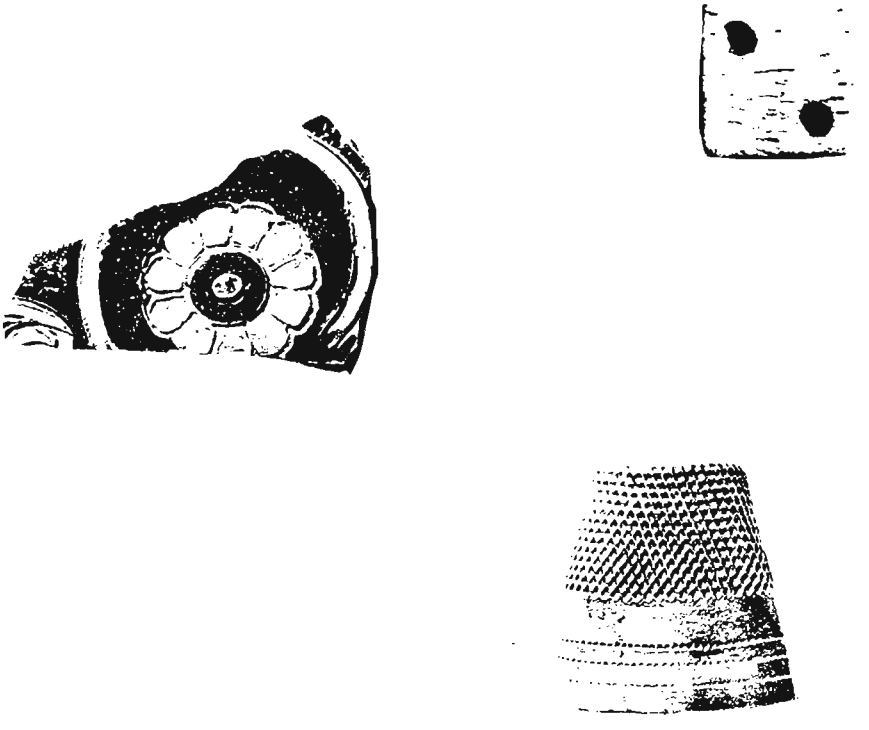
A HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVALUATION OF THE ELFE AND SANDERS PLANTATIONS, BERKELEY AND CHARLESTON COUNTIES, SOUTH CAROLINA



CHICORA FOUNDATION RESEARCH SERIES 5

A HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVALUATION OF THE ELFE (38BK207) AND SANDERS (38CH321) PLANTATIONS, BERKELEY AND CHARLESTON COUNTIES, SOUTH CAROLINA

RESEARCH SERIES 5

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The rich people here [in Charleston] have handsome equipages; the merchants are opulent and well-bred; the people thriving and expensive in dress and life, so that everything inspires to make this town the politest, as it is one of the richest, in America.

London Magazine, June 1762

A rich man's wealth is his strong city,
a towering wall, so he supposes.

Proverbs 18:11

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

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INTRODUCTION

Purpose

During the initial survey of the Mark Clark Expressway in 1978 several large plantation sites were identified (Trinkley 1978). The final location survey, conducted in 1979 once the actual highway alignment was established, identified several sites adjacent to the proposed highway, but not actually within the direct impact zone (Trinkley and Tippett 1980). None of those sites not actually within the alignment were studied by the South Carolina Department of Highways and Public Transportation and no assessment of potential secondary impact was ever conducted.

The purposes of this study are two-fold. The first is to gather sufficient information on two sites -- the Elfe plantation, 38BK207, and the Sanders plantation, 38CH321 -- to allow their nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. The information required includes both historical documentation of the property and archaeological evidence of the site's ability to contribute information exclusive of the historical record. The second purpose is to increase our data base concerning both eighteenth and nineteenth century plantations in close proximity to Charleston. These data not only will be useful to other archaeologists engaged in topical research, but they also will help managers determine the fate of similar large archaeological sites.

Early historical research pointed out quite different research topics could be pursued at the two sites. The Elfe plantation on Daniels Island was an eighteenth century site owned by a wealthy Charlestonian. During part of its history the plantation had an overseer, and during part it was inhabitated by Elfe's widow and later, his son. The plantation's primary products were fruits and livestock. The Sander's plantation on the Wando River, north of Mount Pleasant, was a nineteenth century site owned by the powerful Venning family. The plantation was sold to Claudia [Venning] Sanders in the mid-nineteenth century. Throughout its history the plantation was underutilized, much like Elfe's, and produced primarily livestock, corn, and vegetables for the Charleston market.

Both sites were in close proximity to Charleston, were owned by wealthy families, were operated by slaves, and produced similar crops -- livestock and produce. Neither represents the "typical" South Carolina plantation which produced cotton, rice, or indigo. As a consequence, these sites offer an opportunity to study a little explored variation on the "plantation theme." In many respects it is possible that these sites are representative of the vast bulk of South Carolina's eighteenth and nineteenth century plantations.

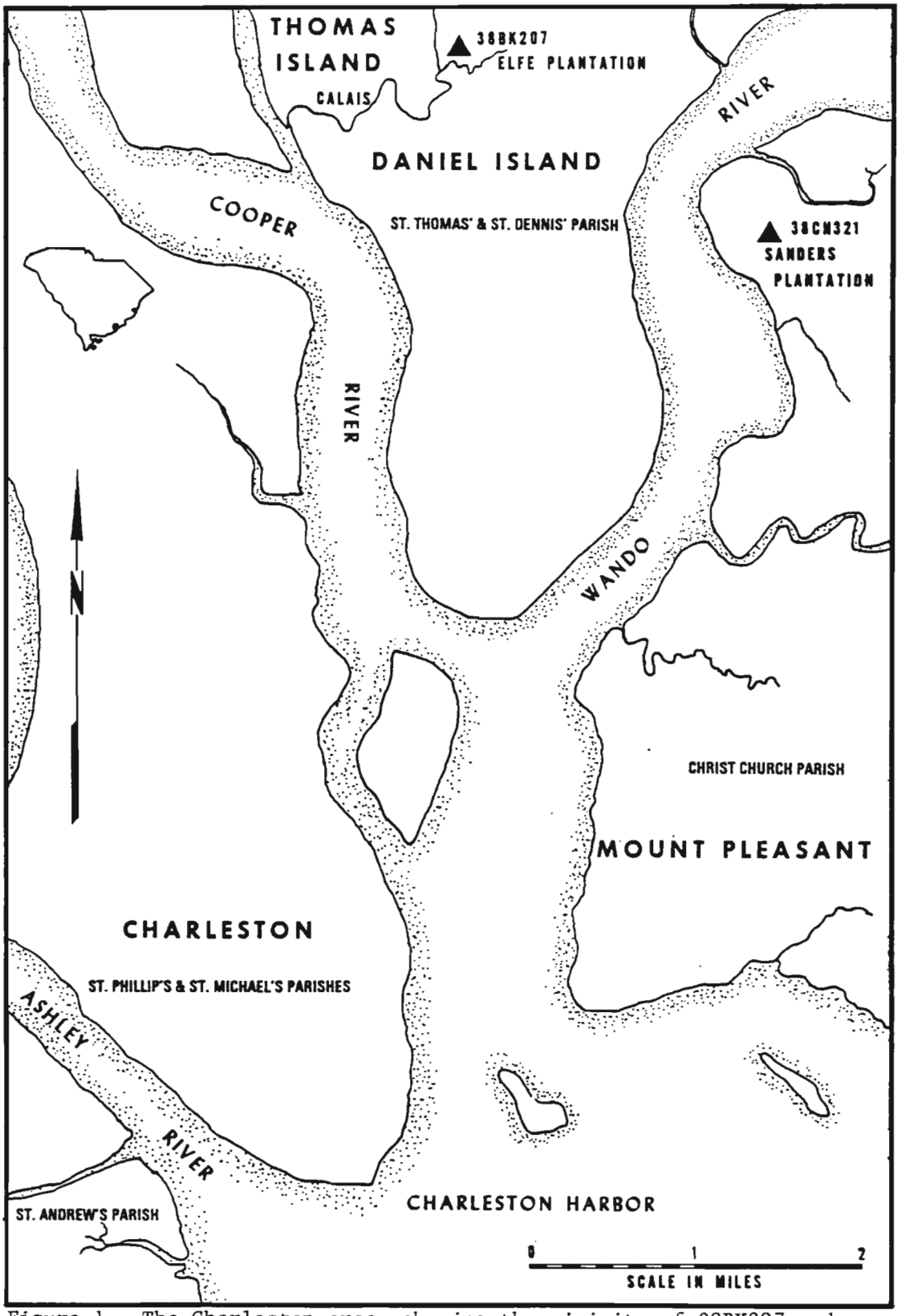

Figure 1. The Charleston area, showing the vicinity of 38BK207 and 38CH321.

Natural Setting

Both 38BK207 and 38CH321 are situated in the Charleston vicinity (Figure 1). The climate is subtropical, with long, hot, and humid summers, and mild winters (Hilliard 1984:13; Kronberg 1971:72; Landers 1970). The humidity ranges from a low of about 45% to a high of 92%, with a yearly average of 75%. Summer temperatures range in the high nineties, although a high of 104° has been recorded for Charleston. The average growing season is 266 days, with the average annual rainfall of 49.1 inches well distributed throughout the year. This mild climate, as Hilliard (1984:13) notes, is largely responsible for the presence of many Southern crops, such as cotton and sugar cane.

Hilliard also points out that "any description of climate in the South, however brief, would be incomplete without reference to conditions that are often identified with the region" (Hilliard 1984:16). Most notable is the tropical hurricane, which occurs in the late summer and fall. This was the period critical to cane, cotton, and rice growers. Hilliard notes,

> [t]he capricious nature of hurricanes precluded a given area's being hit every year, but no one could predict what areas were susceptible in any given year, and in some years several struck one area or another (Hilliard 1984:18).

This view was stated in the nineteenth century by Ramsay,

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

From 1670 to 1860 there were 10 major hurricanes, occuring at intervals ranging from two to 52 years (Mathews et al. 1980:54).

Charleston is located on the dominant physiographic unit in the South -- the Coastal Plain. Situated as a broad arc from Texas northward to New Jersey, the Coastal Plain is characterized by low elevations and flat topography. The geologic formations which comprise the Coastal Plain are unconsolidated sedimentary deposits of very recent age (Hilliard 1984:6-7; Miller 1971:74).

This broad Coastal Plain may be further subdivided on the basis of similar surface configuration, soils, drainage, and geology. These smaller divisions have greater significance for the types of crops which may be grown and hence, for man's interaction with the natural environment. The Charleston area (including sites 38BK207 and 38CH321) is situated in the Atlantic Coast Flatwoods region. This is a flat, coastal strip that Hilliard notes "was seldom well enough drained for most crops" (Hilliard 1984:11). Rice, of course, was grown on the inland swamps or river

floodplains in the tidal zone and small amounts of cotton were grown on the sea islands. Other crops, such as wheat, corn, peas, beans, and oats were less common.

This view of the Atlantic Coast Flatwoods is supported by Ellerbe (1974:17-18), who characterizes the 30 to 70 mile wide area as containing large areas of poorly drained soils, particularly along the coast. The inherent fertility of the soils is low medium. Cypress, blackgum, and tupelo were abundant on the poorly drained swamplands. Sweetgum, white oak, water oak, ash, and loblolly pine were found in the better drained river bottoms. On the dry, sandy ridges longleaf pine was the common species (Ellerbe 1974:18; Kuchler 1964).

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

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

This situation consistently has affected Charleston's agricultural history by promoting the development of rice cultivation and restraining the development of cotton production. It is probable that soil fertility and drainage also affected individual plantation owners by directing and limiting their agricultural options. Individuals, such as Elfe and Sanders, who found themselves in areas unable to support either rice or cotton, may have been forced to turn to smaller scale vegetable and fruit production as the land would support it, or to livestock production, which allowed the animals to forage on the natural vegetation. As Land notes,

> [t]hough "plantation" meant the planted area, it was understood to include surrounding woodlands where hogs and cattle foraged for food (Land 1969:30).

Historical Overview

In the past several years a variety of historical summaries for the Charleston area have appeared. All were prepared by thoroughly trained historians, although the purposes and orientations were distinct. Friedlander (in Wheaton et al. 1983:17-41) views the low country historical development from St. Stephens Parish, north of Charleston, in present day Berkeley County. Calhoun (in Zierden and Calhoun 1984:26-54) views the historical development of the Charleston area from Charleston and emphasizes the development of the urban city. Scardaville (in Brockington et al. 1985:30-78) emphasizes the agricultural history of the region,

particularly for the postbellum period. Rather than attempt to recreate a historical summary, I will offer a very brief synthesis of these three sources, emphasizing those areas which may be of particular importance to this study.

Protohistoric Period

The Protohistoric begins with initial European contact in the mid-sixteenth century and ends at least by the Yemassee War of 1715-1716. The earliest direct European-Indian contact in the area of South Carolina occurred in 1521. During this early period there were about 19 Indian tribes with a population of perhaps 1600 people (Waddell 1980:3, 14). Most were probably Muskhogeans, although it is almost certain that there were Siouan groups along the northeastern coast of South Carolina. Between 1520 and 1667, Dobyns (1983) documents at least nine epidemics spreading through the completely vulnerable Indian population. These deseases affected Native American mental and physical health, radically altering their culture, and making them even more vulnerable to the invading Europeans. The power of the coastal Indian tribes was broken by the Yemassee War and Indian groups along the coast had disappeared by the time of the American Revolution.

English Settlement

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

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

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

Early settlers came from the English West Indies, other mainland colonies, England, and the European continent. It has been argued that those from the English West Indies were the most critical to the future of the colony, as they brought with them a strong agrian concept, involving both staple crops and slave labor (Sirmans 1966).

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

as these were staple crops whose marketing the proprietors could easily monopolize.

Economic Development

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

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

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

From another perspective Zierden and Calhoun note that,

> Charleston was the economic, institutional and social center of the surrounding region. The necessity of transacting business in Charleston drew planters eager to transform their crops into cash or goods. . . . it [was] virtually imparative for a planter interested in society to reside in Charleston at least occasionally (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:36).

They argue that Charleston provided an opportunity for conspicious consumption, a mechanism which allowed the display of wealth accumulated from the plantation system (this mechanism continued through the antebellum period). Scardaville (in Brockington et al. 1985:34) notes that the plantation system which brought prosperity through the export of staple crops also "made the colony . . . highly vulnerable to outside market and political forces."

The most obvious example of this is the economic hardship brought on by the American Revolution. Not only was the Charleston area the scene of many military actions, but Charleston itself was occuppied by the British for over 2½ years between 1780 and 1782. The removal of

royal bounties on rice, indigo, and naval stores caused considerable economic chaos with the eventual "restructuring of the state's agricultural and commercial base" (Brocking et al. 1985:34).

Antebellum Charleston and Cotton Production

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

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

The Charleston area did not participate directly in the agricultural activity of the state. Scardaville (in Brockington et al. 1985:35) notes that "the Charleston area, as a result of a large urban market and a far-reaching trade and commercial network, had carved out its own niche in the state's economic system." Zierden and Calhoun remark that,

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

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

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

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

(Brockington et al. 1985:42).

An appropriate summary is provided by Zierden and Calhoun,

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

Postbellum Period

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

Previous Plantation Archaeology

Plantation archaeology in South Carolina is barely 10 years old. Prior to the 1975 excavations conducted by Lewis at Drayton Hall, northwest of Charleston on the Ashley River, there was virtually no systematic archaeological data available for the study of low country plantations. The investigations at Drayton Hall concentrated on the dependencies adjacent to the standing main house (Lewis 1978). Drayton Hall, which dates to 1738, is unusual in that it apparently did not serve as a commercial producer of a staple crop during the colonial or antebellum periods. Rather, the plantation served as an administrative center for the Drayton family holdings.

Studies at Limerick, a large colonial and antebellum rice producing plantation on a tributary of the east branch of the Cooper River in Charleston County, were conducted by Lees in 1977 (Lees 1980). Investigations at this site included excavations at both colonial and antebellum kitchen dependencies, the colonial main house, and another antebellum dependency. Lees discussed settlement change at the plantation in relation to the evolution in rice agriculture from upland swamp fields to fresh water tidal marshes (see also Lees 1979).

In 1978 Carrillo (1980) studied Green Grove plantation, situated on the Charleston uplands between the Stono and Ashley rivers. Green Grove, which was probably a rice plantation, was destroyed in the American Revolution. Several structures were investigated at the site, including a brick dependency. Of some interest was a wall trench structure found in the adjacent slave area. Carrillo studied several areas of the plantation,

but the work emphasized the high status dwellings.

Also in 1978 Drucker (Drucker and Anthony 1979) excavated a single structure at Spiers Landing in Berkeley County. This ephemeral structure was apparently a late eighteenth-early nineteenth century slave residence, possibly of wall trench contruction. This investigation marks the first strong orientation, in South Carolina, to the investigation of "slave archaeology." Considerable study of Colono ware was conducted as a result of this excavation.

In 1978 and 1979 Lewis conducted a series of projects at Middleton Place (Haskell 1981; Lewis and Hardesty 1979) and Hampton (Lewis 1979; Lewsis and Haskell 1980) plantations. Middleton Place, on the Ashley River in Charleston County, was a colonial and antebellum rice plantation. Investigations at this site were diffuse with an emphasis on status differences associated with the use of Colono ware pottery. Investigations at the Hampton rice plantation on the Santee River in Charleston County examined a number of site areas and developed a model of plantation settlement.

In 1980 a series of excavations were conducted at the slave settlements associated with the Berkeley County Yaughan and Curriboo plantations (Wheaton et al. 1983) on the Santee River. This was the first study since Spiers Landing to emphasize Afro-American slavery. These studies evaluated acculturation and documented, in detail, the presence of ephemeral wall trench structures.

The next South Carolina slave sites to be investigated were those associated with Campfield plantation on the Black River in Georgetown County (Zierden and Calhoun 1983). Campfield was a minor, but successful, nineteenth century rice plantation and the study by The Charleston Museum provided information on the brick and wood slave houses and on the slave artifact pattern.

A series of excavations were conducted at several Beaufort County plantations during 1983 and 1984. These studies, conducted by Lepionka at Dataw and Callawassie, have not been reported in any detail. Preliminary results (see Grunden 1985) from Dataw, an antebellum sea island cotton plantation, provide an interesting glimpse of the slave lifeway with a comparison of artifact patterns from several slave cabins.

Limited investigations were conducted at an ephemeral slave site in Charleston County during 1984 (Brockington et al. 1985). The site was associated with the nineteenth century Sanders plantation which produced foods for the Charleston market. The site evidences a relatively unusual dispersed slave settlement pattern, but no evidence of structural remains or features were encountered.

Perhaps the most significant plantation research in South Carolina has been conducted at the Fairbank and Lesesne plantations on Daniels Island in Berkeley County. These are colonial and antebellum plantations which participated in cotton monoculture, as well as other minor activities. Only preliminary results are available (Drucker and Zierden 1985), but the study is unique in its breadth. Both high and low status

areas, on two adjacent plantations, have been investigated. This study will incorporate architectural, status, artifact, faunal, floral, historical, and cemetary data.

Studies outside South Carolina are too numerous to detail, but mention should be made of Fairbanks' (1972) work at the Kingsley slave cabins in Florida and Ascher and Fairbanks' (1971) study of the Cumberland slave cabin. A major contribution to both Georgia and South Carolina slave archaeology is provided by Singleton (1980) who compared slavery at a coastal rice plantation with slavery at a long-staple cotton plantation. As a result of this study Singleton proposed the Slave Artifact Pattern. Likewise, the study of South Carolina plantations and status owes mcuh to the pioneer work of Otto (1977, 1984) at Cannons Point, an antebellum Sea Island cotton plantation.

This previous research provides important comparative data. Studies have been undertaken on five Charleston plantations, five Berkeley County plantations, one Georgetown plantation, and two Berkeley County plantations. One evidences only colonial occupation, six evidence colonial through antebellum use, while five show only antebellum occupation. Six are rice plantations, three are cotton plantations, and one produced primarily "truck crops." These demonstrate the diversity of plantation settings, temporal periods, and principal crops. It should serve as a caution against speaking of a "typical plantation," although such a generalization is tempting to both historians and archaeologists. While the bulk of research has centered on rice, and to a lesser extent cotton, plantations, little investigation has been directed to plantations which participated only marginally in the cash crop economy. This study examines one such colonial plantation - 38BK207 - and further explores another - 38CH321 - which was first documented by Brockington et al. (1985).

Research questions developing from this background include status, ethnicity, and urban/rural contrasts (Zierden 1985). While only recently recognized, another category includes the realization that not all plantations participated in the cash crop economy, but that some served as "leisure retreats," or produced subsistence crops and livestock for urban markets.

SITE 38BK207 - THE ELFE PLANTATION

Description

Archaeological site 38BK207 is situated in a large agricultural field on Daniels Island, about 700 feet east of Beresford Creek and 200 feet north of the S-33 extension on the island. The site is part of the 4044 acre tract owned by The Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, large portions of which are planted in pine or leased for farming.

