

**AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECONNAISSANCE
OF HOBCAW PLANTATION,
CHARLESTON COUNTY, S.C.**



AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECONNAISSANCE OF HOBCAW PLANTATION,
CHARLESTON COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

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Death comes even to the monumental stones
and the names inscribed thereon.

-- Ausonius

ABSTRACT

This study represents a preliminary historical and archaeological survey of several acres of the eighteenth and nineteenth century Hobcaw Plantation, situated in Mount Pleasant, Charleston County, at the headwaters of Molasses Creek. The primary purposes of this investigation, sponsored by Mr. David Maybank, Jr., were to identify the original plantation settlement, and to fully record the associated family cemetery.

As a result of this work the cemetery, recorded as 38CH895, was fully documented. In spite of extensive vandalism several fragmented stones could be pieced together, several brick crypts were located (and one partially excavated to verify its function), a stone crypt was identified, and the cemetery boundaries were approximated. This study also provides information on the White and Walker families, preeminent stonecutters of nineteenth century Charleston. The plantation site, recorded as 38CH896, was identified and is briefly discussed in this report. Both sites are significant to a complete understanding of Charleston's historical development and are recommended as eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Sites.

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I also wish to acknowledge the skill and assistance of Debi Hacker, who participated in the fieldwork and the analysis of the collections. Ms. Hacker also graciously provided the research on the White and Walker families of Charleston. I also gratefully acknowledge the review comments offered by my colleagues, Martha Zierden, Debi Hacker, and Jack H. Wilson, Jr.

INTRODUCTION

Background and Goals

These investigations were conducted by Dr. Michael Trinkley of Chicora Foundation, Inc. for Mr. David Maybank of Charleston, South Carolina at the eighteenth century Hobcaw Plantation. This tract is situated about 3.8 miles northeast of Charleston at the headwaters of Molasses Creek, northeast of the Scanlonville area of Mount Pleasant (Figure 1). The property, owned by David N. Jordan, is being prepared for development by the Brumley Company and Edward Pinckney and Associates of Charleston. Mr. Maybank was concerned that the cemetery at the Hobcaw Plantation, as well as other significant archaeological resources, might be damaged by the development and requested that Chicora conduct a reconnaissance study. Specifically, he desired that the 0.25 acre (0.1 hectare) Hobcaw Plantation cemetery shown on County Tax Maps be accurately delineated on the ground, that probable graves be identified, and that whatever other information available on the cemetery be gathered together. He was further interested in identifying the location of the Hobcaw Plantation complex and determining its possible significance. This study, obviously, is selective in nature and does not represent an intensive survey of the development property, nor has it been prepared for compliance purposes.

The first phase of the fieldwork was conducted on March 28 and April 1, 1986 by Ms. Debi Hacker and the author. Some limited, additional historical research was conducted from April 13 through April 16, 1987 by the author and a final phase of test excavations at the cemetery were conducted by Hacker and the author on April 22, 1987. Artifact analysis, conservation and curation continued during the months of April and May, with this report being prepared in early June 1987.

While the primary goals of this project may be largely classified as "heritage" related (South 1977:22-23) since they concern site preservation, stabilization, and significance, the study has allowed the opportunity to examine some limited aspects of eighteenth and early nineteenth century high status cemetery patterning, and to record an eighteenth century Charleston area plantation which appears to have been abandoned in the nineteenth century. Although the Hobcaw Plantation does not appear to represent a seventeenth century plantation, it is still a very early settlement in the Charleston area and can

provide significant information on the lifestyle of wealthy eighteenth century Charleston planters.

Curation

The field notes, photographic materials, and artifacts resulting from this study have been curated at the Charleston Museum as Accession Number 1987.14. The artifacts are cataloged as ARL-35145 through ARL-35155 (using a lot provenience system) and the photographic materials are cataloged as MK-34717 through MK-34764. All original records, and duplicates, were provided to the Museum in archival condition and will be maintained by that institution in perpetuity. The artifacts have been cleaned and/or conserved as necessary and further information on conservation practices may be found in the Research Strategy and Methods section.

NATURAL SETTING

Charleston County is located in the lower Atlantic Coastal Plain of South Carolina and is bounded to the east by the Atlantic Ocean and a series of marsh, barrier, and sea islands (Mathews et al. 1980:133). While elevations in the county range from sea level to about 70 feet (21 meters) mean sea level (MSL), elevations in the Hobcaw tract range from 6 to 23 feet (1.8 to 7 meters) MSL. The mainland topography, which consists of subtle ridge and bay undulations, is characteristic of beach ridge plains (Mathews et al. 1980:133). The Hobcaw tract exists as a narrow ridge of cultivated and forested land bordered to the north by the marsh and tidal inlets of Hobcaw Creek, and to the south by the headwaters of Molasses Creek (Figure 1). The western edge of the property is bordered by the Hobcaw Point Subdivision, constructed in the 1960s and to the east is property previously cultivated, but currently being used as large borrow pits.

Climate

The climate of Charleston County is subtropical, with long, hot, and humid summers and mild, dank winters (Hilliard 1984:13; Kronberg 1971:72; Landers 1970). The humidity ranges from a low of about 45% to a high of 92%, with a yearly average of 75%. Summer temperatures range in the high nineties, although a high of 104° F (40° C) has been recorded for Charleston. Winter temperatures range from the low sixties to thirties, and only rarely fall below 20° F (-7° C). The average growing season is about 266 days, with the average rainfall of 49.1 inches (122.8 centimeters) well distributed throughout the year. This mild climate, as Hilliard (1984:13) notes, is largely responsible for the presence of many southern crops, such as cotton and sugar cane.

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. Hilliard notes,

[t]he capricious nature of hurricanes precluded a given area's being hit every year, but no one could predict what areas were susceptible in any given year, and in



Figure 1. Map of Hobcaw Plantation area, from the USGS Charleston 7.5' topographic map.

some years several struck one area or another
(Hilliard 1984:18)

This view was clearly stated in the nineteenth century by Ramsay,

[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).

From 1670 to 1860 there were 10 major hurricanes, occurring at intervals ranging from 2 to 52 years, several of which caused extensive reported crop damages (Mathews et al. 1980:54).

Joyner (1984:35-37) discusses the common belief that the lowcountry's "marsh miasma" was responsible for considerable sickness and death among both the black and white populations during the antebellum period. Visitors frequently mentioned the stagnant air, noxious marsh gas, and abundant mosquitoes. By 1880, however, Harry Hammond commented 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).

Geology and Soils

Coastal Plain geologic formations are unconsolidated sedimentary deposits of very recent (Pleistocene and Holocene) age lying unconformably on ancient crystalline rocks (Cooke 1936; Hilliard 1984:6-7; Miller 1971:74). The Pleistocene sediments are organized into topographically distinct, but lithologically similar, geomorphic units, or terraces, parallel to the coast. The study area is situated on the Pamlico terrace which includes deposits that accumulated when the sea was about 25 feet (7.7 meters) above its present level. Cooke (1936:149) notes that the formation consists chiefly of fine sand and blue or gray clay. The formation provides abundant "brick clay," usually found in former lagoons situated behind ancient barrier islands (Cooke 1936:160).

One additional aspect of Sea Island geology, groundwater availability, should be briefly discussed, since water is of primary importance to historic (and prehistoric) settlement criteria. The principal deep water aquifers are the limestone

of Eocene age known as the Santee Formation and the sands of Cretaceous age known as the Pee Dee and Black Creek formations, although these are at depths from 400 to 2000 feet (120 to 615 meters) (South Carolina Water Resources Commission 1973).

Lynch et al. (1882) note that colonial wells rarely exceeded 20 feet (6 meters) into the sands which were "everywhere saturated with the water which it received from a rainfall averaging 43.78 inches each year" (Lynch et al. 1882:258). Consequently, wells 12 to 15 feet (3.5 to 4.5 meters) deep provided "an unfailing supply of water of the very best quality" (Lynch et al. 1882:259). Water quality gradually declined as the population increased and antebellum wells became deeper, although they rarely exceeded 60 feet (18.5 meters) in downtown Charleston. One antebellum brick-lined well on Daniels Island, about 5.5 miles (8.8 kilometers) northeast of Charleston, was only 10.7 feet (3.3 meters) in depth (Zierden et al. 1986:4-44). It is therefore clear that during the historic period both deep and shallow wells were in common use, although shallow wells probably tended to be less healthy and more saline. While less information is available for the prehistoric period, it is likely that there were free-flowing aquifers or springs, especially in the project area, in addition to groundwater in shallow aquifers recharged by local rainfall.

The Hobcaw tract is characterized by nine soil series: Charleston, Dawhoo and Rutlege, Edisto, Kiawah, Seabrook, Stono, Wagram, Wando, and Wicksburg (Miller 1971: Maps 44, 53). These nine series may be divided into three classes, based on drainage and the seasonal water table, although all are sandy soils usually underlain by a loamy subsoil (Miller 1971). The Seabrook, Wagram, Wando, and Wicksburg soils, which account for over 69% of the tract, are excessively well to moderately well drained and have water tables from at least two feet to over 5 feet (0.6 to over 1.5 meters) below the surface. The Charleston, Edisto, and Kiawah soils, which incorporate 21.9% of the acreage, have more variable drainage and water tables which range from 1 to 5 feet (0.3 to 1.5 meters) below the ground surface. The Dawhoo-Rutlege and Stono soils are poorly to very poorly drained with tables from the surface to no deeper than 3 feet (0.9 meter). These soils, which account for 8.5% of the Hobcaw tract are frequently to very frequently flooded.

While South and Hartley (1980) and Hartley (1984) have demonstrated that major colonial plantation houses were located in areas where both deep water access and high ground are found, another clear concern for historic period settlement would have been the suitability of the adjacent lands for agricultural activity. Miller (1971) notes that six of the nine soils have agricultural limitations imposed by wetness,

while two additional soils are affected by droughtiness. Most of the soils are low organic matter and inherent fertility. On a more general level Hilliard observes that this region "was seldom well enough drained for most crops" (Hilliard 1984:11), while Ellerbe (1974:17-18) also comments on the large areas of poorly drained soils which characterize the Atlantic Coastal Plain.

Herein lies a paradox. The Charleston coast has a climate that is excellent for agriculture -- adequate rainfall, a summer growing season capable of producing two crops, and a mild winter season which supports crops such as cabbage, Irish potatoes, and peas. Yet the soils have generally low fertility and are poorly drained. Henderson and Smith note,

[t]he favorable climate permits successful production of a variety of crops, even though many of the soils are inherently of low productivity. This fact tends to lessen the significance of soil differences and increase the importance of good soil management (Henderson and Smith 1957:596).

This situation consistently has affected Charleston's agricultural history and plantation economics by promoting the development of rice cultivation and restraining or hindering the development of cotton production. It is probable that soil fertility and drainage affected individual plantation owners by directing and limiting their agricultural options. Individuals who found themselves in areas unable to profitably support either rice or cotton may have been forced to turn to smaller scale vegetable or grain production as the land would support it, or to livestock production, which allowed the animals to forage on the natural vegetation. Soils, then, may not only indicate areas of likely prehistoric and historic occupation, but may also provide an indication of plantation economic worth and agricultural productivity.

