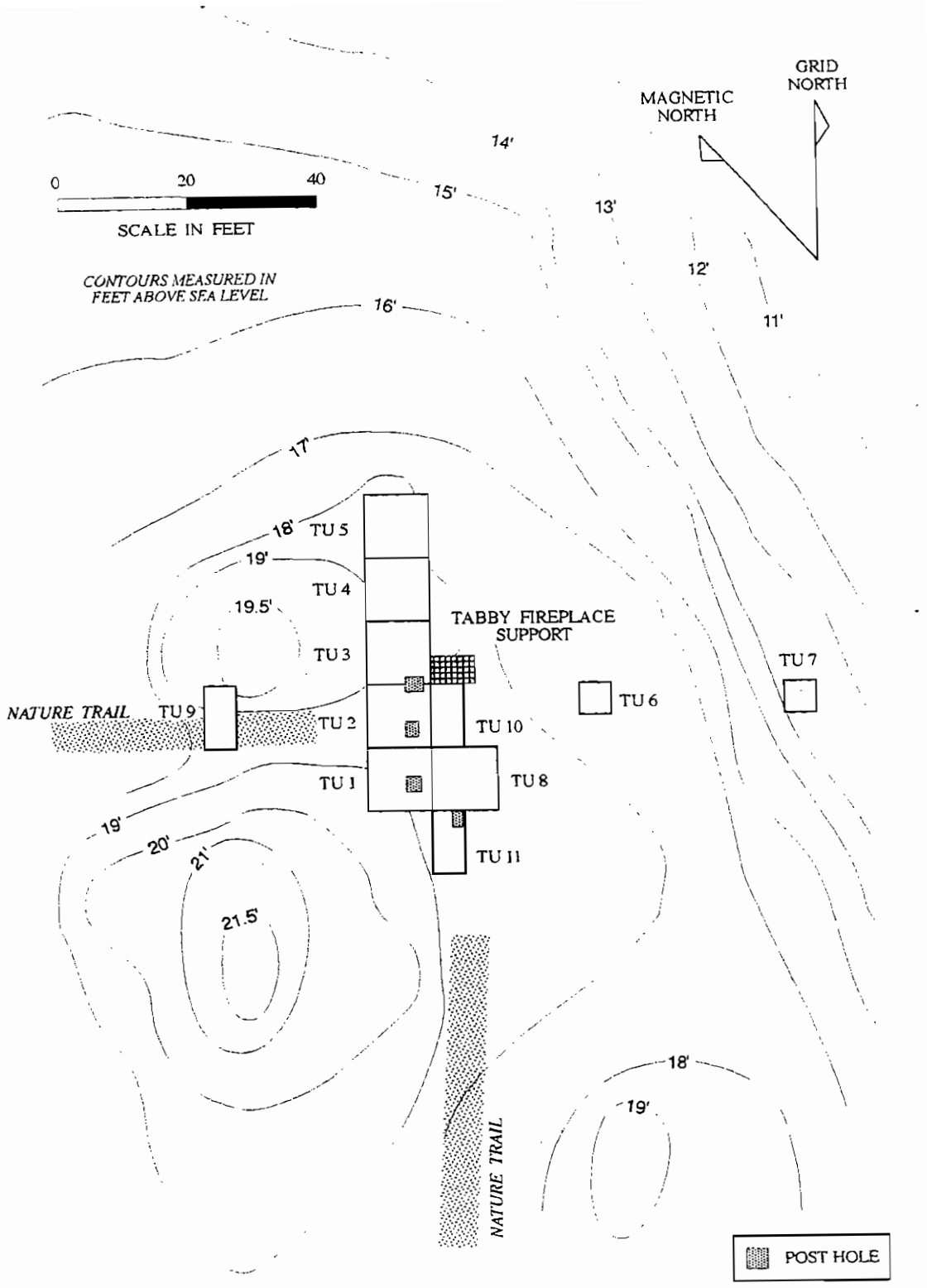

Figure 17. Plan view of excavations at the kitchen.

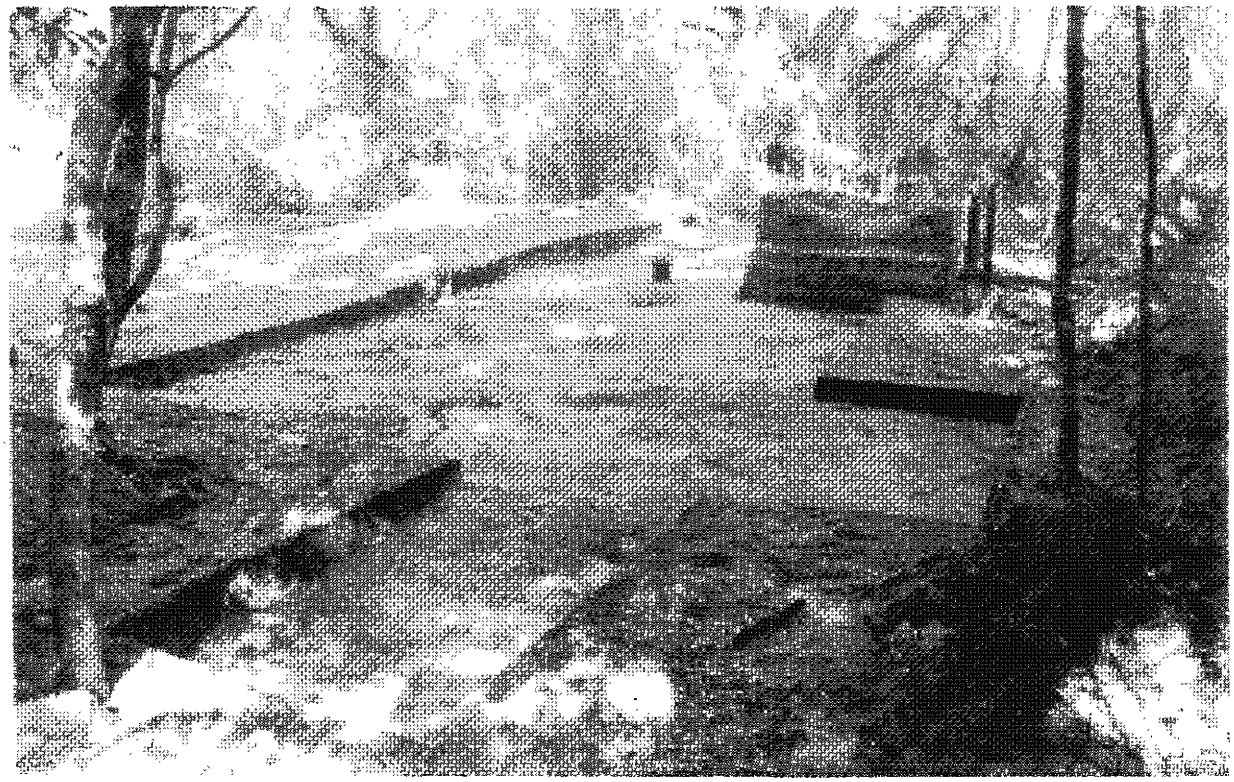

Figure 18. Excavations at the kitchen, view to the northeast.

Figure 19. Volunteer Jennifer Schmidt troweling units west of the kitchen.

The excavations south of the kitchen revealed four post holes (see Figure 17). Three were found forming a line about 3 feet west of the kitchen, extending 16 feet to the south. Each post hole was roughly rectangular in shape, measuring 1.5 to 2.0 feet in diameter and 0.5 to 1.0 foot in depth. The fill from these post holes contained midden refuse and both fired and tabby (lime) brick. These post holes represent the western wall of the structure associated with the kitchen. Since there were no in situ bricks, or staining from wood posts, it is not possible to determine what type of pier system was originally used.[33] Regardless, it is clear from the size of the holes that they were designed to carry the weight of the sill plate. Given the quantity of midden debris in the post holes it is also clear that the posts were robbed out, with yard trash filling the abandoned holes. Using the available posts it is possible to estimate that the structure associated with the kitchen measured 18 feet in length (north-south) by 14 feet in width (east-west).

A fourth post hole was found further south, not aligned with the others. The morphology of this post hole was also distinct, consisting of a broad area of disturbance at the base of Zone 1 measuring about 2.5 feet in diameter, then tapering to a more conventional post hole measuring 0.8 foot in diameter with a depth of 0.4 font (and a total depth of 0.9 foot). The most convincing explanation for this post hole is that it represents the center support for a porch at the gable end of the structure, opposite the tabby chimney. A porch, carrying less weight, would require a less substantial pier system. The disturbance associated with the post might represent digging, or wallowing, by animals around the posts and under the porch.

This interpretation would create a relatively small structure, 14 by 18 feet, with a gable roof. The kitchen represents a large chimney support at the north gable end, while at the south gable end there was a porch measuring about 5 feet in width, probably spanning the entire gable end. The chimney support indicates an interior fire box opening measuring about 5 feet -- much larger than would be expected for a structure of this size.

If our interpretation of the southernmost post hole representing a gable end porch is correct, then it seems likely that this is a gable front structure, somewhat akin to the "shotgun" house. Rather than being oriented to some supposed western access route to the main house, this structure may have been oriented with its opening facing south, along a pathway leading more directly to the tabby mansion. Of equal interest is the identification of this architectural style at Stoney/Baynard. While Vlach (1978) argues that the gable-front structure is uniquely African in origin, we cannot totally discount other explanations tied to the landform and possible function, at least for this one particular structure at Stoney/Baynard. The structure expands the architectural styles found at low country plantations, reminding us that there is much we do not yet know about plantation buildings.

We are suggesting that this structure represents the kitchen associated with the tabby mansion, based on a variety of factors:

- the size of the building (it seems to be too small to be an overseer's structure),
- its isolated location (which would allow cooking to be separated from the plantation house),
- the size of the chimney support (far in excess of what would be needed for a domestic structure, but a technically appropriate size for a kitchen),
- the amount of heat damage to the tabby fire box (indicative of a large fire),

[33] Given the amount of brick rubble in several of the holes it is tempting to suggest that the piers were brick; however, equally substantial log piers have been identified at other low country plantations, such as at Haig Point Plantation on Daufuskie.

- it orientation to the main house, and

- its physical layout (with the door opposite the chimney, the ability for cross-ventilation, and the ability to incorporate storage needs).

Further discussion in the following section on the artifacts associated with the building will shed additional light on this interpretation.

At the base of Zone 1 excavations in Test Units 3 and 4, a linear band of shell and tan sand was found extending below and into the yellow sand thought to represent sterile soil to the north. This appears to represent an earlier midden trod into the yellow sand and then perhaps covered over by a period of limited use prior to a second midden being deposited around the tabby fireplace support. As will be discussed below, this midden seems to date from the occupation of the building and is not representative of an earlier occupation on the site. There is, however, some evidence of an earlier occupation in the general vicinity. First recognized by earlier artifacts, this earlier occupation has been difficult to clearly identify. During the excavation of Test Unit 10 a clean profile of the soil underlying the kitchen was made available. This revealed that below the shallowly seated block there is a sealed lens of rubble, perhaps indicating this earlier occupation. This lens is so thin, however, that it would have been quickly incorporated into the Zone 1 soils through pedestrian activity (hence, the small quantities of earlier materials present in the collections). While this evidence is suggestive, we have been unable to clearly define any structural evidence, and the identification of the earlier occupation awaits future work at the site.

Excavations in the yard areas revealed that while trash was thick around the structure (as evidenced by the shell midden just northwest of the chimney), the yard areas themselves were kept very clean. Test Unit 6, east of the structure, did reveal a small lump of tabby out of situ and perhaps related to the demolition of the chimney. Test Unit 9 also revealed that the undulating topography present in the vicinity is natural (or at least has not been created within the past 50 years through the use of heavy equipment). The research has not, however, offered any clear understanding of how this topography was incorporated into the plantation landscape -- still one of the more perplexing questions at Stoney/Baynard.

Well

One 5 by 5 foot unit[34] was placed in a depression which has locally been called the plantation well. The unit was laid out to determine if evidence of well shaft fill would be identified (it was not our goal to open the well completely, but simply to either verify or refute this particular site interpretation). The excavation yielded very few artifacts and identified only a large amorphous stain at the base of the unit. This depression, consequently, is the result of a tree throw and is not cultural. At the end of the field season the well was filled with soil and contoured with the surrounding ground.

Summary

Although explored through only two units, the main house has revealed that it was first abandoned, probably with most moveable objects taken, then extensively scavenged for architectural and structural materials. It was not burned until little was left of the structural supports since there is no evidence of a hot fire. Even after this event, however, the house was again scavenged, resulting in the mixing of the burned lens. These brief investigations also revealed some original construction details of the main house, such as the use of a mortar floor in the southwest room, absent in the larger southeast room.

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[34] This unit, designated 403R330, was placed using the original site grid since the well had no obvious independent orientation.

Questions remain concerning the organization of this basement floor, especially the location of both fireplaces on the first floor and access from the basement to the first floor. No excavations have been undertaken outside the main house, and questions remain regarding the size, orientation, and placement of the porch surrounding the tabby mansion. Landscape questions, dealing with access and pathways, also remain unaddressed.

At the house slaves' quarters, considerable evidence of construction details has been collected and interpreted. Although not reflecting many pre-conceived notions, it appears that the structure represented a double pen slave quarter with a raised tabby foundation but with a wood floor resting directly on the soil. This would have required the occupants to step up over the tabby and then down into the house. Given the addition of both fireplaces after the forming of the tabby foundations, it is possible that this represents a structure adaptively reused, with its original function converted into quarters for house servants. Excavations at this structure have also allowed the recovery of extensive yard debris, discussed in the following section.

Questions remain unanswered, however, concerning the construction of this structure. The information collected is so unusual that it will certainly be reviewed by architectural historians. As with the main house, we continue to have relatively little information concerning how this structure fit into the plantation landscape. Does the pathway found to the west of the structure lead to the main house, or simply to some central main house access? Future research would profit from exploring additional yard areas to both the west and south.

At the tabby chimney base it was possible to identify an antebellum structure measuring about 14 by 18 feet with a gable end front porch which, we believe, served as the plantation kitchen. Like the house slaves' quarters, this is a somewhat unusual architectural style and will likely disrupt our complacency regarding architectural interpretations. When this structure is examined it becomes clear that many of the kitchen "ideals" have been incorporated, suggesting that the design was not simply random, accidental, or even idiosyncratic. The excavations also provide details regarding yard trash disposal and the formation of middens.

Like elsewhere on the site, questions do remain, especially regarding the posited earlier occupation in this area. Future research may profitably be directed toward identifying this late eighteenth century component. We also remain convinced that more intensive investigations are needed to understand the plantation landscape at Stoney/Baynard. While the excavations suggest that at least some of the undulations are natural, perhaps representing erosional dune features, how they were incorporated into the daily use and vision of the plantation is both unclear and troubling.

ARTIFACT ANALYSIS

Introduction

The 1992 and 1993 excavations at Stoney/Baynard Plantation (38BU58) have produced a number of historic period artifacts, the bulk of which date from the late eighteenth century to the middle nineteenth century. Most of these remains are associated with the planter and the house slaves. Several artifacts were recovered which were associated with the Union occupation of Hilton Head during the Civil War.

The investigations at Stoney/Baynard plantation have examined three areas identified as the main house, the house slaves quarters, and a plantation kitchen. In addition, one small unit was placed in a depression locally believed to be associated with a well. We have chosen to discuss these remains together despite the economic and social differences of the people living there. This is primarily to allow these areas to be more easily compared.

Landscape Features as Artifacts

Landscape features include the location of structures, yard areas, distribution of yard trash, and the location of walkways. The structures at Stoney/Baynard are set at two different alignments. The main house is oriented at N71E and the remaining structures are oriented N401E. While the main house may have been oriented to take advantage of the breeze and view offered by Calibogue Sound[35], the other structures are aligned with the narrow ridge at a lower elevation than the main house, reflecting their lower status since they were not afforded that Calibogue view.

Previous auger testing at the Stoney/Baynard site (see Adams and Trinkley 1991) revealed concentrations of yard trash around the main house, the house slaves' quarters, and the tabby chimney block. Excavations at the house slaves' quarters yielded a much greater quantity of artifacts than the auger testing lead us to expect. Auger testing at the kitchen was a little more accurate with the "bull's eye" distribution being centered on the location of a shell midden which contained a large quantity of garbage (Figure 20).

Although the bulk of excavations were concentrated in the rear yard area of the house slaves' quarters, a few statements can be made about patterns of trash disposal. Although there is a large quantity of garbage in the rear yard area, the largest quantity of artifacts came from the northeastern corner of the house. This may suggest an area of yard activity such as where people socialized when it was too hot inside or where they worked. The presence of burnt oyster shell and lime suggests that tabby mortar was mixed here indicating a work area. By locating their activities in this area of the yard, slaves may have been able to have some semblance of privacy from the planter (see Figure 21).

It is unlikely that the African-American practice of yard sweeping was very successful at removing trash at the house slaves' quarters. During excavation, it was clear that if the area was free of grass (as it probably was), the sand would be very difficult to walk in. In addition, the base of excavations contained small pockets of darker soil indicating that the ground was uneven, much like areas of dry beach sand. Sweeping would probably result in covering the trash up rather than removing it.

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[35] The prevailing winds on Hilton Head come from the south or west-southwest beginning in the late Spring and shift to the north-northeast in the fall. The house's orientation is consequently well suited to the climate.

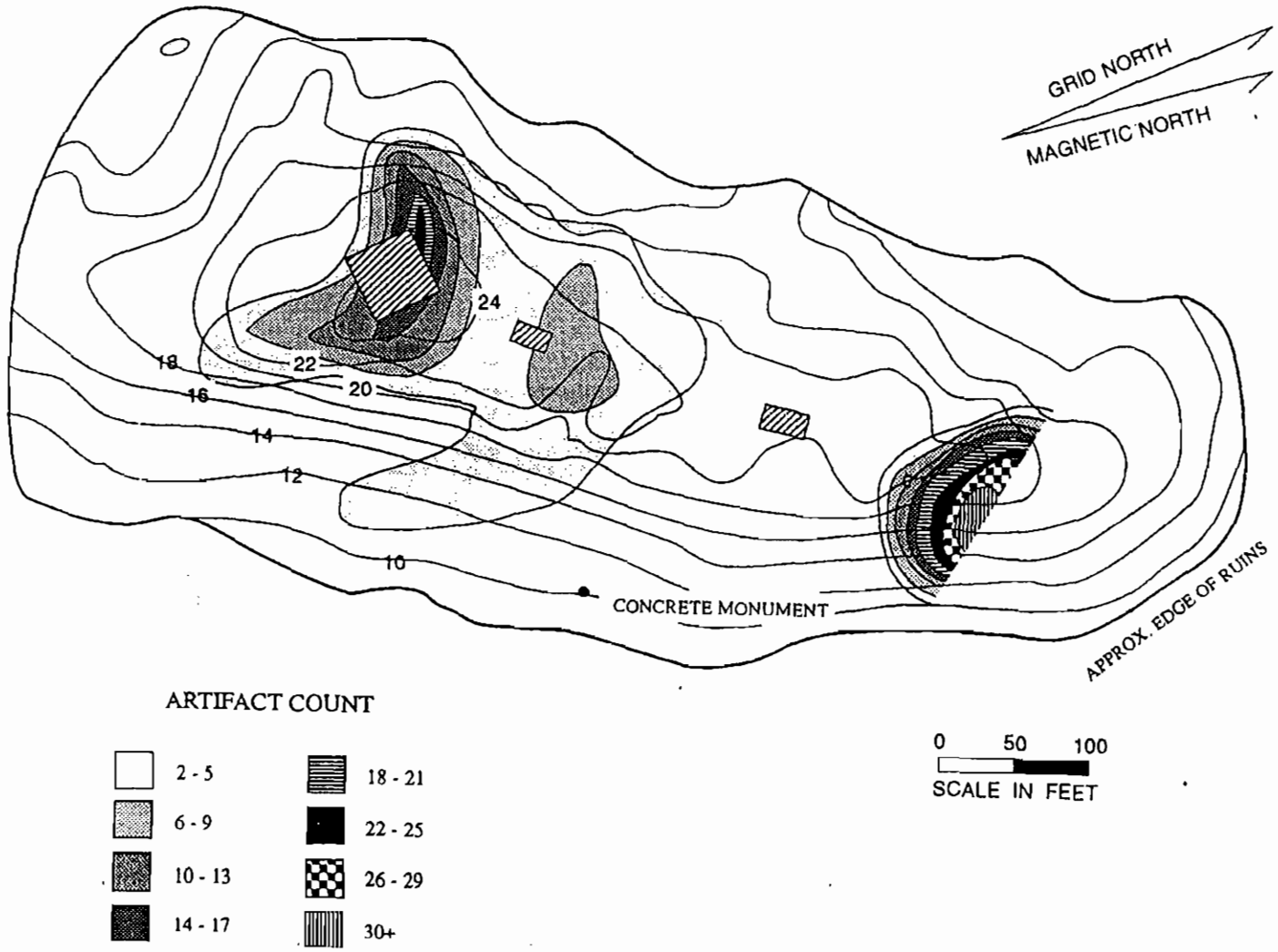

Figure 20. Artifact density map from auger testing (Adams and Trinkley 1991; Figure 13).

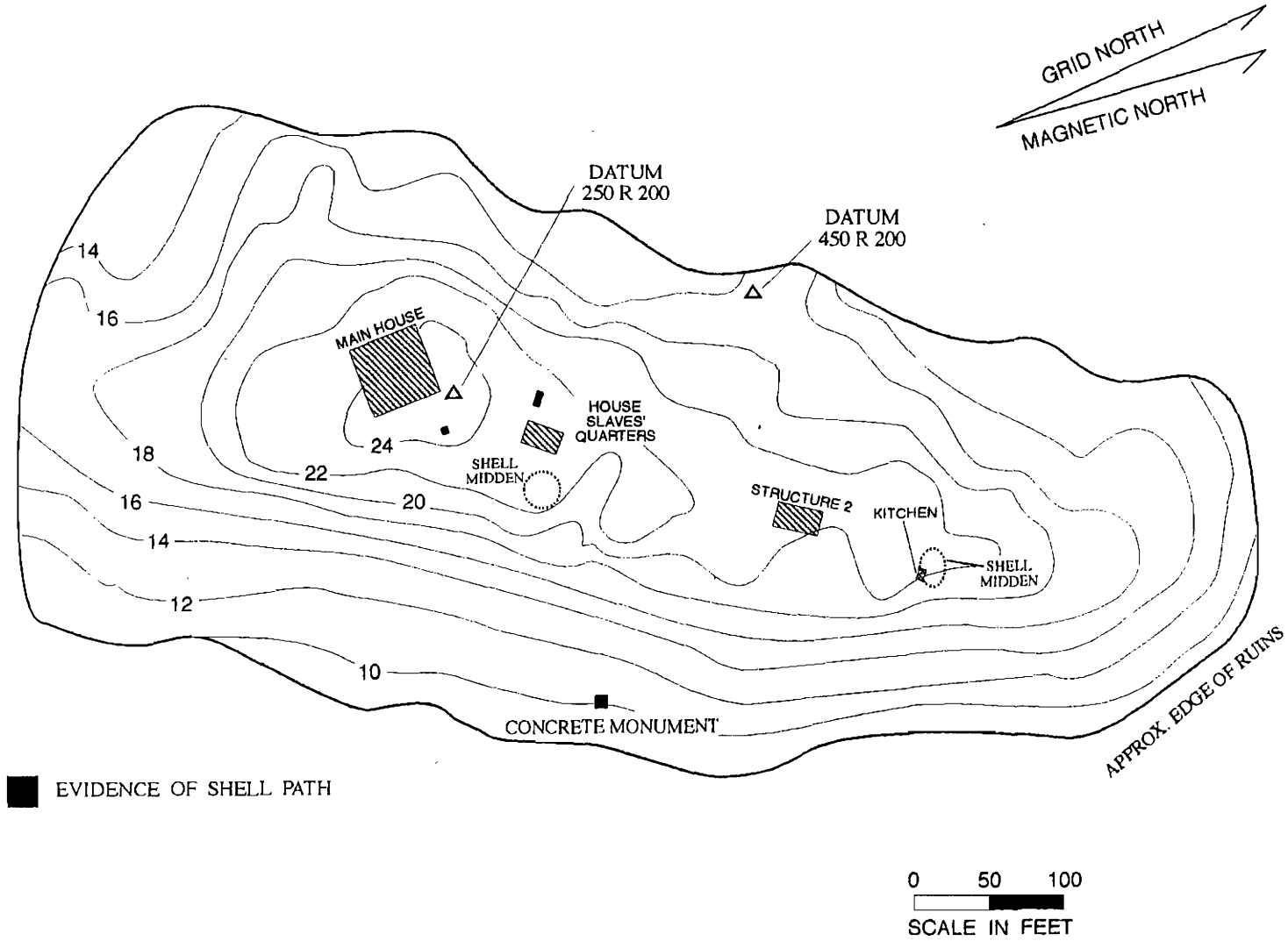

Figure 21. Location of buildings and features at Stoney/Baynard Plantation.

The oyster shell midden at the house slaves' quarters was located approximately 25 feet east of the east wall, probably out of view of the main house and certainly beyond the yard fence shown in the 1859-1860 map (Figure 5). Based on the large size of ceramics that the unit yielded, it is likely that this area never received much foot traffic and may have been located in an area that was wooded at the time. In fact, the midden may reflect a change in refuse disposal pattern from the early nineteenth to mid nineteenth century. The 1838 plat shows no fence surrounding the main house and house slaves' quarters while the 1859-1860 plat does. After the fence was erected, it is likely that refuse disposal changed from sheet midden immediately around the structure to more discrete deposits made by dumping trash over the fence. In fact, the ceramics from this shell midden provide a significantly later mean ceramic date, which supports this possibility.

The front yard contained evidence of a shell path, and soil profiles indicated at least two episodes of shell fill. This was likely placed here to prevent the walk from the main house to the slaves' quarters from becoming too muddy. The path appears to run north south between the quarters and the sharp slope directly to the west.

At the kitchen, most of the excavation took place just north of the structure, underneath the structure, and just west of the structure. In addition, several small units were placed in the far yard areas to examine the pattern of trash disposal across the yard. These excavations indicated that trash was deposited immediately around the kitchen and dropped off sharply as one moved away from the structure.

Immediately adjacent to the kitchen chimney was a relatively large shell trash midden. Based on a comparison of the artifacts from the midden to the surrounding area it appears that the midden was deposited during the early period of use. Artifacts suggest that the midden was deposited prior to about 1820. After that time, trash was disposed of in a different area. The disposal pattern at the kitchen is clearly different than at the house slaves' quarters. Trash at the kitchen was deposited in a distinct area, whereas trash was deposited more as sheet midden at the house servants' quarters.