Situated on a rise about 12 feet above mean sea level, the site is surrounded to the west, south, and east by forks of Beresford Creek and its associated tidal marsh (Figure 2). Beresford Creek is relatively shallow and the tidal marsh prevents access to the water in all but one area at the southern site periphery. It is in this area, where the creek cuts into the highland to produce a low bank, that the plantation probably had its landing. The surrounding property varies from low, poorly drained tracts to elevations only slightly lower than that of the site. Soils in the site area are classified as Duplin fine sandy loams. These soils are nearly level, moderately well drained, and relatively fertile. They are well suited to corn, cotton, and grains. The Duplin soils are poorly suited to sweet potatoes and peaches (Ellerbe 1974:191; Long 1980:17).

While the site is currently under cultivation, adjacent areas are forested in pine and oak, with an understory of palmetto. The site area was in pasture until the early 1960s when it came under cultivation. The practice of deep plowing or subsoiling was not common until the late 1970s, but since that time has taken place every 3 to 5 years. The property is usually planted in soybeans or corn.

The initial examinations in 1978 and 1979 evidenced a large quantity of materials exposed by the deep plowing, including abundant brick and shell. Site size, based on the extent of debris and a noticeably black soil color, was estimated to be about 500 by 500 feet, or just under 6 acres. The early collections from 38BK207 produced abundant eighteenth century artifacts, including Chinese porcelain, moulded white salt-glazed stoneware, lead glazed slipware, and creamware. Pearlware and whiteware were quite rare (Table 1). These ceramics produced a Mean Ceramic Date (South 1977) of 1761.8.

About 700 feet to the north of 38BK207 a much smaller scatter of ceramics, having a Mean Ceramic Date of 1802, was identified. This site, designated 38BK208, contained very few artifacts other than ceramics and may be a slave settlement associated with 38BK207. This site measures nearly 200 by 300 feet and is situated in an area of lower, moister soils than the main plantation complex.

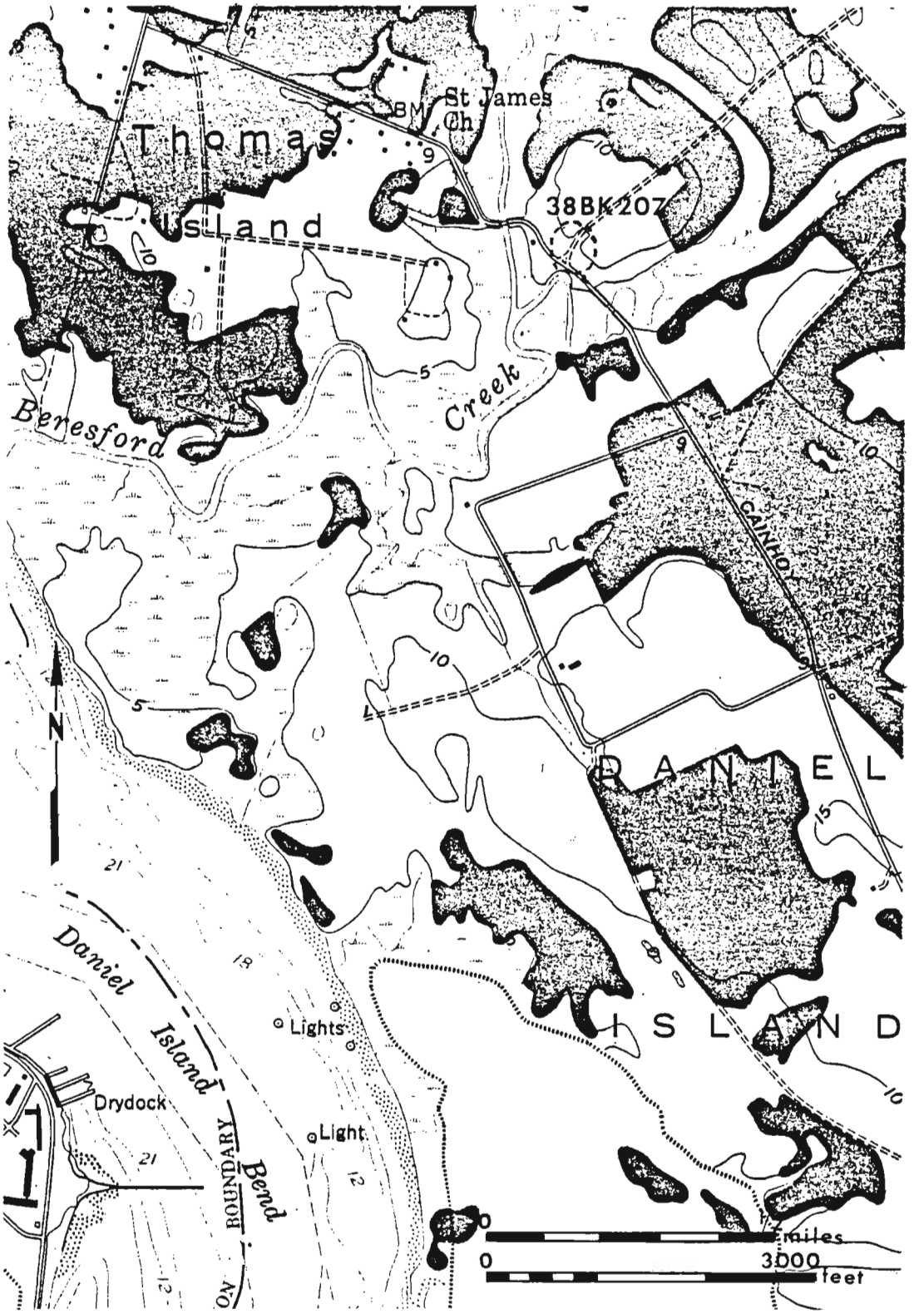

Figure 2. A portion of the U.S.G.S. Charleston 7.5' topographic map showing the location of 38BK207.

11	Underglaze blue Chinese porcelain
1	Bellarmine stoneware
2	Westerwald stoneware
2	British brown stoneware
5	Orange, gray, light brown stoneware
7	Moulded white salt-glazed stoneware
1	Black basalt stoneware
12	Lead glazed slipware
5	Delft, decorated and undecorated
3	Southern European ware
2	Clear lead glazed coarse earthenwares
1	Brown lead glazed coarse earthenware
20	Creamware, undecorated
3	Pearlware, undecorated
1	Underglaze blue hand painted pearlware
1	Transfer printed pearlware
2	Whiteware, undecorated
1	Underglazed blue hand painted whiteware
11	"Black" bottle glass
6	Green bottle glass
3	Kaolin pipestem fragments (4/64, 5/64, 6/64")
1	Gunflint
2	Colono ware sherds
1	UID animal bone

Table 1. Artifacts recovered from 38BK207 in 1978 and 1979.

It is significant that the surface indications for both 38BK207 and 38BK208 have changed dramatically over the past five years. Both sites were observed and collected soon after their first deep plowing episode. Abundant materials were observed at both sites and at 38BK207 there was a distinctly darker soil color in the site. Today, 38BK207 evidences a much reduced surface scatter and no obvious soil color distinctions, while 38BK208 could be relocated only with great difficulty. It is probable that the original deep plowing exposed large quantities of remains. Their reduced numbers today is probably the result of less frequent deep plowing, although low artifact density is suggested for the main plantation complex.

Historical Setting

Thomas Elfe acquired his 234 acre plantation on Daniels Island from Benjamin Burnham in 1765 (Charleston RMC Deed Book D-3, pp. 310-317) at a cost of £500. Burton (1955:85) is incorrect when he claims that the plantation was purchased from Benjamin Guerard. The plantation is described as,

> [s]ituate laying and being on Thomas's or Daniel's Island Butting and Bounding on the North Side on Watticoe Creek on the East and South Sides on Lands belonging to Isaac Lefsensne and on the West side on the aforesaid Creek (Charleston RMC Deed Book D-3, p. 310).

One part of the plantation was "an island containing about Sixty-Two Acres of Land . . . commonly known by the Name of Bradyes or St. Jagoes" (Charleston RMC Deed Book D-3, p. 311). This tract was situated on the peninsula created by the east and west tributaries of Beresford Creek, with the island referred to in the conveyance situated at the southern end of the parcel and shown in Figure 2. The island measures about 75 acres rather than the 62 originally computed.

The "St. Jagoes" referred to in this deed is possibly St. Jogues, a French Catholic Jesuit who was martyred by New York Mohawks in 1646 (Delaney 1980:314; Thurston and Attwater 1956:3:648-650). It seems unusual, however, for a very Catholic saint to be honored in very Protestant South Carolina. Further, the largest population of French in this part of South Carolina during the early eighteenth century were Huguenots, Protestant reformers persecuted by Catholics.

It is not clear if the Elfe plantation was developed at the time of its purchase from Burnham, but the surviving Elfe account book (which begins 3½ years after the purchase of the Daniels Island plantation) indicates that substantial construction took place in the period from September 1769 through October 1770. Bricks, costing £21, were purchased in May 1770 from John More (Weber 1934:105). John Elias Moore was apparently a contemporary of Elfe who owned several tracts on Daniels Island during the late eighteenth century (Charleston RMC Deed Book M-6, pp. 83-85; X-7, p. 81). Elfe purchased a total of 55 bushels of lime from his neighbor Isaac Lesesne in April and October 1770, at a total cost of £5.10 (Webber 1934:103, 157). In each case the lime cost 2s. per bushel.

Each bushel of lime may have produced up to 6 bushels of lime mortar for a total of 330 bushels (McKee 1973:64). If lime plaster was made, no more than 220 bushels could have been produced (McKee 1973:82). That some plastering was done is evidenced by the purchase of "laths and lime" from Martin Miller is July 1770 (Webber 1934:153) at a cost of £1.8.9. Elfe indicates that a chimney, which cost £14.8.9, was built in September 1769 by Thomas Cole (Webber 1934:96). Cole's occupation is unknown, although he owned property on Meeting Street in Charleston (Charleston RMC Deed Book R-6, pp. 61-63).

These expenditures, although equivocal, suggest that standing structures were refurbished (with the construction of a new chimney and application of new plaster). Repair work is noted as late as January 1775 when William Waynes was paid £6.16 for "glazing" (Webber 1940:28). Waynes was a frequent South Carolina Gazette advertiser between 1762 and 1767 who promoted himself as a "house and ship painter and glazer" located on "Beale's Wharves" (Calhoun et al. 1982:110). When Elfe's construction costs are compared with the construction costs proposed by an article in American Husbandry (Land 1969:64), there is little evidence that new structures were built after 1768. Of course, no records have come down to us for the first 3½ years of Elfe's ownership. However, between 1765 and 1768 the value of the plantation increased by 200%.

The Elfe account book, which covers the period from 1768 until just prior to Elfe's death in 1775, provides considerable information on the workings of the plantation. In 1768 Elfe valued his plantation, its buildings, cattle, and horses, at £1500. The five "working Negros and three childred" were valued at £1000. Elfe's assets totaled £25,370, so the Daniels Island plantation and slaves represented less than 10% of his total value (Rose 1934:147). Beginning in March 1770, Elfe employed an overseer, who was paid, in seemingly irregular intervals, a salary of about £100 a year.

Elfe apparently never lived on the plantation, as all household expenses were for his Charleston residence. There were, however, numerous plantation expenses. In spite of the slaves on the plantation, others were ocassionally hired. Elfe notes that a "Dr. Clitteral" was paid £8.8 for the "hire of a Negro" (Webber 1934:98). This may be the same Dr. Clitheral who held a rice and corn plantation in St. Batholemew's Parish in present day Colleton County (Charleston County RMC Deed Book D-6, p. 75). Plantation tools purchased included 4 hoes (totaling £3.10) from Bamfield & Owen (Webber 1934:103) and a "plough and harrow" at a cost of £22. William Bampfield was apparently a successful factor, and a co-owner of a vessel with Henry Laurens. He was also a business partner with John Owen (Rogers et al. 1980:2:455).

A major item of plantation equipment included a £35 "Canoe and sails" made by Robert Raper in July 1770. By November of the same year, a "Barge and sails" required repairs in the amount of £51 (Webber 1934:153, 158). It is probable that this boat (or boats) ferried produce and people from the landing on Beresford Creek to Charleston. Elfe, in November 1772, paid £24 to Richard Lapert for "wheels" (Webber 1936:80), although the use to which these wheels were placed is not indicated. In December 1774 (Webber 1940:146) Elfe purchased "10 p^{r} Negro Shoes" for £12.10.

According to Elfe's account book, the Daniels Island plantation produced four products. Most appear to have been for the general Charleston market. The accounts indicate that fruit trees and seeds were purchased in June 1771 (Webber 1934:165) and that the plantation was producing fruit in August 1773 (Webber 1934:89), August 1774 (Webber 1939:26), and August 1775 (Webber 1941:13). These dates suggest fruits such as peaches, plums, pomegranates, or figs may have been produced (Ridley n.d.). The trees and seeds were purchased from John Watson, described by Ramsay (1858:2:128) as "a Complete English gardner." Another product of the Elfe plantation was firewood (at £3.10 per cord) (Webber 1936:155). On several occasions there are listings for "Sundaries" sold off the plantation (Webber 1934: 158; 1938:138).

The plantation's most common produce, however, was livestock. There are ten entries between 1770 and 1775 involving the sale of either livestock or meat (Table 2). Cattle or calves account for the bulk of the transactions, with only one transaction involving lambs, and two transactions involving beek. This suggests that little butchering was done on the Elfe plantation and it supports Reitz's assessment that caprines were not a significant part of the historic urban or rural diet (Reitz 1984a: 78, 1984b:7; Reitz and Honerkamp 1983:21). Table 2, because of the very small sample, can provide little data concerning season of sale. Sales were shown for all seasons except late winter and early spring, the traditional times of calving. Prices received for calves range from a low of £9.11 to a high of £12.13. The one group of cattle sold brought only £6.13 per head. The 35 head of "Horn Cattle," upon Elfe's death, were appraised at £12 a head (calves included) (Charleston County Probate Court Inventory Book 90-A, p. 116).

The account book shows only four purchases of livestock over its 8 year history. Three of these purchases were of sheep, which cost between £2.17 and £5.6 and were appraised at £4 a head. Although caprines may not have been a major dietary item, the abundance of sheep at Elfe's plantation suggests that they were not uniformly rare in the coastal plain (cf. Reitz and Honerkamp 1983:21). These animals were probably kept for their wool production (see Bowen 1978). Hogs were also purchased, possibly for slave provisions (see Table 3). The only other livestock purchase made by Elfe was for a horse in 1769 which cost £16.10 (Webber 1934:98).

Some plantation goods were for Elfe's own consumption, but this was apparently rare and usually was noted in the account book as "House Expenses D^{r} to Plantation Acc^{t}. for sundries had from thence" (Webber 1939:145). Most items, for whatever reason, were apparently sold. Household expenses indicate that Elfe bought, from other sources, virtually all of his corn and flour, and at least some of his beef (Webber 1935: 86, 1939:26). Elfe purchased, in August 1774 (at the same time he was selling calves), a "stroble of bought beef" for £44.7.6. The plantation, at best, appears to have been a marginal investment. This was unlike Elfe, who Burton describes as "a steady dealer in real estate, with an eye for good investments" (Burton 1955:86).

At the time of Elfe's death between November 28 and December 18, 1775 (Webber 1934:13), his estate was valued at £38,243.16.2 (Charleston

Date	Item	Cost	Unit Cost	Reference
November 1770	8 calves	Ł64	Ł 8	Webber 1934:157
June 1771	calves and lambs	45	-	Webber 1934:165
January 1772	3 calves	38	12.13.80	Webber 1935:123
June 1773	3 calves	28.15	9.11.160	Webber 1937:56
June 1774	6 head cattle	40	6.13.80	Webber 1938:167
August 1774	calves	36	-	Webber 1939:26
November 1774	beef	30	-	Webber 1939:83
January 1775	beef	6.15	-	Webber 1940:25
May 1775	1 calf	10	10	Webber 1940:152
August 1775	2 calves	20	10	Webber 1941:13

Table 2. Livestock and meat sales by the Elfe plantation.

Date	Item	Cost	Unit Cost	Reference
February 1770	3 hogs	Ł26	Ł8.13.80	Webber 1934:101
February 1773	12 sheep	63.14.9	5.6.41	Webber 1936:156
October 1773	"some" sheep	14.12.6	-	Webber 1937:133
September 1774	7 sheep	20	2.17.34	Webber 1939:60

Table 3. Livestock purchases by the Elfe plantation.

County Probate Court Inventory Book 90-A, pp. 116-120). Unfortunately, the inventory does not appraise any of Elfe's real estate property. Nor does it segregate items from Charleston, Daniels Island, and Amelia, where Elfe had purchased another plantation for his son, William. As the account book provides no evidence that Amelia plantation raised livestock, it is probable that the "35 Head Horn Cattle (Calves Included) . . ., 25 D^{o} Sheep . . ., 6 D^{o} Horses . . . , [and] 13 D^{o} Hogs" were all on Daniels Island (Charleston County Probate Court Inventory Book 90-A, p. 116).

Elfe's July 7, 1775 will suggests why he retained the relatively unprofitable Daniels Island plantation. In his will Thomas Elfe bequeaths to his wife Rachel "the Use and Occupation of my Plantation on Daniels Island during her Natural Life with all the Slave, Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, Horses, Plantation tools, Boats, Household & Kitchen Furniture that may be upon the said Plantation . . . [to hold] and enjoy the same during her Natural Life without any Waste" (Charleston County Probate Court Will Book 18, pp. 88-93). This life estate, in addition to Elfe's Broad Street town lot, was to provide for his wife in her old age. Upon her death the property was to be sold, with the proceeds divided among his children.

Rachel apparently left Charleston and lived on the plantation, because the 1790 Federal Census (Bureau of Census 1908:45) lists no free white males (which precludes an overseer), one free white female, and 27 slaves. George Elfe also owned a plantation in St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish, on which on white adult male, one white male under 16 years, three white females, and 17 slaves resided (Bureau of Census 1908:44). This move from Charleston may be related to the Elfe family's strong ties to Great Britton during the Revolutionary War. Webber notes that "Rachel seems to have had Tory sympathies, and her son Thomas is on the confiscation list as is also William Elfe" (Webber 1934:15). Kukur (1983:n.p.) observes that Thomas Elfe, Jr. avoided confiscation of his property by paying heavy taxes. This taxation apparently lead to the sale of his Charleston holdings and his move to Savannah, where he stayed until returning to Charleston in 1800 (Burton 1955:89). A short article in the Royal Gazette of South Carolina contributes to a better understanding of both the Elfe sympathies and the Elfe plantation. It reads,

> [o]n Friday the 24th ulto, a body of Rebels supported by some Continental Horse, made an incursion into St. Thomas's parish; a party of them came down to Daniel's Island and plundered the plantation of Mrs. Elfe, a widow, breaking down the fence and turning their horses into the cornfield (Royal Gazette of South Carolina, September 5, 1981).

So not only was Rachel Elfe a proclaimed British citizen, but the plantation continued to produce livestock, as evidenced by the fence and corn drying in the fields to be used as fodder.

The 1800 census listed Rachel Elfe as the sole free white on a plantation that now contained 34 slaves (National Archives 1958b). It would appear that this increase in slaves could be accounted for in

normal population growth. Rachel died intestate sometime in late 1804 or early 1805, as the inventory appraisement of her life estate was filed on January 16, 1805. It contained 26 slaves (eight less than listed in the 1800 census), plantation tools, and household furniture, valued at $7,528.74 (Charleston County Probate Court Inventory Book D, n.p.; Webber 1934:15).

Although Thomas Elfe's will directed that the plantation be sold upon his wife's death, no record of such a sale could be found. Instead, George Elfe assumed control and ownership of the property. The 1810 and 1820 census both list George Elfe, although it is unclear whether the enumeration combined George's original plantation with that he obtained from his mother. While George was residing on the plantation with 32 slaves in 1810 (National Archives 1958c), no whites were on the plantation in 1820. There were, however, 18 male slaves, 22 female slaves, and seven "Free persons of Color under 14 years of age" (National Archives 1958a). Twelve individuals are listed as engaged in agriculture, while three were engaged in commercial activity. By 1830, 4 years after Elfe sold the property and at least a year after his death, the census ennumerator still listed the property as belonging to the "Estate of George Elfe." On the plantation were 12 slaves (National Archives 1944: 192). Of these, four were under 10 years and three were over 55 years, leaving only five (three of which were males) of prime working age.

Prior to George Elfe's death the 250 acre plantation had been sold to John E. Farr in 1826 for $3,500 (Charleston County RMC Deed Book T-9, pp. 103-106). Farr was in the process of purchasing a number of smaller parcels, such as the Elfe and Lesesne plantations. From that time the chain of title is identical to that of 38BK397 (Brockington et al. 1985:265-269).

