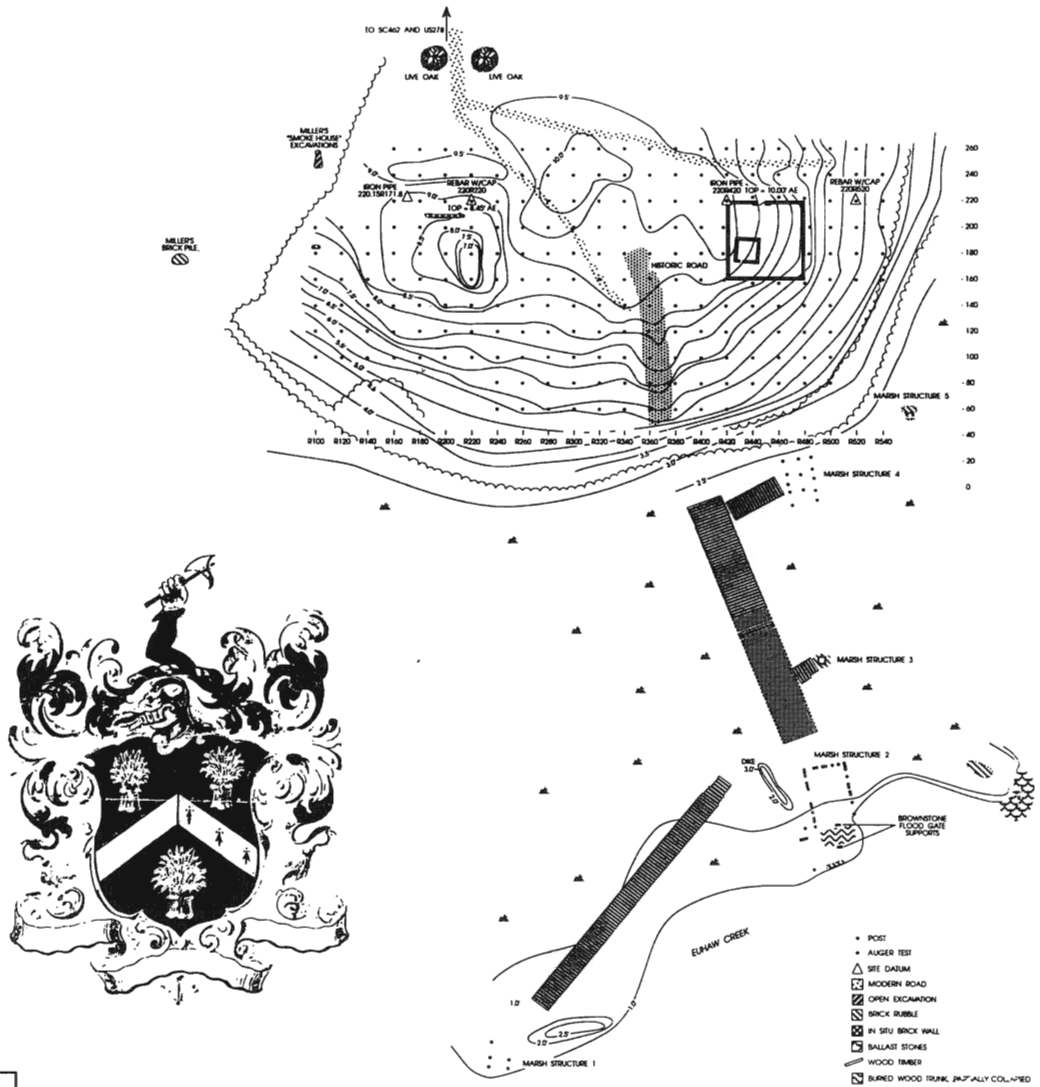
PRELIMINARY ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT OLD HOUSE PLANTATION, JASPER COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA



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PRELIMINARY ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT OLD HOUSE PLANTATION, JASPER COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

Research Series 49

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The worst enemy of truth and freedom in our society is the compact majority.

-- Henrik Ibsen, *An Enemy of the People*,
Act 4, 1882

ABSTRACT

This study reports on preliminary investigations at a Jasper County, South Carolina Plantation known as Old House. Situated about 7 miles east of Ridgeland, Old House was first settled by Daniel Heyward in 1743. Daniel, who received the property from his father Thomas Heyward of James Island, was an especially adept and successful planter who amassed a sizeable fortune during the mid- to late-eighteenth century

These historical investigations include reconstructing a nearly complete title for the property, as well as exploring the few records readily available which provide some information on the agricultural activities of Daniel Heyward on the site. Historically, the site is often linked with Daniel's eldest son, Thomas Heyward, Jr., signer of the Declaration of Independence and prominent political figure in South Carolina history both before an after the American Revolution. Thomas was born at Old House and is buried there in the Heyward grave yard. Thomas also oversaw the operation of the plantation after the death of his father and before it was passed to William Heyward, Thomas' half-brother.

The historical research also included an examination of the Heyward grave yard, reconstructing its use by the Heywards and their descendants. Although the grave yard is best known as the final resting place of Thomas Heyward, Jr., it is also unusual in that it consists of two walled areas — one within the other. This research also explored a variety of failed preservation efforts which have left the surrounding walls badly deteriorated and the stones in dire need of conservation treatments.

Finally, the historical research also pieced together a largely forgotten archaeological expedition from the mid-1960s, tracking down the artifact collection and eventually relocating fragmentary field notes. This work explored portions of the main house, although no report or examination of the collections has ever taken place.

Archaeological investigations at Old House have focused on examining the distribution of artifacts across the 3.4 acres of high ground which today form the Heyward property owned by Jasper County. We determined that while a number of artifacts were recovered from the earlier excavations, a great many are still present in the main house area. It is likely that the earlier excavation did not screen the excavated soils. Our preliminary archaeological study also revealed what appear to at least three structural locations — the main house, a possible kitchen to the northwest, and a flanker building midway between the main house and the grave yard to the east. Although the archaeological collections from this preliminary work, limited to an auger survey, are not large, they confirm the integrity of the site and provide some indication of the range of specimens to be expected from the site.

In addition to this work, our research also mapped the site, carefully recording the location of the few above ground features present — the two grave yard walls, the remnant historic roadbed to the marsh landing, several brick piles suggestive of additional structures, the oak allée to the north, and several portions of brick foundations in the main house area.

The marsh area was also explored, revealing an unexpected assemblage of structures and roads. After careful examination of nearly 10 acres of marsh, we have identified a filled in canal, a series of plank roads ranging from 40 to 20 feet in width, two brick structures each measuring about 5 feet square, three buildings set on piers in the marsh (including a rice mill), a buried wooden trunk in the mill raceway, a single fragment of a millstone, two gate supports associated with the trunk, an area of made land, two areas of dense ballast deposits, and occasional posts or pilings of

undetermined function. Many, although not all, of these features once identified can be recognized on false color infrared aerial photographs. These findings are of special importance since they dramatically expand our understanding of how marsh areas were used by colonial plantation owners.

This study also evaluates the significance of the site, recommending areas of additional study, as well as preservation efforts and other immediate needs.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work was sponsored by Jasper County through the auspices of the Heyward Site Committee and the Heyward Foundation and we want to take this opportunity to thank both for their support, confidence, and efforts to preserve this remarkable site. In particular we were aided by Mr. Richard Ellis and T Heyward Carter, Esq. of the Heyward Foundation. Mr. Ellis is a long-time supporter of archaeology and participated in the field studies, as well as open a variety of doors for us during this study. We are also very grateful to him for providing a wealth of materials from the Foundation's files. Mr. Henry Moss, County Administrator with Jasper County has been especially helpful in overseeing portions of this project and its funding. Mr. Gene Cleland, a Jasper County Councilman, made the presentation to County Council to obtain the support necessary for this project. In addition, Mr. D.P Lowther deserves credit for his long-standing interest in the site and working to ensure administrative oversight. Mr. Ross Mingledorff, who serves on the County's committee to oversee the Heyward site was very interested in our work, assisted in the field investigations, and has consistently supported the preservation efforts. We also want to thank Mr. Harry Cooler for his support of the research and his family's constant vigilance protecting the site, even after they had sold the land and had no obligation to be concerned. Finally, we want to thank all those who have helped, over the years, to fund and care for the site, including especially Judge and Mrs. Heyward Clarkson.

We want to thank a number of professional colleagues who assisted us the with research. Everyone at the Jasper County Chamber of Commerce and Museum, especially Mr. Curtis L. Smart, chair of the museum committee, were very attentive to our needs and interested in helping us locate information and collections from the site. The staff of the Ridgeland Public Library was especially helpful in allowing us access to the extraordinarily valuable Pauline Pratt-Webel Collection. A number of historical gaps were filled in using the resources of this collection.

Ms. Martha Zierden and Ms. Jan Heister helped in tracking down collections from The Charleston Museum. Ms. Mary Giles, Assistant Archivist of The Charleston Museum did an exceptional job, as always, of finding the exact files we were searching for. Without her there would still be a major gap in our understanding of the previous work conducted at the site. At the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology we need to thank Mr. Keith Derting for helping us locate previous site file information. Ms. Sharon Peckrul, also of the Institute, was of particular help in locating the Old House collections among uncataloged materials at SCIAA. Dr. Ken Lewis, formerly of the Institute and now at Michigan State was very kindly willing to go through his memory and help clarify how the collections from Old House were transferred to the Institute — after nearly 20 years this was above and beyond the call of duty.

The entire staff of the South Carolina Historical Society was very kind and cooperative in providing photographic materials and other items from their collection, as well as granting us permission to use the materials in this report. Staff Historian Mr. Tony Milburn of Stewart Irons Works in Covington, Kentucky was very helpful in dating the iron gate on the inner wall of the Heyward Grave Yard. Ms. Eleanor Thompson, at the Winterthur Library, graciously helped us search their holdings. Mr. Dan Bell, historian with State Parks provided a wealth of information on the Heywards and especially on the individuals buried in the Heyward Grave Yard. Without this assistance our research would have taken much longer and likely not been as fruitful.

We also want to thank several members of the press, especially Mr. William Whitten with the *Jasper County Sun* and Mr. John Dunlap with the

Carolina Morning News for their very detailed (and accurate) coverage of our work at Old House. Their interest in the site, and in doing a good job, helped us reach thousands of people, making archaeology come a little bit more alive to them.

Finally, we want to thank Mr. William B. Barr for his dedicated field assistance under what were at times trying conditions. Also Ms. Windi O'Conner and Ms. Rachel Brinson for their careful attention to detail during the cataloging of the collection.

INTRODUCTION

Background

The site of Old House is in Jasper County, about seven miles east of the county seat, Ridgeland, and about 14 miles west of Beaufort (Figure 1). It is located on a small peninsula of land bordered to the south, southeast, and east by marsh, being tucked between two small tributaries of what today is called Euhaw Creek, but earlier in its history was called Hazards Back Creek (Figure 2). Although Old House gives the impression of being situated far off the "beaten path," it is actually at the end of a dirt road bordered by huge live oaks, running off of SC 462, one of the main tourist links to Hilton Head Island. Marked on the paved highway by only a small state historical marker, however, Old House has been almost forgotten.

The History of Previous Work at Old House

The archaeological site of Old House was first recorded by Dr. Kenneth E. Lewis, then with the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, in 1980 as a result of a visit to the Ridgeland area. During this visit Dr. Lewis and Mr. Jim Scurry were shown a number of sites by Ms. Pauline Webel, the area's most knowledgeable historical advocate. Given the site number 38JA72, Old House was described as an eighteenth and nineteenth century plantation situated on a terrace overlooking the surrounding salt marsh of Euhaw Creek. Lewis took several photographs (Figure 3) and commented on the extraordinary range of materials present:

> Ruins of plantation house and outbuildings and cemetery occupy the terrace. A mill, warehouse, and other structures were set on pilings in the adjacent marsh. The cemetery and surrounding wall are intact. Wall fragments and depressions mark the locations of the buildings on the terrace. Those in the marsh are marked only by the stumps of pilings and two sandstone supports for the mill gate. A dam is also present in the marsh and presumably spanned Euhaw Creek in the past.
>
> Parts of the site were excavated by John Miller of The Charleston Museum. His site map and artifacts are available, but the extent of his work and areas excavated are uncertain (38JA72 site form, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology).

Archaeologists with The Charleston Museum *had* "discovered" the site in the 1960s, as mentioned by Lewis, but the site was known about by local historians (and even the State Legislature) for years. Their interest was fueled by Old House's most notable resident, Thomas Heyward, Jr., one of South Carolina's signers of the Declaration of Independence. As early as 1920, for example, the South Carolina Legislature appropriated funds to install a monument topped with a bust of Heyward at the site. Even into the late nineteenth century Heyward descendants knew of the site and its grave yard (e.g., Heyward 1896, Heyward 1907). In 1937 Duncan Clinch Heyward wrote *Seed from Madagascar*, recounting the establishment of Old House by his ancestor, Daniel Heyward and explaining what was left of the plantation (Heyward 1937:23, 46-51).

In early 1965 that interest, at least on a local level, seems to have culminated with Webel contacting the director of The Charleston Museum, Mr. Milby Burton. The owner of the property, Harry B. Cooler, Sr. had begun to clear and grade the area in order to build his house on the property when he recognized brick foundations. He stopped his work, apparently contacting Webel,

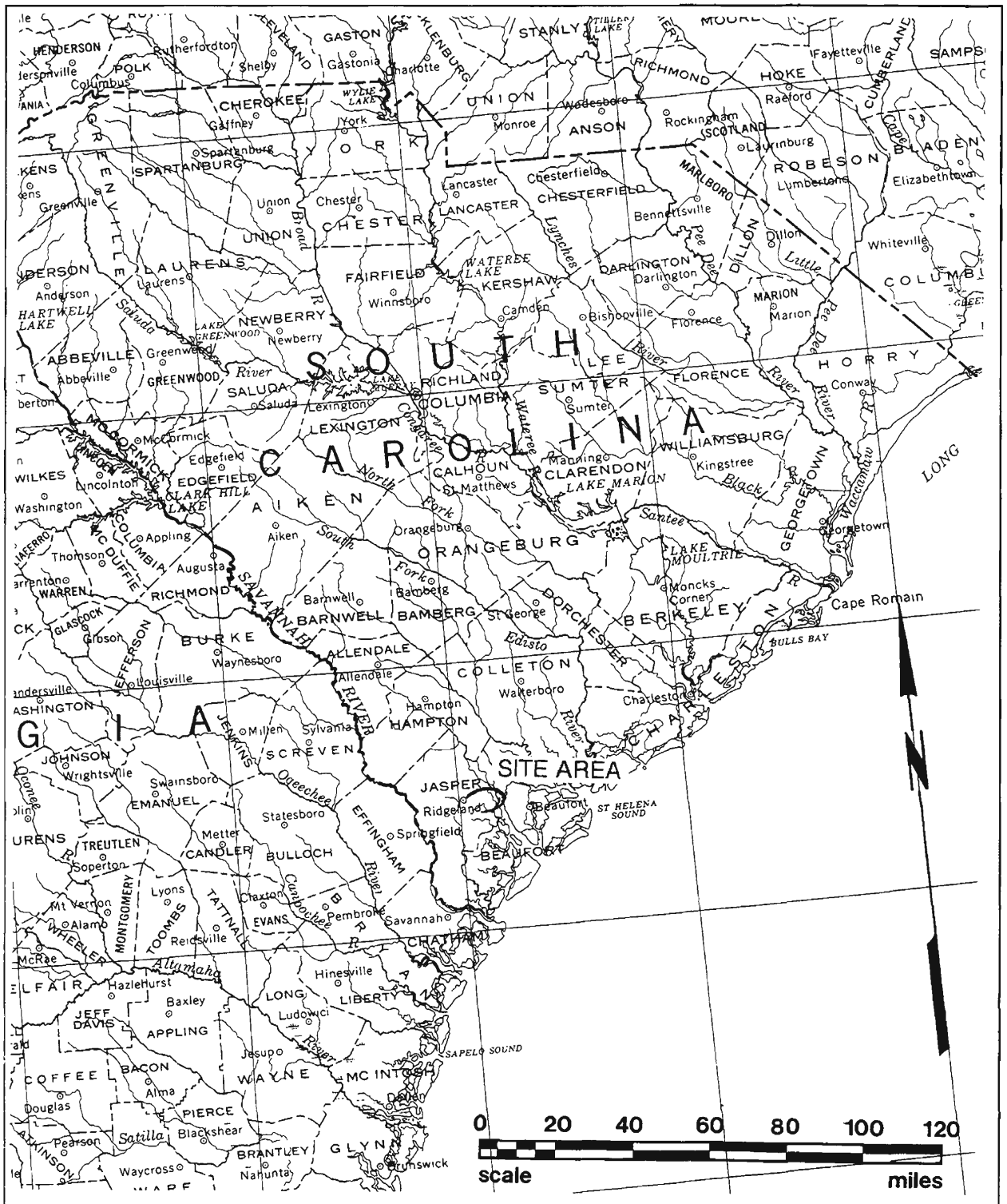

Figure 1 Location of the Old House site in the Ridgeland area of Jasper County (USGS United States 1972, 1.2,500,00).

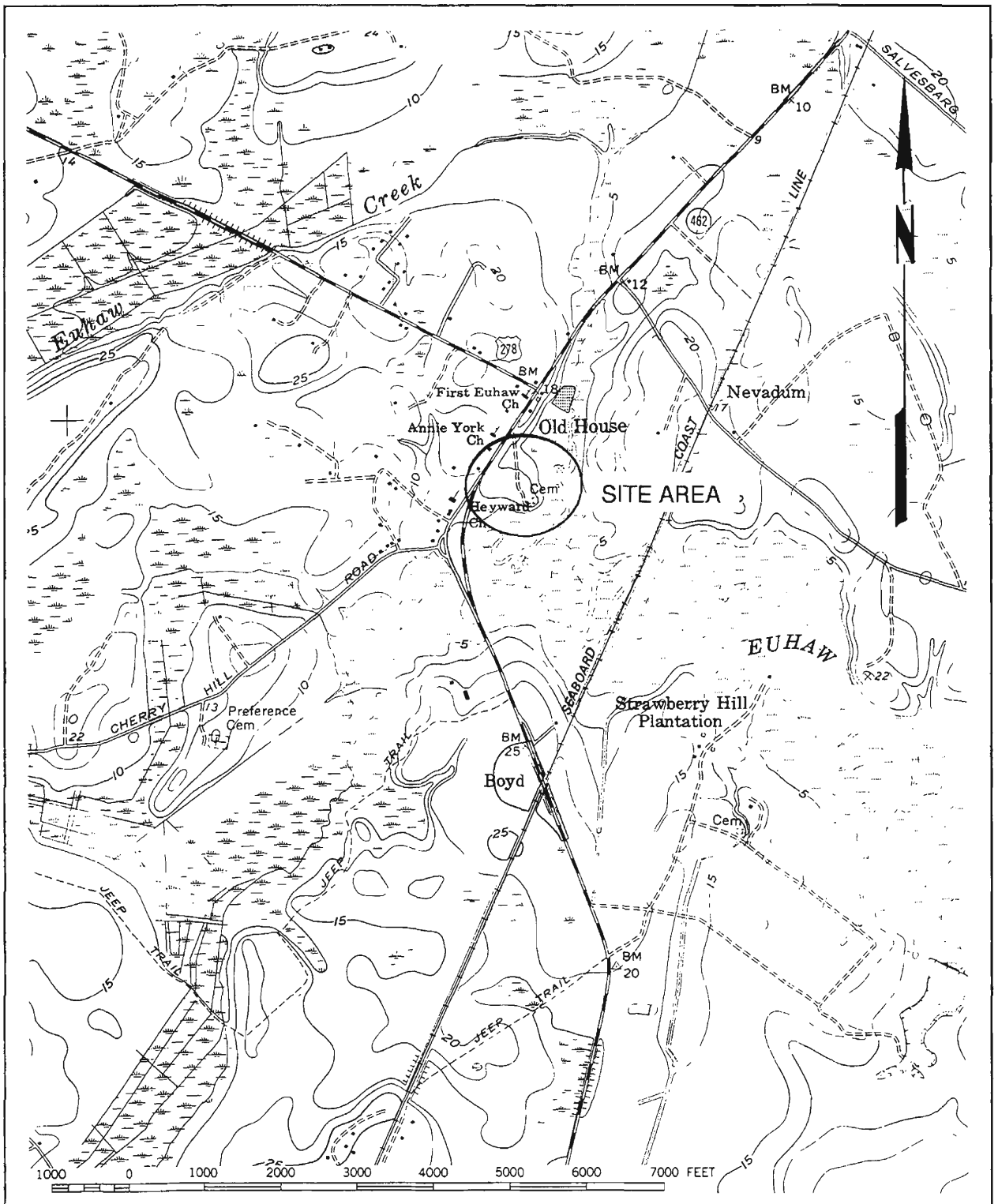

Figure 2. Location of the Old House site (USGS 7.5' Ridgeland, 1961PR1979).

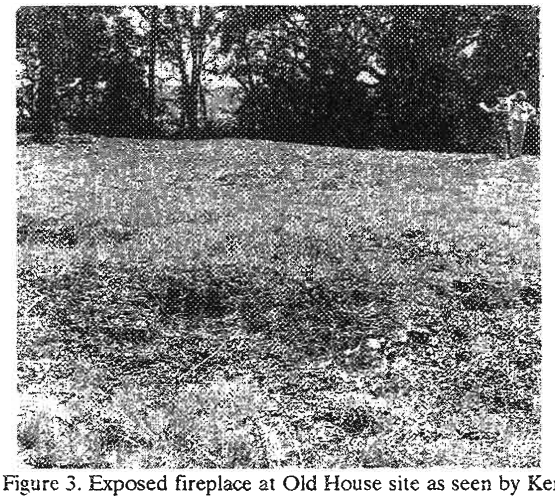

Figure 3. Exposed fireplace at Old House site as seen by Ken Lewis during his 1980 visit (photograph courtesy of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia).

who in turn contacted The Charleston Museum. A new employee, Mr. John Miller, an archaeologist with the Museum, took on the project of exploring Old House.

In one of the first extant letters concerning the project Burton comments that:

> Mrs. Webb and Mr. Miller have been going over the sherds with great interest. Strange as it may appear they are of the 1800-1840 period which greatly puzzles us because it seems that they should be of an earlier period. If my memory is correct you said that these pieces were skimmed over by the bulldozer and in all probabilities we will find a different type of material at a greater depth (letter from E. Milby Burton to Mrs. Fredric Pratt [-Webel], dated March 11, 1965).

Although we have relatively little correspondence from or to the Museum, there are several letters from J.L. Brantley, the overseer of Good Hope Plantation, to Webel, the dig's sponsor and also his employer. On June 1 he wrote:

> Thought you would like to know that the young man, John Miller, from the Museum in Charleston came down last Wednesday, working Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. He is to be back tomorrow and will work three days this week. . . . Mr. Farr with Melvin and one other have been helping him, He did not know how long it was going to take him, but they are getting the foundation where they can see it very good. He is also finding some interesting things (letter from J.L. Brantley to Mrs. F.R. Pratt [-Webel], dated June 1, 1965).

Just a week later Brantley reported:

> Mr. John Miller, the young man, from the Charleston Museum has been here off and on for the past six weeks. He finished last Thursday with the excavating of the foundations, taking all the measurements and pictures. Looks like it was a large house. I think he has found several pieces of interest to the Museum (letter from J.L. Brantley to Mrs. F.R. Pratt [-Webel], dated June 6, 1965).

On June 21, however, Milby Burton with The Charleston Museum wrote to Webel that:

> As you know Miller has been doing quite a lot of work on the house. It appears that it is not only older but larger than originally thought. Enclosed are two photographs taken by Miller. Apparently these are the only ones that he has in color, therefore, he has asked that you

> return them.[1] He plans to continue the work tomorrow and he tells me that it will take an additional week or ten days of digging. He tells me that he is getting quite a bit of material from the "occupation level" but as you know it is going to take a long time sorting it out (letter from Milby Burton to Mrs. Fredric Pratt [-Webel], dated June 21, 1965).

By July 20, Burton was writing Webel thanking her for the "more than generous check" and reporting that when Miller returned from vacation he would return to Old House to spend "a day taking levels" before he started on his drawings. Going on, he once again mentions the age of the house:

> What he has apparently found is of great interest and is probably older than first thought. He mentioned he thought the first house would date 1730-40. It is going to take a lot of time sorting and dating the material he has brought back. I noticed some good grade pottery in it (letter from Milby Burton to Mrs. Fredric Pratt [-Webel], dated July 20, 1965).

That same day, Brantley wrote Webel:

> John Miller worked here on the excavation, I think, 27 days. This was not all at one time but at different times when he would come on the weekend and work on Sunday. Most of the time he had two boys and Mr. Farr to help him. He found a knob off of a dresser drawer showing that someone was occupying the house. He found a steel wedge that was in good shape, the lock in the front door, hinges and hand wrought nails and pieces of china and bottles (letter from J.L. Brantley to Mrs. F.R. Pratt [-Webel], dated July 20, 1965).

In late 1965 The Charleston Museum public relations department (which apparently consisted of a single individual, Mrs. Mary Armstrong) began to generate media attention in the site. On November 11, 1965 the *News and Courier* produced a short, one column article. Miller indicates that the work began that spring and would continue "later this fall" (which they apparently did not). He went on to explain:

> "Discovery of the foundation was made by the owner of the property, Harry Cooler of Ridgeland when he selected that exact site for his new house. The site is on a knoll with marsh behind it and a mill pond nearby. The miller could have owned the house, so until we uncover more, we cannot say that it definitely belonged to Heyward," Miller explained. What has been determined thus far, the archaeologist said, is that the house was approximately 50 by 60 feet with a basement level of brick and two additional levels or floors of frame construction. This is evident from the thickness of the remaining walls and the shutter tie-backs and nails unearthed. "The house apparently was burned during the Civil War and underwent extensive remodeling sometime around the turn of the century. Original construction occurred in

[1] These photographs were apparently returned since several color photographs were identified in The Charleston Museum's collections from the site. Unfortunately, they were early Polaroid photographs and the dyes were so unstable that today the images are just barely visible. Absolutely no detail or other useful information can be obtained from these images.

> or around 1760," he said ("18th Century House Being Excavated," Charleston [S.C.] *News and Courier*, November 11, 1965).

This was followed by a much longer article, complete with three photographs, in early December. This second article, however, adds relatively little to our understanding of the work or the discoveries. It is again mentioned that the recovered items don't seem to pre-date about 1760, leaving about a 10 to 20 year gap between Daniel Heyward's arrival and the house construction. The article notes that, "Miller and Burton theorize that Daniel Heyward first may have built a small house adjacent to the big house, in which he lived until the big house was completed," although no such structure had yet been found. Three photographs were published and there are at least three others taken, but not used. These show the remains of a rice mill in the marsh, the Heyward grave yard, and the Museum's excavations which had apparently been left open since late July.[2]

In April 1966 Cooler released ownership of the collection, apparently to Webel (letter from Harry B. Cooler, Jr. to Mrs. F.R. Pratt[-Webel], dated April 4, 1966). Meanwhile, The Charleston Museum had produced a catalog of the excavations, distinguishing three zones — an uppermost "surface or disturbed level," an intermediate "ash level," and the lower-most "occupation level." At some point these artifacts were returned by The Charleston Museum to Mrs. Webel, further re-enforcing that she claimed ownership of the materials.[3] The July 1967 *Heyward Family Bulletin* announced the work that had been done two years earlier and noted that many artifacts had been recovered:

> These items have been catalogued and many drawings have been made. We hope that all of these records will be published when funds become available (*Heyward Family Bulletin*, vol. 2, no. 1, July 1967).

Like far too many archaeological projects, both then and today, no report was every produced and it seems that most of people involved forgot about the work. Certainly Miller went on to excavate other sites (none of which were ever published) and Webel apparently became interested in other historical topics. It appears that it was after the initial visit by Lewis in 1980 that she gave the collection to the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology.[4] The collection remains at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology although it has yet (30 years after

[2] An effort has been made to locate the negatives for these photographs, however the photo librarian for the *News and Courier* indicates that there is no record of the photographs. She suggests that since they were taken by the reporter, Roy Attaway, he probably retained the negatives when he left the paper (Mary Crocket, personal communication 1996).The South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, however does have an original 8x10 print of one photograph, which shows what appears to be a chimney footing. Although difficult to interpret, the photograph suggests that the excavations were not deeper than about a foot.

[3] While it may be that The Charleston Museum retained a few objects they have no accession records for any materials from Old House Plantation (Martha Zierden, personal communication 1996).

[4] There is some confusion regarding this collection. The South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology can locate no paper work indicating when or why they obtained the materials. Likewise, our careful search of the Webel collection at the Ridgeland library failed to identify any record of the collection's transfer. In fact, the local legend had been that the materials were at the Jasper Museum. We discovered that the Museum does have a few items from the site, while the library has what might be described as a "type collection" of materials excavated from the site. These items are designated 1 through 50 on a list with the hand written heading "From Charleston Museum — List — Mr. Miller — Old House — Heyward." Of these items all but three are still present. Those missing include a glass bead (to the side of which is the notation, "Miller," suggesting that he had borrowed the item); a bottle fragment, with the notation, "missing"; and what is described as "hat insignia or coat of arms hat ornament (c. Mexican War)."

its excavation) to be cataloged or carefully examined.

Old House As Revealed by The Charleston Museum Excavations

There is very little we can say at this time about the artifacts recovered from Old House. The very small collection examined at the Ridgeland Library was found to include a wide range of ceramic materials — hand painted overglazed porcelain, hand painted overglazed gilded porcelain, Westerwald, brown salt-glazed stoneware, decorated delft, hand painted creamware, molded creamware, blue transfer printed pearlware, annular whiteware, undecorated whiteware, blue transfer printed whiteware, yellowware, and even a small quantity of Colono ware. Glass items were less revealing, although the collection was dominated by "black" glass specimens typical of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, but there were a few aqua specimens. Table glass was represented by stemware, tumblers, and a decanter. Also present in the collection was a bone handled knife.

Overall, the collection leaves one with the feel of a fairly high status domestic assemblage (albeit the annular whiteware is somewhat out of place). In addition, the collection spans the period from the early eighteenth century (Westerwald, for example, has a mean date of 1738 and the porcelains present date from the 1720s through the 1740s) to the mid-nineteenth century (represented by the whiteware and the aqua panel bottles).

It is curious, however, that wares such as either the high status white salt glazed stonewares of the mid-eighteenth century or the utilitarian lead glazed slipwares of the early eighteenth century are not present in this small collection. The catalog sheets for the collection, we should note, do indicate that both white salt glazed stoneware and slipware are present in the larger collection.

The Charleston Museum catalogs also reveal that the "occupation level" exhibits a wide range of artifacts — ceramics, tobacco pipe stems, tableware, kitchenware, architectural remains, and tools, although missing or exceedingly rare are smaller artifacts, such as buttons, thimbles, needles. The collection suggests that Miller collected materials by hand sorting, perhaps by troweling, but did not screen the excavated fill. Alternatively, he may have used a ½-mesh. Above this, the "ash level" produced almost exclusively architectural remains, strongly suggesting that the house burned empty, but still in good shape (that is it had not been stripped prior to burning, suggesting that it was still being cared for). This would seem to support the contention that it was burned toward the end of the Civil War.

At the end of the catalog are several pages of architectural hardware, including large HL hinges, hasps, strap hinges, shutter hardware, and door locks. These materials, if they have survived 30 years of (at best) benign neglect, could be of exceptional importance in understanding the Heyward house and in providing construction dates.

Clearly the artifact collection is of considerable importance. The Heyward Foundation should diligently pursue cataloging, analysis, conservation, and appropriate curation of these materials.

The field notes which accompany these specimens and catalogs may, charitably, be described as abbreviated. We learn from them that Miller excavated the site, as previously discussed, in three zones: the surface or disturbed zone, overlying the ash or burn zone, overlying the occupation zone. These, however, were apparently defined both on the basis of soil and depth. In other words, the "ash zone" was easily distinguished on the basis of the charcoal, ash, burned plaster, nails, and architectural debris, with Miller's accounts clearly suggesting that he excavated through the intact deposits of the Heyward mansion collapsing inward on itself. This deposit varied from about 2-inches to almost 6-inches in depth. The occupation zone (sometimes describe in the notes as the OP level) below this, and the surface zone above, were both apparently removed in something approaching 3-inch levels. It appears that the excavations did not extend more than a

foot below the ground surface, terminating on top of architectural remains such as brick floors and foundations.

The excavation units were 5 by 10 foot rectangles, designated 1 through 17 and then often sub-designated A and B (although not all units were sub-designated or had both an A and B designation). A map was located in the Charleston Museum files revealing the location of many squares. The remaining squares were eventually identified based on references in the field notes (Figure 4). As can be seen, these units are in no logical order and without the identification of this map and field notes it would be impossible to ever reconstruction the excavations.

Although Miller established a datum (an iron pipe) at the northwest corner of the cemetery wall (this pipe is still in existence), we can find no evidence that he used it for vertical control. Its only function seems to have been to provide horizontal control for the creation of an overall site map.

In Miller's field notes there is a tantalizing one page listing of artifacts recovered from "kit" which is apparently a second explored building thought to be a kitchen. No units are identified and only two "levels" are reported — "surface" and "op. level 3 inches - 9 inches." The artifacts on this hand written list, however, cannot be identified in the catalog, suggesting that these items were not cataloged or further examined by the Museum.

Although it is extraordinarily difficult to interpret Miller's very incomplete notes and drawings 30 years after the fact, they do provide a tantalizing view of the Heyward mansion. Ignoring the comments made to the media and looking exclusively at the evidence provided in the drawing we can see two probable structures.

Clearly the "front" or main, formal entrance to the mansion faced south, toward the water. There the flared stair supports were found, revealing stairs leading from the ground up to a piazza or porch which extended across the front and along much of the sides of the first floor, above the basement. Below, or under, the piazza were brick floors. At the "rear" of the house, which faced north toward the oak allée, was a small, less formal, porch measuring about 5 by 12 feet, with ascending stairs. The house itself appears to have measured about 50 feet in length and about 37 feet in width. Most of the basement had only an earth floor, although the rear portion had a very well laid brick floor.

There is some suggestion that the house may reveal two episodes of construction — with a smaller core being expanded and enlarged. This is a very common feature along the Carolina lowcountry. As planters became more successful they expanded their mansions, conspicuously displaying their wealth and success. At Daniel Heyward's plantation it may be that the original mansion was very modest, being the rear block measuring about 53 by 20 feet. The basement of this original house was paved in brick and was perhaps used as a warming kitchen or for storage, while above were perhaps two stories. The first floor would have been used for formal entertaining and dining, while above would have been bed chambers. When the mansion was expanded, the house was extended to the south, with the original core becoming the back of the house. The rectangular shape was modified to produce a "T" plan with perhaps a through hall with rooms off either side (Figure 5).

Miller also left a site map providing additional clues and hints (Figure 6). It is important since it locates features that are no longer present. He shows the oak allée running south from SC 462 essentially terminating at the front of the house. He notes that an "old road bed" begins west of the house, extends south into the marsh, then turns west and extends to SC 462.

The main allée is still present (Figure 7) and consists of trees ranging from only 28-inches in diameter breast height (dbh) to 79-inches. According to P.O. Mead, III of Mead's Tree Service, Inc. the age class of 50- to 60-inches dbh is 180 to 220 years, while the age class of those trees from 61- to 85-inches dbh is 220 to 260 years. This suggests that while we are seeing some trees which have reseeded from the original plantings, the original trees in the allée were planted perhaps

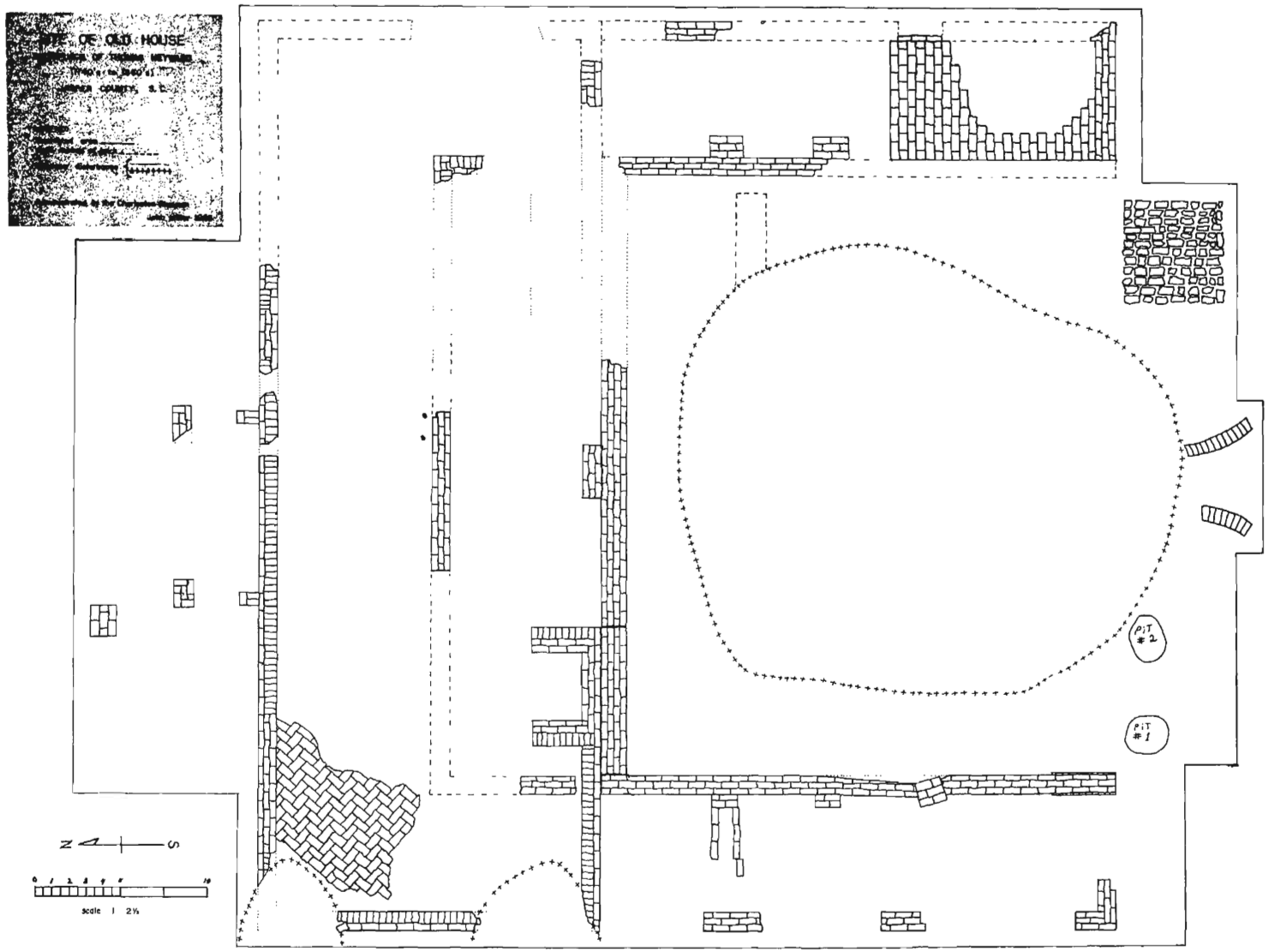

Figure 4 Plan of the Charleston Museum excavations at Old House (courtesy of The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina)

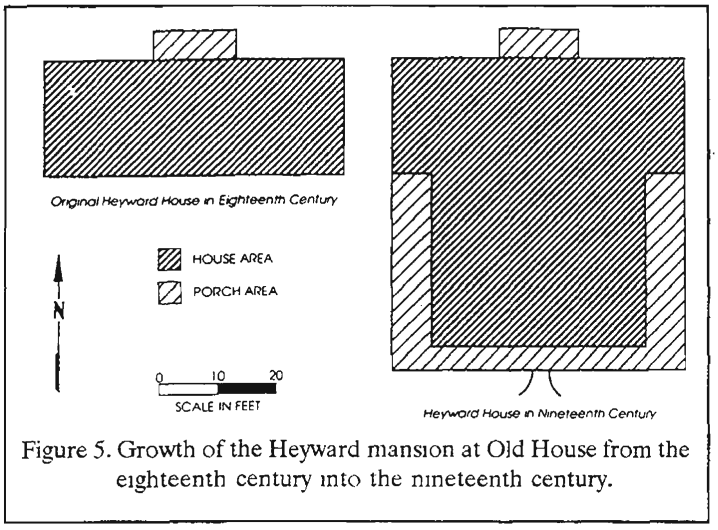

Figure 5. Growth of the Heyward mansion at Old House from the eighteenth century into the nineteenth century.

as early as 1735 (P.O. Mead, III, personal communication 1995).

Careful examination of the placement of these trees suggests that the allée may have come to the main house and then split off to the southwest, perhaps tying into Miller's old roadbed. This would explain the occasional historic accounts (discussed in a following section) which mention that Old House had two avenues of oaks.

About 100 feet to the west of the main house Miller identified a "19th cen. house site" which consisted of what he identified as a chimney and several wall sections. About 70 feet to the north of this were the ruins of what he called the "smoke house," while 100 feet further west was a brick rubble pile he thought represented another building. About 300 feet west of the main house was what he thought might be the stable, consisting of a brick rubble pile and another chimney base.

About 180 feet to the east of the main house is the cemetery and at the northwest corner Miller shows his "1½" iron pipe" datum.

From this map we get an exceptional view of the plantation landscape. Structures appear to have been oriented almost due north-south and were placed in an east-west alignment across the sandy rise: cemetery, main house, flanker (what Miller called his nineteenth century house), smoke house, and stable. Although we should be skeptical about all of his functional designations, the picture provides us of the Old House landscape is very important.

But the map provides yet additional information, revealing the location of ballast stone in Hazard Creek, a remnant dam, a mill site, a possible warehouse, a remnant canal, two "chimney bases" and additional lines of posts. In other words, Miller gives up a very clear picture of exceptional activities *in the marsh south of Old House*. The plantation, its landscape, and its work areas are not constrained by high ground, but extend out into the wetlands. This is a very important issue and one that we will return too in future discussions.

In spite of the importance of Miller's finds, Old House and his excavations were nearly forgotten, being kept alive by a small group of Heyward descendants and local historians.