Florestics

The project area is situated in the Atlantic Coast Flatwoods region. Cypress, blackgum, and tupelo were historically abundant on the poorly drained swamplands, while sweetgum, white oak, wateroak, ash, and occasionally loblolly pine were found on the better drained alluvial river bottom areas. These same hardwoods competed with loblolly pine on the poorly drained flatwoods and on dry ridges longleaf pine was a common species (Ellerbe 1974:18). Kuchler (1964:111) broadly defines the area's potential natural vegetation as an oak-hickory-pine forest characterized by medium tall to tall forests of broadleaf deciduous and needleleaf evergreen trees.

Most of the Hobcaw tract has been in cultivation into the early twentieth century and portions are still cultivated. As a result, the vegetative patterns have been disrupted and bear little resemblance to those found in the colonial, or prehistoric, period. Today there are areas of second growth, young pine, and immature mixed hardwoods. Even in the area of the cemetery there is evidence of logging, which has dramatically changed the floristics.

HISTORIC OVERVIEW

In the past several years a variety of historical summaries for the Charleston area have appeared. All were prepared by thoroughly trained historians, although the purposes and orientations were distinct. Friedlander (in Wheaton et al. 1983:17-41) views the low country historical development from St. Stephens Parish, north of Charleston, in present day Berkeley County. Calhoun (in Zierden and Calhoun 1984:26-54) views the historical development of the Charleston area from Charleston and emphasizes the development of the urban city. Scardaville (in Brockington et al. 1985:30-78) emphasizes the agricultural history of the region, particularly for the postbellum period. Rather than attempt to recreate a historical summary, I will offer a very brief synthesis of these three sources, emphasizing those areas which may be of particular importance to this study.

English Settlement

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

By 1680 the settlers of Albermarle Point had moved their village across the bay to the tip of the peninsula formed by the Ashley and Cooper rivers. This new settlement at Oyster Point would become modern-day Charleston. The move provided not only a more healthful climate and an area of better defense, but,

[t]he citation of this Town is so convenient for public Commerce that it rather seems to be the design of some skillful Artist than the accidental position of nature (Mathews 1954:153).

Early settlers came from the English West Indies, other mainland colonies, England, and the European continent. It has

been argued that those from the English West Indies were the most critical to the future of the colony, as they brought with them a strong agrarian concept, involving both staple crops and slave labor (Sirmans 1966).

Early agricultural experiments which involved olives, grapes, silkworms, and oranges were less than successful. While the Indian trade was profitable to many of the Carolina colonists, it did not provide the proprietors with the wealth they were expecting from the new colony. Consequently, the cultivation of cotton, rice, tobacco, and flax were stressed as these were staple crops whose marketing the proprietors could easily monopolize.

Economic Development

Although introduced at least by the 1690s, rice did not become a significant staple crop until the early eighteenth century. At that time it not only provided the proprietors with an economic base the mercantile system required, but it was also to form the basis of South Carolina's plantation system (Carpenter 1973). Overproduction soon followed, with a severe decline in prices during the 1740s. This economic downswing encouraged planters to diversify and indigo was introduced (Honeycutt 1949:33). Indigo complemented rice production since they were grown in mutually exclusive areas. Both, however, were labor intensive and encouraged the large scale introduction of slaves.

South Carolina's economic development during the pre-Revolutionary War period involved a complex web of interactions between slaves, planters, and merchants. By 1710 slaves outnumbered free people in South Carolina and by the 1730s slaves were beginning to be concentrated on a few, large slave-holding plantations. By the close of the eighteenth century some South Carolina plantations had a ratio of slaves to whites that was 27:1 (Morgan 1977). This imbalance between the races, particularly on remote plantations, may have lead to greater "freedom" and mobility (Friedlander in Wheaton et al.1983:34). By the antebellum period this trend was less extreme.

Scholars have estimated that at the end of the colonial period, over half of eastern South Carolina's white population held slaves, although few held very large numbers. Hilliard (1984:37) indicates that more than 60% of the Charleston slaveholders by 1860 owned fewer than 10 slaves.

From another perspective Zierden and Calhoun note that,

Charleston was the economic, institutional and social center of the surrounding region. The necessity of transacting

business in Charleston drew planters eager to transform their crops into cash or goods . . . it [was] virtually imperative for a planter interested in society to reside in Charleston at least occasionally (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:36).

They argue that Charleston provided an opportunity for conspicuous consumption, a mechanism which allowed the display of wealth accumulated from the plantation system (this mechanism continued through the antebellum period). Scardaville (in Brockington et al. 1985:45) notes that the plantation system which brought prosperity through the export of staple crops also "made the colony . . . highly vulnerable to outside market and political forces."

The most obvious example of this is the economic hardship brought on by the American Revolution. Not only was the Charleston area the scene of many military actions, but Charleston itself was occupied by the British for over 2-1/2 years between 1780 and 1782. The removal of royal bounties on rice, indigo, and naval stores caused considerable economic chaos with the eventual "restructuring of the state's agricultural and commercial base" (Brockington et al. 1985:34).

Antebellum Charleston and Cotton Production

One means of "restructuring" was the emergence of cotton as the principal cash crop. Although "upland" cotton was available as early as 1733, its ascendancy was ensured by the industrial revolution, the invention of the cotton gin in 1794, and the availability of slave labor. While "Sea Island" cotton was already being efficiently cleaned, the spread of cotton was primarily in the South Carolina interior. Consequently, Charleston benefited primarily through its role as a commercial center.

Cotton provided about 20 years of unparalleled economic success for South Carolina. During this period South Carolina monopolized cotton production, with a number of planters growing wealthy (Mason 1976). The price of cotton fell in 1819 and remained low through the 1820s, primarily because of competition from planters in Alabama and Mississippi. Friedlander, in Wheaton et al. (1983:28-29) notes that cotton production in the inland coastal parishes fell by 25% in the years from 1821 to 1839, although national production increased by 123%. Production improved dramatically in the 1840s in spite of depressed prices and in the 1850s the price of cotton rose.

The Charleston area did not participate directly in the agricultural activity of the state. Scardaville (in

Brockington et al. 1985:35) notes that "the Charleston area, as a result of a large urban market and a far-reaching trade and commercial network, had carved out its own niche in the state's economic system." Zierden and Calhoun remark that,

[c]ountry merchants, planters, and strangers "on a visit of pleasure" flocked to Charleston. Planters continued to establish residences in Charleston throughout the antebellum era and "great" planters began to spend increasing amount of time in Charleston (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:44).

In spite of this appearance of grandeur, Charleston's dependence on cotton and ties to an international market created an economy vulnerable to fluctuations over which the merchants and planters had no control.

An examination of the agricultural schedules for the Charleston area in 1850 and 1860 provides evidence for this economic slump. Scardaville (in Brockington et al. 1985:39-40) notes that produce, farm, and livestock values for Christ Church Parish (northeast of Charleston; it is in this parish that the Hobcaw tract is situated) were below what would be expected. Rice was no longer an economically significant crop, although ranching and livestock production were emphasized as a substitute.

One result of these economic misfortunes was a decline in slave population, although slavery remained an essential institution. The Christ Church families owned an average of 17.1 slaves in 1860 compared to an average of 37.4 slaves held by St. Thomas and St. Denis families (Brockington et al. 1985:42).

An appropriate summary is provided by Zierden and Calhoun,

[t]he economic decline of Charleston occurred as the city was growing increasingly defensive of its "peculiar institution." The city sullenly withdrew into itself, eschewing the present and glorifying its past. The great fire of 1861 devastated much of downtown Charleston. The War between the States . . . set the seal on a social and economic era (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:54).

Postbellum Period

After the Civil War Charleston and the surrounding countryside lay in waste. Plantation houses were destroyed, the city was in near ruins, the agricultural base of slavery was destroyed, and the economic system was in chaos. Rebuilding after the war involved two primary tasks: forging a new relationship between white land owners and black freedmen, and creating a new economic order through credit merchants. These changes in the Charleston area are described in detail by Scardaville (in Brockington et al. 1985:53-78) and will not be discussed in this summary. Other, more general, sources include Williamson (1975) and Goldenweiser and Truesdell (1924).

The Hobcaw Tract

Turning from the general to the more specific, little data is available on the early activities on the Hobcaw tract. The earliest history of the property is briefly recounted by Maybank,

[o]n May 5, 1697, David Maybank, II received a warrant for 200 acres fronting on Wackendaw [Hobcaw] creek and received a formal grant for the land on April 22, 1698. The warrant and grant describe the land as bounding to the west on land of Captain George Dearsley. Dearsley owned the 330 acres bounded by Wackendaw Creek, Wando River and Molasses Creek, which subsequently was known as the Shipyard Tract of John Rose, and later Paul Remley, and on which the modern suburb of Hobcaw Point was built (Maybank n.d.:2).

While the 1698 Maurice Mathews' "Carte Particuliere de la Caroline" does not show Maybank, it does show that Dearsley had built on his adjacent property (Figure 2).

Maybank died in 1713 and his will (Charleston County Probate Court, WPA Wills, v. 1, p.67) specifies that the Hobcaw Plantation, "whereon I now dwell," be given to his wife, Susannah, making it clear that sometime between 1697 and 1713 Maybank had built on the property. Maybank's will also suggests that the plantation contained a considerable stock of cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs, although no inventory has been found and there is no information on crops which might have been raised on the property. In addition, Maybank also owned a plantation at Owendaw (Awendaw), which must have been a frontier region in the early eighteenth century, and a house

and land in Charleston, which was "purchased of Mr. Joseph Croskeys, and wherein John Jackson now dwelleth." This reveals that while valuable, and possibly prestigious, Charleston property was owned, it was not being used by Maybank. Finally, while Maybank's will specifies that he "be buried in a xtain manner . . . privately and with small expense," no mention is made of a family burial ground. The directions, however, may reveal the creation of the family cemetery at Hobcaw.

Apparently, Susannah continued to live at Hobcaw, because her will of 1716 specifies that, "I give to my loving Daughter Susanna Maybanck and her heirs for ever . . . the house and Plantation whereon I now dwell" (Charleston Probate Court, WPA Wills, v. 2, p.16). She also specifies that her daughters Susannah and Elizabeth should inherit "the Cattle on my Plantation." The Broad Street "House and Land" was passed on to her son, Joseph, although she clearly was not actively using the property.

A year before her mother's death, Susannah Maybank had married Jacob Bond and in 1733 he signified the 200 acres as his wife's inheritance (Maybank n.d.:3). Susannah died intestate in 1746, but the Hobcaw Plantation apparently passed on to her daughter Rebecca Bond. Rebecca Bond married James Read, a member of the Royal Council of South Carolina, in 1750 and her 1786 will specifies that the Hobcaw Plantation, "whereon my Father, Jacob Bond, formerly resided," be given to her son Jacob Read. It appears that while Hobcaw was Susannah Maybank Bond's inheritance, both Susannah and Jacob Bond were living on the property at the time of Susannah's death in 1746. While the title passed to Susannah's daughter Rebecca Bond, Jacob continued living at the plantation. With Rebecca's marriage in 1750 to James Read, she apparently left Hobcaw and only took possession after her father died in 1766. The wording of Rebecca Bond's 1786 will suggests that the property was not occupied after the 1766 death of Jacob Bond.