Three structures are shown on the Thomas Elfe plantation by the Purcell 1784 plat of the Lesesne plantation (Charleston County RMC Deed Book Q-5, p. 285) (Figure 3). At this time Rachel Elfe was living on the plantation with about 27 slaves. The three structures form a triangular configuration on the property immediately adjacent to the two branches of Beresford Creek. All three are the same size and one is specifically identified as "Mr. Elfe's house." No slave quarters are shown on the plat, although most of the property extends under the caption.

The next available view of the property is an 1814 plat which shows little more than that it was held by George Elfe (Charleston County RMC John McCrady Plat 6217). The 1827 Ravenel plat of Thomas Farr Capers' 880 acre plantation (Charleston County RMC John McCrady Plat Book 3, p. 57), however, shows no structures in the vicinity of Elfe's original plantation. It also fails to identify any slave quarters on Elfe's tract. In fact, over half of the property is shown in woods, with only the island and an adjacent strip to the north, open (Figure 4). The Capers plat is particularly important as it indicates that the original Lesesne plantation structures were being used as the plantation's hub. Elfe's dwellings were either in ruins or destroyed by 1824. Likewise, the slave row is shown about 500 feet from the Lesesne main house; there are no slave quarters on Elfe's old tract. Friedlander (1984) notes that a

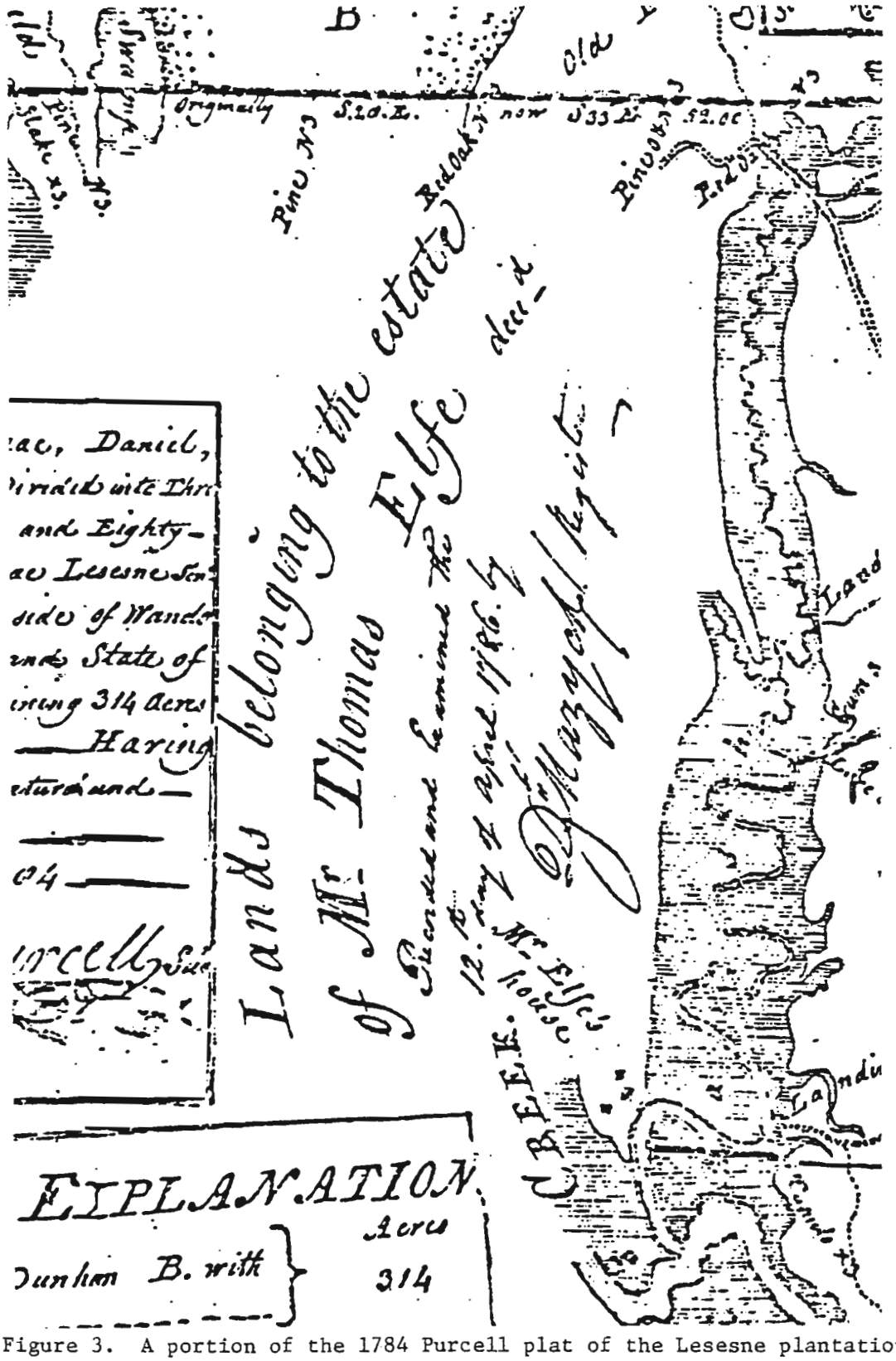

Figure 3. A portion of the 1784 Purcell plat of the Lesesne plantation.

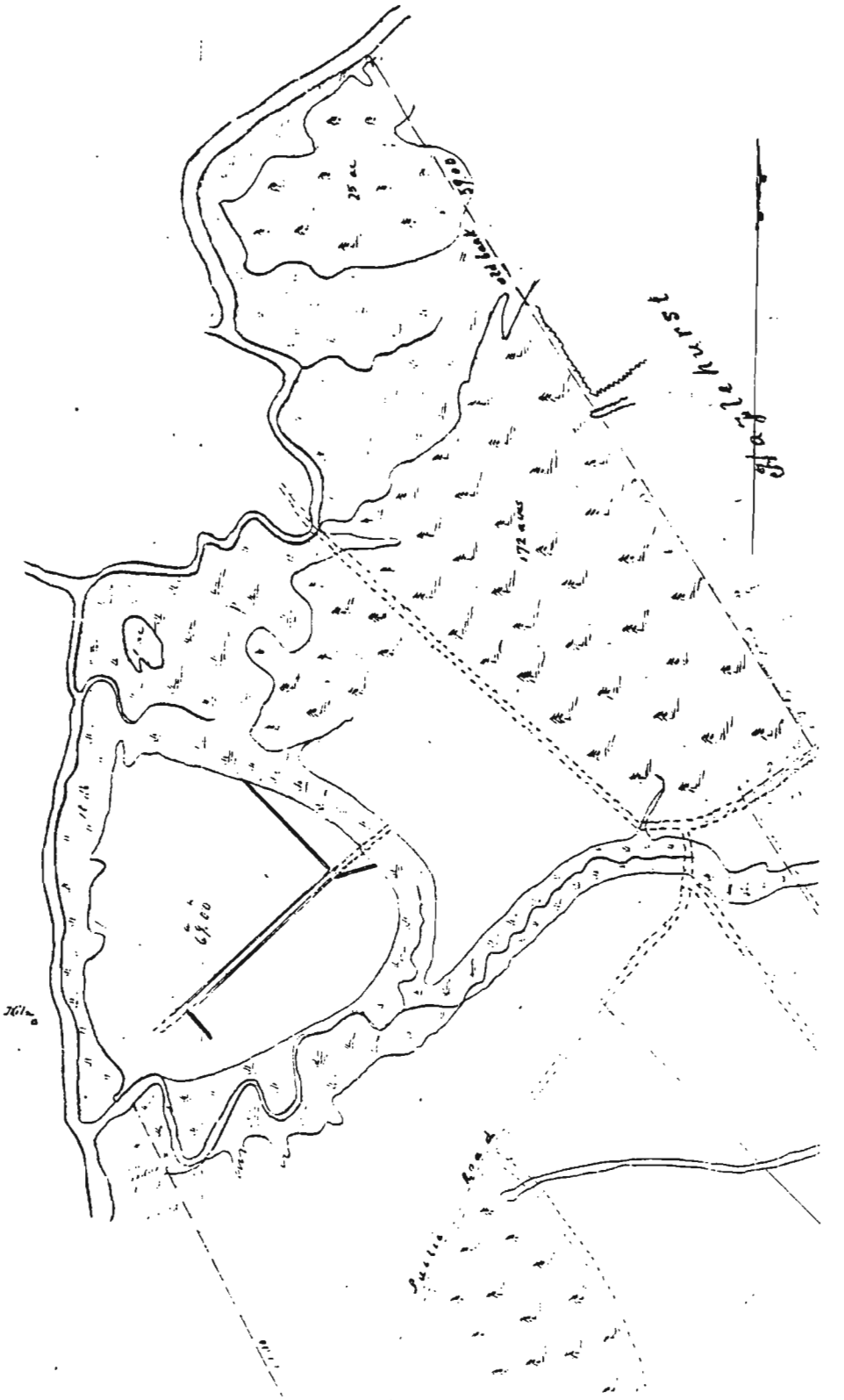

Figure 4. A portion of the 1827 Ravenel plat of the Thomas Farr Capers plantation.

typical plantation enlargement scenario involves "discrete settlements that had been core settlements but were abandoned when the tract was consolidated into a larger holding" (Friedlander 1984:6).

To summarize, the available historical record indicates that the Elfe plantation operated at least from 1765 until 1826, a 61 year period with a mean date of 1795. From 1765 through 1775, a period of 10 years, the plantation had an absentee owner and an overseer. The following 28 years, from 1776 through 1804, saw the plantation operated by Elfe's widow. From 1805 through about 1815 George Elfe lived on the plantation. Following that period information becomes hazy, but it appears that the plantation had an overseer or driver between 1816 and 1826. Consequently, for 38 of its 61 year history the Elfe plantation was owner occupied. The plantation supported between eight and 35 slaves at various periods and produced livestock and fruit for Charleston markets. During its history, the plantation was owned by a family of great wealth, prestige, and consequence.

Test Excavations

Test excavations at the Elfe plantation were conducted from January 25 through 27, 1985. A site datum was established and a contour map was begun on June 13, 1984. A total of 73 person hours were devoted to the work by a crew which ranged in size from two to four individuals. Twelve 5-foot squares were excavated; 320.8 cubic feet of plowzone were removed, and over 600 specimens were collected. The field notes, photographs, and collections from this study have been curated by The Charleston Museum under the Accession Number 1985.17.

The first activity at the site in June 1984 was the establishment of a permanent site datum (Figure 5). A ½-inch rebar was placed below ground at the northern tip of the grassy triangle in the road leading to the site. An aluminum cap was placed on the rebar and the point was designated 300R300. This point is about 53.7 feet from the eastern point of the triangle and 36.3 feet from the western corner. A site elevation datum was established by driving a gutter spike into a utility pole N57°20'W of 300R300 at a distance of 76 feet. This nail was given the assumed elevation of 10.0 feet.

From 300R300 a grid was established for the site on magnetic north-south lines (Figures 5 and 6). Excavation units, designated by their southeast corner, are tied into this site grid using a modified Chicago technique. The first number indicates feet north of the site datum (0R0), while the second number indicates feet right (or east) of this datum. Vertical control at the site is maintained by reference to the nail in the utility pole, which was assigbed an arbitrary elevation. All soil was sifted through ¼ by ½-inch mesh and the units were excavated in natural zones.

Test excavations were designed to examine areas of apparent high artifact density (based on earlier surface collections), and to test areas believed to be in the vicinity of structural remains (based on the 1784 Purcell plat). Excavations were concentrated in the south central

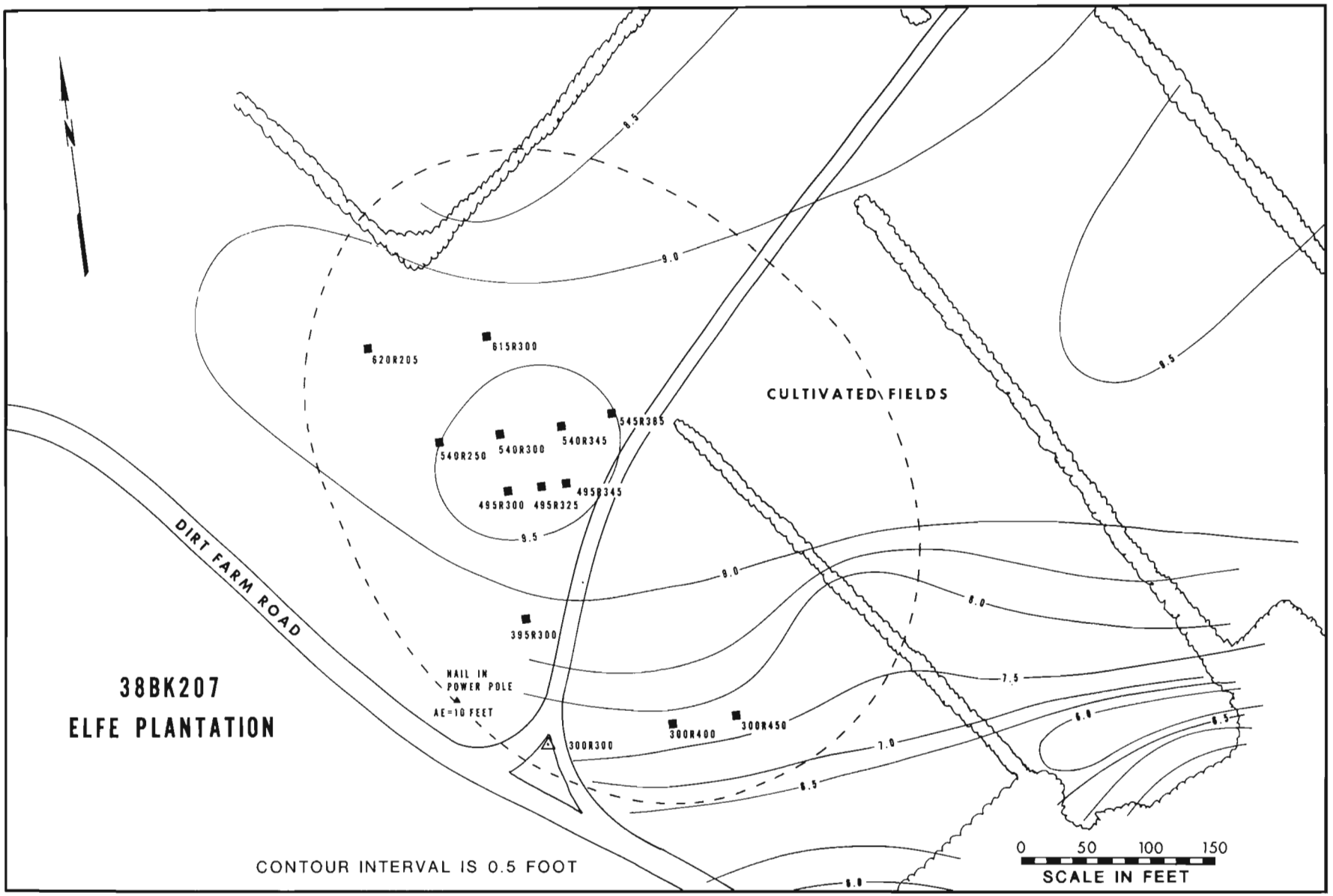

Figure 5. Site 38BK207.

area of the field, in the vicinity of a small rise. Two squares, 300R400 and 300R450, were excavated to the east of the dirt road that bisects the site north-south. Squares 495R300, 325, 345, 540R250, 300, 345, and 545R385 were excavated in the vicinity of the rise on the west side of the road. Square 395R300 also was excavated on the west side of the road, but south of the rise. Finally, two squares, 620R205 and 615R300, were excavated at the northern site limit.

These excavations revealed a dark brown sandy plowzone which varied in depth from 0.7 to 1.4 feet across the site (Figure 7). The subsoil at 38BK207 is a yellow-brown to reddish-yellow clay. The plowzone is deepest in the area of the small rise, with depths averaging 1.1 feet. Elsewhere the plowzone depth averages just under a foot.

No features were encountered in any of the test units. Intra-site differences in artifact density and types of artifacts, however, were noted. Artifact density ranges from a low of one artifact per 5.5 cubic feet in the peripheral site areas to a high of one artifact per 0.2 cubic foot on the rise. One unit, 620R205, contained several unidentifiable nail fragments, but no European ceramics. This peripheral area may have been the location of a wooden outbuilding. The rise, which is the vicinity of a heavy artifact concentration, does not evidence a concentration of brick. Amounts range from 0.02 to 0.06 kg per cubic foot (with an average of 0.04 kg per cubic foot) on the rise compared with 0.004 to 0.08 kg per cubic foot (or an average of 0.04 kg per cubic foot) elsewhere. There is, however, a noticeable difference in the shell densities in this small sample. On the rise there is 0.02 kg of shell per cubic foot, while elsewhere there is 0.003 kg per cubic foot.

Site boundaries were established using a variety of techniques. The only available plat (the 1784 Purcell plat) provides a general indication of site location. Surface collections revealed an absence of artifacts west of 620R205 or in the fields north of the second windrow on the on the east side of the bisecting dirt road. No artifacts were found west of the north-south windrow on the west side of the dirt road. These west, north, and east limits were verified by the excavations. It is only to the south that limits were not well established. South of the east-west running dirt road are woods and a house garden. Artifacts are found in the garden, but it was not practical to test in this area. The site limits are shown in Figure 5 as being in the vicinity of the dirt road. This establishes the site core as covering about 4.5 acres.

Artifacts

The most common artifact from 38BK207 is pottery. Of the 274 recovered ceramics, 69% are earthenwares, 6% are porcelains, and 25% are stonewares. The bulk of the earthenwares are lead glazed slipwares, undecorated creamwares, and delfts. No decorated creamwares were recovered and only three of the 10 pearlware sherds are decorated. A small, but notable amount of the earthenwares are lead glazed varieties. Of particular note are 16 sherds of South European ware. The porcelains are primarily underglazed blue Chinese porcelains and the stonewares include about equal amounts of molded white salt-glazed stoneware and utilitarian brown, gray, and Westerwald varieties (Table 4).

Figure 6. View of 38BK207 from the dirt road looking north.

Figure 7. Square 395R300 at the base of the plowzone. View is to the east.

Two additional categories of pottery are included in these discussions: Colono ware (Drucker and Anthony 1979; Wheaton et al. 1983) and "Catawba" pottery (Ferguson 1985; Trinkley 1983; Wheaton et al. 1983:226-250). It is becoming increasingly obvious that the two pottery types can be separated from one another, based on thickness, paste, and firing (see Wheaton et al. 1983:229). Ferguson (1985), however, points out that the linguistic and ethnic term "Catawba" is questionable for this ware at this early period in our study and he proposes a new term, "River Burnished." Ferguson's lead will be followed in this study. There are 85 sherds of River Burnished pottery and seven sherds of Colono ware identified from 38BK207. If these are added to the ceramic totals, they account for 25% of the total, European earthenwares for 52%, porcelains for 5%, and stonewares for 18%.

The proportions of earthenwares-porcelains-stonewares-Colono/River Burnished wares at 38BK207 can be compared with similar data from three high status plantation sites with excavation concentrated in the main house area -- Drayton (Lewis 1978), Green Grove (Carrillo 1980), and Archdale (Martha Zierden, personal communication 1985). At the first two sites earthenware ranges from 65.2 to 72.7%, porcelain from 7.6 to 9.9%, stoneware from 7.2 to 10.0%, and Colono/River Burnished wares from 12.5 to 14.9%. It can be seen that the Elfe assemblage contains an abundance of Colono/River Burnished wares, at the expense of earthenwares and porcelains. The Elfe assemblage, however, has higher quantities of stoneware than the other two sites. Eighteenth century proveniences in the vicinity of the Archdale main house produce an assemblage more like Elfe's plantation than either Drayton or Green Grove. Colono/River Burnished pottery accounts for 39.3% of the collection, earthenware for 41.0%, porcelain for 13.6%, and stoneware for 6.0% (Martha Zierden, personal communication 1985). At Archdale the Colono/River Burnished pottery is more abundant than at 38BK207. Sample size is an obvious limiting factor in these comparisons; yet, there is a suggestion of greater quantities of utilitarian ware at 38BK207 than might be expected at many main house loci. The reason for the similarity between Elfe's plantation and Archdale is not, at present, understood.

It is difficult to place these mid to late eighteenth century ceramics in a firm economic scale. Although Miller (1980) discusses only nineteenth century ceramics, he notes that undecorated ceramics were the least expensive until the introduction of whiteware. Consequently, the presence of only undecorated creamware may be suggestive of a middling economic scale. Noel Hume (1969:13, 25) describes delft as a "modestly priced ware" and slipware as "comparatively cheap." Josiah Wedgewood noted in 1759 that white salt-galzed stoneware "had been made a long time and the prices were now reduced so low the potter could not afford to bestow much expense upon it" (quoted in Miller 1980:9). While there are some items of expense, such as Black Basalt stoneware and blue transfer printed pearlware (Miller 1980:35), the bulk of the assemblage does not indicate great wealth or expense.