Chicora's Involvement and Research Goals

In early March 1996 Chicora was contacted by Mr. Richard Ellis with a request to propose on conducting an archaeological survey of Old House sufficient to gather the data necessary to nominate the site to the National Register of Historic Places. The nomination process had been begun by Ms. Cynthia Cole Jenkins in late 1995, but had not been completed. A Preliminary Information Form had been completed and staff members of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History made a site visit the week before Christmas 1995 A subsequent letter commented that:

> the property is eligible for the National Register of Historic Places not only as the location of the Heyward family cemetery and the burial place of Thomas Heyward, Jr., and others of transcendent importance (Criteria Consideration D), but also as the intact remnant of Daniel Heyward's Old House Plantation,

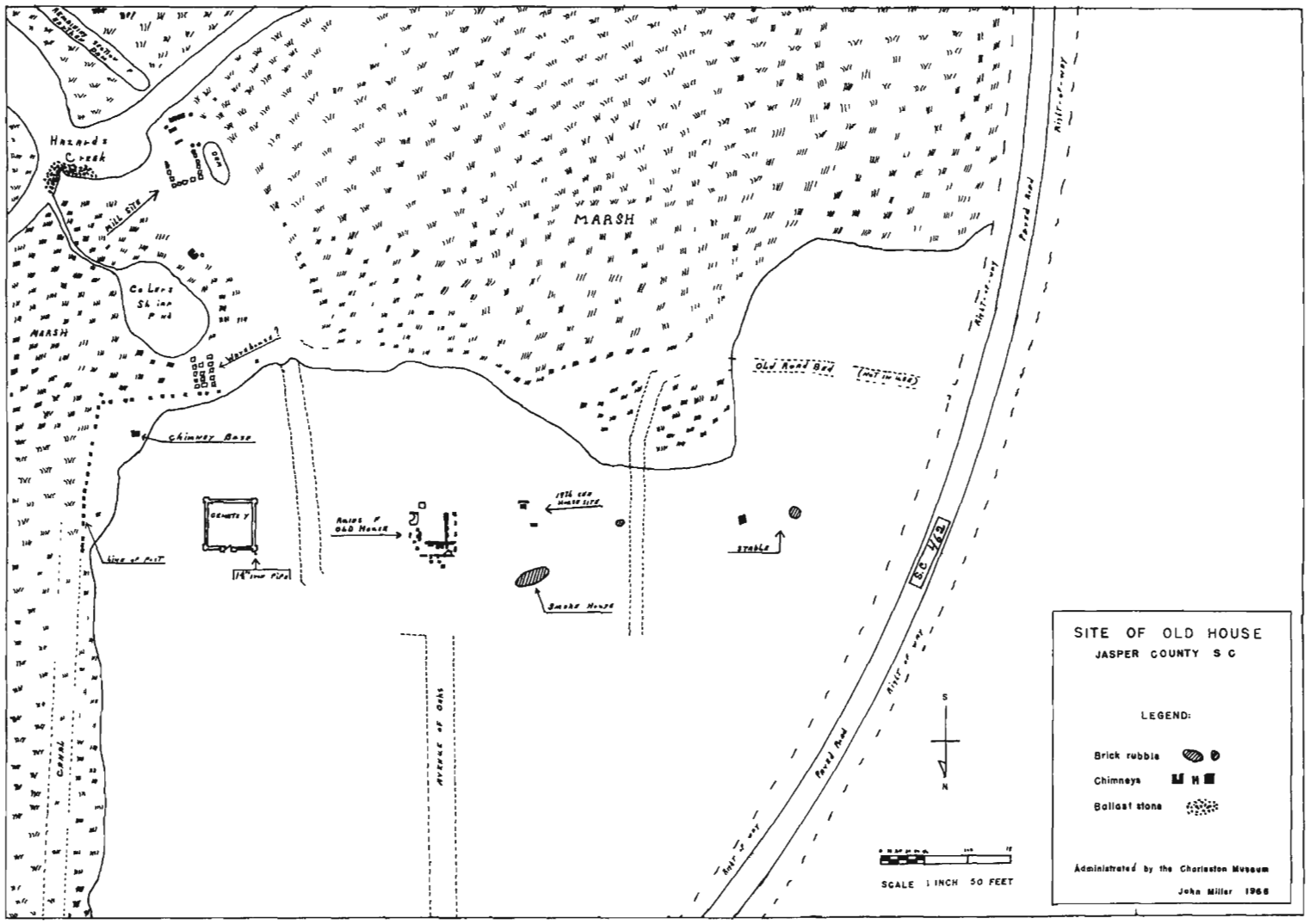

Figure 6 Miller's drawing of the Old House site (courtesy of The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina)

the seat of his 17,000 acre rice plantation holds (Criteria A, B, and possibly D). Although this property contains in Thomas Heyward, Jr., the grave of a historical figure — a person of outstanding importance (Criteria Consideration C), it cannot qualify as an exception to the criteria 1 in this category because the tabby ruins and other features of his Whitehall Plantation still exist. The existence here, though, of the archaeological remains of the main 18th century house, those of a nearby 19th century house, an oak allee, and smokehouse ruins on high ground, and the foundation remains of brick chimneys, warehouses and a tidal pounding rice mill, a sandstone/brownstone rice trunk, and timber road beds in the nearby salt marsh are all evidence of the once extensive rice culture operations of Daniel Heyward and his family. In addition, the property's significance to the understanding of early Lowcountry plantation settlement is quite evident but needs further investigation (letter from Mr. Andrew W. Chandler to Ms. Cynthia Cole Jenkins, dated January 18, 1996).

Based on this, Chicora Foundation proposed to conduct a limited archaeological study and to prepare the nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. The archaeological study would consist of two primary tasks: mapping the site and conducting an auger survey of the high ground property in the possession of Jasper County.

This proposal was accepted by the Heyward Foundation and Jasper County on April 19, 1996. The archaeological investigations were conducted between April 29 and May 3, 1996. A total of 88 person hours of field study were conducted at the site by Dr. Michael Trinkley, the principal investigator, and Mr. William B. Barr.

A revised site form for 38JA72 was submitted to the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology on May 3 and the artifacts from the work were processed at Chicora Foundation's Columbia laboratories in late May 1996. A detailed management summary of the investigations were provided to the Heyward Foundation and Jasper County on May 7 (letter from Dr. Michael Trinkley to Mr. Richard Ellis, dated May 7, 1996).

Although not initially included in the

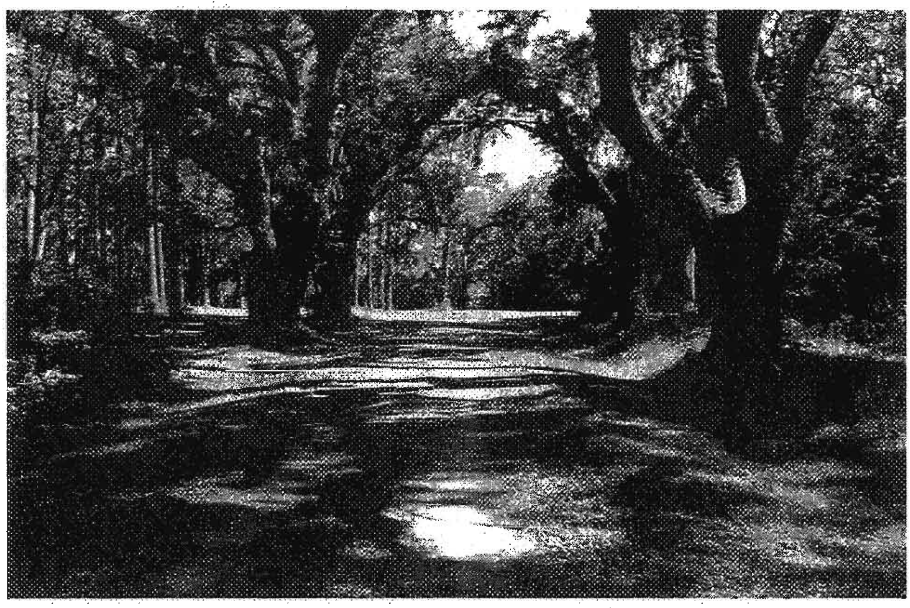

Figure 7. Oak allée at Old House from the main road looking toward Euhaw Creek.

scope of work, it became clear that the project would require considerably more "investigation" of previous work than initially anticipated. Consequently, between late May and early September 1996 Chicora Foundation focused on "investigative research" — tracking down field notes, collections, photographs of the site and especially the cemetery, and talking to individuals familiar with the site. This also allowed additional time to explore the history of Old House, since the information immediately available was sparse and probably not adequate for a National Register nomination.

Ultimately, Chicora Foundation also prepared a state preservation grant for the conservation treatment of the Heyward cemetery stones and stabilization of the associated wall. This grant grew out of the tremendous amount of research collected during the course of the project and reveals how projects can "grow" through time.

Chicora's proposal for the investigations focused on an explorative research design since the work was the first intensive archaeological study at the site in recent history. Although an overview was provided by Miller's earlier work, it did not provide a clear, or specific, on-the-ground evaluation of the resources.

Once identified and examined, the second goal was to assess the site's potential eligibility for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. It is generally accepted that "the significance of an archaeological site is based on the potential of the site to contribute to the scientific or humanistic understanding of the past" (Bense et al. 1986:60). Site significance in this study was evaluated using the recently published process of Townsend et al. (1993).

This evaluative process involves five steps, forming a clearly defined, explicit rationale for either the site's eligibility or lack of eligibility. Briefly, these steps are:

- identification of the site's data sets or categories of archaeological information such as ceramics, lithics, subsistence remains, architectural remains, or sub-surface features;

- identification of the historic context applicable to the site, providing a framework for the evaluative process;

- identification of the important research questions the site *might* be able to address, given the data sets and the context;

- evaluation of the site's archaeological integrity to ensure that the data sets were sufficiently well preserved to address the research questions; and

- identification of "important" research questions among all of those which might be asked and answered at the site.

This approach, of course, has been developed for use in documenting eligibility of sites actually being nominated to the National Register of Historic Places where the evaluative process must stand alone, with relatively little reference to other documentation. We have opted in this study to provide the historic context in the format of a brief overview of historic information concerning the site. Obviously it would also be appropriate to integrate additional background concerning other eighteenth century plantation sites investigated in the lowcountry of South Carolina. Likewise, the identification of "important" research goals was achieved by incorporating research goals and questions in this overview, outlining significant questions to the discipline and the public. Additional background research and synthesis of a wider range of historic archaeology comparable to the project area would likely result in a greater depth and breadth of research questions.

Otherwise, the evaluative process was essentially the same as outlined by Townsend et al. (1993). The data sets identified during the survey,

such as the quantity of different artifacts types, is discussed. Reference is made back to the historic overview and the research questions the site might be able to address, while at the same time the site's integrity was clearly defined. We opted to use the integrity areas developed by Townsend et al. (1993:17-23) since they are more commonly used with National Register sites than the archaeological properties developed by Glassow (1977). Those most important for archaeological sites being evaluated for eligibility under Criterion D (sites that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history) are locational integrity, design integrity, integrity of materials, and associative integrity

Locational integrity means that discernable patterning is present. If a site lacks patterning, if the artifacts are displaced, if activity areas are no longer recognizable, then it likely lacks locational integrity

Integrity of design is most often addressed as intra-site artifact and feature patterning. Integrity of materials is typically seen as the completeness of the artifact/feature assemblage or the quality of features or artifact preservation.

Finally, associative integrity is often examined in the context of how strongly associated the data set is with important research questions.

Curation

The original and duplicate field notes, photographic materials and artifacts resulting from Chicora Foundation's investigations at Old House (38JA72) have been curated with the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

The artifacts from this study have been cataloged using the standard system of the Institute. The artifacts have been cleaned and/or conserved as necessary Further information on conservation practices may be found in a following section. All original records and duplicate copies were provided to the curatorial facilities on pH neutral, alkaline buffered paper and the photographic materials were processed to archival permanence.

NATURAL SETTING

Physiography

The Old House site is situated in the east central portion of Jasper County, about 5.5 miles east-southeast of the county seat of Ridgeland and about 13 miles west of the City of Beaufort. The site is found at the headwaters of the Euhaw Creek, which empties into the Broad River right above Lemon Island (Figure 8).

Jasper County is located on the lower Atlantic Coastal Plain of South Carolina and is bounded to the south by approximately 2.8 miles of irregular Atlantic Ocean shoreline. Turtle Island, a marsh island, forms the coast. The profile of the mainland topography consists of subtle undulations in the landscape, characteristic of the ridge and bay topography of beach ridge plains. Elevations in the county range from sea level to about 105 feet above mean sea level (AMSL).

Jasper is drained by two significant river systems — the Savannah and New rivers. The Savannah, which forms the southwestern boundary of the county, has a significant freshwater discharge. The New River, forming part of the northern boundary, has a smaller rate of flow. The inland boundary of the county fronts on Beaufort and Hampton counties in South Carolina and Effingham and Chatham counties in Georgia. Because of the low topography there are many broad, low-gradient interior drains, coupled with an extensive and elaborate system of tidal creeks and sloughs.

About 11.5% of Jasper County is inundated — 36,014 acres by salt and brackish water marshes, 6,536 acres by freshwater marshes, and 6,224 acres by coastal impoundments (Mathews et al. 1980:135).

In the vicinity of Old House the elevations range from about 5 feet AMSL at the interface of marsh and highland to around 10 feet AMSL further inland toward the oak allée and SC 462. The Old House site is situated on a peninsula of land bounded to the east and south by two small fingers of Euhaw Creek and its associated brackish water marsh (Figure 2).

Examination of the topographic map for this region reveals small "islands" of high ground separated by low swamps, many of which still bear evidence of having been diked and used for rice cultivation. Although in an area of salt water, planters were able to dam up inlets and create fresh water impoundments — allowing them to reclaim inland swamps.

This effort was largely begun in the eighteenth century. By the early nineteenth century Robert Mills notes that these inland and river swamps, "can scarcely be termed waste lands, inasmuch as they furnish inexhaustible pastures for cattle." He went on to explain that Beaufort District, which at that time incorporated what is today Jasper, including Old House, "embraces a vast body of rich swamp land, which one day will prove of immense value, when reclaimed and brought into cultivation" (Mills 1972:380 [1826]).

Old House is situated at the eastern edge of one such "island," confined by the Euhaw Creek to the north, south, and east. There are remnant rice fields shown on the modern topographic map to the northwest of Old House, between it and Good Hope Plantation. Additional fields are shown to the southwest of Old House, in the vicinity of old Preference Plantation. More rice fields are shown to the south of Old House.

Geology, Soils, and Sea Level

The classic work on the formation of the Carolina Coastal Plain Province was done by C.W Cooke (1936). He suggests that the seashore has shifted back and forth for considerable distances across the area, with all of the present coastal plain

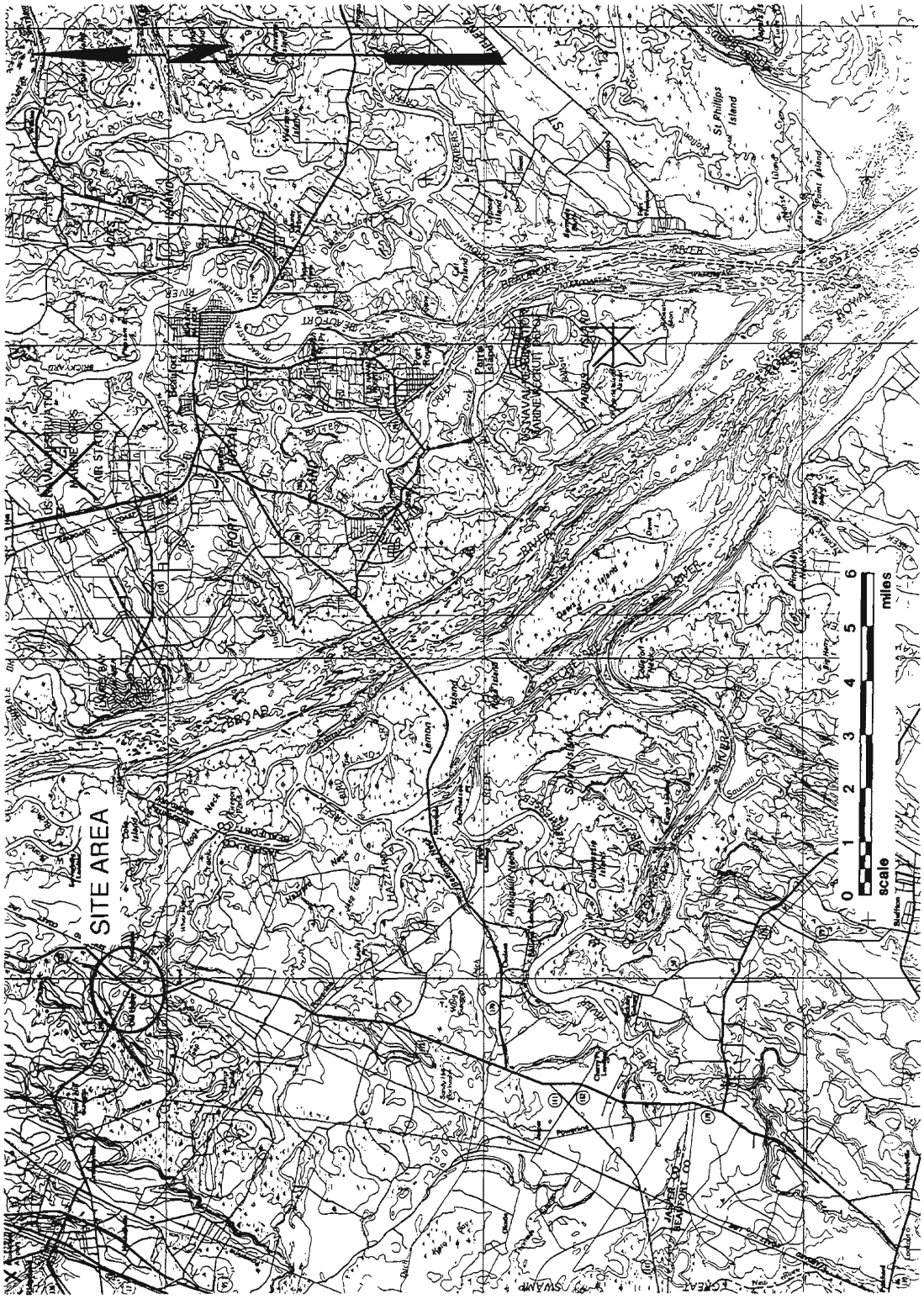

Figure 8 Vicinity of Old House showing the area's drainages (USGS Beaufort, 1 100,000)

covered by sediments that were laid down either in the sea or on land not far from the sea. Cooke believes that the movement of the seashore was a result of tilting or warping of the lands, coupled with fluctuations in the sea level. With each lowering of the sea level, the coastal plain was subjected to new erosion. At each temporary stand of these the waves cut into the headlands, with the result that coastal terraces were formed.

Cooke places Old House in his Pamlico terrace, which includes the land between the recent shore and an abandoned shoreline 25 feet above sea level (Cooke 1936:6). Lynwood Smith (1933) describes how areas such as this developed their intricate system of swamps. He notes that most have the appearance of abandoned stream systems and, in fact, developed as stream systems when the shore line was west of its present position and at a higher level (Smith 1933:35).

Mills even noted that in Beaufort District there were only two types of terrain — swamps and highlands. He noted that these highlands, "laying between the swamps, are chiefly composed of sand, bottomed on clay, which lies about two feet deep" (Mills 1972:367 [1826]). A few decades later Edmund Ruffin (Mathew 1992 [1843]) characterized this area as consisting of a series of necks, between which were a series of rivers and creeks. He noted that as one moved up the necks they would enter the level pine barren (Mathew 1992:133, 136 [1826]).

Early in the exploration of Jasper's soils, they were characterized as belonging to the Coxville-Portsmouth-Bladen series (USDA 1939). These soils were found on lands that were dominantly flat and interspersed with numerous swamps, bays, pocosins, low sand ridges, and tidal marsh. Typically the soils were found in areas that are naturally poorly drained (USDA 1939:1110). They were underlain by and developed from beds of unconsolidated sands, sandy clays, and clays.

The Coxville soils were characterized by medium gray to dark-gray surface soils, overlying soils of light gray fine sandy clays. Frequently associated with the Coxville soils were the better drained Lenoir soils. The Portsmouth soils were characterized by black surface soils containing large quantities of organic matter. The Bladen soils were found to have a gray to brown surface soil and were distinguished by their plastic fine sandy clay subsoils. Much of this soil series was undeveloped and required drainage to make the lands suitable for most crops.

Today we realize that Jasper County is characterized by three main soil groupings. At the northern end of the county (from Ridgeland northward) are soils on the Penholoway and Wicomico terraces. At higher stands, these soils include primarily Goldsboro-Lynchburg-Rains, Ocilla-Chipley-Blanton, and Paxville-Rains-Lynchburg associations. To the south, and forming narrow bands parallel to the Savannah and the Cossawhatchie are soils found on the Pamlico terrace. These include both poorly drained associations such as the Santee, Argent-Okeetee, and Bladen-Coosaw-Wahee and excessively drained associations such as the Buncombe, Wando-Seabrook-Seewee, and Fripp-Baratari. Finally, there are the poorly drained soils typically found in the floodplains and tidal marshes, which are confined to a band along the Savannah River and which are also found bordering the small rivers and creeks running off of the Broad River, penetrating the highlands to form the "necks" referred to by Ruffin.

In the vicinity of Old House are two soil associations. On the uplands is the Bladen-Coosaw-Wahee series of generally poorly to somewhat poorly drained soils, while in the adjacent marshes are the Bohicket-Capers-Handsboro association of very poorly drained mineral and organic soils that characterize the tidal marshes.

The site itself consists of two soils. On the higher elevations, comprising the bulk of the site, are found Nemours fine sandy loams with slopes up to 6%. On the lower edges of the site, bordering the marsh, are Bladen fine sandy loams. The marsh itself is identified as belonging to the Capers Association (Stuck 1980:Map 45).

The Nemours series, found primarily on flat uplands such as the site vicinity, consists of moderately well drained, slowly permeable soils

which have formed in clayey Coastal Plain sediments. The Ap horizon is characterized by dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) fine sandy loams. Below is an A2 horizon to a depth of 0.8 which is a pale brown (10YR6/3) fine sandy loam. There is a rather abrupt boundary between the A horizon and the underlying B21t horizon, which extends to a depth of about 1.5 feet. This soil is a red (2.5YR4/6) clay described as firm, sticky, and plastic (Stuck 1980:75).

The Bladen soils are more common in low lying areas which are seasonally flooded. They are deep, poorly drained, slowly permeable soils formed in thick clayey Coastal Plain sediments. A typical profile includes an A horizon of very dark gray (10YR3/1) to light brownish gray (2.5YR6/2) fine sandy loam to a depth of 0.7 foot. The B21tg horizon consists of a gray (5Y5/1) sandy clay to a depth of about 1.4 feet. This grades into a gray clay below this depth (Stuck 1980:61).

The Capers series consists of very poorly drained, very slowly permeable soils which formed in silty and clayey marine sediments. These soils are flooded by brackish or salt water at least twice per month and, in the site area, twice daily (Stuck 1980:64).

Although data on sea level fluctuations during the prehistoric period have been mounting (e.g., DePratter and Howard 1980, Brooks et al. 1989), our interest in the current study is focused on the historic period. Data from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries tend to confirm that the level continues 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 foot was again recorded in Charleston. Hicks (1973), using continuous recording tide gauges, illustrates a net rise of nearly 0.5 foot since the 1920s (Figure 9). These data, however, do not distinguish between sea level rise and land surface submergence. Nevertheless, there is good evidence that the marsh at Old House was likely drier in the eighteenth century than it is today.

The tidal range, especially in an area like Old House, also has an effect on drinking water.

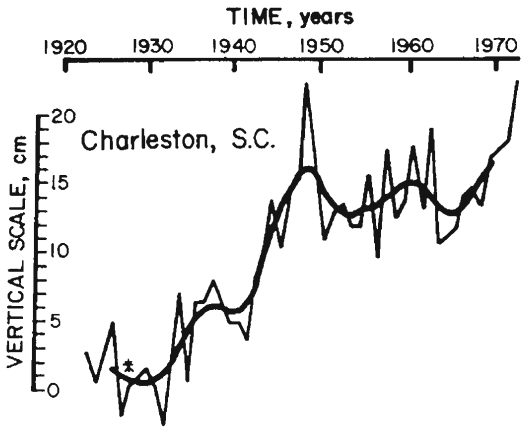

Figure 9 Sea level curve for Charleston (adapted from Hicks 1973).

The availability of groundwater was of primary importance to historic settlement. Mathews et al. state that, "groundwater may well be the most important material economic resources 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. By 1971, however, this aquifer was so depleted that no surface flowing water was known (Mathews et al. 1980:31-32). It is likely that the "Spanish Wells" on Hilton Head were a free flowing aquifer, while early twentieth century maps of the Old House area note the presence of several aquifer wells in the immediate area.

Work by Hassen, however, suggests another source of potable water during the historic period. He notes, based on a study of the Ladies and St. Helena islands, that:

> groundwater 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. water levels in

> shallow wells range from zero to 10 feet below land surface, averaging 3 feet in the study area (Hassen 1985.17).

Historic documents suggest that both deep and shallow wells were common during the eighteenth and nineteenth century. There is considerable literature on the use of shallow wells by Civil War troops and contraband (see, for example, Adams et al. 1995b:11). In addition, even plantations relied on deep wells for potable water. Chaplin at Tombee 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).

Climate

During the early eighteenth century the Carolina lowcountry 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 Mills (1972:377 [1826]). Later Henry Hammond wrote that the coast enjoys a good, healthful climate, although he acknowledges that, "doubtless the prophylactic use of quinine has had something to do with the apparently increased healthfulness of this section" (Hammond 1884:474).

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 than those offered only a generation or two earlier (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 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).

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. Old House's latitude places it on the edge of the balmy subtropical climate typical of Florida. As a result, there are relatively short, mild winders and long, warm, humid summers. The Appalachian Mountains, about 200 miles to the northwest, block shallow cold air masses from the northwest, moderating them before they reach the Ridgeland area (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 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).

The average yearly precipitation is about 49 inches, with 34 inches occurring from April through October, the growing season for most coastal crops. The region has approximately 246 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 nearby Sea Island during the eighteenth century (see Hammond 1884:19; Kemble 1984:113-114; Rosengarten 1987). 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.

Florestics

Upland vegetation is typically divided into two relatively distinct ecosystems — an upland ecosystem affected by fresh water and an upland maritime ecosystem which is affected by its proximity to salt-water marshes. Although Jasper is situated fairly inland, the Old House area is clearly affected by its proximity to the salt marshes of

Euhaw Creek.

The upland vegetation today consists of mixed pine and live oak. Also present, primarily along the marsh edge, are palmetto, wax myrtle, and yaupon holly. Further inland, to the northeast, there is an old field area dominated by pine with an understory of palmetto artificially maintained by burning. To the northwest there is a remnant area where the live oak and palmetto is accompanied by a very dense understory of vines and shrubs.

At the edge of the site there is clear border zonation in the salt marsh. The upper, high marsh reveals mixed wax myrtle and black rush. This is followed, at slightly lower elevations, by glassworts and some spikegrass. The elevations gradually drop, allowing twice-daily flooding, resulting in stands of cordgrass (see Sandifer et al. 1980:213).

Shantz and Zon (1936) characterize the area as part of the Longleaf-Loblolly-Slash Pine area, while Lucy Braun classifies the project area as part of the Southeastern Evergreen Forest Region, of which the pine-oak community is a sub-class (Braun 1950:284).

A.W Küchler identifies the potential vegetation of the Old House area as his Southern Mixed Forest. The dominants are sweet gum, slash pine, loblolly pine, white oak, and laural oak, with an understory of palmetto, wax myrtle, yaupon holly, and dogwood. Küchler's forest represents what would "exist today if man were removed from the scene and if the resulting plan succession were telescoped into a single moment" (Küchler 1964:1-2). This concept helps to approximate the forest type present immediately prior to the arrival of European settlers in the Old House area.

Land Use as Observed in Aerial Photographs

The earliest aerial photographs available for the Old House area are the November 1938 images currently housed at National Archives. These photographs, originally shot on 9 inch nitrate negatives where copied onto 35 mm film, with the original negatives destroyed. As a result, the images obtained, even when only 9-inch prints are made, are blurred and of limited research use.

Figure 10 (negative BQO 11-46, dated November 12, 1938) shows the project area in 1938, before the highway department rounded the curve of SC 462 at Heyward Bridge. Much of the site area is in dense evergreen vegetation, although there does not appear to be very dense understory

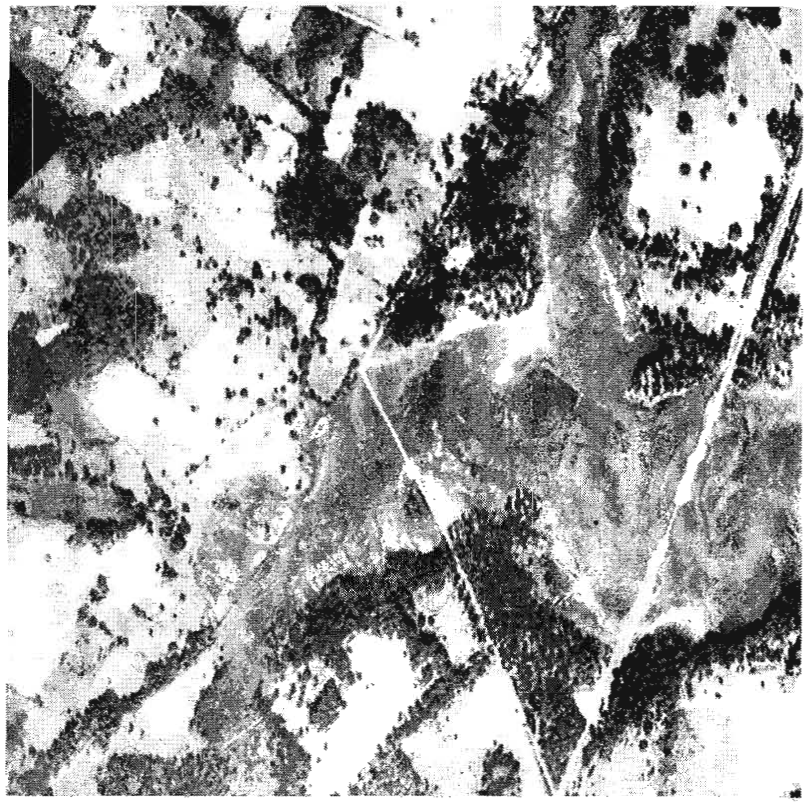

Figure 10. 1938 aerial photograph of the Old House area (National Archives, ASCS. BQO 11-46).

growth. While the cemetery is not distinguishable, the area of the old house is seen in this photograph as having a more open canopy. Many of the surrounding fields are in cultivation. There are also several areas where the old rice fields are still clearly shown. One, southeast of SC 462 and south of Cherry Hill Road, is only 2000 feet southwest of Old House. Ditched and diked fields are still vaguely shown in the upper marsh.

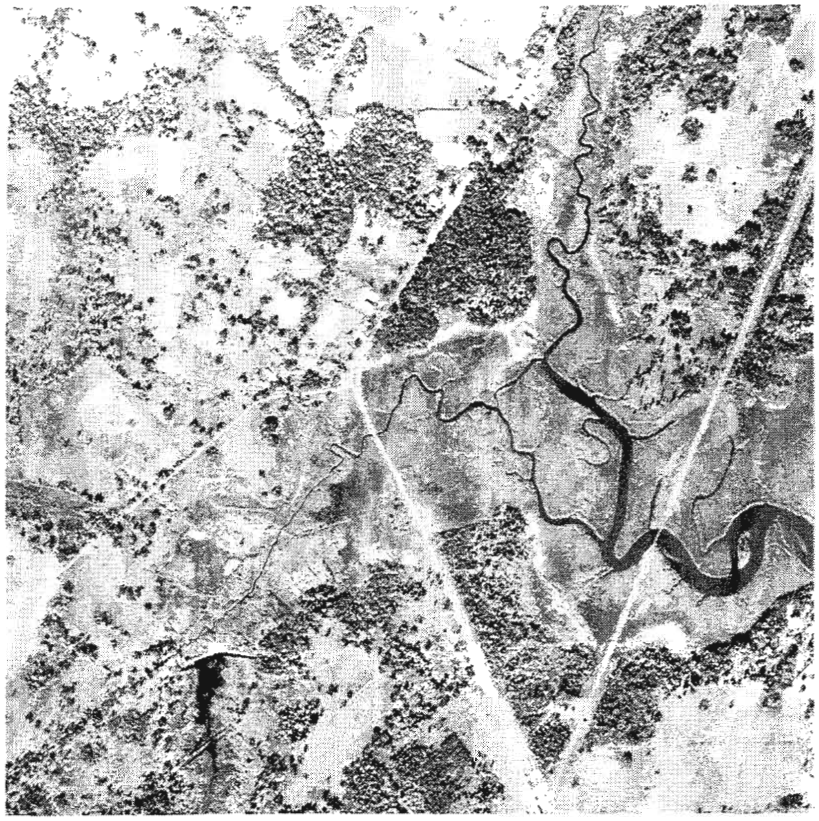

Figure 11. 1959 aerial photograph of the Old House area (ASCS, BQO 4AA-180).

While Euhaw Creek southeast of the Seaboard Coast Line bridge is well defined, the creek above the bridge loses some definition. Nevertheless, both branches to the east and south of Old House are distinct. Also distinct is a canal, originating at the creek and cutting north-northwest, along the edge of the high ground. It terminates just short of SC 462, in an area which appears disturbed or in some way different from the surrounding marsh. This canal appears as a white line on the aerial, the banked soil reflecting light against the dark vegetation of the marsh.

Also very clear in the aerial are a series of roadways in the marsh, south of Old House. These form a rough square, with the north side against the bank. The east side is parallel to the canal, and the south side is parallel to Euhaw Creek. At the southern end of the west arm is what appears to be the mill site, perhaps detected only by its slightly different vegetation. There is another leg of the roadway, running west-southwest and terminating at an open area. These roadways appear as relatively wide white bands, likely indicating high, unvegetated soil in the marsh.

The next aerial photograph we have examined was taken by the ASCS in 1959 (Figure 11, negative BQO 4AA-180, dated November 24, 1959). By this time the very sharp curve of SC 462 had been somewhat rounded and much of the vicinity had lapsed out of cultivation and into woodlots. Old House still has a dense evergreen canopy and there is some indication that the understory is thicker. The vegetation in the area of the old mansion has become thicker.

The most significant change is the construction of the Cooler's shrimp pond in the marsh southeast of Old House. It is seen as a small rectangle on the aerial photograph and is shown holding water. It is diked and has an outflow to Euhaw Creek. Its construction has also affected the canal along the eastern edge of the high ground, eliminating its distinct southern connection with the creek. The pond has also destroyed the eastern edge of the road network

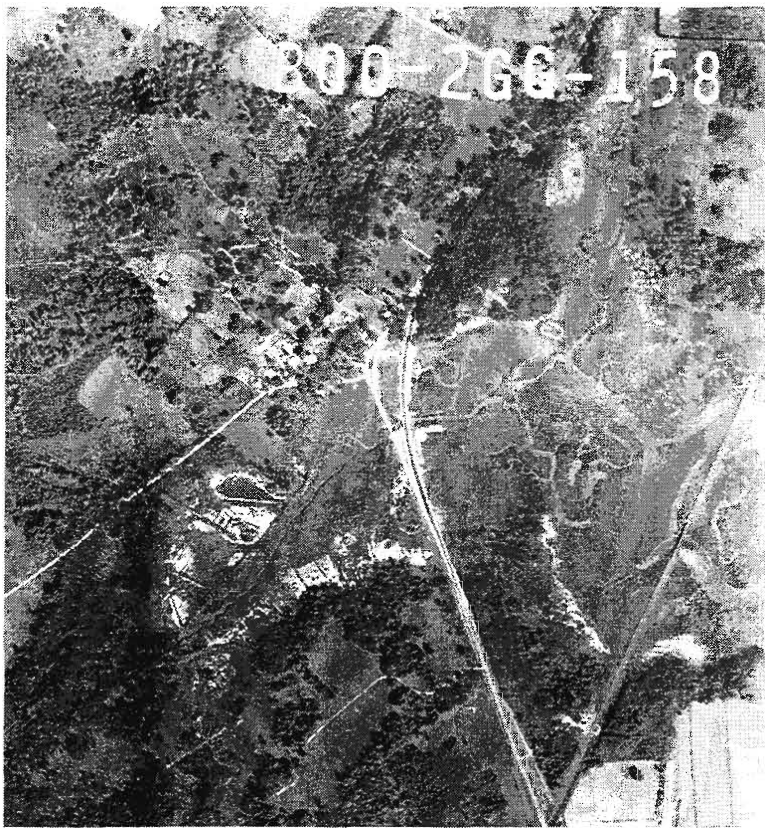

Figure 12. 1965 aerial photograph of the Old House area (ASCS, BQO 2GG-158).

seen in the 1938 aerial, leaving only the western edge still well defined. The route to the small piece of high ground west of the mill site is still visible.

The 1965 aerial photograph (Figure 12, negative BQO 2GG-158, dated November 2, 1965) was taken while Miller's excavations were still open and the excavation area is vaguely visible just north of tree shadows. Otherwise the image reveals the continuing decline in cultivated land, with only a few plots left at the north edge of the photograph. SC 462 had taken on its modern route, with a significant realignment skirting the edge of Old House and impacting a significant area of marsh. Evidence of rice fields are still visible southwest of the site.

The Cooler's shrimp pond is still shown, while the canal along the eastern side of the site is becoming less visible. This suggests that the shrimp pond made significant changes to the tidal flow and the canal was beginning to fill, with the vegetation becoming less distinct. This image continues to reveal the main roadway from the site to the mill area, as well as the leg to the southwest.

Relatively little had changed by 1970. Figure 13 (negative BQO 1MM-189, dated December 17, 1970) reveals that Old House continues to be covered with an evergreen canopy, although the house area is still relatively open. The cemetery, still in dense woods, cannot be detected in this photograph.

The canal is more distinct in this photograph than in the previous one, perhaps because the excavation of a large impoundment had changed the waterflow. The shrimp pond is still active and the previously discussed roadways in the marsh are still quite distinct. The mill site, however, is less distinct than it has been in earlier photographs.

The most recent photograph examined dates from 1994 (S.C. Department of Land Resources, negative 9461-165, dated January 22, 1994). It reveals that the Cooler's shrimp pond is no longer being used, its eastern end entirely removed, probably by a storm. The canal along the east edge of the site is still visible and well defined, appearing as a white band on the false infra-red color image. Likewise, the roadway to the mill is clearly defined as a very straight path, as is the roadway to the west-southwest.

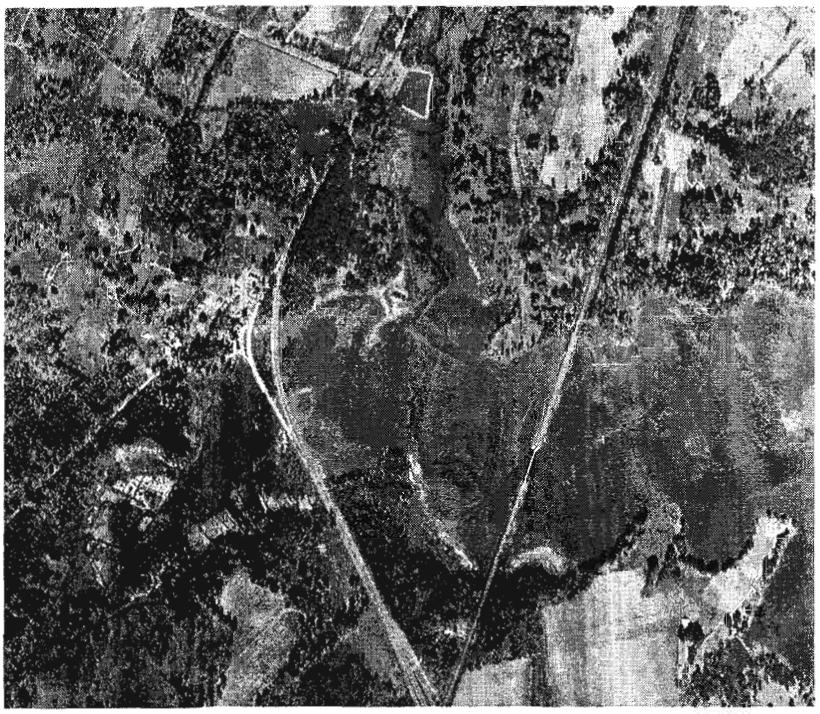

Figure 13. 1970 aerial photograph of the Old House area (ASCS, BQO 1MM-189).

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE OLD HOUSE SITE

Introduction

Mention Heyward to a student of South Carolina or national history and most likely Thomas Heyward, Jr. is brought to mind (Figure 14). It is equally likely that most who recognize the name, remember little more than that he was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Walter B. Edgar and N. Louise Bailey provide a somewhat more detailed account of his life, although they too focus on his contributions during the American Revolution. They observe that:

THOS HEYWARD JUNR

Engraved by J.B. Longacre from a Miniature in the Possession of Mrs. Heyward.

Figure 14. Engraving of Thomas Heyward, Jr.

> With the coming of the Revolution, Heyward represented St. Helena on the Committee of Ninety-nine (1994) which called for the convening of the First Provencal Congress (1775). The city parishes of St. Philip & St. Michael elected him to the First Provencal Congress which in turn elected him to the Council of Safety (1775). He was returned by the voters of Charleston to the Second Provencal Congress (1775-1776) which resolved itself into the First General Assembly (1776). The Second Provencal Congress reelected Heyward to the Council of Safety (1775-1776) and, upon Christopher Gadsden's resignation, to the Second Continental Congress Membership in the Continental Congress was not a disqualifying office, so Heyward retained his seat in the provincial congress. On 4 July 1776 he was one of four South Carolinians who signed the Declaration of Independence (Edgar and Bailey 1977:323).

Old House, the topic of our concern, is mentioned only twice — first, as his birthplace in 1746 and second, as the location of his burial in 1809 While carefully chronicling his political achievements, their sketch provides little information on his plantation activities, life, or ties to Jasper area.

There are a variety of sources exploring the history of the Heyward family in South Carolina, although they primarily focus on genealogical questions and also incorporate a rather large quantity of folklore and oral tradition. The most commonly cited source is undoubtedly

Heyward, written by James Barnwell Heyward between about 1925 and 1931, and privately printed about 1968 (cited here as Heyward n.d. a). Portions of this were published in the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* (Heyward 1958), making it somewhat more widely available. This same document may be found in some archives as "The Heyward Family of South Carolina" (South Carolina Historical Society, Heyward File, 30-4). Another predominately genealogical source is "The Heyward Family of South Carolina" compiled by Heyward Peck (1952). Two accounts which focus on Thomas Heyward, Jr. are Grimball (n.d.) and McTeer (1978). However, the most scholarly account is probably that compiled by Sallie Doscher while working at the South Carolina Historical Society. Her unpublished, and untitled, manuscript is today in The Charleston Museum s archival collections (Doscher n.d.). Another extensive overview of the Heyward family is held by the Heyward Foundation. It, too, is unpublished and untitled. In fact, its author is known only by the initials "jmc" (Ellen n.d.).

This current study attempts to synthesize appropriate sections of these previous studies, reconciling differences where possible, and pointing out areas where additional research is necessary. Throughout we have focused on Daniel Heyward, father to Thomas Heyward, Jr.[1], who developed Old House Plantation as his seat in remote Granville County. While Thomas Heyward, Jr. is undoubtedly the best known of the Heywards, Old House is a significant plantation settlement in its own right and worthy of careful attention. We have also sought to separate the large body of oral tradition from our review Those who are more broadly interested in the Heyward line should consult any of the previously mentioned genealogical sources.

Daniel Heyward's Early Life on James Island

Daniel's father was Thomas Heyward who was born in Charleston in December 1699, the only child of Thomas and Margaret Heyward. Peck suggests that he cultivated the family plantation on James Island, in St. Andrews Parish (Peck 1952:n.p.).[2] Although none of the sources indicate the location of this plantation, Sir Henry Clinton's Map of British Operations in the Charleston area in 1780 reveals the settlement of "Mr. Heyward on James Island, east of the mouth of James Creek (Figure 15). Today this area is entirely developed as a housing project, but it has been suggested to be the original Heyward family seat. Heyward, while acknowledging that this plantation did become the home of General John Alexander Cuthbert, who married into the Heyward family thereby obtaining the plantation, believes that this tract was probably "obtained by Thomas Heyward, son of Capt. Thomas Heyward and father of Mrs. Cuthbert" (Heyward 1907:21). He suggests that the original Heyward settlement was "on lands certainly fixed to have been his on that part of James Island bordering on Stono River described in an 'Act for the establishment of ferries, one over Stono River from Colonel Hext's plantation to Mr. Thomas Heyward's plantation on James Island'" (Heyward 1907:21).[3]

In 1715 Thomas Heyward was drafted for service in the Yemassee War, although Peck

[1] Thomas Heyward, Jr. was the eldest son of Daniel Heyward and his first wife, Mary Miles (1727-1761). Thomas was born July 28, 1746. He was known as "jr." or occasionally as "the Younger," to distinguish himself from his uncle, Thomas Heyward (1723-1795). This Thomas was Daniel's younger brother and moved to Granville County where he developed his own plantations on the Pocotaligo and Tulifinny rivers (Doscher n.d.:n1; Heyward 1958:149-152).