Excavations indicated that the kitchen probably had a stoop porch located opposite from the chimney and oriented so that it opened in the direction of the main house and house slaves' quarters. Additional work is needed to determine if there was a prepared path leading from the kitchen to the main house. Since the paths found in front of the house slaves' quarters and, during the testing phase, at the main house were constructed of shell, it is likely that if a path exists it was also made of shell.

Artifacts

The main house, house slaves' quarters, and kitchen yielded a variety of late eighteenth and nineteenth century remains which provide a unique opportunity to examine the main elements of a plantation complex: owner, house slave, and a slave work-place directly associated with the owner.

The owner's kitchen provides an opportunity to better understand how black and white worlds overlapped and how they were separate. These remains will be discussed by structure using South's (1977) artifact groups since such an approach allows quantification and discussion to be undertaken within a broad functional framework more easily understood by both professionals and lay persons. Those familiar with South's artifact groups realize that occasionally some modifications have been made by various people (e.g. Garrow 1982) and have been incorporated into this study.

A total of 2,521 artifacts were recovered from the main house, 15,064 from the house slaves' quarters, and 4,477 from the kitchen. The artifacts from these structures will be discussed together to provide a better atmosphere for comparative discussions.

Kitchen Artifact Group

The excavations at the main house produced a total of 156 kitchen group artifacts, representing 6.19% of the collection. At the house slaves' quarters there are 6,043 kitchen group artifacts (37.9% of the total) and at the kitchen there are 1,640 kitchen group artifacts (36.6% of the total). The ceramics are dominated by earthenwares represented by creamwares, pearlwares, and whitewares. 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). 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). Pearlwares exhibit a bluish color where the glaze is thickly puddled. Whitewares, which were manufactured after 1820 (South 1977), exhibit no discoloration where thickly puddled[36]

Yellow ware, distinct from the yellow-glazed earthenwares of the eighteenth century, is a simple kitchen or tableware with a buff or yellow paste and a clear glaze (Ramsay 1947:7). It occurs both plain and with bands of white, blue, and black decoration.

Redwares are an early form of low fired earthenware made from red colored clays. Glazes may be found on one or both surfaces, or the vessel may be unglazed. These redwares were locally produced during the entire nineteenth century and are therefore difficult to date. In Pennsylvania redware production began in 1780 and continued to 1904 (Lasansky 1979:6).

Porcelains are fine-grained, highly vitrified, white bodied wares which are usually translucent. Most of the examples from Stoney/Baynard are white which may represent undecorated portions of Chinese, English, or American made wares. Given the lack of clear diagnostic attributes on these examples, these specimens could not be solidly dated. Examples of Chinese, Canton, and English porcelains are represented at Stoney/Baynard. Chinese examples are thin, hard fired, and often contain a thin line of brown glaze on the lip or edges. English porcelains are usually slightly more porous and lack the brown glaze lines. It is often difficult to distinguish the two, particularly given the fragmentary nature of archaeological specimens (Noel Hume 1970:137). Canton porcelain is a term for the deteriorated Chinese trade porcelain of the early nineteenth century and is characterized by "muddy" or sloppy designs (Noel Hume 1970:262-263). American porcelains consist of a soft paste, relatively thick body, and a sharp white color.

Three major categories of stonewares are present at Stoney/Baynard: alkaline glazed, salt glazed, and slip glazed. The alkaline glazed stonewares are discussed by Burrison (1975) and Greer (1977, 1981). This glaze, distinctively Southern, was developed about 1810 in Edgefield District, South Carolina, and spread into North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Texas. The glazed consists of an alkaline flux (such as wood ashes or slaked lime) combined with silica (such as clay, sand, or glass) and water. The colors range from cream to browns on oxidized vessels and from a pale yellow-green to deep olive on vessels fired in a reducing atmosphere.

Salt glazing was introduced in England during the late 1600s, and examples of eighteenth century salt-glazed wares at Stoney/Baynard include Westerwald, White Salt Glazed, and British Brown Mottled. The nineteenth century examples, however, are typically industrial, wheel-thrown pottery. The process and types of salt glazed pottery are described by Greer (1981:180-192). The texture of salt glazing may vary from a very

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[36] The difficultly distinguishing between whiteware and ironstone has been discussed by South (1974:247-248), who uses an "ironstone-whiteware" category, and Price (1971:11) who uses a whiteware category which includes ironstones. 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. In general, however, there are very few examples of ceramics which might be potentially classified as "ironstone" at Stoney/Baynard.

Table 2.
Major types of pottery at Stoney/Baynard

	Main House		Slave Quarters		Kitchen	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Slipware			20			
Jackfield	1		9		1	
Clouded wares			3		5	
Agate wares			2		1	
Delft			1		5	
Creamware	4		713		93	
Pearlware	3		868		375	
Whiteware	28		1639		465	
Yellow ware			33		15	
Redware			58		16	
Burnt earthenwares	6		325		2	
UID			32		3	
Total Earthenwares	42	97.7%	3438	93.9%	981	94.4%
White salt glazed			2			
Westerwald			4		2	
Black basalt			3			
British brown mottled			2			
Salt glazed	1		66		4	
Alkaline glazed			22		13	
Slip glazed			12		1	
UID			1			
Burnt stonewares			1			
Total Stonewares	1	2.3%	113	2.9%	20	1.9%
Underglazed			30		6	
Overglazed			21		3	
White			77		9	
Total Porcelains	0	0.0%	128	3.2%	38	3.6%

fine salt texture with a thin glaze to a well-developed "orange-peel" texture to an extremely heavy salt texture with runs and agglutinations.

The last category, that of clay or slip glazes, includes Albany and Bristol slip wares. Greer notes that these slips were becoming significant by the beginning of the nineteenth century and that the Albany slip was discovered in 1825 (Greer 1981:194).

Ceramics are the most temporally sensitive artifact for the time period represented by the Stoney/Baynard occupation. Due to the detailed information they provide on the span and intensity of site use, as well as the information they provide as status indicators, they will be discussed in more detail in the "Dating, Patterns, and Status" portion of the report. The major types of pottery from the various structures at Stoney/Baynard are summarized by Table 2.

Earthenwares are, by far, the most common type of pottery, representing over 90% of all of the collections. Stonewares are very uncommon. However, coastal plantations generally have low quantities of

stonewares (see, for example, Trinkley 1994). They appear to be more prevalent at back country plantations, probably because earthenwares were harder to obtain (Trinkley et al. 1993). Porcelains are equally as rare. This is probably due to the slave context as well as the kitchen setting where more utilitarian wares might be found.

A small collection of Colonoware ceramics was recovered in the excavations at Stoney/Baynard. The most cogent published discussion of these wares is provided by Wheaton et al. (1983:225-250), who suggest that the low-fired earthenwares were produced by black slaves for their own use. Pottery called River Burnished or Catawba is similar and was thought to have been produced by Indians for sale or trade (see Ferguson 1985). It is possible that the River Burnished wares were also produced by slaves. No Colonoware was recovered from the main house. At the house slaves' quarters 21 examples were recovered. Of those, 12 (or 57.1%) can be categorized as River Burnished. Only two pieces of Colonoware were recovered in kitchen excavations.

The next collection to be considered in the Kitchen Artifact Group is the container glass. A total of 107 fragments were recovered from the main house, 1945 from the house slaves' quarters, and 576 from the kitchen. These materials are summarized in Table 3.

The "black" glass fragments are typical of wine or ale bottles. Bottle fragments with thinner walls, gentle lines, and kick ups are attributed to champagne, wine, or brandies, while those with thicker walls, pronounced shoulders, and flat bases are characteristic of stout or ale. Those with thinner walls, when in a fragmentary state, appear more light olive in color. Examples of both are found at the site, although it is impossible to exclude the bottles' use for other purposes after the original contents were consumed. Gin or case bottles were also found at the site. Since the seventeenth century, they were used to hold gin, their square shape being ideal for shipping inside wooden crates (Spillman 1983:68). The minimum vessel count for both black and light olive bottles at the main house is three. One is cylindrical in shape while the other two represent case bottles. At the house slaves' quarters 16 cylindrical and three case bottles were identified, and at the kitchen three cylindrical and one oval-based bottles were recovered.

Panel bottles are usually clear or aqua in color and probably contained proprietary or "patent" medicine. While these concoctions frequently contained a high percentage of alcohol, Wilson notes that it would be a mistake to assume these preparations were primarily consumed for their alcohol content. He notes that nineteenth century living conditions were such that there were a "plethora of fevers and aches" to which proprietary medicines were routinely applied (Wilson 1981:39). No pharmaceutical bottles were identified from the main house, while 13 pharmaceutical bottles were recovered from the house slaves' quarters and two from the kitchen. Three of the bottles from the quarters had embossed fragments. One bottle is "THOs HURLEY'S // COMPOUND SYRUP / OF / SARSAPARILLA // LOUISVILLE, K.Y.". According to Fike (1987:217), Thomas A. Hurley was a Louisville druggist in 1838. Hurley's was the proprietor of this medication in 1855. Another bottle is labelled "FARMERS // XXX // HORSE MEDICINE / S.F. CAL.". Fike (1987:146) provides no dating information for this item. "SCHENCK'S // SEAWEED // TONIC" was also found represented in the collection. The oval indented panel on the bottle held a small box of pills. The product was introduced in the 1830s (Fike 1987:236).

The remainder of the collection from the house slaves' quarters consists of four aqua cylindrical bottles, four brown cylindrical bottles, one brown case bottle, and three light blue cylindrical bottles. Although no diagnostic marks were found on the bottle fragments, the light blue bottles probably represent Charleston soda water bottles. Soda water was used as a mixer with alcohol, as a medical aid, and as a substitute for drinking water. A number of bottlers from Charleston began distributing their products in the 1840s and Robins and Holcombe (1970) have compiled information about the various bottlers making them very temporally sensitive objects. At the kitchen, four aqua cylindrical bottles and one case bottle were recovered.

The tableware collection from all of the structures is dominated by fragments of drinking containers.

Table 3.
Bottle glass and minimum vessel counts from Stoney/Baynard Plantation

Main House

Color	#	%	MVC	Vessel type
Black	56	52.3	3	1 Cylindrical 2 Case
Lt. Olive	35	32.7		
Clear	11	10.3		
Aqua	5	4.7		
Total	107	100.0	3	

House Slaves' Quarters

Color	#	%	MVC	Vessel type
Black/Lt. Olive	1134	58.3	19	16 Cylindrical 3 Case
Clear	140	7.2	1	1 Pharmaceutical
Aqua	421	21.6	16	12 Pharmaceutical 4 Cylindrical
Brown	229	11.9	5	4 Cylindrical 1 Case
Pale blue	3	0.1		
Light blue	13	0.7	3	3 Cylindrical
Burnt	5	0.2		
Total	1945	100.0	44	

Kitchen

Color	#	%	MVC	Vessel type
Black/Lt. Olive	450	78.1	4	3 cylindrical 1 oval
Clear	51	8.8	1	1 pharmaceutical
Aqua	53	9.2	6	4 cylindrical 1 case 1 pharmaceutical
Brown	7	1.2		
Cobalt blue	4	0.7		
Light blue	8	1.4		
Total	576	100.0		

In addition, a number of table utensils were identified. They are summarized in Table 4. While the collection from the main house is too small to be used for comparative purposes, the collection from the quarters and the kitchen does provide some interesting information. At the house slaves' quarters, expensive lead glass tumblers and stemmed glassware was found. In addition, of the utensils present (N=7), three have bone handles which are more expensive than the iron ones often found in association with field slaves. This is not necessarily surprising, since it is well known that house slaves were sometimes given the planter's cast offs.

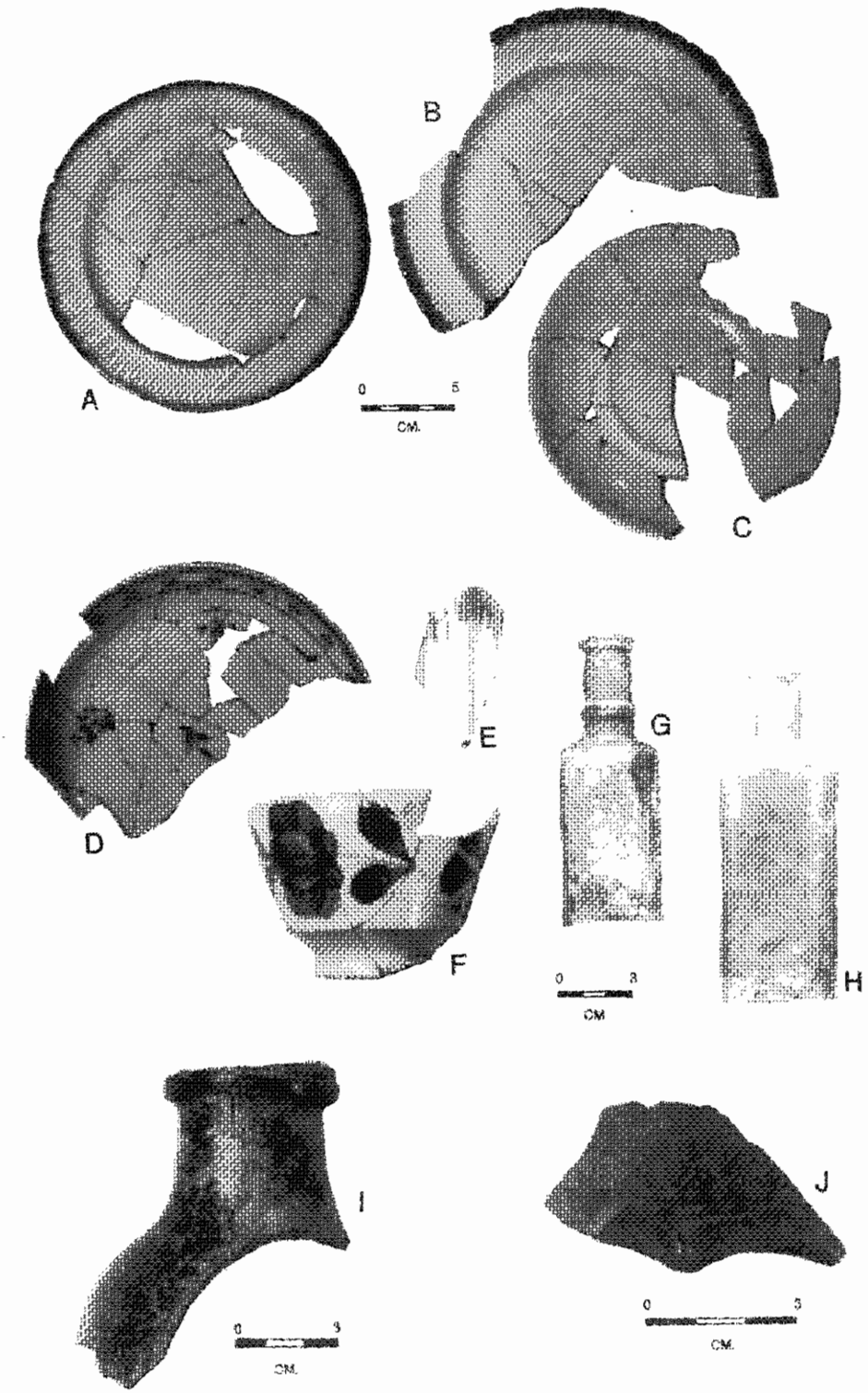

Figure 22. Kitchen related artifacts from the house slaves' quarters. A, blue edged whiteware twiffler; B, blue edged whiteware plate; C, whiteware saucer; D, polychrome handpainted pearlware bowl; E, green edged whiteware pitcher or vase fragment; F, blue handpainted pearlware cup; G-H, pharmaceutical bottles; I, dark olive green bottle; J, black basalt stoneware.

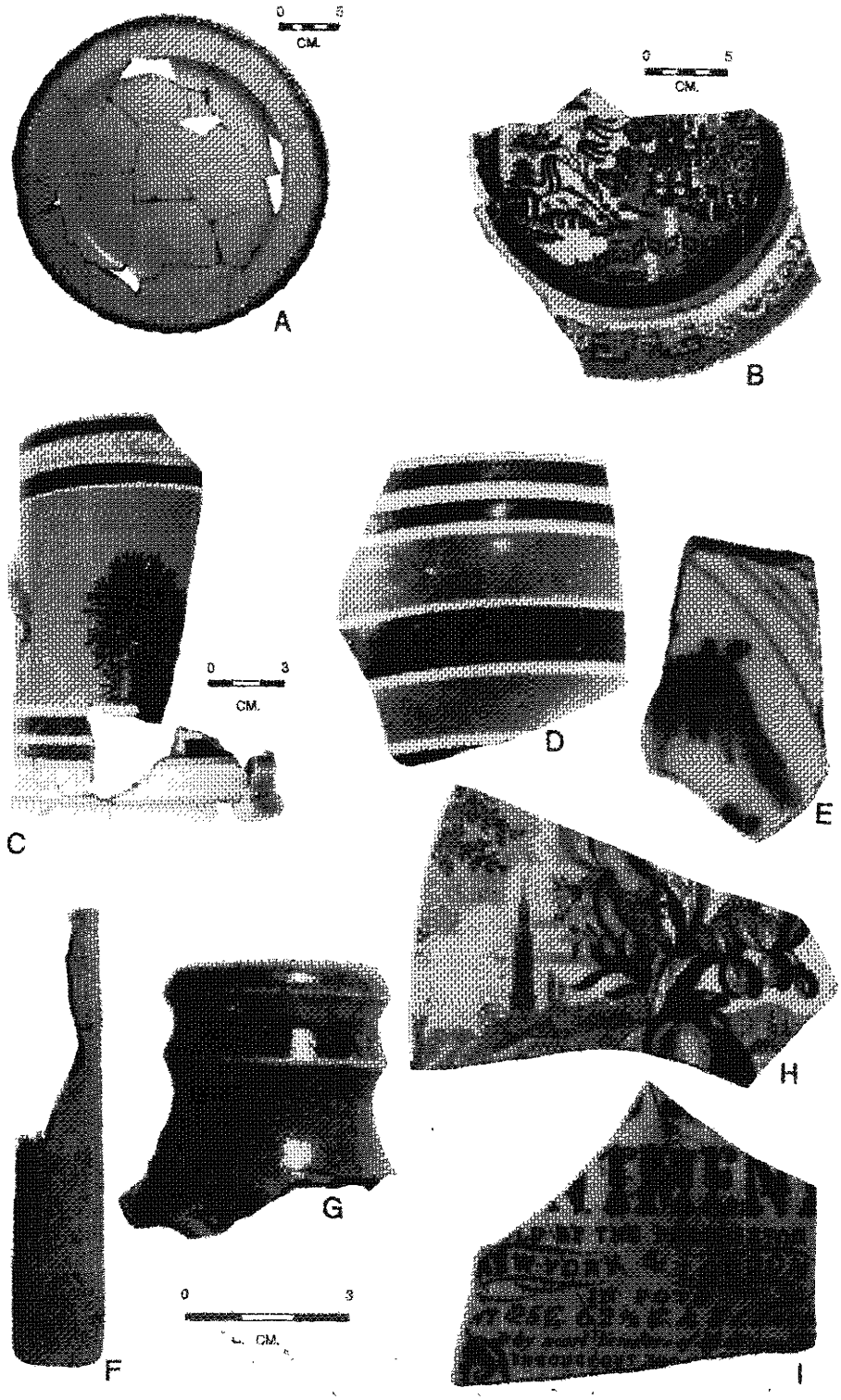

Figure 23. Kitchen related artifacts from the kitchen. A, blue edged whiteware plate; B, blue transfer printed whiteware "blue willow" pattern plate; C, mocha whiteware mug; D, annular whiteware bowl fragment; E, blue decorated delft; F, bone utensil handle; G, alkaline glazed stoneware bottle fragment; H, red transfer printed whiteware; I, brown transfer printed whiteware.

The kitchen contained generally less expensive items, indicating that most of the planters good tablewares were kept at the main house. Often tableware items (such as knives, spoon, forks, and glasses) were kept in the pantry and their care was the responsibility of the butler (Hardyment 1992:12). The good table china was the responsibility of the housekeeper and was often kept under lock and key (Hardyment 1992:38-39).

No kitchenwares were recovered from the main house which is probably due to the small sample size. At the house slaves' quarters kitchenwares include 12 iron dish fragments, 15 kettle fragments, 92 pot/pan fragments, an embossed wine bottle label ("Port" w/ crossed anchors), 10 tin can fragments, and one stove grill fragment. The large quantity of pot/pan fragments, kettle fragments, and tin can fragments strongly suggests that the house slaves prepared their own meals at home. At the kitchen 10 kettle fragments were recovered. While one might expect more cooking vessel fragments at the kitchen, the absentee owner situation at Stoney/Baynard may have resulted in the planter's kitchen being used on relatively rare or sporadic occasions.

Architectural Artifact Group

At the main house a total of 2246, or 89.81%, of the artifacts recovered are classified as architectural. The most common items are nails, accounting for 72.6% of the group. At the house slaves' quarters, architectural artifacts consist of a total of 9010 items or 60.9% of the total artifacts. Again, nails are the most

Table 4.
Tablewares from Stoney/Baynard Plantation

Artifact	Main House	House Slaves' Quarters	Kitchen
Pale yellow plain glass tumbler fragments		1	
Light green glass tumbler fragments	3		
Clear plain glass tumbler fragments	1		3
Manganese glass "thumb print panel" tumbler fragments			1
Clear plain lead crystal tumbler fragments		5 (1 vessel)	
Clear panel lead crystal tumbler fragments		1	
Clear ribbed glass tumbler fragments	1		
Pressed glass tumbler fragment		1	
Faceted glass tumbler fragment		1 (1 vessel)	
Plain lead crystal goblet fragments		5 (1 vessel)	
Clear glass goblet fragments			5
Clear glass handled cup fragments			1
Clear glass pitcher fragments			1
Pressed glass unidentified vessel		1	
Cut glass unidentified vessel		1	
Milk glass lid, to small dish/bowl			1
Iron spoon handle		1	
Iron fork fragment		2	
Bone handled/iron fork		1	
Iron knife blade	1	1	1
Crosshatched bone utensil handle		1	
Bone utensil handle		1	
Metal cup fragment		1	
Total items	**6**	**23**	**13**

common artifacts accounting for 93.3% of the group. At the kitchen a total of 2498, or 55.8%, of the artifacts are architecturally related. Of those, 2330 (or 93.3%) are nails.

Both wrought and machine cut nails are present at the structures at Stoney/Baynard, although machine cut nails are by far the most common. Hand wrought specimens, which range in size from 2d to 60d, date from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries, with the peak 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 could have been used interchangeably at Stoney/Baynard, particularly given the sparsity of manufactured items on the Sea Islands.

"Modern" machine cut nails account for the vast majority of the identifiable collections. 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). Table 5 provides a summary of the architectural artifacts identified in the various collections.

As different size nails served different functions, it is possible to use the relative frequencies of nail types to indicate building construction details. Nails were early designed by their penny weight, which

Table 5.
Architectural artifacts from Stoney/Baynard

	Main House		Slaves' Quarters		Kitchen	
Size	W	C	W	C	W	C
2d	4		12	2	1	
3d	33		11	12	3	6
4d	5	2	16	59	3	14
5d	1	27	7	52	6	49
6d	4	97	6	143	6	119
7d	3	2	6	53	3	29
8d	8	10	12	92	8	45
9d	4	3	9	36	1	21
10d	36	1	4	132	2	33
12d	2		3	24	6	10
16d	1	2		17	4	11
20d			1	6	3	8
30d				5	1	2
40d					1	1
50d						1
60d					1	0
Total nails	101	144	87	633	49	349
Fragments	153	331	91	3480	47	1259
Total	254	475	178	4113	96	1608
UID nails		914		4113		626
Spikes and fragments		11		94		51
Window glass		610		503		110

W = wrought; C = cut

Table 6.
Probable function of intact nails at Stoney/Baynard Plantation

Function	Main House #	Main House %	Slaves' Quarters #	Slaves' Quarters %	Kitchen #	Kitchen %
small timbers, shingles (2d-5d)	72.0	29.4	171	23.8	82.0	20.6
sheathing, siding (6d-8d)	124	50.6	312	43.4	210	52.8
framing (9d-12d)	46.0	18.8	208	28.9	73.0	18.3
heavy framing (16d-40d)	3.00	1.20	28.0	3.90	33.0	8.30

compared the weight of a nail to that of a silver penny. Gradually, the term came to designate length rather than weight but the equivalence varied over time; it was not until the 1890s that penny weights were thoroughly standardized (Orser et al. 1982:675).

One of the few commonly accepted rules in the nail length is, "to have the nails full three times as long as the sheeting Board is thick" (Bettesworth and Hitch 1981:2:n.p.). Within certain broad limits the size of nails used to perform a certain task was flexible, depending on the carpenter and the availability of nails. This variation is reflected in Orser et al. (1982:677). As a rough guide, however, 2d to 4d nails were commonly used to fasten small timbers and shingles; 6d to 8d nails were used for sheathing or siding; 9d to 12d nails were used for framing; and 16d to 40d were used for heavy framing. Table 6 illustrates the number and percentage of nails at the various structures by probable function.

All three structures yield relatively similar profiles, although the main house generally has a higher quantity of smaller nails used for shingling, sheathing, and siding. Very few heavy framing nails or spikes are found which is consistent with the tabby construction as well as eighteenth century peg construction. In addition, 34.8% of the identifiable nails are wrought, also suggesting an eighteenth century construction date. The slave quarters also appears to be peg construction, with only 3.9% of the nails suitable for heavy framing. Here, however, wrought nails represent only 4.1% of the collection. This may indicate a slightly later construction date. The kitchen reflected a similar profile, with only 5.6% of the nails being wrought. Overall, the collection of nails suggests that the main house was the first of the three buildings to be constructed.

A large amount of window glass (N=610) was recovered from the main house, indicating a relatively large amount of pane glass windows. Excavations at the house slaves quarters also yielded a substantial amount (N=510) of window glass. This again indicates that there were a number of pane glass windows. A fairly small amount (N=110) of window glass was obtained at the kitchen. This suggests maybe one or two windows. Since the square footage excavated at the house slaves' quarters and kitchen was similar, clearly the kitchen had fewer paned glass windows.