The property is thought to have passed from Jacob Read to his brother, Dr. William Read (Maybank n.d.:3), although no deed has been identified. In 1821, however, Charles B. Cochram sold Dr. William Read a tract of 291 acres, "Butting and Bounding northwardly on Wackindaw Creek Eastwardly on Land of the said Dr. William Read Westwardly and Southwardly on Land belonging to the heirs of Charles James Air "and a tract of 78 acres "Butting an Bounding northwardly by Wackindaw creek westwardly on the Land of the said Dr. William Read southwardly on Land of A. Rose and Northeastwardly on Land of Huger formerly the property of Stephen Townsend" (Charleston R.M.C., DB L9, p. 331). The location of the 291 acre tract is in doubt, although this property may have been transferred not from Jacob Read to Dr. William Read, but, by divers conveyances, from Jacob Read to Charles B. Cochran and thence



Figure 2. A portion of Maurice Mathews' 1698 "Carte Particuliere de la Caroline" showing the property of "Dearley" to the west of Maybank.

In any event, the 369 acre plantation was held by Dr. William Read until his death in 1845, at which time it was bequeathed to his son, John Harleston Read (Charleston County Probate Court, WPA Will Book, v. 43, p.863). The inventory and appraisement for Dr. Read provided a good account of the workings of this plantation in the late antebellum. The Christ Church property (Hobcaw Plantation) of Dr. Read contained 24 slaves valued at \$9000 (or about \$375 each, although values range from \$0 for Old Adam, Old Caroline, and Old Munro to \$650 for Joe, Stuart, Munro, and Jim), 26 head of cattle (\$190), 41 hogs (\$82), two mules (\$160), two horses (\$50), 450 bushels of corn (\$337.50), 450 bushels of rough rice (\$450), 30 bushels of peas (\$21), "Lots" of groundnuts (\$30), four carts (\$80), poultry (\$40), plantation tools (\$20), guinea corn (\$20), a canoe boat (\$100), and a "plantation gun" valued at \$2. Of particular interest is the value placed on "Furniture" -- only \$20. The total value of goods at Hobcaw was \$10,602.50, compared with \$83,460.75 at Rice Hope Plantation in St. John's Parish (including \$500.75 of furniture and household goods) and over \$5000 of goods at his Charleston residence (including \$762.00 of furniture) (Charleston County Probate Court Inventories 1839-1850, Bk. 6, p.142). It is clear that while the old Hobcaw Plantation house, originally built by Maybank, was standing, Read's main residence was in Charleston and his Rice Hope Plantation was almost equal in significance. The Hobcaw Plantation, with only \$20 of furniture, must have been very "rustic." The presence of "rough rice" (rice which had not been milled or pounded) at Hobcaw in December (at the end of normal rice harvesting) may suggest that rice was grown on the plantation. The 450 bushels is roughly what would be expected from about 15 acres of rice fields, a fairly small area. In support of rice cultivation at Hobcaw is the inventory and appraisement of Jacob Bond, who lived at the plantation until his death in 1766. At that time the inventory revealed the presence of 1123 bushels of "rough rice," two "Rice Sives," "a percell Rice Hooks [sickles]," and "1 Stone Mill" (Charleston County Probate Court Inventory Book X, p.242).

On the other hand, there seem to have been too few slaves at Hobcaw for Reed to profitably cultivate rice and there seem to be no areas on either Hobcaw or Molasses creeks well suited for rice production. It is possible that this rice was from another plantation, perhaps Read's Rice Hope, and was simply awaiting processing. Reese notes that,

rice in the native rough state, with the husk on . . . will keep better, and for a much larger time, in this state than after the husk has been removed; besides which, prepared rice is apt to become dirty (Reese 1847:739).

The presence of guinea corn (or sorghum), corn, and peas, together with cattle, hogs, and poultry, suggests that Read was engaged in diversified subsistence farming, perhaps for sale on the Charleston market, or perhaps for use at Rice Hope. The reference to "groundnuts" (Apios americana), also known as the wild potatoe or bog potatoe is of some interest. These twining, he baceous vines are found in bottomland woods and produce small, fleshy tubers from July through September (Radford et al. 1968:634). Madsger (1939:187-188) notes that they may be eaten raw, boiled, or roasted and that they were a common colonial food. A survey of a number of colonial and antebellum cookbooks, however, fail to find any mention of groundnuts, which suggest that they might have been considered low status or perhaps even a starvation food. Alternately, the reference may be to the peanut (Arachis hypogaea), which were grown almost exclusively for hog feed (Hilliard 1972:100).

John Harleston Read, in 1846, sold the Hobcaw Plantation to Robert Quash Pinckney for the sum of \$2,993,93 (Charleston County R.M.C., DB T-11, p.470). The 373.6 acre tract was described as two separate parcels, one of about 295.6 acres known as "Reads Old House Tract" and a 78 acre tract known as "Townsend's," although they "have for many years formed one plantation." These two tracts are clearly the same ones conveyed by Cochran to Read in 1821. For the first time a survey was made of the property (Charleston County PB A, p.24) and is shown as Figure 3. This plat shows the location of the "Old Settlement" adjacent to "Shipyard Road," and a "Cemetery." The reference to "Reads Old House" and "Old Settlement" suggests that the location of the main house had not changed since it was constructed by Maybank in the early eighteenth century, although it was no longer an occupied dwelling. The 1846 deed reserved "to the heirs and Representatives of Dr. William Read the Family Cemetery of about a quarter of an acre."

This, however, is not the first historical mention of the Hobcaw Cemetery. In the May 20, 1784 South Carolina Gazette there is a brief obituary,

died in this City, in the 53d year of her age, Mrs. Lempriere, relict of Capt. Clement Lempriere . . . [the] corpse was carried to Hobcaw and interred in the family burial place, at the seat of the late Col. Bond (S.C. State Gazette, May 20, 1784).

Captain Lempriere was a noted shipbuilder and sea captain. He apparently was the owner of Shipyard or Lempriere's Ferry Plantation, adjoining Hobcaw Plantation on Hobcaw Point (Scurry and Brooks 1980:11-12). His wife was Sarah Bond, the daughter

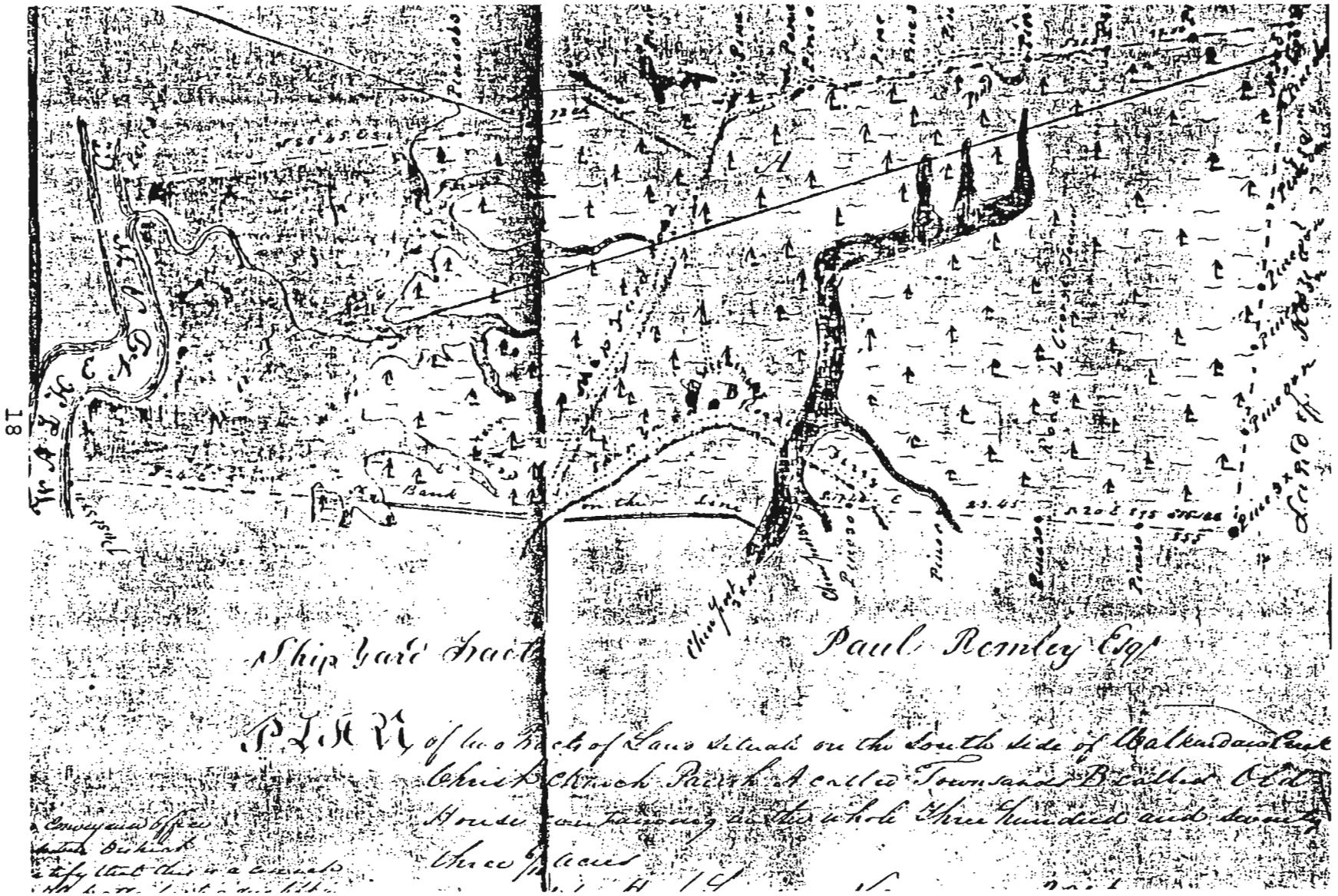


Figure 3. Hobcaw Plantation plat, 1846 (Charleston County RMC Plat Book A, p. 24).

of Jacob Bond and Susannah Maybank, which makes clear why she was buried at Hobcaw Plantation. Dr. Read, however, was not buried on this plantation, but at St. Michael's in Charleston (Jervey 1906:29, 225), further indicating the loss of the plantation's significance to the family.