[2] Eventually this tract became known as the Cuthbert Plantation with the marriage of Thomas Heyward's granddaughter, Mary Heyward (1771-1828), to General John Alexander Cuthbert (1760-1826). Cuthbert was a successful planter in Prince William Parish where, in the late eighteenth century and turn of the nineteenth century, he owned 3,968 acres and 250 slaves (Bailey and Cooper 1981.166-167).

[3] While sufficient research has not been conducted to determine the exact location of this ferry tract, Captain Hugh Hext, in his 1732 will, did leave his 550 acre plantation on the Stono to his daughter Sarah Hext (who married John Rutledge) (South Carolina Historical Society, Hext Family File, 30-4).

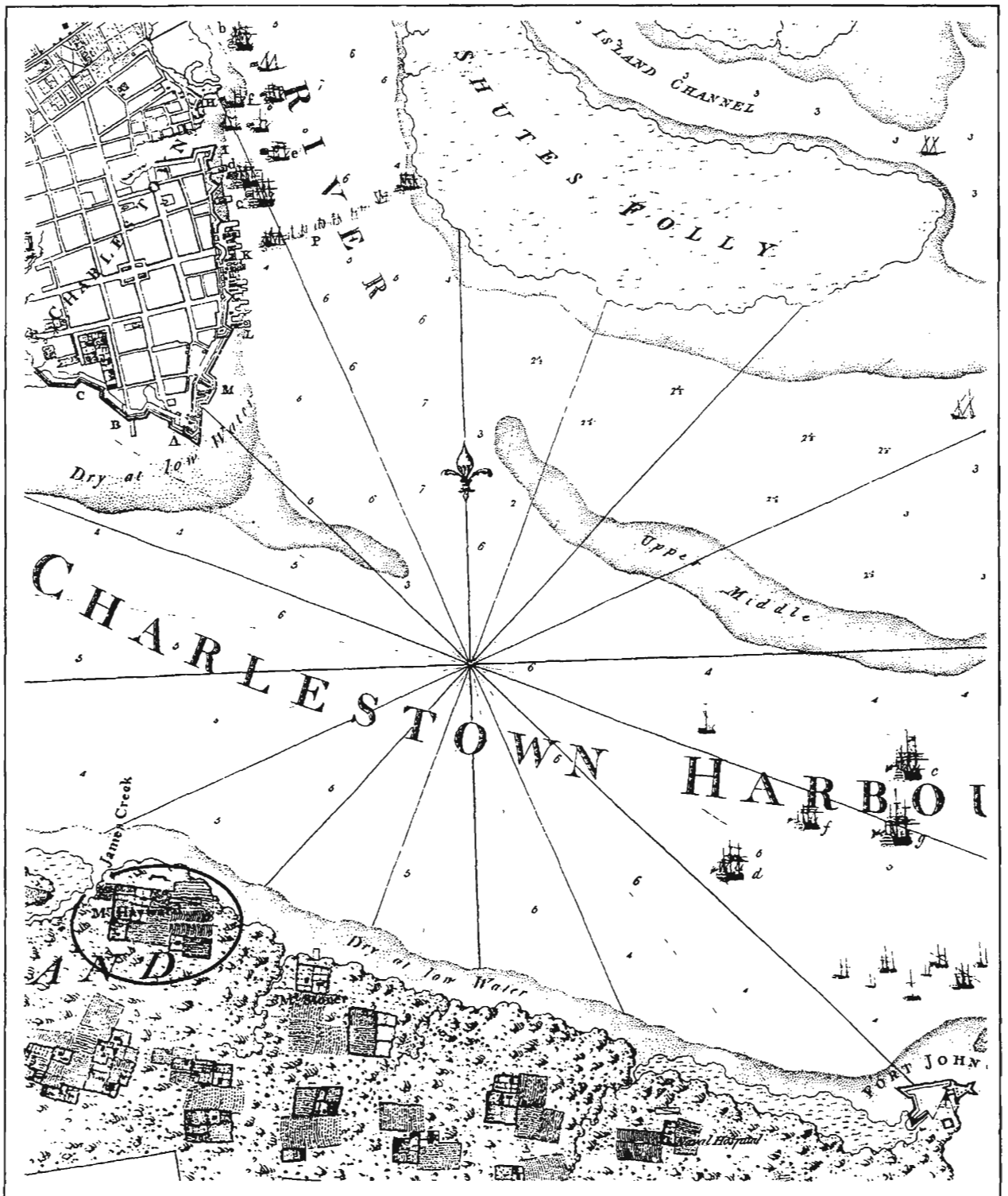

Figure 15 Portion of Sir Henry Clinton's Map of British Operations in the Charleston area in 1780 showing "Mr. Heyward's" settlement.

reports that his mother petitioned for his release from service since he was "an only child and not yet 16 years old" (Peck 1952: n.p.). At some point, however, he did serve since the records reveal he applied, as a member of the volunteer crew of the *Revenge*, for the prize money due from the capture of the pirate Richard Wosley He later became a member of James Island militia and was appointed captain of the company in 1725. Peck reports that he served as commander of Fort Johnson and in 1724 he was elected to the Assembly His service at Fort Johnson, however, is another family legend. Heyward reports that while Thomas is referred to in a receipt as the Captain of Fort Johnson, there is absolutely no evidence that he every served at Fort Johnson, much less was in command of the fort (Heyward 1907:20).

On March 16, 1732 South Carolina Council heard the petition for a 500 acre grant in Granville County by Captain Thomas Heyward (S.C. Department of Archives and History, South Carolina Council Journal, vol. 5, part 1, p. 291-292). Heyward's grant was one of a number reviewed at that time for Granville, Colleton, Craven, and Berkeley counties. Some were to individuals with military rank, but more were to gentlemen and ordinary citizens. The original grant makes no reference to its purpose. That same day he was granted:

> All that parcel or Tract of Land Containing Five hundred acres Situate lying and being in Granville County in the Province aforesaid and being in part of a Warrant of Seven hundred and fifty Acres on the head of Small Creek Butting and Bounding to the Northward part on Felamon Palmeter and part on land not yet laid out to the East on the said creek to the south on Coll: Hall (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Royal Grants, vol. 1, p. 21).

The plat for this tract (Figure 16) reveals that it was surveyed December 11, 1731, in response to a warrant for 750 acres dated November 20, 1731 (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Colonial Plats, vol. 1, p. 7).[4] The plat itself, typical of the period, is rather uninformative, showing only a creek along the eastern and southeastern edge, with the bulk of the tract extending to the west.

Peck reports that this grant was in reward or exchange for his earlier military service and formed the nucleus of the Old House Plantation established by Thomas' son, Daniel Heyward. While there is little doubt, based even on the limited description and plat, that the parcel is Old House, there is greater doubt concerning why it was issued. Ackerman notes that the most common reason for granting land during this period was the headright of 50 acres per settler. Grantees claimed rights on the basis of the size of their families, counting both slaves and children. While land was also granted for services rendered, the most common service was the importation of settlers and Ackerman makes no mention of military service being adequate cause for land grants (Ackerman 1977:95-97). Todd and Hutson also comment for adjacent Prince Williams Parish that, "The instances of men being given free grants for military service, or special patriotism, are in some cases true, but they were few" (Todd and Hutson 1935:25). It seems likely, therefore, that Thomas Heyward, in the early 1730s, was in the process of expanding his holdings. Ackerman notes that:

> Owing to the combination of a growing population and an increasing amount of cultivated land, South Carolina emerged from the chaos of the 1720s to the developing prosperity of the mid-eighteenth century (Ackerman 1977:100).

Heyward also disputes this long-standing family legend, noting:

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[4] This took place shortly after Governor Johnson's reopening of the land office and the prohibition against surveys without a warrant. It appears that Heyward was one of the first to file for land under the new system.

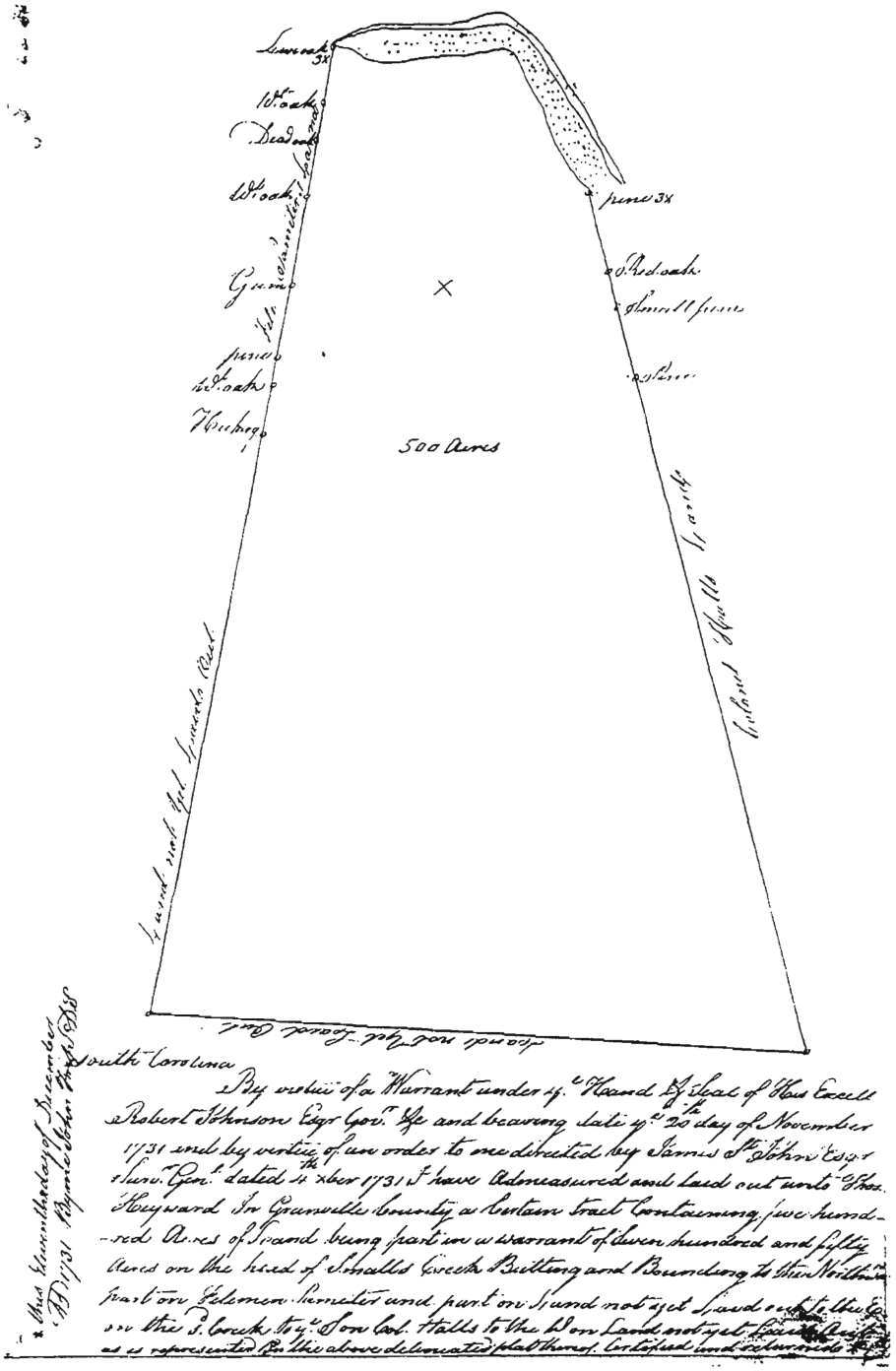

Figure 16. Thomas Heyward's plat for 500 acres, later known as Old House (SCDAH, Colonial Plats, vol. 1, p. 7).

> Now then, nothing that the public records show of the life of Capt. Thomas Heyward confirms either that he ever did much service as an Indian fighter, or, indeed, that there was much Indian fighting going on during his life (Heyward 1907:20).

He suggests that the land had nothing to do with military service, but was simply a grant.

Regardless of the reason, this area of South Carolina was isolated and still a frontier. In 1720 there were only 30 white inhabitants and 42 slaves in St. Helena Parish, consisting of the islands comprising Granville County (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, BPRO Transcripts, vol. 9, p. 23; Stauffer 1994:6-7).

Relatively little else is known about Thomas Heyward, although we can obtain some idea concerning his activities based on ads he placed in the *South Carolina Gazette*. Twice he advertised for runaway slaves. In 1732 he announced:

> Run away from Thos. Heyward on James Island, the 22d of February last, a Negro Woman named Bess, about 19 years old, pock fretted, a lusty wench, and speaks good English, being born in this Province, she had on when she went away a Gown of white Cotton, and a linnen Pettycoat: Any Person that will bring the said Negro to Mr. Ellis, Constable in Charleston, or will acquaint Me or the said Ellis where she is, so that she may be had again, shall be well rewarded, by Tho. Heyward (*South Carolina Gazette*, April 1, 1732, p. 3).

In 1735 he advertised again:

> Run away the 3d of this Inst. November from Thos. Heyward of James Island, a young Negro wench named Amy, this Country born, she is very black, has thick lips and large breasts, had on an Oznabrig coat and jacket, and an old negro cloth Gown: Any person that will bring her to her said Master, or to Goal in Charleston, shall have 3 £ reward by Thos. Heyward (*South Carolina Gazette*, November 8, 1735, p. 3).

Besides runaways, he also advertised for the sale of several pieces of property. In March 1732 he was advertising a 60 acre "plantation" on James Island's Newtown Creek for rent or sale. In 1733 he advertised for rent a Charleston lot:

> a large Garden containing two Town Lots, with several fine Orange Trees, a good Dwelling-House, and sundry other good conveniencies, at the upper End of Broad street; also two Milch Cows with Calf to be sold (*South Carolina Gazette*, January 1, 1733, p. 3).

This same lot was apparently again advertised in 1735 (*South Carolina Gazette*, February 15, 1735, p. 3). Also in 1733 another Charleston lot was advertised for sale:

> a Corner Lott in Charlestown, over against Mr. Brandt's, 100 Foot Front on the Broad street, and 200 Foot Front on the Street that runs from Ashley River to the Broad Path (*South Carolina Gazette*, April 14, 1733, p. 4).

These ads suggest that Thomas Heyward engaged in Charleston's speculative real estate market, apparently supplementing his planting activities. This, in turn, further supports his acquisition of land in Granville County under the headright system, suggesting that he anticipated expanding his agricultural activities. Alternatively, he may simply have been acquiring sufficient lands to ensure that his male children had land. At the time of his will, Thomas had six male children,

(Heyward 1958:147), care for which would have required a substantial estate.

Captain Thomas Heyward died at his James Island plantation on March 11, 1736 and was buried in the graveyard of the St. Andrews Church.[5] Peck reports that his tombstone was in existence as late as 1860, which suggests that by 1952 when he wrote that it could no longer be found.[6]

In spite of his military career and activities as a planter, Thomas describes himself as a hatmaker.[7] Dated March 7, 1736/7, only four days before his death, his will wasn't proved[8] for an additional seven years, until January 7, 1743/4. Peck notes that after providing for his wife, Hester Heyward, Thomas instructed that the remainder of his estate should be equally divided among his wife and six sons, Daniel, Thomas, John, James, Nathaniel, and Samuel, all of whom were minors at the time. Peck reports that while Daniel eventually developed Old House, John developed Tichton Plantation, and James settled Sandy Hill. Doscher also notes that Daniel received from his father slaves, his watch[9], sword, pistols, and "my other Accountrements" (Doscher n.d.:1).

The same year the will was proved, 1743, Daniel Heyward probably left James Island to settle his father's grant in Granville County (Ellen n.d.:51). Numerous family accounts repeat the same general observation, that Daniel "made the trip in an open boat with a few Negro slaves, taking an inland route for some seventy-five miles to the southwest" (Ellen n.d.:51).

The same year Daniel moved to Granville he also married Mary Miles, daughter of William Miles, a St. Andrews Parish planter who was also active in the affairs of the parish, serving as the church warden (Doscher n.d..1). The wedding apparently took place at St. Andrews, with the Reverend Mr. William Guy, rector of the church, officiating.

While relatively little is known of the decision to leave James Island or the move itself, at least one researcher notes that Daniel was hardly alone in this new setting. Across the Euhaw was Hazzard Hall. To the east was Hogg's Neck. And across the Broad River was Barnwell Island. Doscher also notes that Granville County was the home to a number of Indian traders, including Stephen Bull and Thomas Nairne. There were also a number of planters who had moved from Purrysburg — Huguenin, Strobhar, Robert, Lucas, and Izard. In 1757 Daniel Heyward received a memorial for six tracts of land in Granville County, including Old House, totaling 2,115 acres (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Memorials, vol. 7, p. 159). It is difficult without additional research to determine why Daniel obtained a warrant for lands already in his

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[5] St. Andrews Episcopal Church is situated about 4 miles northwest of Charleston, west of the Ashley River on SC 61. It was originally constructed in 1706, rebuilt in 1735, and burned in 1760. It was immediately rebuilt and restored in 1858 and again in 1958.

[6] The Church suffered a fire in the 1940s which destroyed all of their early records and there is no inventory of stones for the churchyard. Consequently, the only way to determine whether or not Thomas Heyward's resting place is still marked would be a careful search of the actual graveyard.

[7] In this he appears to have followed family tradition. His grandfather, Daniel, from Little Eaton, England listed his occupation as "Hatter" (Grimball n.d..1).

[8] "Proving" a will at this time typically meant establishing its validity and entering into probate. Why there was such a long interval between death and probate is not known.

[9] It would be this watch which provided the basis for Thomas Heyward's claim on his father's behalf to a coat-of-Arms. Thomas explained to the College of Heraldry in London that the origin of their coat-of-Arms was lost as a result of the "incidents of Time and distance from the Mother Country" (Heyward n.d..26). Their right to the coat-of-Arms was approved and the emblem, both as approved and used, is shown in the text).

possession. Certainly the most common reason for such a step was that the individual was anxious to confirm a questionable title (see Ackerman 1977:99).

It seems that Daniel scorned political life — he twice declined to serve in the Commons House of Assembly after being elected by his fellow parishioners, first in 1765 and again in 1768. Yet his reluctance to serve appears to be more out of concern for his absence from his plantation than out of distaste for political office.[10] While declining service which would take him away from Old House, he did serve as justice of the peace in 1756, as well as a member of the Granville County Regiment. He was also a church warden and member of the vestry in 1765 and was a member of the Anglican Board of Church Commissioners in 1774.

Daniel has also been characterized as a "textile pioneer" with mention made of his 1777 letter to his son, Thomas, in which he notes, "my manufactory goes on bravely, but fear the want of cards[11] will put a stop to it, as they are not to be got; if they were, there is not the least doubt but that we could make six thousand yards of good cloth in the year from the time we began" (quoted in Doscher n.d.:3). That same year the *South Carolina and American General Gazette* noted that:

> a planter to the Southward, who three months ago had not a Negro that could either spin or weave, has now thirty hands constantly employed, from who he gets one hundred-twenty yards of good wearable Stuff made of Woollen and Cotton every Week. He had only one white Woman to instruct in Weaving. He expects to have it in his Power not only to Clothe his own Negroes, but soon to supply his neighbors. The following so laudable an Example will be the most effectual Method of lessening the present exorbitant Price of Cloth" (*South Carolina and American General Gazette,* January 30, 1777, quoted in Doscher n.d.:3).

While both this article and Doscher suggest that it was the non-importation agreement of December 1, 1774[12] which spurred Daniel's interest in cloth-

[10] In 1777 Daniel wrote his son, Nathaniel Heyward, Jr., "I deal not in Politics tho always Anxious to hear what is doing in this new World" (Heyward n.d..25). This reflects both his earlier disinterest in political office and his later reluctance to endorse the American Revolution.

[11] While there are carding machines today, it seems likely that Heyward was speaking of hand carders — small tools with handles, covered on one side with card clothing, a flexible fabric densely packed with small wire hooks. Raw wool is pulled apart a little by hand and is then placed between two hand carders. Pulling the carders in opposite directions combs or scarifies the wool, with the small wire hooks teasing it apart. Next the wool is collected on one carder and the process is repeated, usually about five times. The wool is considered properly carded when all of the fibers are separated from each other. Afterwards the wool is taken off by hand, rolled into a rolag, at which time it is ready for spinning, then knitting or weaving (Seymour 1984:174-176)

Cotton must also be carded, but since the fibers are shorter this is usually an easier job. Following the carding, cotton is combed, making its fibers parallel, ready for spinning. Once spun it is strong enough for weaving (Seymour 1984:175).

[12] The first non-importation agreement was that of 1768 when Boston urged other colonies to refuse imported goods from Great Britain. This opened a rift between the public, which at first supported the idea, and the merchants, who had the most to lose. Eventually even the public largely ignored the agreement and by the end of 1770 the non-importation agreement was terminated. While support was modest, at best, Britain in 1770 repealed all duties except that on tea. Even this duty, however, was made so low that tea was cheaper in the Colonies than it was at home in England (Wallace 1951.242).

Non-importation was again used in 1774, when

making, his clear loyalist (or at best apolitical) leanings suggests otherwise. In fact, a letter several years earlier in 1774 from Ralph Izard notes that "Mr. Heyward has as many people as any gentleman in the State and makes cotton enough to clothe them all" (quoted in Doscher n.d..3). It seems most likely that Daniel Heyward, as a good businessman, saw an opportunity to reduce the cost of clothing his slaves and began manufacturing cotton and woollen goods. His market, however, dramatically increased with the non-importation acts.

In addition to his textile interests, secondary sources often cite Daniel Heyward's efforts to produce a tidal rice mill. Duncan Clinch Heyward, in his *Seed from Madagascar*, argues that the existence of a raceway and mill stones on the Old House site in the 1930s provides proof that the mill predates Jonathan Lucas' tidal rice mill of 1787 (Heyward 1937:22-23). Doscher tempers this assertion by pointing out that the "mill remains could have been constructed by one of Daniel's children" (Doscher n.d.:4). Although Daniel appears to have been the wisest and most able of the Heywards planting at Old House, at this time we can't discount the possibly that others may have added the rice mill at a later time.

This illustrates perhaps one of the greatest frustrations associated with Daniel Heyward. In spite of his obvious success and wealth, there are very few historical accounts or records to detail his efforts. For example, for the period from 1743 when Daniel established Old House through 1751, the most recent date for which the *South Carolina Gazette* is indexed, Heyward appears only twice. In 1750 he is listed as the individual "in Indian-Land" to which Granville County residents could pay their tax for the establishment of a pilot boat service in Port Royal harbor (*South Carolina Gazette*, October 1, 1750, p. 4). This suggests that he was considered trustworthy enough to collect and account for public funds. Later, in 1751, he is listed as an executor for Joseph Sealy (*South Carolina Gazette*, December 6, 1751, p. 3).[13]

Daniel had six children by his first wife, Mary Miles. Thomas, born in 1746 (died in 1809), was the eldest. Three died young — Nathaniel, born in 1748 died in 1753; Maria, born in 1749 also died young, but at an unknown date; Hester, born in 1751, died in 1753. Surviving siblings of Thomas were Daniel, born in 1750 (died in 1778) and William, born in 1753 (died in 1786). Mary died in May 1761, leaving her husband to care for three children — Thomas who was 15, Daniel who was 11, and William who was eight. Within two years the 43 year old Daniel Heyward married again, taking the 18 year old daughter of John and Mary Gignilliat, Jane Elizabeth, as his wife (Doscher n.d.:4; Heyward 1958:149). Gignilliat was the son of a French Huguenot and a planter in St. John Berkeley Parish (Heyward n.d. a:18; Bailey and Cooper 1981.262). By her he had another son, James, who was born in 1764 — about a year after their wedding. Nathaniel was born in 1766 (died in 1851) and Maria was born in 1767 (died in 1837).

Jane Elizabeth died in 1771 and almost exactly a year later in 1772 Daniel married the 24 year old Elizabeth Simons, daughter of Benjamin Simons of Charleston.[14] By her Daniel had two children, Elizabeth in 1773 (died 1780) and Benjamin, whose birth date is not known, but who died in 1796 (Heyward n.d. a:19; Heyward 1958:149). Elizabeth Heyward did not die until 1788.

Daniel Heyward was apparently an astute

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the First Continental Congress adopted an Association pledging non-commercial intercourse with Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West Indies (Wallace 1951:254-255).

[13] This was perhaps the father of a Joseph Sealy who, in 1754, received a memorial for 500 acres in Granville County on Euhaw Creek (S.C. Department of Archives and History, Auditor General Memorials, Series 2, volume 7, page 58).

[14] The *South Carolina Gazette* on September 12, 1771 announced that "Last Thursday Night, Col. Daniel Hayward, the greatest planter in this province, was married to Miss Elizabeth Simons, a daughter of Benj. Simons, Esq., late Commissary General."

businessman and planter. By 1757 he had acquired a town lot in Beaufort and 2,115 acres in Granville County (Rowland 1971:32). In 1770 he also purchased a two-story house and lot at 87 Church Street in Charleston belonging to John Milner, a gunsmith. He apparently had the existing house demolished and built the current three-story structure and at least some of the present dependencies (Figure 17). This later became the residence of his son, Thomas Heyward, Jr. (Anonymous 1949:6).[15]

By the time of his death in 1777 Daniel Heyward had managed to acquire 15,654 acres of land (Rowland 1971:32). Doscher reports that he acquired 16,078 acres of land, a Beaufort house, three Beaufort lots, stores and a lot at Cook's Landing on Okatie Creek, a house and lot in Charleston, and nearly a thousand slaves (Doscher n.d.. 2).

Daniel's will is described by Heyward (n.d. a:21) as "apparently lucid," but "abstruse" and this does seem to be a fair description of the seven page typescript document (Charleston County WPA Will Transcripts, vol. 17 (1774-1779), pp. 690-696; also reprinted in Heyward n.d. a:19-21). Besides the oblique remainder clauses, Daniel also did a relatively poor job of describing the various plantations. Nowhere, for example, does the will specifically mention "Old House" and he seems to have used the phrase, "my plantation" to describe several different properties (rather than exclusively using it for his primary seat). To confuse the matter more, the Heyward (n.d. a) transcription drops several key phrases and lines.

Nevertheless, a careful reading of the WPA transcript reveals that Daniel was diligent in ensuring that the property remain in the family,

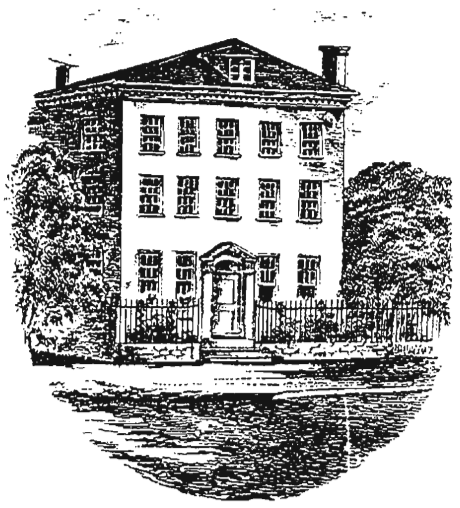

Figure 17. Engraving of the Thomas Heyward House (courtesy of The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina).

providing trusts for minor children, requiring that they inherit the property only if they achieved 21 and/or had heirs. He was successful at providing substantial estates to all of his male and female children, establishing a codicil in July 1777 to provide for his youngest son, Benjamin. He also distributed his five carpenter slaves to various children, seemingly ensuring that their special skills would be available to as wide a range of heirs as possible.

Thomas, as several researchers have pointed out, received only a single slave, Carpenter Squire, from his father's estate since Daniel had already established his son on adjacent White Hall Plantation.

It appears that Old House, which was referred to only as "that Tract of land and House where I now live" was devised to William along with its furniture, tools, utensils, stock, slaves, and other items, although in actuality William only had a life interest in the property. At his death, the land was to be divided between his lawful male heirs and the slaves and stock to be divided between his lawful male and female heirs. In case

[15] This structure is today known as the Heyward Washington House and is operated by The Charleston Museum. While the "Heyward" portion of the title denotes the house's ownership by Daniel and later Thomas, Washington was added to name to commemorate the residence of George Washington in 1791 during his trip through South Carolina (Anonymous 1949:9).

he should produce no heirs, the property would be divided between sons Thomas and Daniel.

In addition, although Daniel specified that his wife Elizabeth was to have a life trust in his Charleston house, as well as his 764½ acre plantation originally granted to Broughton; he also specified that she was to have use of Old House for "as long as my son Thomas may think the present Commotions make it necessary for her to live in the Country"[16] This suggests that Old House was either far more comfortable than the Broughton tract — a reasonable supposition considering that it was the family seat — or that it was further removed from the hostilities.

William was also to receive seven different tracts totalling 2,510⅓ acres in the Purrysburg Township, a 529 acre island tract, a quarter of the stores and lot at Cook's Landing on the Okatie, and seven named slaves.

While there is no appraisement for Daniel's estate, his son Daniel Heyward, Jr. died only a year after his father and an inventory and appraisement is available for his estate. Even after three years of warfare, Daniel's estate was valued at £ 21,820 currency,[17] of which £ 18,200 (83%) was invested in 40 African-American slaves (Rowland 1971.32). Clearly Daniel Heyward's wealth would have been many times that of his son.

This wealth was an indication of the well-being of the Beaufort area. As Rowland observes:

> the Port Royal area was experiencing the greatest prosperity and the greatest security it had ever known. The fortunes of the area were closely allied with those of the Georgia colony whose government may have been the most successful royal government in North America in the 1760's and 1770's. In addition, the most important members of the most influential family of the southern district were loyal servants of the royal government of South Carolina throughout the colonial period. Furthermore, the most important merchants of Beaufort were recently arrived Scots and well-known Torry sympathizers (Rowland 1971:66).

Old House During the American Revolution

As previously mentioned, Daniel Heyward was alive for the first three years of the American Revolution. Heyward notes that Daniel:

> was not in sympathy with the revolt by the Province of South Carolina against the English Government. Proud of what his father and he himself had accomplished in the American wilderness and without any Puritanical animosity to a monarchical form of government but attached by reason of his Cavalier tradition to the person of the King; he would have much preferred to see both business and politics righted without a complete severance from the Mother country (Heyward n.d. a:24).

In fact, even McCrady in his *History of South Carolina* reports that Daniel Heyward was a Tory (Heyward n.d. b: 17). While this certainly presents an interesting contrast to his son Thomas's fiery patriotism, it seems overstated. Rowland observes that it wasn't so much that the residents in the Beaufort - Port Royal area were Tories as it was that they simply weren't very committed to either side. He notes, "Their only real interest was the

[16] Since Elizabeth Heyward was buried in Charleston's St. Philip's Churchyard (Heyward 1958:150), it appears that she left Old House at least by the end of the Revolution.

[17] This equates to about $362,000 in 1992 dollars.

protection of their families and property from the depredations of war regardless of which army was operating in the district" (Rowland 1971.77).

There is also at least some circumstantial evidence that Daniel either aided, or at least tolerated, the Rebel cause. In the Accounts Audited of Claims Growing Out of the American Revolution, the Daniel Heyward estate produced bills and receipts in the amount of £ 110.9 7 sterling for provisions, including cattle, clean rice, and rough rice sold to local troops (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Accounts Audited, File 3567). Another claim was submitted by Daniel's widow, Elizabeth, for £ 54.0.4 sterling, also for provisions sold to local troops (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Accounts Audited, File 3568). The claims are also

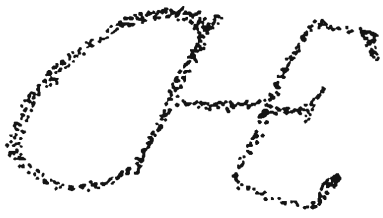

Figure 18. Daniel Heyward's cattle brand.

useful since they reveal the brand being used by Daniel Heyward on his cattle (Figure 18).[18]

Late in 1778 the British, controlling East Florida, began their movement into Georgia and South Carolina. Brigadier General Augustine Prevost captured Savannah and easily took control over the remainder of Georgia. As Lee comments, "The affections of the people were enlisted on the side of the conqueror, and our youth flocked to the British standard" (Lee 1869:120). This foothold allowed him to begin planning the invasion of South Carolina (Lipscomb 1974:23; Rowland 1971.70).

The first major thrust was at the battle of Port Royal on February 3, 1779 when a small band of British under Major Gardiner were defeated by General Moultrie and the local militia in their effort to take the island. Lipscomb comments that the battle was notable:

> for the role played by militia (General Moultrie said that there were only nine Continental soldiers in his entire army) and because two signers of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Heyward, Jr. and Edward Rutledge, played a decisive role as members of the Charleston battalion of artillery (Lipscomb 1974:23).

This victory, however, was tempered by the precipitous retreat of the garrison at Fort Lyttelton. Moultrie reported that, "the enemy had not more than 300 men when our people took fright, spiked up the guns, blew up the fort and ran away" (quoted in Rowland 1971.71). Because this essential defensive fortification was lost, Moultrie was forced to order the evacuation of Port Royal, essentially handing the eastern flank to Prevost and the British. The western flank was lost as a result of the Americans disastrous defeat at Brier Creek on March 3, 1779 (McCrady 1901:344-345; Rowland 1971.71).

This provided a corridor for Prevost to launch an attack of Charleston and on April 29 he crossed the Savannah at Purrysburg. General Benjamin Lincoln, in overall command of American troops, had already begun his campaign northward toward Augusta, hoping to distract the British. This left Moultrie with only a few hundred men, facing upwards of four thousand British troops. Understandably, Moultrie retreated, sending word to Lincoln as well as Lieutenant Governor Bee of South Carolina.

[18] As might be imagined, Thomas Heyward, Jr. also presented a claim — in the amount of £ 203.2.4 sterling. He, however, was apparently loaning funds to the Continental government during the war (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Account Audited, File 3571).

By May 1 Moultrie had moved his camp to Tullifiny Hill and with Thomas Heyward, Sr. began reconnoitering the area. On May 3rd Moultrie wrote that, "The enemy begins to destroy every thing before them: they have burnt the two Dupont houses, on the great swamp" (Moultrie 1802:395) and later that same day reported to Governor Rutledge:

> I am sorry to inform you, the enemy with parties of horse and Indians, are ravaging the country in a barbarous manner, killing people and burning a number of houses as they go on. I fancy them to be McGuth's; they have set fire to the houses of the two Dupont's, to Gignilliacks, and several other houses in that part of the country (Moultrie 1802:398).

Moultrie's retreat had been disastrous for other reasons as well. He wrote that his troops were quickly running away to look after their families. While his combined forces initially amounted to 1,200, by the time he eventually reached Charleston he carried with him only 600.

On May 3 Moultrie had decided to pull in his rear guard of about 350 men, under the command of Colonel John Laurens, and sent instructions to that effect. What happened next is matter of interpretation. Moultrie himself comments that Laurens acted "imprudently" by attacking rather than retreating. This resulted in the loss of additional men and required Moultrie to abandon his defensive position and continue retreating to Charleston (McCrady 1901:352-353; Moultrie 1802:402-403). Curiously, Lee comments that "Laurens executed his orders with zeal and gallantry" (Lee 1869:125).

With the return of Lincoln, Prevost retreated along the coastal islands back to Beaufort, where he established his command (Rowland 1971.76). The effect of this and the earlier Port Royal action, on the plantations in the vicinity is not well documented. A short account from Lewis' *Annals of the King's Royal Rifle Corps*[19] suggests that at least several plantations were raided:

> The vessels proceeding up Broad River anchored opposite the elegant house of General Bull on the island of Port Royal. Captain Murray was detached with his company up a navigable creek on the South side with orders to burn the plantations whose masters were absent. They landed at a plantation where the master was gone, and with much regret burnt the house of Colonel Heyward who with his sons appeared on horseback at the edge of the woods, when Captain Murray advanced and called on them to come forward and save the building. In answer to this, they fired at him and galloped off Captain Murray notwithstanding ordered all the furniture to be taken out, and took upon himself, to preserve the Overseer's house on account of the Ladies of the Family. Lieutenant Barron Breitenbacj went to an opposite plantation, whose master, having gout, the house was saved and nothing taken away. Two armed negroes of Colonel Heyward's came under the bank of the Creek skulking for a shot, but were hemmed in by Sergeant Birnie and two of the men to whom they surrendered. Tierce of indigo was brought off, but no plunder allowed from the

[19] Originally known as either the Royal Americans or the 60th Foot, these troops took the name King's Royal Rifle Corps in the nineteenth century.

house (Lewis 1913:311-313).[20]

Todd and Hutson (1935 77) reveal that Prevost's army during the April-May 1779 move against Charleston included 200 Royal Americans[21], so it is possible that the account is from this movement, rather than the earlier attack on Port Royal. It appears, however, that at least Prince William Parish, immediately east of St. Luke's where Old House is situated, was largely spared. The only major loss appears to be Sheldon Church (Todd and Hutson 1935·77).

One of the few maps from this period is in the Scavenius Collection at the Dartmouth College Library. It shows the Heyward property and the adjacent road network, but otherwise provides few details concerning the plantation or its organization (Figure 19).

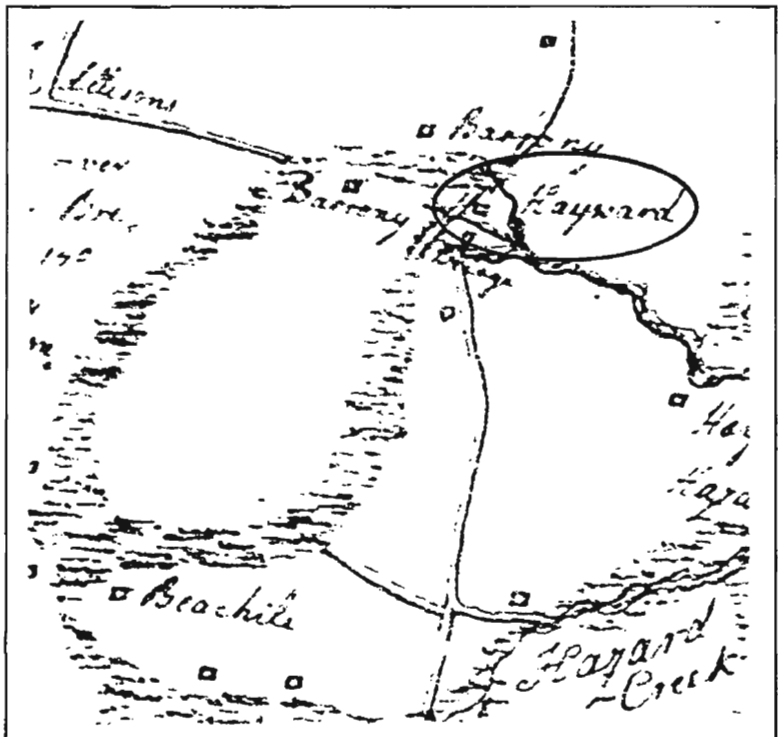

Figure 19. Heyward settlement shown on Revolutionary War era map.

A Brief Overview of Thomas Heyward, Jr.

As previously mentioned, Thomas was born on July 28, 1746 at Old House and apparently spent most of his youth in the area.[22] The earliest biography of Thomas, John Sanderson's *Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence*, notes that "at an early age" he was "placed at the best school in the province" where "the ancient languages were then diligently taught" (quoted in Doscher n.d.:5).

To prepare for his law study in England, Thomas read law and was a clerk in the Charleston law office of James Parsons in the 1760s. Edgar and Bailey report that Parsons was a highly successful lawyer and planter, accumulating over 22,000 acres in Granville, Colleton, and Craven counties as well as the backcountry of Carolina. He owned houses in both Charleston and also

[20] Some aspects of this story are repeated by Heyward, who reports:

> Also a story is told that during the Revolution when some British soldiers began raiding his corn fields he and two of his overseers took their guns and fired upon the soldiers, who retired. Later the soldiers returned with a full company and Daniel Heyward and his overseers beat a retreat. Apparently this was the end of the affair (Heyward n.d. a:18).

[21] Also present were between 1,300 and 1,500 Royal Scotch Highlanders, 500 to 700 Hessians, 200 troops in LeLancey's 1st and 16th, 900 troops from St. Augustine, 400 Light Horse, 120 Indians, and an unknown number of York volunteers.

[22] Daniel Heyward did not own a Charleston residence until 1770, but did own a Beaufort residence. It is likely that Thomas grew up either in the rustic setting of Old House or partaking of whatever genteel company was offered by Beaufort.

Jacksonboro. At his death in 1779 Parsons had an estate valued at nearly £ 2,000,000. He was also a staunch patriot and exceedingly active in local and state politics (Doscher n.d.:6-7; Edgar and Bailey 1977:508-509). Parsons was married to Susannah Miles, daughter of Jeremiah Miles, a St. Paul's Parish planter (Edgar and Bailey 1977·463-464). It may be that Daniel's first wife, Mary Miles was in some way related to Susannah — perhaps helping to establish the link between the two families.

Sent to England to finish his education, Thomas Heyward, Jr. was admitted to the Middle Temple, London on January 10, 1765 and was called to the bar by the Inn of Court on May 21, 1770. He apparently returned to Charleston by December of that same year and in 1771 applied to the South Carolina bar, where he was admitted to the Court of Chancery (Grimball n.d.:3-4). It was also in 1771 that Daniel gave Thomas the house at 87 Church Street in Charleston, as well as 1,210 acres of land in Granville and Colleton, part of which began White Hall Plantation.[23] He appears to have spent most of his time engaged in his law practice or immersed in political activities. As late as 1777 Daniel was handling Thomas' plantation (Ellen n.d..77).

In 1772 Thomas was elected as one the three members of the Commons House of Assembly from St. Helena's Parish, where he served until the assembly was dissolved by Lord Campbell, the last Royal governor, in 1775 (Edgar and Bailey 1977:323; Grimball n.d.:4).

Thomas' political activities, leading up to his signing of the Declaration of Independence, have been previously outlined at the beginning of this section. During this same period he also served as a captain in the Charleston Battalion of Artillery[24] and was wounded in the Port Royal engagement. After the fall of Charleston on May 12, 1780 he was initially paroled as a prisoner of war. Sir Henry Clinton recalled the paroles of many, including Heyward, sending them to prison. Thomas was exiled to St. Augustine where he was held until July 1781 when he was exchanged. Thomas's brothers Nathaniel and William were also captured, but allowed to return home. They were among the common troops, who according to one Britain:

> by capitulation are allowed to go home and plow the ground. There *only* they can be useful (quoted in Ellen n.d.. 131).

After returning to South Carolina in late 1781, he served as a member of the Jacksonboro legislature in January 1782. He continued to sit in the General Assembly through 1790, after which time he retired from political life to devote himself to family and plantation.

Thomas Heyward was more than simply a lawyer, judge, politician, and soldier. He was also one of the founders of the Agricultural Society of South Carolina and, in 1785, was elected its first president. He was also a member of the first Board of Trustees of the College of Charleston.