Of the 274 ceramics, 168 may be used to calculate a Mean Ceramic Date (South 1977) of 1751 (Table 5). A single sherd of undecorated whiteware from the surface provides a site TPQ of 1820. From the excavations a single sherd of blue transfer printed pearlware provides a TPQ of 1795.

	Underglaze blue Chinese porcelain	Porcelain, undecorated	Brn. saltglazed stoneware	Gray saltgalzed stoneware	Westerwald stoneware	Moulded wht. saltglazed stoneware	Nottingham stoneware	Black basalt stoneware	Scratch blue stoneware	Misc. stoneware	Jackfield	Lead glazed slipware	Whiteware, undecorated	North Devon gravel tempered	Coarse unglazed red earthenware	Red refined unglazed earthenware	Decorated delft	Plain white delft	Delft, bisque	Delft, manganese sponged	Creamware, undecorated	Pearlware, underglazed blue hp	Pearlware, blue/green edged	Pearlware, blue transfer print	Pearlware, undecorated	Leadglazed earthenware, brown	Leadglazed earthenware, clear	Leadglazed earthenware, black	South European ware	Leadglazed earthenware, red slip, clr.	Yellowware	Hlp earthenware
300R400, pz.	1		1		1							1		1	1		1				2	1										
300R450, pz.	1																								1							
395R300, pz.	2		2	2				1									1				3		1		2		3	3				
495R300, pz.	1			2	1							2		1			2	1	1		4						2	1	1			
495R325, pz.	1		1			5						16			2	1	2	2							1	1	1		7		3	1
495R345, pz.	2	1	2		1	3	1				1	14		1	1			1		1	3			1			1	1	2		3	
540R250, pz.			1		1	1				1																	1		1		1	
540R300, pz.	1		3		3	1						2		1			2				2								1		1	
540R345, pz.		1	4		1	5				1	1	13			4		2	2			3					1	1	3		1		1
540R385, pz.												1		1	2										1	2						
n15R300, pz.												1																				
Subtotal	9	2	14	4	8	15	1	1	-	2	2	50	-	5	10	1	10	6	1	1	17	1	1	1	5	4	9	8	12	1	11	3
Surface, W.	5		4	4	2	7					1	6	1				1	2		1	6				2				3		1	
Surface, E.	1			2		2			1			2					1				2					1			1			
Subtotal	6	-	4	6	2	9	-	-	1	-	1	8	1	-	-	-	2	2	-	1	8	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	4	-	1	
Totals	15	2	18	10	10	24	1	1	1	2	3	58	1	5	10	1	12	8	1	2	25	1	1	1	7	5	9	8	16	1	12	3

Table 4. Ceramics from 38BK207.

	fi	xi	fi·xi
Underglazed blue Chinese porcelain	15	1730	25950
Nottingham stoneware	1	1755	1755
Westerwald stoneware	10	1738	17380
Moulded white salt-glazed stoneware	24	1753	42072
Scratch blue white salt-glazed stoneware	1	1760	1760
Black basalt stoneware	1	1785	1785
Jackfield	3	1760	5280
Lead glazed slipware	50	1733	86650
North Devon gravel tempered	5	1713	8565
Decorated delft	12	1750	21000
Plain white delft	8	1720	13760
Delft, manganese sponged	2	1750	3500
Whiteware, undecorated	1	1860	1860
Creamware, undecorated	25	1791	44775
Pearlware, underglazed blue handpainted	1	1800	1800
Pearlware, blue/green edged	1	1805	1805
Pearlware, blue transfer print	1	1818	1818
Pearlware, undecorated	7	1805	12635
	168		294150

Mean Ceramic Date = 1750.9

Table 5. Mean Ceramic Date calculation for 38BK207.

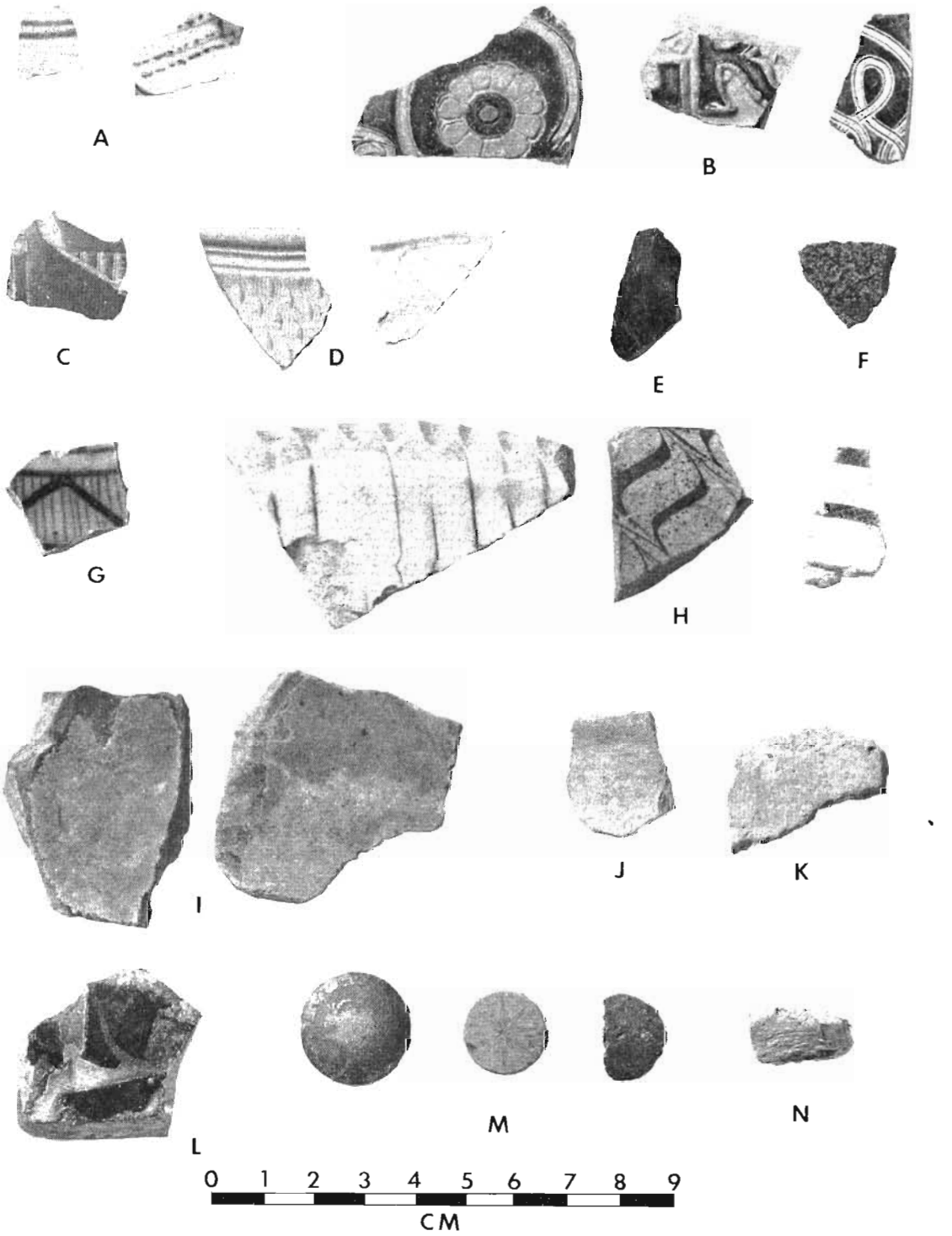

Figure 8. Artifacts from the Elfe plantation. A, Underglazed blue Chinese porcelain; B, Westerwald stoneware; C, Black basalt stoneware; D, Moulded white salt-glazed stoneware, barley on marley and dot diaper basket motifs; E, Jackfield; F, Manganese sponged delft; G, Blue hand painted pearlware; H, Lead glazed slipware; I, South European ware; J, River Burnished ware; K, Colono ware; L, Dark green case bottle base; M, Brass button types; N, lead flint wrap.

Both TPQ dates are within the period of known site occupation. The 1795 TPQ date, in fact, is identical to the mean historic date for the plantation. The Mean Ceramic Date of 1751 is intriguing as it is 44 years earlier than the historic mean and 14 years earlier than the Elfe purchase date.

While status differences may be obscured in eighteenth century ceramics because of the mass production and wide distribution of British pottery (South 1972:100), shape may be a sensitive indicator of status (South 1972:99). If the creamware, pearlware, porcelain, and moulded white salt-glazed vessel forms are examined, 37% are cup/bowl forms, 56% are plate/saucer forms, and 7% are serving/container forms (Table 6).

Otto (1984:69, 166-168) in his study of Cannon's Point plantation, found that at the planter's residence the "vast majority of tableware items (over 80% of the total) were serving flatware vessels" (Otto 1984: 167) and bowls were rare (comprising 8% of the total). At the slave site "bowl shapes constituted over 40% of the total tableware" (Otto 1984:167). Bowl forms at the overseer's site fall midway between these two extremes, accounting for 25% of the vessels. Otto explains these differences stating,

> [t]he hierarchical patterning in the ceramic shapes and forms from the plantation sites may be explained in terms of differing functions of ceramic vessels in the foodways systems of planters, overseer, and slaves. At the planter's house meat and breads were served on . . . platters . . . . At the overseer's site meats and breads were served on platters but were often accompanied by slow simmer foods served in bowls . . . . And at the slave cabin foods were also served on flatware but bowls of stews, hominy, and pileau were daily fare . . . (Otto 1984:167-168).

Based on Otto's work from Cannon's Point, the distribution observed at Elfe's plantation falls midway between that expected for a slave's and an overseer's site.

Glass artifacts from 38BK207 include 115 bottle fragments and seven window glass fragments. No evidence of tableware glass was encountered. The bulk of the collection (Table 7) represents "black" (or actually dark green nearly opaque) glass from late eighteenth and early nineteenth century wine and ale bottles. While fragmentary, all appear to post-date the 1750s (Noel Hume 1978:66-68). The base of a single flint glass case bottle was found. Only four fragments of light green pharmaceutical bottles were found in the excavations. The examples are similar to those typical of the late eighteenth century (Noel Hume 1978: 73-74).

Window glass was sparse at the Elfe plantation, although the historical account assures us that windows were glazed. It may be that the glass was salvaged at the time of the settlement's abandonment. The seven recovered

	cups/bowls	plates/saucers	serving	totals
creamware	1	5	1	7
pearlware	2	3	-	5
porcelain	3	2	1	6
delft	1	1	-	2
moulded wt. salt-glazed	3	4	-	7
totals	10	15	2	27
%	37.0	55.6	7.4	100

Table 6. Ceramic vessel forms from 38BK207.

	Black	Lt. Green	Blue	Aqua	Clear	Window
300R400, pz.	2					
300R450, pz.	2					
395R300, pz.	6	1				3
495R300, pz.	9	1				1
495R325, pz.	12	1				1
495R345, pz.	20	1				
540R250, pz.	1					
540R300, pz.	2					1
540R345, pz.	23		1	1		
545R385, pz.	4					
615R300, pz.	6					
620R205, pz.	2					
Surface, W.	11				1	1
Surface, E.	8					

	wine	medicine	UID
Black	108	-	-
Lt. Green	-	4	-
Blue	-	-	1
Aqua	-	-	1
Clear	-	-	1*

* 1 case bottle

Table 7. Glass analysis from 38BK207.

fragments range from 1.2 to 2.7 mm in thickness. The mean thickness is 1.9 mm and the median is 1.8 mm. The glass has a characteristic light green tint, but it is not possible to determine the mode of manufacture (see Davies 1973:78-80; Lanmon and Palmer 1976:26-28).

If the excavated artifact inventory is classified into South's (1977) Artifact Groups, the Kitchen Group accounts for 85.2%, the Architecture Group for 8.6%, Arms account for 0.2%, Clothing for 0.4%, Tobacco for 1.3%, and Activities for 4.3%. Including surface data, of course, changes the percentages, but does not affect the relative order of the various groups. It is obvious that this artifact pattern does not even approximate the Carolina Artifact Pattern (South 1977:107) or the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern (Wheaton et al. 1983:277-278). Kitchen items are too abundant, while architectural items are scarce. The Activities Group at the Elfe plantation is large when compared to the Carolina Pattern. These differences are even more pronounced when the Elfe pattern is compared to other low country planter sites (Drucker and Anthony 1985). It, however, does bear a strong resemblance to the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern (Wheaton et al. 1983:277-286), with its high Kitchen Group to low Architecture ratio.

Discussion

The several lines of archaeological research considered in this study converge to suggest, quite simply, a low status occupation at the Elfe site, remarkably similar to slave occupations from other eighteenth and nineteenth century sites. The evidence includes the presence of low status ceramics, or at least the absence of high status pottery; an abundance of low fired earthenware known as Colono and River Burnished wares, typical of slave sites or food preparation areas; a Mean Ceramic Date earlier than the mean historic date, which suggests a time lag between the date of manufacture of ceramics and the date of their acquisition; the abundance of cup and bowl ceramic forms, typical of low status sites; and an artifact pattern that emphasizes kitchen artifacts and exhibits a low quantity of architectural items. Yet the historical data clearly indicate that the site was owned by a wealthy Charlestonian family.

One major consequence of this study, however, is the dramatic illustration of the need to thoroughly integrate historical studies into archaeological research. A second consequence is the illustration that, as Friedlander notes, "if historical research will really help a historic archaeologist, he or she might be well advised to do a lot of it" (Friedlander 1983:8). She goes on to observe that ideally,

> one brings to bear on an individual site what is known about the [historical] context. . . . [W]e can adduce evidence to explain what the material culture appears to show. Although little used, this is the real power of historical argument, and it occurs when we get past describing what happened historically (Friedlander 1983:10).

	excavated		surface		total	
KITCHEN						
Earthenwares	159		31		190	
Porcelains	11		6		17	
Stonewares	45		22		67	
Glass	96		19		115	
Colono ware	7		-		7	
River Burnished	77		8		85	
Kettle fragment	4		-		4	
	399	85.2%	86	95.6%	485	81.6%
ARCHITECTURE						
UID nails	33		-		33	
Window glass	6		1		7	
Building hardware	1		-		1	
	40	8.6%	1	1.1%	41	7.3%
BONE						
UID animal bone	25		11		36	
	25		11		36	
ARMS						
Gunflint wrap, lead	1		-		1	
Gunflint, white flint	-		1		1	
	1	0.2%	1	1.1%	2	0.4%
CLOTHING						
Brass buttons, Type 7	1		1		2	
Brass buttons, Type 9	1		-		1	
	2	0.4%	1	1.1%	3	0.5%
TOBACCO						
Pipestems, 4/64" bore	2		-		2	
Pipestems, 5/64" bore	3		-		3	
Pipe bowl fragments	1		1		2	
	6	1.3%	1	1.1%	7	1.3%
ACTIVITIES						
UID iron fragments	18		-		18	
Lead sinker	1		-		1	
Clay marble	1		-		1	
	20	4.3%	0	0%	20	3.6%

Table 8. Artifacts recovered from 38BK207 by Artifact Group, percentages disregard bone counts.

There develop, then, several possible explanations for the observed archaeological data and its apparent conflict with the historical record. The first potential explanation is that the excavation units may have missed the Elfe house and have been placed in a midden area associated with the slave cabins. This, certainly, is the most simple explanation: it satisfies the archaeological paradox while leaving the historical perception of Elfe intact. Yet, there would seem to be several flaws in this explanation. The surface data fails to indicate the presence of other occupation areas which might represent the main house, and the excavations were sufficiently dispersed to identify other occupation areas even if they were not visible on the surface. The 1784 Purcell plat exhibits a close correspondence with the ground scatter and supports the view that 38BK207 is the remains of "Mr. Elfe's house" and the associated support buildings such as kitchen and dairy. Finally, a potential slave site (38BK208) has been identified about 700 feet to the north of 38BK207.

A second possible explanation is that the archaeological data reflects an extended overseer occupation of the site. This explanation assumes that such an occupation would serve to mask owner occupation with an abundance of middle status artifacts. There is, in fact, evidence for an overseer during the period from 1770 through 1775. Yet for 28 years Rachel Elfe definetely lived on the plantation, and it is possible that George Elfe also lived there for an additional 10 years. This explanation presumes that the mixing influences of overseer artifacts would completely mask the occupation of Rachel Elfe, an unlikely situation on its face. Additionally, the historical record indicates that Elfe's overseer was paid £100 a year. Land provides information from 1775 on the value of this salary,

> [t]he great profit here stated is entirely owing to an accumulation of profits for twelve years, the planter living upon £100 or £150 a year; but the event would prove very different if he takes at first a larger sum for his housekeeping . . . [or] if . . . he frequents the taverns and concerts of Charles Town more than his plantation (Land 1969:66).

This suggests that £100 a year was a good salary and not likely to yield particularly low status archaeological evidence.

A third explanation is that the plantation, never representing one of Elfe's major investments, was rather spartan during his lifetime. There is no evidence that Elfe ever resided on the plantation for any length of time. At best it may have served as an occasional retreat. The plantation accounted for only 10% of Elfe's value in 1768 and provided little income and perhaps even less profit. All of this suggests a relatively small house with few furnishings. Elfe's wealth was apparently contained within the city walls of Charleston.

Friedlander contributes to this view, noting first that the "plantation" in both the colonial and antebellum periods had a considerable range in size and grandeur depending, partially, on "the relative importance of the tract in the planter's portfolio of lands" (Friedlander

1985:2). Further, there would appear to be no absolute correlation between status or wealth and the "plantation." Friedlander observes,

> [a] plantation could also mean something in the order of Cedar Grove, Onslow County, North Carolina. Although owned by the wealthy and prominent Howard family, the settlement complex at best probably included a fairly simple farmhouse, outlying kitchen, and associated farm buildings - stable, barn, corn crib and the like. While we may not think of these as plantations, it is important to remember that the contempories did (Friedlander 1985:3).

Later, when Rachel began living on the property, the Elfe fortune was reduced by the Revolutionary War. Not only was the Elfe family's allegiance to the King politically disadvantageous, but it may well have been economically ruinous. Taylor (1932), from a study of wholesale commodity prices at Charleston during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries observed that exports were bringing low prices, but imports were expensive. Specifically, he notes,

> [p]rior to the period with which the study begins [1798], Charleston had suffered from seriously declining prices, especially for the years following 1787. This was particularly true of prices for local products which, having reached a high point in October, 1786, had fallen over 45 per cent by December, 1791. Imported commodities, on the other hand, had reached their low point in 1789 and had shown considerable recovery by the end of 1791 (Taylor 1932:851).

Rachel Elfe may have found it difficult to maintain an affluent lifestyle faced with low local commodity prices and high import prices following on the heals of the political and economic turmoil of the Revolutionary War.

The declining Elfe fortunes, translated into archaeological evidence, might be seen by the use of old style ceramics (being unable to obtain new, expensive styles), and the common use of Colono and River Burnished ware vessels for food preparation (and perhaps even food service). Admittedly, the abundance of cup and bowl forms is not so easily explained, unless it is assumed that the Elfe wealth declined to the point of near impoverishment. Rachel Elfe's declining health may have necessitated the preparation of soft foods, or we may simply know too little about colonial foodways to accurately judge the implications of this collection. The low quantity of architectural remains may relate to either the spartan nature or to abandonment and salvage of architectural items (see White and Kardulias 1985:74). The high Activities Group may indicate simply that the buildings, prior to their demolition or collapse, were put to other uses (Friedlander [1983:7] suggests a similar scenario).

This third explanation, which involves an understanding of the plantation's original use and importance to Elfe, the economic and political effects of the Revolutionary War and the ensuing years, and the vagary of the archaeological record, appears most reasonable. This explanation obviously is based on a very small archaeological sample, but it begins to examine and explore plantations and status from relatively uncommon perspectives. Plantations were different things to different people in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. While they may have been built on the backs of slave labor, they were not always built on the cash crops of rice or cotton. Nor were all plantations equally successful, although this point is usually acknowledged. Likewise, both real and apparent status was dependent on a variety of factors and may be incompletely reflected or distorted in the archaeological record.

SITE 38CH321 - THE SANDERS PLANTATION

Description

Site 38CH321, commonly referred to as the Sanders plantation, for its primary antebellum owner, is situated in the southwest corner of an agricultural field about 2400 feet south of the mouth of Rathall Creek and 1800 feet east of the Wando River. This site is part of the Georgia-Pacific "Gulf Oil" tract north and northwest of Long Point Road. The topography is generally flat at an elevation of about 6 feet above mean sea level. A small tidal creek south of the site complex has been dammed up in the twentieth century. To the west are extensive tidal flats associated with the Wando River (Figure 9).

