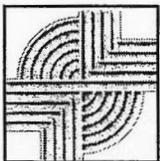


ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL INVESTIGATIONS OF JEHOSSIE ISLAND, CHARLESTON COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA



CHICORA FOUNDATION RESEARCH SERIES 61

**ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL INVESTIGATIONS
OF JEHOSSIE ISLAND, CHARLESTON COUNTY,
SOUTH CAROLINA**

Research Series 61

Michael Trinkley
Debi Hacker
Nicole Southerland

Chicora Foundation, Inc.
P.O. Box 8664 ■ 861 Arbutus Drive
Columbia, South Carolina 29202
803/787-6910
Email: chicora@bellsouth.net

August 2002

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publications Data

Trinkley, Michael.

Archaeological and historical investigations of Jehossee Island, Charleston County, South Carolina / Michael Trinkley, Debi Hacker, Nicole Southerland.

p. cm. -- (Research series / Chicora Foundation, ISSN 0882-2042; 61)

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 1-58317-056-1 (alk. paper)

1. Jehossee Island (S.C.)--Antiquities. 2. Excavations (Archaeology)--South Carolina--Jehossee Island. 3. Jehossee Island (S.C.)--History. 4. Plantation life--South Carolina--Jehossee Island--History. 5. Rice trade--South Carolina--Jehossee Island--History. 6. Agriculture--South Carolina--Jehossee Island--History. I. Hacker, Debi. II. Southerland, Nicole, 1978- III. Title. IV. Research series (Chicora Foundation); 61.

F277.C4 T73 2002
975.7'95--dc21

2002031351

ISBN 1-58317-056-1
ISSN 0882-2041

The paper in this book meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Committee on Production Guidelines for Book Longevity of the Council on Library Resources. ∞

The planters' massive capital investments, their long "summer" absenteeism, the huge preponderance of slaves in the low country's population, the heavy dependence of planters upon privileged slaves to make the system function, and the task system — these all gave a special character to the low country. . . . The slave-based agricultural capitalism of the Carolina and Georgia low country nurtured the growth of a proud "aristocracy" (in Disraeli's sense) whose impact on American history was spectacular. Callousness toward the slaves' welfare was the hallmark of the system.

– William Dusiaberre, *Them Dark Days: Slavery in the American Rice Swamps*, 1996

ABSTRACT

This study provides the results of a cultural resources reconnaissance of Jehossee Island, conducted under Contract No. 401812M047. The property was acquired by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service in 1993 as part of the ACE Basin National Wildlife Refuge. Situated immediately north of Edisto Island, the survey tract incorporates about 4,000 acres of upland and represents a large and important late eighteenth and early nineteenth century rice plantation. The island is bordered to the south by the Intracoastal Waterway and Watts Cut, to the west by the South Edisto River, to the north by Fishing Creek, and to the east by Fishing Creek and the Dawho River.

The undertaking involved limited historic research, sufficient to provide a context for evaluating the identified resources, and a reconnaissance level survey of archaeological and architectural sites on the island. The primary goals of the Jehossee survey were to identify, record, and assess the significance of archaeological and architectural sites.

To accomplish the archival study we reviewed a broad range of documents available through both primary and secondary sources. Many had been previously accumulated by the Fish and Wildlife Service and other secondary accounts of the island. This research, however, has sought to bring all of the available resources together and to also point out additional avenues of future research.

Jehossee incorporates two distinct tracts which had a number of different owners throughout their history. During the early antebellum a sizable portion of the island was owned by the Drayton family. In 1830 William Aiken acquired the first of his holdings on Jehossee Island. Aiken served in the South Carolina House of Representatives, the South Carolina Senate, Governor of South Carolina, and was eventually

elected to the United States House of Representatives. He was, however, as well known for his Jehossee Plantation — seen by many as a model of rice production in the antebellum south. By 1859 he had acquired the remainder of the island, uniting it under one ownership. The island remained in the Aiken-Rhett-Maybank family until it was sold to the Fish and Wildlife Service.

We initially proposed to survey 102 acres identified in eight areas of high archaeological potential based on available historic documentation. This represented about a 2.6% sample of the island (more if only high ground is considered). Ultimately we were able to survey approximately 160 acres or about 4.0%. This was accomplished using Transects spaced 100 feet apart and shovel testing every 100 feet along those transects. A total of 112 transects were used and 693 shovel tests were excavated.

We also proposed a shoreline survey in the hope that shell middens or prehistoric sites would be found. None were and we discovered that the island fails to offer a favorable setting for such sites.

A survey was also conducted of the water edge, looking for water control devices and other evidence of plantation activities. This aspect of the survey was successful, with several sites being identified. A similar survey of the flooded fields was not as successful. The high levels of water and difficulty accessing areas precluded the identification of any sites.

A total of 16 archaeological sites were identified based on these investigations. Of these 16 sites 13 are on Jehossee proper, one is in the waters between Jehossee and the island to the north, and two on the northern island where yet another plantation — called the Brisbane Plantation — was situated.

We were required by the scope of work to establish three permanent datums at archaeological sites on the island — as a result of this work we established five. We were also required to conduct close-interval testing at three sites; ultimately we conducted testing at five locations on four sites. We were also obligated to excavate 10 3.5-foot units — this work was accomplished without modification.

Six of these sites are not eligible since they lack context and integrity, both necessary variables to address significant research questions. Two sites are potentially eligible since additional data is needed for an appropriate assessment. The remaining eight sites are eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion D, information potential.

We have also identified one standing architectural sites and it, too, is eligible for the National Register under Criteria A, events, and C, design and construction.

The island itself has been assessed for eligibility both as a rural historic landscape and also as a historic district. We believe that the island is eligible for the National Register as a district, under the criteria A, B, C, and D.