Retirement at White Hall may have suited Thomas and it seems clear that he spent little time away from the Beaufort area. During Washington's tour of South Carolina in 1791, he was lodged for seven days in early May at Heyward's house in Charleston. Lipscomb notes that, "Heyward in-law Rebecca Jamieson occupied the house in place of its absentee owner" (Lipscomb 1993:26). The night of May 11 found Washington lodged with Thomas Heyward, Jr. at White Hall Plantation (Lipscomb 1993:54).

[23] White Hall is situated about a mile to the east of Old House, adjacent to his father s Old House Plantation. Based on period maps, the surrounding historical events, and the remnant architecture, it is likely that White Hall was established in the 1770s. One of the best pieces of evidence is Thomas first son, David, was born at White Hall in 1774. Today only tabby foundation ruins remain. Unfortunately the site has not yet been placed on the National Register of Historic Places, although clearly it should be eligible at a National level of significance.

[24] This group is still in existence although today it is a social organization.

Thomas' retirement, however, was marred by a series of ugly inter-family disputes arising from Thomas' management of his father's trusts for the various children. This period in Thomas' life is handled in different ways by his various biographers. One, for example, notes:

> In Daniel's will, Thomas was trustee for the younger children. According to a descendant, he "managed the estate as if it had been his individual property, keeping few if any accounts." He was a good guardian in other ways, seeing to the education of the children and, it seems likely, being generous and loving to them. As each attained his majority he was faithfully given his bequest of land and slaves. But having kept no records, Thomas could give no account of the income from the various trusts, and the result was a series of lawsuits brought against him.
>
> Thomas's half-brother Nathaniel did not join the other wards in blaming him. Nathaniel said that the will was vague and, anyway, Thomas just wasn't much of a businessman (Ellen n.d.. 78).

Doscher (n.d.) provides a detailed explanation of the various cases which appear to revolve around William Brailsford, who married Maria Heyward, demanding that he was entitled to her share of the Heyward wealth, including all profits which might have accrued from her share of the estate. He also charged that other members of the Heyward family were unfairly given proceeds which should have been given to Maria. The case, which began in late 1797 extended to November 1804.

Thomas Heyward, Jr. died on April 17, 1809 "at his residence at White Hall." He was described simply as "the last survivor of the Delegates of this State, who signed the Declaration of Independence" (*South Carolina Gazette*, April 22, 1809).[25] He was buried next to his father, Daniel, in the Old House cemetery.

Old House in the Nineteenth Century

Just as there is little documentary evidence concerning activities on Old House after Daniel's death (and relatively few even before) the first half of the nineteenth century is nearly a void. Daniel Heyward's will specifies that William Heyward was to receive Old House and at least one source claims that William lived at the plantation (Ellen n.d.. 112). Heyward (1958:154-155) reports only that William married Hannah Shubrick on January 1, 1778, only a few months after inheriting Old House. Hannah was the daughter of Thomas Shubrick and Sarah Motte.

Shubrick began as a ship captain, entering into a mercantile business by 1739 By the 1750s he had become a "wealthy and eminent merchant" dealing primarily in agricultural and forest products (Edgar and Bailey 1977:609). He owned several plantations on the Cooper River, but settled at a plantation in St. Philip Parish. Shubrick was also active in local politics, as well as serving in the Royal Assembly and eventually the Provincial Congress and First General Assembly. Hannah was his youngest daughter and it seems likely that she and William met through the political and business connections of the Heywards and Shubricks, possibly in the Jacksonboro area.

William had five children, four of which lived to maturity. His eldest son was William, born in 1779, almost exactly a year after the marriage of William and Hannah. His only other son was James, about whom little is known (Heyward 1958:155).

Reference back to Daniel Heyward's will reminds us that Old House was left to William as

[25] Edgar and Bailey (1977:324) report that Thomas died on April 22, but this seems to be in error, since the newspaper of that date reports he died five days earlier. It seems likely that the news would take about that long to reach Charleston from Beaufort.

a life trust, to be passed on to his male heirs at William's death. William Heyward died in 1786 and was buried at Old House. His son, William, Jr. was only seven years old at his father's death and Heyward (1958.155) reports that Hannah retired to Charleston where she built "a handsome residence on Legare Street."

Although young William appears to have strong connections with New York, marrying Sarah Cruger there in 1804, he was clearly living at Old House in the 1820s when the area was visited by the outspoken Mrs. Basil Hall. Mrs. Hall had visited the Nathaniel Heyward Plantation on March 8 and two days later arrived at Old House, described as being 10½ miles from Coosawhatchie. She reported:

> On leaving Mr. Nathaniel Hayward's this morning, he gave us a letter for his relation, Mr. William Hayward, whose house, he said, was a good distance for a day's journey, and that the owner would be most happy to receive us. Accordingly, on we came, altho' at Coosawhatchie we were told that Mr. Hayward was from home. However, by the time we reached his gate it was half past five o'clock and there was no place where we could put up, short of nine miles further on, which would have obliged us to travel in the dark, so we boldly drove up to the door. The servant told us that his master was from home but that he could with ease accommodate us for the night. This was too hospitable to be rejected, so we had our things taken out of the carriage, walked in, had fires lighted in the sitting room and two bedrooms, and in half an hour were as much at home as if we had lived all our lives in South Carolina. But only imagine our luck and our delight in finding ourselves in full possession of a gentleman's establishment without the *gêne* of the company of the gentleman himself! . Dick, the head servant, had given us tea and is to give us breakfast to-marrow before we start for Savannah.
> We left Mr. William Hayward's after an excellent breakfast on the morning of the twelfth. We found our rooms most comfortable and the servants as attentive as if their master had been at home (Pope-Hennessy 1931.223-225).

Clearly William Heyward, Jr. was the resident, and probably owner, of Old House in the 1820s. In 1830 William Heyward apparently donated the land in Grahamville[26] on which the Episcopal church, Holy Trinity, was built (South Carolina Historical Society, Grahamville File, 30-8-162). His younger brother, James, was buried at Old House in 1805 and in 1845 William, too, was laid to rest in the family graveyard. It is about this time, however, that the connection between Old House and the Heyward family begins to dim. While additional research will certainly help us understand this period better, the loss of Beaufort County records confuses the history of Old House.

One possible explanation is that the Heywards simply "drifted away" from Old House. Although the plantation is not shown on Mills' 1825 Atlas, the nearby bridge over the headwaters of Hazards Back Creek is called "Hayward's Bridge," and White Hall Plantation is shown nearby (Figure 20). While this may suggest the gradual decline in Old House's prominence, it is important to remember that only subscribers are shown on Mills' atlas.

[26] Grahamville was a summer village for the rice planters in the Euhaws section of St. Luke's Parish which began at least by the early antebellum. Today Grahamville and Ridgeland "are physically separated by only a fraction of a mile, by a small stream harnessed into culverts, and by a negro section, "Liberia" (South Carolina Historical Society, Grahamville file, 30-8-162).

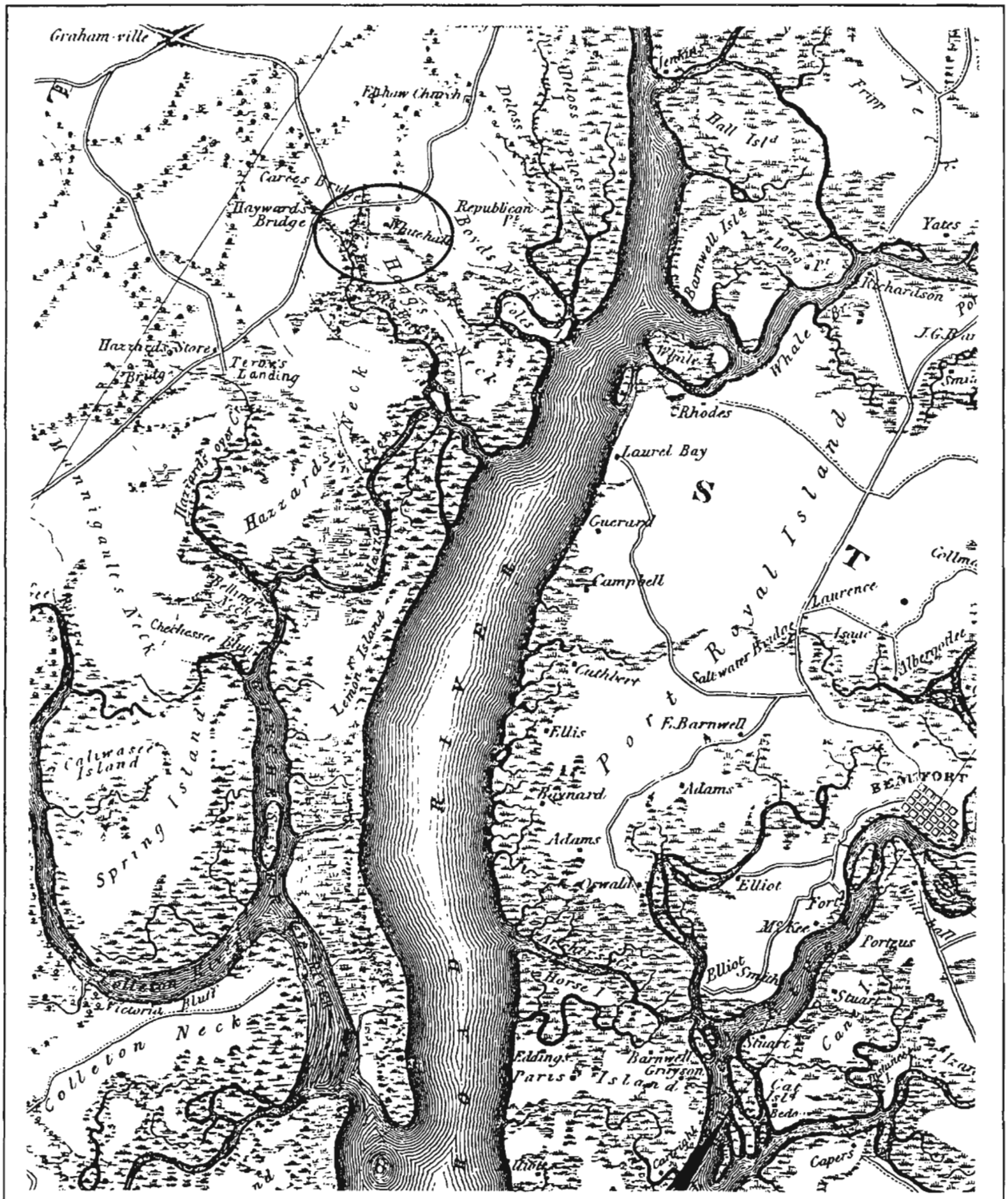

Figure 20. Mills' Atlas for Beaufort District, showing the vicinity of Daniel Heyward's Old House settlement in the 1820s.

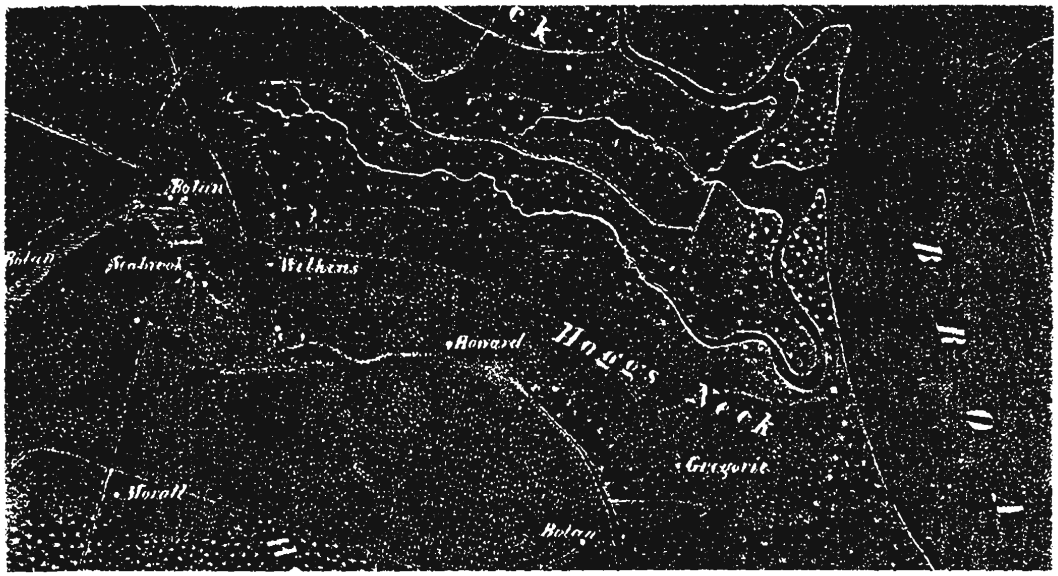

Figure 21. Bolan settlement shown on the 1865 "Map of the Rebel Lines of the Pocotaligo, Combahee and Ashepoo, South Carolina."

By at least 1860, around 15 years after the death of William Heyward, Jr, the plantation was owned by James Bolan, a wealthy Beaufort area planter about whom very little is known. He appears in the federal census records for Beaufort County from 1820 through 1850. He also purchased a house and lot on King Street in Charleston from George Cox in 1828 (Charleston County RMC, DB W9, p. 217). Earlier, in 1817, he had purchased Parkers Ferry from Adam Tunno (Charleston County RMC, DB U8, p. 353). In 1855 Bolan apparently donated the funds to allow the Episcopal chapel in Grahamville to expand (South Carolina Historical Society, Grahamville File, 30-8-162).

The 1850 Agricultural Schedule for St. Luke's Parish reveals that he owned 11,000 acres valued at $55,000, of which 3,000 was improved. His plantations had $2,500 in machinery and $7,000 in livestock, including 20 horses, 18 mules, 200 milch cows, 46 oxen, 310 cattle, 145 sheep, and 100 swine. His St. Luke's plantations produced 2,400 bushels of corn, 1,000 bushels of oaks, 276,000 pounds of rice, 100 bales of cotton, 300 pounds of wool, 1,000 bushels of peas and beans, 1,200 bushels of sweet potatoes, 400 pounds of butter, and 30 gallons of molasses. This listing of agricultural products places him among the more wealthy Beaufort area planters.

Several maps reveal Bolan's settlement was at Old House. The earliest identified is the "Map of the Rebel Lines of the Pocotaligo, Combahee and Ashepoo, South Carolina" prepared in 1865 (Figure 21). As late as 1873 Bolan is still shown on a map of Beaufort County (Figure 22).

Bolan died in 1865 and while his will apparently does not survive, at least some administrative papers are extant (Beaufort County Probate Court, Admin B-4).[27] Three executors were named — one died before Bolan and one was disqualified, leaving Thomas S. Behn as the sole

[27] Bolan is reported to have died and been buried in Barnwell, South Carolina (South Carolina Historical Society, Grahamville file, 30-8-162). It may be that his will and other administrative documents are present in that county's records. However, Wofford Malphrus (personal communication 1996) reports that, in fact, James Bolan's tombstone is at the Bolan Grave Yard at Bolan Hall, only a few miles south of Old House. Also present in the grave yard are the stones for James's two wives, mother and father, and several children.

executor Records reveal that Bolan's plantations included at least Old House, Bellfield, Preference, and Good Hope. Behn, in March 1871, paid O.P Law for a survey of these tracts, although the resulting plat has not been located.

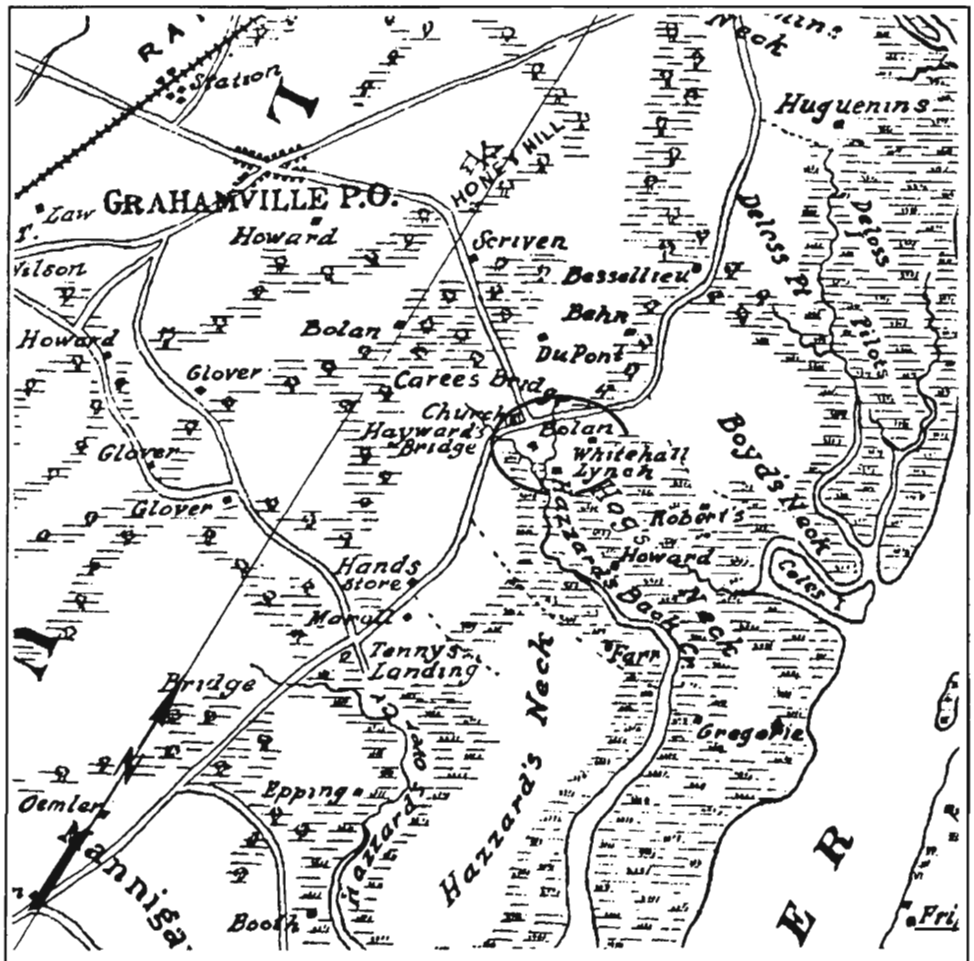

Figure 22. As late as 1875 Bolan was still being shown as the owner of the Old House tract southeast of Grahamville in Beaufort District.

Although Behn attempted to settle the estate, it eventually had to be partitioned by an auction ordered by the Court of Common Pleas in 1873. He rented Old House to a variety of individuals. The few remaining records reveal that in 1868 it was rented, along with Preference, to J.M. Farris for $76. In 1871 it was rented to Joseph Roctiussid, again with Preference, for $130. By 1873 Old House and Preference were renting for only $58, suggesting that the property was largely unimproved.

On January 5, 1874 Charles J.C. Hutson, Referee, sold Old House and Preference to Thomas E. Miller. The recital reveals that the property was:

> bounded north by lands of the estate of James Bolan west by the same South by the same and by Hazzards Back Creek and east by the Honey Hill Road, containing 895 acres and commonly known as "Old House" and "Preference" (Beaufort County RMC, DB 8, p. 285).

The deed also references a plat "hereto annexed and made by Oliver P Law on the 3rd May of February 1871" — the same one paid for by Behn which is today missing.

In 1895 Miller sold a 35 acre tract called "Old House" to William Jenkins for $335. Curiously, the deed specifically withheld rights to the cemetery, with Miller noting, "I do not convey the Heyward Grave Yard by these presents" (Beaufort County RMC, DB 21, p. 34).

Jenkins held the tract until 1902, when he sold the 35 acres, "commonly known as Old

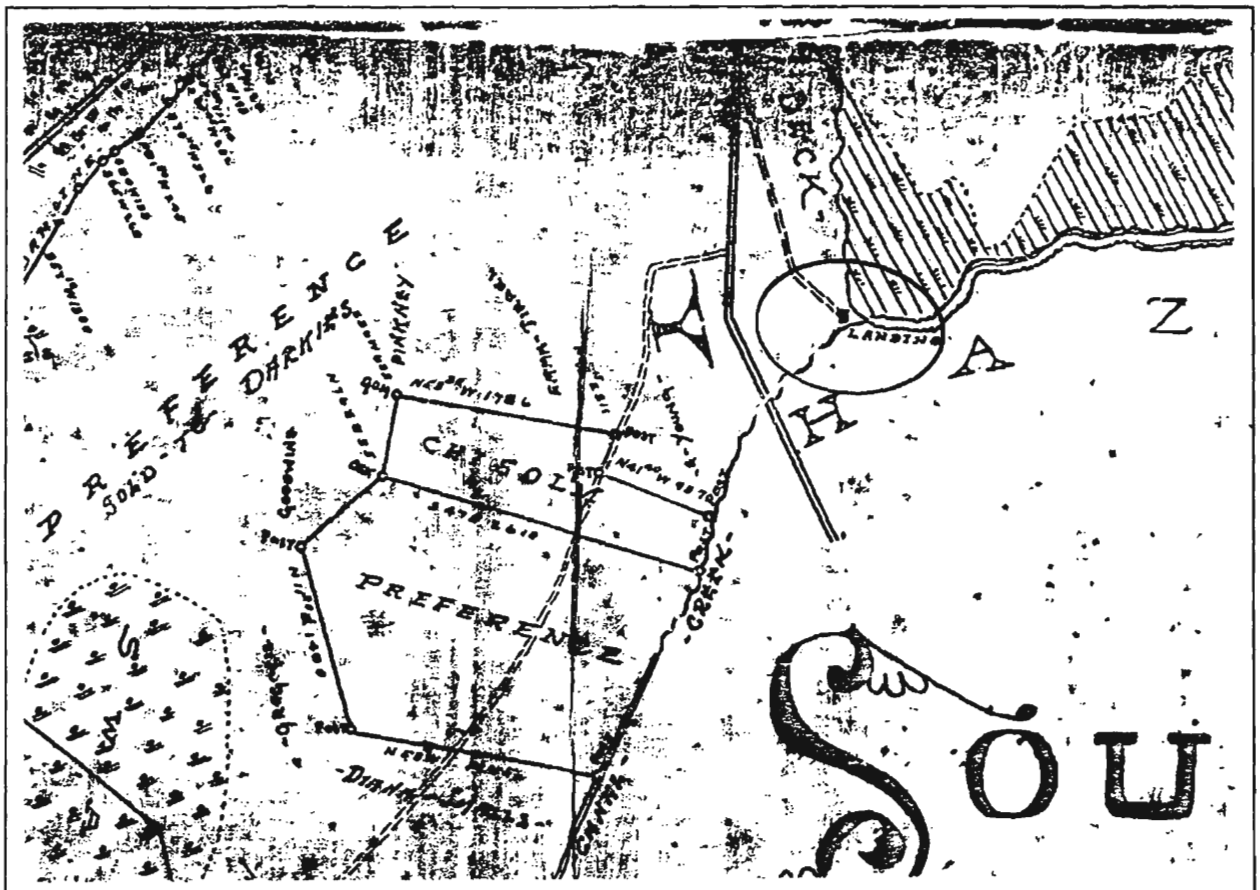

Figure 23. Portion of the Good Hope plat showing the vicinity of the Old House landing.

House," to Camilia L. Beck for $800. The recitals trace the tract back to the sale by Hutson to Miller. The tract is described as:

> bounded to the north and east by Old Store Plantation, on the southeast and south by Strawberry Hill Plantation belonging to Benjamin W Seabrook and the west by Eusaw Road; excepting from the conveyance the Heyward Grave Yard (Beaufort County RMC, DB 24, p. 449).

It was during this time that the next map of Old House is available. "A Map of the Good Hope Club Lands," totalling 13,404 acres, was prepared in 1910 for W.R. Mew (Beaufort County PB 2, p. 16). While Old House is not part of the Good Hope holdings, its location between the two branches of Hazard Back Creek is clearly shown (Figure 23). In this location is shown the avenue leading from the main road, as well as a "landing" on the bluff edge. To the southeast is the location of Preference, which by this time the plat notes was "Sold to Darkies."

In 1914 Old House was again sold, this time by the heirs of Camilia Beck (Mrs. J. Williman of Charleston and Arthur R. Beck and Joe Beck of Georgia) to Tyler L. Smith for $300, representing a rather substantial loss (Charleston County DB D-1, p. 461). Curiously, there is no longer any mention of the Heyward Grave Yard in the deed.

By 1921 Tyler Smith had died and Old House along with his other lands were devised to

his wife, Anna A. Smith (Jasper County Probate Court, Will Book 1, pp. 131-132). Within a year and a half, on May 26, 1922, Anna Smith sold the 35 acre Old House tract, along with 6 acres in Coosawhatchie Township to Augustus Bartow Cannon for $3,600 (Jasper County RMC, DB 5, p. 242).

Cannon, of Lacoochee, Florida, sold Old House to Harry B. Cooler, Sr. in 1930 for $3,500 (Jasper County RMC, DB 10, p. 274). The only map dating from this period is the 1937 "General Highway and Transportation Map for Jasper

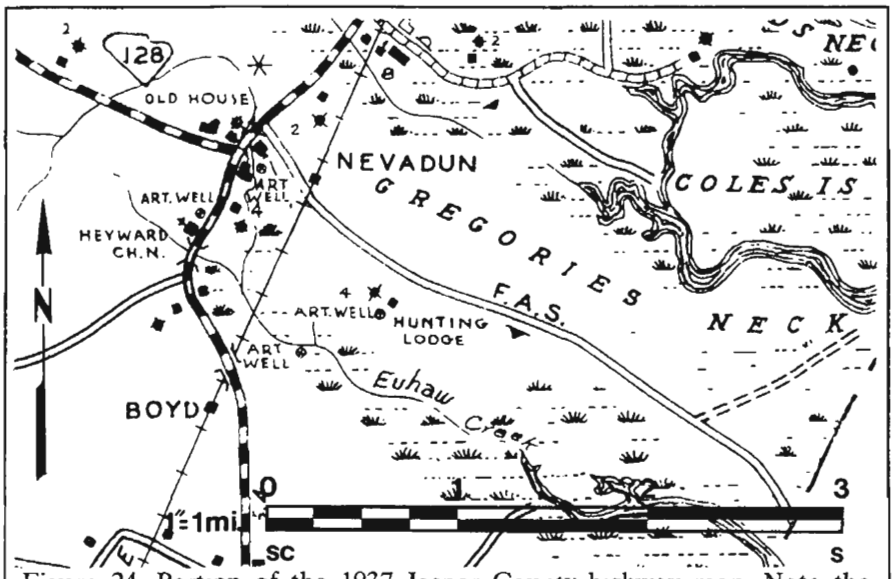

Figure 24. Portion of the 1937 Jasper County highway map. Note the number of artesian wells in the area.

County" (Figure 24). This map suggests that no buildings or other structures were present in the Old House area, confirming the earlier 1910 plat. The Heyward influence, however, is still present in the African-American "Heyward Church" located on the west side of S.C. 170 not far from Old House.

Cooler died on October 19, 1968 (Jasper County Probate Court, Will Book 2, pp. 21-22). A plat, dividing Cooler's 50.3 acres into four separate tracts had been prepared in 1963 and was attached to the will (Jasper County RMC, PB 12, p. 490; reproduced here as Figure 25). Cooler's will devised the Old House site, identified as Tract 2, to his son, Harry B. Cooler, Jr. Tracts 1 and 4 (which included the Cooler Store) were devised to Edward Thomas Cooler, while Tract 3 was passed to James Everett Cooler.

In 1973 Harry Cooler, Jr. gave The Heyward Foundation an option to purchase Tract 2 of his father's will in February 1973 (Jasper County RMC, DB 70, p. 173). This option was exercised on December 20, 1973 and the deed was re-recorded on January 11, 1974 (Jasper County RMC, DB 71, p. 359a, 398). In 1980 The Heyward Foundation sold the 3.4 acres of high ground and 10 acres of marsh to Jasper County (Jasper County RMC, DB 81, p. 1282). The deed rather ambiguously specifies that the county

> shall have full right to manage and develop the property hereby conveyed in such manner as said County may deem best suited, or most likely, to preserve same as a memorial to said Thomas Heyward, Jr. and, as such, for the benefit of the public in general and particularly the people of his native State; provided, however, the family grave plot on said property in which Thomas Heyward, Jr., his father and others are buried, shall be forever preserved and maintained (Jasper County RMC, DB 81, p. 1283).

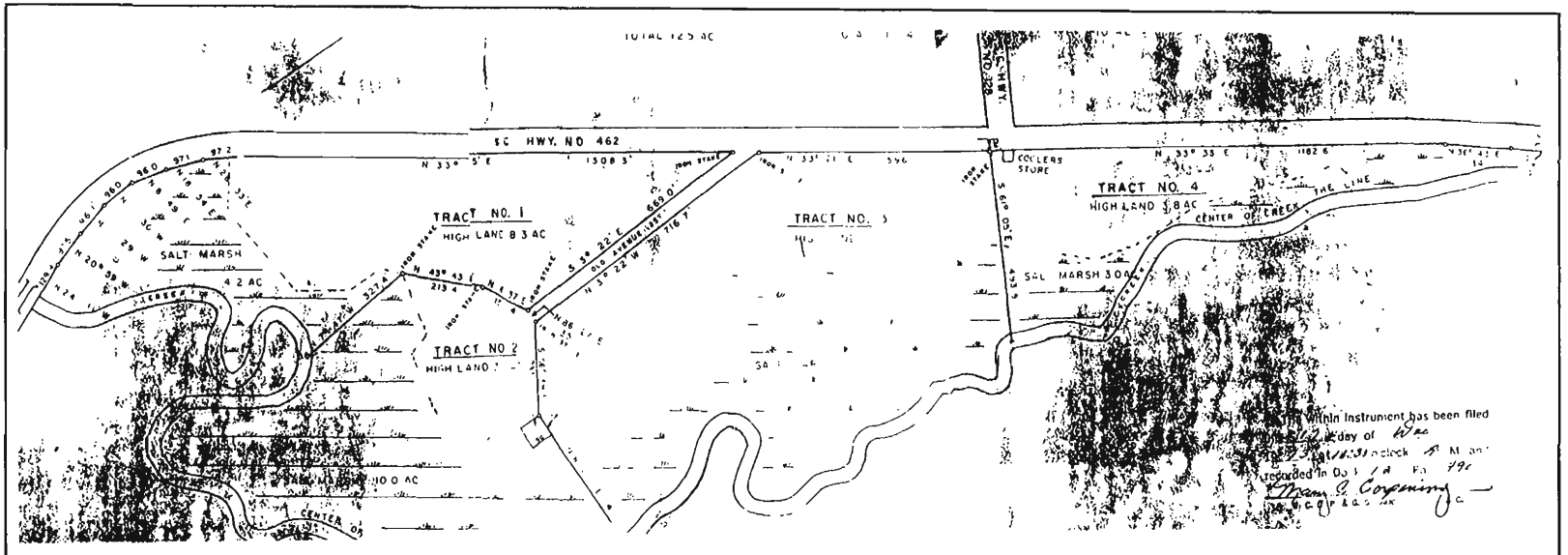

Figure 25 Portion of the Cooler plat of Old House, showing Tract 2 and the cemetery on the edge of Euhaw Creek

Summary

This historical overview has explored a broad range of issues associated with Old House, identifying the original Royal grant of the property to Thomas Heyward and tracing it through the subsequent ownership of Daniel Heyward, William Heyward, and William Heyward, Jr. Although there is a slight gap in the early nineteenth century, we can clearly show its eventual ownershipin the late antebellum by James Bolan.

During the first hundred years or so of ownership, the historical documents provide almost no indication of the actual activities which took place on the property There are no plantation account books, no detailed plats, and no letters exploring daily activities or events. Although there is a fair amount of genealogical information, there is almost no information capable of reconstructing the industrial, agricultural, or social activities of either the owners or the African-American slaves at Old House. In fact, there is even controversy concerning when Daniel settled Old House. Most family histories use the date of 1740. We, however, suggest that the plantation wasn't settled until at least 1743, since it seems unlikely that Daniel would have left the Charleston area before his father's will was proved. Regardless, even this simple fact is in question.

At the present time we have no clear idea of the plantation landscape — how buildings were organized, where different activities took place, or even what structures might be present. We have few clues regarding the location of settlement areas, such as where the slaves or overseer lived during the history of the tract.[28]

While our efforts have been hindered by the loss of Beaufort records, the near total absence of information is especially surprising considering the owners of Old House were among the wealthiest and most politically influential in South Carolina.

The Civil War years and postbellum are equally as vague. Although a complete chain of title can be reconstructed using records spanning Charleston, Beaufort, and Jasper counties, we still have virtually no information concerning any of the activities which may have taken place at the site. While it is likely that the property, in the post-bellum, was rented out for tenant farming, there is relatively little support for this supposition.

Additional historical research is necessary, but this initial overview explored essentially all of the sources which are readily accessible and likely to produce a quick return on the invested time. Additional research is more likely to be a slow process, with only "bits and pieces" becoming obvious as additional effort is expended. Nevertheless, the South Caroliniana Library holds the Duncan Clinch Heyward collections with documents dating to 1714 which are worthy of careful review. The Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill has a microfilm collection of plantation records from Nathaniel Heyward which may include at least some information concerning Old House.

Synthesis of Previous Archaeological Investigation of Eighteenth Century Carolina Plantations

One of the few syntheses of eighteenth century plantation archaeology for the South Carolina lowcountry is provided by Adams (1995). She reviews a broad range of projects, primarily from the Charleston area, but incorporating studies from the Beaufort region as well. Both main settlements and also slave rows were examined.

[28] One clue is provided by Wofford Malphrus (personal communication 1996), whose father worked at Good Hope Plantation from 1929 until his death in 1964. During this time, there were some "small and very old shacks just opposite the entrance to Old House," which may have been part of the slave settlement. In addition, Mr. Malphrus also reports that Thomas Heyward's slaves were members of the old Euhaw Baptist Church, which was located at the headwaters of Boyd's Creek about 4 miles north of Old House. These church records, which provide the names of the slaves, are available at the Beaufort County Library and date back to the early 1800s. Mr. Malphrus notes that while Thomas Heyward was Episcopalian, his slaves were all apparently Baptist.

She notes that archaeologists are often limited by funds and time, so that only small portions of many settlements are actually investigated. Consequently, it shouldn't surprise us that we have such an incomplete understanding of what actually comprises the "typical" eighteenth century plantation. In general archaeologists have focused on structural remains, often ignoring other aspects of plantation settlements, such as how the various structures relate to one another on the landscape, or the place of road networks, fencelines, or plantings in the plantation.

In addition, its seems that archaeologists have done very little towards interpreting how the black and white world interfaced, through the locations of these roads, fencelines, buildings, or other landscape features and how their location helped to control the vision of the plantation that the planter wanted to present to his peers (see, for example, Upton 1988). However, this may not necessarily be the fault of archaeology, but rather the nature of compliance archaeology in South Carolina where archaeologists frequently see too little of the site during a too brief investigation.

Most of the main house excavations Adams explored did not focus directly on main house architectural remains, but rather refuse dumps, outbuildings, or landscape features. As a result, Stoney's (1989) work continues to stand as the authoritative examination of eighteenth century main house architectural design, particularly for the final stage of main house architecture representing the planters economic stability. We still know very little about what the earlier houses looked like. Our best archaeological clue comes from Green Grove plantation (built between 1714 and 1738, see Carrillo 1980), where a two room rectangular house with end chimneys was uncovered measuring 16 by 32 feet. Studies of colonial North Carolina architecture suggest that this is a very common configuration for early houses, known as the simple two room plan. Such a basic plan was used for the Newbold-White house, built circa 1700 in North Carolina (Lane 1985.15).

These excavations reveal that brick was easily accessible in the Charleston area, mainly because many plantations had brick kilns or had neighbors with brick kilns. Even on Kiawah Island which had no nearby clay source, the earliest main house complex at Stanyarne Plantation had buildings with either brick piers or continuous brick foundations (Adams 1994). This is in sharp contrast to plantations in the Beaufort area where brick was almost unknown, and tabby[29] was the primary masonry. The only building which clearly had no brick in its construction was the garden or specialized slave house at Lesesne Plantation which contained a post and trench foundation. Given the suspected low status of the occupant this is not surprising, even though the structure is within the sphere of greatest planter control (see Zierden et al. 1986). Other studies of low status planters (see, for example Trinkley and Hacker 1996) suggest that even where brick was accessible, it might be only sparingly used if the owner was of modest means.

Combining the results of these studies, indicates that a main house complex might contain not only a main house, but a kitchen, administrative building (or office), carriage house, privy, orangeries (or greenhouses), a slave hospital, house slaves' quarters or housing for slaves with specialized skill. Unfortunately, the existence of these types of support structures has already been well documented (see, for example, Vlach 1993). What might be more interesting is how these structures spatially related to each other, since there are few if any extant plantations that have not been spatially modified since the early to mid-eighteenth century.

Part of the problem is that there has been so little work on entire plantations that it is difficult to know what to expect. In fact, archaeologists at this juncture cannot even realistically predict what artifact patterns might be expected at different types of structures.

[29] Tabby is a mixture of lime, burnt oyster shells, sand, and water which is made as a slurry and poured into form boards. Once a layer dries, the forms are raised and another layer is poured, until the wall reaches its full height.

Beyond the more tangible structures, there are a whole range of buildings or features which are primarily associated with gardens or landscape settings (see Trinkley et al. 1992). There is even less known about these than there is about the more common plantation buildings.

The archaeological studies, then, must be taken as a whole to describe the architectural and archaeological profile of main house complexes in the eighteenth century This is unfortunate since it does not allow us to note patterns, changes, or variability in building styles, main house complex make-up or organization, or economic position changes through time.

Because slave houses are small and relatively simple, it seems (perhaps incorrectly) that we know more about slave life. We know that the houses during this period were often small and relatively ephemeral, being constructed using impermanent materials. Yet some work, such as that at the Crowfield slave village, suggests the range of slave houses might be much greater than anticipated.

We know that slaves used a lot more Colono ware than planters and that the European ceramics they had were either inexpensive or second hand. Yet, we often cannot distinguish Colono ware from Native American pottery, leaving unanswered nagging questions concerning the potters and the interaction between blacks, whites, and Indians. There is also evidence that the assemblages of eighteenth slave settlements may not be much different from those of small planters during the same time period (see Trinkley and Hacker 1996).

Obviously, a slave's yard was not as extensive as the main house complex where there were a number of outbuildings (e.g. offices, kitchens, carriage houses, etc.), however, we should not assume that by excavating a slave site using methods we have used in the past, that we will retrieve all the information that the site can provide. Clearly this is not the case, since most of the eighteenth century slave settlements thus far examined have been excavated using mechanical stripping. Slaves likely did a lot of their living in their yards and tightly controlled yard excavations have the potential to yield significant information about how bondsmen and women used their yard spaces.

The mechanical stripping of the sites emphasizes just how limited our comparative data is, since most of the artifacts are pushed aside during stripping. In addition, we do not know very much about the diet of eighteenth century slaves because of mechanical stripping. A number of historic and prehistoric plowzone sites have produced respectable amounts of animal bone and it should not be automatically assumed that these sites will not produce this type of information.

Sites such as Old House may have the ability to address a number of significant questions, including those focused on the use of the main settlement landscape, the evolution of eighteenth century architectural styles, the range of plantation activities, and the nature of industrial sites on plantation settlements. Old House may also be able to help us better understand the range of status as it is reflected in archaeological assemblages. Old House may help us better understand how wealthy and influential planters on the Beaufort frontier lived during the eighteenth century and how their status compares to the very wealthy planters on the outskirts of Charleston.

THE HEYWARD GRAVE YARD

Introduction

This section of our study will examine both the genealogy of those buried at the Old House or Heyward Grave Yard and the history of the grave yard itself. We will strive to both explain who was buried at Old House, why they were interred at the site, and also what has happened to the site over the past several hundred years.

Although the grave yard is part of the Old House archaeological site we have chosen to treat it separately, and in considerable detail. At the conclusion of this section we also offer general recommendations regarding the preservation of the grave yard.

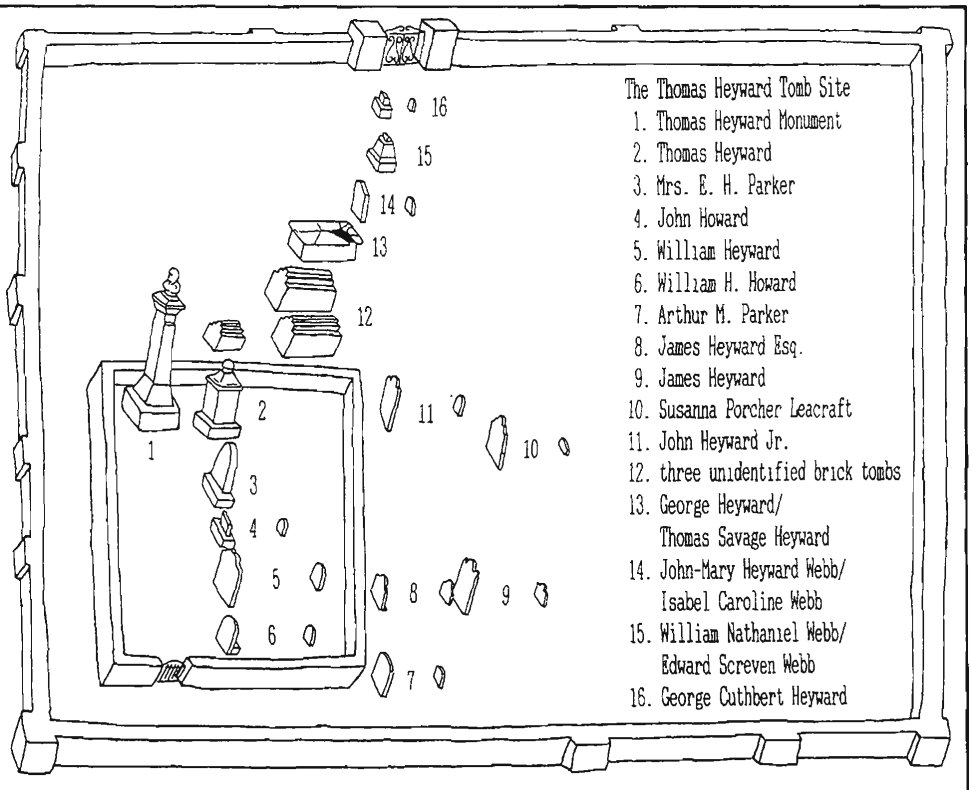

Figure 26. Schematic view of the Heyward Grave Yard (courtesy of the S.C. Department of Parks, Recretation, and Tourism).

No detailed plan of the grave yard has been conducted since we understand that one was prepared by a Historic Preservation class from the Savannah College of Art and Design. The Heyward Foundation should aggressively pursue obtaining a copy of this plan. Likewise, no detailed stone by stone inventory has been conducted since there are several widely available. The most accessible is likely Glover's (1940) listing, although it does contain some minor errors and omissions. A sheet which provides the inscriptions and a schematic drawing of the grave yard (Figure 26) has been prepared by the S.C. Department of Parks, Recreation, and Tourism and is in fairly wide circulation. This agency has also assembled considerable genealogical information concerning the individuals buried at Old House (Danile J. Bell, personal communication 1996). Another transcription of the stones is provided by Barnwell Rhett Heyward (1896) under the notation, "Tombstone inscriptions in family burial ground at

'Old House.' Destroyed since Civil War." As will become clear later in these discussions, it is certain he meant that the house, and not the stones, was destroyed since the Civil War. His account also differs from others in some significant ways. These discussions will draw heavily from these previous sources.