Oddly, no construction hardware was recovered from excavations in the main house. It is probable that the house was stripped of all its usable hardware either during the Civil War or in the postbellum period. At the house slaves' quarter, construction hardware consisted of four iron rods (three with hammered ends), 1 brass roofing tack, two iron roofing tacks, and one item that appeared to be construction related but was unidentifiable. No hinges, pintles, shutter dogs, etc. were recovered, again suggesting that most of the useful hardware was stripped out of the houses. At the kitchen, one strap hinge, one door latch fragment, and five lock box fragments were recovered. It may be that no attempt to strip the kitchen of hardware was made since the architecture was probably not as complicated and the hardware not as valuable as at the main house and

slave quarters. No doorlock parts were recovered at the main house, and only one item was recovered at the house slaves' quarters. This item is a keyhole cover with a ghost of the keyhole on the backside.

Furniture Artifact Group

Furniture items at the main house consisted of 25 fragments of lamp or lantern glass and five fragments of mirror glass. At the house slaves' quarters furniture items consisted of one iron upholstery tack, six brass upholstery tacks, three mirror glass fragments, two vase fragments, one fragment of lamp or lantern glass, one brass escutcheon, and one decorative brass surround. The vase fragments were green feather edged whiteware from the same vessel. Given its decorative similarity to flatwares, it is possible that the vase was intended to be used as a center piece for a dining table. Only three furniture items (one brass upholstery tack and two mirror fragments) were recovered at the kitchen. This is consistent with its non-domestic function.

Arms Artifact Group

No arms artifacts were recovered in excavations at the main house. This is probably because game was not cleaned here. Instead, it was probably cleaned either in the slave yard or the kitchen yard. While the house slaves may have had guns, the field slaves probably had more opportunity to hunt. Joyner (1984:100-101) stated that game meats were popular among slaves and that they shot predators as a part of their work. A northern visitor reported that "[t]he blacks are never better pleased when they are hunting in the woods; and it is seldom that they have not in the larder the flesh of a raccoon or opossum" (quoted in Joyner 1984:100-101). At the house slaves' quarters 16 lead shot, two .38 caliber bullets, and two gunflints were recovered in excavations. Two lead shot were recovered in kitchen excavations. This suggests that much of the cleaning of game may have taken place in the yard of the slave quarters. Slaves were known to supplement their rations with wild game, and it is likely that they cleaned and cooked the game at home.

Tobacco Artifact Group

No tobacco related items were recovered from the main house. At the slave quarters, 318 tobacco related artifacts were recovered and at the kitchen there were 193 tobacco artifacts (Table 7). Of the 283 pipestems from the house slaves' quarters, 14 (or 4.9%) are decorated. Of the 72 bowls, 18 (or 25%) are decorated. Most of the tobacco items are made of kaolin clay, although two redware stems, and one glazed redware stub stemmed pipe bowl was recovered. At the kitchen, five (or 3.2%) of the 154 pipestems are decorated. Of the 39 pipe bowls, 18 (or 46.1%) are decorated.

The "TD" pipes have been discussed by Hopkins (1937), Humphrey (1969), and Walker (1966). Whatever the origin of this mark might be, by the mid-nineteenth century several makers were using it as a style, and the D. McDougall and Co. of Glasgow was advertising them as "Plain T.D." (Sudbury 1980:45-46).

Several specimens were manufactured by the D. McDougall Company of Glasgow. McDougall pipes are the most common at Stoney/Baynard, bearing witness to the fact that the company was the "largest export manufacturer" of clay pipes in the nineteenth century. The firm opened in 1846 (Humphrey 1969:17-18).

The Davidson pipes are useful for dating since Davidson purchased the Murray Company in 1862. Walker states that "there seems no possibility that a Davidson marked pipe could date before 1862 at the earliest" (Walker in Humphrey 1969:15).

Peter Dorni was a French pipemaker in the mid-nineteenth century whose wares were widely imitated for export in the United States (Omwake 1969). Whether the specimen in the collection was actually manufactured by Dorni is unknown. W. White and Sons were the largest manufacturer of pipes during the middle to late nineteenth century (700 varieties being produced in 1867), but they were not exported in large

Table 7.
Tobacco related items from the house slaves' quarters and kitchen

Item	Slave Quarters	Kitchen
4/64" pipestems	77	20
5/64" pipestems	165	119
6/64" pipestems	31	15
7/64" pipestems	1	
Pipestem fragments	9	
Pipe bowls	64	39
Decorated stems		
PETER DORNI, ribbed	3	1
MCDOUGALL/GLASGOW, plain	7	1
DOUGLAS/_____, plain	1	
MCDOUGALL/DAVIDSON, plain	1	
DAVIDSON/GLASGOW, plain		1
WHITE/GLASGOW, plain	2	
"78"		1
knobbed stem		1
redware	2	
yellow glazed tip		1
Bowl decoration		
Plain	54	21
Leaves	1	11
Leaves/Stars	1	
Leaves/Stars and TD	3	
Leaves/Ribs	1	
Ribs	2	1
Ribs/Dots	1	
Ribs (redware)	1	
Stars		1
Rouletting		1
Knobbed		1
Grapes		1
Crown and Flag		1
Skeleton	1	
TD	5	
"1" and "4" on foot	1	
"78"		1
Glazed redware head w/laurels	1	

quantities (Humphrey 1969:18). The number "78" often appears on White pipes, usually molded in relief on the left side of the stem preceding the name of the manufacturer. It is likely that the number identifies a style. In addition, the specimen with "1" and "4" on the foot probably identifies a style.

One very interesting item was a portion of a stem and a bowl with knobs mimicking a thorned flower stem. No maker's mark was located on this specimen. Other unusual designs include a skeleton and a crown

and flag motif.

Clothing Group Artifacts

Only one clothing related artifact was recovered from excavations at the main house. This specimen is an untyped two-hole, two-piece brass button measuring 1.6 cm in diameter. At the house slaves' quarters, 85 buttons and 23 other clothing related items were recovered, and at the kitchen 37 buttons and nine other clothing related items were recovered. These items are summarized in Tables 8, 9, and 10.

The porcelain style buttons, known as "small chinas" by collectors, are common throughout the nineteenth century, and Luscomb (1967:183) notes that most were between ⅜ and ¾ inch in size. She notes that while white is most common, all colors may be found and almost 600 patterns are known. The largest American manufacturer, Charles Cartledge and Company (New York), operated from 1848 to 1856,

Table 8.
Buttons from the house slaves' quarters

Type	Decoration	#	Other (measurements in cm.)
7	brass, cast with eye in place	7	4-1.3 cm, 1-1.75 cm, 2-2.4 cm
11	white metal, one piece	1	1-1.9 cm
15	one hole bone disk	9	1-0.8 cm, 1-1.0 cm, 1-1.1 cm, 1-1.2 cm, 2-1.3 cm, 1-1.4 cm, 1-1.35 cm, 1-1.6 cm
18	brass, stamped design on back	4	1-1.4 cm (PLATED/LONDON), 1-1.5 cm (GILT), 1-1.8 cm (LONDON/EXTRA/RICH), 1-2.0 cm (WARRANTED/LONDON*COLOUR)19
	5-hole bone	3	2-1.1 cm, 1-1.7 cm
20	4-hole bone	10	3-fragments , 1-1.15 cm, 1-1.3 cm, 1-1.6 cm, 1-1.65 cm, 2-1.7 cm , 1-2.0 cm
21	4-hole two piece iron	12	1-0.8 cm, 1-1.4 cm, 1-1.5 cm, 5-1.7 cm, 3-1.8, 1-1.85 cm
22	4-hole shell	5	1-0.85 cm, 1-0.95 cm, 1-1.0 cm, 1-1.3 cm, 1-1.7 cm
23	4-hole porcelain	20	2-fragments, 1-0.9 cm, 2-1.0 cm , 2-1.0 cm pie crust rim, 1-1.05 cm, 6-1.1 2-1.1 cm pie crust rim, 1-1.2 cm pink rim, 1-1.25 brown rim, 1-1.3 cm, 1-1.7 cm
29	cast soft white metal with gilt	1	1-fragment
31	spun brass with drilled eye	1	1-1.9 cm
32	4-hole stamped brass	1	1-1.6 cm (MODE DE PARIS)
---	brass button	1	1-fragment
---	burnt white metal button	1	1-2.1 cm
---	4-hole brass with iron center	1	1-1.3 cm
---	brass button back	1	1-fragment
---	bone button	2	2-fragment
---	white porcelain button	1	1-fragment
---	black bacolite with brass eye	1	1-1.0 cm (reverse=N.R. Co./PT)
---	concave white porcelain 4-hole	1	1-1.1 cm
---	1-hole shell	1	1-0.8 cm
---	shell with attached eye	1	1-1.15 cm

Table 9.
Buttons from the kitchen

Type	Decoration	#	Other (measurements in cm.)
7	brass, cast with eye in place	1	1-2.15 cm
15	one hole bone disk	2	1-1.2 cm, 1-1.65 cm
18	brass, stamped design on back	3	1-1.3 cm "TREBLE * GILT*" 1-1.8 cm "TREBLE * STANDARD* GILT 1-2.1 cm eagle w/ "BEST QUALITY"
19	5-hole bone	4	1-frag, 1-1.15 cm, 1-1.8 cm, 1-2.0 cm
20	4-hole bone	5	1-1.6 cm, 1-1.65 cm, 1-11.7 cm, 1-1.75 cm, 1-1.8 cm
22	4-hole shell	1	1-frag
23	4-hole porcelain, white	9	2-1.05 cm (1 black), 6-1.1 cm, 1-1.15 cm
27	domed, machine embossed brass, eye loose or soldered in hole	2	1-1.3 cm (concentric circles), 1-1.4 cm
29	cast soft white metal w/ gilt	2	1-1.8 cm, 1-2.0 cm.
32	4-hole stamped brass	2	1-1.2 cm, 1-1.3 cm "G.B.& A.'s PATENT"
---	brass button fragment	1	
---	cut black glass	1	1-2.7 cm. large star
---	shell w/ brass eye	1	1-1.1 cm.
---	brass	1	1-1.7 CM ("HITCHCOCK & CO ** PATENT**")
---	shell button fragment	1	
---	porcelain with brass eye	1	1-1.35 cm

Table 10.
Other clothing items from the slave quarters and kitchen

Item	Slave	Kitchen
Scissors fragments	2	1
Bone lace bobbin fragments	2	
Iron buckles and buckle fragments	5	5
Brass buckle	1	1
Brass grommets	5	
Clothing rivets	2	
Eye (for hook & eye catch)	1	2
Thimbles	3	
Safety pin	1	
Straight pin, round head	1	
Brass shoe tap	1	
Shoe leather	1	

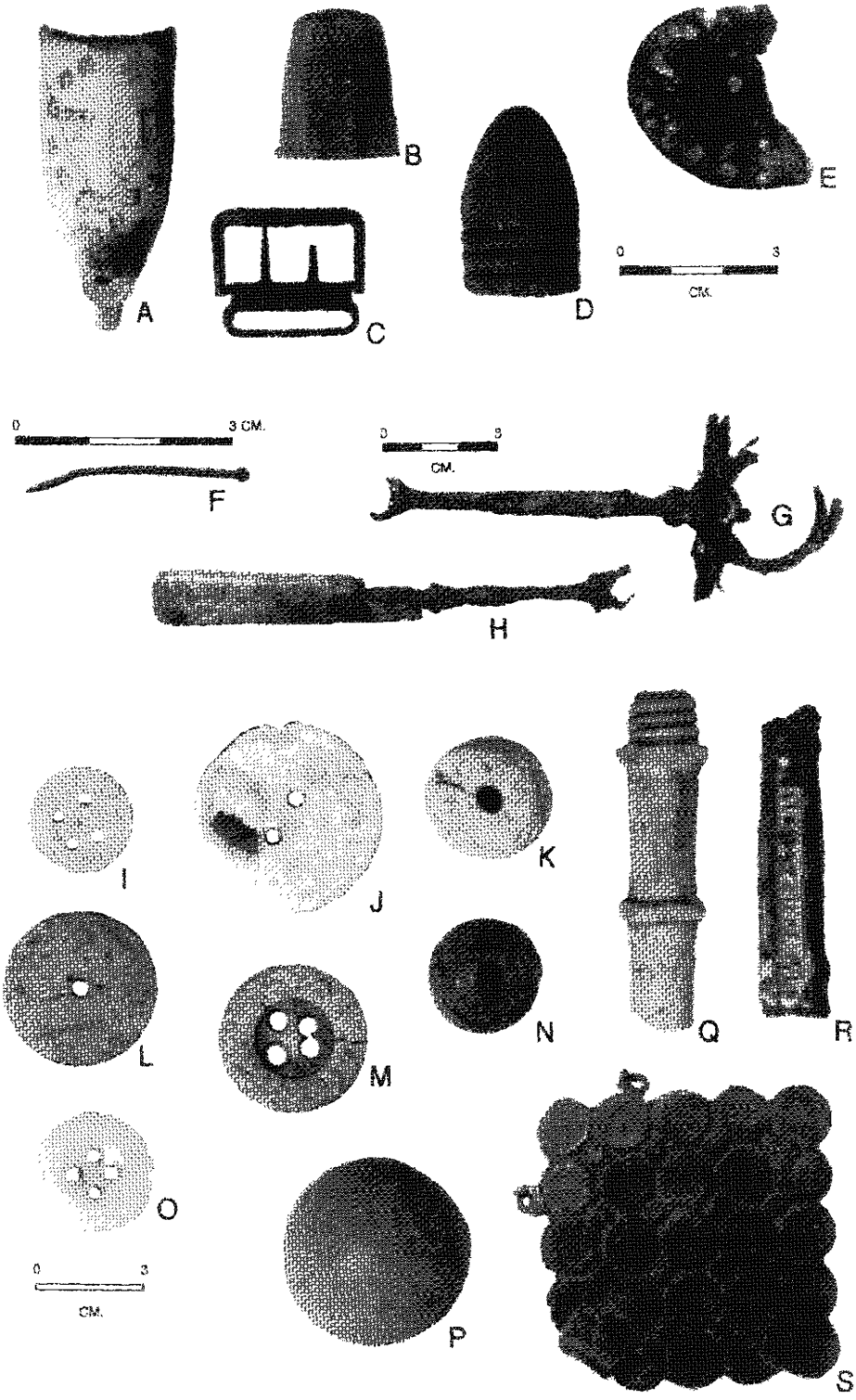

Figure 24. Other artifacts from the house slaves' quarters. A, TD pipebowl; B, brass thimble, C; brass buckle; D, minie ball; E, shoe heel; F, straight pin; G, horse bit; H, bone handled fork; I-J, shell buttons; K, glass bead; L-M, bone buttons; N, glass bead; O porcelain button; P, clay marble; Q, bone lace bobbin fragment; R, metal clamp stamped "WALLASE PATENT"; S, brass jewlery item.

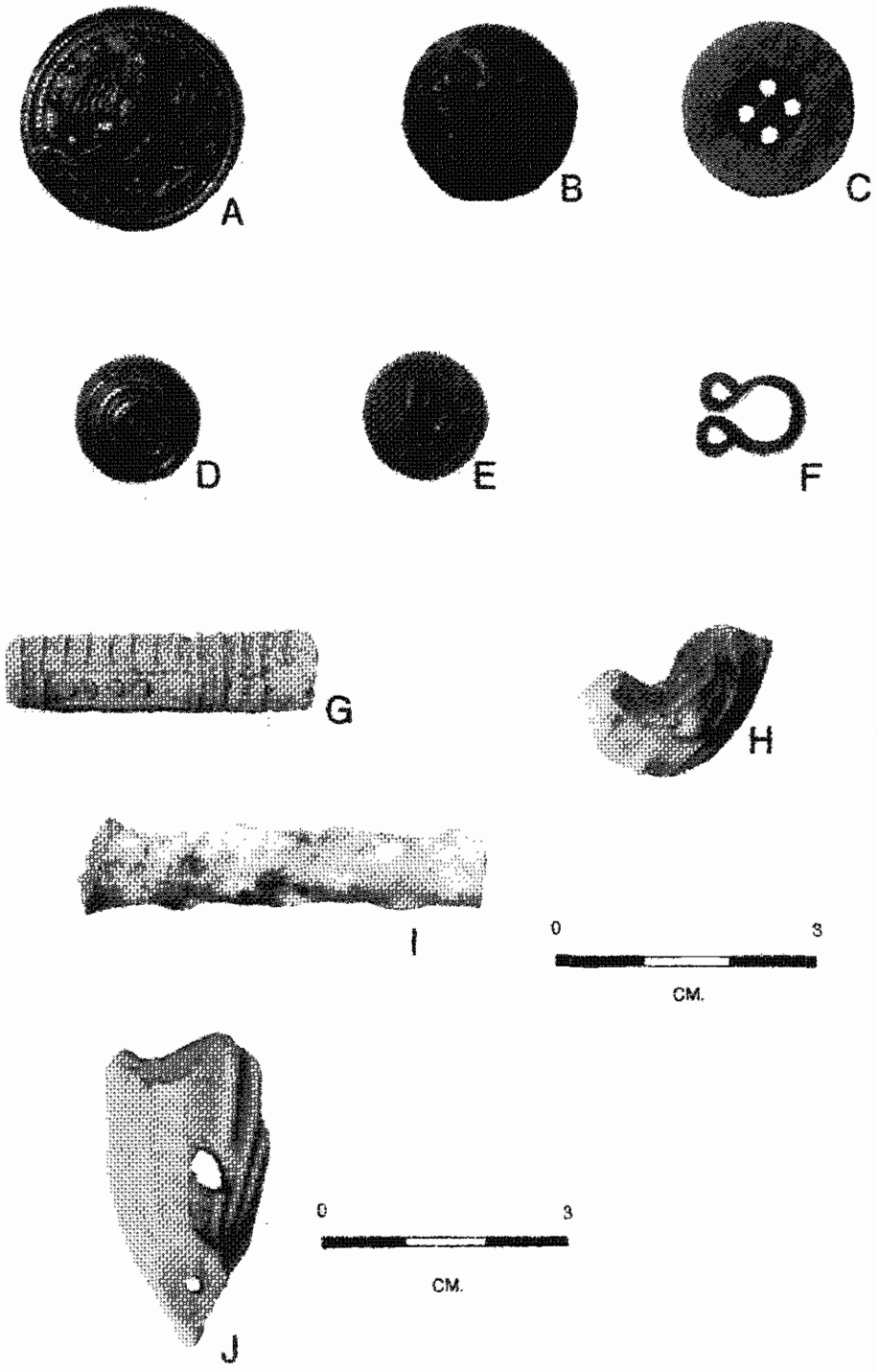

Figure 25. Other artifacts from the kitchen. A, General Issue U.S. Navy button; B, General Issue Union Army button; C, bone button; D-E, brass buttons; F, eye from "hook and eye" fastener; G, Peter Dorni pipestem; H-I; "thorned" pipebowl and stem; J, pipebowl with drilled hole.

producing about 100 patterns (Luscomb 1967:31).

One unusual category of buttons includes the hard black rubber (or bacolite) buttons, which were produced beginning in 1851 when Nelson Goodyear secured his patent for an improvement in the manufacture of hard rubber. The one specimen from Stoney/Baynard was imprinted with "NR Co.", a reference to Novelty Rubber Company of New Brunswick, New Jersey, which operated from 1855 to 1870 (Luscomb 1967).

The clothing related artifacts from Stoney/Baynard, particularly the slave quarters, clearly gives evidence for sewing. Three scissors fragments, three thimbles, one straight pin, and two lace bobbin fragments were recovered. One of the thimbles was small and stamped "SINCERITY" at the base. The small size suggests it belonged to a child. The two bone lace bobbin fragments are of particular interest, since they are rarely found at rural sites while relatively common in urban areas. Whiting (1971:231) provides a detailed inventory of the various styles of lace bobbins. Lace-makers were probably rare and the skill highly valued among the planter class.

Personal Artifact Group

The personal artifact group includes seven specimens of which one was recovered from the main house while the remainder were recovered at the house slave quarters (Table 11). No personal artifacts were recovered at the kitchen. The item from the main house is a mother of pearl push pin head. Items from the house slave quarters indicate that slaves possessed many items normally attributed to a high status occupant. Jewelry items consist of a small turquoise cross for a necklace, a brass locket face, and a gold plated lapel pin. In addition, six beads were recovered. Otto notes that beads in general, especially faceted hexagonal beads, "may prove to be reliable indicators of slave status on Old South plantations and farm sites" (Otto 1984:74). Two of the beads from Stoney/Baynard are the six-sided beads which Otto refers to.

Table 11.
Personal artifacts from Stoney/Baynard

Items	Main House #	Slave Quarters #
Mother of pearl push pin head	1	
Pencil fragment		1
Iron pocket knife		1
Turquoise cross for necklace		1
Small iron key (for cabinet or jewelry box)		1
Iron key fragment		1
Gold plated lapel pin (inlay missing/flower motif)		1
Aqua umbrella ink bottle		1
Brass umbrella tip		1
Stamped brass locket lid		1
Beads (6 total):		
Wlb2 round very large opaque white-wire wound		1
Wlbl6 round very large opaque black-wire wound		1
lc4 tubular faceted six sided large opaque black-drawn tube		1
lf3 large clear emerald faceted six sided-drawn tube		1
tubular red exterior/blue interior opaque-no type		1
green transculent faceted bead-no type		1

Table 12.
Activities group artifacts

Artifacts		Main House #	Slave Quarters #	Kitchen #
Military Items				
	minie balls	2	6	
	minie ball, tip cut off		1	
	impacted minie ball		1	
	impacted bullet, unknown type		1	
percussion caps		1	28	
	gen. Issue US coat button	2	7	1
	gen. Issue US cuff button		3	
	Connecticut military button		1	
	pre-Civil War military button			1
Toys				
	clay marbles		1	2
	porcelain doll arm		1	
Tools				
	sawblade fragment		1	
	file			1
	chisel			1
	shingle hammer			1
	millstone fragment		1	
	whetstones		2	
	small ax/hatchet head		1	
	planter's eye hoe	1		
Fishing Gear				
	lead shot fishing weight		2	1
Storage Items				
	strap iron		48	9
	padlock			1
	iron bucket handle		1	
	iron pail fragment	1	1	
	brass strap with rivets		1	
Stable/Barn Items				
	horseshoe fragment		1	
	harness bit		1	
Miscellaneous Hardware				
	iron wood screws		22	7
	wire	1	21	1
	fence Staple		23	2
	brass nails and fragments		24	25
	brass tube clamp		1	
	brass nails		35	
	brass rivets and fragments		11	11
	screw eye		1	
	links of chain		3	
	iron rivets and fragments		1	
	bolts		1	1
	bolt w/ nut		1	1
	brass washer		1	
	brass rod end		2	
	brass rings		1	
	brass spike fragment		1	
	nut	1	1	1
	brass hasp		1	
	brass clamp		1	
	wire coil		1	
	washer, iron			1
Other Items				
	UID metal fragments		59	26
	UID iron and brass item		1	
	flat metal, thin, no curvature	50	82	13
	melted lead		18	
	lead fragments			4
	brass strip		3	1
	UID brass		16	1
	flint cobble fragment		1	
	flat brass		13	
	flint fragment		1	
	white metal strip		1	
	flat white metal		2	
	white metal bar		1	
	iron ring (1 inch)		1	
	clamps (WALLASES PATENT JUNE 15 1888 OR 1868)		5	
	redware flowerpot fragment	1	1	
	slate fragment		1	
	quartz rock	1		
	chain links			1
	S hook			1

The pencil fragment and the aqua umbrella ink bottle suggest that at least one of the house slaves may have been literate. Given the evidence that some were highly skilled and specialized (lacemaking), this suggestion is quite likely.

Activities Artifact Group

While not the largest, the Activities Group, is the most diverse category at Stoney/Baynard. Included in the collection are military items, toys, farm tools, construction tools, fishing gear, storage items, stable items, various hardware, and miscellaneous other items. Sometimes, it can be the most revealing category in terms of household make-up since it often reflects the types of skill people had.

The military items recovered at Stoney/Baynard are relatively sparse reflecting limited use by Union troops during the Civil War. Probably the most unusual item was a Connecticut regimental button. The button contains the state seal and is stamped on the reverse side with the maker's mark (see Albert 1969:122). The company is "SCOVILLE & CO. / WATERBURY" and began stamping buttons after 1849 (Albert 1969). The remaining Civil War era buttons were general issue Union Army buttons with a spread eagle and lined shield. This style was adopted in 1854 for enlisted troops and continued to 1902 (Albert 1969). One pre-Civil War button was found at Stoney/Baynard with an eagle on an anchor which was the design used by the US Navy. On the reverse side is stamped "FIRMIN & SONS, LTD" which was an English manufacturer for the Armed Forces as well as for family liveries. The maker's mark changed through time, but the Firmin & Sons, Ltd. mark is found on specimens dating from 1824 to 1825 (Luscomb 1967:74).

Toys from Stoney/Baynard were relatively sparse. There were three clay marbles and one porcelain doll arm. While children could have played with the marbles, they were more often used for an adult game. The porcelain doll arm as well as the child's thimble suggests that one of the occupants of the main house complex was a young girl.

Most of the tools from the main house complex are carpenter's or wood working tools (e.g. saw, shingle hammer, hatchet, and chisel) suggesting that one of the occupants was skilled in carpentry. While being able to use these items doesn't necessarily mean that carpentry was the primary skill, many plantations had someone whose main responsibility was the construction and up keep of buildings (see Joyner 1984:60). There are some instances where slaves served as part-time artisans and part-time house slaves. For instance, Renty Tucker, a Waccamaw plantation slave, served as both carpenter and house slave.[37] There are additional items present which are tool maintenance items (e.g. file and whetstones). The planter's eye hoe may have been used in a nearby garden since the agricultural fields may have been a considerable distance from the main house complex.

Lead shot fishing sinkers were recovered from both the slave quarters and kitchen areas. All of the sinkers were large and were probably used on fishing nets.

Storage items include strap iron and brass which indicate the presence of wooden barrels. By the 1850s, steam powered saws and drills had taken over the handcrafting of the less complex elements (Kilby 1971:151). The industry was still divided into dry and wet cooperage. Dry storage barrels were adequate to hold non-liquids such as sugar and flour. Usually, the wood was cheap, soft, and second hand. The better dry coopers could make dry-tight barrels, which contained products such as butter, soap, and syrup. Metal bands were normally used on wet storage barrels, whereas split hazel, coiled elm, or wire was used on the cheaper dry storage barrels (Kilby 1971:49). Wet coopers made barrels for wine, whiskey, ale, sauces, and jam. The

[37] Renty Tucker was a skilled carpenter and a part-time house slave. His wife, Josephine, was a seamstress, and they had one son, Benjamin. Renty built Plowden C. J. Weston's summer home on Pawley's Island (Joyner 1984:19-20).

wood was normally oak (Kilby 1971:70). It is likely that the cheaper dry storage barrels were also used at Stoney/Baynard. However, their wooden bands have decayed and are no longer present in the archaeological record. Other storage items include pail and bucket fragments. Also, one "heart-shaped" padlock with a brass escutcheon and cover was recovered.