Finally, this document provides recommendations for the near-term and long-term management of these cultural resources. Specific topics include maintenance of the standing architectural resources on the island and appropriate disaster planning for these resources; recommendation concerning the management of the island's vegetation, live oaks, roads, and banks; and management activities for the protection of the archaeological resources on the island.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables		iv
List of Figures		v
Acknowledgments		ix
Introduction		1
<i>Development of the Project</i>	1	
<i>The Natural Setting</i>	4	
Prehistoric and Historic Synopsis		17
<i>Brief Prehistoric Synopsis</i>	17	
<i>Historic Native American Groups</i>	32	
<i>Historic Synopsis</i>	33	
<i>Jehossee Island</i>	49	
Research Methods		97
<i>Introduction</i>	97	
<i>Previous Research</i>	97	
<i>Archival Research</i>	100	
<i>Field Survey Methodology</i>	101	
<i>Laboratory Processing and Conservation</i>	107	
<i>Analysis</i>	107	
<i>Architectural and Above Ground Resources Survey</i>	108	
<i>Site Evaluation</i>	108	
<i>Curation</i>	109	
<i>Recommendations</i>	109	
Survey Results		111
<i>Introduction</i>	111	
<i>Archaeological Sites</i>	111	
<i>Architectural Resources</i>	187	
Conclusions and Recommendations		195
<i>Conclusions</i>	195	
<i>Recommendations for Historic Architecture</i>	207	
<i>Recommendations for Landscape Features</i>	211	
<i>Management Actions for Archaeological Sites</i>	213	
Sources Cited		213

LIST OF TABLES

Table		
1.	White and slave population in South Carolina in 1720	11
2.	Significant Charleston hurricanes	12
3.	Exports and export prices of rice, 1721-1860	38
4.	Annual average monthly prices of sea island cotton	41
5.	Statistics for South Carolina rice in the early twentieth century	48
6.	Inventory of real property at Jehossee in 1820	53
7.	Rice and cotton produced by Jehossee, 1789-1818	54
8.	Slave population by age groups on Jehossee, 1830 and 1840	65
9.	Agricultural Schedule for Jehossee Island, 1850 and 1860	75
10.	Agricultural Schedule for Jehossee Island, 1870 and 1880	75
11.	Cultural resources identified on Jehossee Island	111
12.	Artifacts recovered from 38CH1891	113
13.	Artifacts recovered from 38CH1892	115
14.	Artifacts recovered from 38CH1893	118
15.	Mean ceramic date for 38CH1893	120
16.	Previously published artifact patterns compared to 38CH1893	121
17.	Brick mounds at 38CH1894b	125
18.	Artifacts recovered from 38CH1894	126
19.	Mean ceramic date for 38CH1893	127
20.	Brick mounds identified at 38CH1895	132
21.	Artifacts recovered from 38CH1895	136
22.	Mean ceramic date for 38CH1895	137
23.	Previously published artifact patterns compared to 38CH1895	137
24.	Artifacts recovered from 38CH1897	150
25.	Mean ceramic date for 38CH1897	151
26.	Artifacts recovered from 38CH1898	155
27.	Artifacts recovered from 38CH1899	173
28.	Mean ceramic date for 38CH1899	174
29.	Location and size of dike bulkheads, 38CH1905	185
30.	Recommended maintenance for mothballed structures	211

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		
1.	Jehossee Island area	2
2.	ACE River Basin showing drainages	5
3.	Jehossee Island and the surrounding area	6
4.	Monthly temperature for the Edisto and Jehossee area	10
5.	Jehossee Island's modern land cover	13
6.	Sea level change curve for South Carolina	15
7.	Generalized cultural sequence for the central South Carolina coast	18
8.	Diagnostic Paleoindian projectile points	19
9.	Projectile point traditions	21
10.	Late prehistoric and early historic ceramic sequence for the Wateree River Valley	31
11.	Portion of the 1695 Thorton-Morden map	33
12.	Early separation of Jehossee Island into two ownership tracts	50
13.	Plat of 3,500 acres granted to Jenys	51
14.	Plat of the Ash tract	57
15.	Plat of the Ash tract	58
16.	Division of Lots 1, 2, and 3	60
17.	1856-1857 chart of Jehossee Island	72
18.	Coast Chart 53, 1866	76
19.	Logging on Jehossee, ca. 1959	85
20.	Carting sheaves of rice on Jehossee	86
21.	Slave row on Jehossee, ca. 1910	86
22.	Overseer's house and adjacent store, ca. 1910	87
23.	John Boggs and his son, William Boggs, ca. 1910	88
24.	Henrietta and William Boggs, ca. 1910	89
25.	Rear of slave cabin, ca. 1910	90
26.	Old Alfred and Flora, ca. 1910	90
27.	Harvesting rice on Jehossee, ca. 1910	92
28.	Structure attributed to Jehossee Island	93
29.	Edisto Island topographic map, 1919	94
30.	Resources identified by the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology	98
31.	Cultivated field containing SCIAA Site 1	99
32.	Chimney at SCIAA Site 21	100
33.	Specific survey areas on Jehossee Island	103
34.	Shovel testing	104
35.	Archaeological and architectural sites identified	112
36.	Sketch plan of 38CH1891	113
37.	Western scatter of bricks at 38CH1891	114
38.	Portion of the 1856-1857 chart showing the area of 38CH1891	114
39.	Sketch map of 38CH1892	116
40.	Sketch map of 38CH1893	117
41.	Ditches and dike at 39CH1893	119
42.	Unit at 38CH1893	119
43.	View of rice canals	122
44.	Sketch map of 38CH1894a showing features and close-interval testing grid	123
45.	Site 38CH1894a	124
46.	Site 38CH1894a, view of cistern	124
47.	Sketch plan of the cistern at 38CH1894a	125