The grave yard, described in a following section, includes two enclosures, one inside the other. The innermost walls enclose five marked graves, while the outer wall encloses 12 additional marked graves (Figures 27 and 28). It is likely, however, that additional graves are located inside both walls.

The People and Their Stones

The Inner Enclosure

Within the inner enclosure are five marked graves — those of Thomas Heyward, Jr., Mrs. E.H. Parker, John Howard, William Heyward,- and William H. Howard. In addition, the Thomas Heyward, Jr. monument has also been placed within this enclosure.

Thomas Heyward, Jr.

The tombstone is inscribed: In Memory / of / Thomas Heyward Esqr. / who departed this life / the 17th. April 1809 / Aged 62 Years. The monument is slightly damaged and the finial decoration appears to be simply resting on the top of the pedestal. Several sources comment that it was damaged by a "falling tree," although when the accident occurred isn't clear. The photographs by R.C. Ballard Thurston reveal that the damage had been done by 1924, although yet more damage was done afterwards.

Heyward provides an essentially identical transcription, although he inserts an "of" between 17th and April. More curiously, he notes that, "This is the oak monument erected to the memory of Thomas Heyward, Jr." (Heyward 1896:14). While this may be a reference to an earlier wooden monument, it seems more likely that it was a reference to the style or appearance of the monument, perhaps a reference to the decorative finial on the monument.

As son of Daniel Heyward, owner of Old House, and trustee for William, to whom Daniel left the plantation, his burial in the family cemetery is understandable. Since Thomas died at his adjacent White Hall Plantation toward the end of the spring it is also unlikely that his body could have been easily transported to Charleston.

Mrs. E. H. Parker

The tombstone reads: MRS. E. H. PARKER, / DIED 3RD MARCH 1854, / AGED 59 YEARS, 4 MONTHS, / ONE DAY / "BLESSED ARE THE DEAD / WHICH DIE IN THE LORD / FROM HENCEFORTH: / YEA, SAITH THE SPIRIT, / THAT THEY MAY REST FROM / THEIR LABOURS; AND THEIR / WORKS DO FOLLOW THEM." Heyward's transcription is essentially the same, although he adds "Sacred to the Memory of" at the beginning of the stone (Heyward 1896:14). This is also one of the more elaborate stones in the grave yard, with numerous flowers (predominately local ornamentals) engraved in the stone.

Mrs. Parker was Elizabeth Savage Heyward, the youngest child of Thomas Heyward and his second wife, Elizabeth Savage. She married Henry Middleton Parker and apparently lived in nearly Grahamville. Her blood connection and death close to Old House were likely sufficient to have her included in the grave yard. It is also possible that as Heyward's youngest daughter he had a special place in his heart for her.

John Howard

The stone, which is today broken, originally read: [Sacred / To the Memory / of / John / Infant Son of / Wm. C. and Elizabeth S. / Howard. / Born 18th March 1854] / Died 1st July 1855. / W T White. The portion broken (in brackets) was transcribed by Glover, so the damage post-dates 1940. The upper part of the stone is missing. A portion of this stone is shown in a ca. 1960 photograph, so it may eventually be possible to create a replacement, should this be desired. The foot stone is still present and is engraved:

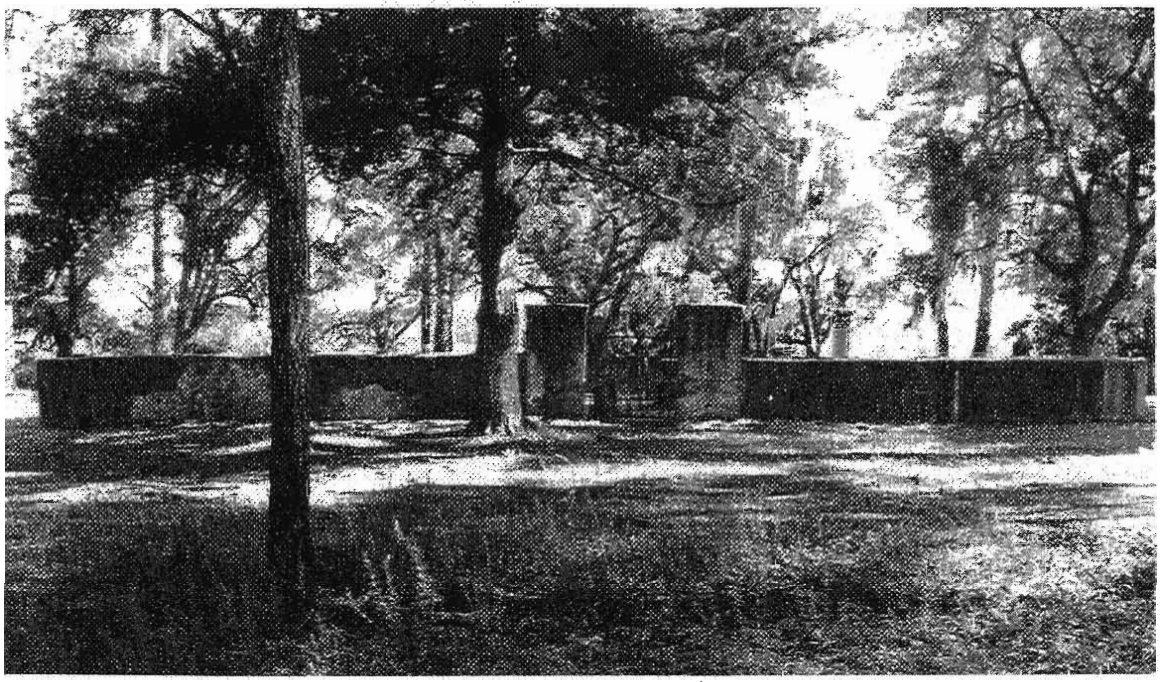

Figure 27. View of the outer grave yard wall and gate, looking south.

Figure 28. View of the graves within the inner grave yard wall, view to the northeast.

John. / 1855.

Elizabeth Savage Parker was a daughter of Henry Middleton Parker and Elizabeth Savage Heyward Parker (Mrs. E.H. Parker discussed above). Elizabeth Savage Parker married William Carr Howard of Beaufort on October 30, 1839 Their child, John Howard, would have been a grandson of Mrs. E. H. Parker and a great-grandson of Thomas Heyward, Jr.

William Heyward

The headstone is intact and is inscribed: In Memory of / William Heyward Esqr. / who died / September 26, 1786. / Aged 33 Years. A footstone is inscribed simply W.H. Heyward indicates essentially the same information, rephrasing the third and fourth lines to: Who died the 26th day of / September 1786 (Heyward 1896:14).

This is the grave of the William Heyward who inherited Old House from Daniel in 1777. He is reported to have lived at Old House and to have died on the plantation. Curiously, his is the only stone within this inner wall which faces east — all of the others face west. Those outside the inner wall all face west, consistent with the William Heyward stone. This leads to the speculation that the other stones within the inner walls were reset to be readable from outside the walls.

William H. Howard

The headstone is inscribed: SACRED / To the Memory of / WILLIAM H. HOWARD / Born / The 11th November 1842. / Died / The 31st August 1858. The footstone is inscribed: W.H.H. / 1856.

William was another child of William Carr Howard and Elizabeth Savage Parker Howard, making him a grandson of Mrs. E. H. Parker and a great-grandson of Thomas Heyward, Jr. An obituary indicated that he died at his parents' residence in nearby Grahamville (*Charleston Daily Courier*, September 4, 1856).

Summary

The marked graves found within the inner wall represent an interesting mix of dates and relationships. The earliest grave is that of William Heyward in 1786 and the most recent is that of William H. Howard in 1856. In a similar fashion, the graves include representatives of three generations and three nuclear families. Three are of adults and two are children. With the exception of William Heyward, all of them are associated with the Thomas Heyward, Jr. lineage (Figure 29). Most importantly, however, all are closely related to Thomas Heyward, Jr. Those present included brother William, who lived at Old House, Thomas' only daughter, Elizabeth, and several of her offspring. The most obvious conclusion is that Thomas was especially fond of Elizabeth. It is also possible that this inner enclosure represents a very late addition to the cemetery, constructed to help establish the importance of the Parker and Howard lines. The evidence presented in the following section tends to support this contention.

The Outer Enclosure

Within the outer enclosure are 12 graves, nine of which are marked. The remaining three are brick step tombs[1] which have no associated stones.

Arthur M. Parker

The stone is inscribed: SACRED / To the Memory of /Arthur M. Parker / who died / on the 1st. of November 1827 / in the 27th. year of his age. An associated footstone is inscribed: A.M.P / 1827 Heyward offers different line breaks with slightly different wording: Who died the 1st day of / November 1827 (Heyward 1896:15).

[1] Ms. Lynnette Strangstad of Stone Faces has noted that similar step tombs are often associated with French sites. Perhaps significantly Daniel Heyward's second wife was Jane Elizabeth, daughter of John Gignilliat of St. John's and his wife, Mary Magdalene, who was the daughter of Cornelius duPre and Jeanne Brabant — all of strong French Huguenot descent. It is tempting to suggest that these brick step tombs were influenced by Jane Elizabeth's background, with perhaps one marking her burial.

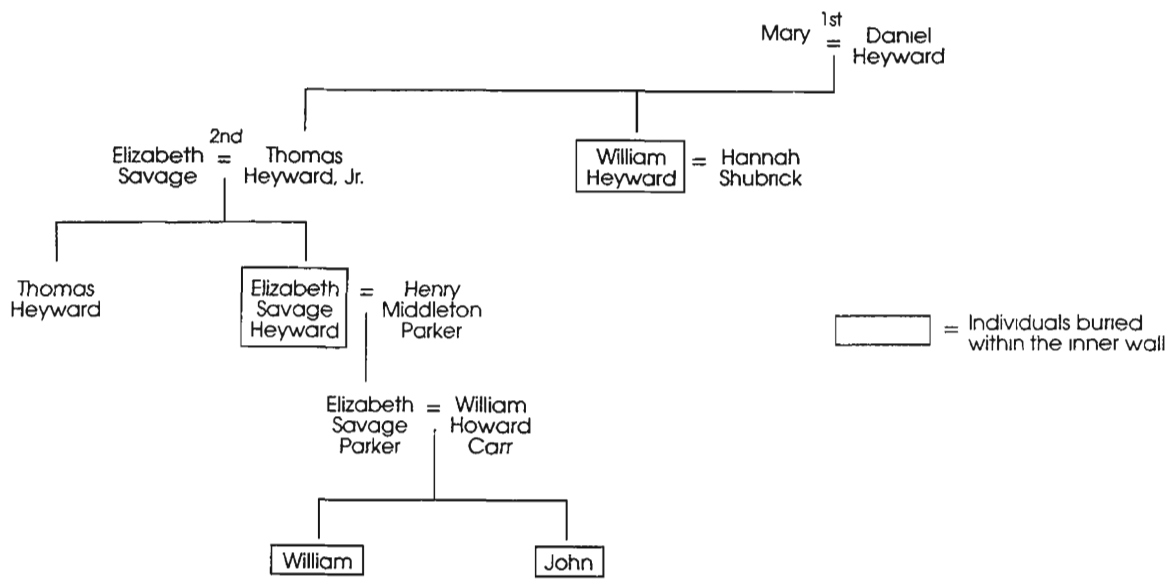

Figure 29 Genealogy of individuals buried within the inner wall of the Heyward Grave Yard.

The research provided by the South Carolina Department of Parks, Recreation, and Tourism suggests that this was a younger brother of Mrs. E.H. Parker's husband, Henry Middleton Parker. Their work notes that a Parker family genealogy identified a younger brother named Arthur Middleton Parker who was born in 1800, but was supposedly still alive in 1827 Since the stone notes his death late in that year, and both the birth date and full name are identical, this appears to be a reasonably certain match. It is curious, however, that such a distant relation to the Heyward family, connected only by marriage, would be included in the family grave yard.

James Heyward, Esq,

The headstone is inscribed: In Memory of / James Heyward Esqr. / who departed this life / October 4th 1796, / Aged 39 Years [stone broken]. The footstone is inscribed: James Heyward. / 1796. There is no information concerning when the stone was broken or what has happened to the basal portion. Of greater interest is that with a birth date of 1764 (Barnwell and Webber 1922:119) and a death date of 1796, James Heyward would have been 32 years old, not 39 as shown on this stone. Heyward's transcription correctly reads "Aged 32 years," which may give some support to at least this stone having been replaced after the Civil War (Heyward 1896:14). Alternatively, Heyward may have known the correct death date and simply chose to ignore the stone's error. Glover's transcription is identical to that present today and neither Barnwell or Glover provide any information suggesting there was anything below the extant break. The remaining upper portion has been re-set into the ground.

James Heyward was the eldest son of Daniel Heyward and his second wife, Jane Elizabeth Gignilliat. He was therefore a half-brother to Thomas Heyward, Jr. and William Heyward, both of whom are also buried here (see above). Family histories note that James introduced scandal into the family by marrying Susan Coles in England. She was apparently considered far below the Heywards and was apparently the mistress to several men before James. Apparently he either did not believe these

stories or did not care, since he left much of his estate to her. Although brother Nathaniel (who received 256 slaves from James) made an effort to break the will, it held and Susan remarried and lived comfortably on James' share of the Heyward fortune.

James inherited three tracts from his father, two in Colleton and one in Granville. Heyward (1958:155) notes that those in Colleton on the Combahee constituted the Hamburg-Copenhagen plantation. Although these plantations were about a day's distance from Old House, apparently he was returned to the Heyward home place for burial.

James Heyward

The headstone is inscribed: In / Memory of / James Heyward / Youngest Child / of / William & Hannah / Heyward/ He died on the 14th day / of January A.D. 1805 / in the twentieth year / of his age. The footstone is marked: J H / 1805

James Heyward, the youngest son of William Heyward and Hannah Shubrick, was killed in a hunting accident in the Euhaws, near Old House (*The Times*, Charleston, SC, January 17, 1805; *Courier*, Charleston, SC, January 18, 1805). He was likely buried at Old House both because of his blood ties and also because of his nearby death.

Susanna Porcher Leacraft

The headstone is inscribed: To / The Memory of / Susannah Porcher / Leacraft / who departed this life / the 18th. April 1806 / Aged 50 years / and 2 months. The footstone is broken, with the upper piece missing. Heyward reports that the foot stone was engraved, S.P.L. (Heyward 1896:15).

As researchers with the South Carolina Department of Parks, Recreation, and Tourism have noted, there seems to be no clear connection between Leacraft and the Heywards. Their research, however, has identified a John and William Leacraft in the vicinity of Hilton Head and Bear Islands. Heyward (1896:15), who was in the habit of providing a brief comment on the relationship of the different individuals, provides nothing concerning Leacraft, suggesting that he, too, was unsure of her place in the Heyward clan. It may be that this individual was simply a friend of the family who died during a visit to Old House. Too far from home, or dying during the wrong season, it may not have been possible to ship her remains back home. If this is the case it may be nearly impossible to identify her.

John Heyward, Jr.

The headstone reads: In / Memory of / John Heyward Junr. / who departed this / LIFE / 12th January 1793[2] / AGED 30 Years & 2 months. The footstone is inscribed simply· J.H.

John Heyward, Jr was the son of John Heyward, the younger brother of Daniel Heyward who settled Old House. John Heyward, Jr. was the master at Tick-Town Plantation.

George Heyward and
Thomas Savage Heyward

This stone, laying flat and covering a brick vault, is in multiple fragments and heavily worn. Today very little of the inscription can be read, although Glover's earlier transcription, in brackets reads: [Sacred / to the Memory of / George / Who was born on the / 25th of Jan'y 1843 / and died on the / 22nd of the following June / Also of / Thomas Savage / Who was born on the / 3rd of May 1850 / and died on the / 11th of June 1851 / Children of / George C. & Elizabeth M. Heyward./] This conforms to the transcription offered by Henry P Howard, Jr., who also provides the verse (without line breaks) which Glover left off: I say unto you That in heaven the angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in Heaven.

As the researchers for the S.C.

[2] The transcription by Glover (1940:79) incorrectly reports the death date as 1795. This error is also seen in a much earlier plat of the cemetery, prepared by Henry P Howard, Jr., discussed in the following section. It is not, however, repeated by Barnwell Rhett Heyward (1896:14), who correctly transcribes a date of 1793.

Department of Parks, Recreation, and Tourism point out, this stone records the death date of George as either 1843 or 1844, depending on how one interprets the words "the following June." Heyward (n.d.) records his death as June 1845 In a similar manner, the stone transcriptions by both Glover and Howard indicate that Thomas Savage Heyward died in 1851, although Heyward (n.d.) lists the death date as 1850. In both cases we are more inclined to accept the stone transcriptions.

Regardless, these were the children of George Cuthbert Heyward, the son of Thomas Heyward, who was the son of Thomas Heyward, Jr. In other words, they were the great-grandchildren of Thomas Heyward, Jr. At the present time we do not know where George and his wife Elizabeth were living so the reason these children were buried at Old House is unclear.

John Webb,
Mary Heyward Webb, and
Isabel Caroline Webb

The headstone is inscribed: 1850 / SACRED / To the Memory / Of / John - Mary Heyward. / AND / Isabel Caroline. / Infant Children / Of / John and Elizabeth / H. Webb. The footstone reads: John M. H. / and [break in stone] C.W

The researchers at the S.C. Department of Parks, Recreation, and Tourism note confusion over the use of a hyphen between John and Mary. Curiously, the Glover (1940:79) transcription states: "JOHN. — MARY HEYWARD — ISABEL CAROLINE" while the Howard transcription reads, "Jno. & Mary Webb and Also of Isabel Caroline." Clearly, the stone is intended to commemorate the three infants of John and Elizabeth Webb.

The date of 1850 appears to be that of the stone, since Heyward genealogical records suggest that John died on October 2, 1849, Mary died on September 5, 1849, and Isabel Caroline died eight years earlier on July 13, 1841. Their mother, Elizabeth H. Webb, was Elizabeth Savage Heyward, daughter of Thomas Heyward and granddaughter of Thomas Heyward, Jr. The Webbs were apparently residents of nearby Grahamville, so the grave yard at Old House was convenient.

William Nathaniel Webb and
Edward Screven Webb

The stone, which is topped by a sleeping child[3], is inscribed: SACRED / To the Memory of / William Nathaniel / and Edward Screven / Infant Children of / John and Elizabeth Heyward / Webb. / 1858. / W T White.

These are yet more infant children of John and Elizabeth Webb.

George Cuthbert Heyward

The headstone is inscribed: HEYWARD / C.S.A. / CAPT / George Cuthbert / HEYWARD. / Born Jan. 12, 1822 / Died March 1, 1867 The footstone is inscribed simply G.C.H. Heyward reports this as, "On a cedar stake is inscribed 'George Heyward'" (Heyward 1896:15). Consequently, the current monument, of cast concrete, must have been erected sometime after 1896. Since George Heyward did not die until after the Civil War, his grave stone could not possibly have been damaged or destroyed by the war. Consequently Heyward's note, "destroyed since Civil War" must relate to Old House itself. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see that even the relatively wealthy Heyward family used wood markers, at least temporarily. Further, although the monument is nicely done, the use of concrete does indicate that money was a concern.

George was the son of Thomas Heyward, son of Thomas Heyward, Jr. He apparently planted nearby Buckingham Plantation, probably accounting for his burial at Old House. He was murdered, although the details are far from clear. There are essentially two stories — one that he was murdered by blacks and another that he was murdered by a soldier who served under him. It

[3] The child is holding an identified object in his right hand. Ms. Lynnette Strangstad of Stone Faces has suggested that this is a somewhat unusual rendition of this motif.

is unlikely that either story can be proven, especially given the hostility with which blacks were perceived and the honor and integrity naturally accorded Confederate veterans.

Summary

The marked graves found between the outer and inner walls represent as mixed a lot as those within the inner wall. The earliest grave is that of John Heyward, Jr. in 1793, about seven years later than the earliest within the inner wall, while the latest grave is that of George Cuthbert Heyward in 1867, 11 years later than the latest found in the inner wall. It seems likely that this is also the last Heyward interred at the grave yard, given our understanding of the family history. Representatives of four generations are interred, representing five nuclear families, as well as one individual related to the Heywards only as a brother-in-law of Elizabeth Heyward (Figure 30). One individual, at present, cannot be associated with the Heywards in any fashion. Seven of the 12 are children.

There seems to be no clear association between these individuals and no clear separation between them and those within the smaller enclosure, excepting our previous comments that those within the inner fence appear to be a very select group consisting of William Heyward, Thomas Heyward, Jr., Thomas' only sister Elizabeth, and several great-grandchildren.

When all of those present in the family grave yard are combined, the only immediate observation is that they primarily represent descendants of Thomas Heyward, Jr. Relatively few descendants of William Heyward, who actually owned Old House, are interred in the grave yard.

Unmarked Graves

The researchers at the S.C. Department of Parks, Recreation, and Tourism have identified at least four other individuals who were likely buried at Old House, based on family history: Daniel Heyward, the patriarch of Old House; Elizabeth Savage Heyward, the second wife of Thomas Heyward; Thomas Heyward, son of Thomas Heyward, Jr. and father of George Cuthbert Heyward; and William Heyward, the eldest son of William Heyward, Thomas Heyward, Jr.'s half-brother.

Stone Conservation Needs

All of the stones in the grave yard should be cleaned using appropriate stone conservation techniques. In addition, there are nine stones in particular which require conservation attention. These are briefly outlined below in approximate order of importance.

The stone in the very worst condition is that of Thomas Savage, which is broken into multiple pieces and heavily eroded. This limestone slab measures approximately 27 by 48 inches. An effort should be made to locate missing pieces, re-attach all of the available fragments, and infill for stability. The brick box tomb below requires tuck pointing.

The James Heyward, Esq. stone, which measures about 20 inches in width and 1½-inches in thickness, has been snapped off at ground level and reset in the soil. The basal portion of this stone may still be present below ground level. If so, the stone should be repaired and reset.

The Thomas Heyward, Esq. stone has been damaged in the past and parts are today missing. It should be evaluated and compared to photographs of the stone when closer to its original condition. An effort should be made to infill or recast missing pieces in order to repair the stone. The monument has also shifted out of line with its base. This should be evaluated and the monument reset, if necessary.

The William H. Howard stone, measuring 16 by 34 inches and 2 inches in thickness, has also been snapped off toward the base. It has been incorrectly reset in the past. The old repair should be removed and the stone properly repaired and reset.

The John Howard stone has been snapped off and is not at the grave yard. It is illustrated in a 1984 newspaper article, being held by Ms. Zenie

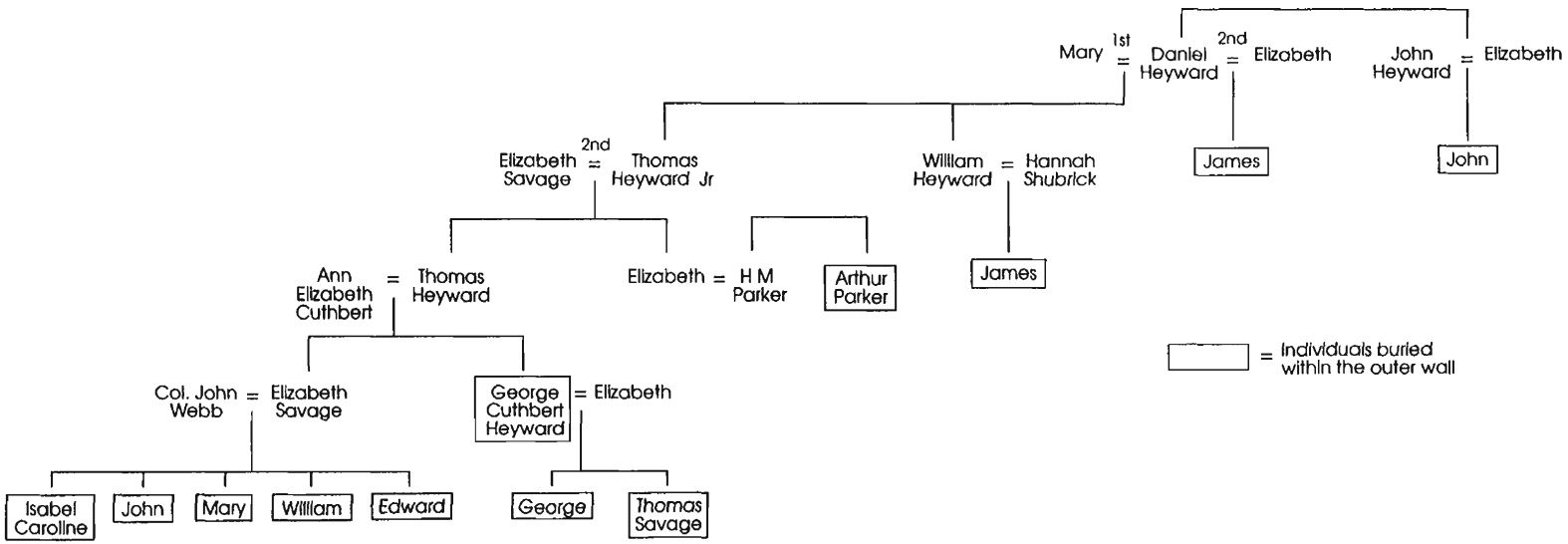

Figure 30 Genealogy of individuals buried within the outer walls of the Heyward Grave Yard

Ingram, Executive Director of the Jasper County Chamber of Commerce and Development Board. She should be contacted to determine the last known location of the stone. If it is, in fact, missing, an effort should be made to locate the stone through TV, radio, and newspaper announcements and interviews. We would recommend that anyone having it return it to a neutral location with "no questions asked." If it can be located it should be repaired and reset.

The monument for Mrs. E.H. Parker has received some previous repair work at its base using hard mortar. This previous repair, if possible, should be removed and correct materials and techniques used to repair the base. In addition, the stone is slightly out of level. In the course of repair the stone should be reset.

The William Nathaniel Webb and Edward Screven Webb stone is not firmly attached to its base. This is primarily a security issue since it would allow easier theft of the stone. Consequently, the stone should be reattached to its base using an appropriate adhesive or mortar.

Finally, there are two stones which are noticeably out-of-plumb — George Cuthbert Heyward and William Heyward. These should be reset for aesthetics as well as for the safety of the stones.

A more careful evaluation of the stones may reveal other issues, but these include the primary, urgent needs for the preservation of the grave yard. Not included in this evaluation is the Thomas Heyward monument since it is not actually one of the original stones. Regardless, the bust on the monument is loose and needs to be reattached. In addition, the bust should be cleaned and appropriately waxed.

The Grave Yard and Its History

The Heyward Grave Yard consists of two walls enclosing 17 marked graves. The outer wall is oriented N2°W and measures 60.2 feet north-south by 61.5 feet east-west. The entrance is by way of gate penetrating the north wall 24.8 feet from the northwest corner. The gate opening is 4.8 feet in width and is marked by two columns both thicker and higher than the adjoining wall. This gate, as shown in Figures 27 and 31, is off-center to the west. The wall is about 3.2 feet in height, with the columns at the gate about 6 feet in height.

The gate is made of heavy wrought iron and is in exceptionally good condition. It may be original to the wall, based on design, workmanship, and fit. Without exploring the attachments under the cement stucco, however, it is impossible to determine this with any degree of certainty.

It appears to date from the nineteenth century. On one vertical bar is stamped "HILL PF C°," suggesting that it was manufactured by P.F Hill Company [4] It is mounted in eye bolts set into the brickwork (Figure 32). Integral to the gate is a lock box with a latch and bolt lock, as well as a agateware knob, all of which appear to be original (Figure 33). The lock offers some temporal indicators. It is made from rolled sheet iron, most common in nineteenth century lock boxes. The agateware knob is also typical of those used during the Victorian period, typically from the 1830s through the very early twentieth century.

Of equal importance, this lock box provides some evidence that the gate may be English. Most American lock boxes placed the latch bolt, operated by the doorknob, below the dead bolt. English locks, especially in the eighteenth century, typically reversed this — placing

[4] We have thus far been unsuccessful in our efforts to identify F.P Hill. Co. using the resources of the Wintherthur *Trade Catalogues*, Romaine's *A Guide to American Trade Catalogs*, the Smithsonian Museum of History and Technology Dibner Library, the Smithsonian American History Museum Library, the Smithsonian American History Museum Archives, the Patent Office records, the University of Delaware Hugh Morris Library Special Collections, or the Hagley Museum Library. We have also consulted with several individuals who work with cemetery preservation and this name is not familiar to them. It seems unlikely that the company post-dates 1860, given our inability to locate them in any catalog collection. This suggests that the company functioned in the early nineteenth century, although it is also possible that the gate was imported from England.

Figure 31. Wrought iron gate set into the outer wall at the Heyward Grave Yard, view to the south).

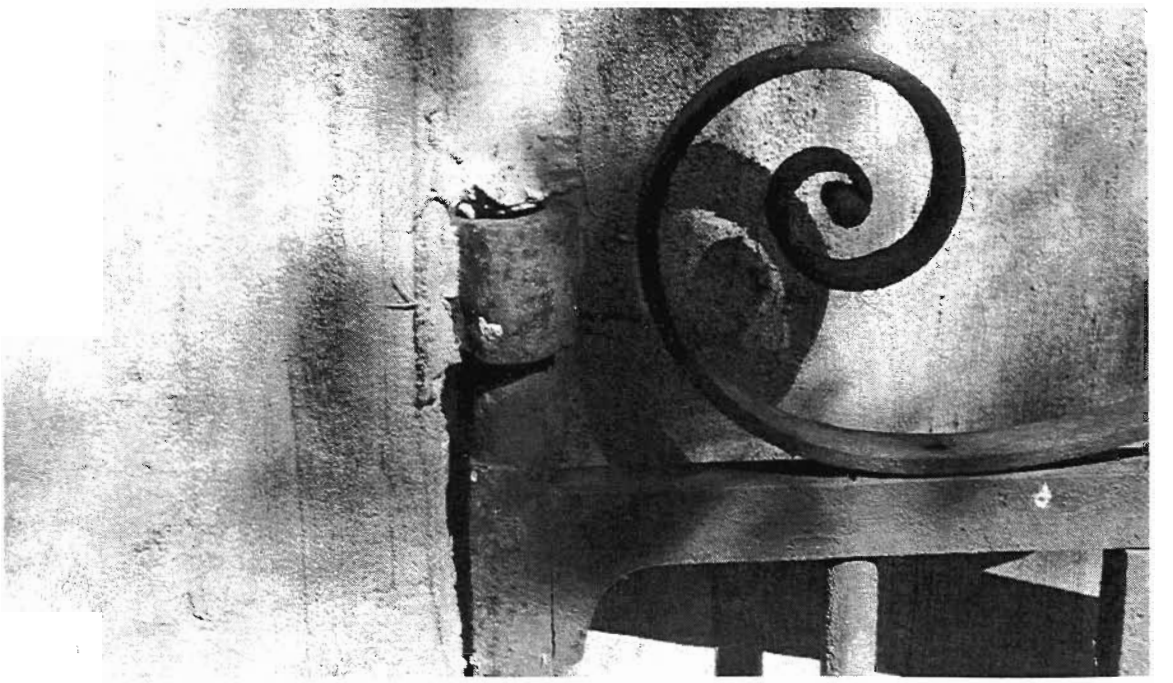

Figure 32. View of the wrought hinge in the outer grave yard wall, view to the southeast.

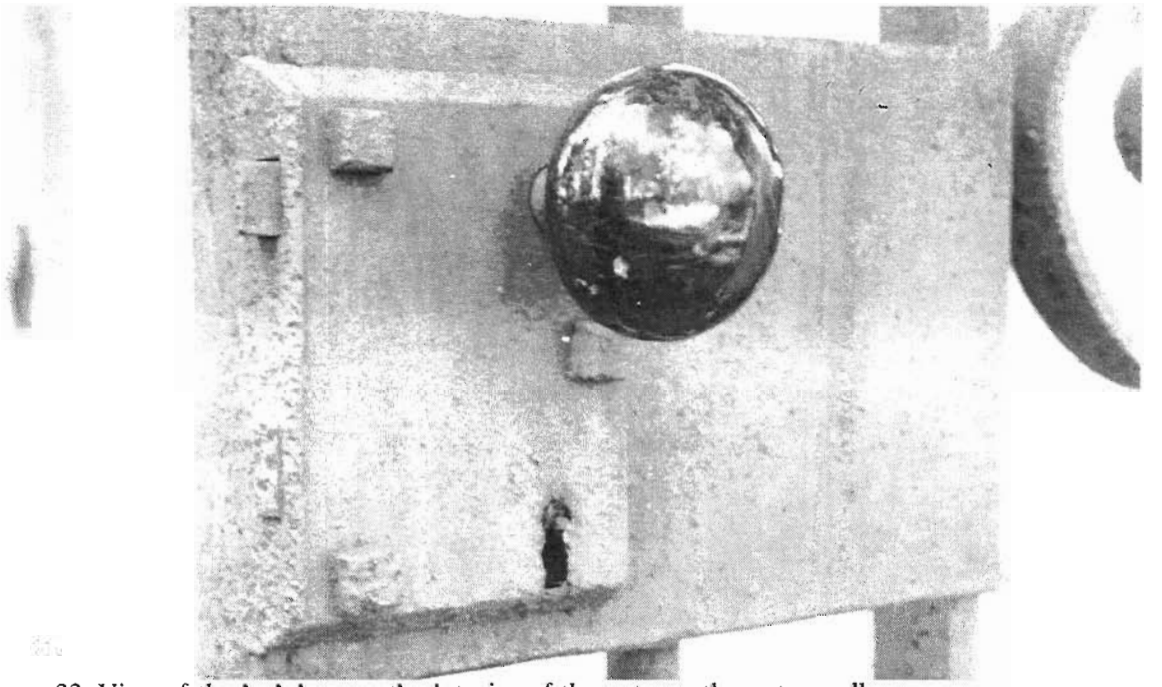

Figure 33. View of the lock box on the interior of the gate on the outer wall.

the dead bolt above the latch bolt — exactly as they are shown in Figure 33.

Remnant buttress supports are found along the east, north, and south walls. These were likely original to the wall and were placed every 9.5 to 9.7 feet. The places where they are missing corresponds to wall sections which have been severely damaged and reset. Consequently, these buttresses are exceptionally good indicators of original fabric. The corners of the wall are rounded. When the overlying concrete stucco is removed a cold joint can be seen between the wall and the outer row of bricks forming the curved projection. This suggests that the rounded corners were intended to be decorative.

The wall is typically about 13 inches in width, representing a solid wall. It is not possible to determine the bond of the wall, but the thickness suggests American bond. A section of the south wall is missing its mortar cap, revealing that in this area the wall is hollow to within about 1.8 feet of the ground surface, at which point it is solid. This indicates a repaired wall in this area, perhaps using salvaged brick to create a hollow wall then covered over with stucco.

Within these walls, situated in the southwest quadrant, is a small walled enclosure, measuring 18.2 feet north-south and 18.5 feet east-west. This enclosure in penetrated by a gate opening about 3 feet in width at the southwest corner (Figure 34). Curiously, this enclosure is at a slightly different orientation than the larger grave yard wall, running almost due magnetic north-south. The wall is about a foot in thickness, suggesting a considerably less well laid up wall. This wall is about 2.6 feet in height, shorter than the outer wall.

The gate (Figure 34) measures 3.3 feet in width, and is mounted on the outside of an opening about 2.9 feet in width. The gate is typical of those mass produced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries for use with sections of wrought iron fencing. The metal, of considerably lower quality that the main gate, is heavily corroded. In spite of this, the name plate on the gate (Figure 35) is still legible: "The Stewart Iron

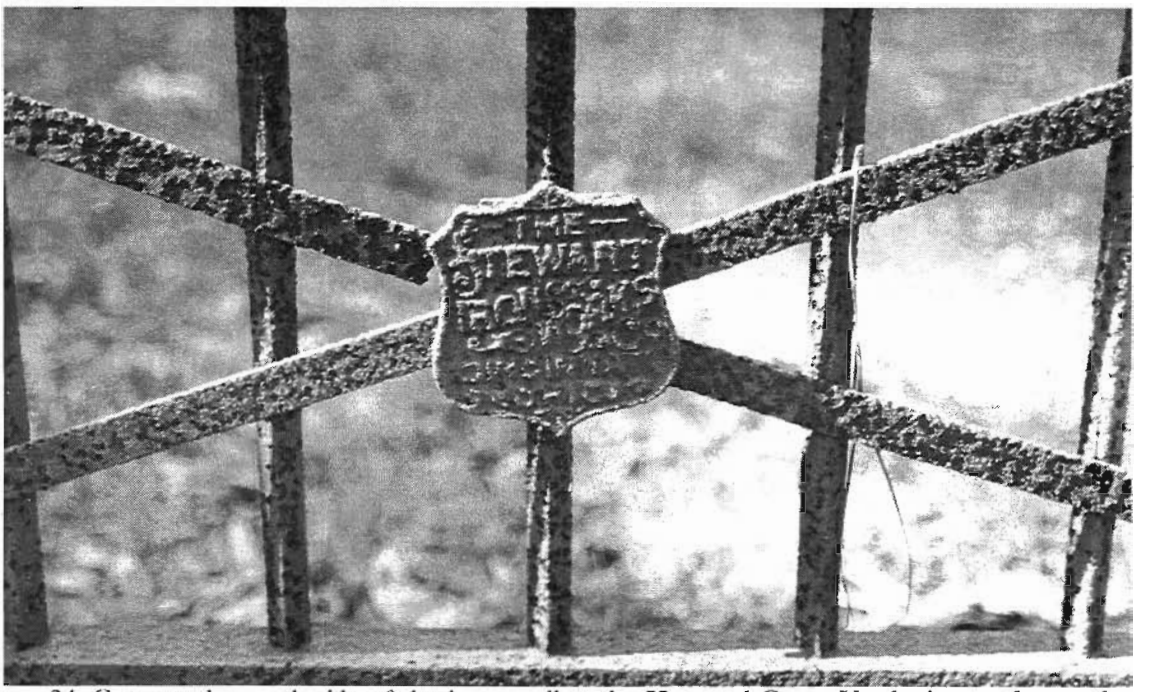

Figure 34. Gate on the south side of the inner wall at the Heyward Grave Yard, view to the north.

Figure 35. Close-up of the Stewart Iron Works shield on the inner gate, view to the north.

Works, Cincinnati, Ohio."

McKinstry (1984) lists two trade catalogs for Stewart Iron Works, both for 1910. He also notes that the company was established in 1886 and was incorporated in 1910, the year of the first catalog in the Winterthur collection. This reveals that the gate must post-date 1886. The company is still in existence, moving from Cincinnati, Ohio to Covington, Kentucky in 1904. The script "S" in Stewart on the gate's shield indicates that the gate was produced after 1910. In addition, careful inspection of the underneath of the horizontal channels reveals the presence of a rib. This was an option offered by the company only between 1903 and about 1914 (Mr. Tony Milburn, personal communication 1996). Consequently, this gate was manufactured no earlier than 1910 and no later than 1914.

The earliest mention we have of the Heyward Grave Yard is the previously discussed 1895 conveyance from Thomas E. Miller to William Jenkens, which excludes the grave yard from the sale of Old House, as well as the 1902 sale by Jenkens to Camilia L. Beck, which also excludes the grave yard. Unfortunately, these deeds offer nothing in the way of a description or information on the origin of the cemetery. Nor do they explain why the cemetery is reserved when there was no mention of it in earlier deeds. In 1896 Barnwell Rhett Heyward provided transcriptions of the stones, suggesting that he was very familiar with the site.

Also produced about this time, based purely on style and handwriting, is a stylized plat of the grave yard, signed "Henry P Howard, Jr. DEL" (Figure 36). This was likely the son of Mary Jenkins and Henry Parker Howard, descended from Elizabeth Savage Parker and William Carr Howard (Heyward n.d.. 120). The plat shows the 17 graves known to exist in the graveyard, although their placement is far from literal. It also reveals the two cemetery walls, providing notations on the condition of the outer wall. The section of the north wall east of the gate is described as "Badly Cracked, But Still Up," while the middle section of the eastern wall is shown as "Wall Thrown Down By Earthquake." This comment reveals that the plat was drawn after Charleston's 1886 earthquake. The south wall is labeled "Broken and Very Much Inclined to Fall Out," suggesting that there, too, the earthquake damage was extensive. It is this area which is today hollow, suggesting a very hasty repair. The west wall was apparently intact since there is no comment otherwise.

A note on the edge of the plat says, "Howard and Parker Lots situated in center," apparently a reference to the inner wall, which is also shown on the plat. This provides at least a partial explanation for the two walls, although it still leaves some question regarding why Thomas Heyward, Jr. was buried within this section.

Although little has been found by way of documentation, in either 1920 or 1922 the South Carolina legislature appropriated funds to erect a monument to Thomas Heyward, Jr. and the granite shaft and bust was apparently placed in the inner wall during this period.[5]

The next account of the grave yard is from December 13, 1924 when it was visited by R.C. Ballard Thurston, apparently at the behest of Miss Webber, a noted genealogist of the period. The notes of his visit are present in the Webber Collection along with a series of photographs which he took during his visit (South Carolina Historical Society, File 30-4 Heyward). It is worth, however, repeating significant segments of his notes:

> I arose at 5 o'clock this A.M. to take a 6:10 train for Ridgeland, at the station learned my train left at 6:45 instead. Reached there about 9 A.M. J. [illegible initial] Horry (pronounced Oh-ree') thought I was coming on Saturday of next week end so did not meet me. His nephew John Horry of firm of Hudson & Horry took me

[5] Additional research in area newspapers and perhaps in state accounts might reveal that additional work was done at the grave yard when this monument was erected.