Pinckney mortgaged Hobcaw Plantation on at least three occasions between 1846 and 1858, discharging all of these debts on January 31, 1859 (Charleston County RMC DB U11, p.17; DB Q13, p.483; DB G14, p.91). Less than a month later Pinckney sold Hobcaw Plantation, by that time known as "Cottage," to Thomas L. Ogier for \$9000 (Charleston County RMC DB T13, p.300). Ogier sold the property to F. W. Claussen, a Charleston baker, in 1863 (Charleston County RMC DB J14, p.242). It was also in 1863 that Claussen sold the 573 acre (229 hectare) Belleview Plantation about 1.5 miles (2.4 kilometers) to the northeast of Hobcaw (Scurry and Brooks 1980:13). Claussen held the land at least until 1866 when his mortgage to Ogier was satisfied (Charleston County RMC DB Q14, p.164).

By 1892 the property was owned by John M. Mitchell, although this brief study did not determine the conveyances from Claussen to Mitchell. In 1892 Mitchell sold the tract to John Nix (Berkeley County RMC DB A9, p.192), who died in 1895. His heirs sold the property, that same year, to John W. Nix, Frank W. Nix, George W. Nix, and Robert W. Nix for \$5000 (Charleston County RMC DB R22, p.103). These individuals formed the Nix Brothers Company (a South Carolina corporation) and sold the Hobcaw Plantation (which continued to be known as "Cottage") to the corporation in 1898. Nix Brothers company held the property for 40 years, finally selling it to Shellmore Oyster Products Company in 1938 (Charleston County RMC DB 440, p.220). During this period portions of the property continued to be cultivated and other areas were probably logged. The 1919 USGS Charleston topographic map fails to show any structures on the property (Figure 4). Shellmore sold the property in 1964 to Cooper Estates, Inc. for \$1,026,960.00, (Charleston County RMC N79, p.169). The conveyance, however, continued to reserve "to the heirs and representatives of William Read, the family cemetery of a quarter of an acre in extent on the Read Old Home Tract, with the rights of ingress and egress thereto."

To summarize, it is clear that the original owner, David Maybank, II, built plantation structures, including a house, on the 200 acre tract sometime between 1698 and 1713. The plantation house was apparently lived in until 1766 when Jacob Bond died. This would yield a mean historic date of 1736 (using a construction date of 1706, midway between 1698 and 1713). The plantation, through absentee owners, continued to be productive at least to the death of Dr. William Read in 1845

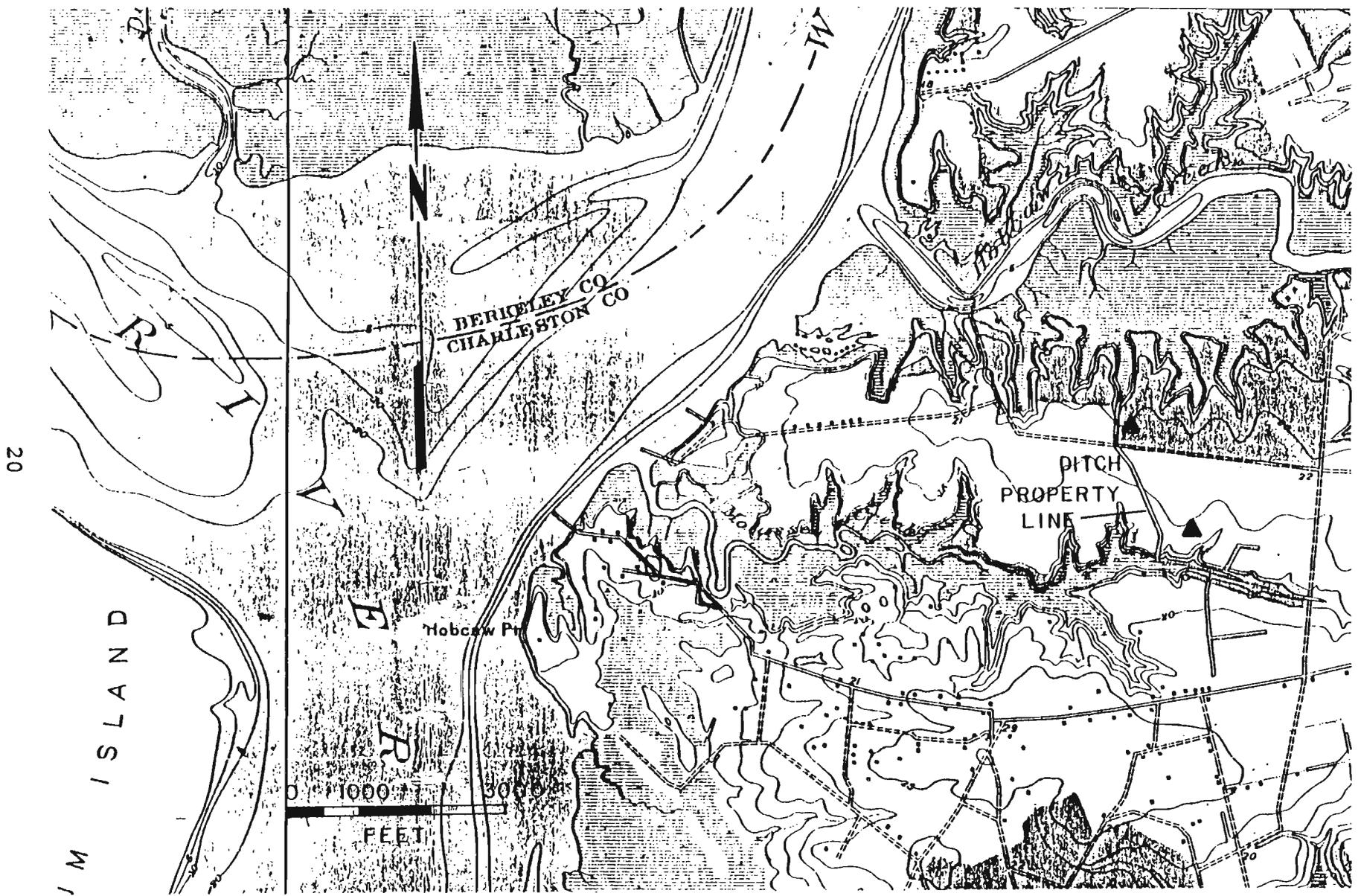


Figure 4. A portion of the 1919 Charleston topographic map.

and it is possible rice was grown in the early nineteenth century, along with a variety of subsistence crops. The plantation grew to a total of 373.6 acres by the mid-nineteenth century and was retained as a single holding through the Civil Wars and into the Postbellum. Unfortunately, there is presently a 26 year gap between the ownership of Claussen and John M. Mitchell, so nothing is known of the postbellum land use. By the very late nineteenth century or the early twentieth century the property was used primarily for farming and timber resources. When the Maybank home fell into ruins is not known, although it must have been during the 60 year period from 1859 to 1919.

It seems likely that the Hobcaw Plantation cemetery was first used to bury David Maybank, II in 1713 and his wife Susannah in 1716, although the first documented burials are of Susannah Maybank in 1746 and Jacob Bond in 1766. The cemetery's last recorded burial was of General Jacob Read in 1816, although a monument was erected at least as late as 1854. It seems that the burial ground was not used after Dr. William Read died in 1845 and was buried in Charleston.

Obviously, there are still gaps in the title which should be investigated, but of greater concern is the collection of additional information on the economic condition of Hobcaw Plantation during the colonial and antebellum periods. The Hobcaw Plantation, prior to Jacob Bond's death in 1766 appears to have been a small, but wealthy colonial plantation. After that time its significance and wealth appears to have declined, although the wealth and status of its owners did not. Research into the slave and agricultural schedules should be conducted, and earlier plats should be sought.

RESEARCH STRATEGY AND METHODS

Introduction

As previously discussed, the basic goals of this study were to delineate the Hobcaw Cemetery, identify probable graves in the cemetery, gather other information on the cemetery, and identify the Hobcaw Plantation site. In addition, Chicora was to prepare S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology site forms for the sites, offer information on possible site preservation, and assess site significance. This work, obviously, is at least partially related to the sponsor-oriented goals of preservation, stabilization, restoration, and reconstruction with the concomitant problems outlined by South (1977:23-24). In spite of the limitations imposed by this type of work, the archaeology of the Hobcaw Plantation and Cemetery provides basic descriptive and classificatory data, the "basic foundation of historical archaeology" (South 1977:31). It is hoped that as a result of this work not only will the sponsor have a better understanding of these sites, but that future archaeological research will benefit from this initial comparative data base.

Very little is known about high status cemetery patterning in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and there have been few anthropological studies of colonial or antebellum responses to death. Nor has there been any study of local Charleston area stonecutters and few studies of what monuments may reveal concerning status and wealth. In addition, the Hobcaw Plantation, occupied by wealthy Charlestonians in the early and middle eighteenth century, but abandoned by the end of that century, offers an excellent opportunity to study an early Charleston plantation with clearly demarcated dates.

Previous research has suggested that the main house or major plantation complex will be situated in areas of "high ground and deep water," which incorporates the positive attributes of well drained soils and immediate access to water transport (Hartley 1984; South and Hartley 1980). Yet the Longpoint study has shown that "high ground and deep water" do not always co-occur and that plantation owners were faced with a variety of choices (Trinkley 1987). At Hobcaw the historic documentation reveals that the plantation house was situated

adjacent to a road and the topographic maps reveal no areas of "high ground and deep water." One research question for this site involves the choice of the plantation location.

Also of interest is the archaeological visibility of the colonial Hobcaw Plantation. Previous research at the nearby Belleview and Sanders plantations has suggest that colonial occupation may leave little archaeological record. At Belleview only 20.7% of the ceramics (N=484) were eighteenth century (Scurry and Brooks 1980:22), while 32% of the Sanders' ceramics (N=654) were eighteenth century (Trinkley 1985:62). At the Elfe plantation, which was occupied into only the first quarter of the nineteenth century, colonial ceramics dominate the collection (93% of the 168 ceramics), yet the eighteenth century wares occur at a fairly low density. At the Palmetto Grove Plantation, also in Christ Church, the eighteenth century ceramics account for only 24% of the assemblage (N=50). Although these data suggest that colonial sites may have lower archaeological visibility than nineteenth century sites, either because of increased access to goods in the nineteenth century or because of a change in the nature of plantations (farms became true plantations), the Hobcaw Plantation has a very high archaeological visibility which deserves additional study.

Finally, based on the historical research (which, of course, is in itself incomplete), it appears that Hobcaw was an active, productive economic unit and that its colonial and early antebellum owners were wealthy members of society. It would be useful to compare the archaeological remains from this site to those from the nearby Sanders property, an obviously marginal plantation.

Archival Research

Archival and historical research was largely conducted at the Charleston County RMC office, the Charleston County Probate Court, and the South Carolina Historical Society. As previously mentioned, further work is necessary to complete the chain of title and to explore in greater detail the economics of the various owners of Hobcaw. Additional research may also be able to identify earlier plats which show more of the plantation complex. While this historical research is far from exhaustive, it does provide a clear background and is a sufficient base for future work in the project area.