48.	Site 38CH1894b, Mound 3	127
49.	Sketch map of 38CH1894b showing features and close interval testing grid	128
50.	Portion of the 1856-1857 chart of Jehossee showing area of 38CH1891 and 38CH1893	129
51.	Sketch map of 38CH1895	131
52.	Cistern 2 at 38CH1895	133
53.	Sketch plans of Cistern 2 and 3	133
54.	Chimney box associated with Structure 30 at 38CH1895	134
55.	Sketch plans of Structure 30, 38CH1895	134
56.	Sketch map of a portion of 38CH1895	135
57.	Portion of the 1856-1857 map of Jehossee showing area of 38CH1895 and 38CH1896	138
58.	Fence posts marking the yard at Structure 3, 38CH1895	138
59.	Sketch map of 38CH1896	139
60.	Area 1 at 38CH1896	140
61.	Area 2 at 38CH1896	140
62.	Sketch map of industrial component of 38CH1897	143
63.	Chimney at the rice threshing operations	144
64.	Arch at the base of the chimney's east elevation	144
65.	Portion of the brick machinery support at 38CH1897	145
66.	Portion of the brick well at 38CH1897	145
67.	Sketch map of the western industrial component and slave settlement at 38CH1897	146
68.	Structure 2 at the western industrial component of 38CH1897	147
69.	Portion of the 1856-1857 map of Jehossee showing the area of 38CH1897-1899	148
70.	Test unit at the slave settlement, 38CH1897	149
71.	Sketch map of 38CH1898	153
72.	Cistern at the overseer's house, 38CH1898	154
73.	Sketch plan of Cistern 4, 38CH1898	154
74.	Well 1 at 38CH1898	155
75.	Sketch of the test unit and profile at 38CH1898	156
76.	Sketch plan of the main plantation settlement, 38CH1899	158
77.	Sketch map of the close interval testing grid at 38CH1899	159
78.	Sketch plan of Structure 1 at 38CH1899	160
79.	Structure 1 at 38CH1899	161
80.	Base of the test unit at Structure 1, 38CH1899	161
81.	Sketch plan of the main house, Structure 2, 38CH1899	162
82.	Standing western chimney at the addition to Structure 2, 38CH1899	163
83.	Cistern 5 at Structure 2, 38CH1899	164
84.	Structure 3, 38CH1899	164
85.	Brick walkway connecting Structures 2 and 3, 38CH1899	165
86.	Sketch plan and profile of 194.5R225 at Structure 3, 38CH1899	166
87.	Sketch plan of Structure 4 and Cistern 6 at 38CH1899	167
88.	Structure 4 at 38CH1899	167
89.	Test Unit 5, 335R135, 38CH1899	168
90.	Sketch plan of Structure 5, 38CH1899	168
91.	Sketch plan of Structure 6, 38CH1899	169
92.	Statuary 2, 38CH1899	169
93.	Statuary 7, 38CH1899	170
94.	Statuary 9, 38CH1899	170
95.	Statuary 6, 38CH1899	171
96.	Statue from the main house, moved to the overseer's house	171
97.	Statue from the main house, moved to the overseer's house	172
98.	Rice trunk at 38CH1900	176
99.	Timber supports for the dike system at 38CH1901	177
100.	38CH1902 on the edge of the South Edisto River	178
101.	Brick wall buried below marsh, 38CH1902	178
102.	Mortised timber buried below marsh, 38CH1902	179
103.	Wood supports for a possible causeway, 38CH1902	179
104.	Timber supports at 38CH1902	180

105.	Brick wall at the edge of 38CH1902	180
106.	Sketch plan of 38CH1902	181
107.	Portion of the 1856-1857 chart of Jehossee showing 38CH1902	182
108.	Sketch plan of 38CH1903	183
109.	Portion of the 1856-1857 chart of Jehossee showing 38CH1903	184
110.	Pilings of the bridge across Fishing Creek, 38CH1904	185
111.	Portion of the 1856-1857 chart of Jehossee showing the Brisbane Settlement	186
112.	Oblique view of the overseer's house	187
113.	View of the north and west elevations of the overseer's house, ca. 1970	188
114.	Floor plans of overseer's house	189
115.	Sketch plan of the overseer's house at Jehossee	190
116.	Roof system, showing wood shingles and pegged mortise and tenon connection	191
117.	Wood fireplace surround with mantle shelf in the east parlor	192
118.	Upper stair hall stair	193
119.	Location of identified cultural resources on Jehossee	196
120.	Kitchen Group Artifacts at Jehossee	197
121.	Kitchen Group Artifacts at Jehossee	198
122.	Kitchen, Tobacco, Personal, and Clothing Group Artifacts at Jehossee	199

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service is very fortunate to be the caretaker of this unique property. We want to thank Mr. Rick Kanaski, Regional Archaeologist with the Fish and Wildlife Service, for his support of Chicora Foundation and for allowing us the opportunity to participate in this extraordinary project. In addition, Ms. Jo Muratti, the Contracting Officer for the project, was very patient working us through the government requirements and we thank her for that invaluable assistance.

At the ACE Basin National Wildlife Refuge we particularly want to thank the Refuge Manager, Ms. Jane Griess, for her assistance and daily efforts to make our study both comfortable and successful. We likewise want to thank all of her staff, without whose assistance we would have been unable to complete this study.

It is also critical that we thank the Maybank family — the descendants of the original Aiken family — for not only their interest in the study, but also years of careful stewardship. Without their interest in the past Jehossee would undoubtedly have been lost to development. Its preservation represents a rare opportunity to examine a Charleston rice plantation's evolution from the eighteenth through early twentieth century. In particular, we thank Mr. David Maybank for taking the time to speak with us about Jehossee and his activities on the island over the years.

We also want to thank a variety of other individuals. Ms. Sarah Fick has not only been a consistent friend and colleague, but provided her time to review the historic structures on Jehossee, providing us with the benefit of her 20 years of insight. Our study is better for this insight and our recommendations concerning the historic structures lean heavily on her experience. Ms. Katherine Sanders, with the Historic Charleston

Foundation, also visited Jehossee during our study and was very helpful in our evaluation of the historic structures. In addition, she kindly assisted us in identifying additional Aiken family documents at the Historic Charleston Foundation. Captain Albert McCormick, III of Pon Pon Guides Unlimited kindly, efficiently, and safely took care of our daily trips to and from Jehossee. Without his skills we might still be wandering the waters around Edisto. Just as importantly he shared with us his knowledge of the sites in the region and worked with our constantly changing schedule. We need to also thank Mr. David Lybrand who made sure that we found both Captain McCormick and also appropriate housing. Mr. Lindsay Oswald, the last caretaker on the island, was kind enough to not only speak with us, but also loan us his photographs of activities on Jehossee for our use. Likewise, William Judd arranged his schedule to meet with us and loan not only his photographs, but also beautiful drawings of the different architectural features on the island.