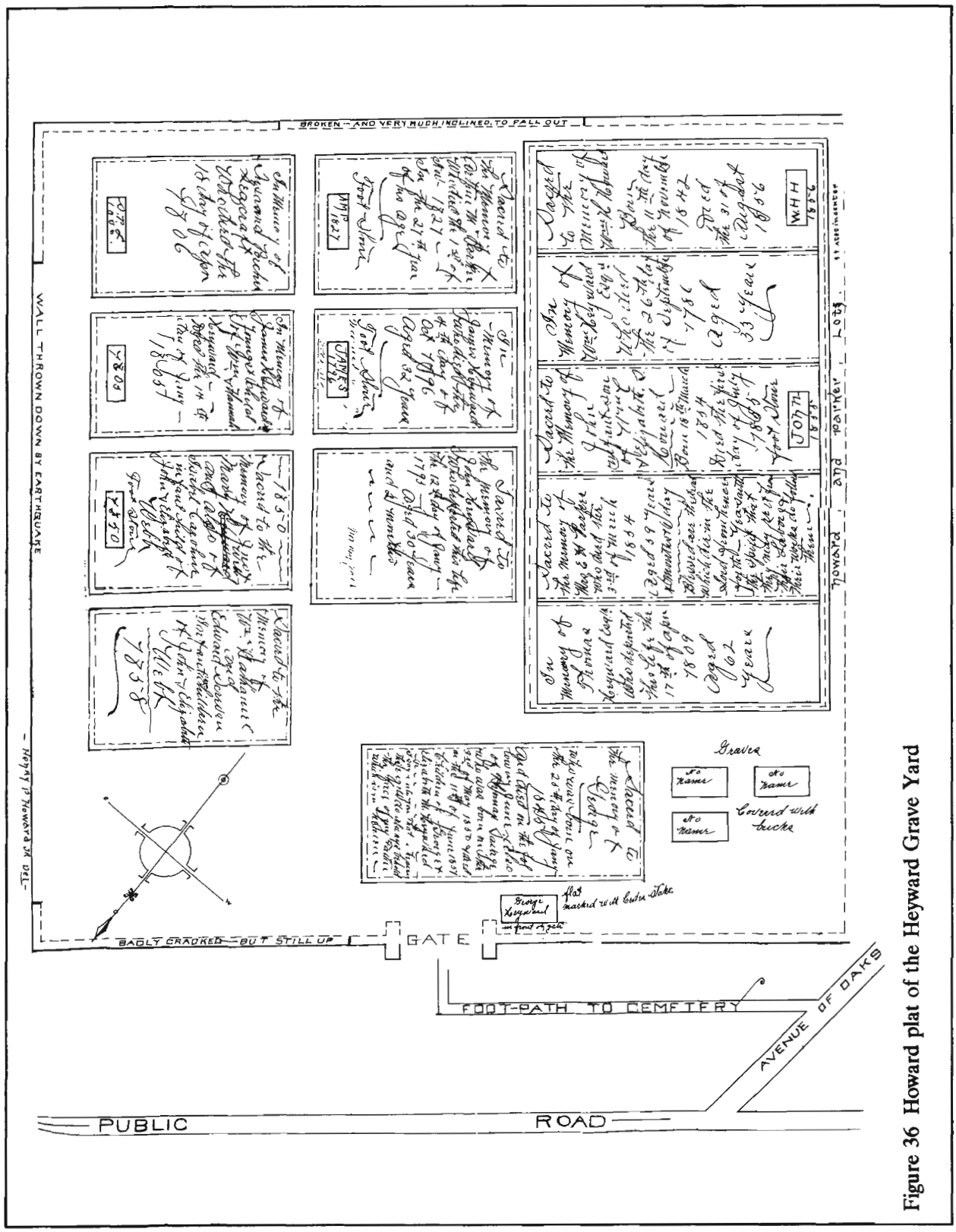

Figure 36 Howard plat of the Heyward Grave Yard

out to his home where we got the car & his brother [illegible initial] S. Horry an eleven year old brother as chauffeur and another (Heyward R.) as companion, picked up Mr. J. [illegible initial] Horry and went out about seven miles nearly east of Ridgeland to site of the "Old House" (I could not learn who built it nor when it was built apparently it had little or no cellar but did have a brick foundation. Nothing but the site and floating brick left. There were two fine avenues of trees one coming up to the front and the other to the left side of the house. Such of these (and there are many) as are left bespeak of the grandeur of these avenues many years ago. To the right N.East to N. of the "Old House" some 75 yards is the old family burial ground which was surrounded by a brick wall 13" thick and 5' high. A good iron gate, that is not kept locked, keeps cattle out. The Charleston earthquake was responsible for replacing much of the wall on the N.E. side with an iron railing. That on the S.E. side was broken & a portion of it is leaning against a tree. The rest of it seems to have escaped material damage.

Referring to the plot that I copied a few days ago #13 is the only box tomb there which slab over it and the inscription indicates the head is to the N.E., # 14, 15 and 16 are built of brick and covered over with them thus. I did not measure them. There is neither slab nor any visible means of identification. Other graves are marked with headstones — some with foot stones also — more or less orate except that of Thomas Heyward. The description of that will follow later.

In almost no case did I find the inscription on the headstone exactly tally with that on the plot and I did not attempt to verbatim &c copies but noted material corrections. Nor were their locations always as shown on the plot.

Near the N.E. wall there is room for another row not shown on the plot.

In the next space where #1-4 are drawn, I found a blank space then headstone for #2, James Heyward youngest child &c, died January 14, 1805, aged 20, then a 10 or 15 foot space, then #1 Susannah Porcher Leacraft, d. 4-18-1806, aged 50 years & 2 months

#4 is a little out of line otherwise O.K.

#5, 6, 7 O.K. except 7 is of John Heyward Jun^{r} there by it is [doesn't appear to be completed]

#3 1850
John-Mary Heyward
&
Isabel Caroline
infant children
etc.

#8 & 9 inscription face N.E.

#10-12 inscription face S.W

#12 Grave of Thomas Heyward, 1746-1809, the Signer. The old monument at the head of his grave is dignified and beautiful and is still there. The ornate top was broken off some years ago said to have been by a

falling tree. This old cap — hemispherical in shape — is loosely placed on the top. Its inscription on S.W side reads:—

IN MEMORY
OF
THOMAS HEYWARD ESQ^{R}
who departed this life
the 12th April 1809
Aged 62 years.

In front of this monument and over the grave is a granite monument in several parts, standing about 8 feet high and surmounted by a bronze head and bust — likeness taken from that portrait of him taken later in life — (R.C. Ballard Thurston, South Carolina Historical Society, File 30-4 Heyward).

Thurston's observations are very important, providing us with an account of the cemetery which is restrained and accurate. His directions are those of the Howard plot (Figure 36), so that his NE is our east, his southwest being our west, and so on. Of equal importance are the photographs left us of the cemetery — six of the cemetery and three of the recent Heyward memorial.

Figure 37 provides an overview of the cemetery from the east, showing the east wall (which the early plot and Thurston both indicate was felled by the Charleston earthquake) replaced by an iron railing. Although very difficult to see, it appears that the ironwork has the same decorative finials as the gate which is still extant. This suggests that sometime after 1910 and prior to 1924 — consistent with the 1910 to 1914 date range indicated by the gate itself — fence components were purchased from either the Stewart Iron Works, or more likely one of their local distributors, and erected at the grave yard. Since the fence was sold as components, there was no need to purchase the gate unless it was specifically desired. Consequently, there must have been a desire, or need, to segregate the inner yard from the outer. Careful examination of the print reveals the broken edge of the wall at the south end and that the fence was installed just outside of the wall — there was no effort to clean up the wall and integrate the fence into the remaining brick work. The fallen brick, however, is not evident and may have been used to create the inner wall.

Figure 37 also reveals that the original outer brick wall was, as reported by Thurston, at least 5 feet high — upwards of 1.8 feet or around four courses of brick taller than at present. In addition, the brick wall was topped with a decorative cap which is no longer present. The exterior of the wall appears to have the remains of a very light stucco coat. At this time the brick courses are very distinct, so it is likely that this stucco had largely eroded away by the 1920s.[6]

Figure 38, taken from just inside the gate, shows the nearby monuments and the interior face of the outer wall along the west side of the grave yard. This view continues to support our contention that if the wall was stuccoed, most had eroded off by this time. The image further defines the capping. The three brick tombs are shown and they clearly were covered in stucco, much of which by this time had fallen off. The one box tomb appears to have no stucco or whitewash covering the bricks and the slab on top appears to be intact.

Figure 39 appears to have been taken from on top of the outer wall at its northwest corner, looking to the southeast. Visible in the photograph are the three brick tombs, the inner wall, and several of the monuments inside the smaller enclosure. Also visible in the background is the gate still present there today, indicating that this gate dates from no later than 1924 (supporting our contention that it was purchased with the railing found on the east side of the grave yard).

[6] On the exterior of the two columns at the entrance to the grave yard there still remains faint scoring in what *appears* to be the original stucco. This suggests that the brick wall was stuccoed and scored to give impression of Ashlar block construction.

Figure 37. Thurston photograph of the east wall of the Heyward Grave Yard in 1924.

Figure 38. Thurston photograph of the Heyward Grave Yard "from near the entrance," taken in 1924.

Figure 39. Thurston photograph of the Heyward Grave Yard "from top of the outer wall," taken in 1924.

Figure 40. Thurston view of Thomas Heyward, Jr. and Mrs. E.H. Parker monuments within the inner enclosure at the Heyward Grave Yard, looking to the northeast.

Figure 41. Thurston photograph of the Heyward marker showing damage to the monument in 1924.

The north face of the inner wall clearly reveals a wall about the same height as today and one which has been heavily stuccoed. There is some damage along the west side, where individual bricks are loose.

Figure 40 is a close-up of the Thomas Heyward, Jr. monument, showing the finial after it was damaged, but in better condition than today. The inner face of the smaller enclosure was stuccoed like the exterior and the top of the wall had no decorative cap, unlike the outer wall. In the background the inside face of the outer wall adjacent to the north gate is clearly visible. This wall section also suggests the presence of a light stucco finish, by this time largely eroded away. The eastern column was laid up in what appears to be American bond, with six rows of stretchers followed by a row of headers. The gate shown in the main entrance is the one still present today. Although largely covered in concrete stucco, the columns today appear to still have the same top flair of two courses of brick, as shown in Thurston's photograph.

Figure 41 is a close-up of the Thomas Heyward, Jr. grave stone, providing some information on the top decoration, which even at this time was damaged.

Thurston's note on the print of Figure 36 reveals that in 1923 the original grave yard plat was in the possession of "Miss Loulie Heyward of Charleston, S.C." If this plat can be identified the paper it is drawn on may provide some clue concerning when it was prepared.

There are a series of three undated photographs of the Heyward grave yard (South Carolina Historical Society, File 30-4, Thomas Heyward) taken on a roll film with an image area of 4¼ by 2½ inches — Kodak's 616 film. This type of film was produced from 1932 through 1984, but most likely dates from the 1930s or 1940s. These three photographs (Figures 42, 43, and 44) show a grave yard not significantly different from that illustrated by Thurston a decade or two earlier. Figure 43 and 44 reveal additional damage to the Thomas Heyward, Jr. stone, although the two cemetery walls are nearly the same as seen earlier. The outer wall still exhibits the cap and appears whitewashed, rather than stuccoed. It appears that every fourth course of bricks consists of headers. The inner wall has a stucco covering sections, although much of the stucco has separated from the underlying brick work. This wall appears to be built of common running bond. Figure 43 reveals that the iron fence along the east side of the grave yard, beyond the Heyward

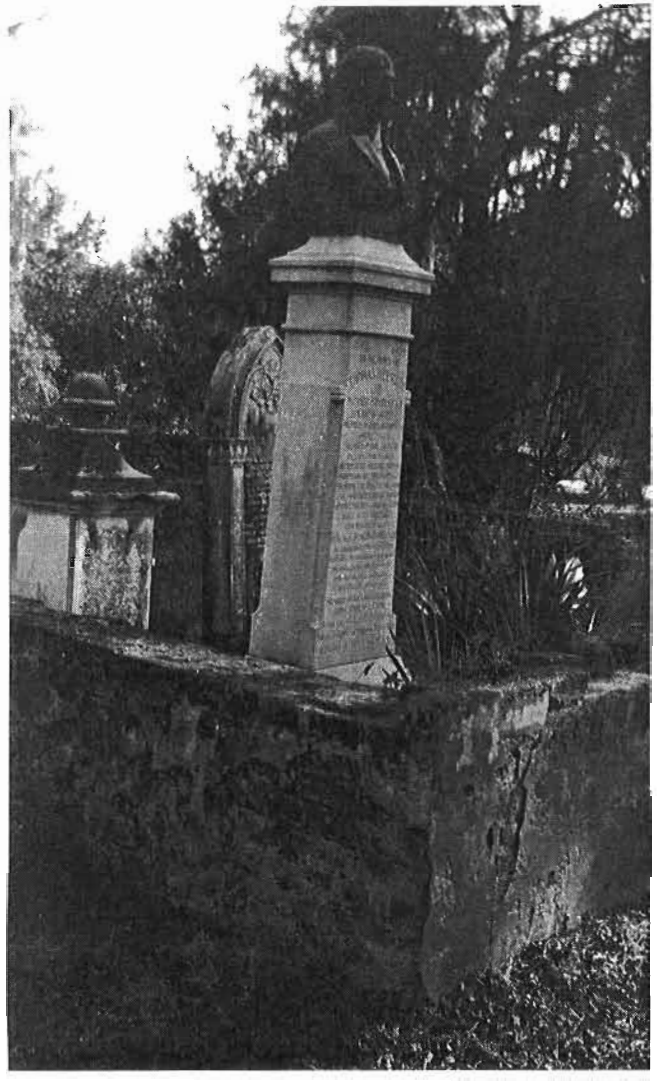

Figure 42. View of the Heyward monument and outer face of the inner wall, taken in the 1930s or 1940s.

Figure 43. Photograph of the Heyward monument taken in the 1930s or 1940s. In the background is the iron railing fence.

Figure 44. View of the Heyward Grave Yard taken in the 1930s or 1940s, showing the brick bonding of the outer wall in the background.

Figure 45. View of the Heyward Grave Yard from the Johnson Scrapbooks, ca. 1930 (courtesy of the South Carolina Historical Society).

monument, was still present.

A photograph of the cemetery was taken by Dr. William Henry Johnson sometime during the early 1930s (it was donated to the South Carolina Historical Society in 1936). This image (Figure 45) is also very similar to the others taken during this general period. It, too, reveals additional damage to the Thomas Heyward, Jr. monument, the absence of stucco on the inner face of the outer wall and the absence of stucco on a small portion of the inner wall visible.

Perhaps the most commonly available photograph of the grave yard was published in Duncan Clinch Heyward's *Seed From Madagascar* in 1937 This shows the area fairly clean, providing an excellent view of the western outer wall in its original condition, complete with buttresses and its original capping. Again, there is evidence of a thin stucco which had eroded.

In 1940 William L. Glover reported on the inscriptions at the Heyward grave yard (Glover 1940). Although several errors in transcription have been found, Glover provided an exceptional service by recording the inscriptions before the stones were badly damaged. He also notes that the grave yard was "within a brick enclosure approximately five feet high and sixty feet square," revealing that the height of the wall had not yet been reduced. Although he makes no mention of the iron fence on one side, this "negative" evidence is unconvincing and cannot be used to suggest a repair date.

In 1965 an article in the Savannah, Georgia *Morning News* reported that the Heyward monument was "erected in 1920, through the efforts of the county legislative delegation of that year, consisting of the late H. Klugh Purdy and Dr. W.A. Preacher." It also mentioned that by this time the cemetery gate was being kept locked, although it seems unlikely that the original lock was working (more likely the gate was chained shut).

There are two photographs of the grave yard which appear to be from the 1960s in the Heyward Foundation files. These reveal that the outer cemetery wall had lost upwards of two feet of its original height, perhaps being at its present height or even shorter, but evidences no stucco repair or replacement. This suggests that sometime between the mid-1930s and the mid-1960s the outer wall was reduced in height, perhaps to contribute the brick necessary to replace the eastern wall and remove the iron railing. Although neither photograph shows this portion of the cemetery, the absence of any mention of the iron fence in "recent" accounts suggests that it had been replaced by this time. Certainly there is no other reasonable explanation for the reduction in the height of the original wall.

The inner wall appears to be relatively intact, still evidencing remnant stucco. One view of the east face of the inner wall reveals that by this time the James Heyward, Esq. stone had already been damaged.

The next series of photographs, also found in the Heyward Foundation files, are dated 1979 They are particularly revealing since they show the outer wall reduced in height and now covered in what appears to be a concrete-type stucco, which is in failure. Consequently, sometime between ca. 1965 and 1979 the outer wall was coated in concrete and that coating failed. One photograph clearly reveals that the eastern wall had been rebuilt by this time. The southern wall, however, was in failure, with a large number of bricks simply stacked up. In a similar manner the inner wall, evidencing by this time almost no stucco, was badly damaged, with loose bricks and small sections partially reduced.

The next piece of evidence is a March 9, 1980 bill from Henry Capers of Beaufort, South Carolina to Ed Walker on Hilton Head Island. The bill is for work at the cemetery, described as "Restore cemetery wall at Old House — Materials Used: Brick, mortar mix, cement, sand, epoxy" with a material cost of $412.00 and labor charges of $650.00. Attached to the invoice is a note from Mr. Walker:

> The bill for the Old House renovation is enclosed. The total is what he had estimated. All bricks have been replaced, the

> gate has been rehung, and the entire wall, both of them, has been covered with cement plaster. It looks to be a sound job from the standpoint of good preventative maintenance Aesthetically, covering all those old bricks is not a plus (letter from Ed Walker to Judge N. Heyward Clarkson, dated March 13, 1980).

This short note provides a wealth of information, confirming that the inner and outer walls were essentially rebuilt in early 1980 with a cement stucco applied over them. To call the resulting effect "not a plus" is an understatement, since we are now in a position to suggest that the original wall was only lightly stuccoed and then scored to resemble stone. In addition, the comment about "good preventative maintenance" couldn't have been more incorrect, since this "repair" failed within the decade.

On May 18, 1980 the *Savannah Evening Press* reported on the previous day's ceremony transferring the Heyward site to Jasper County for a "public park." The article reports that the Heyward monument was erected by the state in 1922, although a 1920 date has been previously suggested. More important than this minor difference in dates, however, were the comments by then Senator James Waddell. He told the small crowd that with the property now belonging to Jasper County, "maintenance and protection of the area may be provided by rangers with the South Carolina Parks Service." The article went on to explain that:

> The senator was instrumental in organizing the transfer and securing $7,000 from the S.C. Coastal Council, which he chairs, for maintenance — primarily construction of a cemetery wall around the tomb. An existing tabby wall[7] at the gravesite of Heyward and his family had begun to crumble before it was stabilized using concrete ("Heyward Tomb Transferred," *Savannah* (Ga.) *Evening Press*, May 18, 1980).

The next article we have identified is the January 18, 1984 piece from *The Low Country Weekly* in which Ms. Zenie Ingram, executive director of the Jasper County Chamber of Commerce and Development Board is shown standing in the Heyward grave yard. The article explains the sad condition of the county's historic sites. The article reports that:

> Some $7,000 has already been allocated for new gates at Heyward's tomb, but the work has gone uncompleted for three years ("Dilapidated monuments are unInviting to tourists," *The Low Country Weekly*, January 18, 1984).

Although the allocation to replace gates is odd, the article is of exceptional importance since it illustrates Ms. Ingram holding the now missing John Howard stone and even provides a close-up view of the stone. This minimally will help replace the stone, should that be necessary. Hopefully, since the stone was present in 1984, it may still be found somewhere in Jasper County.

This brief review provides a variety of very important clues for restoration efforts. It reveals that the original outer wall was about 5 feet in height, topped with a brick cap of sloping brick work. It is likely that buttresses were evenly spaced around the entire cemetery. The wall was lightly stuccoed and then scored to make it appear like stone — a common late eighteenth, early nineteenth century technique.

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[7] The reference to tabby is clearly incorrect. There is no evidence anywhere on the site that tabby was used.

This outer wall was seriously compromised in the 1886 Charleston earthquake, although it appears that nothing was done to replace the downed walled until sometime between 1910 and 1914 when an iron fence was installed and the brick removed. It's tempting to suggest that these downed bricks were used to build the inner wall. Although there is no proof, there are a number of circumstantial pieces of evidence.

The designation of the inner enclosure as the "Howard and Parker Lots" by Henry P Howard, Jr. suggests that the name might be recently applied. The fact that the inner wall suffered no damage, while the outer wall was heavily damaged, also suggests that the inner wall post-dates the Charleston earthquake. This is further supported by the difference in bonds, the differing quality of workmanship, and the differing use and quality of stucco on the inner and outer walls. The small gate size also suggests that the wall was built after the enclosure was full and the architect was relatively certain it wouldn't be necessary to carry a coffin through the opening. The Thurston photographs also fail to reveal any brick rubble outside the iron fence, suggesting that the downed brick wall, 13 inches thick and 5 feet tall, had been almost totally removed.

Sometime between about 1940 and 1960 the outer wall was reduced in height by upwards of 2 feet. The resulting brick was likely used to replace the iron railing with a solid brick wall. Where there were insufficient brick, it is likely that a hollow or rubble filled wall was constructed instead.

Although the outer wall was reduced in height, it apparently was not first coated in concrete stucco until sometime after the mid-1960s. By 1979 that coating had failed and the wall was again in serious disrepair.

In other words, the Heyward Grave Yard wall was apparently in fairly good repair until weakened by the Charleston earthquake of 1886. Since it apparently received no attention it is likely that its condition continued to deteriorate, although this deterioration was exacerbated by improper repair efforts.

It is likely that the efforts to "repair" the wall by applying a hard concrete mortar did more harm than good. By trapping moisture and by using a material with different shrink-swell characteristics than the soft bricks it was applied over, the wall was doomed to early, and increasingly massive, failures. Each successive "repair" sought to minimize the problem by covering it up, rather than doing what was necessary to correct the failure and make the wall once again sound. As a result, both the aesthetics and integrity of the grave yard have been seriously compromised.

Preservation Efforts

The Philosophy

With the nature of previous "repair" efforts at least briefly explored, it is appropriate at this point to outline the principles which ***must*** guide any future preservation efforts at the cemetery.

First, and most fundamentally, all future work must ***do no harm***. In other words, preservation efforts should do nothing which might make matters worse. Each option should be considered and evaluated before embarking on any plan of action. Decisions must be made on the basis of what is best for the cemetery, not on the basis on what is least expensive, or what can be done by local individuals, or what can be done most quickly. Poor choices today will result in even more serious problems in the future. The perfect example of this, of course, is the concrete stucco which has not only failed, but which has also seriously damaged the remaining wall.

Second, it is imperative that the original work, or "fabric" be retained where ever possible. This means that the cemetery should be kept as original as possible. Caretakers must resist the temptation to "re-do" or "make better" original items. For example, it is inappropriate to "re-carve" the original stones to make them more legible or "newer-looking."

Third, only appropriate materials should be used in the preservation efforts. Some of the greatest damage to historic structures is done by

the well meaning use of materials, such as concrete, which are totally inappropriate for the nature of the fragile remains. Ideally all materials must be reversible, meaning that if necessary you can undo tomorrow what is done today Sometimes, especially in stone conservation, this is not possible. In such cases the least intrusive approach should be used.

Finally, nothing should be done without complete and thorough documentation. This means that no actions should be undertaken in the cemetery without documenting its current condition and the exact nature of what is proposed. Afterwards, the end result should also be documented. Had these simple steps been taken each time the cemetery was "restored" we would have a much better idea what it looked like originally. And we would be in a better position to "undo" the previous work. Documentation is also essential to record what components look like before they are dismantled or hidden.

Practical Steps

Preservation efforts at the Heyward Grave Yard will need to focus on six significant issues: cleaning and repairing the stones and tombs, treating the two iron gates to remove corrosion, establishing a periodic preventative maintenance program for the grave yard to prevent the kinds of decay we see at present, determining the location of unmarked graves, evaluating the originality of the inner wall, and stabilizing (or perhaps restoring) the outer wall.

At least some of the issues associated with cleaning and repairing the stones have been dealt with in this and the preceding sections. Of greatest concern is that the work be performed by a stone conservator using appropriate techniques and materials. We are aware that the Heyward Foundation has been urged to clean the stones using relatively harsh chemicals such as ammonia and HTH. We discourage the use of these chemicals and instead recommend non-ionic detergents, such as Triton-X, Igepal or Vulpex, specifically formulated for stone conservation.

In a similar fashion, the treatment of the two iron gates should be done in a manner and using materials which will not cause further harm. We understand that the Foundation has been told to use paint on the gates. We discourage the use of proprietary paints for a variety of reasons, not the least of which is that they tend to fail quickly and they can be exceedingly difficult to remove. A more conservative approach would be the use of a volatile corrosion inhibitor, such as VCI-368 manufactured by Cortec Corporation.

The maintenance program for the cemetery should cover a broad range of issues — routine weed control, grass cutting, periodic evaluation of conditions, stone cleaning, and restoring the VCI coatings on the gates. This program should also include at least a brief disaster plan to guide actions should the site be hit by disasters such as hurricanes, tornadoes, forest fire, or even theft.

It will be fairly easy to determine the location of unmarked graves using a coring device to evaluate the soil profiles. This can be accomplished without damage to either the appearance of the grave yard or to the graves themselves. The resulting information would tell us how many individuals are actually buried in the cemetery and the locations of these burials. This information, in turn, might help us to better understand the growth and use of the grave yard, as well as to address questions concerning the nature of the inner wall.

One of the most difficult tasks will be to determine whether the inner wall is original to the Heyward Grave Yard or if it has been recently added (as we have suggested). It will be necessary to more carefully evaluate the construction techniques and details of the inner wall, compare its placement to both marked and unmarked grave locations, and perhaps to even conduct some limited archaeological study of the builder's trench for the wall. Taken in conjunction, these should help determine when the inner wall was constructed.

If the inner wall is found to be recent, as we have suggested, then we recommend that it be removed. The resulting bricks could then be

stockpiled to assist with the restoration of the outer wall. While this would dramatically affect the appearance of the grave yard, we believe that it is appropriate to restore the site to an appearance of ca. 1850.

Such an undertaking will also require extensive reworking of the outer wall. This will include the removal of as much of the concrete stucco as possible without damaging the brick work. This removal should be by hand, avoiding the use of compressed air or impact tools. Ideally, from a restoration perspective, the outer wall should be rebuilt to its original height, which is approximately 5 feet high, with its original brick cap replaced. These can be reproduced by examination of the photographs reproduced in this study. The brickwork should be laid up in the appropriate bond, using appropriate soft mortar. Since it is likely that there will be insufficient brick to reconstruct the wall, it will be necessary to obtain additional brick. We believe that new brick should be used to clearly mark the difference between the wall which exists today and the portion which will be added. This difference should be minimized by finding a manufacturer producing bricks as close to the correct size as possible. The difference will be further minimized by the coat of stucco which will be applied to the completed brick wall.

The resulting wall will not be perfect. The bricks will certainly be somewhat mismatched. There will be portions of the wall in place today which represent rebuilds that did not maintain the bond pattern. And there will be large areas where the concrete stucco simply can't be removed. Nevertheless, the wall would, for the first time since the middle of the century, approximate its original appearance during the time the cemetery was used.

If this approach is not feasible, then the outer wall should be stabilized. This may involve infilling the hollow section along the south wall with sand, repairing the crack in the east wall, removing as much loose concrete stucco as practical, and then applying an appropriate sacrificial stucco.

EXCAVATIONS AND FIELD EXAMINATION

Introduction

The work at the Heyward site was limited to that necessary for the documentation and evaluation of the archaeological remains present at the site. In essence, our goal was to conduct the least destructive work possible which would still allow us to get a clear view of the archaeological resources at the site. It was our belief, further reinforced since beginning the project, that the extensive, and largely undocumented, excavations by the Charleston Museum have created a situation at the site which will require considerable work to unravel and fully reconstruct. The less testing work done now, the easier the job will be to reconstruct the previous work at the site at a future time.

Auger Testing

Although the original work at the site revealed the presence of several structures, some form of testing was needed at the site to evaluate artifact densities, explore the issue of site boundaries, and help to delimit future investigations. An auger survey was chosen over the more traditional shovel testing for several reasons. Auger testing has been found to be less destructive to the archaeological remains and to also be more efficient than individual shovel tests. Work at plantation settlements throughout the lowcountry with intervals ranging between 10 and 50 feet reveal that tests spaced at 50 or more feet provide very little structure specific data, allowing only gross site boundaries to be established. Intervals of 25 feet or less generally tend to provide adequate definition of structural remains, although decreasing interval distance tends to increase the definition capability The 20-foot interval was selected as the closest interval possible in the time frame provided. We anticipated that it would be more than adequate to help establish site boundaries and evaluate the distribution of archaeological remains on the study tract.

Absent the ability to orient the grid to the ruins of the main house (which are not sufficiently distinct for this purpose), we chose to orient the grid parallel to the grave yard wall. We anticipate that this wall will follow the general orientation of the other architectural features at the site. In general, this also follows the orientation of the landform, paralleling the marsh to the south of the site. Consequently, grid north is actually oriented N2°W A modified Chicago 10-foot grid system was established at the site, allowing for easier long-term horizontal control of excavations. Each square is designated by its southeast corner from a 0R0 point established off site. Thus, the southeast corner of square 800R200 would be located 800 feet north and 200 feet right (or east) of the 0R0 point. This grid was also tied into the iron pipe previously established by Miller at the northwest corner of the cemetery wall, with the pipe given the designation 220R420. A second permanent grid point (consisting of rebar set into concrete and topped off with an aluminum survey cap) was established 100 feet to the east, at 220R520. A third permanent grid point (identical to that at 220R520) was established at 220R220. As the study progressed we identified a second iron pipe, similar to the one at the corner of the grave yard, at 220.15R171.8. This may represent another point set by Miller. If so, our grid is about 0.15 foot south of his.

Vertical control was maintained through an assumed elevation (AE) point. One is the top of the iron pipe at the northwest corner of the grave yard wall, which was assigned a 10.00 foot assumed elevation. Another was the 220R220 point, with an AE of 8.45 feet.

This grid was laid out with the southern and eastern boundaries being the slope to the marsh. The northern and western boundaries were the adjacent property owners. The auger points were designated by their grid coordinates (Figure 46).

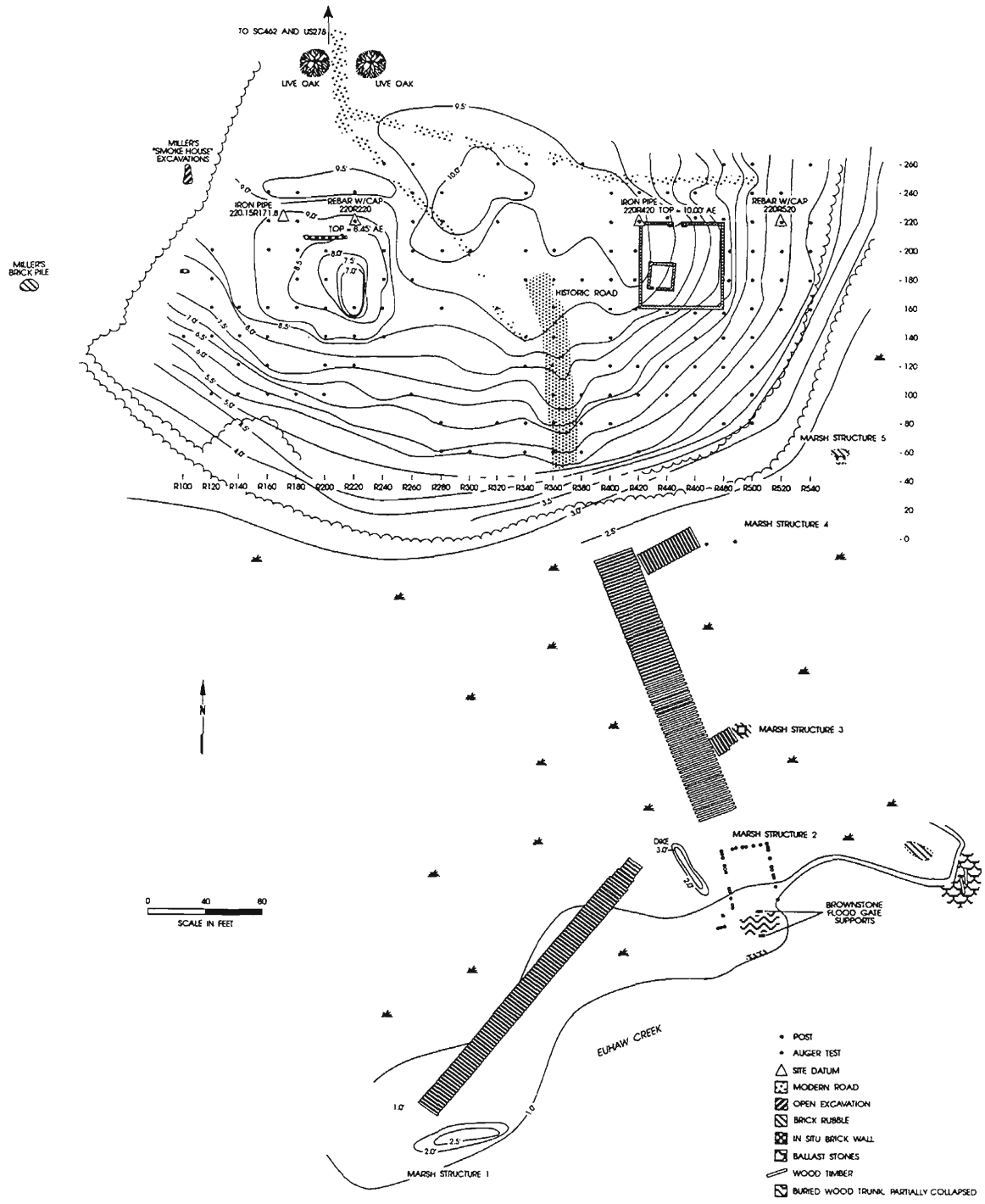

Figure 46. Topographic map of Old House showing auger testing grid and surface features.

The tests were conducted with a two-person power auger equipped with a 10-inch bit. Each test was augered to a depth of 1.5 to 2.0 feet. All soil was screened through 1/4-inch mesh and all remains, including shell, brick, and mortar, were collected. Measured profile drawings of all auger tests were collected and the tests were then back filled. The only exception to this methodology were the auger tests in the western quarter of the site where the soil was so hard that the auger would not penetrate more than about 0.6 foot. These tests were hand dug in order to make the soil volume consistent.

Materials from these tests were sorted in the field laboratory, with brick, mortar, and shell weighed and discarded. Historic artifacts were counted, although no attempt was made to distinguish between artifact classes for the purpose of the computer map (primarily because the sample sizes tended to be small). Brick and mortar weights, while typically small, were examined in the hope that they might denote structure areas. The tabulated artifact data served as the basis for the computer density maps (Figures 47 and 48).

Figure 47 shows the density of brick remains at the site. Only one clear concentration is revealed — a linear band covering an area about 20 to 40 feet in width and about 80 to 100 feet in length. We are inclined to believe that this concentration may reflect spoil or backdirt from the earlier excavations. When Figure 47 is compared to the topographic map, Figure 46, we see that the brick appears to be primarily situated along the south edge of Miller's excavations.

The bulk of the other contours appear as isolated occurrences of brick across the site. There are several areas surrounding the grave yard which probably reflect previous wall failures or rebuild efforts. There is a hint of another area of increasing brick density west of the main house, off the County property. This area is of particular interest, especially when the artifact density map is also examined. In general, however, the brick density map reveals the presence of only one structure — the main house which was excavated by Miller in 1965.

The artifact densities, revealed in Figure 48, present a somewhat different view of the site. Not unexpectedly, artifact densities in the area of Miller's excavations are quite low to absent. There is, however, an area of relatively dense remains just west of the excavations. At the present time it is unclear if this concentration represents yard debris or perhaps unscreened fill from the excavations. If it these materials are yard debris, then the site presents a somewhat different pattern from that seen at most plantations, where the yard surrounding the main house was kept relatively clean. It seems more likely, especially considering the time period of the original work, that we are seeing artifacts not collected during the original work.

Further to the west there is a second area of very dense remains which extends off the county property Given the density of these remains there is very little doubt that this represents a second structure. Faunal remains found at the site are also concentrated in this area, dramatically declining to the east toward the main house. Colono wares, while found lightly scattered across the site, are concentrated on the western edge of the site, either associated with this second structure or possibly also associated with yet another structure further south, perhaps represented by the band of artifacts sweeping southwest from the site core.

There is yet another artifact concentration just southwest of the grave yard. Although this is not associated with any significant quantity of brick remains, this appears to be another structure. A number of nails were recovered in this area, suggesting that the structure may be of frame construction. The associated ceramics suggest an early to mid-nineteenth date, although there are some eighteenth century materials in the area as well. This posited structure would be just to the east of the main road to the marsh.

The auger survey has been very successful in helping to define the boundaries of the Old House site. Although there is a smear or light occurrence of materials throughout the studied area, the density clearly declines to the north, suggesting that the site does not appreciably extend off the county's property in that direction. The

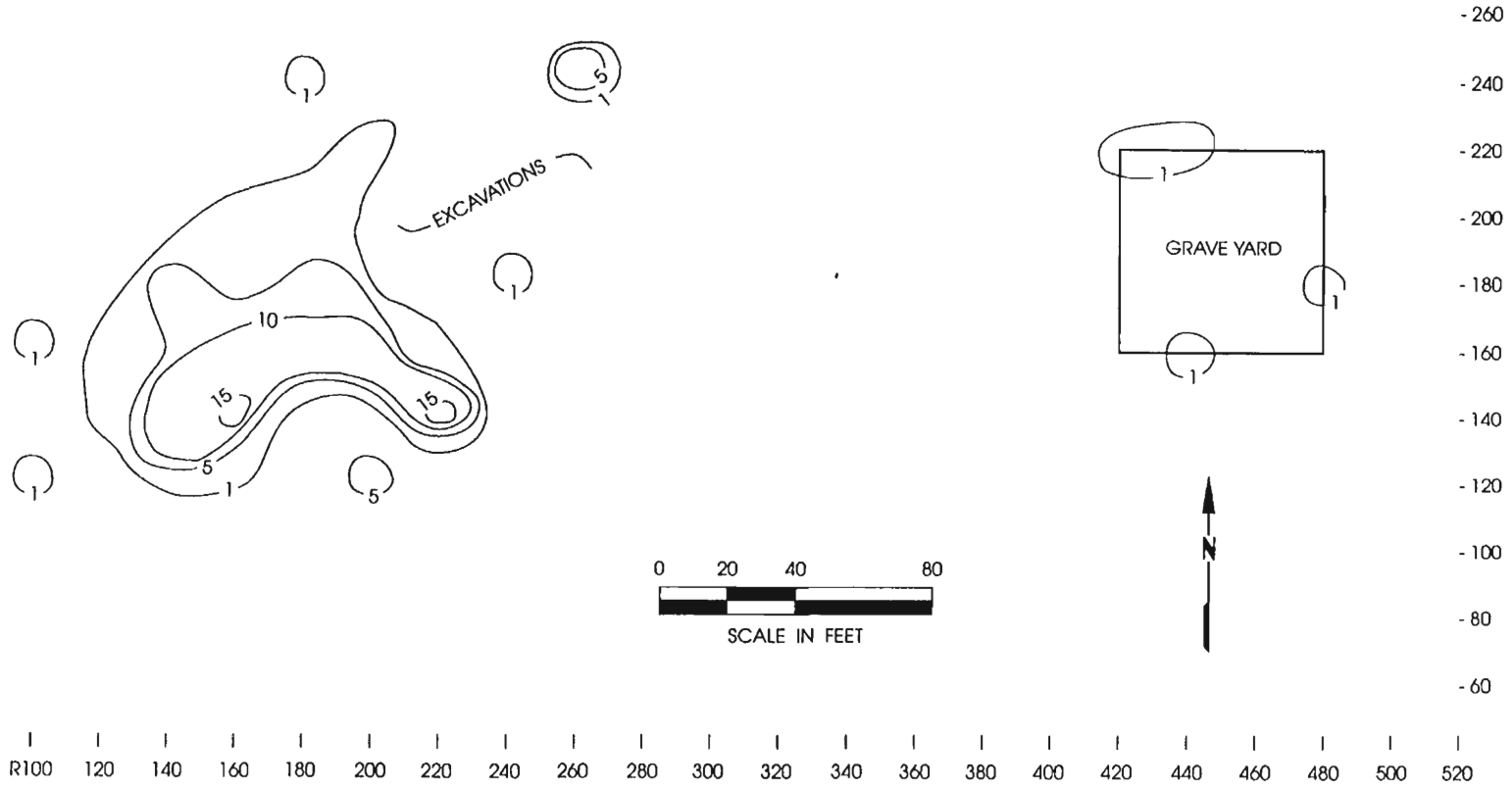

Figure 47 Density of brick and mortar recovered from the auger tests (contours in pounds)

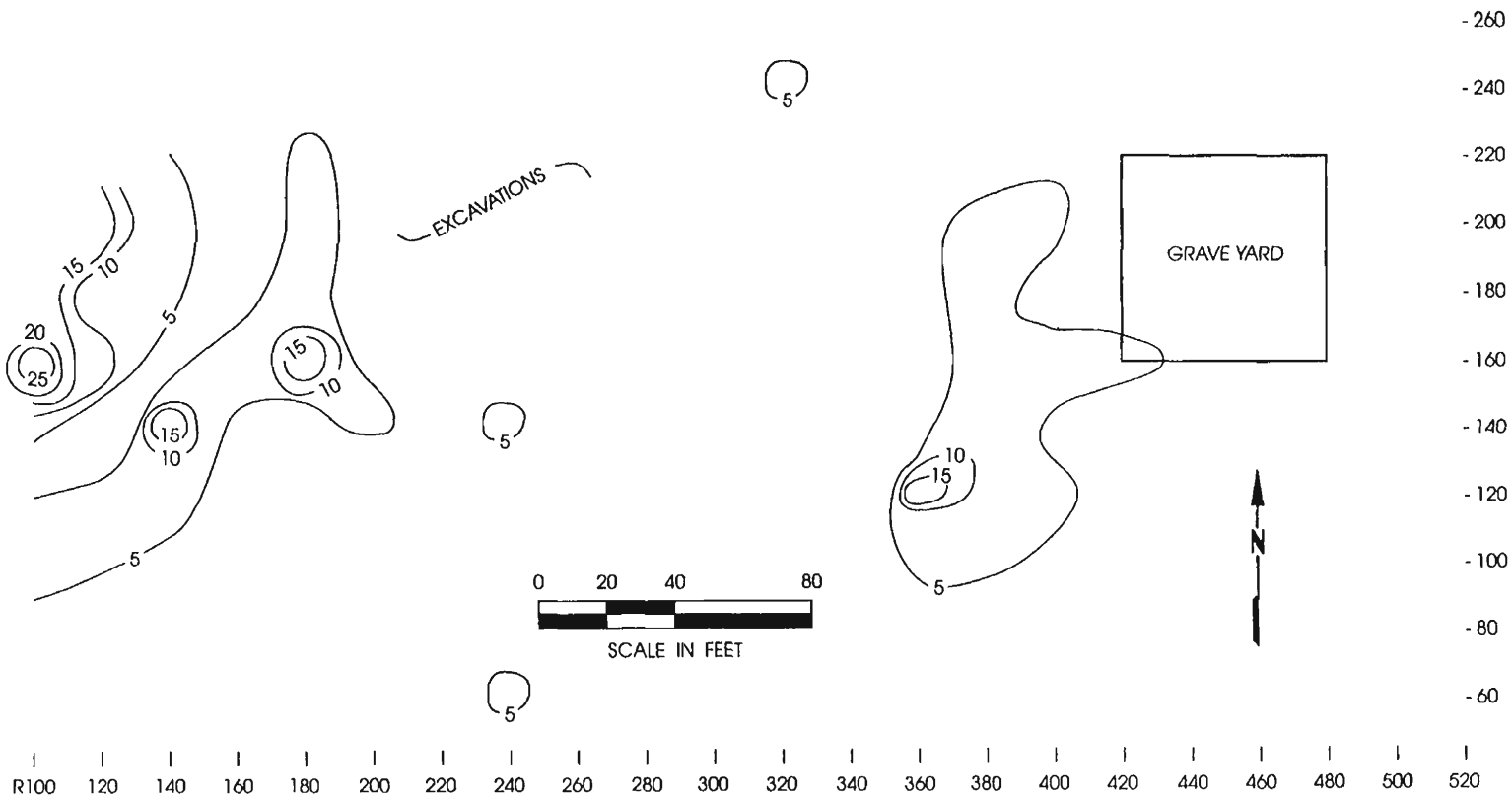

Figure 48 Artifact density at Old House based on the auger testing (contours are by specimen count)

density of remains declines prior to the marsh edge, suggesting that the dispersion of debris was contained by factors other than just the presence of the marsh to the south and east. To the west there is very clear and convincing evidence that the site extends onto adjacent property. In fact, it will be impossible to fully understand Old House without the ability to direct research onto the properties to the west.

The auger survey also revealed that there are at least two, and possibly three additional structures associated with the main house at Old House. One structure is situated 80 to 100 feet west of the main house, another 100 to 120 feet to the east. The first likely included some brick in its construction, possibly as foundation and chimney stack. The second appears to have incorporated minimal brick and was almost certainly of frame construction. A possible third structure is situated to the south of the one west of the main house.