The soils in the immediate site area are Wagram loamy fine sands (Miller 1971:Map 44). The Wagram soils are well drained, easy to work, and fairly well suited for most row crops (such as corn, cotton, and sorghum), truck crops (such as beans, sweet potatoes, and watermelons), small grains, and orchards (Ellerbe 1974; Miller 1971). Adjacent or nearby soils include a small area of somewhat poorly drained Charleston loamy fine sands to the north and a large area of moderately well-drained Hockley Series soils to the south. Looking at the Sanders plantation as a whole it is clear that 38CH321, representing the main house complex, is situated on the highest and best drained soils. The plantation landing was probably to the north on Rathall Creek, which fed into the Wando River.

The site area is currently under cultivation, although areas adjacent to the dammed inlet to the south and the Wando River to the north are forested in live oak, palmetto, and cedar. The site area was occupied into the postbellum period by its owner and the main building was probably standing into the mid-1930s (based on the 1933 U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey map of the area). Therefore, the site has sustained agricultural damage for only the past 50 years. The property is frequently planted in cucumbers, tomatoes, or soybeans.

At the southern edge of the field there is a standing brick structure (Figure 10). This building, shown on the 1902 U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey map of Charleston, measures 12 feet 9 inches on its north facing wall, with a 2 feet 9¼ inch door centered on this wall, and 10 feet 8 inches on its eastern wall. The height of the structure is 10 feet 3 inches from the existing exterior ground level and the solid walls are of English bond about 1 foot 1 inch thick. The door measures 6 feet 5 inches in height with a worn brick sill. The exterior of the door shows an elliptical arch, while the interior evidences a 2½ by 8½ inch wood lintel which measured 3 feet 5½ inches in length. This wood lintel,

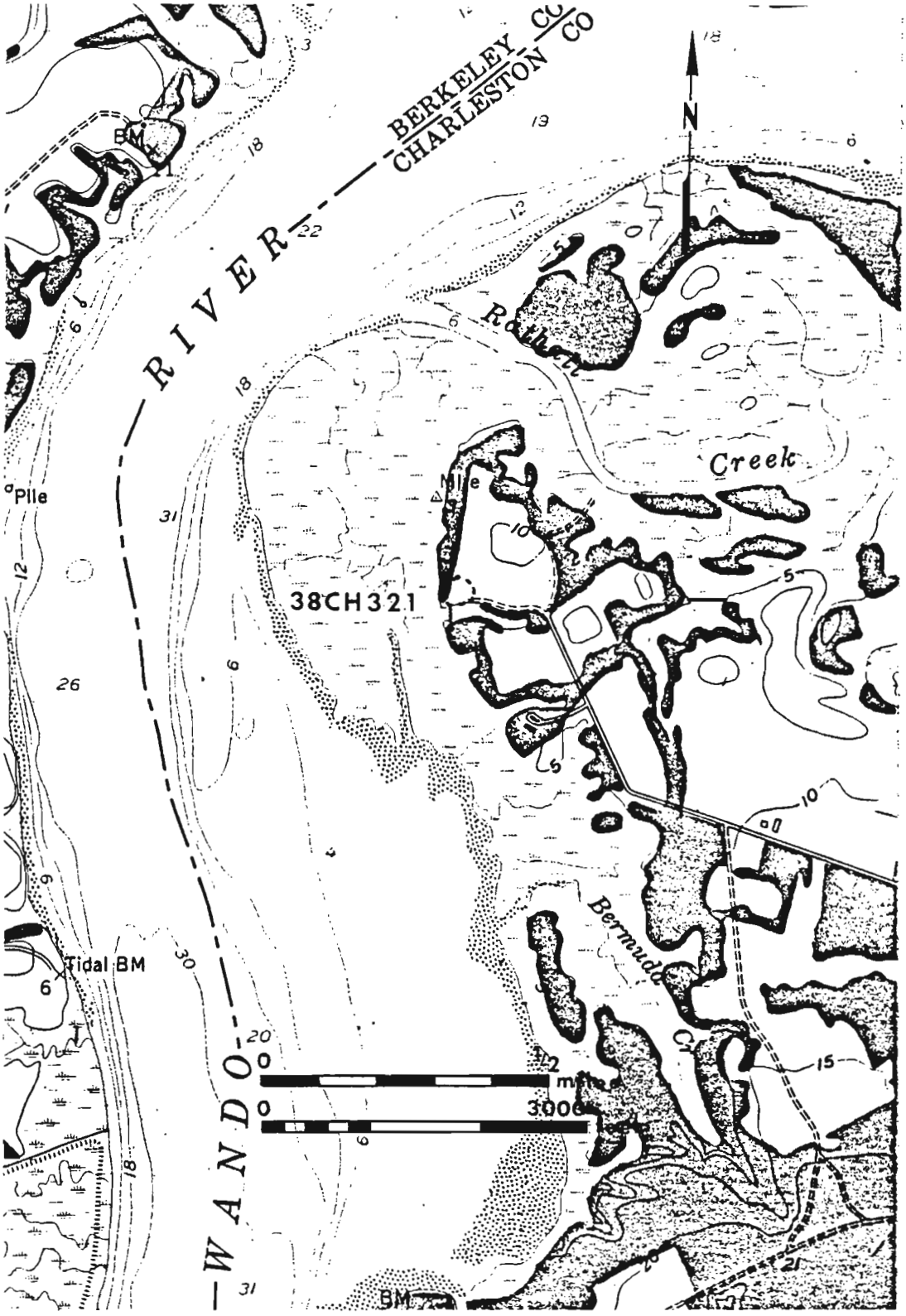

Figure 9. A portion of the U.S.G.S. Charleston 7.5' topographic map showing the location of 38CH321.

necessary to support the thick walls, is no longer present. The lentil was placed below the arch, so that it was visible from the outside, which suggests that the door may have opened outward and covered the lintel when closed.

The structure was plastered, on both the interior and exterior, with a coarse shell stucco, much of which is no longer present on the exterior. The stucco on the interior is in better condition and preserves the detail of two wood shelves which were located on the east and west walls. Both were intergal parts of the original building construction. The shelf on the west was placed at a height of 5 feet 4 inches above the existing ground level and measured 8 feet 4½ inches. The 1¼ by 11½ inch wood shelf, however, was actually 8 feet 9 inches in length, being sunk into the south wall 3 inches and 1½ inches into the north wall. The east shelf was lower, only 3 feet 10 inches above the existing ground. It measures 1 foot 9 inches in width by 1 inch in thickness and was 8 feet 5 inches in length.

It is probable that the existing interior floor is about 1.4 feet higher than in the early nineteenth century. Consequently, the two shelves were originally 6 feet 9 inches and 5 feet 3 inches from the floor. The sill would have been about 2 feet 7 inches from the floor (this floor also would have been about 2 feet 5 inches below the early nineteenth century ground level. This suggests that a series of up to four steps, with a unit rise of 7-3/4 inches and a unit run of 9-3/4 inches may have been required.

No evidence of the original roofing or roof line was present, nor does the structure design clearly indicate its function. The excavated floor suggests the possibility of an ice house or a structure used for cold storage. Sometime during its nineteenth century use the structure sustained damage to its west wall. There is evidence of a hole, beginning 2 feet 3 inches from the north corner and continuing for 2 feet 4½ inches, in this wall. The damage has a height of about 3 feet 3 inches, but is irregular. The breach was filled with bricks different from the original construction, although soft lime shell mortar, similar to that used in the original construction, was used for the repair.

There is ample evidence, both architectural and archaeological, for "adaptive reuse" of this building in the early twentieth century. There was a poured concrete floor about 0.1 foot thick added around 1920. This floor, 1 foot 7 inches below the sill, sealed 0.7 foot of brick rubble, and evidences the conversion of the small building into a domestic structure. A stove vent pipe was added to the south wall, 4 feet 6½ inches from the west wall and 5 feet 7 inches from the existing floor (about 6 feet 3 inches from the concrete floor). This pipe, flush with both the interior and exterior walls, is 6¼ inches in diameter. A hole about 1 foot 10 inches in length and 2 feet in height was made for the pipe, which was placed in the center, 2 inches from the top. The area was then patched with scrap brick and portland cement. Similar portland cement was used to patch a small hole in the original west wall patch, and to strengthen the door sill and side jams.

The original structure bricks average 8½ to 8-3/4 by 4 to 4½ by 2¼

Figure 10. Standing structure at 38CH321.

Figure 11. Excavations at 38CH321.

inches. They are quite soft and bright brick red in color. The patching bricks are 9-1/8 to 9½ by 4¼ by 2½ to 2-3/4 inches in size and a dark red color. Several loose foundation remnants found in the woodline (and probably removed from the field by farmers) yielded bricks identical to the patching hole.

The structure appears to date at least from the antebellum period and possibly from the colonial period plantation development. It is today in poor condition. The lower 3 feet of the eastern wall are entirely missing. Other areas are heavily weathered, with many bricks turning to dust. Nevertheless, this is a significant structure because of its age.

During the 1978-1979 studies this site was found to possess a quantity of ceramics, bricks, and oyster shell. These remains were concentrated in an area about 300 feet in diameter that included a small, but noticeable rise in the field. The recovered ceramics (Table 9) gave a Mean Ceramic Date (South 1977) of 1808 and showed the presence of seventeenth (North Devon gravel tempered ware and combed yellow slipware) through nineteenth (pearlware and whiteware) century diagnostics. Also reported from the surface, but not collected in this study, was Bellarmine stoneware (Patrick Garrow, personal communication 1984), an artifact diagnostic of the seventeenth century.

There are a number of sites in the vicinity of 38CH321, and on the Sanders plantation, which are worthy of mention. These include 11 sites probably associated with the colonial and antebellum plantation, and six sites probably associated with postbellum activities (primarily in the early twentieth century). These sites are shown on Figure 12 and in Table 10. Several observations are immediately apparent. First, the only site on the well drained soil is the main plantation complex, 38CH321. All of the other sites, both antebellum and postbellum, are found on less well drained soils, although there is a tendency for the postbellum sites to be found on the least well drained soils. Second, while both the antebellum and postbellum sites are scattered across the plantation, the antebellum sites tend to occur in the western two-thirds of the tract, while the postbellum sites tend to occur in the eastern third of the plantation.

Historical Setting

The bulk of this section is taken, without change, from Brockington et al. (1985:79-93), which was prepared by Scardaville. To ensure the uninterupted flow of the text, no attempt has been made to show minor editorial changes or gaps in the text. Rather than use prolonged quotation markes or indentions, the text taken from Brockington et al. (1985) is printed in a different font. A few discussions have been enlarged, based on additional research, and these are shown in the normal type face.

The written record for the Long Point property is uneven. Broad and detailed patterns of development can be reconstructed for the pre-Civil era through a good collection of probate materials, tax books, and population and agricultural census accounts. With the exception of oral evidence and maps, however, the site specific documentation for the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries is seriously lacking. Family and plantation

2	UID undecorated porcelain
5	Westerwald stoneware
3	Gray salt glazed stoneware
1	UID stoneware
3	Brown salt glazed stoneware
3	Unglazed coarse red earthenware
1	Clear lead glazed coarse red earthenware
1	Brown lead glazed coarse red earthenware
1	South European ware
1	North Devon gravel tempered ware
2	Lead glazed slipware
7	Pearlware, undecorated
1	Underglazed blue hand painted pearlware
2	Underglaze polychrome pearlware
2	Blue transfer printed pearlware
2	Blue edged pearlware
22	Creamware, undecorated
1	Annular ware creamware
1	Green edged creamware
1	Polychrome hand painted creamware
15	Whiteware, undecorated
2	Polychrome hand painted whiteware
1	Blue transfer printed whiteware
1	Annular ware whiteware
1	Sponged whiteware
2	"Black" bottle glass
12	Green bottle glass
3	Clear bottle glass
2	Window glass
6	Colono ware sherds
1	UID nail
1	Kaolin pipestem fragment (5/64" bore)
13	Aboriginal sherds

Table 9. Artifacts recovered from 38CH321 in 1978 and 1979.

Site Number	Period	Site Type	Soils
38CH315	antebellum	domestic scatter	Charleston
38CH316	antebellum	domestic scatter	Hockley
38CH317	antebellum	domestic scatter	Hockley
38CH318	antebellum	domestic scatter	Hockley
38CH320	antebellum	domestic scatter	Hockley
38CH322	antebellum	38CH321 outlier	Wagram
38CH323	antebellum	domestic scatter	Wagram
38CH324	antebellum	domestic scatter	Charleston
38CH326	antebellum	domestic scatter	Hockley
38CH330	antebellum	domestic scatter	Hockley
38CH421	antebellum	domestic scatter	Hockley
38CH319	postbellum	black cemetery	Hockley
38CH331	postbellum	domestic scatter	Younges
38CH332	postbellum	domestic scatter	Younges
38CH417	postbellum	domestic scatter	Charleston
38CH420	postbellum	domestic scatter	Hockley
38CH422	postbellum	domestic scatter	Hockley

Table 10. Sites in the vicinity of 38CH321.

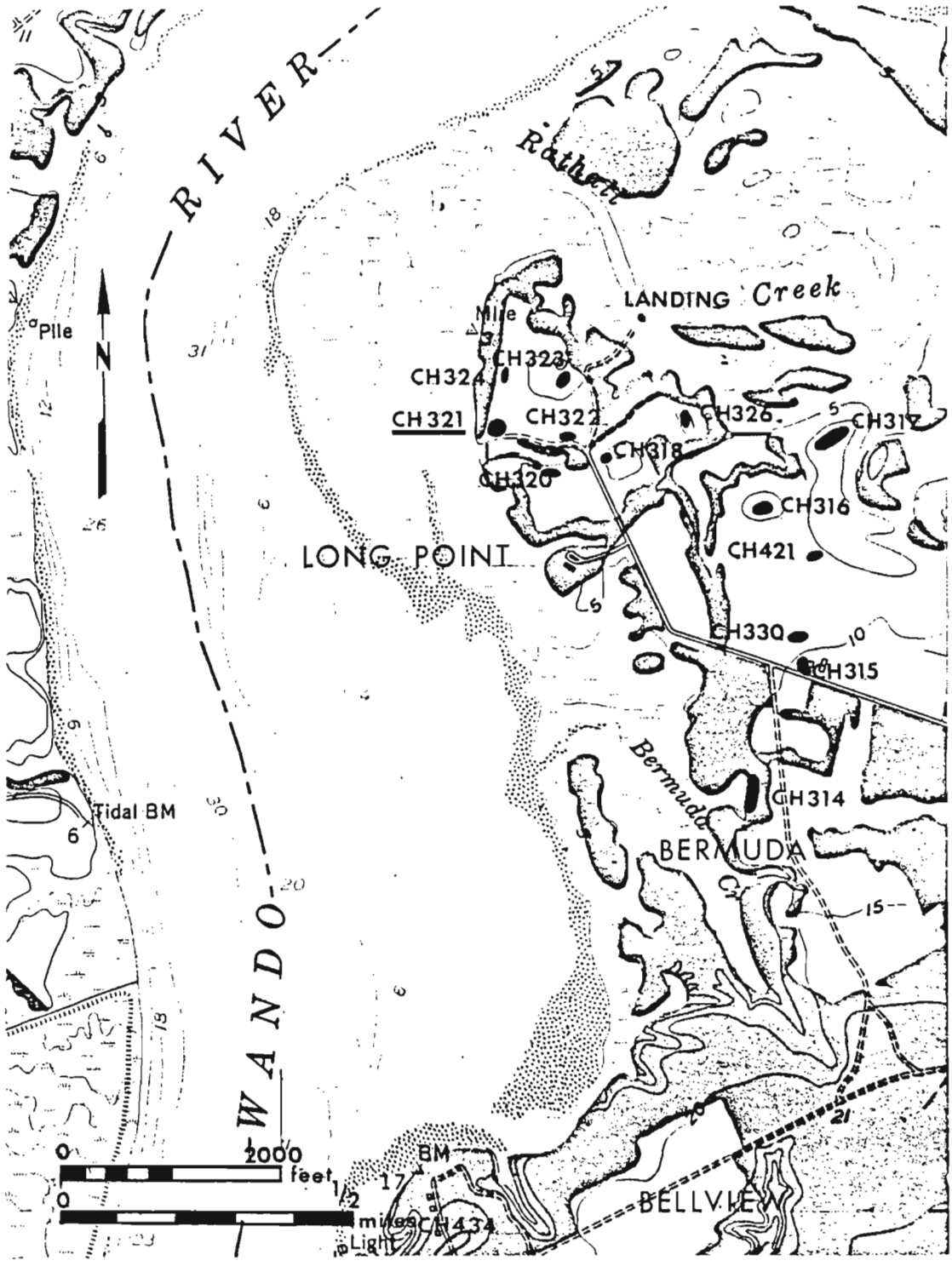

Figure 12. Sites in the vicinity of 38CH321.

records are absent.

The site is not cartographically recorded until 1862 (Johnson 1862). Colonial and antebellum survey and plat maps were not located in the state archives. Federal coastal surveys of the 1850s and 1860s included the Charleston Harbor area only as far inland as Hobcaw Point at the mouth of the Wando River. An undated and incomplete map of the tract might date from 1859 when the property was resurveyed, but little valuable land use information can be gleaned from this record (Charleston County RMC John McCrady Plat 279). Twentieth century land use and settlement patterns are better documented, by the 1902 and 1933 coastal surveys (U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey), a 1922 plat of the tract, a series of topographic maps beginning in 1919 (U.S. Geological Survey), and aerial photographs dating from the forties, fifties, and sixties (Aerial Photography Field Office).

By the late seventeenth century, English plantations in Wando Neck and other areas had begun to displace the Indians further inland. Most land within Wando Neck had been granted by the Lords Proprietors by the end of the century, with the exception of the tract that became Long Point (Charleston County RMC, Deed Book Z, p. 294). Such land grants formed the basis of an expanding colonial and antebellum plantation system that radiated outward from its commercial center at Charleston. The plantation units quickly developed in Wando Neck as evidenced by the construction of a road in the early eighteenth century which connected the nascent settlements with the town of Christ Church (Gregorie 1961:156).

Long Point, the last tract developed in Wando Neck, was acquired by James Allen from the royal government in 1719. The 326 acre tract, similar in configuration to current property lines, occupied the northwestern corner of Wando Neck, and was bounded by Rathall Creek and the Wando River on three sides and the Bermuda tract to the south (Secretary of State, Royal Land Grants, vol. 39:238). As seen in the relatively late date of the grant, a full quarter century after the rest of the surrounding area had been granted, the colonists did not consider Long Point to be prime agricultural real estate. Problems afflicting the twentieth century farmers of the property are probably inherent to the tract. Poor drainage necessitated building and maintaining banks along the creeks and ditches in the ubiquitous low-lying areas, thereby requiring a considerable amount of upkeep. In addition, the clay subsoil contributed to an excessively damp soil in the rainy season, and the sandy top soil was difficult to keep sufficiently moist in the dry spells (Alex Heath, personal communication 1984). Despite such problems and lower agricultural potential, James Allen soon took residence on the tract and developed it within several years (Charleston County RMC Deed Book B, p. 112). Based upon later settlement patterns, Allen probably built his house and slave quarters in the northwestern section of the property along the banks of the Wando River (Johnson 1862; U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey 1902).

Allen died within a decade, and by 1733 Long Point had devolved to his sole surviving son, James, Jr. (Auditor General, Memorials, Book 3, pp. 211-212; Book 7, pp. 474-475). James Jr. continued to reside on the plantation with his family and 12 slaves until his death in 1763. During his tenure at Long Point he concentrated on developing products for sale in

Charleston, notably livestock. The corn he cultivated was used primarily as feed for the stock (Charleston County Probate Court, WPA Miscellaneous Record Book 88-A, p. 54).

Six individuals held title to the plantation in the last third of the eighteenth century. Within a 25-year span, Allen bequeathed the property to his uncle, Robert Clement, who willed it to his wife, Sarah Lemprier Clement, who, in turn, transferred it to her daughter, Ann Prince (Charleston County RMC Deed Book Y-5, p. 132). Clement Lemprier, the first husband of Sarah and the father of Ann, was a noted shipbuilder at Hobcaw Point who also operated a ferry to Charleston (South Carolina Gazette, May 2, 1769; Gregorie 1961:68). In 1787, Ann Prince and her husband sold the tract, called "Long Point" in the deed records for the first time, to William Gowdey. The amount of acreage increased to 368, reflecting perhaps the need for a resurvey of the tract after the series of probate transactions (Charleston County RMC Deed Book Y-5, p. 132).