Mr. Keith Derting of the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology assisted us with the site numbering for the project. Ms. Sharon Pekrul provided assistance in the curation of the collection with the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Finally, I appreciate the skilled and dedicated crew on this project: Nicole Southerland and Tom Covington. The research would have been impossible without their competence and care. I want to thank Renee Ballard, a University of South Carolina Applied History graduate student who undertook the examination of some of the files at Historic Charleston Foundation. And as always, I need to acknowledge a special debt to Debi Hacker, who undertook the analysis, cataloging, and curation of this collection, as well as the preparation of the maps. But in particular, I appreciate her patience and perseverance.

INTRODUCTION

Development of the Project

In October 2001 the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) issued a solicitation (401811Q280) for an archaeological survey of Jehossee Island¹. Topics of special importance include historical research, creation of a detailed map of sites identified on the island, photodocumentation of extant ruins and structures, and limited testing of selected areas. The solicitation also recognized that the size of the holding (about 4,000 acres) might not allow an affordable intensive survey, so only a reconnaissance study was called for. The resulting study is intended to not only help the USFWS manage the resources present on Jehossee Island, but would also be used as a "scientific reference for future professional studies" on the island.

Beyond these broad perimeters the solicitation allowed considerable flexibility. Clearly the significant questions were how might critical resources be defined and identified within the unspecified budget available for the work?

In particular, it was immediately clear that Jehossee is a special island. As will be discussed in far more detail later, the island represents a very significant rice plantation owned by one of Charleston's most famous families. It was maintained by this family into the post-bellum and even today many of the island's historical features are extant. A survey of only a few days duration had been accomplished by the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (SCIAA) during the mid-1980s (Charles et al. 1986). While many resources were briefly mentioned by this study, the entire island was given a single site number —

¹We use "Jehossee Island" or "the island" to refer to the geographic feature, while "Jehossee" refers to the plantation on the island.

38CH848 — making it difficult to use the study for any effective management of the island's resources. The opportunities — and challenges — presented by the solicitation were enormous.

Chicora Foundation responded with a proposal dated October 23, 2001. We noted that period maps of the island exhibit two tidal rice mills, a water mill, several extremely large slave settlements, and a range of plantation buildings. Moreover, these documents reveal that the island historically consisted of three distinct environmental zones: marsh which was devoted to rice cultivation; high ground which had been cleared for plantation operations; and high ground which was allowed to remain in forest and which saw little activity.

We proposed, through the preliminary historical research, to develop a context for evaluating the historic properties within the survey area, as well as an outline for a narrative history of the island and immediate region. This would help the USFWS better understand Jehossee Island's historic periods of development.

The historical study would first collect and examine all known and previously cited (primary and secondary) documents associated with the immediate project area. Additional examination of the island property titles would also be conducted. We anticipated searching out and synthesizing census data, slave schedules, and agricultural schedules for the tract, where such information was available. We recognized that some documents associated with Jehossee, such as the Drayton family archives, are massive and beyond the scope of any reconnaissance study to search thoroughly. Consequently, much of the historical study was recognized as being preliminary — helping USFWS understand the breadth and scope of materials present.

JEHOSSEE ISLAND



Figure 1. The Jehossee Island area in southern Charleston County (basemap is USGS South Carolina 1:500,000).

INTRODUCTION

As part of the historic research we understood the need to extend the history of Jehossee into the twentieth century — the island's importance did not cease with the end of the Civil War. Consequently, we anticipated not only contacting individuals who lived on the island in the twentieth century, but also examining a wide range of aerial photographs and other documents which might help us piece together the island "recent" history.

We realized that the USFWS was particularly interested in obtaining good mapping of identified resources since the study done during the mid-1980s failed to provide that type of management information. Clearly they were concerned that the management information generated by this study would be useful and mapping was crucial to that use.

In response, we determined that a cost-effective approach would be to use U.S. Geological Survey false color infrared aerial photography to prepare an island base map. Combined with survey grade GPS (global positioning system) equipment, it would be possible to accurately locate — and represent on a base map — the identified resources.

In terms of covering 4,000 acres in some cost-effective manner, we considered a variety of options. Our final decision was to focus on those areas known or anticipated to have historic resources. We proposed a three-tier study. The first tier would explore projected or known historic sites. The second tier or phase would examine the associated rice fields. The third tier of investigation would examine other high probability areas, especially for prehistoric sites.

A series of seven well defined areas were initially identified, based on the information available at the time of the proposal's preparation. These seven areas, combined, total about 99.5 acres, and represent a 2.5% sample of the total 4,000 area tract. For each of these seven projected areas we proposed a relatively intensive survey, with shovel testing spaced at 100 foot intervals along transects spaced every 100 feet.

This work alone would involve the excavation of approximately 450 shovel tests.

We characterized this as "relatively" intensive since we knew from abundant previous plantation archaeology that shovel testing at 100 foot intervals would not be adequate to identify individual structures and could only be used to identify clusters or settlements. While this work would not be sufficient to document structures, it would establish better boundaries for USFWS and would allow evaluation of potential effects of different management activities.

The survey of the rice fields had as its goal the identification and recordation of any architectural features which might be present and recognizable at a reconnaissance level. We recognized the rice fields as a critical element in the management of the refuge; yet they may also contain exceptional details concerning the industrial activities carried on at Low Country plantations. Previous work by Chicora Foundation at Hewyard's Old House Plantation in Jasper County identified a filled-in canal, a series of plank roads ranging from 40 to 20 feet in width, several brick structures each measuring about 5-feet square, three buildings set on piers in the marsh, including a rice mill, a buried wood trunk in a mill raceway, brownstone gate supports, made land, and dense ballast deposits (Trinkley and Hacker 1996). We were hopeful that similar features might be found on Jehossee Island.