Field Examination

The examination of the Old House site revealed a range of surface features which will be briefly explored in this section.

The Grave Yard

The Heyward Grave Yard is the most visible feature at Old House. It has been discussed at length in a previous section and will not be discussed at length here. In terms of its physical layout readers are referred to pages 60-64.

Although the grave yard today dominates the Old House vista we are not certain that it was as prominent in the eighteenth century. Much of the brickwork and the associated gate appears to date from the first half of the nineteenth century. It is possible that the wall is a relatively late addition to the grave yard, which might have existed as little more than a clustering of grave stones, wooden plaques, and grave depressions. Regardless, the extant walls appear to closely parallel the orientation of the plantation settlement, suggesting that they were built when the main house was still standing. The north facing opening suggests that access to the grave yard was from a northern pathway and not from the landing road to the west. This subtle clue may help us eventually better understand the organization of the Old House landscape.

Brick Ruins of the Main House

Miller's work uncovered extensive ruins of the main house, which we have previously discussed on pages 8-10 and illustrated in Figure 4. In 1980 relatively little of the brick foundation was still visible (see Figure 3). By the time of this study even less of the foundation was recognizable. Figure 46 shows the one location between R180 and R220 where what appears to be fragmentary brick foundation is still visible (Figure 49). This is likely the northern wall of the main house.

There is still a very clear depression, south and southeast of the brick foundation. Although this may represent the base of Miller's excavation at the main house, it is more likely the base of the original bulldozer excavation which discovered the house. There are likewise small mounds associated with this area which probably represent backdirt piles. Although we understand this area was backfilled during the late 1980s, the effort was only partially successful.

Brick Ruins at Miller's Nineteenth Century House

Miller identifies what he termed a "nineteenth century house site" (see Figure 6) west of the main house. At this location he identified two wall sections and a chimney, although we can find no evidence that he conducted excavations. Today only one of the two wall sections is still visible, situated just north of 180R100 (Figures 46 and 50). This, of course, is the locus of one of the additional structures detected by the auger survey (the dense artifact remains also support our belief that no excavations have been conducted in this area).

It seems more likely that this structure is a flanker to the main house, perhaps representing a kitchen, offices, or guest rooms. The artifacts, at least based on this initial examination, easily date from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries,

Figure 49. Brick foundation rubble associated with the main house between 203R190 and 203R220, view to the west-northwest.

Figure 50. Brick wall section associated with the structure west of the main house, between 185R100 and 185R104. View to the north.

largely contemporaneous with the main house.

Miller's Smokehouse

North of his "nineteenth century house site" Miller reported a "smokehouse" (Figure 6) Elsewhere he appears to have referred to this as a kitchen and some excavations were apparently conducted, although there seem to be no notes concerning the work.

We have identified a large brick pile which has been trenched in the area described as the smokehouse (Figures 46 and 51). Since this site area was off the County property no investigations were conducted and we cannot comment further on the structure.

Miller's Brick Rubble in the Woods

Miller's map of Old House (Figure 6), reveals a brick pile west of the nineteenth century house. This pile was eventually re-identified on a pathway used by individuals living in the area. It is considerably worn down, but probing did reveal a rather significant quantity of brick remains.

Miller's Chimney and Stable

Miller illustrates a chimney base and what he calls a stable at the far west side of the site (Figure 6). Today these two sites have been developed and are in the rear yard of a structure bordering SC 462. We did not further evaluate these site areas.

Miller's Old Road Bed

Miller also illustrates what he referred to as a old road bed (Figure 6) or, in some press accounts, as a second avenue of oaks. He drew this road extending north-south into the marsh, where it turned to the west, eventually connecting into SC 462.

During the current survey we were unable to identify this roadbed, although much of the area is heavily wooded and the portion toward SC 462 has been developed. None of the maps, or aerial photographs (Figures 10-13), reveal anything which appears to be a road in this area. Nevertheless, we are reluctant to dismiss Miller's account since he was able to see and explore the site when many features were more visible, and less disturbed, than they are today.

Old Landing Road

The old landing road, while present and noted by Miller on his map (Figure 6), apparently attracted little attention. Today it is very distinct (Figure 52), although it is grassed and no longer in use. We believe that this road dates to the original development of the plantation since it leads to the main plank road in the marsh, which eventually terminates at the mill site.

Plank Roads

We have identified at least four distinct plank roads in the marsh south of Old House.

The main plank road begins at the end of the Old Landing Road and continues south-southeastwardly to the mill site in the marsh (Figure 46). Careful examination of this road reveals that it is 40 feet in width and can be identified through probing to be at least 200 feet in length. It consists of 40-foot long logs which have been squared, measuring between 0.5 and 0.8 foot in width and about 0.6 foot in depth, laid side by side. These logs rest on top of a second layer of logs which may be either sleepers supporting the roadway or may be a more continuous base course.

The road is covered by no more than 0.4 foot of marsh peat, although small sections are still visible on the surface (Figure 53). We could not determine if the deeper buried sections represent areas were the top logs have eroded or washed away, or if they are simply sections which have been covered by washed-in soil.

Several sections of the roadway were sampled and all of the wood is pine. The only portion remaining is the heartwood — the loss of the sapwood probably accounts for the variations in measurements.

This one roadway incorporates at least

Figure 51. Area of Miller's smokehouse excavations, off the county property. View to the southwest.

Figure 52. Old House landing road, view from the marsh looking north-northwest.

8,000 lineal feet of pine planks, not including the sleepers or base course. DeBrahm observed that in the mid-eighteenth century the weekly task for a pair of sawyers was 500 feet of pine (De Vorsey 1971:94). Consequently, simply cutting and preparing this upper coarse on this one road took at least two slaves 16 weeks of labor.

Three smaller plank roads break off from this main road. One, near the marsh edge, turns northeast for about 40 feet and is only 20 feet in width. Another turn off from the main roadway to the northeast, leading to a small brick feature (discussed below). It is 20 feet in width and about 20 feet in length. The third roadway is 220 feet in length and runs southwest, terminating at another structure. These roads were constructed like the main road, although they are consistently half the width.

Brick Structures in the Marsh — Marsh Structures 3 and 5

Miller illustrated two "chimneys" in the marsh (Figure 6), although he failed to discuss them in his field notes. Needless to say, these "chimneys" have attracted considerable local attention.

During our examination of the site both features were readily identified. The first, identified as Marsh Structure 5 on Figure 46, was situated about 35 feet from the marsh edge and was found to be oriented nearly north-south. It was found to be largely rubble, although the north wall and portions of the east and west were still intact (Figure 54). No clear bonding pattern could be identified, based on the small amount still extant, although we did identify remnant soft lime mortar between some bricks (most had been eroded away by the tides). The feature is clearly not a chimney, since it measures about 5.8 feet square (with the southern end, exposed to the more severe weather, reduced to rubble. The amount of brick present suggests that the foundation was likely not more than five to six courses high (four are still partially extant). The structure also lacks a footer, being laid on the marsh soil.

The second feature, situated at the end of a plank road, is also oriented north-south and measures 5.2 feet east-west by 5.4 feet north-south (Figure 55). This structure was more exposed and is consequently in much worse shape, with only the bottom course of bricks still intact.

Neither of these bears any resemblance to a chimney. Both appear to be small foundations, intended to carry relatively little weight. Although we have found no historical documentation, based on the limited evidence we are inclined to suggest that these may have been either watch stations or perhaps even bird hunting blinds, likely contemporaneous with the settlement at Old House.

Miller's Warehouse — Marsh Structure 4

Adjacent to the marsh edge, and at the end of a plank road, Miller identified a series of pilings which he termed a "warehouse" (Figure 6), although the remains do not play a prominent part in his notes.

We have identified this as Marsh Structure 4 and it is evidenced by reduced vegetation and a series of 13 pilings in the marsh forming a structure measuring 34 feet in length by 20 feet in width (Figure 56). the individual pilings at the structure edge are set 7.5 to 9.5 feet on center, while those in the center are set on 12 foot centers, but do not extend to the southern edge. The pilings are heart pine and appear to represent logs (although only the heartwood is remaining). The individual pilings are from 1.7 to 2.5 feet in diameter, reflecting the use of fairly large trees.

It is impossible to reconstruct this structure based on the currently available information. A metal detector survey of the marsh within the confines of the pilings failed to produce evidence of metal. This, however, may only indicate that iron fittings and spikes have been deeply buried or have been heavily corroded by salt and the wet-dry cycle typical of the marsh.

Figure 53. Portion of the plank road in the marsh south of the Old House site.

Figure 54. Marsh Structure 5, at the southeast edge of the site. View to the north.

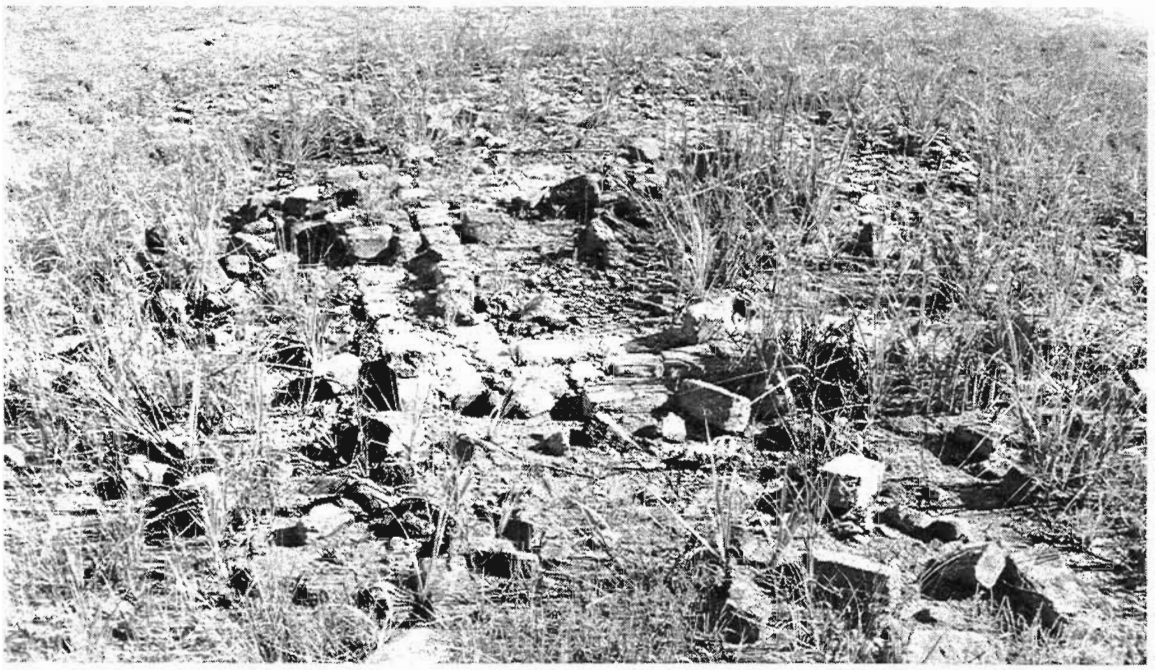

Figure 55. Marsh Structure 3, view to the south.

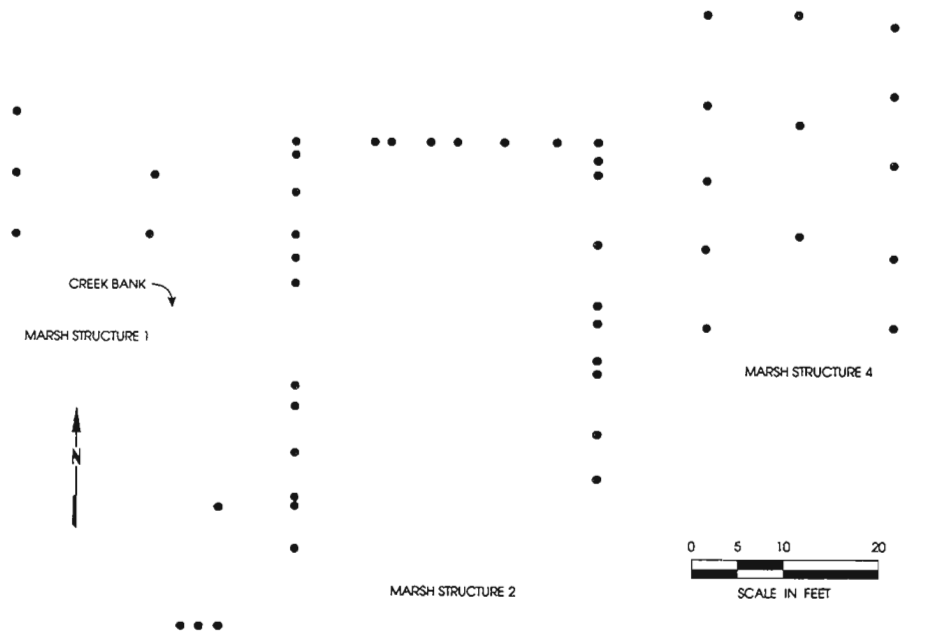

Figure 56. Plan views of Marsh Structures 1, 2, and 4.

Mill Site — Marsh Structure 2

This structure was identified by Miller, again based on the presence of pilings in the marsh. It has also been known for some time as the location of a mill stone and two sandstone gate supports (see, for example, Heyward 1937·49, also illustration by Carl Julien). Today the area is fairly distinct because of the different marsh vegetation and the presence of pilings, many of which extend only a few tenths of a foot above the surrounding marsh mud (Figures 46, 56, and 57).

A series of 28 pilings outline a structure measuring 45 feet in length and 33 feet in width. Additional piles are found scattered in the marsh at the southern end of the building, likely associated with the operation of the gates. The pilings for this building are typically 2.5 to 2.8 feet in diameter, consisting of pine heartwood. This, of course, suggests that the original pilings would have been perhaps 3.5 feet in diameter. They are quite closely placed together, but all are found on the outer edges of the structure, suggesting that the 33 foot width was spanned by heavy timbers.

Just north of the mill is a fragmentary mill stone (Figure 58). The internal hole measures 0.7 foot in diameter, while the radius is 1.85 feet. This would give the intact stone a diameter of 4.4 feet.

South of the mill are two brownstone features (Figures 46 and 59). Although eroded by the salt water, these stones are in remarkably good condition. Each stone measures 3.0 to 3.1 feet in length and 0.6 foot in thickness. The stones are set 16.50 feet apart and about 3.5 feet are exposed above the marsh. Although not explored, we imagine that the stones are buried in the marsh upwards of 5 to 8 feet. Both are leaning to the west at 27° angles off vertical. The inner faces have a 0.2 foot deep groove, 0.6 foot in width following the angle of the stone into the marsh. On the west edge of both stones there is another channel, 0.2 foot in width and 0.2 foot in depth, which also extends from the top of the stone into the marsh.

These stones appear to be trunk gate supports, perhaps with the gate sliding up and down in the large channels. The purpose of the smaller grooves is currently not known.

At the present time these stones, while situated at the end of the mill, appear to be on firm ground (Figure 59). In actuality, the surface between the two brownstone supports is relatively unstable and "shimmers" when any weight is applied. During this investigation we discovered that between them is a wooden device, perhaps a trunk, perhaps little more than a culvert. Wood was detected about 2.0 feet below the marsh surface and consists of several distinct timbers.

It is likely that originally water flowed through the open gates in the trunk or culvert, powering a wheel which, in turn, powered the mill stones. This is an exceptionally interesting feature. It is the only known devise of this kind in South Carolina and represents an industrial component of eighteenth century rice plantations which has not been previously examined or studied.

Further south there are several additional pilings, as well as a brick pile about 15 feet in length, along the edge of Euhaw Creek. This brick pile is only 0.5 to 0.8 foot above the marsh and it was impossible during this initial study to determine whether it represents a structure, dumped ballast, or perhaps rip-rap along the creek edge.

Marsh Dike

West of the mill is a remnant dike, 3.5 feet above the surrounding marsh and nearly 40 feet in length. Miller indicated that the dike continued on the opposite side of creek (Figure 6), but this survey did not explore that area. Unfortunately we are also unable to determine whether this dike was intended to provide protection to the mill building or served to establish a mill pond west of the mill, allowing extended periods of operation.

Marsh Structure 1

At the end of the plank road running off the main section to the southwest is an area of high ground along the creek edge, perhaps representing a section of diking. Several artifacts were encountered along the edge of this dike, in or

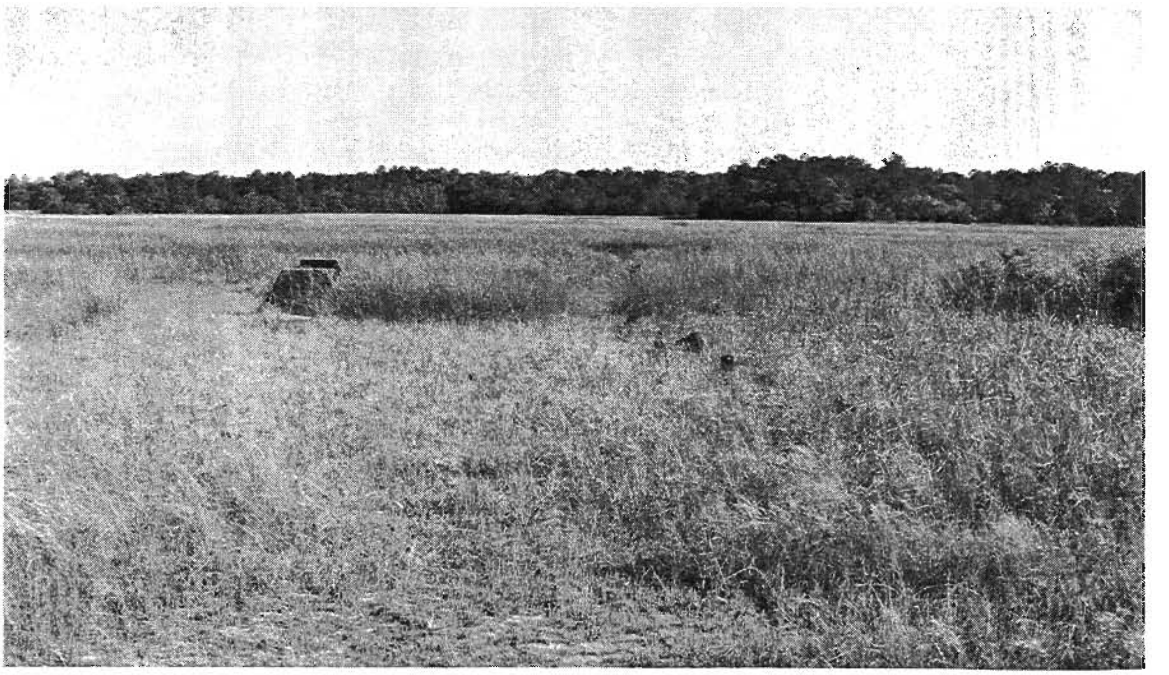

Figure 57. Marsh Structure 2 or mill pilings in the marsh, view to the south.

Figure 58. Fragment of the mill stone in the marsh north of the mill. View to the south.

Figure 59. Brownstone flood gate supports south of the mill, view to the southeast. The photograph was taken at seasonal high tide.

Figure 60. Marsh Structure 1 on the edge of Euhaw Creek. View to the west.

just above the water line. We also located a series of five pilings, which supported a structure measuring about 13 feet north-south by 14.5 feet east-west (Figures 46 and 60).

Marsh Brick Rubble and Ballast along Euhaw Creek

About 130 feet to the east of the mill there is a peninsula or finger of land about 35 feet in width which juts out into Euhaw Creek. Along the creek edge are a series of pilings, suggesting that this area may be made land, with the pilings originally designed to form a breakwater to stabilize the soil. Below the pilings, between high and low tide, is a dense area of flint ballast, probably put in place to also help hold this piece of high ground. On the marsh surface is a dense concentration of brick rubble, taking the form of a pile about 20 by 15 feet in diameter.

Marsh Canal East of Old House

East of Old House Miller located an old canal about 25 feet in width (Figure 6). He drew a line of posts along a portion of the western edge of the canal, which turned and joined up with Marsh Structure 4.

During the current work this canal was easily identified, both on the basis of elavational differences and also on the basis of different vegetation in the marsh. Where best defined it consists of a depression about 1.5 to 2.0 feet lower than the surrounding marsh, with dikes on either side. It is still fairly distinct in the area along the west side of Old House, gradually becoming less distinct about 600 feet to the north. The canal remains distinct to the south, eventually disappearing in the disturbance caused by the excavation of the Cooler's shrimp pond. We were not successful in identifying the posts shown by Miller — they are likely situated slightly below the surface of the marsh and are likely only occasionally exposed.

It seems likely that originally this canal connected with Euhaw Creek, just west of the mill. It was probably designed to bring the water course up to the edge of Old House, although why it extends so far to the north is, at present, unknown.

Examination of Euhaw Creek to the west reveals at least one area of extensive flint cobble ballast, perhaps reflecting an effort to re-enforce the creek edge and keep it from eroding into the canal.

ARTIFACTS

Introduction

This section is intended to provide an overview of the material culture present at Old House. As might be imagined, the auger testing at Old House produced only a modest collection of specimens — certainly nothing comparable to that which would be recovered from more formal excavations been undertaken. Nevertheless, the goal was not to recover large quantities of artifacts, but rather to collect the information necessary to evaluate the significance of the site. As a consequence, 442 artifacts were recovered during this study. A general overview of the recovered artifacts, mean ceramic dating, and artifact pattern analysis are provided in this section for the small assemblage present and available for study.[1]

Laboratory Processing, Conservation, and Analysis

The cleaning of artifacts was conducted in Columbia, after the conclusion of the excavations. Cataloging of the specimens was conducted at the conclusion of their cleaning. The analysis of the specimens was conducted immediately afterwards. Conservation treatments have been conducted by Chicora personnel at the Columbia laboratory intermittently since the completion of the project.

Ferrous objects identified as in need of treatment were treated by electrolytic reduction in a bath of sodium carbonate solution in currents no greater than 5 volts for a period of 5 to 20 days. When all visible corrosion was removed, the artifacts were wire brushed and placed in multiple baths of deionized water to remove chlorides. The baths were continued until a conductivity meter indicated a level of chlorides no greater than 0.1 ppm (2 umhos/cm). When the artifacts tested free of chlorides, they were dewatered in a series of acetone baths. Afterwards they were air-dried for 24 hours. A series of phosphoric (10% v/v) and tannic (20% w/v) acid solutions were applied. Finally, they were coated with a 10% solution (w/v) of acryloid B-72 in toluene.

As previously discussed, the materials will be curated with the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. The collection has been cataloged using this institution's accessioning practices. Specimens were packed in plastic bags and boxed. 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 also curated with these facilities. All materials have been delivered to the curatorial facility.

Analysis of the collections followed professionally accepted standards with a level of intensity suitable to the quantity and quality of the remains. Prehistoric pottery was so uncommon in these investigations (and outside the scope of the research plan) that it is not included in the study. The temporal, cultural, and typological classifications of the historic remains follow such authors as Cushion (1976), Godden (1964, 1985), Miller (1980, 1991), Noël Hume (1978), Norman-Wilcox (1965), Peirce (1988), Price (1970), South (1977), and Walton (1976). Glass artifacts were identified using sources such as Jones (1986), Jones and Sullivan (1985), McKearin and McKearin (1972), McNally (1982), Smith (1981), Vose (1975), and Warren (1970).

The analysis system used South's (1977) functional groups as an effort to subdivide historic

[1] There is a much larger assemblage, from Miller s excavations at the main house, currently housed at the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, but this collection has not been catalogued. It was beyond the scope of the current project to catalog, analyze, and report on its contents, although such an undertaking would dramatically improve our understanding of the Old House site and should be undertaken at the earliest possible opportunity.

assemblages into groups which could reflect behavioral categories. Initially developed for eighteenth-century British colonial assemblages, this approach appears to be an excellent choice for the Old House collection. Although criticized for problems in sample comparability (see, for example, Joseph 1989), even the system's detractors note that:

> whatever 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).

The functional categories of Kitchen, Architecture, Furniture, Personal, Clothing, Arms, Tobacco, and Activities provide not only the range necessary for describing and characterizing most collections, but also allow typically consistent comparison with other collections.

The primary technique for determining occupational span of the site, besides the mean ceramic dating technique is South's (1977) bracketing technique. This method consists of creating a time line where the manufacturing span of the various ceramics are placed. The left bracket is placed by determining where at least half of the ceramic type bars touch. The right bracket is placed the same way, however, it is placed far enough to the right to at least touch the beginning of the latest type present (South 1977:214). We have chosen to alter South's bracketing technique slightly by placing the left bar at the earliest ending date when that ending date does not overlap with the rest of the ceramic type bars.

Recovered Specimens

Kitchen Group Artifacts

A total of 163 Kitchen Group Artifacts was recovered, most (55.8%) representing ceramics. Recovered were a wide range of eighteenth and early nineteenth century ceramics, including porcelains, white salt-glazed stonewares, lead glazed slipwares, delft, creamwares, and pearlwares. Also present were ceramics more typically characteristic of the mid-nineteenth century, such as whitewares. These provide the TPQ date for the site.

The major types of ceramics are shown in Table 1, revealing that tablewares, such as the porcelains, white salt-glazed stonewares, delfts, creamwares, pearlwares, and whitewares, account for 87.9% of the ceramics. Utilitarian wares[2], such as the brown stonewares, coarse earthenwares, and yellow wares, account for 12.1% of the collection.

None of the eighteenth century wares are especially abundant, although the Chinese underglaze blue porcelains are the most common, accounting for 11 specimens (12.1% of the total ceramic collection and 42.3% of all those with an eighteenth century mean date). Until the early to mid-nineteenth century Chinese porcelain was an expensive, very fine, thin ware, usually associated with the tea ritual (and therefore found in tea

Table 1.
Major Types of Datable Pottery

Porcelain		13	14.3%
Stoneware		9	9.9%
Brown	6		
White	3		
Earthenware		69	75.8%
Slipware	2		
Refined	2		
Coarse	3		
Delft	2		
Creanware	8		
Pearlware	23		
Whiteware	27		
Other	2		

[2] Utilitarian wares are those used in food preparation and storage. They typically include storewares and coarse earthenwares, but exclude Colono ware, because of the possible ethnic differences in food preparation and consumption practices.

forms).[3] Its presence is considered an indicator of high status (Lewis 1985; Stone 1970:88). During the nineteenth century the quantity exported into the United States increased and the quality declined dramatically, making it a poor indicator of status or wealth during this later period. At Old House we tentatively believe that the bulk of the collection dates from the eighteenth century and is therefore an indicator of Daniel Heyward's efforts to establish himself in upper class society.

Four different vessels were represented in the Old House collection, including an undecorated cup 3½-inches in diameter, an underglaze blue hand painted saucer 6-inches in diameter, a polychrome handpainted plate 8-inches in diameter, and a polychrome handpainted cup 3½-inches in diameter. The only specimens which are certainly representative of later nineteenth century introduction are two fragments of a white porcelain, both representing plate forms between 8 and 9-inches in diameter.

Spanning the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is creamware. Developed in the 1750s by Josiah Wedgwood, this cream colored earthenware was considered a revolution in ceramic production. It provided a fine glazed ware at a relatively inexpensive cost, and came in sets with a wide variety of vessel forms and styles. All of the specimens from Old House are undecorated and generally very fragmentary. The one identifiable vessel was a bowl with an 8-inch diameter.

Although pearlware was developed by Wedgwood between 1775 and 1779 as an improvement on creamware, it wasn't typically available in the United States until the very early nineteenth century. It was intended to be closer in appearance to, yet still less expensive then, porcelain. The paste is often whiter than creamware, but more noticeable is the glaze, which included a trace of cobalt frit, giving the surface a pearly bluish-white caste. The pearlware identified at the Old House site includes primarily undecorated specimens, although blue transfer printed specimens and even a few edged wares are present. Only two identifiable vessels were recovered -- an undecorated plate and a blue edged plate, both measuring 9-inches in diameter.

Pearlware gradually evolved into whiteware between about 1820 and 1830. The paste continues to become harder, although it is again the glaze which is most distinct. The blue tint of pearlware is lost and whitewares have a clear glaze, often deeper than pearlware. At Old House, undecorated specimens are the most common, although edged and annular wares were also recovered. Three undecorated vessels could be identified, including

[3] James Deetz (1977:60-61) observes that at least by 1780 the porcelain found in colonial inventories "is largely limited to "tea sets, and probably demonstrates the adoption of the full-blown English tea ceremony for the first time. This custom can be considered a good indicator of the re-Anglicization process that was at work at the time." He points out that porcelain is therefore a socio-technic artifact and therefore less likely to be broken, and enter the archaeological record, than more technomic artifacts. Henry Hobhouse (1987) describes this ritual, as well as the ceramics associated with it, "The eighteenth century Europeans, like the Japanese but unlike the Chinese or the Russians, regarded tea making as a ceremony. There was the boiling water, not boiled for too long. There was the specially warmed pot. There was the infusion time. There was the pouring, a little bit of a ceremony all on its own" (Hobhouse 1987:111).

Richard Waterhouse (1989) explores the structure of values in Carolina society, noting that "the behavior patterns of the wealthy eighteenth-century Carolinians were based on luxurious living and imitation of upper-class English taste and manners" (Waterhouse 1989:103). The reasons for this "exaggerated imitation of the English gentry" (including the adoption of the tea ceremony) were complex, but seem to involve the high mortality of the new colony, the long-established links between Carolina s elite and the English gentry, the close trading (and economic) ties between the two groups, and the desire for the Carolina elite to establish itself as a ruling class which was rigidly hierarchical and mobility was severely limited. Waterhouse also contends that the "black majority" of Carolina "deepened the psychological need for South Carolinians to adhere to the normative values of English culture" (Waterhouse 1989:108). The tea ritual, and the associated very expensive imported porcelains were one aspect of this

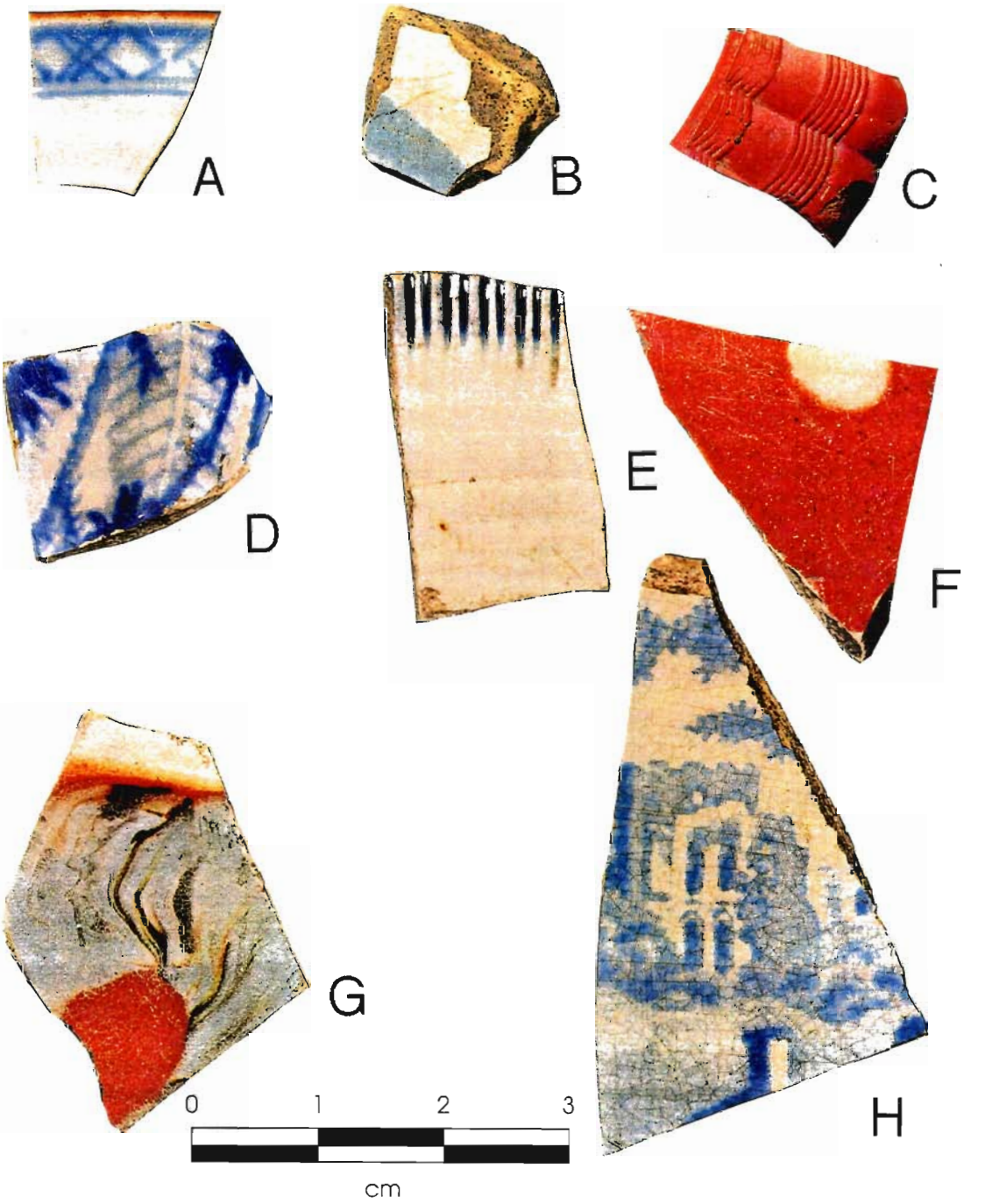

Figure 61. Kitchen Group Artifacts recovered from Old House. A, Chinese underglazed blue and white with brown band at rim, characteristic of the period before 1750; B, decorated delft; C, Elers ware; D, blue hand painted pearlware; E, blue edged pearlware; F-G, annular whiteware; H, blue transfer printed whiteware.

one 6-inch plate, one 6-inch bowl, and one cup (represented only by the handle).

Twelve Colono ware specimens were present in the Old House auger testing assemblage, representing 7.4% of the kitchen group. If these are included in the ceramic group, they would account for 11.6% of the total.

Although Colono ware was very common at eighteenth century sites in the Charleston area (see, for example, Trinkley et al. 1995.202-203), it tends to be rather uncommon in the interior Beaufort area. At the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century small planter's residence at 38BU1289, Colono wares account for only 1.9% of the ceramic assemblage (Kennedy and Roberts 1993:85). At the Rose Hill settlement, dating about a decade or so later but still in the Prince William section of Beaufort County, Colono wares account for less than 1% (Adams et al. 1995a:39). Consequently, Old House appears to have an unexpectedly high proportion of Colono ware, perhaps reflecting Daniel Heyward's close ties to Charleston.

Table 2.
Mean Ceramic Date for Old House

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	# (fi)	fi x xi
Underglazed blue porcelain	1660-1800	1730	11	19,030
White SGSW	1740-1775	1758	3	5,274
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	2	3,466
Luster wares	1790-1840	1815	1	1,815
Decorated delft	1600-1802	1750	1	1,750
Plain delft	1640-1800	1720	1	1,720
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	8	14,328
Pearlware, blue transfer printed	1795-1840	1818	5	9,090
edged	1780-1830	1805	2	3,610
undecorated	1780-1830	1805	16	28,880
Whiteware, polv hand painted	1826-1880	1853	1	1,853
blue transfer print	1831-1865	1848	1	1,848
annular	1831-1900	1866	5	9,330
undecorated	1820→	1860	20	37,200
Yellow ware	1826-1880	1853	1	1,853
			78	141,047

141,047 − 78 ≈ 1808.3

The mean ceramic date for Old House, 1808.3, is shown in Table 2. This table also provides information concerning manufacturing date range for the various ceramics. The *terminus post quem* (or TPQ) date is that date ***after which*** the zone was deposited. It is based on the latest dated artifact present in the assemblage. The TPQ date for the combined assemblage from the auger tests is about 1831 and is based on the annular and polychrome transfer printed whitewares. Since this is based on a combined assemblage, and does not represent any specific zone or feature, the approach offers relatively little insight, except to suggest the long occupation span present at the site. More useful is South's bracketing technique, which reveals a date range of 1775 to 1830.

If 1743, the year Daniel Heyward left James Island for Old House, is used as the historic beginning date for the Old House settlement and 1865, the year James Bolan died, is used for the terminal date of the settlement, then the mean historic date is 1804. This is just a few years younger than the mean ceramic date, suggesting perhaps that the early settlement at Old House was spartan, or viewed differently, that the later years evidenced far more intensive occupation.

The bracket dates suggest that much of the activity taking place at Old House may have occurred toward the end of Daniel Heyward's life, during the plantation's ownership by William Heyward, and during the subsequent ownership by William Heyward, Jr. This, in contrast to the mean ceramic and mean historic dates, suggests that Bolan's ownership contributed relatively little to the archaeological record. In fact, this seems probable since Bolan owned a number of plantations and probably spent relatively little time at Old House.

Regardless, all of the dating techniques seem to suggest that the site was most intensively occupied during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century. These, however, represent only general observations and it is essential that assemblages specific to the various structures be explored for additional information.

Container glass accounts for 58 fragments or 35.6% of the Kitchen Group total. The most prevalent glass type is that commonly called "black," which is actually dark green in transmitted light, comprising 75.8% of the glass recovered. These represent "wine" bottles commonly used in Europe and North America. Olive Jones (1986) has conducted extensive research on this bottle style, discovering that the cylindrical "wine" bottle represents four distinct styles — two for wine and two for beer — linked to their size and intended contents. These four styles, however, were not just used for wines and beers. Other products, such as cider, distilled liquors, vinegar, and mineral waters might also have been sold in these bottle styles. In addition, they would have been used by private individuals as containers for decanting, storing, and serving beverages either bought in barrels or made at home.

Other container glass includes one fragment of brown glass, three fragments of light green glass, five fragments of aqua glass, and five fragments of clear glass (not including obviously modern glass, which was excluded from analysis).

Only one tableware item was recovered from the site — a clear, pressed lead glass container or hollowware fragment. Jones and Sullivan (1985:34) note that it wasn't until the 1820s that pressed hollowware became common. By the 1860s lime glass largely replaced lead glass. The specimen from Old House is too small to identify its form. Only one kitchenware fragment was found — an iron kettle fragment.

Architecture Group Artifacts

A total of 255 architectural fragments (excluding brick and slate) was recovered from the auger testing at Old House, representing about 57.7% of the total artifact assemblage.

The single largest category is that of nails, with the 223 specimens accounting for 87.5% of the collection. Of these 106, or 47.5%, can be discounted since they could not be identified as to type. Ten of the nails (representing 11.7% of the identifiable nails) were hand wrought, meaning they were individually forged by blacksmiths, either in America or England.[4] The wrought nail shank can be distinguished from machine cut nails (introduced about 1780) by their taper on all four sides, instead of only two (see Howard 1989:54; Nelson 1968). These nails, while largely replaced by machine cut nails at the beginning of the nineteenth century, continued in specialized use far longer.

Forty-eight cut nails were also found in the collection. These were produced by a machine that cut each shaft from a sheet of iron, tapering the nail along its length on only two, instead of all four, sides. Although this machinery was invented in the 1780s, nails produced by machine were slow to reach the South, not becoming widely available until the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Lounsbury (1994:107) suggests that the most widely available variety from the 1790s through the early 1820s were those whose heads were still hand forged (that is, a machine cut nail with a hand forged head). After about 1815 machines capable of both cutting and heading the nails were introduced and hand forged heads gradually declined in significance. The bulk of the specimens from Old House have forged heads, suggesting their use during this earlier period. In fact, only four machine cut nails with cut heads were recovered.

The last type of nail present is a single example of a wire nail. These were formed by cutting and forming wire. They have a circular cross section and were first imported from France

[4] Lounsbury (1994:239) notes that while nails were certainly manufactured locally in the South, "a sizable proportion of the nails used in buildings through the late 18th century were imported from England."

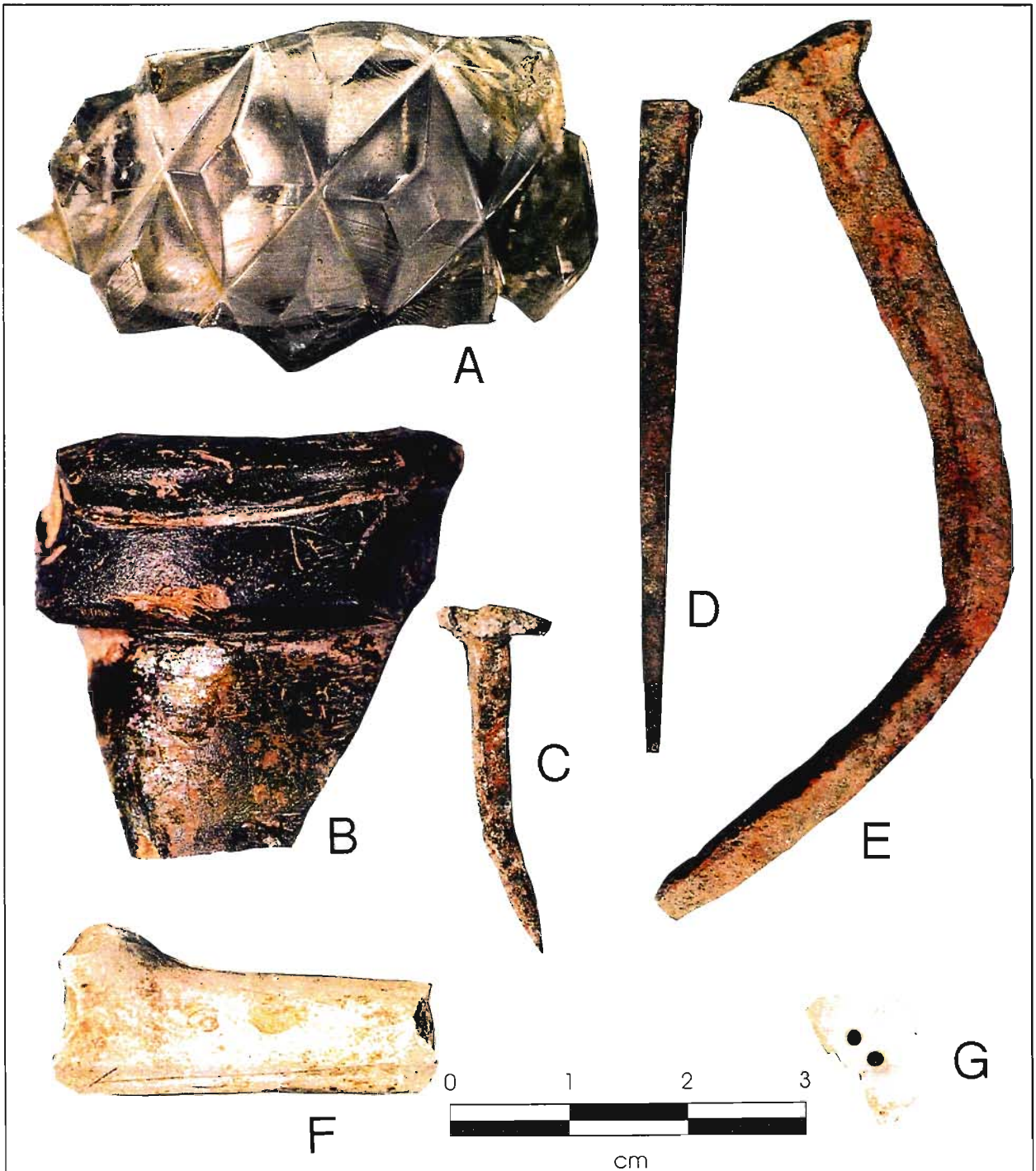

Figure 62. Kitchen and other artifact group artifacts recovered from Old House. A, pressed lead glass; B, "black" bottle glass neck; C, hand wrought nail (before conservation); D, machine cut nail (before conservation); E, machine cut nail with hand wrought head (before conservation); F, kaolin tobacco pipe stem; G, porcelain 4-hole button fragment.

in the late nineteenth century. By 1893 they were being manufactured in the United States in sizes ranging from 2d to 60d (Bucher 1996:534), although like other innovations, they likely arrived somewhat later to the South Carolina lowcountry. This one example from Old House probably represents a recent intrusion and is likely not associated with the archaeological remains.