Stable and barn items include one horse shoe fragment and one harness bit fragment.

Micellaneous hardware is listed in Table 12 and includes a wide variety of items. The majority of these items consist of brass nails, iron bolts, nuts, washers, and rivets.

Other items include unidentifiable iron, brass, and lead, as well as items that could not be attributed to any specific activity. Five small brass clamps were recovered at the slave row which were of particular interest. These clamps were marked "WALLASES PATENT JUNE 15, 1888 (or 1868)". What these clamps were attached to is unknown. They are small, measuring approximately 2.5 cm by 0.5 cm.

Dating, Patterns, and Status

Dating Synthesis

Ceramics, in particular, are useful for obtaining mean occupation dates (Bartovics 1981; South 1977). Other artifacts, while useful, 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. Many artifacts, however, provide only a general time frame, such as "typical of the nineteenth century." On low status sites, such as a slave house, extra caution is required since there can be considerable curation, or re-use, of objects with mid-eighteenth century materials finding their way into late eighteenth or early nineteenth century deposits. Occasional references in the previous discussions have revealed that the artifacts at Stoney/Baynard date primarily from the late eighteenth century and early to mid nineteenth century. Historical documents suggest that the property was occupied about 1790 until about 1860, yielding a mean historic date of 1825.

Main House

Based on the high percentage of wrought nails there is some indication that the main house is the oldest. However, wrought nails continued to be used into the early eighteenth century. Although they were more expensive than the new, cheaper cut nails, they were superior for certain purposes, especially where they required clinching or for finishing and trim work (Nelson 1968:3). Since the main house was the most elaborate building on the plantation, the strong presence of wrought nails is not surprising and should not be taken in isolation as evidence of an early date of construction.

Given the sparsity of datable ceramics recovered at the main house (N=9) during these excavations, it is more appropriate to discuss date of construction and period of use based on a combination of these wares and those retrieved during previous work (Adams and Trinkley 1991). Table 13 presents the mean ceramic date. These ceramics suggest a range of occupation of about 1795 to 1840 (Table 14) and an 1820 mean date of occupation. The terminal date of 1840 roughly corresponds with the death of John Stoney. This suggests that during the Baynard ownership, the plantation main house was rarely used.

House Slaves' Quarters

At the house slaves' quarters three mean ceramic dates were developed to better understand when various features were deposited and to help better understand changing landscape use. These three dates were derived from general structure and yard excavations, the shell path, and a rear yard shell midden. Table 15 provides these mean ceramic dates which vary widely. The earliest deposits were found in the shell path which

Table 13.
Mean ceramic date at the Stoney/Baynard main house

Ceramic	Mean Date (xi)	Number fi	fi x xi
Overglazed porcelain	1730	2	3460
Underglazed porcelain	1730	2	3460
Creamware,			
annular	1798	2	3596
undecorated	1791	6	10746
Pearlware,			
blue handpainted	1800	2	3600
blue transfer printed	1818	30	54540
edged	1805	3	5415
annular	1805	2	3610
undecorated	1805	7	12635
Whiteware,			
blue edged	1853	2	3706
blue hand painted	1848	1	1848
blue transfer printed	1848	8	14784
other transfer printed	1851	4	7404
undecorated	1860	10	18600
Total		81	147404

MCD = 147404 ÷ 81 = 1819.8

yielded a mean date of 1804.7, suggesting that this landscape feature was part of the original plantation design and was not later added or, perhaps, was made from earlier middens. Based on the presence of Westerwald and white salt glazed stoneware, which have an ending manufacture date of 1775 (South 1977), it appears that the path could have been in place by that time. However, one must remember that slaves were often given old, cast off ceramics which produce a "time lag" effect. The yard and structure excavations yielded a mean date of 1827.3 which is very close to the mean historic date of 1825. The ceramics suggest that the structure was initially occupied about 1780 or 1790 and abandoned in the third quarter of the nineteenth century (Table 14). The rear yard shell midden yielded a late mean date of 1843.4. The ceramics present in the midden suggest that it was deposited sometime after 1820 (Table 14), and as was earlier suggested, may reflect a change in refuse disposal pattern due to the placement of a fence around the main house and house slaves' quarters sometime between 1838 and 1859. This refuse disposal pattern shift would have consisted of a change from sheet midden deposition to discrete midden deposition just outside the fence.

Kitchen

Just like the house slaves' quarters, the kitchen excavations provided a number of loci which were examined separately to better understand the period of use of the structure and the surrounding landscape. Mean ceramic dates were derived from general Zone 1 excavations, Zone 1 interior and exterior excavations (including units containing evidence of foundations), structure post holes, Zone 1a, and Zone 1b midden and non-midden. Zone 1a consisted of deposits above the midden while Zone 1b non-midden included dark soils surrounding the base and sides of the midden. These calculations indicated essentially two periods of deposits - the period associated with the general use of the kitchen and the period of midden deposit. General use dates ranged from 1831.0 (Zone 1) to 1845.5 (Zone 1a). Dates for the midden (Zone 1b) ranged from 1803.3 to 1804.5 (Table 16). Based on the calculations for ceramic contribution (Table 14), the kitchen was used from

Table 14.
Probability contribution of ceramics at the various structures and structure loci

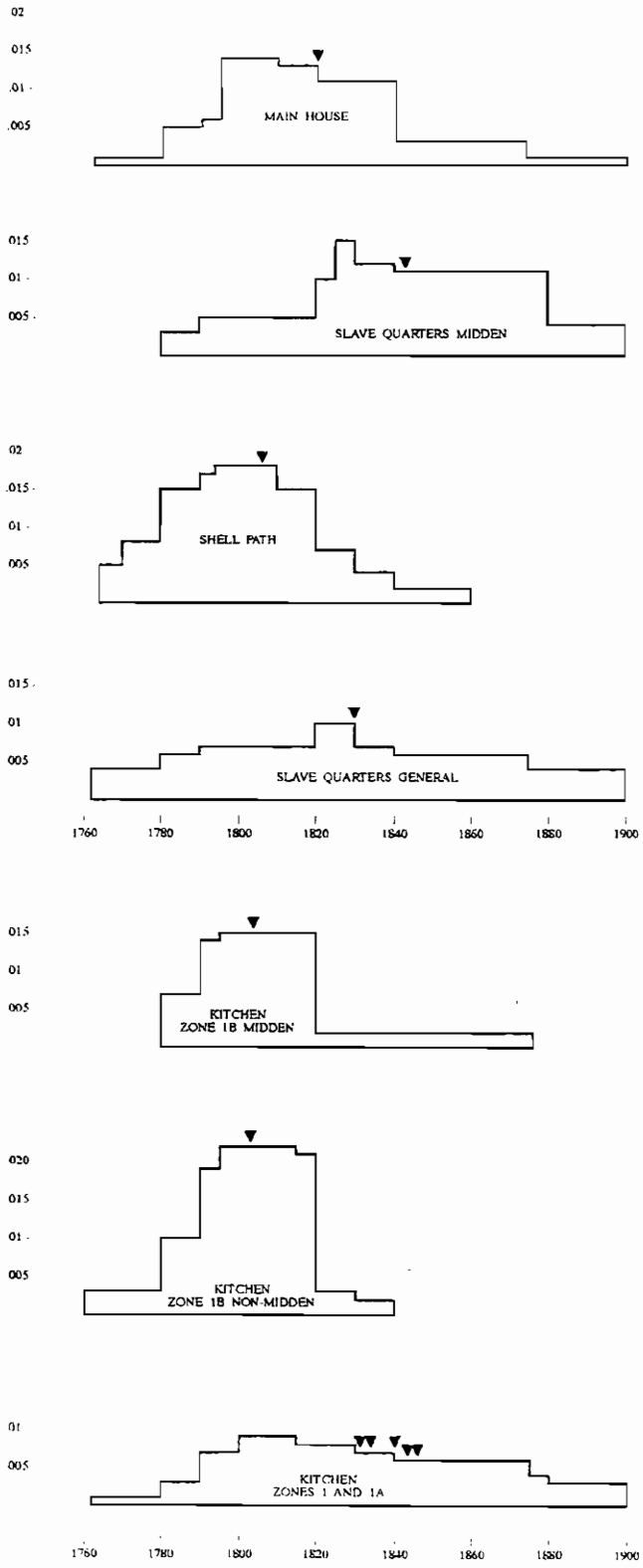

Table 15.
Mean ceramic dates for the house slaves' quarters

Ceramics	Mean Date xi	Yard & Structure fi	Yard & Structure fi x xi	Path fi	Path fi x xi	Midden fi	Midden fi x xi
Overglazed porcelain	1730	18	31140	3	5190		
Underglazed porcelain	1730	24	41520	6	10380		
Nottingham stoneware	1755	4	7020				
Westerwald	1738	3	5214	1	1738		
Scratch blue, wsgsw	1760			2	3520		
Black basalt	1785			3	5355		
British brown mottled stoneware	1733	2	3560				
Ginger beer stoneware bottles	1860			1	1860		
Lead glazed slipware	1733	13	22529	7	12131		
Jackfield	1760	7	12320	2	3520		
Clouded wares	1755	3	5265				
Agate ware	1780	2	3560				
Plain delft	1720	1	1720				
Creamware,							
cable	1805	4	7220				
annular	1798	15	26970				
hand painted	1805	9	16245				
blue transfer printed	1790			2	3580		
edged	1805	12	21660			1	1805
overglazed	1788	3	5364				
undecorated	1791	509	911619	158	282978		
Pearlware,							
mocha	1843	1	1843				
poly hand painted	1805	3	5415	46	83030		
blue hand painted	1800	19	34200	39	70200		
blue transfer printed	1818	146	265428	53	96354	15	27270
edged	1805	76	137180	42	75810	11	19855
annular/cable	1805	15	27075	12	21660	12	21660
scratch blue	1770	1	1770				
undecorated	1805	273	492765	73	131765	30	54150
Whiteware,							
green edged	1828	24	43872				
blue edged	1853	83	153799	1	1853	72	133416
hand painted	1848	59	109032	1	1848	8	14786
blue transfer printed	1848	243	449064	13	24024	21	38808
other transfer printed	1851	132	244332	4	7404		
annular	1866	4	7412	1	1866	10	1866
sponge	1853	5	9265				
mocha	1866	3	5598				
undecorated	1860	731	1359660	39	72540	84	156240
Yellow ware	1853	33	61149				
Total		2480	4531785	509	918606	264	486650
MCD		1827.3		1804.7		1843.4	

Table 16.
Mean ceramic dates for the kitchen

			Zone 1		Zone 1 interior		Zone 1 exterior		Post Holes
	xi	fi	fi x xi	fi	fi x xi	fi	fi x xi	fi	fi x xi
Overglz. porcelain	1730	2	3460			1	1730		
Underglz. porcelain	1730	4	6920			2	3460		
Westerwald	1738	1	1738						
Stoneware bottles	1860	2	3720						
Jackfield	1760					1	1760		
Clouded wares	1755			2	3510				
Agate wares	1758	1	1758						
Creamware,									
undecorated	1791	41	73431			5	8955	2	3582
Pearlware,									
poly hand painted	1805	12	21660	2	3610			1	1805
blue hand painted	1800	8	14400			2	3600		
blue trans printed	1818	31	56358	14	25452	8	14544	1	1818
edged	1805	16	28880	5	9025	7	12635	2	3610
annular	1805	50	90250	5	9025	3	5415	1	1805
undecorated	1805	59	106495	6	10830	4	7220	7	12635
Whiteware									
gr. edged	1828	6	10968			3	5484		
bl. edged	1853	26	48178	4	7412	15	27795	2	3706
poly hand painted	1848							1	1848
blue trans printed	1848	51	94248	13	24024	12	22176		
other trans printed	1851	14	25914	2	3702	4	7404	1	1851
annular	1866	17	31722	6	11196	11	20526	2	3732
undecorated	1860	129	239940	39	72540	54	100440	12	22320
Yelloware	1890	9	17010			5	9450		
Total		**479**	**877050**	**98**	**180326**	**137**	**252664**	**32**	**58712**
MCD			**1831.0**		**1840.1**		**1844.3**		**1834.7**

			Zone 1a		Zone 1b non-midden		Zone 1b midden	
	xi	fi	fi x xi	fi	fi x xi	fi	fi x xi	
Westerwald	1738					1	1738	
Clouded wares	1755					3	5265	
Agate wares	1758							
Decorated Delft	1750			2	3500	3	5250	
Creamware,								
undecorated	1791			8	14328	37	66267	
Pearlware,								
poly hand painted	1805			1	1805	3	5415	
blue hand painted	1800			12	21600	3	5400	
blue trans printed	1818			5	9090	4	7272	
edged	1805	2	3610	1	1805	8	14440	
annular	1805	3	5415	12	21660	33	59565	
undecorated	1805	1	1805	2	3610	41	74005	
Whiteware								
gr. edged	1828	1	1828	1	1828			
bl. edged	1853	2	3706					
poly hand painted	1848	1	1848					
blue trans printed	1848	4	7392			9	16632	
other trans printed	1851					5	9255	
annular	1866			1	1866	1	1866	
undecorated	1860	13	24180	1	1860	2	3720	
Yelloware	1890	1	1890					
Total		**28**	**51674**	**46**	**82952**	**153**	**276091**	
MCD			**1845.5**		**1803.3**		**1804.5**	

about 1790 to the Civil War era, while the midden was deposited sometime between about 1790 and 1820.

Artifact Patterning

Up to this point we have used South's artifact groups and classes as simply a convenient and logical means of ordering data, clearly recognizing that other methods are available (e.g., Sprague 1981). In this section we will use these functional categories 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).

There can be no denying that the technique has problems (see, for example, Joseph 1989), some of which are very serious; however, 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).

South (1988:27) has complained that in recent years archaeological reports have implied that "recognizing an artifact pattern is the goal of archaeology" with no effort to "go beyond the pattern recognition stage". Yet South argues it is not enough to produce patterns, one must also *explain* what cultural processes produced them.

Regardless, even at this level of a fairly simple, heuristic device, pattern analysis has 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 Artifact 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." Several of these patterns are summarized in Table 17. 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 18 presents patterns for the main house, house slaves' quarters, and the kitchen. The pattern produced by the main house reflects an inflated architecture group. This pattern has been produced by other plantation main houses, such as Vanderhorst and Shoolbred plantations on Kiawah Island and is the result of the location of units on top of or immediately adjacent to structures (see Trinkley 1994). Other nineteenth century cotton plantation main house site have produced much higher kitchen group percentages, probably because excavations focused on yard areas. At Longpoint Plantation (Poplin and Scardaville 1991:143) the kitchen group represented 43.3% and the architecture represented 56.6% of the assemblage. At Wando Plantation (Wayne and Dickenson 1990: 10-53) the kitchen group represented 66.8% and the architecture group represented 30.4% of the assemblage.[38] Previous work in the yard area at the Stoney/Baynard main house (Adams and Trinkley 1991) yielded an artifact pattern similar to those found at the house slaves' quarters and kitchen. The kitchen group represented 30.3% and the architecture group represented 67.8% of the collection which is clearly different from the plantations described above. It is possible that future research

[38] Both of these planatations are located in the Charleston area.

Table 17.
Comparison of published artifact patterns

Artifact Group	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern[a]	Revised Frontier Artifact Pattern[a]	Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern[a]	Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern[b]	Piedmont Tenant/ Yeoman Artifact Pattern[c]
Kitchen	51.8 - 65.0%	35.5 - 43.8%	70.9 - 84.2%	20.0 - 25.0%	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%

Sources:

[a] Garrow 1992

[b] Singleton 1980

[c] Drucker et al. 1984:5-47 (no range was provided, but has been partially reconstructed for the Kitchen and Architecture Groups)

Table 18.
Artifact patterns for the main house, house slaves' quarters, and kitchen

Group	Main House (%)	House Slaves' Quarters (%)	Kitchen (%)
Kitchen	6.20	37.8	36.63
Architecture	90.3	56.3	55.80
Furniture	1.00	0.10	0.07
Arms	0.00	0.10	0.04
Tobacco	0.00	2.00	3.86
Clothing	0.05	0.70	1.03
Personal	0.05	0.10	0.00
Activities	2.40	2.90	2.57

will note regional differences between Charleston and the Beaufort/Hilton Head Island area.

The house slaves' quarters and the kitchen produced almost identical patterns, suggesting that functional differences will not appear at the gross level of artifact group percentages, particularly at main house complexes. This was also reflected at Vanderhorst Plantation on Kiawah Island where the two kitchens reflected patterns similar to contemporaneous main house complex low status houses. Percentages ranged for the kitchen group from 54.0% to 59.0% and for the architecture group from 33.8% to 38.7% for both kitchen and main house complex low status housing. It is likely that all outbuildings were constructed in a similar manner and style to assist in the appearance of an orderly plantation.

Table 19 provides a comparison of Stoney/Baynard with slave contexts from other nineteenth century Hilton Head and Daufuskie Island cotton plantations. The similarity between these plantations may be related to the economy of cotton cultivation as well as the isolation of the sea islands. None of these fall within the range of any published pattern. The closest fits are the Georgia Slave Pattern (Garrow 1982) and the Revised Frontier Artifact Pattern (Garrow 1982). Joseph (1989) suggests that the Georgia Slave Pattern would be better termed the nineteenth century slave pattern, indicating that "improved" slave houses spurred on by abolitionist movements of the early nineteenth century are reflected by a much higher architecture group percentage than in the eighteenth century. In respect to the Revised Frontier Pattern, it has been argued in this text that the sea islands were a "frontier" because of their isolation from the mainland.

Table 19.
Comparison of Stoney/Baynard with other nineteenth century Hilton Head area slave contexts

Plantation	Kitchen	Architecture
Stoney/Baynard, house slave	36.7%	57.0%
Stoney/Baynard, kitchen	36.5%	55.5%
Cotton Hope[1]	33.0%	64.0%
Haig Point[2]	31.5%	61.3%
Mitchelville[3]	29.7%	58.8%

Sources:
[1] Trinkley 1989: Table 15
[2] Trinkley 1987: Table 25
[3] Trinkley 1987: Table 3

Status

It has been noted that a number of relatively expensive items made their way into the archaeological record at the house slaves' quarters including high status ceramics, bone handled utensils, stemmed glassware, and jewelry. Many of these items may have been cast offs from the main house, or alternatively, the planter may have purchased them for the enjoyment of their house slaves. Joyner (1984) notes that:

> [p]lanters regarded house servants to be of a higher status than that of field hands because of their training and the higher price they commanded in the marketplace. Slaves generally seem to have shared a sense of status stratification ranging from house servants at the top through drivers and artisans on down to field hands. The Allston house servants were said to have felt themselves 'vastly superior to the ordinary run of negroes, the aristocracy of the race'. Ben Horry regarded his mother as 'up so high' because she was a nurse to the white children. Ex-slave Mariah Heywood, according to Chandler, felt herself to be of a higher status because she was a house servant who identified closely with her master's family. 'The fact that she was raised by aristocrats,' Chandler wrote, 'shows plainly in her dealings with both races.' Elizabeth Allston Pringle, on the other hand, contended that 'Negroes are by nature aristocrats, and have the keenest appreciation and perception of what constitutes a gentleman' (Joyner 1984:83-84).

Joyner (1984:84-85) further notes that although their were many material advantages to being a house servant, they were "constrained to behave as their master wished them to behave." The field hands had more occasions to socialize away from the "watchful eyes of the masters and overseers" and could work for themselves or relax in the evenings, weekends, and holidays. The house slave was on constant call.

Given these advantages and disadvantages, briefly mentioned here and elaborated on in an earlier section, the presence of expensive items at the house slaves' quarters is not totally surprising.

To complicate matters, some slaves had a different definition of status than the white planter elite. Field slaves may have been hostile to house slaves because of the domestic servants' amiable relationships with whites. Researchers need to recognize that the presence of expensive ceramics does not necessarily reflect high social status, particularly in the plantation setting where an economically low status person can materially benefit from a economically high status person. However, this high social status in one community may be accompanied by low social status in another. Clearly, status in the plantation setting is a complicated issue.

Miller (1980; 1991a) 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 provide a means of roughly determining the economic position of the household that used and discarded the ceramics" (Garrow 1982:66). While this technique could revolutionize our perceptions of economic status, it has not been embraced by all historical archaeologists. It is limited to the cream colored wares (and a few other ceramics) of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, its methodology has not been perfected, and index values do not exist for all of the decoration/ware types for all of the time periods.

Recently, Miller has complained that ceramics from archaeological sites occupied for long periods of time have been lumped together into "one assemblage whose only context to be considered is the site" (Miller 1991b:3). He states,

> Clearly, the lumping of excavated collections, particularly in sites occupied for long periods of time, is a cop out on one of the main objectives of archaeological research which is the study of changes through time. Instead of dealing with change within sites, much broader lumped periods are being used to study change in which sites are used as the basic building

Table 20.
Miller's index values for house slave loci

House Slaves Yard & Structure

	Creamware/Pearlware			Whiteware		
Plates	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product
Undecorated	1.00 (1800)	14	14.00	1.00 (1836)	11	11.00
Edged	1.53 (1802)	3	4.59	1.57 (1836)	8	12.56
Transfer Printed	5.25 (1796)	11	57.75	4.29 (1836)	14	60.06
TOTAL		28	76.34		33	83.62
Average Value			2.73			2.53

	Creamware/Pearlware			Whiteware		
Bowls	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product
Undecorated	1.00 (1800)	6	6.00	1.00 (1836)	4	4.00
Annular	1.60 (1799)	2	3.20	1.20 (1836)	9	10.80
Hand Painted	2.00 (1799)	3	6.00	1.80 (1836)	2	3.60
Transfer Printed	3.14 (1804)	3	9.42	2.80 (1836)	2	5.60
TOTAL		14	24.62		17	24.00
Average Value			1.76			1.41

	Creamware/Pearlware			Whiteware		
Cups/Saucers	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product
Undecorated	1.00 (1800)	6	6.00	1.00 (1836)	4	4.00
Annular				1.50 (1825)	1	1.50
Edged	1.24 (1814)	6	7.44	1.25 (1836)	4	5.00
Hand Painted	1.60 (1802)	1	1.60	1.50 (1825)	2	3.00
Transfer Printed	5.36 (1799)	4	21.44	3.00 (1833)	11	33.00
TOTAL		17	36.48		22	46.50
Average Value			2.15			2.11
Average Index			2.33			2.14

Shell Midden

	Creamware/Pearlware			Whiteware		
Plates	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product
Undecorated	1.00 (1808)	4	4.00	1.00 (1856)	2	2.00
Edged	1.25 (1804)	8	10.00	1.57 (1853)	8	12.56
Transfer Printed	6.00 (1814)	2	12.00	2.67 (1853)	7	18.69
TOTAL		14	26.00		17	33.25
Average Value			1.86			1.95

	Creamware/Pearlware			Whiteware		
Bowls	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product
Annular	1.20 (1814)	3	3.60	1.14 (1854)	3	3.42
Transfer Printed	3.14 (1804)	2	6.28	2.00 (1854)	1	2.00
TOTAL		5	9.88		4	5.42
Average Value			1.98			1.35

	Creamware/Pearlware			Whiteware		
Cups/Saucers	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product
Undecorated				1.00 (1856)	2	2.00
Transfer Printed				2.89 (1848)	1	2.89
TOTAL					3	4.89
Average Value						1.63
Average Index			1.88			1.81

Shell Path

	Creamware/Pearlware			Whiteware		
Plates	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product
Undecorated	1.00 (1801)	10	10.00			
Edged	1.58 (1802)	20	31.60	1.57 (1856)	1	1.57
Hand Painted	1.50 (1787)	1	1.50			
Transfer Printed	5.25 (1796)	1	5.25	2.67 (1855)	1	2.67
TOTAL		32	48.35		2	4.24
Average Value			1.51			2.12

	Creamware/Pearlware			Whiteware		
	Index Value			Index Value		
Bowls	Assigned (date)	Number	Product	Assigned (date)	Number	Product
Undecorated	1.00 (1801)	1	1.00	1.00 (1856)	1	1.00
Annular	1.60 (1799)	3	4.80	1.14 (1854)	1	1.14
Hand Painted	2.00 (1799)	1	2.00			
Transfer Printed	4.32 (1795)	4	17.28			
TOTAL		9	25.08		2	2.14
Average Value			2.79			1.07

	Creamware/Pearlware			Whiteware		
Cups/Saucers	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product
Undecorated	1.00 (1801)	1	1.00	1.00 (1856)	2	2.00
Hand Painted	1.60 (1806)	5	8.00			
Transfer Printed				2.89 (1849)	1	2.89
TOTAL		6	9.00		3	4.89
Average Value			1.50			1.63
Average Index			1.75			1.61

Table 21.
Miller's index values for kitchen loci

Kitchen Yard and Structure

	Creamware/Pearlware			Whiteware		
Plates	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product
Undecorated	1.00 (1805)	3	3.00	1.00 (1852)	12	12.00
Edged	1.25 (1804)	7	8.75	1.57 (1853)	18	28.26
Hand Painted	1.50 (1787)	2	3.00			
Transfer Printed	5.25 (1796)	3	15.75	2.46 (1854)	9	22.14
TOTAL		15	30.50		39	62.40
Average Value			2.03			1.60

	Creamware/Pearlware			Whiteware		
Bowls	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product
Undecorated	1.00 (1805)	5	5.00	1.00 (1852)	2	2.00
Annular	1.60 (1799)	9	14.40	1.14 (1854)	5	5.70
Hand Painted	2.00 (1804)	2	4.00			
Transfer Printed	3.14 (1804)	3	6.28	2.91 (1853)	3	8.73
TOTAL		18	29.68		10	16.43
Average Value			1.65			1.64

	Creamware/Pearlware			Whiteware		
Cups/Saucers	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product
Undecorated	1.00 (1805)	2	2.00	1.00 (1852)	4	4.00
Annular	1.50 (1825)	2	3.00			
Hand Painted	1.71 (1804)	1	1.71	1.23 (1853)	3	3.69
Transfer Printed				2.89 (1848)	2	5.78
TOTAL		5	5.71		9	13.47
Average Value			1.14			1.50
Average Index			1.73			1.59

Shell Midden

	Creamware/Pearlware			Whiteware		
Plates	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product
Undecorated	1.00 (1801)	1	1.00			
Edged	1.25 (1802)	3	3.75	1.57 (1848)	2	3.14
Transfer Printed	5.25 (1796)	1	5.25	3.90 (1848)	3	11.70
TOTAL		5	10.00		5	14.84
Average Value			2.00			2.97

	Creamware/Pearlware			Whiteware		
Bowls	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product
Undecorated	1.00 (1801)	3	3.00			
Annular	1.60 (1799)	1	1.60	1.14 (1854)	1	1.14
Hand Painted	2.00 (1799)	1	2.00			
Transfer Printed				2.90 (1848)	3	8.70
TOTAL		5	6.60		4	9.84
Average Value			1.65			2.46

	Creamware/Pearlware			Whiteware		
Cups/Saucers	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product	Index Value Assigned (date)	Number	Product
Annular	1.50 (1825)	1	1.50			
Hand Painted	1.80 (1825)	1	1.80			
TOTAL		2	3.30			
Average Value			1.65			
Average Index			1.66			2.74

blocks (Miller 1991b:3). He goes on further to state that lumping is appropriate at sites which were occupied less than 10 years and have not produced enough artifacts for meaningful break downs (Miller 1991b:3).