The final component of the field study would be the examination of well defined marsh edges for evidence of prehistoric occupation. While this approach was recognized as being very "low tech," it also has an excellent chance of quickly identifying a range of prehistoric occupation, if such settlements exist. A similar strategy used for a reconnaissance survey of Hilton Head Island in Beaufort County identified 130 archaeological sites, including both prehistoric and historic remains (Trinkley 1987b).

The USFWS solicitation also specified that two additional types of testing be conducted. First, it indicated that "limited subsurface testing" be

conducted in order to identify specific structures. Second, it indicated that a "minimum of 10 1x1 meter units" be excavated at various sites.

We did not believe that at a reconnaissance level it was possible to fund a detailed survey of all the site components anticipated on Jehossee Island. Consequently, we proposed to conduct close interval testing at a minimum of three locations, each no greater than 200 feet square (representing about one acre each). Using 25-foot intervals, each such area would require about 81 shovel tests and we felt that this would could be considered a "demonstration," allowing USFWS to determine if the resulting information would assist them in site management activities. The three site tests would be placed in areas of dense remains at sites that seemed sufficiently intact to warrant additional attention.

Similarly, we expected the placement of the 10 1-meter units to be at sites based on the information provided by the initial shovel testing.

At the conclusion of the field investigations Chicora Foundation would prepare SCIAA site forms and submit the forms for appropriate site numbers. At that time we would work with SCIAA to determine if the original site designation for the entire island would be re-assigned or simply abandoned. We would also prepare the collections for curation at SCIAA.

The report on the study would not only provide USFWS with an account of the study, the results of the historical research, and information on the various sites identified, it would also provide recommendations on appropriate management activities. These recommendations would be of special assistance to the Refuge Manager, helping the agency integrate cultural resources into other critical activities.

The Natural Setting

The ACE Basin (Figure 2) consists of approximately 350,000 acres of diverse habitats including pine and hardwood uplands, forested

wetlands, fresh, brackish and salt water tidal marshes, barrier islands, and beaches. The basin, which takes its name from the three major drainages — the Ashepoo, Combahee, and Edisto — is widely recognized as a unique and critical environment marked by a wide diversity of wildlife and plants and representing the largest estuarine resource in South Carolina. Today Jehossee Island is part of the ACE Basin, incorporated into the Edisto Unit of the USFWS.

In 1988, the ACE Basin Project was launched when a wide range of environmental, conservation, federal and state agencies, and private land owners formed a coalition known as the ACE Basin Task Force. Jehossee Island itself is one of the largest undeveloped estuaries on the east coast of the United States. The Basin, and its associated wetlands have been designated as wetlands of national and international significance. These impoundments and natural tidal marshes, interspersed with adjacent upland areas, provide a remarkable complex of habitats for a broad spectrum of migratory and resident waterfowl. The diversity of habitats also provides for a wealth of other migratory birds, such as raptors, doves, snipe, woodcock, and various neo-tropical species. It is one of the most important areas for species of special concern, such as the painted bunting and seaside sparrow.

As a result of this unique habitat, the USFWS has developed a management plan which outlines six broad goals:

- to assist in the preservation, protection, and enhancement of the 350,000 acre ACE Basin area, a national significant wildlife ecosystem,
- to manage for migratory birds with emphasis on providing optimum habitat for wintering waterfowl, providing nesting and brooding habitat for wood ducks and mottled ducks, and providing habitat for neo-tropical migrants,
- to preserve, protect, and manage refuge habitats for endangered and threatened species of wildlife,
- to manage for native wildlife species and their