Because different size nails served different self-limited functions, it is possible to use the relative frequencies of nail sizes[5] to indicate building construction details. Table 3 lists nails by both penny weight sizes and the Standard Average European (SAE) size, as well as the function of various nail sizes.

While it may be that the number of measurable wrought nails is too small to provide any meaningful information, it is curious that the collection is dominated by the smallest size ranges, which are typically the least well preserved. The near absence of wrought nails associated with heavy framing is likely an indication of a structure using traditional peg construction — likely since Heyward's core structure was built in the 1740s.[6] The wrought nails present were likely used to attach plaster lathes, molding, shingles, and exterior cladding.

The cut nails, which may primarily represent the latter expansion of the Heyward mansion, reveal a different distribution. The most common size are those associated with sheathing, while the number associated with framing has increased significantly, as have those associated with heavy framing. This suggests that the later additions were no longer constructed using the craft techniques common to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Table 3.
Wrought and Cut Nails

Penny Wt.	SAE	Wrought	Cut
2d	1"		1
3d	1¼"	1	4
4d	1½"	2	6
5d	1¾"		1
Small timber, shingles		3	12
%		50	25
6d	2"	1	12
7d	2¼"		4
8d	2½"	1	3
Sheathing and siding		2	19
%		33	40
9d	2¾"	1	1
10d	3"		7
12d	3¼"		2
Framing		1	10
%		17	21
16d	3½"		7
Heavy framing		0	7
%		0	14

Of course, it is important to realize that these nails were collected from all across the site and were likely not exclusively associated with the main house. A clearer picture of the building techniques can be developed when Miller's collections are explored.

The next most common Architecture Group artifact is that of flat glass (all of which appears to represent window glass), accounting for 11.7% of the group (n=30). Until the modern period, window glass was either crown or cylinder, with crown glass dominating the eighteenth and early nineteenth century market. Regardless, it is usually difficult to distinguish the two unless certain, usually large, parts of the glass are present (Jones and Sullivan 1985.171). At Old House all of the fragments are small, suggesting considerable fragmentation of the panes prior to their disposal.

[5] Nails were not only sold by shape, but also by size, the lengths being designated by *d* (pence). This nomenclature developed from the medieval English practice of describing the size according to the price per thousand (Lounsbury 1994:239). Nelson (1968:2) provides the same interpretation, although the price was per hundred. Common sizes include 2d - 6d, 8d, 10d, 12d, 20d, 30d, and 40d. It was not, however, until the late nineteenth century that penny weights were standardized.

[6] Not included in the table is one wrought spike, measuring 6½-inches in length.

All of the glass, however, had a greenish tint, common to eighteenth century specimens (Noël Hume 1978:233).

The only other architectural item recovered was a wrought strap hinge measuring 17-inches in length and 2-inches in width. Strap hinges were simple to make, inexpensive, and therefore widely used. The larger strap hinges were used for hanging doors, although its purpose was not only to swing the door, but also to help hold it true (Streeter 1974:15-16). Consequently, the size of the strap may often provide some information concerning the weight and size of the door. The size of this hinge was most commonly used on outbuildings with wide, heavy doors. It provides some evidence of the range of buildings which must have been present at Old House.

Tobacco Group Artifacts

Old House produced five tobacco artifacts (representing 1.1% of the total assemblage), including three pipe stem fragments and two pipe bowl fragments.

Both of the pipe bowl fragments were plain. The most common diameter pipe stem is 4/64-inch, accounting for 66.7% of the collection (n=2), followed by 5/64-inch (n=1, 33.3%). None are decorated.

Clothing Group Artifacts

This category includes one button and one other clothing item, accounting for 0.5% of the total assemblage from this survey of Old House. The one button is a fragmentary four-hole white porcelain example, which South (1964) classifies as his Type 23.

The other item is a probable shoe buckle, measuring 1¾-inches by 1¼-inch and made of iron. It most closely resembles the Type II buckles identified by Abbitt (1973:32). This particular style likely dates from after 1730 (before which few had elaborate designs) and prior to the last quarter of the eighteenth century (when buckle sizes increased significantly). The size is appropriate for a man's shoe.

Personal Group Artifacts

Only one specimen of a Personal Group Artifact was encountered in the Old House assemblage — a fragment of a graphite pencil used for on writing slates.

Activities Group Artifacts

This final artifact group includes a total of 16 specimens (or 3.6%of the total assemblage). The category is broken down into a variety of classes — construction tools, farm tools, toys, fishing gear, storage items, stable and barn items, miscellaneous hardware, and a rather general class called simply, "other" (South 1977:96). At Old House, a single tool item was recovered — a fragmentary grub hoe. Storage items included two items of strap metal, probably barrel hoop fragments. Under miscellaneous hardware are two iron rings and a fragment of a flat head wood screw. The "other" category includes seven unidentifiable fragments of iron, one smoothed and burnished stone which may represent a smoothing tool used in Colono ware production, one fragment of brass rod, and one polished marble fragment. This last item is included in the Activity Group primarily since its function could not be determined. It may present an architectural item, perhaps a fragment of a marble mantle or fireplace surround. It might also be the top to a furniture item. Finally, it might also represent a small portion of one of the many damaged grave stones.

Pattern Analysis

The artifact pattern derived from the auger testing at Old House is present in Table 4, along with a range of previously defined patterns for comparison.

The Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern was developed by Stanley South, and slightly revised by Pat Garrow, to reflect middling status eighteenth century Anglo-American deposits. The Revised Frontier Pattern is expected to reflect similar middling status Anglo-American deposits in frontier contexts. The Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern, in contrast was developed on the basis of

Table 4.
Artifact Pattern at Old House Compared to Previously Defined and Published Patterns (numbers in percents)

	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern[a]	Revised Frontier Artifact Pattern[a]	Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern[a]	Old House
Kitchen	51.8 - 65.0	35.5 - 43.8	70.9 - 84.2	36.9
Architectural	25.2 - 31.4	41.6 - 43.0	11.8 - 24.8	57.7
Furniture	0.2 - 0.6	0.1 - 1.3	0.1	-
Arms	0.1 - 0.3	1.4 - 8.9	0.1 - 0.3	-
Tobacco	1.9 - 13.9	1.3 - 14.0	2.4 - 5.4	1.1
Clothing	0.6 - 5.4	0.3 1.6	0.3 - 0.8	0.5
Personal	0.2 - 0.5	0.1	0.1	0.2
Activities	0.9 - 1.7	0.5 - 5.4	0.2 - 0.9	3.6

[a] Garrow 1982

excavations at eighteenth century slave settlement, primarily along the central South Carolina coast. Old House, while most closely resembling the frontier pattern, at least in terms of the importance of kitchen items, fails to exhibit the anticipated reliance on arms, so essential for survival on a frontier.

Several years ago, as a result of extensive research on the rice plantations of the Waccamaw Neck, an evaluation of these various patterns was conducted. It was noted that when all eighteenth century owner sites were examined, there was:

> a tremendous amount of variability, with the kitchen artifacts ranging from 43.2 to 75.5% and the architecture artifacts ranging from 16.9 to 50.3%. Even before adding a predictive range to this empirical range, the variability is almost overwhelming.
>
> However, two distinct clusters are also obvious, dividing the rice and cotton plantations. Eighteenth century rice planters have a nearly equal ratio of kitchen to architecture artifact groups, with the range of kitchen artifacts being 43.2 to 48.4% and the range of architecture being 44.6 to 50.3% The eighteenth century non-rice (i.e., cotton) plantations have a high ratio of kitchen to architecture, with ranges of 64 6% kitchen to 29.2% architecture.
>
> There is no empirical overlap of the eighteenth century rice and cotton plantation owner's assemblages, and even when expanded to the 95% predictive range these two patterns remains distinct (rice plantations have a kitchen artifact range of 38.2 to 53.4% and an architecture range of 39.2 to 56.0%, while cotton plantations have a kitchen range of 54.2 to 85.9% and an architecture range of 5.2 to 40.9% (Trinkley 1993:71-73).

The Old House assemblage, as representative of an eighteenth century rice plantation, appears to fit this previously discovered pattern very closely. Clearly it is of tremendous importance to explore a much larger collection to see if Old House continues to exhibit this distinctive pattern.

Artifacts and the Heywards' Lifeways

Although the collection is small, an examination of the percentage of decorative motifs may provide some meaningful information about either the wealth of the Heywards or how they chose to display their wealth to the community.

John Solomon Otto (1984:64-67) found that at Cannon's Point (a coastal Georgia nineteenth century plantation) 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 is the use by slaves of discarded ceramics from the main house.

The vast majority (75.8%) of ceramics in the Heyward auger test assemblage were undecorated. However, it should be remembered that some of these undecorated wares are likely undecorated portions of decorated vessels. In addition, when each of the different cream colored wares were first introduced the plain vessels were preferred. Only later, when the novelty of the new style began to wear off, were the plain ceramics considered less desirable. If examining only those ceramics with decoration, transfer printed wares are the most common, followed by annular and then edged. The presence of the transfer printed motifs, in combination with the sizable porcelain assemblage, suggests that the Heywards were clearly demonstrating their wealth in their table settings.

Table 5
Shape and Function of Vessels at Old House (by percent)

Shape		
Tablewares		71.4
Flatware	60.0	
Hollow ware	40.0	
Serving	-	
Teaware		28.6
Utilitarian		-

Another way of examining potential differences in status is to compare the form of the ceramics present at the site, broken into categories of tableware, teaware, and utilitarian wares. This is revealed for Old House in Table 5. Tablewares, especially flatwares, dominate the collection, accounting for 71.4% of the assemblage. Teawares comprise the rest of the assemblage with this limited collection revealing no utilitarian wares.

Although the Archdale Plantation assemblage incorporates teawares and tablewares, combined they account for 63% of the ceramic assemblage, with utilitarian wares accounting for roughly 33% (Zierden et al. 1985:75). At Crowfield the combined tablewares and teawares account for 80.2% of the collection, with utilitarian wares accounting for the remaining 19.8%. Similarly, the utilitarian ceramic collection at the Gibbes site in downtown Charleston comprised about 23% of the assemblage (Zierden et al. 1987:56). Although calculations are somewhat problematic, it seems that European utilitarian wares account for about 19.9% of the Drayton Plantation collection, while tablewares and teawares account for about 80.1% (Lewis 1978:65).

While there are fewer comparative collections, most very high status collections have significantly higher proportions of teaware (allowing participation in the ritualized tea ceremony) and lower proportions of utilitarian wares. Zierden and Grimes (1989:65) note, correctly we believe, that the reduction in utilitarian ware represents the increased availability of new tableware styles, not necessarily an actual decrease in the use of utilitarian wares. We anticipate, however, that wealthy owners would more quickly take advantage of these new tableware forms.

It has been found that flatwares will predominate the tableware collections in higher status sites. At lower status sites of both blacks and whites, bowl forms dominate the collection, likely reflecting the importance of stews, soups, and similar "one-pot meals" (see Otto 1984:68-69; see also Trinkley and Hacker 1996:64-65). At Old House flatwares account for 60% of the tableware, while hollow wares account for the remaining 40% of the tableware collection. This suggests something of a middling status, clearly not as high

status as some sites, but also very clearly above small planters and slaves.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Site Areas

The auger testing at Old House revealed the presence of at least four specific site areas in the high ground portion of the site.

The first is the main house excavated by John Miller with The Charleston Museum in 1965 This area is visible on the ground surface as a series of depressions and swales, perhaps representing the back dirt piles. It is seen in the artifact density as a vacant area partially surrounded by increased density — perhaps representing materials which were removed from the excavations but incompletely screened.

The second is the Heyward grave yard, which today is enclosed by a brick wall reduced in height from its original construction, probably in the first quarter of the twentieth century. This area is seen as exhibiting only a few peaks in brick density, reflective of the wall failures and subsequent rebuilding efforts. As might be imagined, artifact density is very low.

The third site area is a diffuse scatter of eighteenth and nineteenth century artifacts west of the grave yard, perhaps reflecting the location of a flanker or utility building. This area is clearly seen on the map of artifact density, although there is no evidence of increased brick density.

The fourth site area is on the edge of Jasper County's property, extending to the west onto adjacent lands. This is reflected by a dense concentration of artifacts, including an increased proportion of both Colono wares and also faunal remains. Based on the available information, this structure *may* represent the plantation kitchen.

At least three additional high ground areas are present in the vicinity of the site, although they are situated off the county's property Each of these has been verified to exist, although no work has been conducted on any of them.

The first is the structure identified by Miller as a possible kitchen. Since the current work did not explore this large brick mound, we cannot offer any speculations on its function.

A second area, also off the county's property, is another of Miller's brick mounds. This mound is still present, although somewhat reduced since the 1960s. It almost certainly represents another structure.

A third area is situated just to the west of the oak allée, about 180 feet north of the county's property. There is a dense scatter of ceramics, brick, and oyster shell about 90 feet in length which may represent a portion of the slave settlement associated with Old House, based on the identification of primarily plain or annular creamwares and pearlwares.

Finally, there is one area originally identified by Miller in 1965 which we were not able to relocate during the current work. This is the area of the reputed chimney footing and stable, which is today in the rear yards of houses along SC 462. It is likely that some degree of shovel testing will be necessary to identify these remains, although there is a fairly good chance that they are still intact.

If these different site areas are examined on a map (see, for example, Figure 6 and compare to Figure 46) they appear to take on an east-west alignment along the edge of the high ground overlooking the marsh. From the east to the west there is the stable complex, an unidentified building, the probable kitchen, the main house, a flanker, and the grave yard. North of this line there was at least one additional building, as well as the oak allée and the possible slave settlement.

Of these buildings the main house and

kitchen were likely the most impressive, at least based on our current understanding. The main house itself was two stories, of frame and brick construction. It had been expanded from its basic eighteenth century through-hall plan into a "T" plan sometime in the early nineteenth century The kitchen, based on the density of both artifacts and brick rubble, appears to also have been a substantial structure. It may be that the kitchen was also two stories, perhaps serving as a residence for the house servants as well as the kitchen. Of course this is entirely speculative and awaits additional archaeological research.

The landscape created by Daniel Heyward, and perhaps expanded by William Heyward, was almost certainly intended to be viewed from the Euhaw River, since the main house's formal entrance faced that direction. It is likely that the Heyward's settlement, surrounded by cleared ground, provided an impressive array to those sailing up the creek.

This impression must have been re-enforced by the diversity of structures and activities which were also taking place in the marsh. Here an additional five, possibly six structures have been identified.

These include a small structure, about 13 by 14.5 feet, on the edge of the creek. Situated in an area perfect for docking, this may have represented a boat house or other landing facility This landing would have been almost due south of the main house, ensuring that visitors would immediately notice, and appreciate, the wealth and power evidenced in Daniel's mansion.

About 260 east (or down stream) was a much more impressive structure — Heyward's tidal rice mill. This was a fairly major complex, spread over an area about 80 feet along the edge of the creek. The structure itself measured about 45 by 33 feet in size and it was here the rice would have been pounded to remove the hull and polish the grain. The mill was associated with a gate of brownstone and a now buried trunk about 16.5 feet in width. There is also a nearby section of dike, which may have originally connected to the section seen near the small structure to the west. They probably served to impound water allowing for longer periods of operation.

At the edge of the high ground was another marsh structure, measuring about 34 by 20 feet. Perhaps this building served as a warehouse, allowing storage of the grain after it was winnowed but before it had been milled.

Also in the marsh are two small foundations, each about 5 feet square. Their function is uncertain, although they may simply have served as lookout stands or perhaps as bird blinds.

All of these different marsh structures were tied together by a complex plank road network. The main "artery" from high ground to the mill was 40 feet in width, testifying to the traffic which took place between these two spots. Running off the main roadway were narrower connectors, about 20 feet wide.

To the east of the mill is an area of made ground, evidenced by ballast and pilings. A small pile of brick in this area may represent yet another building. Certainly some form of activity was taking place here, since the effort had been made to create the land and protect it from erosion.

Nearby, to the east of the mill, a north-south running canal had been created by Heyward to bring Euhaw Creek up against the bank. Where this canal terminated we don't yet know, although it certainly went past the area owned today by the County.

This marsh landscape must have been every bit as impressive as that seen on the high ground, although the marsh was clearly more industrial in nature. The dichotomy we see today — between residential mansion and industrial building — may have been less obvious, or important, to period observers. It was rice which brought Daniel wealth and prestige. He and his contemporaries may have recognized that the two were different sides of the same coin.

A more traditional view would have been

presented as one rode down the oak allée. If we are correct, then the first hint of the settlement (beyond the avenue itself) may have been the slave settlement off to the right. The allée would have funneled visitors to the rear of the house, although it seems certain that there would have been some road system connecting the main house and the stables. The visitor would likely have been greeted by a broad vista of houses — the main house flanked by smaller structures on each side, with the grave yard perhaps being barely visible to the far left.

Artifacts, Lifeways, and Status

The current study has yielded only a small collection of artifacts, primarily from the auger survey. Nevertheless, even this small collection helps us better understand Old House and those who lived there.

All the collection — ceramics, container glass, and other artifacts — is representative of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The mean ceramic date for the collection is 1808, with a mean historic date for the site of 1804. The bracketing dates for the collection are 1775 to 1830. This suggests that much of the activity at Old House occurred toward the end of Daniel Heyward's life, during the plantation's ownership by William Heyward, and during the subsequent ownership by William Heyward, Jr. James Bolan's ownership likely had little impact on Old House, which had probably started its decline by the 1840s.

The collection of artifacts at Old House does not closely correspond with any of the previously published artifact patterns. Instead, it most closely resembles the pattern which we have observed at other eighteenth century rice plantations, where the predictive range for kitchen artifacts is 38.2 to 53.4% and 39.2 to 56.0% for architectural remains.

The ceramic collection from Old House is, in general, representative of a fairly high status assemblage. Porcelains are fairly common and transfer printed wares comprise a large segment of the decorated wares. Utilitarian wares are absent in the collection from auger testing and the tablewares are dominated by flatwares, suggestive of more elaborate menus and higher status food preparation.

Tobacco, Clothing, and Personal Group artifacts are modest in numbers, but this likely is a result of the limited work conducted at the site. The artifacts from the Activities Group are especially telling. Not only is the proportion fairly high, but the collection is entirely dominated by work objects which one might expect at a rice plantation. Entirely absent, for example, are toys or even construction tools.

The items from these different groups give an impression of neither very high nor very low status. The remains — things such as an iron shoe buckle, a pencil, and a few well worn tobacco pipe stem fragments — suggest that daily life among the Heywards was focused on the raising and processing of rice, with little time left over for elaborate clothing or fancy entertaining. This may suggest that although the Heywards surrounded themselves with some of the trappings of society and status, Old House was — above all else — a working plantation.

Site Eligibility

This site is recommended as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion D. Taken in the context of the limited archaeological research at other eighteenth century plantation in the Carolina lowcountry, the site appears to be significant at a state-wide level, offering the opportunity to examine a wide range of significant research questions regarding rice plantations, including the interaction of blacks and whites at isolated eighteenth century frontier rice plantations, the status of rice planters in this area and how they chose to display their wealth to the community, and the development of the plantation landscape. Given the extensive marsh and industrial development at Old House there are a range of additional questions, specific to the daily operation of a rice plantation — how the mill was constructed, how the floodgates were constructed

and how they operated in the context of the buried trunk, how the rice flowed through the different operations at Old House, and how the landscape was changed by the industrial activities.

We recommend the site eligible under Criterion A, which includes sites which are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of history. We believe that the site is, again, significant at a state level. In this case, Old House represents not only the seat of Daniel Heyward's 17,000 acre rice empire, but there is compelling evidence that there exists at the site information concerning industrial activities which Heyward may have originated or perfected in his rice cultivation and processing efforts. As additional information is collected concerning the industrial technology of the Old House mill, it may be that the site's significance will be elevated to a national level, especially if it is found that Heyward perfected a tidal mill prior to the work of Jonathan Lucas.

Old House is also recommended as eligible for inclusion on the National Register under Criterion B, properties associated with the lives of persons significant in our past. We believe that the site is significant at a national level because of it was the boyhood home of Thomas Heyward, Jr., one of the four signers of the Declaration of Independence for South Carolina. Although nearby White Hall is the seat of Thomas Heyward, Jr. during his later adult life, only Old House is readily accessible to the public. Moreover, as discussed below, it is at Old House that Thomas Heyward, Jr. was buried.

Ordinarily cemeteries, birthplaces, or graves of historical figures are not considered eligible for inclusion on the National Register. However, Old House falls under Criteria Consideration D — being a cemetery which derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance. In this case that importance is derived from Thomas Heyward, Jr. and has been recognized by the South Carolina State Legislature through the erection of a monument to Heyward at this site. In addition, the Old House Cemetery, upon further exploration, may exhibit mortuary designs with distinctive design features. Both the Thomas Heyward, Jr. and Mrs. E.H. Parker monuments are unusual in their design and execution. These may represent unique designs, warranting additional study and preservation efforts.

As previously discussed, the first step in the evaluative phase (especially for Criterion D), was the identification of the site's data sets. Specifically, we identified that the site evidenced a variety of artifacts, the presence of features and discrete building areas, and the potential for patterned landscape features and intra-site clustering of artifacts. It does not matter that the artifact density is relatively low — this may be either the result of how the Heywards chose to demonstrate their wealth or may possibly even be associated with the heavily industrial or processing function of the plantation. The seemingly low artifact density may be the result of the survey methodology. What *is* important is that artifacts were found that are likely capable of assisting us in better understanding how the Heywards lived (status) and how the site was used (rice processing and shipping, country seat, and working plantation). The clear concentrations of artifacts revealed by the auger survey strongly suggest the existence of discrete structural locations with dense sub-surface remains being present and recoverable.

These areas are anticipated to not only help us understand the different activities which took place on the plantation, but also possibly the refuse disposal activities. Finally, landscape information — the presence of remnant building footings, topography, and artifacts — offer yet another data set which may be used to interpret activities which took place on the site.

A very generalized historic context was offered in the historical synopsis of the site and the brief overview of research at other low country rice plantations. It is significant that relatively little archaeological research has been conducted at similar sites (eighteenth century lowcountry rice plantations). While the Heyward site is commonly thought important because of its association with Thomas Heyward, Jr., the context also reveals that the site is important for what it can tell us about

rice cultivation along the lower South Carolina coast during the eighteenth century.

A range of potentially significant research questions have been suggested for exploration at the Heyward site, including those related to how the Heywards sought to demonstrate their wealth and prestige to others, how the plantation landscape reflected their wealth and power, how their display of wealth may have changed over time, how whites and blacks interacted on a frontier rice plantation in the eighteenth century, the place of Colono ware on the plantation, how the plantation was set up to process and ship rice, the exploration of the mill and especially the buried floodgates and trunk, and refuse disposal practices of eighteenth century planters at the marsh edge.

There are even more site-specific research questions, including when the original structure was built and when it was expanded, the function of the various buildings observed on the plantation landscape, the exploration of the internal workings of the flood gates, the design and construction of the buried trunk, the design of the plank roads, the use of the small brick buildings in the marsh, the importance of the canal running along the edge of the Old House tract, when the grave yard was walled and why the outer walls were constructed, when the inner grave yard wall was built, how many burials are actually present at the Heyward Grave Yard, and where the slave settlement was located.

All of these, to one degree or another *can* be addressed by the data sets identified at the site. Further, all have sound bases in the historical and archaeological context previously developed.

The next aspect of the evaluation, of course, is documenting that the site's archaeological integrity is adequate to allow these research questions to actually be addressed. In other words, questions are relatively easy to come by; unfortunately many sites simply don't have the integrity to allow the identified questions to be examined. The areas of concern in the evaluation of eligibility under Criterion D, as previously mentioned, are locational integrity, design integrity, integrity of materials, and associative integrity.

Locational integrity means that discernable patterning is present at the site. If a site lacks patterning, then it likely lacks locational integrity. Historical archaeological sites almost always exhibit this form of integrity and the Heyward site is no exception. Little (if any) of the site appears to have been lost to plowing, silvaculture, or erosion. The clear definition of structures in the auger survey provides evidence of the patterning.

Integrity of design is often addressed as intra-site artifact and feature patterning. Indeed, we have seen that not only do the artifact patterns appear to resemble a previously identified pattern, but the artifacts appear to form intra-site concentrations or clusters, at least some of which may represent specific structures. Even in the marsh, where there is a much higher potential for a loss of design integrity, plank roads, pilings, and ballast piles are clearly evident.

Integrity of materials is typically seen as the completeness of the artifact/feature assemblage or the quality of feature or artifact preservation. Although the Heyward mansion is no longer standing, Miller's previous work reveals that buried below the ground are nearly intact brick foundations. Not only does this indicate that the mansion exhibits integrity of materials, but it gives us reason to believe that other structures will be similarly distinct. Aspects of the landscape can help us better understand what the site looked like when it was occupied. And the concentrations of artifacts present on the site can help reconstruct refuse disposal and perhaps even intra-site patterning.

Finally, associative integrity is often explored in the context of how strongly associated the data set is with important research questions. There seems to be a very strong association between the pattern observed at other eighteenth century rice plantations and that at the Heyward site. These strong associations between the site's information and questions proposed further supports its eligibility

The final aspect of the evaluative process

is to determine which of the research questions can actually be addressed at the site. This testing, for example, suggests that very few (if any) data sets are present which can realistically address questions concerning how Heyward's field slaves lived or how Thomas Heyward, Jr. managed the plantation. We have avoided outlining research questions which likely cannot be addressed by the Heyward site.

Integrity of location, design, materials, and association, are of primary importance when nominating historical archaeological sites, like Old House, under Criteria A and B.

Old House, situated in the midst of Heyward's 17,000 acre rice plantation empire exhibits clear locational integrity — the site is at the place where the historic events associated with these vast rice holdings existed. In addition, the setting of the plantation has changed little and still provides a visitor with a "feel" for the setting. The marsh view is unspoiled by development and helps convey the vastness of the holdings. There is even a land buffer to isolate the visitor from road noise or nearby houses.

In a similar fashion, Old House provides exceptional design integrity for Criteria A and B. The association of space, scale, materials, and the natural environment all help the casual visitor to understand the layout of the plantation and its focus on the adjacent marsh. Townsend et al. comment that under Criteria A and B the National Register places a heavy emphasis:

> on a property looking like it did during its period of significance. One of the tests is to ask if a person from the time or the important person who lived there, would recognize it. If the answer is "yes," then the property probably has integrity of design (Townsend et al. 1993:18)

At Old House there is little doubt that the landscape, that the design of the site, is still relatively intact and conveys a sense of the original site.

Integrity of materials, in the context of Criteria A and B involves the physical elements or materials which were combined or deposited during the period of the site's use. At Old House there can be no question that some materials have been heavily impacted. The grave yard wall, for example, has been rebuilt and reduced in height. The floodgates for the mill are now gone and the trunk is silted in. On the other hand, the materials of the plank roads are still well preserved and readily apparent. The materials of the various marsh buildings are still evident in the heart pine pilings. Even the cemetery retains some original material and the stones themselves are all of original material. The oak allée further re-enforces the integrity of the original site materials.

Finally, associative integrity involves the direct link between the important historic event or person and the property. At Old House the presence of the rice mill foundations, the trunk, and the floodgates provide a direct link between the site and the technology of rice production and especially early tidal rice mills. The presence of the buried house remains provides a direct link between the site and the early boyhood life of Thomas Heyward, Jr. As stated earlier, Old House site is able to convey to a visitor an association with the time period. It can convey the relationship of rice cultivation and plantation life to those visiting the site today.

Site Planning Issues

Having discussed the Heyward site, its history, and its archaeology, it is appropriate now to turn to the issue of how this site may be preserved and how it may benefit the public. We do not, however, wish to mislead. Given the limited funds, planning was not the primary goal of this study and this section offers only a broad overview of some of the major issues. In spite of the superficial coverage in some areas, it still offers an excellent "action plan," outlining essential issues and major hurdles. It may also offer the Jasper County and the Heyward Foundation a place from which discussions on the site's future may begin.

There is clearly much to be done. In many cases there is an obvious sequence of events.

Where there isn't, we have tried to offer some additional guidance. In general, assuming that funding is available, all of these issues can be resolved and actions implemented, within the scope of a year. We do not mean to imply that any actions should be rushed. In fact, many of the actions proposed will require the collaboration and partnership with a wide range of other organizations. But careful and dedicated collaborative action does not mean that the planning process must drag on for years. Whatever momentum the project may develop will surely be lost if clear action and measurable progress is not achieved quickly and decisively

Protection of the Site

The Heyward site has been carefully protected by first the Coolers and later Jasper County. Although some very hasty and unwise decisions have been made concerning preservation actions at the grave yard, it too is in fairly good condition.

One of the most serious concerns is that a number of individuals, thieves of time, have sought to convert the public's heritage into their own private ownership. Using metal detectors and shovels they periodically visit the site, hoping to find some "relic." Their actions will seriously, and irreparably, damage the site.

Jasper County **must** take action to protect the Heyward site from looting and metal detecting. This involves three high priority steps:

- County Council must enact an ordinance protecting (minimally) this site. The ordinance would make it a criminal offense to damage, dig, destroy, or remove any artifacts from the site. Having a metal detector on-site would be prima facia evidence of intent to loot and would be an offense against the ordinance. There are local ordinances from surrounding states which may be used as a model.

- The County Council or the County Manager must specifically direct the Sheriff's Office to patrol this site. A law without enforcement is more than useless, since it indicates that the County has no real desire to protect the resource and site vandals will be reassured that they face no threat of prosecution.

- The County must clearly post the law at the site and must advertise the new ordinance in the media. This effort should be coupled with a plea to the public to help preserve the site. It is likely that the best enforcement will come from neighbors of the site, who may be convinced to report unusual activities. If necessary, local individuals should be approached individually.

At the present time the S.C. Department of Parks, Recreation, and Tourism (SC PRT) is providing routine care and maintenance for the site. They have been doing an admirable job. This effort can be improved by taking two steps:

- The County must institute a plan of periodic inspections to ensure that the integrity of the site.

- The County, in conjunction with SC PRT, must implement the preservation plan provided by Stone Faces as a result of the recently funded conservation treatment of the grave yard.

Another potential threat to the site involves damage to the mansion remains through site use. We have observed that this area is used for parking. This will, over even short periods of time, cause significant compaction of the soil. We have also seen damage to the exposed brick foundations, apparently from traffic across this

field. To help control this damage:

- The County should seek to limit traffic in this area by installing bollards (outside the site area).

- The County should close off the road to the cemetery and the road to the marsh, confining vehicles to the entrance area.

- SC PRT should ensure that the mansion area is only mowed by hand. It may also be appropriate to investigate the possibility of converting the current grass to a vegetative cover which does not require mowing.

To protect the site the County must plan for a broad range of predictable disasters and establish clear and consistent disaster recovery efforts. The County must take one simple step in this regard:

- The County should immediately retain a consultant to prepare a plan for the site which specifically outlines disaster planning and recovery issues. Once completed, this must be approved by County Council and the County Manager must ensure that its provisions are understood by all appropriate departments.

Development of the Site

The first and most fundamental issue in the development of the site is **choosing a theme.** Exactly what is the goal of developing the Heyward site? Every successful interpretative program has a single, fundamental, and consistent theme which provides the "plot" for the entire story This theme must be uppermost in all aspects of the project. Attention must never be allowed to drift from this theme, nor should "secondary" ideas or concepts ever be allowed to cloud the importance of the theme.

The theme should be easily, and understandably, stated in a single sentence. Keeping this one sentence constantly in mind will help to clarify many of the questions which arise during other aspects of site planning. The theme must also tell an important story about the site and that story must enrich the visitor's experience. The theme should answer the question, "why has this site been set aside?" The theme must be made understandable to the average person who possibly has much less historical background than the average member of the historical society. Finally, as a constant test of the theme, ask yourself if visitors would be able to identify the theme as they strolled through the site or read the signage.

While we are not prepared to recommend that one sentence theme, we believe that there are a variety of issues which should be integrated into the theme. These include the historical significance of the site in terms rice cultivation, the site as a representative of white-black interaction, and the site as an environmental or ecological resource. Although the site is today often interpreted in the context of Thomas Heyward, Jr., we are not certain that this is the most effective theme for the general public.

The County and the Heyward Foundation must focus the interpretative efforts and ensure that site planning is conducted in a consistent fashion. This involves essentially one step:

- The County and the Heyward Foundation must develop a concise one-page thematic statement which concludes in a one sentence theme for the Heyward site. This theme must then be used as the measure for all other actions at the site.

It is likely that a broad range of actions will be necessary to allow any meaningful activities to take place at the Heyward site. At the present time it is essentially unaccessible and uninterpretable. There is no signage. There is no safe parking. There are no visitor amenities. There are abundant hazards, ranging from poison ivy to rotted tree stumps. Consequently, we believe that

the steps outlined here are of considerable importance and, in fact, are essential to virtually any theme statement.

First, safe access to the site must be provided. At the present time SC 462 is rather heavily used and the turn-off to the site is difficult to see, especially if coming from the Hilton Head direction. A traffic safety study, for example, may be necessary. Certainly advance signage is extremely important and should be installed.

Second, there must be parking at the site. Unfortunately, the land owned by the County is entirely unacceptable for parking since it all incorporates archaeological remains. An effort should be made to acquire additional property, north of the cemetery, suitable for a small parking area. We realize that this is private property, but we feel confident that a fair and equatable arrangement is possible. Without appropriate parking it will be impossible to develop the site.

From this parking area, which should be designed to handle both passenger cars and school buses, there must be at least one circular path, allowing pedestrian traffic through the tract in a manner consistent with the identified theme. For example, focusing on the historical significance of the property, signage could begin at the parking area which provides background and the path could lead to the cemetery and from there to the main house and eventually to the marsh vista. Integrated into this self-guided tour might be raised planters illustrating a variety of native South Carolina plants. Other ecological issues might focus on the marshes and the historical impact of rice cultivation. Chicora Foundation has previously developed an integrated school curriculum which might be expanded for this purpose.

Visitors, however, must be dissuaded from walking into the marsh. Not only is this potentially dangerous, but the marsh ecosystem is delicate and can be easily damaged. As the patterns of tidal flow and vegetation are changed it is likely that the plank roads and other features will be impacted by erosion. Consequently, there are a variety of reasons that visitors should be kept either on high ground or that they be confined to an appropriate boardwalk into the marsh.

The construction of the high ground pathways themselves should not only be environmentally sensitive, but also ensure access to the site by handicapped visitors. There are relatively few suitable materials for the loose unconsolidated sands of the site area. The most practical is an at-grade boardwalk. Natural pathways should generally follow ground contours to minimize the potential for erosion. Paths of sawdust, pine bark, earth, or gravel should be avoided since these create impassible or hazardous substrates for wheelchairs, walkers, canes, and crutches. The pathway should also be constructed with other safety issues in mind.

Although the best approach for after-hour site security is to close the access road, we understand that this road provides access to several parcels. It may be that an electric gate set on a time clock, with card access for after hours, would be the best possible solution. That would provide the necessary site protection, ensure private property owner access (while enhancing their security), and require no active involvement of County employees (to open and close).

In sum, Jasper County, in conjunction with the Heyward Foundation and a site consultant, must:

- Evaluate site access, improve advance notice of the site, and construct a parking area for the Heyward site;
- Design and build accessible, environmentally sensitive, pathways appropriate for a self guided tour of the site;
- Control visitor access to the marsh, limiting it to an observation platform or a boardwalk;
- Create picnic and other passive use areas, as well as raised beds

for native South Carolina plants; and

- Establish a means of controlling after hour access to the site.

As part of the site development, it is essential that additional archaeological investigations be conducted. This study has demonstrated that there is much about the site we don't know A long-range archaeological plan should be developed, taking into account a range of important research areas:

- The collection generated by Miller's 1965 excavations should be cataloged, analyzed, conserved, and appropriated published.

- Excavations should re-open the main house, allowing for better evaluation of Miller's findings and addressing questions concerning stratigraphy.

- Excavations should be conducted at the two other structures on the County's property.

- A survey should be conducted, at the County's and/or Heyward Foundation's expense of the adjacent properties. Afterwards the identified sites should be evaluated and perhaps also excavated.

- The mill site should be given a high priority for archaeological investigation. In particular it is important to understand the operation of the gates and trunk system.

Promotion of the Site

Once the site has been developed, it is essential that the community know that it is available for use. Since the promotion effort must be on-going and begin even before the site is open, we have selected to discuss this topic ahead of site interpretation.

There has been some discussion of the site's potential for heritage tourism in the past. We have not conducted any detailed feasibility study, but will briefly discuss this option for site use. Heritage tourism positions sites such as the Heyward site to attract regional, national, and even international tourists who seek travel opportunities that emphasize the heritage and culture of a city or region. There are several very important components of this approach. There is always the need for collaboration and partnership with other organizations. Rarely can a single organization or entity "pull-off" a successful heritage tourism undertaking. This is certainly the case with the Heyward site where there is, frankly, relatively little to see or do. The site **must** be integrated with other activities to make a package — and this requires collaboration. Tied to this is the second issue. Successful heritage tourism projects offer diversity, since this helps to maximize the market share which can be drawn in. Diversity, as might be imagined, also means collaboration.

Heritage tourism, like all other ventures, has both "pros" and "cons." On the positive side, heritage tourism can result in increased attendance at historic sites, increased revenues both at the site and in the community providing support services, higher visibility of the site in the community which may translate into greater economic returns, and finally, broader recognition. Drawbacks include the increased wear and tear on sites which comes with increased use, visitation by non-preservation minded individuals who may dilute the interpretative efforts, the need for increased support facilities which may drain reserves, and the probability that individual sites will give up some of their autonomy in order to create collaborative ventures.

For the Heyward site to develop a successful heritage tourism program it is essential that the County and the Heyward Foundation:

- Develop a regular planning process to create the collaborative atmosphere necessary for project success;

- Have in place a system of tracking and evaluating use so the heritage tourism efforts themselves can be evaluated and the impact on the site can be quantified;

- Demonstrate organizational flexibility, since there will likely be a need to "fit in" with other groups as an overall package or program is developed; and

- Develop an entrepreneurial approach to help integrate new techniques, explore new marketing options, examine new partnerships, and quickly act.

Even if it appears that such a broad based heritage tourism approach is beyond the immediate ability or interest of the County and the Heyward Foundation, it is still appropriate to explore other means of making the site useful to the community.

Promotion may consist of advertising the facility as a passive park, focusing on how the site provides the citizens of Jasper County with a passive recreational facility Since we are not familiar with the County's current recreation plan it is difficult to determine how this site might fit into a broader framework.

The County, perhaps in association with the Chamber of Commerce and the regional tourism and development authority may wish to develop a full color brochure for the Heyward site. We would caution that this brochure must be at least as good, if not better, than those used to successfully promote major heritage attractions in nearby Savannah or Beaufort.

Another approach would be to integrate the site into the school district. By developing an integrated curricula which includes history and science, it would be possible to focus a great deal of attention on the Heyward site. It is situated very close to all of the county's schools (Jasper County High School, Ridgeland Middle School, and Ridgeland Elementary School) except West Hardeeville Elementary. It could therefore serve as a living laboratory for a broad range of ecological and historical studies. We are inclined to believe that this, at least for the present, may be the highest and best use of the site.

Consequently, our recommendations to the County involve four steps:

- The County, in conjunction with other appropriate partners and a consultant knowledgeable in heritage tourism, should explore their interest in developing a heritage tourism package. Special attention must be given to the site's potential to successfully compete in the local market.

- The County should examine its current recreational facilities plan and determine if it is appropriate to integrate the Heyward site into this existing plan as a passive park. This integration, if undertaken, should still carefully follow the recommendations offered elsewhere in this section and it should be clearly understood that the Heyward site is appropriate *only* as a *passive* park.

- The County and the Heyward Foundation should explore, using a consultant familiar with the development of integrated curricula, the potential of making the Heyward site a "living laboratory" with the school district.

- The County, with appropriate

partners, should develop a carefully crafted promotional full color brochure for the Heyward site. This, however, should only be done after the site's theme and anticipated use has been fully explored and decided upon, since the brochure should be designed to facilitate these goals.

Interpretation of the Site

A first step in a successful interpretation program is to understand what the program hopes to accomplish. In other words, exactly what are the goals of the interpretation?

Appropriate interpretation must foster proper use of the site and must develop advocates for the site. It must encourage public participation in the management of the site. It must, at the same time, provide recreation to the visitor while heightening the visitor's awareness and understanding of the site. Ultimately, good site interpretation will inspire the public and add a new perspective to their lives. After years of interpretation at historic sites, museums, and parks, we know that there are certain common principles for success.

Everything at the site must be part of a unified whole. The visitor must receive one message, not a series of conflicting stories or unrelated concepts. This, of course, is why interpretation must be based on a unified theme. Only once you know what is important at the site are you in a position to develop appropriate, and successful, interpretative signage. We also realize that learning (and we are asking the public to learn something new) is best and most successful when it is closely associated with the real experience. It is always best to include concrete objects. It is also essential that the exhibits and signage are compatible with the site. The interpretation should enhance the on-site experience, not detract from it.

Finally, and in many respects most importantly, the best interpretation is short and concise. Too often historic sites attempt to stuff in every possible detail and fact about the site. Visitors become easily bored and tired. Most will not read more than a few lines — ignoring the long, tedious texts and complex messages. The goal must be to encourage interest, not bore the visitors.

We would recommend the use of perhaps four to ten panels in different parts of the site, although the exact number (and their placement) will depend entirely on the theme selected for the site and the decision concerning site use. More panels with good graphics and short text are preferred to fewer panels loaded with text. We also believe that it is essential to have braille signage.

In terms of the type of signage used, we have examined a broad range of sign types, including wood, metal-micro imaging, porcelain enamel, metal, and fiberglass embedment. Each has advantages and disadvantages. In general, we believe that the fiberglass embedded signs offer the greatest interpretative potential and flexibility. The current cost of these signs is about $2,000 to $2,500 per sign. It is likely, however, that a variety of sign types will be appropriate for different purposes on-site. There will also need to be signs providing the direction of the path, indicating that the site is protected by law, that visitors should not wander into the marsh, identifying the various native plants, establishing the hours the site is open, and so forth.

In this area, as many others, the County and the Heyward Foundation would be best served by retaining a consultant to help clarify the issues involved and work to establish an interpretative program, including the design of the signs and the associated label copy.

Summary

The Heyward site has exceptional historical and archaeological significance. This significance can be conveyed to the public, but only with very careful and detailed planning.

The first step in the process has been completed, with this intensive archaeological survey and an overview of the resources present at the site. Our discussion in this last section of the study

is intended to provide only an overview of the issues involved in the use of the Heyward site. It offers a check-list for Jasper County and the Heyward Foundation, and can be used to help justify additional funding, but is not intended to be a detailed discussion of the different techniques or approaches.

The next appropriate step, once additional planning funds are identified and secured, is to retain a consultant to begin the process of refining these issues and exploring different site options with all of the parties involved.

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