Ownership of Long Point plantation alternated between Gowdey and his son-in-law, William Sutcliffe, for the next 13 years (Charleston County RMC Deed Book M-6, p. 87; Deed Book R-6, p. 110). Both men were Charleston merchants who, following common patterns in the colonial and antebellum periods, invested in slave-based argicultural real estate and divided their residency between town and country (Charleston County RMC Deed Book E-3, p. 211; Higgins 1964:216). In developing the tract, both concentrated their activities on livestock (cattle and hogs) and subsistence farming, a land use pattern similar to the one followed by the Allen family earlier in the century (Charleston County Probate Court Inventory Book C, pp. 135, 377) **and by Elfe at 38BK207.**

Contrary to the eighteenth century patterns, ownership of Long Point was stable throughout the following century as a result of a long tenure within the Venning family, one of the most prominent clans in Christ Church Parish (Gregorie 1961:68, 92). The Vennings commenced their economic interests in the parish with the purchase of Long Point in 1800 by Samuel Venning, a native Georgian who had come to South Carolina shortly before the Revolutionary War (South Carolina Historical Society, Venning File). Long Point passed to his children upon his death in 1821; Robert Dorrill Venning, a grandson, acquired full interest in 1858 (Charleston County Probate Court Inventory Book F, p. 395; Charleston County RMC Deed Book S-12, p. 591). Within one year, Venning sold the property to his sister, Claudia Sanders, whose husband, Septimus, had died in 1856. A resurvey of the tract at this time reduced the number of acres to 360, the current acreage (Charleston County RMC Deed Book L-14, p. 29). **While Robert Dorrill Venning's sale to Claudia Sanders may have been spurred by brotherly love, he also made a profit of $1750 (by doubling the sale price) on the plantation which he held for only 10 months.** Sanders retained title to the family estate until her death in 1899 (Charleston County Probate Court, Willbook U, p. 1).

From this initial purchase on Wando Neck, the Venning family ultimately acquired considerable real estate throughout the parish by mid-century, by which time Long Point was the least valuable of their extensive holdings. This was not the case in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, however. Samuel Venning's ownership at that time coincided with the statewide

and low country cotton boom, a development in which Samuel capitalized and profited (Gregorie 1961;81). Long Point became the focal point of the family's activities in the parish. In 1810, one-half of all the slaves owned by the different Vennings worked on Long Point plantation (Bureau of Census 1811:217-233). In addition to growing and ginning cotton, Samuel continued to raise livestock and cultivate subsistence crops, such as potatoes and corn (Charleston County Probate Court Inventory Book F, p. 395).

With Samuel's death in the early 1820s and the passage of the tract into the hands of his five children, Long Point became the least productive of the Venning family's real estate in Christ Church Parish. The subsequent development of Long Point plantation can best be understood and interpreted if viewed as part of the totality of the Venning's economic interests in the parish. Collectively, the Vennings, due to a variety of agricultural and commercial pursuits, were the wealthiest family in the parish, possessing the largest number of slaves and owning property that, combined, was worth more than that of any other local family (Bureau of Census 1850a:335-338, 1850b:319-371, 1860a:313-316, 1860b:273-290). Vennings, who worked as merchants and factors in Charleston, further contributed to the family's integrated economic network. From 1819 to the outbreak of the Civil War, the Charleston Vennings, comprising the sons and grandsons of Samuel and his borther Nicholas, conducted their commercial operations at various wharves on the Cooper River (Charleston City Directories 1819-1859).

By 1850, the peak of their influence and wealth, the Venning family owned 2,742 acres of land in Christ Church Parish. The most important concentration was in the 1,144 acres that comprised three plantations in Wando Neck, and included all the riverfront property between Hobcaw and Rathall creeks. After purchasing Long Point in 1800, Samuel acquired the 261 acre Bermuda plantation immediately to the south in 1810. His son, Robert, purchased Belleview plantation in 1843, a 523 acre tract abutting the south property line of Bermuda plantation (Charleston County RMC Deed Book B-8, p. 91; Deed Book E-13, p. 186). Other landholdings in the parish included a 920 acre rice plantation at the headwaters of the Wando River which, in 1850, produced 120,000 pounds of rice (Bureau of Census 1850a:335).

Land use patterns and values of the Wando Neck properties are compared in 1850 and 1860 to illustrate the relative importance of Long Point plantation (Table 11). The Vennings sold Belleview in 1859 which as a result was not included in the figures for 1860 (Charleston County RMC Deed Book T-13, p. 168). Both in 1850 , when Robert Dorrill Venning operated the tract, and in 1860, after Claudia Sanders had acquired it, Long Point was the least productive of the Wando Neck holdings. Compared to Bermuda and Belleview plantations, Long Point had lower values in livestock, market produce, and overall farm assessment. Its lower productivity in many agricultural categories is reflected by the few slaves (12) that worked the tract in 1860, compared to Bermuda plantation (35) (Bureau of Census 1860b:12, 31-32). The $5,000 cash value of Long Point in 1860 was more than one-third below the parish-wide average of $7,714 (Bureau of Census 1860a:313-316).

Long Point was clearly an under utilized land tract on the eve of the Civil War, a condition that sharply contrasts with its development by Samuel Venning in the first two decades of the century. Its relatively low rate of productivity cannot be solely explained by its soil and drainage problems. The Vennings focused the family operations in Wando Neck on the Bermuda plantation to the south. Not only were productivity and agricultural values greater there, but Bermuda also served as the homestead for the principal head of the Venning clan in the parish (Bureau of Census 1850b:319-371, 1860b:273-290). In 1850, agricultural practices on both Bermuda and Belleview plantations were more diversified than on Long Point; Bermuda possessed one of the largest truck farming operations in Christ Church (Bureau of Census 1850a:335-338). Trucking had ceases by 1860, although Bermuda exhibited significant growth in livestock, wool, and cotton. In that year Long Point produced neither wool nor cotton, even as other non-Venning plantations in Wando Neck began to expand production in both areas (Bureau of Census 1860a:313-316).

Long Point was the least important of the Venning holdings in the parish, not just those in Wando Neck. Whereas one-half of the Venning slaves in the parish worked on Long Point during the cotton boom of the early nineteenth century, by 1860 only 6.2%, 12 of 193, of the family's slaves labored there. The other properties, whether Bermuda or Robert Venning's rice plantation up the Wando, received the bulk of the attention and investment. The sale of Long Point to Claudia Sanders in 1859 assumes new meaning in this light. The sale to the recently-widowed sibling (at a healthy profit) perhaps was made to provide a modest means of support. She was not expected to intensively develop the tract as her brothers did theirs.

Sanders, the granddaughter of Samuel Venning, remained proprietor of Long Point ("my plantation," she called it) until her death in 1899. She resided on the tract according to the 1870 and 1880 census accounts, although she was living in her house in Mount Pleasant when she died (Bureau of Census 1870b: n.p., 1880:13; Charleston County Probate Court, Willbook U, p. 1).

Information on land use practices during this time is sketchy, and what does exist suggests that development on Long Point and the surrounding area went against parish-wide trends in the post-Civil War period. While the rate of tenancy in Christ Church Parish in 1870 exceeded that of all but one of the other parishes in Charleston County, Long Point and the other Venning plantations in the district remained undivided in 1870 and, to a certain extent, in 1880. As a result of gross under representation of farm units in the parish, Sanders' property is not specifically listed in the 1880 agricultural census, but data on surrounding land tracts might offer insight into developments on the plantation.

Sanders and Venning did not lease Long Point and Bermuda in 1870. Although the large tracts remained as a unit, they were not put into productive use. Bermuda could claim only two dairy cows valued at $60 and $1200 worth of forest products whereas all that could be found on Long Point in 1870 were two milk cows worth $75. No crops were under cultivation in that year. Perhaps as a reflection of an unstable labor situation, both

Category	1850			1860	
	Long Point	Bermuda	Bellview	Long Point	Bermuda
Value of Farm	$1500	$2000	$3000	$5000	$10000
Value of Farm Implements	100	100	150	100	600
Value of Livestock	220	550	835	500	1200
Value of Animals Slaughtered	0	150	100	100	200
Value of Market Produce	40	600	150	0	0
Value of Orchard Products	0	30	0	0	0
Indian Corn (bushels)	150	215	500	300	400
Oats (bushels)	0	100	0	0	0
Irish Potatoes (bushels)	30	200	200	0	0
Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	600	250	1000	1000	1000
Peas and Beans (bushels)	0	0	0	100	0
Butter (pounds)	0	150	50	100	0
Wool (pounds)	0	0	0	0	100
Ginned Cotton (400 lb. bales)	0	3	0	0	19

Sources: Bureau of Census 1850a:10, 14, 16; 1860a: 12, 35

Table 11. Agricultural production, 1850-1860, Venning plantations, Wando Neck.

Sanders and Venning reduced their operations to token levels (Bureau of Census 1870:21, 25). Venning still had not rented any of his plantation to freedmen as of 1880, although the level of productivity had significantly increased from that of 1870. He increased the number of stock to 73, 50 of which were sheep, produced 16 bales of cotton, cultivated 60 bushels of Irish and 350 bushels of sweet potatoes, and cut $1200 worth of forest products (Bureau of Census 1880:21-22). It is important to note that two other large land tracts in Wando Neck, Egypt plantation to the east of Long Point and Woodland plantation to the southeast, also continued to be productively operated as large farm units and were not sublet to the freedmen (Bureau of Census 1870:25-26, 1880:1).

This evidence is incomplete due to the nature of the 1880 agricultural census but suggests that the plantations in the western portion of the parish, the ones closest to Charleston, continued to operate as large agricultural units under the management of their owners; leasing of land to the freedmen largely took place further away from such areas as Wando Neck. This speculation is further confirmed by the frequent use of wage labor by the large planters in Wando Neck. In 1880, for example, Venning hired blacks to work 20 weeks on Bermuda plantation for a sum total of $1500. William Wheelock, the proprietor of Woodland, paid a total of $5000 to employ blacks throughout the year and to hire white laborers, perhaps foremen, for a shorter period of time (Bureau of Census 1880:21-22, 25-26).

The labor pool for the plantations on Wando Neck probably came from the newly formed village of Snowden, a Reconstruction era village located immediately to the east of Egypt plantation. Williamson notes the creation of a number of such freedmen settlements in the low country after the war, places where unemployed and landless blacks would congregate in search for employment (Williamson 1965:108, 178). Snowden possibly consisted of the former slave labor force in the Wando Neck area who were unable to rent their own parcels of land and hired themselves out instead to their former masters. Possible, also, was that some might have continued to live on these farms in housing provided by the owners who typically allowed them to till their own small plots of land as part of the wage (Williamson 1965:134-135). The relationship that developed during Reconstruction between the white landowners in Wando Neck and the black residents of Snowden established management-labor patterns that would continue well into the twentieth century.

The absence of site specific data on Long Point during Sanders' period of ownership after 1870 inhibits an intensive understanding of agricultural and labor practices on that plantation after the war. Speculation might suggest a continuation of a low level of productivity, a trend that was apparent in the decade before the Civil War. Perhaps Sanders followed her neighboring planters in using wage labor rather than tenants to develop the tracts. And perhaps she started to cultivate and prepare more cotton, an increasingly common land use in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries on some of the Wando Neck plantations. What is apparent, however, is that the landowners in Wando Neck, as others throughout the region and state, had begun to recover from the post-war economic decline by the turn of the twentieth century.

Ownership and land use patterns of Long Point during the twentieth century can be divided into two periods. The first, from 1899 to 1945, was one of possible land speculation in which ownership frequently changed hands and little farming was done, especially in the last two decades. Since 1945, the tract has been opened to intensive truck farming, thus paralleling the continued growth of this industry in Charleston County in the post-Second World War period.

After almost 100 years, Long Point plantation left the Venning family when the estate of Claudia Sanders sold the property to T. Gedney Main in 1899 (Charleston County RMC Deed Book F-23, p. 211). Compared to the previous century, however, ownership patterns in the first half of the twentieth century were hardly stable. Long Point changed hands 10 times between 1899 and 1945, seven times by 1925 alone. Site specific data on land use are lacking for much of this period, although the oral record provides insight to developments since the 1920s.

The time of greatest turnover in ownership, from 1899 to 1925, was during a period of expansive growth in truck farming in Charleston County and the low country in general. The rapidity of changes in ownership, however, suggests that sustained investment in trucking or any other agricultural endeavor, might have been difficult to maintain.

The 1919 U.S. Geological Survey Charleston and Fort Moultrie quadrangles show seven structures on Long Point plantation. One is the standing brick structure at 38CH321 (which may have been occupied by this date), three others are recorded archaeological sites (38CH316, 38CH417, and 38CH420; see Table 10), and three others have yet to be located.

The first owner after Sanders (T. Gedney Main) might have been responsible for this increased activity, as he began to list himself in the city directories as a "planter" after he purchased the property (Charleston City Directory 1900, 1906). Sparse information on several of the owners in this period shows that they either owned considerable property elsewhere in the county or were from out of state (Charleston County RMC Deed Book J-24, p. 1; D-31, p. 295; Z-33, p. 446).

Ownership of the tract stabilized after 1925 when a Charleston lawyer, E.L. Erckman, controlled it individually or, as president, through two corporations. Erckman was heavily involved in real estate in Christ Church Parish, including Shipyard plantation at Hobcaw Point and a part of Boone Hall plantation, both in the vicinity of Wando Neck (Charleston County RMC Deed Book Z-30, p. 30; S-41, p. 43). Erckman founded and became president of two real estate corporations. Chartered in 1918, Harlem Corporation quickly acquired Shipyard plantation; Long Point was acquired seven years later (Charleston County RMC Deed Book K-33, p. 29). In 1925, Erckman dissolved the firm to form the Long Point Corporation with George R. von Kolnitz as partner and director (Charleston County RMC Deed Book L-26, p. 523; H-29, p. 41; F-33, p. 246). The Harlem Corporation transferred title of the Long Point property to the Long Point Corporation within 10 days after purchasing it (Charleston County RMC Deed Book Z-31, p. 88).

According to long-time residents of the Wando Neck area, Erckman did

not cultivate Long Point during his 20 years of ownership (Wesley Habersham, personal communication 1984). It is possible that Erckman valued the land more for its real estate value than its agricultural potential. With the opening of the Cooper River Bridge in the late 1920s Erckman, individually and corporately, began to acquire land tracts in Christ Church Parish, whose value certainly would have increased as a result of direct access to Charleston via the new bridge. Maps of the period tend to confirm this relatively dormant stage, as no significant structural changes had taken place on Long Point between the two world wars.

It was, however, during this period that the main plantation house, originally constructed by James Allen, was removed. The 1902 Coast and Geodetic Survey map of the Charleston Harbor and Vicinity (Figure 13) provides some information on the antebellum plantation. The main house and five smaller structures are shown enclosed by a yard fence, with the access road coming from the east. The map indicates that four of the smaller structures were outbuildings (such as sheds), while the fifth structure (the one still standing) was used, even at this time, as a dwelling (Coast and Geodetic Survey 1900:24-27). Although this is a navigation chart, made prior to the organization of the United States Geological Survey, the Coast and Geodetic Survey included abundant topographic detail on their 1:20,000 scale maps as an aid to navigation. Consequently, there is considerable reason to believe that the accuracy of this map is high.

If so, the main house, in the twentieth century, was long and narrow with a centered, probably added, projection. The front of the house probably faced the south or small tidal creek, with the access road running parallel to the structure. The long, narrow structure immediately suggests either a linear-plan, hall-and-parlor house or I-house. Both are typical of the Tidewater South Tradition and were common during the early colonial period. It is also possible that the structure was built in the Georgian style, although the plantation's modest status and the map's proportions make this less likely (McAlester and McAlester 1984). When the Coast and Geodetic triangulation station "Mire" was established on Long Point plantation in 1928, the description indicated that a "small house" was located to the south (National Ocean Survey 1976). This "small house" was probably the plantation "big house."

This yard arrangement in 1902 is probably similar, if not identical, to that found during the antebellum period. Gordon and McArthur, based on Southern writers, are able to reconstruct a small plantation,

> plantation residences and their grounds revealed the unique characteristics of the South's slave system. The owner's house was invariably placed on top of a hill to exemplify his authority [while there are few hills in the low country, the Long Point main house was situated on the only available dry, sandy soil]. One woman writer said that the practice came from England where hilltop sites were reserved for the nobility. The approach

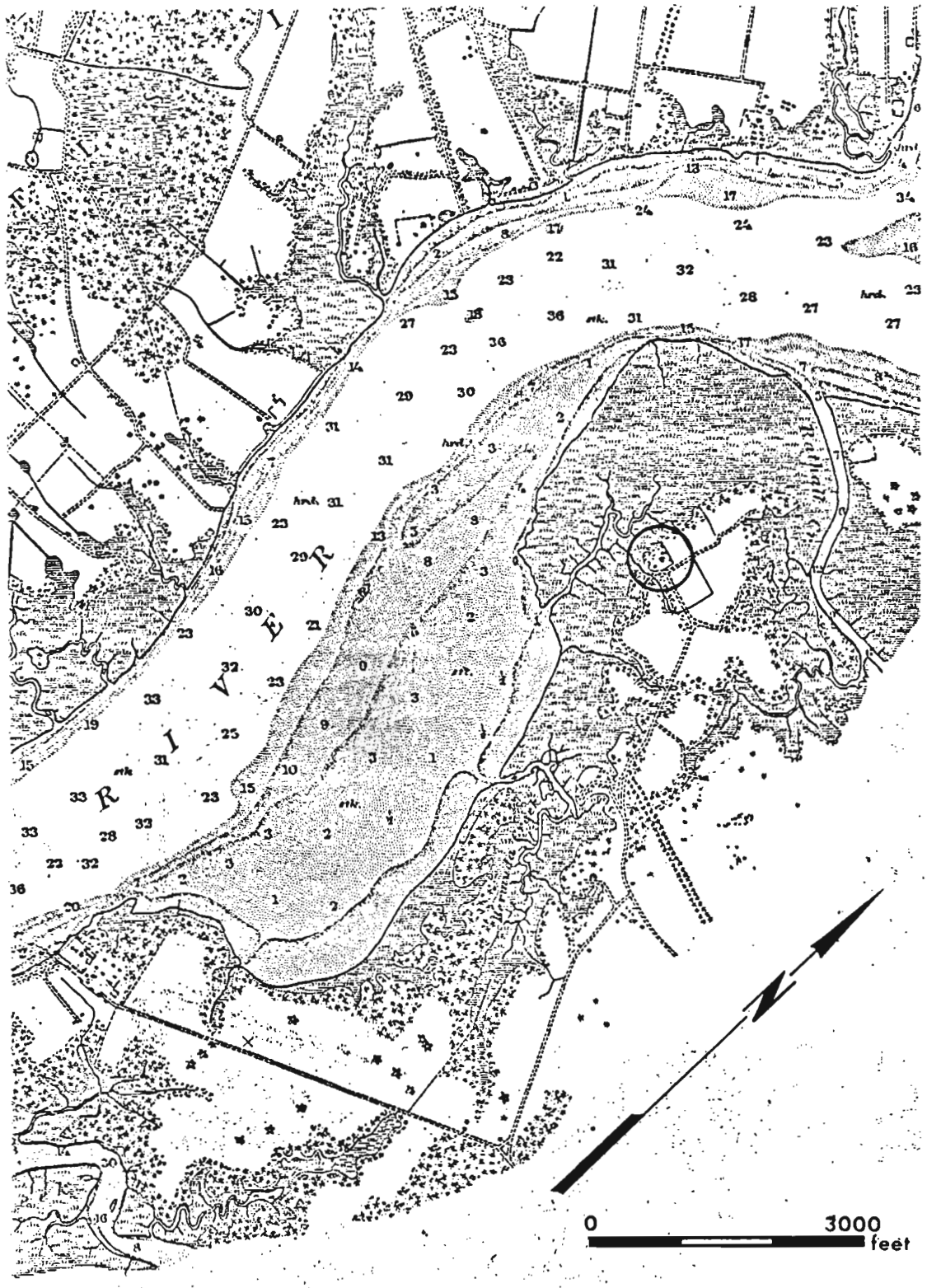

Figure 13. A portion of the 1902 U.S.C.&G.S. map of Charleston Harbor and Vicinity.

> . . . involved a series of stages which, although primarily utilitarian, emphasized its separateness from the surrounding countryside. There was a gate by the road, a drive that was often of considerable length, a second fence and gate dividing the lawn from the fields, and a walk to the front porch or portico. Although the house tended to have a symmetrical, often Georgian facade . . . it invariably had an addition - usually in the form of a two story wing extending from the back . . . . Surrounding the house and its outbuildings were the cultivated fields which in turn were bordered by an encircling band of woodland. With the forest as boundary, each plantation was, in effect, a little kingdom unto itself. . . . The appearance of a little community was enhanced by the cluster of outbuildings . . . . Behind the house was the "house yard" enclosed by a picket fence and containing the kitchen and what Terhune said the English called "offices," such as the laundry and the smokehouse (Gordon and McArthur 1985:184-185).

In summary, the historical data indicate that Long Point or Sanders plantation was first established in the early eighteenth century. There is no question that structures were built and the plantation occupied during this period. Occupation continued through the antebellum period with the ownership transferred to the wealthy Venning family in 1800. In 1859 it was sold to Claudia Sanders, who held it until her death in 1899. The main house stood until sometime between 1933 and 1943. The smaller, standing structure had a metal roof in 1949 (based on the U.S.D.A. aerial photograph BQN-10F-147), but was in ruins by 1953 (U.S.D.A. aerial photograph CDV-4M-148).