Field Survey

The location of the Hobcaw Cemetery was known by Mr. Maybank, who was able to identify it on the ground with little trouble, although there are no roads or paths leading to the site today. Survey techniques at this site involved systematic transects through the woods, probing for monument pieces or

brick rubble. These transects were at 5 to 10 foot intervals depending on vegetation and their length was about 150 feet. Probing revealed most of the tombstone fragments and all of the known iron fence sections. While an initial attempt was made to identify sunken grave depressions, the herbaceous growth, leaf litter, previous logging, and (most significantly) the age of the cemetery, resulted in this technique being abandoned. The one sunken depression tentatively located was identified as a dog burial, suggesting that colonial burials were probably not going to be indicated on the surface. It was decided that no extensive ground disturbing stripping, in order to locate grave stains, would be used at this time since the cemetery is open to vandalism and relic hunting.

The field study of the cemetery recorded the location of all currently identified stones, monument pieces, and fence posts. Orientations were taken on those felt to be in situ and the cemetery was photographically documented. Transcriptions were made of all stones, although no photodocumentation or rubbings were made. A single, suspected brick crypt, evidenced by a mound of brick rubble, was superficially exposed to verify its function, determine size and orientation, and examine construction.

Although the location of the Hobcaw Plantation was not known, the 1846 plat was fairly detailed. Comparison of this plat to a 1:2400 scale topographic property map made in 1964 allowed the site to be located within an area of 3.5 acres. Fortunately, this area is today cultivated and identification of the site was relatively simple. Two separate grab surface collections were made and a series of shovel tests were dug, with the soil screened through 1/4-inch mesh, to determine site density, boundaries, and the depth of the plowzone.

Laboratory and Analysis Methods

The cleaning and cataloging of the artifacts was conducted at the Chicora laboratories in Columbia during April and May 1987. Ferrous objects were treated in one of two ways. The few archaeological specimens which required conservation were subjected to electrolytic reduction in a bath of sodium carbonate solution in currents no greater than 5 volts for periods of 5 to 20 days. When all visible corrosion was removed, the artifacts were wire brushed and placed in a series of deionized water soaks, for the removal of chlorides. When the artifact tested free of chlorides, it was air dried and a series of phosphoric (10%) and tannic (20%) acid solutions were applied. The artifacts were oven dried at a temperature of 200° F (93° C) for 20 minutes, then dipped in molten micro-crystalline wax solution and then placed back in a heated oven for 5 minutes to allow the excess wax to drip off.

The specimens of iron fence (excluding the small decorative elements which were conserved as discussed above) from Hobcaw Cemetery were treated somewhat differently. Since they had not been in the soil, but actually covered over by decaying, highly acidic oak leaf litter, they not only contained very little chloride (there was no evidence of ferric chloride) but the rust compounds were largely superficial. As a result they were subjected to repeated light wire brushings to remove the rust to bare metal (although air abrasion would have been preferred) and then treated with a 20% solution of phosphoric acid and 30% solution of tannic acid. The metal was observed under high humidity conditions (80%) for 30 days with no evidence of breakthrough rusting.

Analysis of the collections followed professionally accepted standards with a level of intensity suitable to the quantity and quality of the remains. The temporal, cultural, and topological classifications of the historic remains follow Noel Hume (1970), Miller (1980), and South (1977).

IDENTIFIED SITES

Hobcaw Cemetery, 38CH895

The Hobcaw Cemetery is situated on a ridgenose between two sloughs or inlets associated with Hobcaw Creek about 600 feet east of East Hobcaw Drive in Mount Pleasant. Today the cemetery is evidenced by a large, toppled obelisk (referred to as the 'Ion monument), broken fragments of two additional stone slabs (one recognized as being to General Jacob Read and the other to Rebecca Read), and additional fragments of stone and brick. The cemetery, clearly, has been extensively vandalized: stones have been removed from crypts and smashed, crypts have been torn apart, and the 'Ion monument has been toppled. The cemetery area is heavily vegetated in a mixed hardwood forest with a thick herbaceous understory.

David Maybank, through geneological research, has suggested that at least 14 individuals are buried in the cemetery, including Susannah Maybank (d. 1746), Jacob bond (d. 1766), Job Milner (m. Mary Bond, d. 1763), Hester Bond (d. 1776), Mary Bond (d. 1777), Elizabeth Bond (d. 1780), Sarah Bond Lempriere (d. 1784), Catherine Bond (d. 1806), Susannah Bond Rose (d. 1815), General Jacob Bond (d. 1816), Jacob Bond I'on (d. 1859), John Rose, Eliza Rose, and Hester Jane Rose (the last three all children of Susannah and Hugh Rose). While a death notice for Sarah Bond Lempriere has been previously discussed, most of this information has been pieced together from Webber (1983:108-129). Webber notes,

[t]he Bond burying ground at Hobcaw plantation, Christ Church parish, contains no old stone; below are copies of the inscriptions upon such stones as now remain. Most of them seem to have been put up late, and contain a number of errors in facts and dates. We are indebted to Miss Anne K. Gregorie for the copies (Webber 1983:126).

It has been possible to identify Webber's notes for this research at the S.C. Historical Society and as stated in the article, her notes read "copied from Miss Gregorie's copies." In comparing the printed version to the handwritten copies

there are consistent errors in punctuation, capitalization, and line breaks, but the dates all appear accurate back to Webber's notes.

Further research revealed that the Hobcaw Cemetery was visited on three occasions by Gregorie, once on January 23, 1919, a second unrecorded date after 1919, and a third time on February 15, 1925 (S.C. Historical Society, Gregorie files 28/14/3 and 28/14/4). These records provide a significant source of information on the cemetery, its condition, and the stones present in the early twentieth century. Gregorie notes that the location was,

Hobcaw formerly; now I think Nix brothers of New York City own this section. It is on road going into Mr. Muirhead's place on north side in the last bit of pine woods next to Murrhead field (S.C. Historical Society, Gregorie file 28/14/4).

In 1919, Gregorie recorded four sides of the 'Ion monument, noting that it was "a very handsome 4-sided marble monument, surrounded by a strong iron fence" (S.C. Historical Society, Gregory file 28/14/3). By the time of the second visit, sometime between 1919 and 1925, Gregory strangely noted that the "North face [is] blank except [for] one word "Ion" (S.C. Historical Society, Gregorie file 28/14/4). Why the north face was not recorded is unknown, although it was not because the stone was toppled since it is the east face which is on the ground. Why Gregorie failed to remember recording the north face only a few years earlier is also unknown. In any event, Webber failed to use the 1919 notes for this monument (although she used them for other monuments) and incorrectly reported that the north face was blank. Gregorie records the north face as,

In / memory of / JACOB BOND 'ION / 1782-
1860 / In both civil and military /
capacity Jacob Bond 'Ion served ' his
country with courage and / ability. /
During the War of 1812 He / commanded the
Martello tower / on James Island the most
important / post in defense of Charleston.
/ President of the Senate from 1820 / he
presided over the heated discussions of
nullification with / Justice Moderation and
/ a knowledge of Parliamentary Law / that
excited admiration and approval. / To his
memory / this tablet has been inscribed /
[by] loving descendants. / W. T. WHITE
(S.C. Historical Society, Gregorie file

28/14/3; some adjustments have been made in capitalization and punctuation).

The East, South, and West faces are essentially correct as reported by Webber.

In 1919, Gregorie also recorded the stone of Elza Rebecca Rose and Hester Jane Rose (see Webber 1983:127 for transcription), noting that the grave was marked with a "slab on bricks." Gregorie also provided the partial inscription of the Susannah Rose stone (Webber 1983:126), and a very fragmentary transcription of Rebecca Read's stone (not reported by Webber 1983, but discussed in greater detail below). Gregorie noted that Rebecca Read's grave was marked with brick and the "broken slab," further noting that, by 1919, "all slabs in cemetery moved from brick base."

During the second visit Gregorie repeats the Susannah (spelled Susanna during this second visit) Rose monument, but provides the portion left out during the 1919 visit and not reported by Webber (1983:126-127). The complete transcription, according to Gregorie is

Sacred to the Memory / of / SUSANNA ROSE /
who departed this life / on the 3d of June
1815 / Aged 56 Years; / Her disconsolate
Husband / Hugh Rose of Charleston, South
Carolina / pays this last tribute to her
distinguished Piety, / exemplary Virtures,
and irreproachable Character. / Near this
spot lies interred / JOHN, the infant Son
of HUGH / and / SUSANNA ROSE. (S.C.
Historical Society, Gregorie file 28/14/4).

During the second visit Gregorie notes that "[h]eaped against the west side of the fence around the ['Ion] monument is a shattered stone which I did not have time or strength to examine," although by the third visit, on February 15, 1925, she found no inscription on these stones, which were part of a crypt. Gregorie reported the remains of the badly broken stone to General Jacob Read, although the transcription was badly garbled by Webber (1983:128) who failed to use Gregorie's pieced together version. The Rebecca Read, and Eliza Rebecca Rose and Hester Jane Rose stones were still present and again recorded.

It is clear that the Hobcaw cemetery had been vandalized as early as 1919, although definite crypts were present, the 'Ion monument was intact, there was a standing fence, and four stones were present. These conditions appear unchanged through 1925. Subsequent to 1925 considerable additional vandalism took place, including the removal of several stones, the

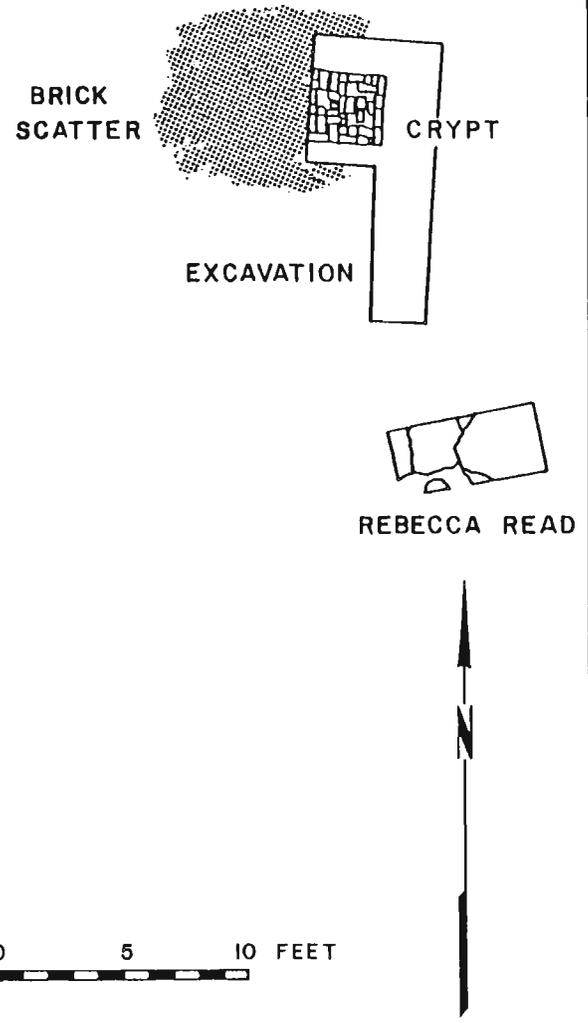
further breaking of stones, the destruction of the brick crypts, the removal of the iron fence, and the toppling of the 'Ion monument.