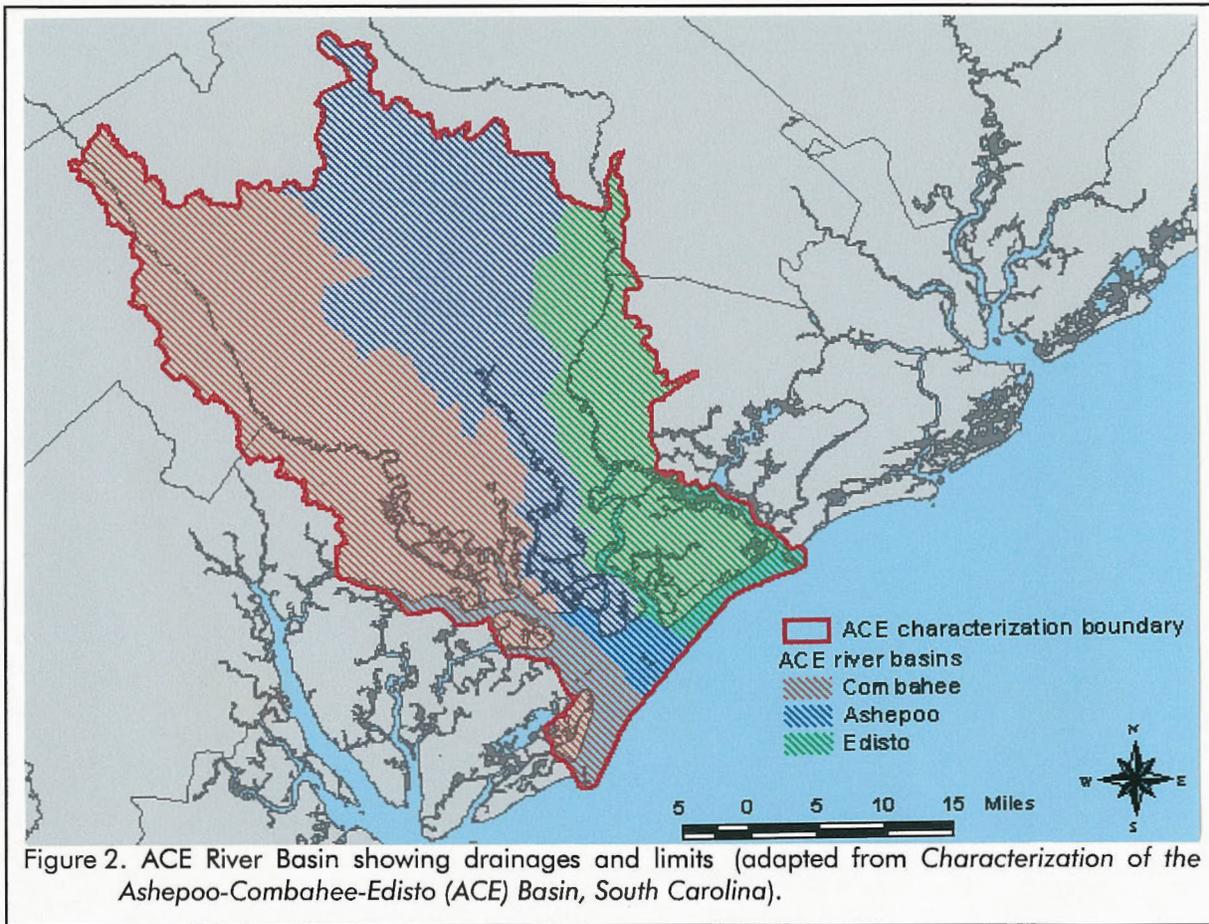


Figure 2. ACE River Basin showing drainages and limits (adapted from *Characterization of the Ashepoo-Combahee-Edisto (ACE) Basin, South Carolina*).

associated habitats.

- to provide for compatible public educational, interpretational, and recreational opportunities associated with wildlife and their habitats, and
- to provide protection of known archaeological/historical sites throughout the refuge from theft, vandalism, and inadvertent damages from refuge operations (Anonymous 1998:n.p.)

Incorporated in the ACE Basin is the 8,048 acre Donnelley Wildlife Management Area in eastern Colleton County; the 12,021 acre Bear Island Wildlife Management Area between the Ashepoo and South Edisto rivers; the 140,000 acre National Estuarine Research Reserve which includes the south half of Williman Island, and

Warren, Beet, Ashe, and Otter islands; about 11,062 acres under the control of the USFWS on the Edisto and Combahee rivers (including Jehossee Island); and about 40,000 acres of private land protected through conservation easements.

Physiography

Charleston County is located in the lower Atlantic Coastal Plain of South Carolina and is bounded to the east by the Atlantic Ocean and a series of marsh, barrier, and sea islands (Mathews et al. 1980:133). Elevations in the County range from sea level to about 70 feet above mean sea level (AMSL). The mainland topography, which consists of subtle ridge and bay undulations, is characteristic of beach ridge plains.

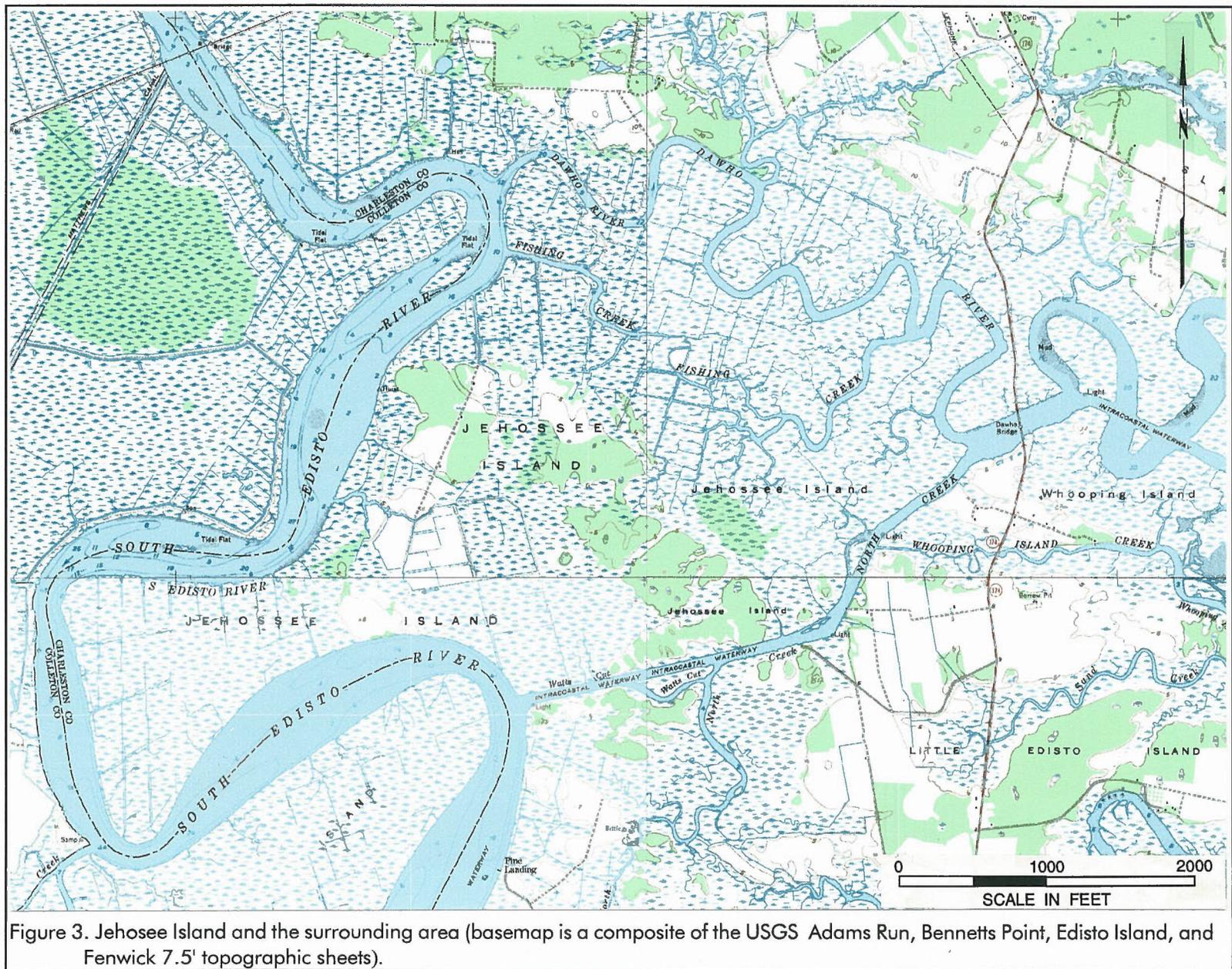


Figure 3. Jehossee Island and the surrounding area (basemap is a composite of the USGS Adams Run, Bennetts Point, Edisto Island, and Fenwick 7.5' topographic sheets).