However, clearly there are many sites with no discernable stratigraphy and no discrete features with a ceramic assemblage suitable for detailed analysis. At Stoney/Baynard, the two shell middens are the best

proveniences for such a study, although they were used much longer than Miller recommends as being useful for status studies. Nonetheless, all of the proveniences will be examined, dividing the assemblages into early (creamware/pearlware; period circa 1790 to 1825) and late (whiteware; period post circa 1825). This will allow us to roughly examine any differences between proveniences through time. This temporal division may aid in determining how changing ownership and economic conditions (the death of Stoney, falling cotton prices, and the acquisition of the plantation by Baynard) affected the lifestyles of the house slaves. It may also be possible to better discern slave assemblages from planter assemblages, if they clearly co-exist at the site.

Miller's (1980; 1991a) ceramic index values have been used for the house slaves' quarters and the kitchen. The main house excavations did not produce enough ceramics to apply these values. However, Otto (1984) used the planter's kitchen at Cannon's Point Plantation as an indicator of planter wealth. As a result, it may be appropriate to consider the Stoney/Baynard kitchen ceramics as representative of the planter's collection. It should be cautioned that since the slaves prepared foods at the kitchen, a portion, if not most, of the collection may represent slave owned ceramics. Due to this uncertainty as to who the collection belongs, one of the research questions to be addressed by this study is "does the assemblage from the planter's kitchen belong to the planter or the slaves?."

Application of Miller's technique is shown in Tables 20 and 21. The resulting indices indicate that there was little or no change from the early to the later period in the value of ceramics. For the most part, the indices drop only slightly. Overall, the indices are low; most of the proveniences fall below 2.0. However, in the yard and structure excavations at the house slaves' quarters the indices are 2.33 for the early period and 2.14 for the late period, both of which are relatively high when compared to assemblages associated with field slaves (see Table 22). Another exception was the late period at the kitchen shell midden where the average index was 2.74, rising from 1.66. This should be viewed with caution since the feature only produced at minimum of 19 cream colored vessels.

Table 22.
Indices Associated with Field Slaves at other Sea Island Cotton Plantations

Assemblage	Average Index
Cotton Hope[1], eighteenth century (Structure 6)	1.55
Cotton Hope[1], nineteenth century (Structure 1)	1.47
Haig Point[2], nineteenth century (Structure 8)	1.39

[1]Trinkley 1990
[2]Trinkley 1988

These results suggest that changing ownership and falling cotton prices had little effect on the economic value of ceramics purchased. There is an indication, however, that during the later period more transfer printed wares were being purchased, probably because they were becoming easier to physically obtain and economically affordable (Tables 23 and 24).

Otto (1984:64-67) found that at Cannon's Point the slaves tended to use considerably more banded, edged, and hand painted wares than the plantation owner, who tended to use transfer printed wares. The overseer appears to have been intermediate on this scale, although the proportions of decorative motifs were generally more similar to the slaves than the owner. Part of the explanation, of course, involves the less expensive cost of annular, edged, and undecorated wares compared to the transfer printed wares. While transfer printed specimens were present in the slave assemblage at Cannon's Point, they represent a variety of patterns, and Otto (1984:66) suggests that either the planter purchased mixed lots of ceramics for slave use or the slaves themselves occasionally made such purchases. An additional, often advanced, explanation,

involves the use by slaves of discarded ceramics from the main house.

According to Miller, the cost of ceramics dropped significantly from 1809 to 1848 (Miller 1991a:2). For instance, in 1796 the index value of a 10 inch transfer printed dish was 7.5, compared to 2.3 in 1854 (Miller 1991a:14). A comparable shell edged vessel had an index value of 1.5 in 1796 and 1.2 in 1853. This indicates that transfer printed wares were much more affordable by the mid-nineteenth century.

Based on the percentages presented in Tables 23 and 24, the most common type of decorated ceramic during the early period of occupation was edged ware. In fact, a cursory examination of the edge styles indicated that the bulk of wares had an even symmetrical scalloped edge with straight or curved impressed lines. According to Hunter and Miller (1994:437), they were produced from about 1810 to 1835. The popularity of edged ware at Stoney/Baynard continued into the later period of occupation but was somewhat eclipsed by the popularity of transfer printed wares.

Table 23.
Decorative motifs for cream colored vessels at the house slaves' quarters

	Structure and Yard				Shell Midden				Shell Path			
	Early		Late		Early		Late		Early		Late	
Decoration	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Undec.	26	44.1	19	26.4	4	21.0	4	16.7	12	25.5	3	42.9
Edged	9	15.2	12	16.7	8	42.1	8	33.3	20	42.6	1	14.3
Annular	2	3.4	10	13.9	3	15.8	3	12.5	3	6.4	1	14.3
Painted		4	6.8	4	5.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	14.9	0
0.0												
Printed	18	30.5	27	37.5	4	21.0	9	37.5	5	10.6	2	28.6
Total	59		72		19		24		47		7	

Table 24.
Decorative motifs for cream colored vessels at the kitchen

	Structure and Yard				Shell Midden			
	Early		Late		Early		Late	
Decoration	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Undec.	10	25.6	18	31.0	4	33.3	0	0.0
Edged	7	17.9	18	31.0	3	25.0	2	22.2
Annular	11	28.2	5	8.6	2	16.7	1	11.1
Painted	5	12.8	3	5.2	2	16.7	0	0.0
Printed	6	15.4	14	24.1	1	8.3	6	66.6
Total	39		58		12		9	

Tables 25 and 26 examine the percentage of flatware, hollow ware, serving pieces, and utilitarian vessels from the various loci at the house slaves' quarters and the kitchen respectively. At Cannon's Point plantation, Otto (1984:68-69) found that in the planter's kitchen, serving flatwares (plates, platters, and soup plates) predominated the collection, representing 84% of the assemblage. At the slave cabin, bowls and serving

flatwares were essentially equivocal. The overseer fell between these two extremes with serving flatwares representing 72% of the collection. Although Miller (1991b) complained about Otto's lumping of the artifact assemblage at Cannon's Point, he stated that, "[t]he one place where Otto's argument holds up is in the area of vessel forms, i.e. bowls versus flat ware. These differences can be seen through time (Miller 1991b:5)." As a result, the assemblage has not been broken up into early and late for examination of shape and function.

Table 25.
Shape and function of ceramics at house slaves' quarters loci

	Yard & Structure		Shell Path		Midden	
Type	#	%	#	%	#	%
Tablewares	101	64.3	43	78.2	41	91.1
Plates	64	63.4	34	79.1	31	75.6
Bowls	34	33.7	7	16.3	9	21.9
Other	3	2.9	2	4.6	1	2.4
Tea & Coffeeware	51	32.5	10	18.2	4	8.9
Utilitarian/Storage	5	3.2	2	3.6	0	0.0

Table 26.
Shape and function of ceramics at kitchen locus

	General Excavations		Midden	
Type	#	%	#	%
Tablewares	96	79.3	23	74.2
Plates	55	57.3	11	47.8
Bowls	33	34.4	8	34.8
Other	8	8.3	4	17.4
Tea & Coffeeware	19	15.7	7	22.6
Utilitarian/Storage	6	4.9	1	3.2

At the house slaves' quarters, the functions and forms of the assemblage is characteristic of a middle status household, similar to the overseer at Cannon's Point. Both the midden and the shell path exhibited high percentages of plates. The general yard and structure excavations exhibited a slightly lower percentage of plates, yet it is still at the higher end of the spectrum. This area also contained the highest percentage of tea and coffeewares in the loci examined. The kitchen yielded a significantly different assemblage, more suggestive of lower status use. Plates represented only 57.3% and 47.8%, while bowls represented 34.4% and 34.8% of the collections.

The differences in the assemblages at the house slaves' quarters and kitchen is puzzling, since it is assumed that the people working in the kitchen were living at the house slaves' quarters. Not only is there a difference in vessel form and function, but there is also a difference in the economic value of the two assemblages. General yard and structure excavations produce index values of 1.73 and 1.59 at the kitchen and 2.33 and 2.13 at the house slaves' quarters. It is possible that the cook at Stoney/Baynard had his or her own house. In fact, the cook's spouse may have been a field slave, and he or she may have lived in the slave village.

While cooks generally had a high social status in the eyes of the planter, the material benefits may not have been that great if the individual did not live in close proximity to the big house. Table 27 presents some tableware percentages at field slave or freedmen sites on Hilton Head and Daufuskie Islands. When compared to Stoney/Baynard, the kitchen assemblage is very similar to those listed.

Table 27
Tableware percentages at sites with field slaves and freedmen

Type	Slave Cotton Hope 18th c.	Slave Cotton Hope 19th c.	Slave Haig Point 19th c.	Freedmen Mitchelville 19th c.
Plates	41.7	62.2	49.5	58.1
Bowls	41.7	31.9	43.7	32.2
Other	16.6	5.5	6.8	9.7

It is possible that the planter's cook was cooking all or some of the meals for the field slaves. In 1860, a coastal Georgia planter recommended that ". . . the food for negroes should be cooked either by the cook for the white family, or by some other woman; . . . " (quoted in Breeden 1980:112). This would explain the lower status profile found at the kitchen.

Planters who advocated having the slaves' meals cooked by one person gave a number of reasons for this practice. One planter stated that,

> Unless better provided for taking care of their provisons than is common among negroes, some will steal the meat from others, and the loser is compelled for the remainder of the week to live on bread, or the master must give him an additional allowance . . . . Another objection is that some are improvident and will get through with their whole allowance of meat before the week is gone, and consequently are a part of their time without any . . . . To make the negroes do their own cooking the objections are still more weighty. It encroaches upon the rest they should have both at noon and at night. The cooking being done in a hurry is badly done, being usually burnt outside while it is raw within, and consequently is unhealthy. However abundant may be the supply of vegetables, the hands have no time to cook them, and consequently are badly fed and have not the strength to do as much labor as they could otherwise perform with comfort (quoted in Breeden 1980:98-99).

How often this advice was followed is not known.

There were several planters who argued that it was better to give them their rations to do with as they wanted (see Breeden 1980:88-113). One South Carolinian stated that while some planters argued that the slaves were healthier if their food was cooked for them, "[o]ur experience is to the reverse -- the field hands are always healthier than the house servants, or of those who eat at the cook's table" (quoted in Breeden 1980:107). A Mississippi planter stated that,

> [h]ouse servants are not so healthy -- not because the mode of cooking is bad, but because they eat heartily, take no exercise, and have no advantage of the sun, like plants in the shade (quoted in Breeden 1980:108).

The ceramic assemblage from the general excavations at house slaves' quarters consists of a relatively

expensive set of dishes when compared to those found at field slaves quarters. At the kitchen, the value of the assemblage is lower and lacks any additional expensive items. This strongly suggests that the planter's assemblage is not reflected in the collection from the Stoney/Baynard kitchen. In fact, it is unlikely that any kitchen assemblage reflects the planter's possessions since the "good china" and eating utensils were often kept under lock and key in the plantation house. Usually, only trusted house slaves were given a key to the cabinet where these items were kept. It is quite possible that the assemblage Otto found at the planter's kitchen at Cannon's Point Plantation belonged to the house servants working there. It may be that he assumed that the ceramic assemblage belonged to the planter since most of the food refuse reflected planter diet.

Summary

The artifacts from the excavations at Stoney/Baynard were recovered from inside the main house, inside and around the house slaves' quarters, including a shell path and midden, and inside and around the kitchen, including a midden by the chimney.

Most of the artifacts from the main house consisted of nails. A large percentage of these (34.8%) are wrought, which is in sharp contrast to the 3.9% and 5.6% at the house slaves' quarters and kitchen, respectively. This suggests that either the main house was the first building to be constructed at the plantation, or the superior clinching quality of wrought nails was needed for the large amount of small trim work which is normally found at high status dwellings. While the latter probably holds true regardless of the date of the structure, ceramics from the main house are slightly earlier than those found in the rest of the complex. The mean ceramic date at the main house is 1820 as opposed to 1827 and 1830 to 1844 at the house slaves' quarter and kitchen.

Construction hardware is conspicuously absent from the collection, suggesting that after the house was abandoned it was stripped of its valuable hardware. This likely happened during the Civil War occupation or during postbellum reconstruction.

Unfortunately, the ceramic collection from the main house was too small to perform any detailed status analyses. However, transfer printed wares made up the vast majority of the assemblage (see Table 13). Of the 77 cream colored ceramics, 42 (or 54.5%) were transfer printed.

At the house slaves' quarters a large number of expensive items were recovered including high status ceramics, bone handled eating utensils, lead crystal tumbler and goblet fragments, and jewelry. Status analyses indicate that the collection belonged to a middling status collection of people since ceramic indices from the yard and structure excavations are somewhat higher than those found in field slave contexts. While Otto states that slave ceramic assemblages generally consist of a high percentage of bowls, this was not the case at the house slaves' quarters. This may be due to the fact that the house slaves at Stoney/Baynard were eating many of the same foods as the planter, not the soups and stews usually associated with the meals eaten by field slaves.

The large quantity of faunal remains and the presence of a number of kitchenwares at the house slaves' quarters suggests that they were cooking meals at home. According to Fox-Genovese (1988:160-161), slaves pressed to receive raw rations that they could prepare for themselves. However, on some plantations one woman would cook for all of the slaves in a kitchen built especially for that purpose.

Thus, even house slaves had to cook for themselves. The washer woman for North Carolina Governor Charles Manly and family received "meal and meat and had to cook .... They didn't allow her food from the great house" (quoted in Fox-Genovese 1988:165). However, there are historical references indicating that slaves were sometimes given the planter's leftovers. As previously stated, many slaves preferred to be given raw rations which they cooked for their own families, and some plantations did have people who cooked for the entire slave population in a separate kitchen building for that purpose.

While plantation cooks were usually very high status individuals in the eyes of the planter, the assemblage found at the kitchen does not reflect high status usage (beyond the presence of butchered meats). At the kitchen the value of the ceramic assemblage was somewhat lower, more in line with those found in a field slave context. Analysis of vessel forms indicated that the percentage of bowls is higher. It is possible that the cook was making some of the meals for the field slaves in the plantation kitchen.

The artifact collection from Stoney/Baynard indicates that although there are a number of accounts of the lifestyle and treatment of house slaves, they can not be taken as generalizations. While some say that house slaves were not materially better off than field slaves, the archaeology at Stoney/Baynard suggests differently. In his will, Reverend James L. Belin specified that the inheritors of his house slaves give them daily "a plentiful supply of such food as they eat themselves; for my servants have been accustomed to such as my table afforded" (quoted in Joyner 1984:84). This suggests that they may not have been treated the same elsewhere, indicating that conditions for house slaves varied.

In sum, the artifacts from the Stoney/Baynard main house complex suggests that the house slaves were materially well off. Based on their ceramic assemblage, they were eating dishes that required the use of plates, indicating that the cuts of meat they received were better grade than the meat that field slaves probably would have received. The materials from the kitchen were more in line with what would be found at a nineteenth century field slave's house. Although speculative, it may mean that the planter's cook was cooking at least some of the meals for the field slaves.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SHELLFISH FROM THE STONEY/BAYNARD SITE

David R. Lawrence

Introduction

A hand-picked sample of the kitchen midden shellfish of Excavation Unit 3, Zone 1 at the Stoney/Baynard Site (38BU58) on Hilton Head Island, Beaufort County, South Carolina, was provided to the writer by Chicora Foundation, Inc. of Columbia, South Carolina. With this submission came the request for a complete examination and interpretation of these remains in their archaeological context. The following section summarizes the results of this work. Analytic methods followed those developed in Lawrence (1988). A more recent summary of criteria and interpretations used, in the analysis of archaeological oysters, may be found in Lawrence (1991).

Results

Three adult knobbed whelks were submitted as part of the sample. All displayed angular breakage in the most recently produced volution of the body chamber, suggesting forceful extraction of meats from organisms collected alive. One individual has its apex missing; after death this skeleton may have served some use, perhaps as a pounding implement. No evidence of skeleton abrasion or smoothing is preserved on these snails; they were apparently not used as scrapers.

One left valve of a hard-shelled clam or quahog is also present in the collection. This valve has its dorsal margin broadly chipped, suggesting food use of the meats after forceful separation of the two valves.

The lot of American Oysters [*Crassostrea virginica* (Gmelin)] includes 122 larger(height greater than 7.5 cm or 3 in., which is the minimum marketable size for present-day oysters in the State of South Carolina) left valuves and 55 larger right valves. At least 45 of the 55 larger right valves are from relatively thin, elongate intertidal cluster oysters; a distinct minority displays the subtrigonal to ovate or extremely massive valves more typical of scattered oysters from lower in the tidal gradient. Preserved and original shucking cracks occur on at least five of these right valves and a distinct stabbing notch is present on one other valve; these oysters were gathered live and used as food.

About 92 of the 122 larger left valves are also of intertidal cluster oysters. One of these left valves was obviously collected after death, indicating that sorting and separation of the oysters was not completed at the collecting site. Two clusters have their shells not separated and, in one case, both valves of a small oyster were still attached to the cluster. These oysters came from raised flats within drainage systems, and not from high banks of creeks. This interpretation is based upon the quite small size of over half of the left valve attachment areas (see Lawrence 1988; setting envisioned is similar to that shown in Galtsoff 1964:400, Figure 365, but not with mud-rich bottom sediments). Ghosts of barnacles are impressed upon two left valves and evidence of boring clams occurs in another. Remains of the actions of boring clionid sponges are obvious in only seven of the 91 cluster oyster larger left valves presumed to have been collected alive; evidence of polydorid bristleworms appears in 19 of this same lot but the remains are of juveniles and are not plentiful (most commonly, 1-3 individuals per valve). Polydorids were not numerous or persistent in the source environment, reinforcing the notion of intertidal sources and suggesting that bottom sediments at the collecting site were not primarily muds (Lunz 1941).

Interestingly, one juvenile left valve of *Ostrea equestris* Say was found attached to a larger left valve of the American Oyster. This other oyster is most commonly described as a "high salinity" species which is most common subtidally (Galtsoff and Merrill 1962, which see for additional references). Perhaps rather high salinities (minimum 20 ppt) account for the presence of *O. equestris* among these intertidal oysters from the Beaufort County area.

Evidence of shucking, primarily original stabbing notches, also appears on the larger left valves. Although some valves display beige or gray colors, these alterations of hue are not distinctive or localized on valves, and there are no significant alterations to the mineral texture of valve interiors. These latter criteria are commonly used to recognize shell heating during food preparation; hence strong evidence to support such heating is lacking in this sample from the Stoney/Baynard site, and any specific food preparation techniques remain questionable.

Special care was taken in examining the ligaments of the cluster oysters for seasonality because these oysters, by environment of origin, are those for which the ligament geometery model was originally developed (Lawrence 1988). Acceptable readings for seasonality were obtained in 39 of the 91 cluster oysters examined, and the results of this analysis are summarized in Table 28. As this examination is subjective in part, and considering the possibility of climatic differences over time, the actual months within a season represented by the measures could well be displaced forward or backward in the year, at least one month in either direction. Yet given these limitations, the present interpretation has these oysters collected largely throughout the cooler months of the year. Using present guidelines (Lawrence 1991) strong inferences of springtime and fall gathering can be made from these data. Perhaps there was some emphasis in springtime collecting, in the months now represented by, say, March and April. The possibility exists that oysters were not a dietary staple item for the humans that produced this midden but rather were used as a supplemental or "treat" item. Support for this last suggestion might be gathered by examining the entire archaeological context of site 38BU58.

Table 28.
Measures of seasonality using ligament geometry model of Lawrence (1988), in American Oysters [*Crassostrea virginica* (Gmelin)] from Excavation Unit 3, Zone 1

Season	Measures by Month	Sums by Season
Spring	3 5 7	15
Summer	0 3 3	6
Autumn	6 5 0	11
Winter	5 2 0	7

In summary occupants of this Stoney/Baynard site gathered oysters primarily from nearby intertidal flat regions. The distinct minority of ovate and robust "scatter" oysters could have come from lower portions of these same flats. Most likely the oysters were gathered as "bulk" lots because sorting and elimination of dead organisms were not completed at the collecting site. The shellfish were used as food. No unequivocal evidence of shell heating is present, and quite possibly the oysters were shucked raw. The oysters appear to have been gathered throughout the cooler months of the year and may have served as an occasional dietary supplement.

POLLEN ANALYSIS

Arthur D. Cohen

Introduction

One sample was analyzed from the kitchen midden at Excavation Unit 3. The purpose was to determine the presence of cultigens including corn, cotton, etc. and kitchen garden plants. The sample was macerated for pollen and 10 slides were prepared. All ten were scanned for palynomorphs, and types found were compared with reference slides from my own collection and from the published literature.

Results

Based on the historical literature from nearby plantations, a number of cultigens might be present at Stoney/Baynard. By comparison with my reference collection and the published literature on cultigens, I can now say without reservation that the following cultigens were not present in this sample. However, this does not mean that they were not grown or were not present in other portions of the midden.

alfalfa (*Medicago sativa*)
arrowroot (*Maranta arundinacea*)
beans (*Phaseolus* spp.)
cabbage (*Brassica oleracea capitata*)
carrot (*Daucus carota*)
cauliflower (*Brassica oleracea botrytis*)
celery (*Apium gravelens*)
coleus (*Coleus* spp.)
corn (*Zea mays*)
cowpeas (*Vigna sinensis*)
cucumber (*Cucumis sativas*)
fennel (*Foeniculum vulgare*)
figs (*Ficus* spp.)
flax (*Linum* spp.)
grapes (*Vitis* spp.)
lettuce (*Lactuca sativa*)
muskmelon (*Cucumis melo*)
mustard (*Brassica nigra* and *alba*)
nectarine & peach (*Prunus persica*)
okra (*Hibiscus esculentus*)
orange, lime, lemon, grapefruit (*Citrus* spp.)
pear (*Pyrus* spp. esp *communis*)
parsnip (*Pastinaca sativa*)
plum (*Prunus* spp.)
potato (sweet) (*Ipomea batatas*)
potato (Irish) (*Solanum tuberosum*)
pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo*)
radish (*Raphanus sativus*)
rutabega (*Brassica napobrassica*)
rye (*Secale cereale*)
squash (*Cucurbita* spp.)
strawberry (*Fragaria* spp.)
sugar cane (*Saccharum officinarum*)
tomatoes (*Lycopersicum esculentum*)
turnips (*Brassica rapa*)

Several types of exotic (probably cultivated) pollen types were present in addition to a few native species that were obviously blown into the deposit or (in the case of mosses and ferns) occurred near the site. The indigenous pollen types included pines and occasional oak, sedge, fern, or moss grain. The probable cultigens included several different monocolpate pollen (one form that could be onion (*Allium cepa*) and one form that may be either asparagus (*Asperagas* sp.) or peanut (*Arachis hypogaea*). One tricolporate form resembling bell or hot pepper (*Capsicum frutescens*) was also found.

There was one pollen grain type that I was unable to identify but that was very common in the collection. However, I was unable to find descriptions for either watermelon (*Citrullus vulgaris*) or cotton (*Gossypium* sp.).

There are several reasons why this kitchen midden sample may have contained very few pollen and why those pollen that were present may not be representative of what was actually being eaten or grown by the people who lived at the plantation:

1. Most of the cultigens which may have been grown at Stoney/Baynard are insect pollenated rather than wind pollenated. Thus, not many pollen would have been produced by most of these plants and they would not have been widely dispersed.

2. The pollen would have been produced by the plants during the short period when the flowers were present. This would have been long before the fruits and vegetables were picked for use. These plants would have been exposed to rainfall and/or watering.

3. The people gathered the fruits, grains, whatever, from the garden and probably left most of the unedible portions in the field. Or, they may have obtained these fruits and vegetables from someone else's farm or garden. After having been washed, peeled, etc. it is unlikely that the pollen from these cultigens would have been attached to the scraps that were thrown from the kitchen in the during and/or after-dinner preparations.

4. Of some importance is that only one sample was processed from this midden, and the chance of that sample being representative of the entire midden is remote. This especially would be true given the origin of these kinds of pollen.

Conclusions and Recommendations

As previously stated there are a number of reason why the kitchen midden sample contained few pollen. Since the foods would have undergone a number of things which should have eliminated any evidence of pollen in a kitchen trash midden, other explanations are needed for why these pollen exist in the midden. It is possible that a kitchen garden was located nearby, and that bees, beetles and other insects transported these pollen to the midden area when they landed on it or travelled across it. Further research is needed to better understand how these pollen may have found their way into the midden.

I would recommend in the future that more representative samples of this historical midden be analyzed. This should include lateral as well as vertical samples. A grid sampling strategy might be desirable. Additionally, if an area that was used as the garden could be identified, this would be a much more likely site to obtain a flora representative of what they were actually cultivating. A pond next to the plantation or next to the garden might contain excellent data.

THE VERTEBRATE FAUNA

Jack H. Wilson, Jr.

Introduction

The vertebrate faunal collection from three locales at Stoney/Baynard Plantation (38BU58) analyzed for this study consists of more than 5087 bone elements and fragments that weigh 9549.2 grams. The faunal material is from the main house, a posited servants' quarters (Structure 1), and a posited kitchen (Structure 3). General fill from the various units was dry screened through 1/4-inch mesh, and midden fill and feature fill was screened through ⅛-inch mesh. This report provides a description of the animal species found in the bone samples recovered by this work, the results of the zooarchaeological analysis of the remains, and a comparison of the data obtained from the three loci with that for other sites from the coast of the Carolina Province.

The Carolina Province, the transitional zone between the tropical fauna of the southern Atlantic and the temperate fauna of the northern Atlantic, lies between Cape Hatteras, North Carolina, and Cape Canaveral, Florida (Briggs 1974; Ekman 1953). Hilton Head Island, on which Stoney/ Baynard plantation is found, is part of the Sea Island section of the coast that lies south of the Santee River into northern Florida, with the area north to Cape Fear, North Carolina, forming the northern embayed section (Emery and Uchupi 1972). Along the edge of the Continental Shelf, the warm Florida Current flows northward, bringing tropical marine species north as far as Cape Hatteras. Closer inshore, the cold Labrador Current flows southward, and temperate marine species may be found in these cool waters as far south as Cape Canaveral.