During this study, the entire cemetery area was thoroughly mapped (Figure 5) and although no grave depressions could be identified, it was possible to determine the orientation of the cemetery (approximately N 58° E), the location of the probable access road east of the cemetery shown on the 1846 plat (Figure 3), and the approximate boundaries of the cemetery. The boundaries were determined by using the identified brick crypt remains at the posited east edge of the cemetery and the 'Ion monument at the posited west edge. With these two points approximately 75 feet apart, the boundaries were established centering a 100 by 100 foot square, roughly equal to a quarter of an acre on these points. Since the quarter of an acre measurement was established in 1846, at a time when the cemetery was still being used, it is likely that this is a reasonable estimate of total site size. No evidence of graves could be found either east or west of these points, so the major question is the cemetery's northern and southern boundaries. Lacking any more definitive clues, they have been placed equidistant from the known graves (see Figure 5).

The 'Ion monument is today represented by six toppled pieces, most in fairly good condition. The two piece base, while slightly tilted due to uneven settling, is in good condition and was originally placed on a subsurface brick base at least three courses in depth. The base measures 4.45 feet (1.4 meters) square, tapering to 3.15 feet (0.9 meter) square and is 2.77 (0.8 meter) in height. Adjacent to this base, and originally the next course, is a 2.88 foot (0.9 meter) square stone 0.67 foot (0.2 meter) in height which is blank except for the stonecutter's name, "W. T. WHITE" in block letters. The next course was the elaborately and extensively engraved marble block measuring 2.45 feet (0.8 meter) square at the base, 2.25 feet (0.7 meter) square at the top, and 4.0 feet (1.2 meter) in height. This stone was elaborately carved with a roping motif and romanesque columns at each corner. On each of the four faces there is a shield which contains the inscriptions. This stone, probably as a result of striking one of the fence posts, has a longitudinal crack about 0.5 mm in width which appears to run through the stone, seriously jeopardizing its integrity.

Capping the monument were a series of three stones. The first was a 2.15 foot (0.7 meter) square block, 0.7 foot (0.2 meter) in height, into which "'ION" was carved in bas relief block letters. Sitting on this stone would have been a second block, tapering from 2.18 foot (0.7 meter) up to 2.7 (0.8 meter) foot square, 0.5 foot (0.1 meter) in height. Topping off the monument was a third stone 2.7 feet (0.8 meter) square with a bas relief cross on each face.

38CH895 HOBCAW CEMETERY



WOODS

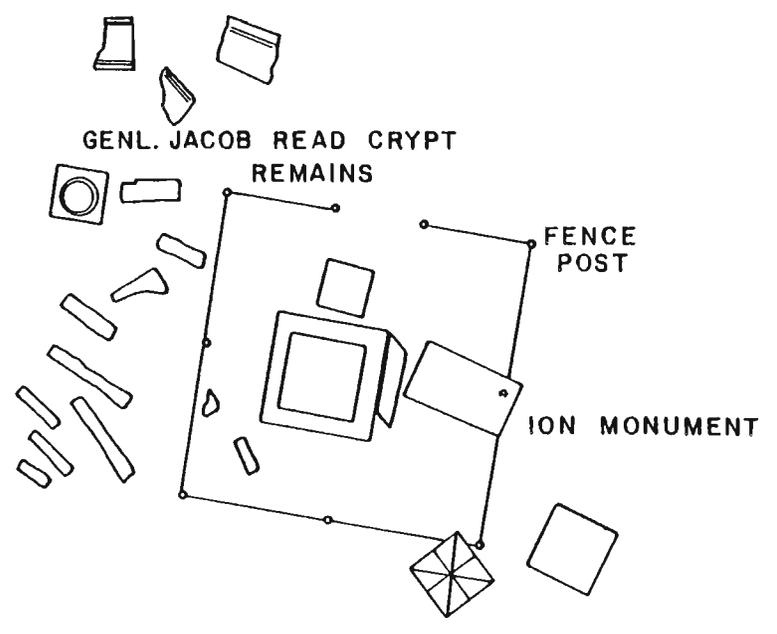


Figure 5. Hobcaw Cemetery, 38CH895.

The cost of this monument can only be estimated. Based on comparisons with charges during the mid-nineteenth century the carving on the four plaques alone would have cost about \$50 and a single stone slab would cost about \$250 (S.C. Historical Society, St. Peter's Episcopal Chapel Receipts 1854-1866, file 54/17C/3). It is not unreasonable therefore to expect that the 'Ion monument, with elaborate carving, bas relief letters, and probably weighing over 8800 pounds (about 4 tons or 3986 kilograms), to have cost in excess of \$2000.

The monument, according to its east face was "erected by a grateful and loving descendant in the year 1854," although the north facing is inscribed to the memory of Jacob Bond 'Ion, who died in 1860, by "loving descendants." It is probable that the stone was erected, perhaps by Jacob Bond 'Ion himself, in 1854 with 'Ion's death date left blank to be added later. This was a fairly common practice and research into the 'Ion family may reveal further details concerning the cemetery. The use of the obelisk is part of the gradual transition from the modest eighteenth century gravestone art to the "grand monument that became a mainstay of Victorian funerary sculpture" (Combs 1986:197).

The fence surrounding the 'Ion monument was relatively plain and was made from cast iron pipe, rod and bar stock, and decorative elements. It should not be confused with either the plain or fancy wrought iron work manufactured locally by Charleston blacksmiths (see, for example, Vlach 1981). The fence appears to have been fabricated in standard lengths for construction at the site and may be similar to a variety of fences offered by companies in the late nineteenth century. A ca. 1880 catalog from the Bubier & Co. in Boston advertises "ornamental iron work . . . for . . . cemeteries." (McKinstry 1984:204) and even Sears was offering a special "catalogue of ornamental fencing" in 1908 (Schroeder 1971:161). By 1875 at least one Charleston stonecutter was also advertising "iron railing furnished" and in 1876, "cemetery lots enclosed" (see the following section).

The fence was constructed in 6 foot (1.8 meter) sections with tabs which fit into the corner and center posts. The posts were fitted into stone blocks measuring about 0.6 foot (0.2 meter) square and then held in place with a molten lead mixture. The fence is estimated to have been about 4 feet (1.2 meters) in height and was apparently assembled at the site.

During these recent investigations little evidence of either of the Rose stones could be located, although there are several brick piles which may represent the Eliza Rebecca and Hester Jane Rose crypt and a single poor grade stone fragment was found which did not match any of the other known stones.

The Rebecca Read stone, found broken into five pieces, measures 5.4 feet (1.6 meters) in length, 2.6 feet (0.8 meter) in width, and 0.2 foot (0.06 meter) in thickness. The stone reads,

. . . of a Joyful Refurrection . . . the
Remains / of / REBECCA READ / Wid . . . of
the Hon.ble JA.s READ Efq.r / of Georgia. /
Sh[e] was Daughter of / . . . S & Susanna
Bond / . . . ar. 1730 & died 14th Feb.y
1780. / . . . of her many & exemplary /
Virtue as a small tribute of Filial / Duty
& Respect / JACOB READ. / Her eldft Son
hath caused this Tomb / To be erected An.
Dom 1789. / the Hon.ble J. READ lies in the
Cemetary [sic] of Christ Church / Savanna
[sic] / He died 14th Mar. 1778.

While pieces of the stone were scattered over a considerable area, the largest fragment was situated near a brick pile identified as a brick crypt.

The last identified stone, found in seven pieces, is that of General Jacob Read. The stone measures about 5 feet (1.5 meters) by 3 feet (0.9 meter) and 0.25 foot (0.08 meter) in thickness. The stone reads,

Sacred / TO THE MEMORY . . . / GENERAL
JACOB . . . / who departed this [l]ife on
the . . . / 1816, in . . . th year . . . /
Genl. REID was . . . / Hon.l JAMES REID . . .
. / daughter of JACOB . . . / at Hobcaw in
Ch[rist] . . . / In the death of this mil . . .
. . . / His Country mourns in . . . and . . .
/ Zealous Patriot. He served . . . in the
Revolution / In various capacities civil
and military and / deservedly obtained the
applause of his / te . . . ntrymen, by
whose unanimous voice he was / frequently
called to represent them in Congress / As
an officer in the Militia of this State /
he was loved and respected / His loss will
be ever deeply felt by his family / . . .
was Possessed of every virture that /
Sweeten domestic life enjoying every/
Blessing that could attach him to the world
/ when summoned to depart he bowed in hum /
ble resignation to the will of his heavenly
/ Father / Blessed are the dead who die in
the Lord / For they rest from their labours
and their / works do follow them.

Although garbled, Webber adds that Read (spelled "Reid" on the stone), died in the "65th year of his age" and that he was "the eldest Son of the Hon.l JAMES REID and Rebecca his wife, daughter of JACOB BOND" (Webber 1983:128).

The General Jacob Read stone once sat on the elaborate stone crypt base originally noted by Gregorie at the western edge of 'Ion monument. These stones include six pieces which would have been connected by iron dogs to form a rectangular basal support 5.75 feet (1.8 meters) in width. Sitting on each corner would have a 0.6 by 0.45 foot (0.2 by 0.1 meter) post 2.0 feet (0.6 meter) in height. The posts were positioned on the basal support using a stub mortise and tenon joint and were cut with grooves to allow carved sandstone panels to be slipped in on the sides and ends. The completed crypt was then held in position by the weight of the slab. The sides are represented by three fragments, and the ends are represented by a single intact specimen.

Hobcaw Plantation, 38CH896

The Hobcaw Plantation is situated on high ground (21-22 feet [6.5 to 6.8 meters] MSL) between the headwaters of Molasses Creek to the south and Hobcaw Creek to the north, about 1600 feet southeast of the cemetery. The site, found in a fallow field, covers an area about 200 feet (60 meters) in diameter (Figure 6). At the present time no discrete loci can be identified and the site is recognized by a dense clustering of brick, shell, and artifacts. This site is situated in the same position as the "Old Settlement" on the 1846 plat (see Figure 3).

Collections from the surface and from the shovel tests are detailed in Table 1. A pattern analysis is not appropriate because the collections are almost entirely from brief, non-intensive surface surveys which tend to collect only the more highly visible artifacts (note that only one furniture item and no clothing specimens were collected).

The ceramics, however, are useful for dating the period of site occupation since materials from the early eighteenth through early nineteenth centuries are present. Notably absent are pearlwares and whitewares, which suggests that the site was occupied prior to about 1813. The application of South's (1977) Mean Ceramic Date Formula yields a date of 1740.5 (Table 2). This date is only 4.5 years more recent than the posited mean historic date of 1736 (1706-1766) and there is little indication of occupation at the plantation by Read in the nineteenth century.

The shovel tests excavated at the plantation site reveal a plowzone of up to a foot in depth (0.3 meter) and although no features were encountered, both the quantity of remains and the size of the recovered specimens are large. It is probable that periodic deep plowing is bringing up quantities of new artifacts from the top of subsurface features. The brick found in the field is relatively dense and suggests the presence of a brick chimney fall and possible brick piers. Curiously, not only are fragments of the relatively large, somewhat friable, handmade Colonial bricks found, but also another variety, very well fired and hard, relatively small (3 1/2 inches [8.8 centimeters] in width by 1 1/2 inches [3.8 centimeters] in thickness), and somewhat chalky feeling. The source of these bricks is not, at present, known.