INTRODUCTION

Seven major drainages are found in Charleston County. Four of these, the Wando, Ashley, Stono, and North Edisto, are dominated by tidal flows and are saline. The Wando forms a portion of the County's the interior boundary northeast of Charleston, while the Ashley flows west of the peninsular city of Charleston. The three with significant freshwater flow are the Santee, which forms the northern boundary of the County; the South Edisto, which forms the southern boundary; and the Cooper, which bisects the County.

Because of the low topography, many broad, low gradient interior drains are present as either extensions of the tidal rivers or as flooded bays and swales. Flooded bays and swales are common in the County, typically being shown on historic plats as "galls" or "swamps." While these area often exhibit productive soil, they must be drained and the drains kept open — both laborious and unhealthy tasks assigned to African American slaves during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Jehossee Island is situated about 25 miles southwest of Charleston in what historically was known as St. John Colleton Parish. It is separated from the mainland by the Dawho River to the north and east. To the west the South Edisto River divides Jehossee Island from Colleton County. To the south the island is defined today by the Intracoastal Waterway, although historically there were a series of interconnected creeks and man-made cuts through the marsh to join the Edisto and Dawho (Figure 3).

Elevations on Jehossee Island are about 5 feet above mean sea level (AMSL), with the island's highest point being only about 8 feet AMSL. The island has an upland/marsh ratio of 0.18. Of the 4,400 acres, 3,700 acres consist of salt marsh and non-forested freshwater wetlands. There are about 570 acres of wetland and upland forest, 120 acres are open fields (which are slowly being reforested), and about 13 acres are dredge spoil from the Intra-coastal Waterway. In comparison, nearby Edisto Island has an upland/marsh ratio of 1.22.

The upland areas are not well defined and there are few locations on the island where the marsh and upland areas meet to form distinct bluffs. The two most distinct bluffs are found at the south and north edges of the island — both in areas of previous historic occupation. Today both are also being heavily eroded. Elsewhere the uplands slope gradually into the marsh and the distinction is primarily one of vegetation and not clearly elevation.

As a result of the low elevations, the property appears to have always been subject to flooding. During the survey numerous ditches were encountered — all likely antebellum in origin — evidence of efforts to drain and make productive the otherwise low, unhealthy "upland" property.

Flooding, however, was not limited to ground water and rain water on the interior portions of the plantation. Coastal flooding was also a serious concern — most especially for the rice fields. A berm or dike is still found in some areas at the outer edge of the island, protecting the rice fields from the South Edisto or Dawho rivers. Similar berms or dikes were also used to protect some structures, especially those on the lower portions of the island where flooding would have been particularly disastrous.

Geology and Soils

Coastal Plain geological formations are unconsolidated sedimentary deposits of very recent age, primarily Pleistocene and Holocene. They are found lying unconformably on more ancient crystalline rocks which are rarely exposed by nature (Cooke 1936; Miller 1971:74).

The soils formed from these Holocene and Pleistocene soils were typically deposited in various stages of coastal submergence. Soil formation is affected by the parent material (primarily sands and clays), the temperate climate (discussed later), the various soil organisms, the flat topography of the area, and time.

Mainland soils are primarily Pleistocene in age and tend to have more distinct horizons and

greater diversity than the younger soils found on the sea and barrier islands. Sandy to loamy soils predominate in the level to gently sloping mainland areas. The adjacent tidal marsh soils are Holocene in age and consist of fine sands, clay, and organic matter deposited over older Pleistocene sands. These soils are frequently covered by up to 2 feet of saltwater during high tides. Historically marsh soils have been used as compost or fertilizer for a variety of crops, including cotton (Hammond 1884:510). Allston mentions that the sandy soil of the coastal region, "bears well the admixture of salt and marsh mud with the compost" (Allston 1854:13).

As the Carolina colony was being settled and promoted, the soils were described simply. John Norris told his readers in 1712:

the Soil is generally Sandy, but of differing Colours, under which, Two or Three Foot Deep, is Clay of which good Bricks are made (Greene 1989:89).

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, William DeBrahm's *Report* provides little more information, stating only that, "the Land near the Sea Coast is in general of a very sandy Soil" and noting that this soil "along the Coast has as yet not been able to invite the industrious to reap Benefit of its Capacity" (DeVorse 1971:72).

By the nineteenth century, Robert Mills in his *Statistics of South Carolina* provides slightly more information concerning the current understanding of the soils:

Lands here [in Charleston District] may be viewed under six divisions in respect to quality; 1st, Tide swamp; 2d, Inland swamp; 3d, High river swamp (or low ground, commonly called second low grounds); 4th, Salt Marsh; 5th, Oak and hickory high lands; and 6th, Pine barren. The tide and inland swamps are peculiarly adapted to the culture of rice and

hemp; they are very valuable, and will frequently sell for \$100 an acre; in some instances for more. The high river swamps are well calculated for raising hemp, indigo, corn, and cotton; and where secured from freshets, are equally valuable with the tide lands. The oak and hickory highlands are well suited for corn and provisions, also for indigo and cotton. The value of these may be stated at from ten to twenty dollars per acre. The pine barrens are not worth more than one dollar an acre (Mills 1972:442-443 [1826]).