During its history Long Point was profitable only during its early years from the eighteenth through mid-nineteenth centuries. Beginning with Claudia Sanders the plantation prosperity declined and it ceased being a profitable tract. The plantation, during its earlier and profitable years, produced livestock and produce for the Charleston markets. Later the plantation produced primarily subsistence crops (primarily sweet potatoes). The few indicators of status in the historical record suggest that the owners of Long Point were at least modestly wealthy, while some, like the Vennings, were quite prosperous. Perhaps the most intriguing question concerns the status of Claudia Sanders, who, born of wealth, was a widow on a marginal plantation.

Test Excavations

Excavations at 38CH321 were conducted from February 1-3, 1985, by a crew of two to five individuals (Figure 11). A total of 72.5 person hours were spent at the site and a total of eight 5-foot squares were excavated. These preliminary studies involved the excavation of about 207 cubic feet of soil. The collections, field notes, and photographic materials from this site are curated at The Charleston Museum under Accession Number 1985.17.

The site datum, designated 0R200, was established 10 feet north of the standing structure's doorway. This point is a 3/8 inch rebar with an aluminum cap buried about 0.5 foot below the existing ground surface. It is situated between the structure and a field road to reduce its likelihood of being removed by plowing. A nail, driven into a tree immediately west of the structure's doorway has an elevation of 9.35 feet above mean sea level (approximate).

The site grid was established along magnetic lines from 0R200, with squares laid out at -15R200 (within the standing structure), 95R165, 95R215, 125R215, 130R165, 170R215, 195R130, and 195R165. These units, designated by the northeast corner, are tied into the site grid using a modified Chicago technique. The first number, if positive, indicates feet north of the site datum (0R0), or if negative, feet south of the datum. The second number indicates feet right (or east) of this datum. Vertical control was maintained by reference to the nail in the tree adjacent to the standing structure. All soil from the field excavations was sifted through ¼ by ½ inch mesh, while the soil from the structure interior (-15R200) was sifted through ½ by ½ inch mesh.

It will be observed by reference to Figure 14a that the seven squares excavated in the field were placed to be within the 1.5 acre yard compound shown in the 1902 C&GS map (Figure 13, enlarged in Figure 14b). Surface collections revealed that material was scattered over the entire field, north and east of the yard area. The collections, however, indicated a concentration in the southwest corner of the agricultural fields, within the yard compound, and more specifically, west of the standing structure. Consequently, test units were placed in the area of densest surface indications. Units 95R165-215 are in the vicinity of the main house, units 125R215 and 130R165 are in the rear yard area, unit 170R215 is in the far rear yard, and units 195R130-165 are along the rear fence in the vicinity of a shed.

Excavations within the field revealed a dark brown sandy loam plowzone varying in depth from 0.75 to 1.17 feet. It overlays a yellow sand subsoil. The average plowzone depth is just under 1 foot. Subsoiling on this site has started only recently and the depths are moderate when compared to other tracts (Brockington et al. 1985:106, 139).

Features and post holes were found in five of the seven field squares. The squares without features, 170R215 and 195R130, are situated in the far rear yard and along the rear fence line between structures. Table 12 lists the features and post holes found during these investigations. Post holes in 130R165 are aligned and clearly represent a portion of structure wall. It is not possible, without further investigation, to determine if this alignment is aboriginal or if it represents a historic period wall trench feature. Square 95R165 produced a distinct feature containing abundant charcoal (Figure 15), while square 125R215 produced a possible brick pier.

Brick fragments were quantified by volume and discarded in the field, with the results shown in Table 13. There is a concentration of brick rubble in the plowzone around units 95-130R165 and 125R215, which suggests that the main house may have been slightly further north than originally

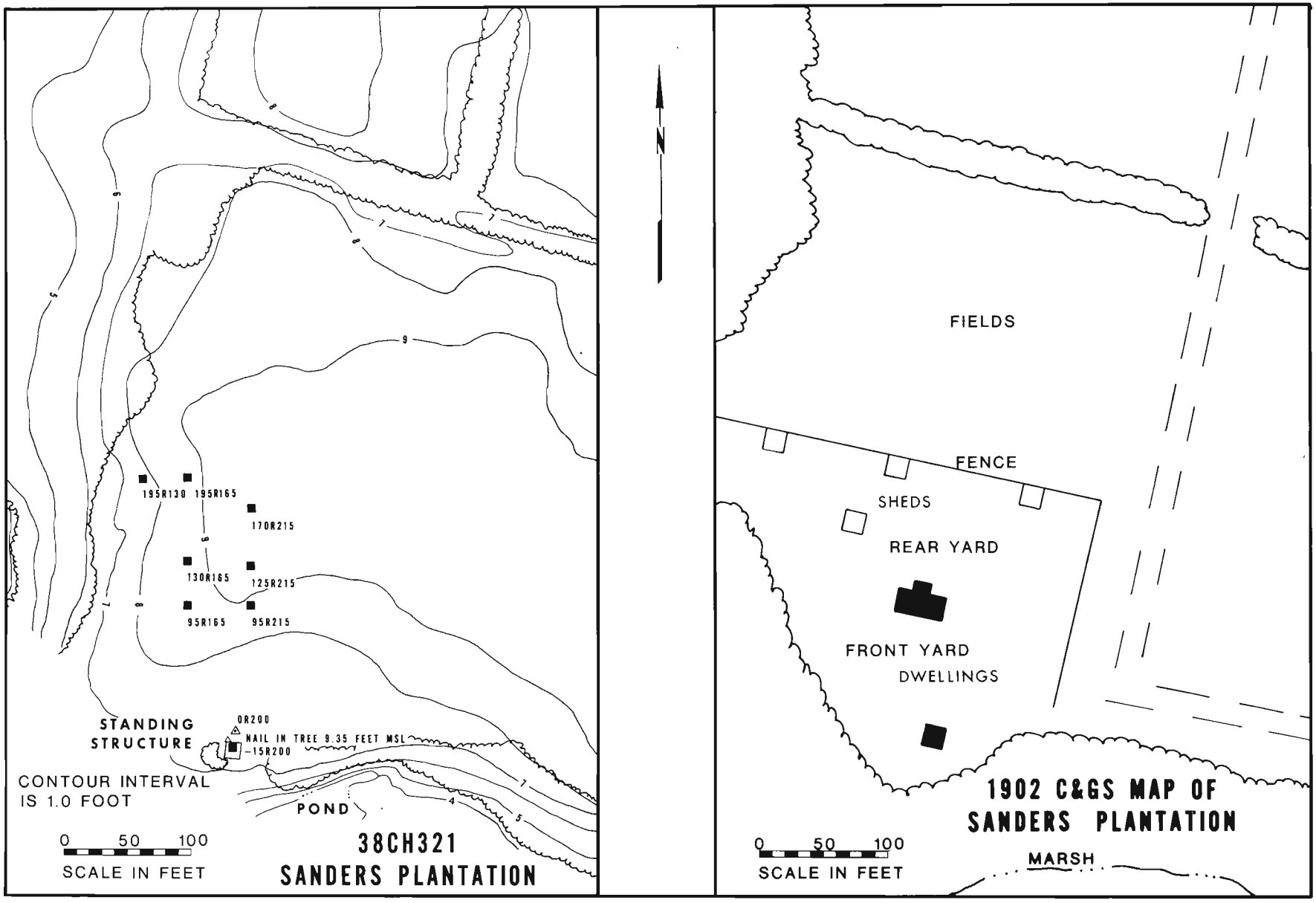

Figure 14. Site 38CH321. A, topographic map showing the placement of the test units; B, enlargement of the 1902 Coast and Geodetic Survey map to the same scale.

Figure 15. Square 95R165 at the base of the plowzone, showing a feature bisected by the east wall.

Figure 16. North profile of -15R200 at the base of zone 3.

Square	Plotted at the base of the unit
-15R200	6 square post holes, builder's trench for structure
95R165	1 mottled tan sand feature with abundant charcoal (possible trash pit)
95R215	1 round post hole
125R215	1 square feature with brick rubble (possible footing)
130R165	line of 4 round post holes, 1 square post hole, 1 round post hole
170R215	-
195R130	-
195R165	2 square post holes

Table 12. Features and post holes identified from 38CH321.

Square	Volume, in gallons
95R165	4.3
95R215	2.4
125R215	4.9
130R165	8.7
170R215	3.3
195R130	1.1
195R165	2.2

Table 13. Brick fragments recovered from plowzone excavation units.

thought. This brick density is not as great as would be expected with a brick structure, but it is certainly sufficient to suggest brick piers and a chimney. The low density of bricks in the rear yard is expected since the structures in that area were probably of wood.

Square -15R200 was placed immediately inside the door of the standing structure. The structure alignment is slightly different than the grid alignment, so the square was adjacent to the brick foundation for only about two-thirds of the northern wall (Figure 16). Zone 1 consisted of a dark brown humic loam strata which had accumulated in the structure since its abandonment in the twentieth century. This zone, 0.3 foot in depth, contained abundant nineteenth century remains (such as pearlware, "black" bottle glass, and Westerwald stoneware), mixed with both aboriginal (Thom's Creek pottery) and twentieth century remains (bright green and clear soda bottle glass, stove parts, recent whiteware, and rubber tire fragments). This zone appears to represent materials lost and discarded during the structure's use during at least the twentieth century, mixed with rubble thrown into the structure and deposited through plow activity which came up to the front door.

At the base of zone 1 was a broken poured portland cement floor about 1½ inches thick. The floor was only roughly smoothed and several boot prints were found in the cement. The floor probably was laid when the structure was converted to a make-shift dwelling in the early twentieth century. Beneath the floor was a rubble zone up to 0.9 foot in depth which was designated zone 2. This zone consisted of brick fragments and brown sand. Artifacts in this zone are indicative of the nineteenth century (creamware and "black" bottle glass), but this material was probably fill placed in the structure prior to pouring the concrete in order to raise the floor level. The concrete floor evidenced considerable cracking and slump toward the middle of the structure as the zone beneath it settled.

At the base of zone 2 there was a heavily mottled, hard packed sandy zone up to 0.2 foot thick. Few artifacts were recovered and the single dateable item is a blue transfer printed pearlware sherd with a date range of 1795-1840 (South 1977:212). This appears to be a gradually accumulating floor, underneath which were abundant post holes and a builder's trench for the structure. A portion of this trench, designated Feature 1, was removed in the hope of obtaining a better date for the structure's construction. The feature, however, contained only three animal bones, one iron staple, and a large fragment of light green window glass.

At the present time the archaeological evidence can date the structure no earlier than 1795, some 76 years after the plantation was acquired by James Allen. Yet the nearly sterile builder's trench suggests that little refuse had been laid down at the site prior to the structure's construction. Consequently, there are grounds for speculating that the structure may date to the early eighteenth century.

Based on the 1902 Coast and Geodetic Survey map (Figures 13 and 14b) the main house yard area is 300 feet east-west by 200 feet north-south or approximately 1.5 acres in size. Archaeological remains, however, are found scattered over an area about 500 feet square (5.7 acres). This greater distribution may be the result of plow drag, refuse disposal away from the

yard compound, or may indicate activity areas and structures located outside the yard fence. Site boundaries are established, therefore, to incorporate these fringe areas. The site is bounded to the south by a dammed tidal slough, to the west by the Wando River marsh, to the north by a windrow about 400 feet north of the standing structure, and to the east by an indefinite north-south line 450 feet east of the Wando River marsh.

Artifacts

As at 38BK207 the single most abundant artifact class is that of ceramics (Table 14). Of the 837 recovered ceramics, 84.7% are earthenwares, 7.2% are porcelains, and 8.1% are stonewares. The dominant earthenwares are undecorated whiteware, pearlware, and creamware, which account for 62.3% of the earthenware total. If the low fired categories of Colono ware (n=2) and River Burnished (n=16) (Ferguson 1985) are included they account for only 2.1% of the total. Earthenwares would continue to account for the bulk of the collection (82.9%), followed by stoneware (8.0%) and porcelain (7.0%). While the Elfe plantation contained an abundance of low fired Colono and River Burnished wares, the Sanders plantation contains a very low proportion. The percentages of both porcelain and stoneware, however, are similar to those observed from Green Grove (Carrillo 1980) and Drayton Hall (Lewis 1978). The low incidence of Colono ware may be attributable to the strong nineteenth century occupation, the dispersed slave settlement, or other unrecognized factors. For whatever reasons, it appears that English earthenwares served the functions that Colono and River Burnished pottery served on other plantations.

At this preliminary stage of investigation no attempt has been made to reconstruct the vessel counts necessary for the use of Miller's (1980) ceramic scale. It, however, may be useful to compare the percentages of undecorated, minimally decorated (blue/green edged, annular, and Mocha), painted, and transfer printed wares (excluding whiteware). The undecorated ceramics account for 74.8% of the sherds, the minimally decorated ceramics account for 15.6%, the painted wares for 5.6%, and the transfer printed wares for 4.9%. These ceramics do not suggest a particularly high economic scaling, although it is recognized that plain types are over represented in the counts.

Comparing these data to that found by Otto (1984:Table 4.4) at Cannon's Point, the Sanders plantation would appear to represent a fairly low status assemblage. If, rather than decoration, the vessel form is examined (Table 15) the bulk of the forms represent serving flatware (70%), followed by serving bowls (17%), and serving vessels or containers (13%). This suggests a higher status than the decorative motif, falling midway between Otto's (1984:Table 3.16) overseer and planter.

Beginning in the early to mid-1800s, with the advent of whiteware, there may be some minor increase in status and economic scaling. Miller (1980:4) notes that in the 1850s undecorated whiteware prices equaled the prices of transfer printed creamware and pearlware. Table 14 reveals that there are 223 undecorated whiteware sherds compared to only 302 creamware and pearlware ceramics of all varieties. Further, ther percentage of serving flatware increases from a creamware/pearlware average of 67% to 75%,

Table 14. Ceramics from 38CH321.

	Underglaze blue Chinese porcelain	Porcelain, undecorated	Porcelain, overglazed hp	Brown salt glazed stoneware	Westerwald stoneware	Alkaline glazed stoneware	Green lead glazed stoneware	Moulded white salt glazed stoneware	Miscellaneous stoneware	Lead glazed slipware	Whiteware, undecorated	Whiteware, blue transfer printed	Whiteware, polychrome transfer printed	Whiteware, blue/green edge	Whiteware, annular	Whiteware, worm finger painted	Whiteware, polychrome hp	Whiteware, blue hp	Whiteware, molded	Whiteware, decalcomania	Whiteware, UTD	Tortoise shell	Coarse unglazed red earthenware	Decorated delft	Plain white delft	Delft, bisque	Creamware, hp	Creamware, annular	Creamware, undecorated	Creamware, blue/green edge	Creamware, molded	Pearlware, mocha	Pearlware, underglaze polychrome	Pearlware, annular	Pearlware, underglazed blue hp	Pearlware, blue/green edge	Pearlware, blue transfer printed	Pearlware, undecorated	Pearlware, molded	Lead-glazed earthenware, clear	Lead-glazed earthenware, black	South European ware	Yellowware	WCD earthenware	Semi-porcelain
45SR200, Z. 1		2							1		1																	1														
Z. 2																																				1						2		
Z. 3																																												
95R165, pz.	1	4	1						1	1	9			1			1					1	1			2	1	1	6			2			2		8		1	2		1	1	
95R215, pz.	1	1		4		1		1	1	1	6			2								2							5	1					1	1	9		2			2		
125R215, pz.		2		1	1				1	2	10	1											1	1					1					1		1	5	1	2		1	3	1	1
130R165, pz.	1	5		1	1	1	1		5	3	31	1	2		2								1					2	8		1		1		1	4	20		1		2	1	1	1
170P215, pz.	1	2	1						2	4	11	2			1	1	1						1	2			1	1	12			1	2	1	9	1	6			2	1	9	2	
195R165, pz.	1	2		1	1		1		6	4	20	2		1	2				1				1					1	4				1				9		2		2	2	1	1
195P130, pz.		1		1			1		2	3	8			1	1		1										1		5							1	8					1	
subtotal	5	19	2	11	4	3	3	1	19	18	96	7	2	5	6	1	3	-	1	-	-	4	6	3	-	2	3	5	42	1	1	1	1	5	3	16	8	68	1	9	4	9	17	11	4
Gen. Surface	4	3		1	1			2	4		15	2	2	1					1			1						1	8	1			2	1		1	2	8	1				1	1	2
F. Surface		2		1	1			2	1		19	2			1		1				1			1		1			13						4	1	1	5		1			1		2
W. Surface	10	14	1	1	1	1		4	7	4	93	2	1	9	3	3	2	2		1	2	1	3	2	4			1	61	1	3	1		3	4	6	1	12		2	1	2	7	3	
subtotal	14	19	1	3	3	1	-	8	12	4	127	6	3	10	4	3	3	2	1	1	2	1	3	3	4	1	-	2	84	2	4	1	2	4	8	10	4	25	1	1	1	3	8	5	4
TOTALS	19	38	3	15	7	4	3	9	31	22	221	13	5	15	10	4	6	2	2	1	2	5	9	6	4	3	1	7	126	1	5	2	1	9	11	26	12	91	2	12	5	9	25	16	8

	cups/ bowls	plates/ saucers	serving	total
creamware	9 - 16%	37 - 66%	10 - 18%	56
pearlware	15 - 23%	44 - 68%	6 - 9%	65
whiteware	11 - 13%	63 - 75%	10 - 12%	84
total	35 - 17%	144 - 70%	26 - 13%	205

Table 15. Ceramic vessel forms from 38CH321.

	fi	xi	fi·xi
Underglazed blue Chinese porcelain	19	1730	32870
Westerwald stoneware	7	1738	12166
Moulded white salt-glazed stoneware	9	1753	15777
Lead glazed slipware	22	1733	38126
Whiteware	283	1860	526380
Tortoiseshell	5	1755	8775
Decorated delft	6	1750	10500
Plain delft	4	1720	6880
Creamware, handpainted	3	1805	5415
Creamware, annular	7	1798	12586
Creamware, undecorated	126	1791	225666
Creamware, molded edge	5	1791	8955
Pearlware, mocha	2	1843	3686
Pearlware, underglaze polychrome	3	1805	5415
Pearlware, annular	9	1805	16245
Pearlware, underglazed blue handpainted	11	1800	19800
Pearlware, blue/green edged	26	1805	46930
Pearlware, blue transfer printed	12	1818	21816
Pearlware, undecorated	93	1805	167865
Pearlware, molded edge	2	-1805	3610
	654		1189463

Mean Ceramic Date = 1818.8

Table 16. Mean Ceramic Date calculation for 38CH321.

while serving bowls fall from an average of 19.5% in the creamware/ pearlware ceramics to 13% in the whiteware.

Of the 837 ceramics, 654 or 78.1% are useful for calculating the Mean Ceramic Date (South 1977) of 1819 for the plantation complex (Table 16). This date is only 10 years later than the mean historic occupation date of 1809 (using the 1719-1899 bracket dates for the plantation). The whiteware (n=283) and underglaze polychrome pearlware (n=3) ceramics provide a TPQ of 1820, 11 years later than the mean historic occupation date of 1809. A few of the ceramics, such as the lead glazed slipware (n=22), delft (n=10), and Westerwald (n=7), are diagnostic of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Likewise, the bellarmine observed at the site by Garrow is indicative of this early period. These ceramics are expected to date from the early plantation period of Thomas and James Allen.

Glass is the next most common artifact at 38CH321, with 433 fragments recovered (Table 17). Window glass accounts for 86 fragments (19.9% of the total). The excavated glass exhibits a mean thickness of 1.97 mm and a range of 1.2 to 2.9 mm. The median thickness is 2.2 mm, but there are two peaks at 1.4-1.5 and 2.0-2.2 mm, which suggest there may have been two periods of building activity. The more impressive peak between 2.0 and 2.2 mm may represent a later period of enlargement, while the numerically less significant peak between 1.4 and 1.5 mm may represent the original construction period.

Bottle glass is dominated by "black" (dark green nearly opaque) glass from late eighteenth and early nineteenth century wine and ale bottles. Included in this category are a single dark green "case" bottle and a bottle of unknown type and function (Figure 17k-l). The medicine bottles are all examples of pharmaceutical bottles typical of the late eighteenth through mid-nineteenth centuries (Noel Hume 1978:73-74). A small quantity of the glass provides clear evidence of disposal activities into the twentieth century, including the brown whiskey bottles and the variety of soda bottles. The two decorative glass items are both pressed glass and thus post-date 1827 (Lorrain 1968:43).

A number of other artifacts may be briefly mentioned. Three pintles were recovered, at least two of which have screw threads (Figure 17a). Eighteenth century types appear to have been made to be driven into the wood and not screwed (Noel Hume 1978:236). The bulk of the nails recovered from 38CH321 are poorly preserved. While square nails are identifiable, it is not possible to determine if they were machine cut or hand wrought. A section of copper pipe may be related to the late nineteenth or early twentieth century modification of the main house.