	Surface	Shovel Tests	Total
KITCHEN			
Ceramics	247	10	257
Colono ware	12	6	18
Bottle glass	65	12	77
	<u>324</u> 80.0%	<u>28</u> 75.7%	<u>352</u> 79.6%
ARCHITECTURAL			
Nails	1	4	5
Window glass	25	3	28
	<u>26</u> 6.4%	<u>7</u> 18.9%	<u>33</u> 7.5%
FURNITURE			
Brass bed cap	1	-	1
	<u>1</u> 0.2%	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u> 0.2%
ARMS			
Gun flint	1	-	1
	<u>1</u> 0.2%	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u> 0.2%
TOBACCO			
Kaolin pipe bowls	13	-	13
Kaolin pipestems	39	2	41
	<u>52</u> 12.8%	<u>2</u> 5.4%	<u>54</u> 12.2%
ACTIVITIES			
Ax	1	-	1
	<u>1</u> 0.2%	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u> 0.2%
	405	37	442

Table 1. Historic artifacts recovered from 38CH896.

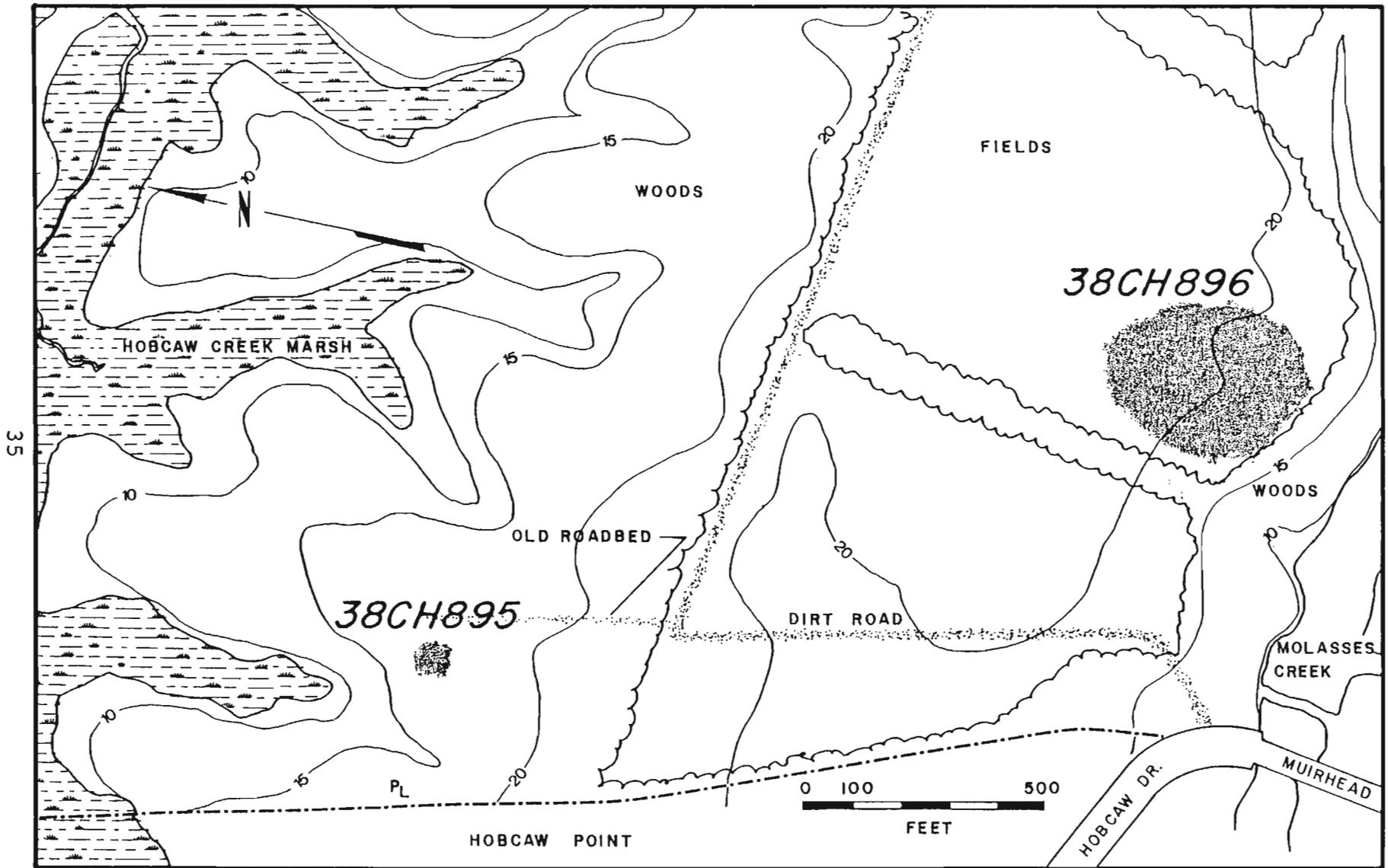


Figure 6. Hobcaw Plantation, 38CH896.

Ceramic Type	Median Date	Freq.	Product
Underglazed blue Chinese porcelain	1730	45	77850
English porcelain	1770	2	3540
Overglaze Chinese porcelain	1730	2	3460
Westerwald stoneware	1738	11	19118
White salt-glazed stoneware	1763	22	38786
White salt-glazed stoneware, molded	1753	4	7012
Lead glazed slipware	1733	49	84917
Green glazed cream-bodied ware	1767	1	1767
Tortoiseshell	1755	3	5265
Refined Agate ware	1758	1	1758
Astbury	1738	1	1738
North Devon gravel tempered	1713	9	15417
Delft, plain white	1720	27	46440
Decorated delft	1750	10	17500
Creamware, undecorated	1791	18	32238
		<u>205</u>	<u>356806</u>

$$\frac{356806}{205} = 1740.5$$

Table 2. Mean ceramic date for the 38CH896 collection.

CHARLESTON STONECUTTERS

Since the 'Ion monument is signed by the Charleston stonecutter W. T. White it is appropriate to provide a brief introduction to this trade in Charleston. Eighteenth century stonecutters such as John Bull, John Stevens (II and III), George Allen (Sr. and Jr.), Henry Emmes, and William Codner, are discussed in detail by Combs (1986), and Ravenel (1942) briefly mentions a number of eighteenth and nineteenth century Charleston stonecutters.

These discussions may begin with Thomas Walker, who Ravenel (1942:194) indicates was advertising by 1793. In 1795 an orphan, Michael How, was bound over to Thomas Walker as a worker (Watts 1977:323) and by 1801 the firm of Walker & Evans, Stonecutters, was established at 26 Trott Street (Charleston City Directory, 1801, p. 120). This company continued until at least 1813 (A Directory of the City and District of Charleston, 1813, p. 81) at which time they were located at 37 Wentworth Street. Thomas Walker continued to be listed as a stonecutter at 149 Meeting Street in 1822 (The Directory and Strangers Guide for the City of Charleston, 1822, p. 85), although the address changed to 145 Meeting Street in 1825 (Charleston City Directory, 1825, p. 87). The year of his death, Thomas Walker was listed at the same address (Charleston City Directory, 1835-1836, p. 85). At least four of his six sons, James E., William S., David A., and Robert D., continued the trade of stonecutting, although Robert D. is not listed after 1840-1841, James E. is not listed after 1849, and William S. is not listed after 1855 (Charleston Directory and Strangers' Guide for 1840 and 1841, p. 98; A Directory of the City of Charleston and Neck for 1849, p. 114, 132; The Charleston City and General Business Directory for 1855, vol. 1, p. 108). The work of D. A. Walker, however, continued until at least 1884, when he prepared a stone for Anna Lucia Brailsford, placed on Daniels Island. By 1874 D. A. Walker also had his son, David Walker, Jr. advertising with him (Charleston City Director, 1874-1875, p. 271).

Thomas Walker had a son-in-law, John White, who apparently was a major stonecutter in his own right. John White began advertising in 1822 (The Directory and Strangers' Guide for the City of Charleston, 1822, p. 86) and was working on the Fireproof Building in 1825 (McCormack 1943:207, n. 11). John

White advertised his business at 35, 41, 40 and 42 Market Street until 1835-1836 when it begins to be listed as 131 Meeting (Charleston City Directory, 1835-1836, p. 87) and later at 123. John White is last seen advertising in 1852, at which time he was at 117 Queen Street (Directory of the City of Charleston for the Year 1852, p. 135).

W. T. White, while not observed advertising until 1854, signed the 1829 stone of Oliver Cromwell at the Circular Church in Charleston and the 1847 stone of Ann F. Parker on Daniels Island. W. T. White's work is also found in Clarendon County, dating as early as 1844 and in Cabarrus County, North Carolina in 1843 and 1845. On March 27, 1850, W. T. White was paid \$23.00 for a gravestone from the Derelict Estate of Thomas Callen (Charleston County Probate Court, Derelict Estates 1851, p. 42).

In 1854, however, W. T. White published his first advertisement identified during this research. The publisher of The Southern Business Directory and General Commercial Advertiser advised his readers to,

[s]ee the card of W. T. White's Marble Yard, 119 Meeting-Street. Here are some of the most beautiful specimens of Italian Marble, Monuments, Tombstones, Etc., suited to every taste and capacity to purchase. Those who wish to mark the sacred spot where their loved departed rest, will not forget to call on Mr. White (Campbell 1854:330).

The advertisement reads,

W. T. White, / MARBLE AND STONE YARD, 199 MEETING STREET, / Next to Charleston Theatre. / AMERICAN AND FOREIGN MARBLE MANTELS, SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS, CORAL TABLETS, / CABINET SLABS, ITALIAN TILE, / MARBLE STEPS, SILLS AND FRONTS. / ALSO, / BROWN STONE DOOR AND WINDOW SILLS, STEPS, ASH- / LER, FRONTS, BLOCKS, Etc. BLUE FLAGG AND / CURB STONES (Campbell 1854:373).

In 1855 W. T. White advertised with Robert D. White. Their business and residence address was 119 Meeting Street, an address retained by W. T. White at least to 1860 (The Charleston City and General Business Directory for 1855, vol. 1, p. 112; Charleston City Directory, 1860, p. 50).

Some of the best information on pricing comes from an 1858 bill from W. T. White to St. Peter's Episcopal Chapel in Charleston for "a Marble Mural Tablet & fixing in St. Peter's Church to the memory of Rev'd Henry Mandeville Dennison." The tablet cost \$250 and "to cutting 577 letters @ 2 1/2 - 14.42" for a total cost of \$264.42 (S.C. Historical Society, St. Peter's Episcopal Chapel files 54/17C-1, 2, 3, 4, 5).