The Sea Islands possess a relatively uniform temperature, rainfall, topography, and vegetation cover. The seaward side of each of the Sea Islands is usually lined with coastal beaches, and dunes which sometime reach a height of seven or eight meters (Johnson et al. 1974; Mathews et al.1980). Maritime oak forests and some pine forests grow behind the dunes. Freshwater creeks and ponds are occasionally found on these islands. The fringes and sometimes the interiors of the Sea Islands often possess salt marsh systems. The mainland side of the typical Sea Island usually has extensive salt marshes cut by tidal creeks that drain into large sounds, which in turn flow into the ocean between the Sea Islands. The maritime forests, freshwater creeks, salt marshes, and sounds define a number of diverse habitats that were exploited by both the Prehistoric and Historic period inhabitants of the area.

Analytical Techniques

The faunal collection from 38BU58 was studied using standard zooarchaeological procedures and the comparative faunal collections housed at Chicora Foundation. The bone material was sorted to class, suborder or species, and individual bone elements were identified. The bones of all taxa and other analytical categories were also weighed and counted. The Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) for each animal category was determined using paired bone elements and age (mature/immature) as criteria. A minimum distinction method (Grayson 1973:438) was used to determine the MNI for each of the three archaeological collections from 38BU58. This method provides a conservative MNI estimate based on the total faunal assemblage at a site, in this case the three loci excavated at Stoney/Baynard.

As a measure of zooarchaeological quantification, MNI has a number of problems (Grayson 1973:438; 1984:28-92; Klein and Cruz-Uribe 1984:26-32). How one aggregates the MNI will affect the number of

individuals calculated. If MNI is calculated based on the entire site, the number will be smaller than if it is calculated for each excavation unit and totaled for the site. Use of MNI emphasizes small species over large ones. For example, a collection may have only a few large mammals, such as deer, and scores of fish. Yet, the amount of meat contributed by one deer may be many times greater than that contributed by a score or two of fish.

Given the problems associated with MNI as a zooarchaeological measure, an estimate of biomass contributed by each taxa to the total available for use by the inhabitants of a site is also calculated. The method used here to determine biomass is based on allometry, or the biological relationship between soft tissue and bone mass. Biomass is determined using the least squares analysis of logarithmic data in which bone weight is used to predict the amount of soft tissue that might have been supported by the bone (Casteel 1978; Reitz 1982, 1985; Reitz and Cordier 1982; Reitz and Scarry 1986; Wing and Brown 1979). The relationship between body weight and skeletal weight is expressed by the allometric equation $Y = aX^b$, which can also be written as $\text{Log } Y = \text{Log } a + b(\text{Log } X)$ (Simpson et al. 1960:397). In this equation, Y is the biomass in kilograms, X is the bone weight in kilograms, a is the Y-intercept for a log-log plot using the method of least squares regression and the best fit line, and b is the constant of allometry, or the slope of the line defined by the least squares regression and the best fit line.

Table 29 details the constants for a and b used to solve the allometric formula for a given bone weight X for each taxa identified in the archaeological record. In using allometric calculations to predict proportional biomass from bone weight it is important to note that the weight of the bone (or shell) used in the calculation obviously influences the results, and there are a number of factors, such as differential preservation or discard practices, that may affect the weight of the bone recovered from an archaeological site. Thus, this technique of analysis may not give the precise results that the final numbers would appear to indicate.

Biomass was used to identify the 10 species/taxa that probably contributed the greater part of the total meat available for consumption by the inhabitants of the two locales at 38BU58. Likewise, the identified species for the entire collection were summarized into faunal categories based upon vertebrate class and gross habitat preference.

Identified Fauna

Before considering the results of the zooarchaeological study of the faunal remains recovered from the Stoney/Baynard loci, the general use and habitat preference for each species identified in this study will be considered.

Domestic Mammals

Three animal species, cow (*Bos taurus*), pig (*Sus scrofa*), and sheep (*Ovis aries*) are the only domestic mammals identified in the collections.

Pigs are one of the most important domestic mammals used for food in the southeastern United States (Hilliard 1972: 92-111). Pigs require little care, as they can be allowed either to roam free or be penned. Their diet can consist of a variety of food resources, including seeds, roots, fruits, nuts, mushrooms, snakes, larvae, worms, eggs, carrion, mice, small mammals, kitchen refuse, feces, and grain. Pigs store about 35% of the calories they consume and can gain about 2 pounds for every 15 to 25 pounds of feed (Towne and Wentworth 1950:7-8). Within 18 months, a pig can gain up to 200 pounds, of which about 120 pounds can be consumed. Dressed, a pig carcass can yield up to 65 to 80% meat. An idea of the possible size of the pigs that were available to the inhabitants of 38BU58 can be gained from the average weight of 140 pounds for 4,000 southern pigs slaughtered in 1860 (Fogel 1965:206 in Reitz and Scarry 1986:70). Pork preserves very well, is satisfying due to its high fat content, and is a good source of thiamin (Towne and Wentworth 1950:249).

Table 29.
List of allometric values utilized in this study to determine
biomass in kilograms (kg) based on bone weight expressed in kilograms[40]

Faunal Category	log a	b	r^2
Mammal	1.12	0.90	0.94
Bird	1.04	0.91	0.97
Turtle	0.51	0.67	0.55
Snake	1.17	1.01	0.97
Chondrichthyes (Shark)	1.68	0.86	0.85
Osteichthyes (Boney Fish)	0.90	0.81	0.80
Non-Perciformes	0.85	0.79	0.88
Siluriformes (Catfish)	1.15	0.95	0.87
Perciformes (Sea Bass, Bluefish, etc.)	0.93	0.83	0.76
Sparidae (Porgy)	0.96	0.92	0.98
Sciaenidae (Drum)	0.81	0.74	0.73
Pleuronectiformes (Flounder)	1.09	0.89	0.95
Callinectes (Crab)	0.99	0.82	0.58

Although cattle (*Bos taurus*) has been an important meat source during the history of the southeastern United States, it is in many ways a more burdensome meat resource to raise than pigs (Hilliard 1972:112-140; Rouse 1973; Towne and Wentworth 1950, 1955). Cows provide less of a return for the energy input provided to raise them (Towne and Wentworth 1950:7-8). Cows feed on grain and grasses and will not produce good weight gains without quality and quantity sources for either. Also, cattle store only 11% of the calories they consume and yield only 50 to 60% dressed meat. Balanced against the greater labor required to raise cattle above that required for swine and the fact that beef does not preserve as well as pork (Tomhave 1925:275), there is a demand for fresh beef, cattle hides, and a number of other foods made from milk products, such as milk, cheese, butter, and buttermilk (Hilliard 1972:119-135; Rouse 1973; Towne and Wentworth 1955).

The third domestic mammal that may have served as a food resource are sheep. Sheep apparently were only a minor food resource for Southern populations during the nineteenth century. Sheep, of course, were a source of wool that could be used to make clothing, primarily for home use (Hilliard 1972:141-142).

Wild Mammals

The largest of the wild mammals in the assemblage is the white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*). Apparently deer remained widely available in most areas of the Southeast into the middle of the nineteenth century (Hilliard 1972:74-78). The preferred method of hunting was with firearms, which restricted the availability of this food resource for slaves. Permission from the slave owner or overseer would be required for slaves to hunt deer and other animals with firearms, and firearms would also have to be available for use by the slaves to hunt. The latter situation would not be common among slave populations (Hilliard 1972:75-76). Presumably, the only uses that deer had for the inhabitants of Stoney/Baynard plantation was as a food resource and perhaps for hides. In general, the deer's preferred habitat is the edge of deciduous forests and open forests, although they will move to mudflats around marshes to feed on the grasses found there.

[40] Derived from Table 4 in Reitz (1985:44) and Table 2.3 in Quitmyer (1985:40). These variables are used to solve the formula $Y = ax^b$ or $\log Y = \log a + b(\log X)$; where Y is the biomass in kilograms, X is the bone weight in kilograms, a is the Y-intercept, b is the slope, and r^2 is the proportion of total variance explained by the regression model (Reitz 1985:44; Reitz and Scarry 1985:67).

Raccoon (*Procyon lotor*) bones are present in the 38BU58 faunal assemblages. This mammal served as a food resource for both whites and blacks, although its meat was aparently less prized than that of the opossum (Hilliard 1972:80). Gathering raccoons could be done using firearms and hunting dogs, to which blacks would presumably have had less access than whites prior to the later portion of the nineteenth century, or they could be obtained by trapping (Hilliard 1972:80). This nocturnal mammal is able to adapt to a variety of habitats, although they prefer wooded areas near water.

Remains of the opossum (*Didelphis virginiana*) are present in small quantities in the faunal samples from 38BU58. The opossum was generally preferred over the raccoon as a food source. Opossums could be kept, fattened, and "cleaned out" by "penning and feeding them for several days on milk and bread or roasted sweet potatoes" (Hilliard 1972:80). The preferred habitat of the opossum, a nocturnal animal, is wooded areas near water, but they are often found in and around human settlements.

Two rabbit species are common to the study area, the Eastern cottontail (*Sylviligus floridanus*) and the marsh rabbit (*S. palustris*). Both the white and the black inhabitants of Stoney/Baynard Plantation could have used rabbits as a food resource. As rabbits could be taken relatively easily through the use of traps, slaves without access to firearms could readily harvest them for food (Hilliard 1972:78-79). Rabbits occupy a number of different habitats but are usually found in marshes, thickets, overgrown fields, and forest edges. Important to rabbits in their choice of habitats is access to escape cover offered by thickets, weed patches, and dense high grass. The marsh rabbit generally prefers damper ground than does the Eastern cottontail and is somewhat more likely to be found in locations near marshes.

The Eastern gray squirrel (*Sciurus carolinensis*) was a common food source in the area throughout the antebellum period (Hilliard 1972:79). Both whites and slaves prized squirrel as a food resource, although it was less accessible to slaves who had only limited access to firearms. However, squirrel could also be taken by traps and snares (Hilliard 1972:79). The Eastern gray squirrel is found in heavily forested habitats with large stands of mature hardwoods and an understory of small trees and shrubs.

Domestic Birds

Chickens (*Gallus gallus*) are the most abundant bird identified at 38BU58. The only other possible domesticated birds present are the turkey and Canadian goose, which are discussed below. Chickens, like pigs, can be raised either by letting them run loose or by penning them. The meat of the chicken enjoyed a high status as a food item for both whites and blacks during the nineteenth century. Also, besides serving as a meat resource, chickens also supplied eggs that could be consumed or used to prepare other food dishes (Hilliard 1972:46-47).

Canada geese (*Branta canadensis*) is a migratory waterfowl that, as a wild species, winters along the Carolina coast where fresh water sources are present (Potter et al. 1980:79). Canada geese were also domesticated during the late 1800s, and by the end of the century, standards of excellence for wild Canada geese as a poultry breed had been established (Johnson and Brown 1903). Although it could not be determined by examining the bone elements if the specimen was wild or domesticated, the Canada goose remains present at 38BU58 were placed in the domesticated bird category based on a reference in the historical records concerning the possible presence of domesticated geese and turkey on Hilton Head Island during the 1860s (Todd 1886:104-105).

Likewise, the turkey (*Meleagris gallapavo*) found in the faunal sample are assigned to a domestic species, although wild species of turkey could be represented. By the late 1800s, standards of excellence for turkeys as a poultry breed had been established (Johnson and Brown 1903). Turkey was a valued food resource for antebellum whites and blacks (Hilliard 1972:80-81). Although hunting with firearms is one method used to acquire wild turkeys, there is little likelihood that slaves, who had limited access to firearms

would have been able to use this technique to obtain the animal. Another common way to take wild turkeys was by trapping (Hilliard 1972:80).

Wild Birds

Evidence of migratory waterfowl, duck (*Anas* spp.) is also present in the faunal assemblage from the three locales. A number of duck species, including the mallard (*Anas platrhynchos*), black duck (*A. rubripes*), common teal (*A. crecca*), and American widgeon (*A. americana*), commonly winter along the Carolina coast, and a small number may live year-round on the coast (Potter et al. 1980:89-90). Ducks would have been found in the various waterways surrounding Hilton Head Island, including the marshes and tidal creeks.

A few bone elements in the collections could be identified as mourning dove (*Zenaida macroura*). Mourning dove is a valuable game species that is also an important consumer of weed seeds. The bird is a permanent resident throughout the Carolinas and is found in open country habitats such as fields, forest edges, and areas disturbed or used by humans. It is only rarely found in wooded areas (Potter et al. 1980:189).

Bobwhite quail (*Colinus virginianus*) is another important small game bird present in the faunal samples. Quail are found in open areas, especially old fields, where slaves would have an opportunity to collect them. This game bird could be obtained in large numbers at one time through the use of a trap (Hilliard 1972:83), which would have been well within the means of the slave population.

Reptiles: Turtles

A total of four different species of turtle are present in the faunal collection from 38BU58--Carolina diamondback terrapin, mud turtles, cooter, and box turtles. The diamondback terrapin (*Malaclemys terrapin*) is a turtle that feeds on marine molluscs and is usually found in an esturine setting or in brackish lakes and marshes along the coastal strip (Obst 1986:113). The subspecies Carolina Diamondback Terrapin (*Malaclemys terrapin centrata*), which inhabits the Atlantic Coast from North Carolina to Florida (Obst 1986:214), is probably the terrapin represented in the faunal collection. The diamondback terrapin was an important food resource in the southeast (Hilliard 1972:89) that became an accepted delicacy throughout the United States during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Obst 1986:113, 183). The taste of diamondback terrapin flesh is considered to lie between that of chicken and fish. It was only the enactment of protective legislation 60 years ago that prevented the extinction of the diamondback terrapin (Obst 1986:113).

Another aquatic turtle present in small quantities in the faunal collection is the mud turtle (*Kinosternon* spp.). This turtle also dwells in water, although it is usually found near freshwater sources (Obst 1986:109). Mud turtles were possibly used for food (Hilliard 1972:89).

A third aquatic turtle species identified in the faunal assemblages is the cooter (probably *Chrysemeys floridana*). This turtle can be found in and around bodies of freshwater such as ponds, lakes, streams, rivers, and canals, and on occasion in brackish waters (Obst 1986:109-111). Cooters use the land to lay eggs at some distance from water, sun themselves and occasionally feed. During the nineteenth century in the south, the cooter was used as a food resource (Hilliard 1972:89).

The fourth turtle species present, in very small numbers, in the assemblage is the box turtle (*Terrapene carolina*). This reptile prefers open, mixed forest and is often found near bodies of standing water. The box turtle is an aquatic turtle that is well on the way to becoming terrestrial, with certain populations living a long way from permanent bodies of water (Obst 1986:106). As with the other turtles, it is possible that the box turtle was used as a food resource (Hilliard 1972:89).

Pisces

Remains of fish are an important part of faunal assemblage at the Stoney/Baynard plantation locales. The fish present are found in freshwater habitats, are fish found in both freshwater and the tidal creek habitats, or are those found in a marine setting (that is they spawn in the estuary or use the area as a nursery).

One predominately freshwater fish identified is the bullhead catfish (*Ictalurus* spp.). The bullhead catfish is found in pools and backwaters of sluggish streams, usually in areas of heavy vegetation (Lee et al. 1980:442). The most common freshwater catfish found the in sluggish waters and low salinity areas of South Carolina estuaries is the white catfish (*Ictalurus catus*) (Wenner et al. 1981). Hilliard (1972:85-86) notes that catfish were a very important food fish throughout the South, and they could be taken with a variety of techniques including traps, trot lines, and set hooks that could be left untended.

The bowfin (*Amia calva*) is commonly found in sluggish, clear, often vegetated, lowland waters of the Carolina Coastal Plain. These fish average between 45 and 87 centimeters in total length (Lee et al. 1980:53-54).

Gar (probably longnose gar, *Lepisosteus osseus*) is one of the identified fish that could have been taken from a freshwater habitat or a tidal creek. Longnose gar commonly reach up to 150 centimeters in length and inhabit both fresh and brackish waters of larger streams and coastal inlets throughout the Coastal Plain of the Carolinas (Wiley 1980:49-50). Gar remains present in the bone sample consist primarily of scales and cranial fragments. These fish were probably taken as individuals with a hook and line, or possibly in traps.

Herring (Clupeidae) comprise a number of anadromous species that ascend most coastal rivers during spring spawning migrations. These fish generally rage between 20 and 30 centimeters in length, and inhabit estuarine habitats along the coast. Typical species that may have been present in the South Carolina Coastal Plain include blueback herring (*Alosa aestivalis*), American shad (*A. sapidissima*), and hickory shad (*A. mediocris*) (Lee et al. 1980:61-68).

The other anadromous species present is the striped bass (*Morone* spp.). This fish is a marine and estuarine coastal species that moves far upstream in rivers during spawning migrations. Adults are predatory on smaller fish and larger crustaceans within estuarine habitats. Striped bass range from 45 to 200 centimeters in length (Lee et al. 1980:576).

The remaining fish identified in the collections are primarily marine species that either spawn in the estuary or use the area as a nursery (Boschung et al. 1983). The most abundant family in the collection are the drums (Sciaenidae). Members of the drum family include black drum (*Pogonias cromis*), silver perch (*Bairdiella chrysoura*), seatrout (*Cynoscion* spp.), spots (*Leiostomus xanthurus*), red drum (*Sciaenops ocellatus*), star drum (*Stellifer lanceolatus*), and Atlantic croaker (*Micropogonias undulatus*). All are commonly found in bays and estuaries. The star drum and the Atlantic croaker are good seasonal indicators, as they are present in the estuarine system from early spring with maximum availability in the late fall.

The remaining marine fish is shark (Chondrichthyes). Generally speaking, sharks are found in the estuaries of the more northerly parts of the Carolina Province only during the warm months (Schwartz and Burgess 1975; Dahlberg 1975). Common estuarine sharks include the dusky shark (*Carcharhinus obscurus*), bullshark (*Carcharhinus leucas*), and the bonnethead shark (*Sphyrna tiburo*) (Boschung et al. 1983:340-346).

Commensal Species

Commensal species include animals commonly found near human occupations that are not generally considered to be food resources. Such animals include pests or vermin such as rat, mice and snake.

The Hispid Cotton Rat (*Sigmodon hispidus*) is a major crop pest that has been called the most abundant mammal in Georgia (Golley 1962:134) and is commonly found in bushes around structures. The one mouse species present is the deer mouse (*Peromyscus* spp.). It is usually found in forested areas, but the deer mouse also lives within forest edges and in open and overgrown clearings.

The four snake species identified are corn snake (*Elaphe* spp.), king snake (*Lampropeltis getulus*), water snake (*Natrix* spp.), and Crotalid (copperhead or cottonmouth moccasin). The corn snake and king snake are both terrestrial species. The water snake would be found in the areas within and adjacent to the marsh and other water sources (Martoff et al. 1980:236). The copperhead and cottonmouth moccasin are both found near marshes (Linzey and Clifford 1981:80,125, 128).

Invertebrates

Although crabs are not a vertebrate fauna, they are present in the faunal samples from the five localities. Crabs are found on mud, shell, and sand bottoms in the salt marsh and brackish waters, especially in the estuaries and mouths of tidal creeks around sea grass. Crabs are usually taken between March and November (Freeman and Walford 1976). The species most likely present is the blue crab (*Callinectes spidus*) (see Turner and Johnson 1972:182).

Results of the Faunal Analysis

Main House

The faunal collection from the Main House area of Stoney/Baynard Plantation analyzed for this study consists of only 19 bone elements and fragments that weigh 16 grams. This assemblage is summarized in Table 30. Given the small quantity of material contained by this collection no further analysis was conducted.

Structure 1, Servants' Quarters

The Servants' Quarter (Structure 1) area of Stoney/Baynard Plantation possesses 3710 bone elements and fragments that weigh 6642.3 grams. These totals include 79 crab claws that weigh 50.2 grams. The Minimum Number of Individuals, number and weight of bone, and estimated meat yield (biomass) for this faunal sample are presented in Table 31. A summary of the MNI and biomass calculations for eight faunal categories is listed in Table 32. Table 33 ranks 10 species/taxa by MNI and biomass each contributed to the total biomass computed for the Servants' Quarter excavation.

As would be expected, domestic vertebrates — cow (*Bos taurus*), pig (*Sus scrofa*), sheep, (*Ovis aries*), chicken (*Gallus gallus*), turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo*), and Canada goose (*Branta canadensis*) — account for a vast majority of the total biomass (Table 32). Although cow represented 41.16% (31.8193 kg) of the total biomass, only 4.35% (MNI=3) of the total Minimum Number of Individuals identified are cow. Pig accounts for 14.23% (10.9963 kg) of the total biomass and for 7.25% (MNI=5) of the total number of individuals present. Sheep accounts for only 1.66% (1.2869 kg) of the biomass, although it has the same percentage of individuals — 4.35 (MNI=3) — as does cow. Chicken has a pattern similar to sheep, providing only 0.45% (0.3485 kg) of the total biomass, while possessing 4.35% (MNI=3) of the total Minimum Number of Individuals for the collection.

Turkey accounts for only a small percentage (1.45%, MNI = 1) of the total number of identified individuals and for only a small percentage (0.14%, 0.1074 kg) of the total biomass. Canada geese likewise accounts for only a small portion of the number of identified individuals (1.45%, MNI = 1) and of the total biomass (0.15%, 0.1184 kg). Turkey and Canada geese are included with the domestic bird category based

Table 30.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), number of bone by species, weight in grams for the main house, 38BU58

Species	MNI	Number of Bones	Weight (g)
Pig, *Sus scrofa*	2	3	3.9
Opossum, *Didelphis virginiana*	1	1	1.1
Deer Mouse, *Peromyscus* spp.	1	3	0.8
Unidentified mammal	-	2	6.8
Chicken, *Gallus gallus*	2	5	2.6
Unidentified Aves	-	1	0.2
Catfish, *Ictalurus* spp.	1	1	0.1
Unidentified Fish	-	1	0.2
Crab, *Callinectes spidus*	-	1	0.1
Unidentified	-	1	0.2
Total	7	19	16.0

on their being grouped with chickens and pigs in at least one historic account. It was reported by a Union soldier shortly after Hilton Head Island was captured from Confederate forces that ". . . Geese, turkeys, pigs and chickens were killed and eaten whenever we wanted them" (Todd 1886:104). As noted earlier, by the late nineteenth century turkeys and wild Canada geese had both had standards of excellence established for them as breeds.

Wild mammals comprise an important part of the faunal collection from the area around the servants' quarters (Table 32). This category ranks sdcond behind domestic mammals in terms of biomass with 9.35% (4.9575 kg), and it ranks third in terms of numbers of individuals (15.94%, MNI = 11). Wild mammals present include deer, raccoon, opossum, and squirrel. Raccoon and opossum are common scavengers that are drawn to crops, trash deposits, hen houses and the like that are found around human settlements. Squirrels are usually present only in forested areas. Deer, while usually found in forests and along forest edges, also are drawn to certain crops grown by people. With the exception of the deer, all these wild mammals could have been obtained through the use of traps. The deer could have been part of the rations given to the slaves at Stoney/Baynard plantation.

Reptiles represent the third ranked category according to biomass (3.56%, 1.8903 kg), and it has 13.04% of the MNI (9) (Table 32). The Carolina diamondback terrapin, mud turtles, and box turtles are the three species identified for this category. Carolina diamondback terrapin are found in the estuarine/marsh areas adjacent to the site. Diamondback terrapin apparently comprised a good portion of the slave diet in coastal areas long before the nineteenth century (Quitmyer 1985:20). During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the diamondback terrapin became a gourmet item, as well as continuing as a part of the diet of more "common" folk (Obst 1986:183). Although they are occasionally found in estuaries, mud turtles are usually found in freshwater areas. Mud turtles are diurnal, that is they are most active during the day, they enjoy basking in the sun, and they tend to sleep in mud bottoms (Obst 1986). Box turtles are aquatic turtles that are equally at home on land; they may be found in open woods or near standing water. The turtles could be caught by handlines, traps, or by hand.

Table 31.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), number of bones, weight in grams, and estimated meat yield by species for Structure 1, 38BU58

Species	MNI #	MNI %	Number of Bones	Weight gm	Biomass kg	Biomass %
Cow, *Bos taurus*	3	4.35	184	2662.6	31.8193	41.16
Pig, *Sus scrofa*	5	7.25	308	817.7	10.9963	14.23
Sheep, *Ovis aries*	3	4.35	18	75.4	1.2869	1.66
White-tailed deer, *Odocoilous virginianus*	1	1.45	11	165.4	2.6097	3.38
Racoon, *Procyon lotor*	3	4.35	57	96.5	1.6069	2.08
Opossum, *Didelphis virginiana*	3	4.35	32	24.7	0.4713	0.61
Rabbit, *Sylviliqus* spp.	3	4.35	14	11.1	0.2295	0.30
Eastern Gray Squirrel, *Scirus carolinensis*	1	1.45	5	1.6	0.0401	0.05
Hispid Cotton Rat, *Sigmoden hispidus*	3	4.35	9	3.6	0.0833	0.11
Deer Mouse, *Peromysus* spp.	3	4.35	9	3.1	0.0728	0.09
Unidentified mammal	-	-	1037	1858.7	23.0252	29.79
Chicken, *Gallus gallus*	3	4.35	35	22.6	0.3485	0.45
Turkey, *Meleagris gallapavo*	1	1.45	3	6.2	0.1074	0.14
Canada Goose, *Branta canadensis*	1	1.45	6	6.9	0.1184	0.15
Duck, *Anas* spp.	2	2.90	26	13.7	0.2210	0.29
Bobwhite Quail, *Colinus virginianus*	1	1.45	5	2.6	0.0487	0.06
Mourning Dove, *Zenaida macoura*	1	1.45	2	0.5	0.0109	0.01
Unidentified Aves	-	-	63	18.9	0.2962	0.440
Carolina Diamondback Terrapin, *Malaclemys terra. centrata*	6	8.70	298	302.5	1.4534	1.88
Mud Turtle, *Kinosternon* spp.	2	2.90	25	10.2	0.1499	0.19
Box Turtle, *Terrapene carolina*	1	1.45	24	26.9	0.2870	0.37
Drum, Sciaenidae	6	8.70	60	33.9	0.5279	0.68
Striped Bass, *Morone* spp.	2	2.90	15	3.5	0.0779	0.10
Herring, Clupeidae	2	2.90	6	1.1	0.0319	0.04
Catfish, *Ictalurus* spp.	6	8.70	20	6.5	0.1181	0.15
Bowfin, *Amia calva*	2	2.90	18	4.4	0.0980	0.13
Unidentified Fish	-	-	7	1.4	0.0388	0.05
Corn Snake, *Elaphe* spp.	1	1.45	2	0.9	0.0124	0.02
Water Snake, *Natrix* spp.	1	1.45	1	0.3	0.0041	0.01
King Snake, *Lapropeltis qetulus*	1	1.45	3	1.9	0.0264	0.03
Crotalid	2	2.90	15	21.4	0.3046	0.39
Crab, *Callinectes spidus*	1	1.45	79	50.2	0.8405	1.10
Unidentified	-	-	1333	389.5	-	-
Total	69	100.00	3710	6642.3	77.2998	100.00

Table 32.
Summary of Structure 1 faunal categories expressed as counts and percentages for MNI and biomass.