A single kettle fragment with a short, plain leg was recovered from 38CH321. Noel Hume (1978:177) suggests this type dates no earlier than the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The single cutlery item is a fragment of a cast handle in the "pistol grip" style (Figure 17d). Also recovered was an iron spoon or fork handle, lacking both the terminal element and the bowl or tines (Figure 17e). Dating these two items, given their fragmentary condition, is not possible.

	Melted	Black	Brn.	Dk. Green	Br. Green	Lt. Green	Clear	Aqua	Amber	Milk	Mang.	Blue	Window
-15R200, Z. 1		5			2		34						10
Z. 2		1				1	3						2
Z. 3													
95R165, pz.		4					7	5	1	2	8		13
95R215, pz.	1	2	2					1			2		7
125R215, pz.		3				3	8	2	2	1	1		13
130R165, pz.	5	17	4			6	13			1	6	1	8
170R215, pz.		12				4	4	3	1		2		4
195R165, pz.		12				8	5	5	3		6	1	2
195R130, pz.		7	2			4	2	2			5		3
Gen. Surface		5				3	1			1		1	2
E. Surface		8		2		2	2	2	1	1		1	5
W. Surface	2	42	3			8	6	4		5	5		17
total	8	118	11	2	2	39	85	24	8	11	35	4	86

	Bottles								
	Whiskey	Wine	Food	Medicine	Soda	UID	Tumbler	Decorative	UID
Manganese						34			1
Brown	3					8			
Black		118*							
Dk. Green						2			
Lt. Green			1	1	9	28			
Br. Green					2				
Clear			2	6	47	29		1	
Milk			4			7			
Aqua				1	11	11			1
Amber						7		1	
Blue						4			
Melted									8

*1 case bottle

Table 17. Glass analysis from 38CH321.

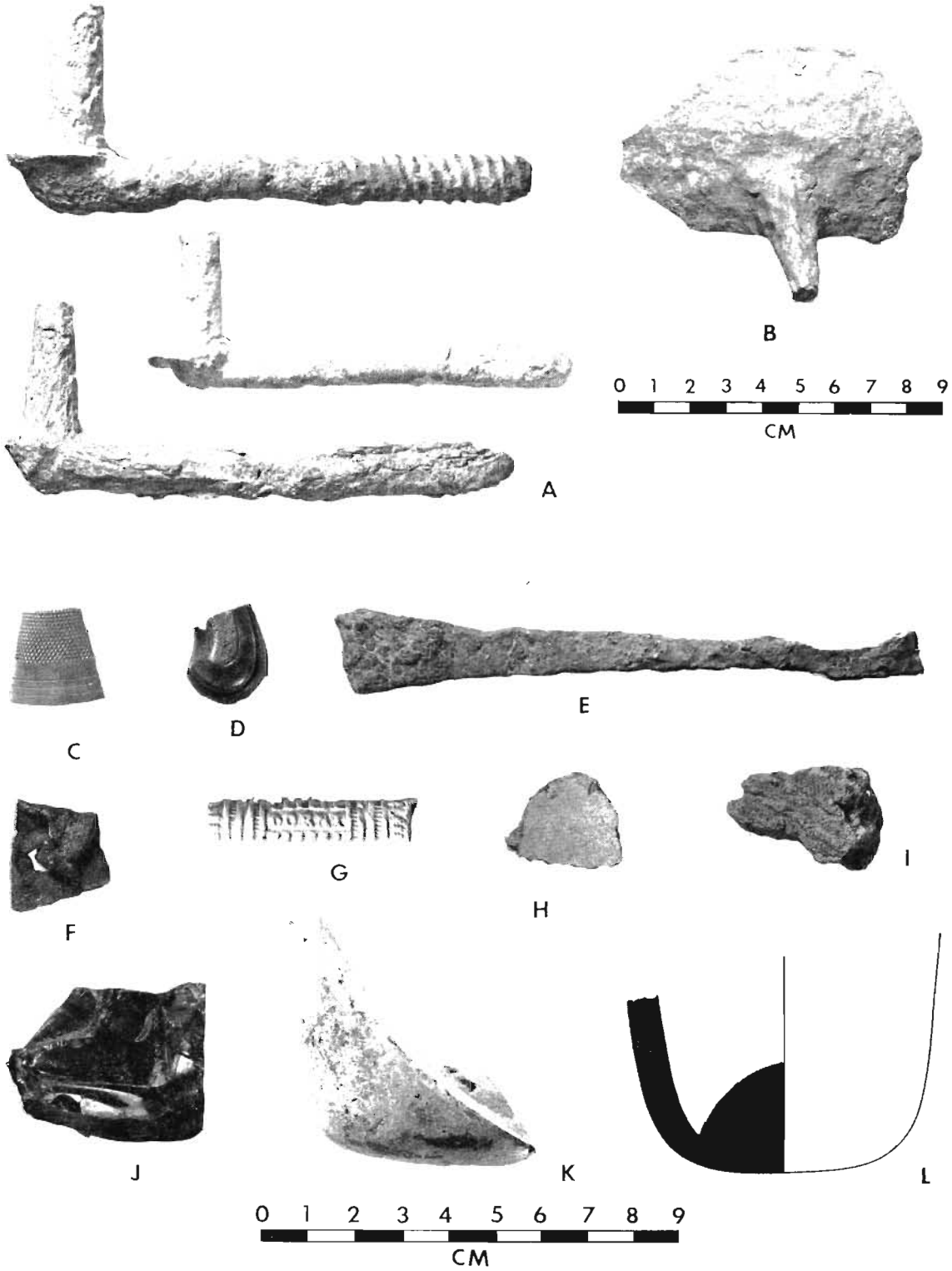

Figure 17. Artifacts from 38CH321. A, pintles; B, iron kettle fragment; C, brass thimble; D, white metal eating utensil handle plate; E, iron spoon or fork handle; F, lead flint wrap; G, Peter Dorni kaolin pipe stem; H, exterior face of plaster; I, interior face of plaster; J, dark green case bottle base; K, dark green bottle base; L, profile drawing of specimen K.

As at 38BK207, a piece of folded sheet lead (Figure 17f) has been identified as a lead flint wrap or flint grip (Noel Hume 1978:220-221). These items were folded around the back of a gun flint prior to the flint being inserted into the cock grip. A bone die, measuring 12 mm square also was recovered. This specimen has a series of drilled dots on each of the six faces to represent the numbers one through six. The recovered brass thimble (Figure 17c) dates from the eighteenth or nineteenth century (Noel Hume 1978:265). It has slightly tapered sides and a slightly convex top. The exterior surfaces are patterned with rows of small, diamond impressions. A single kaolin pipestem (5/64 inch bore) was stamped with the name Peter Dorni (Figure 17g). Peter Dorni was a French pipe maker who operated about 1850; his pipes, however, were widely imitated for export trade into the United States (Omwake 1961; Sudburry 1980:36-37). As a consequence, this example may date from the antebellum or postbellum period.

The excavated assemblage, when placed in South's (1977) Artifact Groups, reveals a dominance of the Kitchen Group (64.1%), followed by the Architecture Group (25.5%). The Activities Group accounts for 8.2%, the Tobacco Group for 1.5%, and the Arms Group for 0.3%. Both the Personal and Clothing Groups account for 0.2% each (Table 18). This pattern, with the exception of the Activities Group which is high, is within South's (1977:119) predicted ranges for the Carolina Artifact Pattern and the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern (Wheaton et al. 1983:277-278).

South's Carolina Artifact Pattern has been widely used as indicative of the patterned regularity to be found in British colonial domestic sites. Obviously it may be extended into the antebellum period. Drucker and Anthony (1985) have calculated the artifact group ranges for four low country plantations, including the Kershaw House, Middleton Place, Hampton, and Limrick plantations. The mean, not surprisingly, is within South's predicted range, although these low country sites have a relatively low Kitchen Group percentage and a relatively high architecture category.

A preliminary effort was made to detect activity areas based on artifact pattern differences at 38CH321. Squares 95R165 and 95R215 are grouped together possibly to represent the main house area; squares 125R215 and 130R165 are within the rear yard area, and 195R130 and 195R165 are situated in the shed area at the northern site limit. It was assumed that the house area would exhibit a low percentage of kitchen artifacts because it would have been an area of relatively sparse trash disposal. It is unlikely that food preparation took place in or immediately around the house. The architecture category, however, should be well represented, both as a result of gradual structure refurbishing and as a result of its eventual removal. The remaining artifact groups were expected to be variable. In the rear yard, kitchen artifacts were expected to be prominent, both because of food preparation activities and because of refuse disposal. The Architecture Group was expected to be reduced because of the increased distance to the main house, although a kitchen structure would certainly contribute to this category. It was thought that the Activities Group might be higher in the rear yard than in either of the other two areas. A variety of outdoor activities might take place between the main house and the rear yard, leaving archaeological evidence. Finally, the shed area, situated adjacent to the yard fence, was expected

	excavated	surface	total
KITCHEN			
Earthenwares	360	349	709
Porcelains	26	34	60
Stonewares	41	27	68
Glass	218	129	347
Colono ware	2	-	2
River Burnished	10	6	16
Kettle fragment	1	-	1
Stove fragments	1	-	1
Metal container frags	3	-	3
Cutlery handle, iron	1	-	1
Cutlery handle plating	-	1	1
	663 64.1%	546 93.7%	1209 74.7%
ARCHITECTURE			
UID nails	192	2	194
Spikes	2	-	2
Window glass	62	24	86
Construction hardware	5	-	5
Agateware doorknob	1	-	1
Copper pipe	1	-	1
Staple	1	-	1
Slate roofing tiles	-	1	1
	264 25.5%	27 4.6%	291 18.0%
BONE			
UID animal bone	43	21	64
	43	21	64
ARMS			
Lead shot, 10 mm	1	-	1
Lead shot, 7 mm	1	-	1
Gunflint wrap, lead	1	-	1
	3 0.3%	0 0%	3 0.2%
PERSONAL			
Bone die	1	-	1
U.S. 1926 nickle	1	-	1
	2 0.2%	0 0%	2 0.1%
CLOTHING			
Brass thimble	1	-	1
Iron buckle fragment	1	-	1
Buttons, wht. glass, 4 hole	-	3	3
	2 0.2%	3 0.5%	5 0.3%
TOBACCO			
Pipestems, 4/64" bore	5	1	6
Pipestems, 5/64" bore	7	3	10
Pipestems, 6/64" bore	2	1	3
Pipestem, Peter Dorni, 5/64"	1	-	1
Pipe bowl fragments	1	1	2
	16 1.5%	6 1.0%	22 1.4%
ACTIVITIES			
UID iron fragments	71	-	71
Harness parts	2	-	2
Lead fragments	3	-	3
Barbed wire	3	-	3
UID machine part	2	-	2
Chain link	1	-	1
Coal	2	1	3
UID brass fragment	1	-	1
	95 8.2%	1 0.2%	86 5.3%

Table 18. Artifacts recovered from 38CH321 by Artifact Group; percentages disregard bone counts.

to be an area of abundant refuse disposal, with a high proportion of kitchen artifacts. Because the sheds were probably impermanently constructed, the Architecture Group was anticipated to be insignificant. The results of the analysis are shown in Table 19.

	95R165-215 "House Area"	125R215-130R165 "Rear Yard"	195R130-165 "Shed Area"
Kitchen	58.7%	68.6%	74.9%
Architecture	33.0%	19.1%	16.5%
Arms	-	0.3%	0.4%
Clothing	-	0.3%	0.4%
Tobacco	1.0%	1.7%	3.5%
Activities	7.3%	10.0%	4.3%

Table 19. Artifact groups by site area.

While the small sample size must be recognized as a potential bias, these figures generally support the expectations. Kitchen artifacts increase toward the rear yard fence, perhaps because the far yard was a convenient area for trash disposal. Architectural remains were concentrated in the area where the main house is thought to have stood. The frequency of tobacco pipe stems increases toward the rear yard, perhaps reflecting status differences. As Otto has noted, "[c]lay pipe fragments rarely appeared in the planters' refuse . . .; it is known that elite whites preferred to smoke 'segars' rather than 'Negro pipes'" (Otto 1984:153).

Discussion

Unlike the Elfe site, where the historical and archaeological evidence appeared to show little congruence, the historical and archaeological data from the Sanders plantation show a close correlation. In terms of status, the historical record indicates that Long Point was composed of less than prime land, and even that was underutilized. The plantation, while unable to compete with its neighbors to the south and east, apparently was not even used to its full potential. This is in spite of the plantation's ownership, for 100 years, by the wealthy and prestigious Venning family. From 1859 through 1899 the plantation was owned by the widow Claudia Sanders, who appears to have used the tract to produce a modest income, not amass a huge fortune.

While archaeological evidence of the early and mid-eighteenth century occupation is sparse, there are indications of the nineteenth century Venning ownership. The ceramics exhibit quantities of plain and minimally decorated wares, but few painted or transfer printed wares assumed to be typical of a planter's residence. While the motif analysis suggests a low status or low economic scale, the vessel form analysis revealed abundant serving flatware, which is appropriate for a high status planter's residence (see Otto 1984). These data suggest that while the owners of Long Point could not affort the high status dinnerware patterns, their diet was typically "high status."

The archaeological record also produces a faint indication that in the early to mid-nineteenth century there was an economic revival. A large quantity of relatively expensive whiteware is found, the percentage of serving flatware increases, and there is a suggestion, based on the window glass analysis, that a building expansion may have taken place. This revival is probably related both to the sound management of Samuel Venning and to the economic boom of the early 1800s. It was during this period that the Venning fortune was created, and this process began at Long Point.

These data suggest that during its early period Long Point plantation was, at best, modest. It does not seem to have acquired many manifestations of a planter's residence until the early nineteenth century. As the historical documents suggest, there appears to have been little postbellum activity on the plantation. Only one of the whiteware types has a postbellum beginning manufacture date and only four of the seven types were manufactured into the postbellum period (using the dates provided by Bartovics 1978).

The archaeological study was fairly successful at delineating site proximics. The structure location was determined based on both the 1902 Coast and Geodetic map and the artifact pattern. A relatively low incidence of kitchen artifacts and a high incidence of architectural items was observed. The brick concentration occurs north of the posited structure area for which there are three possible explanations. The structure may be incorrectly located, in spite of archaeological and cartographic data. The observed brick density may be related to chimney fall scatter, rather than the actual structure. At the late eighteenth century ruins of Guilford Courthouse, the unplowed chimney fall scatter was found to be up to 40 feet distant from the structure (Ward 1976). A third explanation involves the possibility that the "shed" structure northwest of the main house (and in the vicinity of 130R165) may be a kitchen building. This would explain the locally dense brick concentration. Brick from the main house may be less dense than the kitchen either because of construction differences, or more likely, the scavaging of brick from the main house at the time of its destruction in the early twentieth century.

Trash disposal and work areas in the rear yard and shed area are evidenced by an abundance of kitchen artifacts and tobacco pipes. Architectural remains decline from the house to fence limits.

CONCLUSIONS

Drafting conclusions for an archaeological testing project such as this may sometimes be an onerous task. Fortunately, this is not the case with sites 38BK207 and 38CH321. It will be recalled that the two primary goals of this study were to obtain information necessary to nominate the sites, if they were worth, to the National Register of Historic Places, and to increase the low country plantation data base.

Historical studies at each site, minimally, have produced the chain of title, have identified the major economic features, and have placed the major owner in a historical perspective. The archaeological studies have identified site boundaries, revealed the nature, density, and distribution of artifacts, and demonstrated site integrity. From a management position it is possible to state that both sites are capable of producing significant archaeological information and hence should be nominated to the National Register.

At 38BK207 six specific research topics may be proposed. First, the site is associated with a well known Charlestonian of wealth, Thomas Elfe. Elfe's downtown property has been identified and is being protected. It is therefore possible for 38BK207 to contribute to a study of urban-rural differences (Zierden 1985). This potential is furthered by the presence of Elfe's journal which details both household and plantation accounts. Second, the site is an example of a colonial period plantation which did not participate in either rice or indigo production. It provides an opportunity to study how plantations which emphasized livestock and "truck farming" were organized and operated. This is a previously unexplored area in South Carolina low country plantations. Friedlander (1985),however, notes that colonial plantation wealth may have been based on a diversified portfolio of corn, livestock, Indian trade, and naval stores. Third, the abundance of apparently low status artifacts, particularly ceramics, emphasizes the divergence between history and archaeology, while indicating that the study of 38BK207 may aid in our understanding of how "function, proximity to Charleston, status of the family, and the relative importance of the tract in the planter's portfolio of lands" (Friedlander 1985:2) affect the archaeological perspective. Fourth, a study of 38BK207, in relation to the larger Capers plantation, may provide information on land acquisition and the treatment of peripheral tracts (Friedlander 1985:6). For reasons that are slowly becoming more obvious through archaeology, history, and pedology, the Elfe tract was abandoned in favor of a Wando River location for the plantation core. Fifth, the presence of a relatively large quantity of River Burnished pottery, a relative of Colono Ware, offers a significant avenue of research. Both the origin and use of this pottery is under review. Martha Zierden (personal communication

1985) has observed that at the Archdale plantation, Colono and River Burnished pottery appear to function as consumption vessels, replaced in the antebellum period by refined earthenwares. Sixth, while not dealt with by this study, investigation of the Elfe slave quarters will provide information on a different type of slavery not specifically associated with staple crop agriculture.

The site, while not evidencing features, has no disturbances not found throughout the area. That is, it evidences the integrity minimally expected for a plowed archaeological site in the low country and is expected, in concert with the historical sources, to provide data on these questions. At the present time the site is well protected and suffers little further damage from agriculture. Further archaeological investigations should endeavor to identify more accurately activity areas and structures within the plantation complex.

The Sanders plantation, 38CH321, while originating in the colonial period, "comes of age" under the control of the Venning family during the antebellum period. The site is in close proximity to 38BK207 and therefore provides a useful comparative data set. At least six future research topics may be suggested. First, like the Elfe plantation, 38CH321 provides evidence of an alternative economic base. The plantation did not participate in the cash crop monoculture and therefore stands as an unusual antebellum example. Second, the Sanders plantation may be an example of a plantation which had isolated slave quarters dispersed among the fields rather than clustered in a slave row. This phenomenon may relate to the economic nature of livestock raising and vegetable farming and is worthy of both historical and archaeological study. Third, like 38BK207, the Sanders plantation may contribute to a better understanding of the urban-rural diachotomy. The Vennings apparently owned property not in Charleston, but in Mount Pleasant. To date no study of the social relationship of Mount Pleasant to Charleston has been undertaken and it is not known if Mount Pleasant served the same social and economic functions as Charleston. Fourth, 38CH321 offers the potential to study a very small nucleated plantation settlement, as shown on the 1902 Coast and Geodetic Survey map. Activity areas and yard proximics may be studied at the site, with the standing structure serving as a frame of reference. Fifth, the archaeological condition of 38CH321 suggests that not only should the overall settlement pattern be obvious, but architectural evidence also should be retrivable. Sixth, 38CH321 was owned by a single family for close to a century. The property offers the potential to study how planters reacted to changing economic fortunes and how these changes are manifested in the archaeological record. Although 38CH321 is not unique in its long ownership by a single family, it is probably more representative of low country plantations than an estate such as Drayton Hall.

The Sanders site, in spite of agricultural activity, reveals many features and post holes. The evidence from 38CH321, however, is going to be complex and difficult to interpret because the site has been occupied during the aboriginal, colonial, antebellum, and postbellum periods. While not specifically stated as a research topic, the significance of 38CH321 is enhanced by its longevity. The overall settlement pattern and economic orientation of the plantation may be studied as they change through time.

There is a single theme which unites both 38BK207 and 38CH321, in spite of their many differences. In both cases the archaeological or material culture data base was compared to the historical or written data. In both cases superficial history, that is, the prestige and wealth of the Elfe and Venning families and our perception of "planters," collides with the archaeological data which show these sites to have been more like modest farmsteads than elegant plantations. The historical reconstructions of both Elfe and Venning (Sanders) tend to emphasize their prosperity, anticipations, and aspirations. But the items of material culture observed in the archaeological record are acquired, used, and discarded (or lost) daily, "thus revealing - insofar as they can be scaled in value and placed in time - the temporal fate of anticipations, aspirations, and desires" (Herman 1984:81).

At both the Elfe and Sanders plantations we see evidence of economic, if not social, decline, primarily in the ceramics. Although both Rachel Elfe and Claudia Sanders continued to live in the "big house" of low country planters, they relied on less than fashionable service ceramics and coarse wares (such as Colono and River Burnished wares) which could be used not only for food preparation and storage, but also as tableware. A similar situation may be seen at the Mendenhall site in Delaware (Herman 1984).

These sites also begin to suggest the "limits of what isolated evidence can teach us about the past" (Herman 1984:67). Archaeology must be combined with a sensitive regard for the historical evidence before we can hope to understand the past. This brief review of the Elfe and Sanders plantations also illustrates that our perception of history must be broadened to include the economic and socio-political events which affected the colonial and antebellum planters.

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