W. T. White advertised frequently in the late 1850s and early 1860s. An 1850 advertisement stated,

WM. T. WHITE, / MARBLE WORKS, 115 MEETING ST., / next South of the Theatre, / (FORMERLY NO. 119,) / WHERE SHALL BE FOUND / Marble Work / For / BUILDINGS OR MONUMENTS / OF EVERY DESCRIPTION. / ALSO, / MANTELS, CABINET SLABS, / AND / MURAL TABLETS, Etc. / Having now in progress a Steam En / gine, with Saws and Rubbing and Polish / ing Beds, shall be prepared in a short time to do work cheaper than heretofore done / in this city, and with greater dispatch (Charleston City Directory 1850, p. 49).

This ad also included White's elaborate emblem or logo which incorporated two figures standing on a tile floor, separated by a variety of stone work monuments with "WM. T. WHITE, / MARBLE WORKS, / SOUTH OF THEATRE" over the figures and stonework, and "115 MEETING ST. / CHARLESTON, SC" under.

By 1860 William T. White proclaimed "PRICES REDUCED / WILLIAM T. WHITE, / STEAM MARBLE WORKS" (Charleston City Directory, 1860, p. 50). By 1867 there was no large ad for W. T. White, but he did list his address as 57 Beaufain Street (Charleston City Directory, 1866, p. 46). In 1867-1868, William T. White is listed as an "agent," located at "Meeting bet Market & Cumberland Sts., E side" and as having a business at 102 Meeting Street and a residence at 57 Beaufain Street. (Charleston City Directory, 1867-1868, pp. 448, 164). He is last listed, with a 102 Meeting Street business and a 26 Archdale residence, in 1869-1870 (Charleston City Directory, 1869-1870, p. 218).

Beginning at least by 1859, William T. White apparently faced considerable competition from Robert D. White, who had a residence at Hassel Street, near Meeting (The Charleston Directory, 1859, p. 222). Prior to this Robert D. White was both living and working with William T. White (The Charleston City and General Business Directory for 1855, vol. 1, p. 112). In 1860 Robert D. White was advertising as,

WHITE'S / MARBLE & STONE YARD, / (OLD ESTABLISHMENT,) 128 Meeting Street, / NEXT NORTH OF CHARLESTON THEATRE. / American and Foreign / MARBLE MANTLES, / SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS, MORAL TABLETS, / CABINET SLABS, ITALIAN TILE, / Marble Steps, Sills and Fronts. / ALSO, / BROWN STONE DOOR AND WINDOW SILLS, STEPS, ASHLER, / FRONTS, BLOCKS, Etc., / Blue Flagg and Curb Stones. Plans Drawn to order. / ROBERT D. WHITE (Charleston City Directory, 1860, p. 34).

The reference to "Old Establishment" probably refers to the works of John White, which in 1852 were located at 117 Queen Street (Directory of the City of Charleston for the Year 1852, p. 135). By 1866, and continuing until 1876, Robert D. and E. R. White were working together at this "Old Establishment," first at 115 (formerly 119) Meeting Street, then at 117 Meeting Street, and finally at 112 Meeting Street in 1872 (Charleston City Directory, 1872-1873, p. 224).

In 1875, R. D. and E. R. White apparently split, with R. D. White moving to 107 Meeting Street at the corner of Horlbeck's Alley and E. R. White continuing to operate "White's Marble Works (Old Establishment)" at 112 Meeting Street (Charleston City Directory, 1875-1876, pp. 77, 314). Both advertise similar products, including cemetery fences or iron railings.

Other Charleston stonecutters include Michael Gannon, who advertised from 1859 through 1877-1878 (The Charleston Directory, 1859, p. 239; Charleston City Directory, 1877-1878, p. 505); A. F. Chevreux, who first advertised in 1869-1870, and who is found as late as 1872 (Charleston City Directory 1869-1870, p. 70; Charleston City Directory, 1872-1873, p. 274); and Emile T. Viêt, who is found in the 1875-1876 and 1877-1878 directories (Charleston City Directory, 1875-1876, p. 335; Charleston City Directory 1877-1878, p. 505). Of particular interest is the listing of "Whiteman, John (colored), Stonecutter" in 1872 and 1874, first at 4 Reid Street and then at 9 Warren Street. (Charleston City Directory, 1872-1873, p. 225; Charleston City Directory, 1874-1875, p. 279). The Reid Street address is probably in the Hampstead area, while the other is in the Radcliffborough area, both on the Charleston Neck.

CONCLUSIONS

The primary goals of this research were largely fulfilled. The cemetery was mapped, the stones still present were recorded, and approximate boundaries were identified. Research at the South Carolina Historical Society succeeded in obtaining information on the cemetery from early twentieth century visits by Anne K. Gregorie and errors in previously published accounts of the stones have been corrected. Although grave depressions could not be identified, one brick "mound" was shown to be the remains of a brick crypt through the excavation of a 5-foot square. While it is likely that further excavations into the superficial A horizon soil could identify the number and orientation of other graves, this work is not recommended at the present time because of the potential for vandalism and grave robbing. Since the early twentieth century there has been considerable damage to the cemetery: stones have been broken and scattered, other stones have been removed, the 'Ion monument has been toppled, and crypts have been broken apart. As the area around Hobcaw Cemetery continues to develop there is a possibility that further vandalism may occur, although South Carolina state law makes it a misdemeanor to mutilate tombstones or damage graves (S.C. Code Section 16-17-590 and 600).

Of the 14 known individuals buried at Hobcaw, seven died in the nineteenth century and all but one of the others died in the last half of the eighteenth century. The rise and use of plantation cemeteries has not been studied (Curl 1980:269), although French (1974) has briefly discussed the development of the "rural cemetery" movement beginning in 1830s. It has been recognized that the development of rural cemeteries was at least partially caused by congested urban churchyards and the resulting dangers to public health. But Combs (1986:180) suggests that the movement actually began in the late eighteenth century and that the 1831 founding of the Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge was simply another sign. In fact, as early as 1771 Thomas Jefferson developed specifications for a garden burial spot. The movement toward rural cemeteries, according to Combs, was the result of,

an aestheticism born out of "the cult of memory" that began to capture the popular imagination by the end of the eighteenth

century. The cult of memory was encouraged through the production of commemorative jewelry, embroidery, and mourning portraits (Combs 1986:180).

The pastoral landscape was intended to encourage the mourner to contemplate his or her own mortality and encourage undisturbed communion with the dead by contrasting the halcyon, garden landscape with the hectic, worldly concerns of the crowded town. The rural cemetery even became, according to French, an extension of the house, with chairs, benches, monuments, and fences. Combs notes that, "[t]he fenced plots, often appointed with furniture . . . , further encouraged long family visits that within such a domesticated setting tended to suggest that the deceased had 'never left home at all'" (Combs 1986:190). Combs further speculates that, "[e]qually revealing in terms of our domestic metaphor is the residential appearance that the cemetery assumed in anticipation of the 'unbroken household' in Paradise" (Combs 1986:190). One period observer remarked,

[h]ow consoling and pleasing is the thought
. . . that the spot, where our ashes repose
. . . will be kept ever verdent; that a
magnificent forest will be reared to
overshadow our graves, by those truly kind
hands which performed the last sad office
of affection; that flowers will fringe the
pathways leading to our lovely resting
place, and their fragrance, mingled with
the holiest aspirations, [will] ascend to
the throne of the Eternal (Rotundo
1974:272).

Although plantation cemeteries in frontier areas were used for lack of convenient churchyards, it is likely that the strong family concepts and rural orientation of southern culture encouraged the development of rural cemeteries earlier here than elsewhere (e.g., Jefferson's early concern for garden setting). While it is quicker and less expensive to be buried on the plantation, the Maybanks, Bonds, 'Ions, and Reads could easily have found rest in a Charleston churchyard. But instead, members of the family, such as the widow Sarah Bond Lempriere, were brought back to the "family seat" to be buried with kin. As Combs notes, "[r]egarding the sepulcher as an extension of the house, a way station before the family's celestial reunion, softened an incomprehensible, irrevocable loss" (Combs 1986:191).

The Hobcaw Cemetery represents a significant anthropological site because it contains extremely valuable bio-archaeological data. In addition, while it has been

vandalized, it represents a typical plantation cemetery wherein some evidence of the variety resulting from the changing view of death and resulting from wealth or status may be observed. Most notable is the Jacob Bond 'Ion monument -- an example of the "grand monument that became a mainstay of Victorian funerary sculpture" (Combs 1986:197).

The stones in the cemetery deserve the attention of a professional AIC conservator, versed in stone consolidation and repair. Particular attention should be paid to the reconstruction of the existing stones and ensuring that they can withstand continued exposure to the elements. In addition, the central portion of the 'Ion monument is seriously weakened by a longitudinal crack and this stone should be repaired before it is lifted back into place and before any shearing force is applied.

Turning to Hobcaw Plantation, this research was able to identify a portion of the plantation settlement in a field near the cemetery at the location projected through the examination of an 1846 plat. Limited shovel tests and surface collections have revealed a dense site dating to the mid-eighteenth century. The site's mean ceramic date is very close to the approximate mean historic date and it appears the structure was built between 1698 and 1713 (probably about 1710) and was lived in until 1766. The plantation, however, continued to be a productive economic unit until Dr. William Read's death in 1845. There is evidence that rice cultivation may have been practiced on the plantation, although further research is needed to verify this suggestion. The plantation may have produced primarily subsistence crops such as corn and sorghum.

The archaeological manifestations of this plantation are clearly distinct from other plantation settlements studied in the immediate area, such as Elfe, Sanders, and Palmetto Grove. Not only is the eighteenth century component dense, but the remains are suggestive of a high status dwelling. Although colono ware is present, it is a minor constituent (representing 4.6% of the ceramics). In contrast, the high status porcelain accounts for 18.9% of the ceramic collection. Other wares, such as the delft, the white salt-glazed stoneware, and the creamware, may be high status indications for the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, George Miller has not yet completed his work on scaling eighteenth century ceramics. In spite of the archaeological suggestion that Hobcaw was wealthy and distinct from sites such as Elfe or Sanders, further research, including both historical documentation and excavation, are necessary.

The Hobcaw Plantation, while situated on high ground, is not adjacent to any deep water, although the 1845 inventory and appraisalment for Dr. William Read's Hobcaw Plantation lists a

"Canoe boat," valued at \$100 (Charleston County Probate Court, Inventories Book B, p. 146). Such a craft would have had a shallow draft and been used for the transportation of people as well as small loads of livestock or other goods. Since there is no suitable landing on Hobcaw Creek, the plantation may have used Molasses Creek at high tide. This arrangement would not have been dissimilar to the situation at Palmetto Grove (Trinkley 1987). Alternatively, Read may have used a landing on Hobcaw Creek to the east of him on an adjoining piece of land. After his death in 1845, his son sold the adjacent Huger tract which contained two possible landings, a main house, and an "avenue" (Charleston County RMC, PB A, p. 24). This research suggests, again, that the correlation of high ground and deep water for plantation settlement was an ideal, perhaps not achieved as often as previously thought. It does not appear, however, that the absence of a deep water landing at Hobcaw seriously affected its prosperity.

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