	MNI		Biomass	
Faunal Category	#	%	#	%
Domestic Mammals (Cow, Pig, Sheep)	11	15.94	44.1025	83.14
Domestic Birds (Chicken, Turkey, Canada Geese)	5	7.25	0.5743	1.08
Domestic Taxa Total	16	23.20	44.6768	84.20
Wild Mammals (Deer, Raccoon, Rabbit, Opossum, Squirrel)	11	15.94	4.9575	9.35
Wild Birds (Duck, Quail, Dove)	4	5.80	0.2806	0.53
Reptiles (Diamondback Terrapin, Mud Turtle, Box Turtle)	9	13.04	1.8903	3.56
Pisces (Drum, Striped Bass, Herring, Catfish, Bowfin)	18	26.09	0.8926	1.68
Wild Taxa Total	41	78.80	5.5437	34.50
Commensal Species (Snake, Rat, Mouse)	11	15.94	0.3475	0.66
Total	69	100.00	53.0453	100.00

Table 33.
Rank of the ten most prominent potential food faunal species by biomass and MNI for Structure 1

Species	Biomass Rank	MNI Rank
Cow, *Bos taurus*	1	5
Pig, *Sus scrofa*	2	4
White-tailed Deer, *Odocoileus virginianus*	3	-
Raccoon, *Procyon lotor*	4	5
Diamondback Terrapin, *Malaclemys terrapin centrata*	5	1
Sheep, *Ovis aries*	6	5
Drum, Sciaenidae	7	1
Opossum, *Didelphis virginiana*	8	5
Chicken, *Gallus gallus*	9	5
Box Turtle, *Terrapene carolina*	10	-

The fourth most important faunal category according to biomass (with 0.8926 kg, 1.68% of the total biomass) are the fish (Table 32). However, fish are first with 26.09% of the Minimum Number of Individuals

(18) identified for the assemblage. Fish identified include drum (Sciaenidae), striped bass (*Morone* spp.), herring (Clupeidae), catfish (*Ictalurus* spp.), and bowfin (*Amia calva*). Catfish and bowfin are predominately freshwater fish. The striped bass and herring are anadromous species that ascend most coastal rivers during spring spawning migrations from estuarine and marine habitats. Drum are predatory species that are common in the waters of the esturine system and/or in the bays and sounds around Hilton Head Island (Cain 1973). All these fish occur in quantities that do not indicate whether fish were part of the rations provided the slaves or procured by individual hook-and-line, gigs, net, or seine techniques.

Three wild bird species, duck, bobwhite quail, and mourning dove, comprise the last category of wild animals that were likely used as a food resource (Table 32). This category possesses only 0.53% (0.2806 kg) of the biomass and 5.80% (MNI=4) of the individuals present in this faunal assemblage. Ducks are usually found in marshes, streams, ponds, rivers, and other watercourses. Ducks are most prevalent during the winter months along the coast, although individuals may live year-round on the coast. Mourning dove and bobwhite quail are both found year-round in open habitats including fields, forest edges, and other areas used or disturbed by humans. All three bird species could have been taken by trapping or obtained as part of the slave's rations. Previous research on faunal collections from Hilton Head Island (Wilson and Wilson 1986:301) and neighboring Daufuskie Island (Wilson 1989:183) have disclosed the presence of ducks (*Anas* spp.), terns (*Sterna* spp.), rock doves (*Columba livia*), mourning doves (*Zenaida macroura*), and bobwhite quail (*Colinus virginianus*) in faunal samples recovered using techniques similar to those used to obtain the Structure 1 sample. It appears that wild birds were part of the faunal resource procurement system (trapping or rations) of the human inhabitants of the locale.

The true commensal species include a variety of pests and vermin—the Hispid cotton rat, and deer mouse, and a number of snakes (Table 32). The Hispid Cotton Rat (*Sigmodon hispidus*) is a major crop pest commonly found in bushes around structures. The one mouse species present,the deer mouse (*Peromyscus* spp.), is usually found in forested areas, within forest edges, and in open and overgrown clearings. The various houses and structures found at 38BU58 would have served as good habitation sites for both rat and mouse.

The four snake species identified are corn snake (*Elaphe* spp.), king snake (*Lampropeltis getulus*), water snake (*Natrix* spp.), and Crotalid (copperhead or cottonmouth moccasin). The corn snake and king snake are both terrestrial species. The copperhead is found predominately on land but is also at home in marshes. The water snake and cottonmouth moccasin are both found near marshes and other water sources.

Although crabs are not an vertebrate fauna, they are present in the faunal sample from Structure 1 (Table 31). A total of 79 claw fragments that weigh 50.2 grams were noted in the collection. This would yield an estimated 0.8405 kg of biomass. Crabs are found on mud, shell and sand bottoms in the salt and brackish waters, especially in the estuaries and the mouths of tidal creeks around sea grass. Crabs are usually taken between March and November (Freeman and Walford 1976). Most of the crab are probably blue crab (*Callinectes sapidus*) (Turner and Johnson 1972:182).

Table 33 summarizes the 10 most prominent fauna species/taxa with respect to their contribution to the total biomass and MNI for the site. Two domestic species—cow and pig—rank one-two in biomass, although cow ranks only fifth (as do five other species) when MNI are considered as compared to pig's fourth place for MNI. Another domestic species, chicken, ranks ninth on the biomass list and fifth (along with five other species) when MNI are examined. Deer (third), raccoon (fourth) and opossum (eighth) are three wild species that place in the 10 species ranked according to biomass. The Carolina diamondback terrapin, an aquatic reptile found in the marsh, is the sixth ranked species based on biomass and ranks first with drum and catfish according to MNI. The terrestrial box turtle is the tenth ranked species according to biomass. Drum, a fish species, takes the seventh position in the biomass rankings. Drum also ranks first with two other species on the MNI list. Catfish are tied for first with two other species when MNI are considered.

Diversity and equitability indices were calculated for the total biomass and MNI present in the collection (Table 34). The diversity measure for biomass is low (1.8928) and the equitability is above 0.50 (0.6217), which is toward the high end (1.0) of the scale. For MNI, the diversity (2.2503) is in the midrange of the scale (which goes to 4.9), and the equatability (0.7391) is toward the high end of the scale. This is interpreted to indicate that a more "normal" pattern of species exploitation is present, where a few abundant species (drum), a moderate number of common species (pig, raccoon, opossum, chicken, Carolina diamondback terrapin), and many rare species (the other 13 identified potential food resources) occur. The most important faunal categories are the domestic mammals, fish, wild mammals, and reptiles.

Table 34.
Diversity and equitability of the MNI and biomass for the identified faunal species, Structure 1[41]

	Diversity	Equitability	n	MNI
MNI	3.1489	0.9456	28	69
	Diversity	**Equitability**	**n**	**Biomass**
Biomass	1.6605	0.4986	28	53.0453

Structure 3, Kitchen

The Kitchen (Structure 3) area of Stoney/Baynard Plantation possesses 1358 bone elements and fragments that weigh 2890.9 grams. These totals include 29 crab claws that weigh 20.2 grams. The Minimum Number of Individuals, number and weight of bone, and estimated meat yield (biomass) for this faunal sample are presented in Table 35. A summary of the MNI and biomass calculations for eight faunal categories is listed in Table 36. Table 37 ranks 10 species/taxa by MNI and biomass each contributed to the total biomass computed for the Servants' Quarter excavation.

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[41] The Shannon-Weaver formula for determining the diversity of a sample is:

$$H = -\sum p_i \ln p_i$$

where H is the measure of diversity, and p_i is, in this case, either the MNI or the Biomass of each species "i" divided by the total MNI or total Biomass for the sample. Thus, for each identified species that has a MNI count, p_i is calculated by dividing the MNI for that species by the total number of MNI from the sample. The diversity measure H is the sum of all the p_i multiplied by the natural log (ln) of each p_i. A similar procedure is used to calculate the Diversity index for the Biomass, substituting the Biomass figures for MNI in the above explanation.

The Sheldon formula for determining the equitability of a sample is:

$$H' = H/\ln N$$

where H'is the measure of equatibility, H is the Diversity measure calculated for the sample, and N is the total number of cases, observations, or, in this case, species for which MNI or Biomass were calculated in a sample. Equitibility is simply the Diversity measure divided by the natural log (ln) of N, the number of species for which MNI were calculated or the number of species for which Biomass calculations were made.

Domestic vertebrates — cow (*Bos taurus*), pig (*Sus scrofa*), sheep, (*Ovis aries*), chicken (*Gallus gallus*), and Canada goose (*Branta canadensis*) — account for a vast majority of the total biomass (Tables 8 and 9). Although cow represented 44.96% (17.5820 kg) of the total biomass, only 9.68% (MNI=3) of the total Miniminum Number of Individuals identified are cow. Pig accounts for 14.73% (5.7584 kg) of the total biomass, and 9.68% (MNI=3) of the total number of individuals present. Sheep accounts for only 2.96% (1.1587 kg) of the biomass, although it has the same percentage of individuals–9.68 (MNI=3)– as does cow.

Chicken has a different pattern, providing only 0.37% (0.1462 kg) of the total biomass, while possessing 3.23% (MNI=1) of the total Minimum Number of Individuals for the collection. Canada geese likewise accounts for only a small portion of the number of identified individuals (3.23%, MNI = 1) and of the total biomass (0.42%, 0.1660 kg). Canada geese are included with the domestic bird category based on their being grouped with chickens and pigs in at least one historic account. It was reported by a Union soldier shortly after Hilton Head Island was captured from Confederate forces that "...Geese, turkeys, pigs and chickens were killed and eaten whenever we wanted them." (Todd 1886:104). As noted earlier, by the late nineteenth century Canada geese had had standards of excellence established for them as breeds.

Wild mammals comprise the second most important component of the faunal collection from the Kitchen area (Table 36). This category ranks second behind domestic mammals in terms of biomass with 6.23% (1.7985 kg), and it is tied for third in terms of numbers of individuals (12.90%, MNI= 4). Wild mammals present include deer, raccoon, opossum, and rabbit. Raccoon and opossum are common scavengers that are drawn to crops, trash deposits, hen houses, and the like that are found around human settlements. Rabbits are usually present in a wide variety of habitats, including marshes, thickets, overgrown fields, along the side of forest clearings, and forest edges. Deer, while usually found in forests and along forest edges, also are drawn to certain crops grown by people. With the exception of the deer, all these wild mammals could have been obtained through the use of traps. Likewise, all the wild mammals including deer could have been taken using firearms.

The third most important faunal category according to biomass (with 1.6480 kg, 5.71% of the total biomass) are the fish (Table 36). However, fish are first with 32.26% of the Minimum Number of Individuals (10) identified for the assemblage. Fish identified include drum (Sciaenidae), shark (Chrondichthyes), gar (*Lepisosteus* spp.), catfish (*Ictalurus* spp.), and bowfin (*Amia calva*). Catfish and bowfin are predominately freshwater fish. Gar is a fish that could have been taken from a freshwater or estuarine setting. Drum are predatory species that are common in the waters of the esturine system and/or in the bays and sounds around Hilton Head Island. All these fish occur in quantities that do not indicate whether fish were procured by individual hook-and-line, net or seine techniques.

Reptiles represent the fourth ranked category according to biomass (1.96%, 0.5660 kg), and it has 12.90% of the MNI (4) (Table 36). The Carolina diamondback terrapin, mud turtles, and cooters are the three species identified for this category. Carolina diamondback terrapin are found in the estuarine/marsh areas adjacent to the site. Diamondback terrapin apparently comprised a good portion of the slave diet in coastal areas long before the nineteenth century (Quitmyer 1985:20). During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the diamondback terrapin became a gourmet item, as well as continuing as a part of the diet of more "common" folk (Obst 1986:183). Although they are occasionally found in estuaries, mud turtles are usually found in freshwater areas. Mud turtles are diurnal, that is they are most active during the day, they enjoy asking in the sun, and they tend to sleep in mud bottoms (Obst 1986). Cooters are found primarily in and around bodies of freshwater such as ponds, rivers, and canals. or occasionally in brackish waters of marshes, swamps and low-salinity sections of marsh. The turtles could be caught by handlines, traps, or by hand.

Duck comprises the last category of wild animals likely used as a food resource (Table 36). Wild birds possess only 0.08% (0.0227 kg) of the biomass and 3.23% (MNI=1) of the individuals present in this faunal assemblage. Ducks are usually found in marshes, streams, ponds, rivers, and other watercourses. Ducks are

Table 35.
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), weight in grams, number of bone, and estimated meat yield by species for Structure 3, 38BU58

Species	MNI #	MNI %	Number of Bones	Weight gm	Biomass kg	Biomass %
Cow, *Bos taurus*	3	9.68	76	1377.4	17.5820	44.96
Pig, *Sus scrofa*	3	9.68	93	398.5	5.7584	14.73
Sheep, *Ovis aries*	3	9.68	12	67.1	1.1587	2.96
White-tailed deer, *Odocoilous virginianus*	1	3.23	6	54.3	0.9577	2.45
Racoon, *Procyon lotor*	1	3.23	11	19.2	0.3757	0.96
Opossum, *Didelphis virginiana*	1	3.23	18	21.0	0.4073	1.04
Rabbit, *Sylviliqus* spp.	1	3.23	4	2.4	0.0578	0.96
Deer Mouse, *Peromysus* spp.	1	3.23	2	0.4	0.0115	0.03
Unidentified mammal	-	-	375	715.9	9.7562	24.95
Chicken, *Gallus gallus*	1	3.23	5	8.7	0.1462	0.37
Canada Goose, *Branta canadensis*	1	3.23	7	10.0	0.1660	0.42
Duck, *Anas* spp.	1	3.23	1	1.1	0.0227	0.06
Unidentified Aves	-	-	15	5.1	0.0899	0.23
Carolina Diamondback Terrapin, *Malaclemys terra. centrata*	2	6.45	37	38.0	0.3618	0.93
Mud Turtle, *Kinosternon* spp.	1	3.23	8	2.3	0.0553	0.14
Cooter, *Chrysemys floridana*	1	3.23	8	10.1	0.1489	0.38
Drum, Sciaenidae	3	9.68	50	38.4	0.5789	1.49
Shark, Chondrichthyes	2	6.45	3	2.6	0.2863	0.73
Gar, *Lepisosteus* spp.	2	6.45	403	42.3	0.6130	1.57
Catfish, *Ictalurus* spp.	1	3.23	4	2.3	0.0440	0.11
Bowfin, *Amia calva*	2	6.45	22	3.8	0.0870	0.22
Unidentified Fish	-	-	4	1.4	0.0388	0.10
Crab, *Callinectes spidus*	-	-	29	20.2	0.3984	1.00
Unidentified	-	-	165	48.4	-	-
Total	31	100.00	1358	2890.9	39.1025	100.00

most prevalent during the winter months along the coast, although individuals may live year-round on the coast. This bird species could have been taken by trapping or hunting with firearms.

The true commensal species include a variety of pests and vermin of which only the deer mouse is present (Table 36). The deer mouse (Peromyscus spp.) is usually found in forested areas, within forest edges, and in open and overgrown clearings. The various houses and structures, fields, and other cleared areas at 38BU58 would have served as good habitation sites for the deer mouse.

Although crabs are not an vertebrate fauna, they are present in the faunal sample from the Kitchen (Table 35). A total of 29 claw fragments that weigh 20.2 grams were noted in the collection. This would yield an estimated 0.3984 kg of biomass. Crabs are found on mud, shell and sand bottoms in the salt and brackish waters, especially in the estuaries and the mouths of tidal creeks around sea grass. Crabs are usually taken

Table 36.
Summary of Structure 3 faunal categories expressed as counts and percentages for MNI and biomass

	MNI		Biomass	
Faunal Category	#	%	#	%
Domestic Mammals (Cow, Pig, Sheep)	9	29.03	24.4991	84.90
Domestic Birds (Chicken, Canada Geese)	2	6.45	0.3122	1.08
Domestic Taxa Total	11	35.50	24.8113	86.00
Wild Mammals (Deer, Raccoon, Rabbit, Opossum)	4	12.90	1.7985	6.23
Wild Birds (Duck)	1	3.23	0.0227	0.08
Reptiles (Diamondback Terrapin, Mud Turtle, Cooter)	4	12.90	0.5660	1.96
Pisces (Drum, Shark, Gar, Catfish, Bowfin)	10	32.26	1.6480	5.71
Wild Taxa Total	19	61.29	4.0352	14.00
Commensal Species (Mouse)	1	3.23	0.0115	0.04
Total	31	100.00	28.8580	100.00

Table 37.
Rank of the ten most prominent potential food faunal species by biomass and MNI for Structure 3.

Species	Biomass Rank	MNI Rank
Cow, *Bos taurus*	1	1
Pig, *Sus scrofa*	2	1
Sheep, *Ovis aries*	3	1
White-tailed Deer, *Odocoileus virginianus*	4	8
Gar, *Lepisosteus* spp.	5	5
Drum, Sciaenidae	6	1
Opossum, *Didelphis virginiana*	7	8
Raccoon, *Procyon lotor*	8	8
Diamondback Terrapin, *Malaclemys terra. centrata*	9	8
Shark, Chondrichthyes	10	5

between March and November (Freeman and Walford 1976). Most of the crab are probably blue crab (Callinectes sapidus) (Turner and Johnson 1972:182).

Table 37 summarizes the 10 most prominent fauna species/taxa with respect to their contribution to the total biomass and by MNI for the site. Three domestic species rank one-two-three, cow, pig, and sheep. When MNI are considered these three domestic mammals rank first with drum. Three wild mammals, deer (fourth), opossum (seventh), and raccoon (eighth) are in the top 10 species ranked according to biomass. Fish species take the fifth (gar), sixth (drum) and tenth (shark) positions in the biomass rankings. Drum ranks first on the MNI list and shark ranks fifth with gar and bowfin. The Carolina diamondback terrapin, an aquatic reptile found in the marsh, is the ninth ranked species based on biomass, and the eighth (with 11 other species) ranked according to MNI. A domestic species, chicken, and catfish are tied for eighth with 10 other species when MNI are considered.

Diversity and equitability indices were calculated for the total biomass and MNI present in the collection (Table 38). The diversity measure for biomass is low (1.8928) and the equitability is above 0.50 (0.6217), which is toward the high end (1.0) of the scale . For MNI, the diversity (2.2503) is in the midrange of the scale (which goes to 4.9), and the equatability (0.7391) is toward the high end of the scale. This is interpreted to indicate that a more normal pattern of species exploitation is present, where a few abundant species (drum), a moderate number of common species (pig, raccoon, opossum, chicken, Carolina diamondback terrapin), and many rare species (the other 13 identified potential food resources) were collected. The most important faunal categories are the domestic mammals, fish, wild mammals, and reptiles.

Table 38.
Diversity and equitability of the MNI and biomass for the identified faunal species at Structure 3.

	Diversity	Equitability	n	MNI
MNI	2.7652	0.9405	19	31
	Diversity	**Equitability**	**n**	**Biomass**
Biomass	1.3879	0.4721	19	28.8580

Comparative Analysis

Comparison of the Two Faunal Assemblages from 38BU58

Structure 1, a Slave Quarter, and Structure 3, a posited Kitchen, represent two different locales within the plantation system at Stoney/Baynard Plantation (38BU58). The differences are reflected in the larger percentage of domestic mammals and a greater percentage of fish combined with a smaller percentage of wild mammals and wild birds at Structure 3, the Kitchen, than at Structure 1, the Slave Quarter. This difference may reflect that the activities conducted at the Kitchen, Structure 3, were for the white inhabitants of the main house and/or other locales at the plantation. In tentative support of this hypothesis are the slightly larger percentages of the biomass at the Structure 3 Kitchen comprised by beef—44.96%—and sheep—2.96%—(Table 35) compared to the Structure 1 Slave Quarter totals of 41.16% for beef and 1.66% for sheep (Table 1). Also, the fewer species recovered from the Kitchen might reflect selection of certain food resources for consumption by a higher status group, such as the white population of the plantation.

Alternatively, the activities at the Structure 3 Kitchen may have served the slave population (house slaves?) adjacent to the main house. The differences could then reflect status differences and/or differential access to food resources among the slave population at Stoney/Baynard. At this time it is difficult to determine which scenario (or other scenarios) is more likely. However, further light will be shed on this question when inter-site faunal assemblage comparisons are conducted in the following pages.

Comparison of the Faunal Assemblages with other Faunal Samples

Reitz (1984:14-15; 1987) proposed a number of hypotheses about the vertebrate faunal composition of the diet of Carolina urban and rural sites dating from the late eighteenth into the middle of the nineteenth century. In general, urban residents apparently utilized more domestic meat than did rural people, and they used a wider range of different species, especially domestic birds. As a consequence, wild animals were utilized to a lesser extent at urban sites and fewer wild species were exploited.

Given that the archaeological remains at the Stoney/Baynard Plantation area are from a plantation (here used to include planter, overseer, and slave habitations), it is probable that the faunal collection will more closely *resemble* faunal samples from the components of other plantations and from sites in rural settings, rather than patterns from urban sites. Table 39 shows the MNI percentages determined for each of the seven general faunal categories (Domestic Mammal, Domestic Bird, Wild Mammals, Wild Birds, Reptiles, Fish and Commensals) at 38BU58's slave quarter (Structure 1) and Kitchen (Structure 3) with composite percentages computed by Reitz (1984:24; 1988) for Urban, Rural, and Slave contexts in the southern Atlantic Coastal Plain; for a slave row (38BU634) located on nearby Daufuskie Island; and from Mitchellville, a late nineteenth century freed black community on Hilton Head Island.

Table 39.
Comparison of Structures 1 and 3 (38BU58) faunal categories by MNI percentages with various other faunal category patterns[42]

Faunal Category	St. 1	St. 3	38BU634	Urban	Mitchelville	Rural	Slave
Domestic Mammals	15.9	29.0	14.1	28.9	19.1	17.2	20.5
Domestic Birds	7.3	6.5	6.3	19.7	12.8	4.1	3.0
Wild Mammals	15.9	12.9	29.7	8.1	10.6	19.2	24.7
Wild Birds	5.8	3.2	9.4	7.6	8.5	3.0	2.1
Reptiles	13.0	12.9	4.7	5.4	12.8	13.7	10.4
Fish	26.1	32.3	25.0	19.7	25.5	38.4	36.6
Commensals	15.9	3.2	10.9	10.6	10.6	4.3	2.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[42] Data for the Slave pattern are derived from Reitz (1984:Table 7). Percentages for the Urban and Rural patterns are from Reitz (1988) and are for materials from late eighteenth and early nineteenth century coastal contexts. The Mitchellville freedman pattern percentages are from Wilson and Wilson (1986: Table 39). The 38BU634 slave row pattern percentages are from Wilson (1989: Table 31).

Comparison of 38BU58 Structure 1 Slave Quarter with other Assemblages

In general, the pattern for MNI from Structure 1, the slave quarter at 38BU58, shows some similarity to the trend illustrated in the patterns noted for the slave row at 38BU634 and the Rural and Slave patterns. This trend is for the importance of fish, wild mammals, domestic mammals and reptiles to be emphasized. Likewise, domestic and wild birds at the 38BU58 Structure 1 slave quarter appear similar in importance to these categories at 38BU634, the slave row on nearby Daufuskie Island. However, domestic and wild bird resources appear to be more important at the Structure 1 slave quarter than in the rural and slave patterns. The pattern for the nearby slave site on Daufuskie Island (38BU634) and the freedmen village at Mitchellville indicates a greater wild bird presence for these two nearby sites.

Comparison of the freedmen Mitchellville faunal category MNI pattern with that for Structure 1 at 38BU58 shows similarities in the fish and reptile faunal categories. The percentage of fish found in the Mitchellville pattern is of the same magnitude as the fish percentage present in the 38BU58 Structure 1 slave quarter pattern. Domestic mammal and domestic bird percentages are greater in the Mitchellville pattern when compared with the 38BU58 Structure 1 slave quarter pattern, and the wild mammal percentages are less in the latter than in the former. The 38BU58 Structure 1 slave quarter pattern bears little resemblance to the Urban pattern, being similar only in the reptile category..

In summary, the composition of the antebellum faunal assemblage from the Structure 1 slave quarter at Stoney/Baynard Plantation area does not conform to any of the faunal assemblage patterns noted for other urban, rural, or slave sites of the south Atlantic coast. Similarities exist in the domestic mammal, domestic bird, and fish categories for the Structure 1 slave quarter and 38BU634, a slave row on nearby Daufuskie Island. The Structure 1 slave quarter also shares comparable MNI percentages with the freedmen village at Mitchellville in the reptile and fish categories. The fish categories from 38BU58, 38BU634 and Mitchellville are all comprised of both freshwater/brackish water and marine species. In this regard, the 38BU58 Structure 1 slave quarter faunal sample resembles the combined collection from 38BU634 and Mitchellville, where freshwater/brackish species predominated at the former (Wilson 1989:190) and marine species predominate in the latter (Wilson and Wilson 1986:300). It would appear that the Structure 1 slave quarter faunal assemblage lies somewhere between the patterns illustrated by 38BU634, a low status slave row on nearby Daufuskie Island, and Mitchellville, a relatively higher status freed black community. Indications are that fishing was a very important food source for the 38BU58 Structure 1 slave quarter population.

The number of wild species present in the 38BU58 Structure 1 slave quarter collection is only half that found at 38BU634 (Wilson 1989:191). The raccoon (MNI=3), opossum (MNI=3), rabbit (MNI=3) and squirrel (MNI=1) from the 38BU58 Structure 1 slave quarter could all have been taken in traps. This technique of capture would not have interfered with the normal work-day of the slaves. Certainly, gathering the two nocturnal wild mammals—raccoon and opossum—would not have interfered with a slave's workday.

Given that it is postulated that the Stoney/Baynard Structure 1 slave quarter dates to the nineteenth century, as does 38BU634 and Mitchellville, it is probably that the differing patterns exhibited in these three faunal collection do not reflect temporal variables. However, the differences noted could reflect status differences of the inhabitants at the three sites. If the freed black slaves at Mitchellville are assumed based on material items (see Trinkley 1986 and 1989) to have a "higher" status than the slaves at 38BU634 on Daufuskie Island, then the slaves at 38BU58 Structure 1 slave quarter might occupy an intermediate status. In the area of Hilton Head and Daufuskie Islands, differences among high and low status slave populations may be reflected in there being greater quantities of wild mammals and wild birds with fewer reptiles (turtles) in low status diets than in higher status diets.

Comparison of 38BU58 Structure 3 Posited Kitchen with other Assemblages

Overall, the MNI faunal pattern for Structure 3, the posited Kitchen at 38BU58, differs from the other faunal assemblages listed in Table 39. The domestic mammal and commensal percentages are similar to that for urban sites, but all other categories vary between the two. Similarities in percentage between the Structure 3 Kitchen and the low status slave row at 38BU634 on Daufuskie Island exist only for domestic birds. Mitchellville has percentages close to the Structure 3 Kitchen for reptiles. Likewise, the Structure 3 Kitchen categories of wild birds and reptiles are close to the figures for the rural pattern, and the Structure 3 Kitchen MNI percents are close to the slave pattern only for the commensals. Likewise, the Structure 3 Kitchen is similar to Structure 1, the slave quarter, at Stoney/Baynard Plantation only in two categories—reptiles and to a lesser extent domestic birds. That both locales from the Stoney Baynard Plantation at 38BU58 have reptile MNI percentages similar to Mitchellville suggest a commonality among the three of a shared habitat—sea islands adjacent to one another.

Given these similarities and differences, it is possible that the faunal collection at 38BU58's Structure 3, the Kitchen, represents the byproducts of behaviors associated with food preparation for the white inhabitants at Stoney/Baynard Plantation; for high status, possibly "house" slaves, segments of the slave population at the plantation; or some other set of behaviors associated with as yet unidentified activities. Based on the various MNI patterns discussed here, the following tentative hypothesis is offered.

It is possible that the posited Kitchen at Structure 3 is associated with food preparation for a white population at Stoney/Baynard Plantation. This is based on the difference between the Structure 3 Kitchen MNI profile and that for Mitchellville among domestic mammals, domestic birds, wild birds, and fish; and the similarity between the domestic mammal total for the Structure 3 Kitchen and the urban pattern. The predominance of the domestic mammal category at the Structure 3 Kitchen is similar to the urban pattern, with the differences between the two in other categories possibly being due to access to those faunal resources directly (as in the former) or indirectly through market in the latter. The difference between the Structure 3 Kitchen pattern at Stoney/Baynard Plantation and the "high" status freed black community at Mitchellville also suggests that status differences among slaves and freed slaves is not being demonstrated. One alternative to consider is that these differences between the Kitchen and Mitchellville reflect difference between white and black populations.

Conclusions

In general, faunal samples must contain at least 200 individuals or 1400 bones in order to be used to make reliable interpretations (Grayson 1979; Wing and Brown 1979). Although the number of individuals present in the antebellum faunal collection from the Stoney/Baynard (38BU58) Structure 1 Slave Quarter does not number at least 200, the collection does possess 69 individuals and 3710 bone elements and fragments, of which 1290 could be identified to species. Likewise, Structure 3, the Kitchen at Stoney/Baynard plantation, possesses 31 individuals and 1358 bone elements and fragments, of which 799 could be identified to species. While not eliminating all doubt about the interpretations set forth for this faunal collection, there is probably a good basis for accepting the findings derived from the analysis of this material at the very least as something more than a preliminary assessment.

Although it was originally expected that the 38BU58 Structure 1 slave quarter faunal collection would exhibit a MNI pattern similar to that found in other slave faunal assemblages of the southern Atlantic coast, a pattern that differed from the generalized Slave faunal patterns and the specific MNI faunal pattern from the nearby low status slave row at 38BU634 on Daufuskie Island was defined. Likewise, the 38BU58 Structure 1 slave quarter pattern differs from the generalized Urban and Rural MNI patterns and the MNI pattern from the freed black community at Mitchellville on Hilton Head Island. It is hypothesized that what is being demonstrated here are status differences among the black inhabitants, both slave and freedmen, of the slave

row, slave quarter and Mitchellville. Based on prior research, it is thought that Mitchellville freed blacks possessed a "higher" status (Trinkley 1986) than the slaves at 38BU634 on Daufuskie Island (Trinkley 1989). Here, it is hypothesized that the slaves at 38BU58 Structure 1 slave quarter might have possessed either an intermediate status representing intra-plantation differences between house and field slaves or an intermediate status representing inter-plantation status.

In an earlier work (Wilson 1990) it was hypothesized that in the area of Hilton Head and Daufuskie Islands, differences among high and low status slave populations may be reflected in there being greater quantities of wild mammals and wild birds with fewer reptiles (turtles) in low status slave diets than in higher status diets (Table 39). The faunal category patterns for the 38BU58 Structure 1 slave quarter mimic this profile, as does the Mitchellville faunal category pattern, when both are compared to the lower status slave row at 38BU634 on Daufuskie Island. One conclusion is that this hypothesis has merit and deserves further research.

In summary, it appears that the various economies, human idiosyncracies, historical factors, and environmental variables present in the archaeological record all contribute to differentiate the people, behaviors and activities at and within plantations within a region. A number of hypotheses have been developed here that provide a focus for further research on the plantation archaeology of the South Atlantic coast. This is not an unexpected result of the archaeological research conducted within the Carolina and Georgia coastal region given the complexity of human behavior at any point in time

ETHNOBOTANICAL REMAINS

Introduction

The Stoney/Baynard site has thus far produced relatively few proveniences which exhibited a high potential for the recovery of ethnobotanical remains. The several features which have been subjected to water flotation have produced very sparse remains with the light fractions heavily loaded with rootlets and noncarbonized remains. This, of course, is unfortunate since flotation samples typically offer the best potential to recover very small seeds and other food remains. The failure to recover adequate samples may be related to the nature of the proveniences examined, or may associated with the plantation's history of occasional use and absentee ownership.

Regardless, handpicked samples have been recovered and examined from a variety of well defined and reliable proveniences. Such samples provide little information on subsistence since they often represent primarily wood charcoal large enough to be readily collected during either excavation or screening. Such handpicked samples are perhaps most useful for providing generalized ecological information through examination of the wood species present. Such studies assume that charcoal from different species tends to burn, fragment, and be preserved similarly so that no species naturally produce smaller, or less common, pieces of charcoal and is less likely than others to be represented — an assumption that is dangerous at best. Such studies also assume that the charcoal was being collected in the same proportions by the site occupants as found in the archaeological record — likely, but very difficult to examine in any detail. And finally, an examination of wood species may also assume that the species present represent woods intentionally selected by the site occupants for use as fuel — probably the easiest assumption to accept if due care is used to exclude the results of natural fires.

While this method probably gives a fair indication of the trees in the site area at the time of occupation, there are several factors which may bias any environmental reconstruction based solely on charcoal evidence, including selective gathering by site occupants (perhaps selecting better burning woods, while excluding others) and differential self-pruning of the trees (providing greater availability of some species other others). These factors are of particular concern at historic sites where there is evidence of wood selection being guided by heat production, quality of the fire, ease of igniting, and a whole range of other factors (for a brief review from an urban perspective, see Zierden and Trinkley 1984). There is even evidence that some owners planted trees (such as weeping willows, *Salix babylonica*) specifically for the wood they produced through normal pruning. Consequently, at a historic site hand picked charcoal *may* tell us more about cultural factors than it does about the natural environment. Smart and Hoffman (1988) provide an excellent review of environment interpretation using charcoal which should be consulted by those particularly interested in this aspect of the study.

Procedures and Results

The handpicked samples were examined under low magnification with a sample of the wood charcoal identified, where possible, to the genus level, using comparative samples, Panshin and de Zeeuw (1970), and Koehler (1917). Wood charcoal samples were selected on the basis of sufficient size to allow the fragment to be broken in half, exposing a fresh transverse surface. A range of different sizes were examined in order to minimize bias resulting from differential preservation. The results of this analysis are shown in Table 40 as percentages.

Table 40.
Wood charcoal identified in handpicked collections, by percent

Provenience	*Pinus*	*Quercus*	*Cornus*	*Juniperus*	*Nyssa*	Rosin	Coal	china-berry seeds	palmetto seeds	UID wood
Structure 1										
EU 9, Z. 1	55	18								27
Structure 3										
EU 1, Z.1, ext.	58	8	8					8	8	8
EU 1, Z. 1, int.	60			10						30
EU 2, Z. 1, ext.	60	20			20					
EU 3, Z. 1	56	27								17
EU 4, Z.1a	50	10			10			10	10	
EU 5, Z. 1	45		11			22		11	11	
EU 8, Z. 1	50						50			
EU 10, Z. 1	48	5			5				26	16
EU 11, Z. 1	14	72								14

While a number of different wood species have been identified in this collection, indicating that the occupants collected and/or used woods from relatively dry upland soils, more mesic soils, and even some wetland areas bordering on swamps, two species appear most significant — pine and oak. Both are species frequently mentioned in the Beaufort area as either boundary trees or as components of broad acreages. Commenting on the prevalence of pines in South Carolina, found usually with "only a very few black-jack oaks," Edmund Ruffin observed that they were found on "the dryest [sic] land" whose surface is "sandy & dry" (Mathew 1992:74).

It may be significant that both pine and oak are frequently used fuel woods. On the average, a cord of air dried pine provides about 80% of the heat value of a short-ton of coal, while oak provides about 84% the value. In contrast, willows typically provide less than 60% the heat value, sweetgum about 68%, and elms provide about 68%. Only the hickories (which were not recovered in these collections and which are relatively uncommon in the area) consistently provide high heat values, averaging about 97% that of coal.[43] The choice of wood for fuel did not, however, depend entirely on its calorific power. Other factors likely included freedom from smoke, completeness of combustion, and rapidity of burning. Pine, for instance, gives a quicker, hotter fire, and is easier to ignite, but is consumed in less time than many other woods. Oaks provide a more steady fire and heat than pine, but are difficult to ignite and not as easy to split (Graves 1919; Reynolds and Pierson 1942). In combination they form an almost perfect union.[44]

The dogwood, black gum, and cedar all appear to be incidental inclusions in the collection. The cedar is found in only one provenience, the dogwood in two, and the black gum in three. Dogwood (*Cornus florida*) will grow on a variety of soils ranging from deep, moist soils along drainages to well drained, upland soils. It is often found as an understory species and is noticeably affected by drought. The tree has few economic uses

[43] The varying quality of fire wood has long been recognized. For example, Reese notes: "The heavy and dense woods give the greatest heat, burn the longest, and have the densest charcoal. To the dense woods belong the oak, beech, alder, hazel, birch, and elm: to the soft, the fir, the pine of different sorts, larch, linden, willow, and poplar" (Reese 1847:116).

[44] Elisabeth Donaghy Garrett goes to great lengths, however, to illustrate that even the perfect combination of fire woods, blazing in the perfectly constructed fireplace, often did little to warm, or light, plantation rooms. Even with fires, water, foods, ink, and even wines, froze overnight in deep winter. Thomas Chaplin, writing from his St. Helena, Beaufort County plantation in January 1857 that his thermometer was down to 20 degrees in the house at eight in the morning and that everything was frozen hard, including eggs, milk, and ink (Garrett 1990:189).

and even on good sites it rarely yields more than two cords of wood per acre (and it may often take 15 to 20 acres to produce a single cord) (Fowells 1965:164). Black gum (or black tupelo, *Nyssa sylvatica*) may grow on well-drained light upland soils, but is more often found on the wetter bottom land soils. It will even survive the slough and lowland areas which are wet year round. It is usually found mixed with other species and stagnants if heavily stocked. The cedar (most likely Southern Red Cedar, *Juniperus silicicola*) can likewise be found on a wide variety of sites, but is rarely a dominant species. Its economic uses include fence posts and other uses in contact with the ground because of its oils and resins.

The handpicked collections also included three proveniences with individual intact fruits of the china-berry tree (*Melia azedarach*). This deciduous tree is currently considered to be an ornamental, although it occurs wild as an escape from cultivation. The fruits, which occur in September and October, are round to oval, the pulp is juicy, and the hard stone contains five seeds. The plant has medicinal uses which were recognized by Porcher (1869) during the nineteenth century. Although the plant is considered poisonous, it has a long history as a vermifuge used to expel worms, especially roundworms (Morton 1974:95-96). Duncan reports that "worms, of all kinds seem also to have plagued Carolina bondsmen" (Duncan 1971:258). It may also be taken as a diuretic and infusions of the leaves or fruits are given to relieve fever or applied topically to treat eczema and dermatitis. In spite of these medicinal uses, Morton reports that there is great variation in the quality, taste, and toxicity of the fruits and that "people in the Low Country claim that the fruits are 'sweet'" and frequently eat them (Morton 1974:96). While the ethnobotanical remains cannot demonstrate use, this fruit stone has been found at several nineteenth African American slave settlements (see, for example, Trinkley 1983). This suggests a fairly consistent use of the plant by the slaves in the South Carolina lowcountry.

Also recovered, from four proveniences, are palmetto seeds, likely from the cabbage palmetto (*Sabal palmetto*). Palmetto are common in the site area today and would have been similarly common during the historic period. The prevalence of these seeds in the collection may be a reflection of their dominance in the landscape, although how they came to be burned and incorporated in the archaeological record is more problematic. They are occasionally identified in other coastal collections, although never in contexts associated with definable usage. We have been unable to identify references to either the medicinal or subsistence use of the cabbage palmetto berry, although there are references to use of the saw palmetto berry (*Serenoa repens*) which is also in the Arecaceae family.

One provenience (Unit 8 associated with Structure 3) also produced a modest collection of coal — typically associated with urban sites where coal began to replace wood as fuel as early as the eighteenth century. By the nineteenth century in England wood was used only by the poorer classes, while those of the middle and upper class relied almost exclusively on coal, whose "superiority . . . over every other combustible, for domestic use as well as many other purposes, is now generally acknowledged" (Reese 1847:119). By this time urban sites, such as those in Charleston, are dominated by coal and there are numerous advertisements for peach orchard red ash, orrel, Liverpool, New Castle, "Stone Hinge," and Smith's coal in local papers. At least three coal yards were in business in Charleston and prices prior to the Civil War ranged from $6 to $7 a ton. By the mid-nineteenth century there is good evidence that the reliance on coal is almost certainly an indication of wealth and status. In the Carolina lowcountry it is likely that the transportation costs of coal, even for the relatively wealthy planter class, was typically out of reach. Consequently, its presence at Stoney/Baynard is curious and worthy of some notice.

The coal found at the site appears to be a poor grade of anthracite, represented by small, unburned waste fragments. Reese notes that:

> when coals are dug they are liable to be broken more or less; hence there is always a quantity of fragments, which constitute the small coal. When the coal is bituminous and of the best kind, this small coal is useful, as it will cake together . . . ; but when the coal is a little bituminous . . . this small coal does not cake, and it is then of little value. It is customary .

> . . to separate the large from the small by screening; and the small is sold at a much lower rate, under the name of slack. It is no uncommon thing for dishonest dealers to mix some of this slack with good coals, though some of its is scarcely combustible (Reese 1847:120).

It may be that the fragments found at Stoney/Baynard represent this slack coal.

Conclusions

The handpicked samples from Stoney/Baynard provide an interesting glimpse of life at the plantation during the nineteenth century. The most common remains are wood charcoals almost certainly representing fuel wood used for warming the houses and cooking the meals. Of the woods present the two most common are pine and oak — the trees which we would expect to be common and readily available in the immediate vicinity of the plantation. Coal, which has not previously been reported at lowcountry plantation sites, occurs in one provenience, suggesting that it was at least occasionally brought onto the island in spite of its costs.

The other woods found — dogwood, black gum, and cedar — are found in such small quantities that they probably represent incidental inclusions, occasionally picked up for firewood or kindling. The small quantity of rosin found in the collection is likely associated with the pine and represents the burning of green wood.

In addition to the wood charcoal, the collection also produced two different types of seeds. The chinaberry stones have been identified at other lowcountry sites and were likely used by the black population as a vermifuge. This seems to be a re-occurring theme in plantation ethnobotanical studies and suggests a strong continuum from the nineteenth century through modern times. In addition, a small quantity of palmetto seeds were also identified. These can be less certainly associated with some intentional use, although their prevalence and occurrence in multiple collections suggests that they were not accidental inclusions.

SUMMARY AND SYNTHESIS

Perhaps the most insidious logical fallacy is that which allows us to over generalize on too little data. It is insidious since we all strive to do the most, and the best, we can with what data we have; therefore, we all fall prey to it, often without realizing either the act or the consequences. Regardless, it is incredibly damaging since it makes the complex appear simple, creating an almost monotonous landscape where simplicity replaces complexity. The result, of course, is that the texture, and reality, of the past is lost and in its place is created a version of reality which would likely be unrecognizable to the people of the period.

Stoney/Baynard has revealed some of the complexity of the antebellum landscape and challenged our way of looking at low country plantations. In spite of a decade of laborious excavations and number crunching, we seem unable to recognize, or accept, the exceptional variety at these plantations. As an example, consider Stoney/Baynard without standing ruins or in situ tabby. In their place imagine only below-ground features. Add to this scenario the reduced sampling strategy used for most "compliance" projects. Then consider some of the findings of this research and try to imagine the conclusions which might otherwise be drawn. Would it be conceivable that a grand tabby mansion would be only a basement and one floor? Most likely the assumption would be drawn, lacking any alternative historical information, that the main house consisted of a basement and two floors. Would it even be considered that the house slaves' quarters were ground fast but yet had a continuous tabby foundation? The idea that either through intentional construction or adaptive re-use that such a structural type existed would likely not be considered. Given the number of lateral gable structures on plantations would there be any consideration that the tabby chimney structure might be an end gable kitchen? Again, it is likely that the complexity of the plantation would be masked by our desire to find a simple solution, or would be thwarted by inadequate samples which allowed us to see only a small part of the whole.

We could raise additional questions, such as whether conventional "compliance" projects would even allow us to recognize the entire plantation complex as preserved at Stoney/Baynard or whether the rush to achieve clearance would result in obtaining only a casual understanding of very intricate issues. There are no easy answers for these questions, especially since we have created a "straw man" argument. Yet, they are topics which are rarely considered in archaeology today and which just as surely affect the way we interpret the past as does our theoretical outlook.

Stoney/Baynard, and similar non-compliance projects, are very important in the growth of archaeology since they can be used to address questions over a longer period of more leisurely research. In reflecting on the discoveries at Stoney/Baynard it seems that the cautions offered by Brooker and Trinkley (1991) are as reasonable today as they were several years ago. They admonished researchers to consider the entire plantation:

> at the level of the plantation complex we again see a surprising lack of detail. Examination of recent archaeological studies would largely suggest that plantations consisted of nothing more than an occasional main house, maybe an overseer's house, and a single slave settlement, all frozen in time. Yet a multiplicity of additional structures, such as barns, stables, kitchens, offices, wash offices, industrial settlements, and so forth, also existed. The plantation was serviced by roads, cart paths, and walkways. Gardens of some description were almost certainly present. Fences were common and marked off cultural and idealized boundaries, if not real places. Yet, most of these "other" features of the plantation fail to be either discovered or discussed (Brooker and Trinkley 1991:4).

They warn that while archaeologists are busily digging and preserving things such as nails and ceramics, that often the setting "in which these artifacts derive a larger, and more significant, meaning" is rarely preserved and is often ignored. They comment that "we may find out, albeit too late, that what we have chosen to disregard, might have told us as much, perhaps more, about plantation life than what we saved." Stoney/Baynard offers similar mute testimony.

We have, at previous sea island plantations, used Fernand Braudel's concepts as heuristic devices to better understand the isolation and how this may have affected the evolution and operation of various cultural practices (including architectural trends and traditions). The reader will recall that Braudel found that the Mediterranean islands:

> make up a coherent human environment in so far as similar pressures are exerted upon them, making them both far ahead and far behind the general history of the sea; pressures that may divide them, often brutally, between the two opposite poles of archaism and innovation (Braudel 1972:I:150).

It seems not enough to distinguish between rural and urban — the sea islands were beyond rural, they were in many respects a world apart. They saw economic ventures which made a few South Carolinians wealthy beyond their dreams, with those economic ventures and the allied evil of slavery leading the State into the Civil War. They saw architectural styles, begun as country villas in England and Europe, adopted and changed to gradually evolve into a uniquely sea island architectural tradition. The sea islands saw seventeenth century ephemeral frontier architecture revised (or never truly die out) to house African-American slaves in the nineteenth century. They also saw the picturesque landscape movement of Europe used by plantation owners to mask the face of slavery into that of happy yeoman farmers in an idyllic countryside.

In spite of their seeming beauty, the sea islands were consistently hostile. It is impossible to pick up a plantation diary or day book without reading about the horrific effects of disease on both black and white alike; or noticing that there were far more lean years than good ones; or without realizing that there was always a tone of anxiety more appropriate for a frontier setting than for those planting either "Carolina Gold" or "King Cotton." Life was rarely complacent for most sea island planters. The agricultural schedule was hectic, at times frantic. Goods and supplies were costly and always at a premium. Planters would save everything possible for some future use. They would scout the coast for wrecks from which to salvage wood, iron spikes, and copper hardware. Skilled craftsmen were at a premium and most would make do with a local slave carpenter or brick mason. The wealth of the sea island plantations was a shallow veneer, propped up by an archaic social system and political demagoguery.

Braudel's view of the isolation, and its effects, can help us better understand and interpret what we see at sites such as Stoney/Baynard. The house slaves' quarters becomes less of an oddity as we attempt to understand it in the context of isolation and limited resources. A moderately dysfunctional design was selected and implemented since it as easier and required less labor than any other choice possible. The lack of craftsmanship evidenced by the chimney construction details at the house slaves' quarters are also understandable in this context of isolation and selecting the path of least resistance. Even the scavenging of tabby or lime bricks from the kitchen chimney is understandable in the context of limited resources. The end gable kitchen structure is likewise more understandable in the context of an isolated plantation ruled more by the African-American slaves than the white master.

After review of additional historical documents, we found that the front of the main house faced south, away from the rest of the complex and the slave row, symbolically turning its back on the institution of slavery. Given the economic wealth of remains found at the house slaves' quarters in contrast to the low economic value of remains at the kitchen, it further suggests an alienation of the slaves.

Artifacts recovered from the main house were primarily architectural and suggested that after it was abandoned the architectural hardware was stripped to be used elsewhere, either by the Union troops or the freedmen. Additional work is needed to gather a larger sample of kitchen related artifacts which could be compared to the assemblages found at the house slaves' quarters and the kitchen. The small collection of ceramics from previous excavations suggests (as expected) that the assemblage is more expensive than that found at the house slaves' quarters.

There were a large number of high status items recovered from the excavations at the house slaves' quarters including expensive ceramics, lead glass tumblers, stemmed glassware, bone handled utensils, and jewelry and other expensive items. The ceramics from the yard area yielded an index of 2.33 using Miller's (1991a) analysis. This is compared to low indexes of 1.66 and 1.73 at the kitchen. The faunal assemblage from the house slaves' quarters resembles the collection from 38BU634, a low status slave context from Daufuskie Island, but is also similar to the relatively high status freedmen context at Mitchellville. This suggests that the house slaves at Stoney/Baynard occupied a status somewhere between field slaves and freedmen. The most prominent food types were fish and wild and domestic mammals. It is likely that the "middling status" faunal assemblage from the house slaves' quarters is the result of supplementing their rations not only with wild game but also with leftovers from the planter's table.

Although the house slaves posessed relatively expensive items, they lived in a house that was probably uncomfortable. The house itself was a double penned structure with each room measuring about 14 by 12 feet, with chimneys on either end. Based on the architectural features, it would have contained a floor at or slightly below grade, with the wooden floor joists in contact with the ground. This would have made the house damp and hard to keep clean, and it is likely that the slaves were constantly battling a rot and insect problem.

A fence surrounding the main house and house slaves' quarter appears on an 1859-1860 map that is not present in 1838. While it may be that the 1838 map simply does not show an existing fence, it is more likely that the fence was built sometime after 1838 but before 1859. Evidence for the fence having been built between 1838 and 1859 is a potential change in trash disposal practices at the house slaves' quarters. Earlier deposits were found as dense sheet midden throughout the house slave's yard, whereas a substantially later discrete shell midden was found in the far yard area, perhaps on the opposite side of the fence. The erection of this fence was possibly an attempt by the planter to gain more control over the yard area surrounding the main house.

The kitchen was a relatively small structure measure 14 by 18 feet, with the chimney on the gable end and a gable end porch. Although there are few detailed descriptions, photographs, or drawings, the information available indicates that this is an unusual configuration for a kitchen. Artifacts were low status, similar to what is found in a field slave context. However, the faunal material is high status suggesting that the kitchen was associated with food preparation for the white population at Stoney/Baynard. The presence of low status ceramics is likely associated with the people that worked in the kitchen, rather than the planter's family. Most prominent in the collection were domestic animals and fish. Pollen analysis of a sample of the kitchen midden suggests that there may have been a kitchen garden nearby. Pollen was found which may represent onion, asparagus or peanut, and bell or hot pepper. The shellfish from the adjacent midden appear to have been collected during the cooler months of the year. The majority of ethnobotanical remains came from the kitchen with a large quantity of pine and oak present—probably representing fire wood. In addition to the wood, a small amount of low grade coal was identified, which may have been used for a fuel source. Also present were a number of chinaberry and cabbage palmetto seeds. Chinaberry seeds are historically known as a vermifuge and have been found in several slave contexts (see Trinkley 1983). The cabbage palmetto may have been used for medicinal or subsistence purposes, although none are known. However, saw palmetto berries are known to have been used and the cabbage palmetto may not be significantly different from saw palmetto.

In sum, the work at Stoney/Baynard Plantation has suggested that plantations are not all cut and dry;

what you find at one plantation will not necessarily be found at another. Historical documents indicate that there were conflicting views on the treatment of slaves, suggesting that the situation will vary from place to place. The archaeology suggests that factors specific to a sub-region can strongly affect the layout and the architecture at plantations. At Stoney/Baynard, as probably with most Hilton Head and other sea island plantations, isolation caused planters to "make do" with what was available on the island. In addition, architectural styles that evolved in the sea islands were different than those that developed on the mainland.

What appears to be similar among most lowcountry plantations is the alienation of the slaves spatially, economically, and materially from the planter. At Stoney/Baynard, although the house slaves lived in the immediate vicinity of the main house, the main house turned away from them as well as the other support buildings and the settlement for the field slaves.

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