Even the detail of this account, however, fails to provide a very clear picture of the soils in the lower part of the district where the sands were low and commonly interspersed with galls or small inland swamps. Here the property, even the supposedly good hickory and oak lands, were poorly drained.

A number of period accounts discuss the importance of soil drainage. Seabrook, for example, explained in 1848:

subsoil so close as to be impervious to water; so that the excess of the rains of winter cannot sink. Nor can it flow off, because of the level surface The land thereby is kept thoroughly water-soaked until late in the spring. The long continued wetness is favorable only to growth of coarse and sour grasses and broom sedge . . . acid and antiseptic qualities of the soil . . . sponge-like power to absorb and retain water . . . is barren, (for useful crops) from two causes — excessive wetness and great acidity. The remedies required are also two; and neither alone will be of the least useful effect, with the other also.

Draining must remove the wetness — calcareous manures the acidity (Seabrook 1848:37).

A somewhat similar account was still be provided by Hammond in the postbellum:

drainage . . . has of necessity always been practiced to some extent. The remarkably high beds on which cotton is planted here, being from 18 inches to 2 feet high, subserve this purpose. The best planters have long had open drains through their fields. These were generally made by running two furrows with a plow and afterward hauling out the loose dirt with a hoe, thus leaving an open ditch, if it be so termed, a foot or more in depth (Hammond 1884:509).

The number of drainages still found on Jehossee Island in the late twentieth century offers mute testimony to the problems planters encountered on these soils and their efforts to make the land productive. These problems have also been briefly mentioned by Hilliard, who comments that soils in the region were, "seldom well enough drained for most crops" (Hilliard 1984:11).

The one exception was the suitability of the lands to the cultivation of rice. Even this, however, presented one tremendous challenge — keeping the salt water out of the rice fields, while ensuring an adequate supply of fresh water. The nature of rice cultivation — and its impact on planter, slave, and environment — is discussed later.

The uplands of Jehossee Island are classified as belonging to the Yonges-Hockley-Edisto Association. These are moderately well drained to poorly drained, nearly level soils that have a sandy surface layer and a loamy subsoil. The topography is often described as low relief uplands and the soils are most heavily influenced by their landscape position. Those found in lower lying areas are wet, while those with a slightly

higher position are dry.

In contrast, the surrounding marsh soils are all classified as belonging what is commonly called the tidal marsh association. These are flooded by tide water except where historic ditches and banks serve to still serve to protect the landscape.

The upland soils consist of only four soil series: Hockley, Meggett, Wadmalaw, and Yonges (Miller 1971). Of these only the Hockley may be considered dry and generally well drained. The other upland soils are found in lower elevations and all reveal high water tables, occasional flooding, or ponding.

The Hockley series consists of nearly level, moderately well-drained soils with a loamy subsoil. Often plowed, these soils exhibit an Ap of dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) loamy fine sand about 0.8 foot in depth, overlying an A2 horizon of light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4) loamy fine sand to about 1.1 foot. Below this is a B21t horizon of yellowish brown (10YR 5/6) sandy clay loam subsoil. The seasonal high water table in these soils varies from 2 to 5 feet below grade.

The Meggett series consists of poorly drained soils with clay subsoils. Rarely plowed, a typical profile would reveal an A horizon of dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) loam about 0.3 foot in depth over a B21tg horizon of gray (10YR 5/1) clay to a depth of about 1.3 feet. These soils are subject to flooding and may have a seasonal high water table at the surface or only a foot below grade.

The Wadmalaw series soils consist of poorly drained loams. They have slow run-off, a seasonal high water table often at the surface, and ponding commonly occurs. The surface A11 horizon is about 0.4 foot in depth and consists of a black (10YR 2/1) fine sandy loam. This grades into an A12 horizon of very dark gray (10YR 3/1) fine sandy loam to a depth of 0.8 foot. Below is an A3 horizon to 1.2 feet consisting of a dark gray (10YR 4/1) sandy loam. The subsoil is a dark gray (10YR 4/1) heavy fine sandy loam which grades

into a clay loam.

The Yonges series consists of level, poorly drained soils with loamy fine sand surface layers. Where plowed you may find about 0.8 foot of dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) loamy fine sand overlying an A2 horizon of light brownish gray (10YR 6/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of about 1.3 feet. Below this is a B21tg horizon of gray (10YR 5/1) fine sandy clay loam. These soils may reveal a seasonal high water table only a foot below the surface.

The marsh soils are identified as two series (Miller 1971). The Capers series are silty clays to clay loams found on tidal flats that are flooded by 0.1 to 0.5 foot of sea water once or more each month. They are very poorly drained and saturated year-round. The remainder of the marsh soils are classified as soft tidal marsh. These soils are found along tidal streams and rivers forming broad tidal flats that are covered by 0.5 to 2.0 feet of salt water at high tide. Taken together these soils form the "heart" of the ACE Basin. Scharf has noted that, "no soils are more productive or have a greater impact on the ecosystem, the economy, or the history of South Carolina" (Scharf 2000).

Climate

Figure 4 reveals the annual range in temperature for the Jehossee Island area. We also know that the rainfall averages about 49 inches a year, and that wind direction during the fall and winter are northerly, shifting to the south during the spring and summer.

This, however, fails to provide any real understanding of how important weather was in Colonial society, affecting the crops which in turn affected trade and wealth — and perhaps most importantly, the health of owner and enslaved alike. Greene notes that:

the prospects of obtaining wealth with ease . . . meant little in a menacing environment, and both Nairne and Norris took pains to minimize the unpleasant and

dangerous features that already had combined to give South Carolina an ambiguous reputation. They had to admit that throughout the summer temperatures were "indeed troublesome to Strangers." But they contended that settlers had quickly found satisfactory remedies in the form of "open airy Rooms, Arbours and Summer-houses" constructed in shady groves and frequent cool baths and insisted the discomforts of the summers were more than offset by the agreeableness of the rest of the seasons. [They also suggested] that ill-health was largely limited to newcomers before they were seasoned to the climate, to people who insisted in living in low marshy ground, and to those who were excessive and careless in their eating, drinking, and

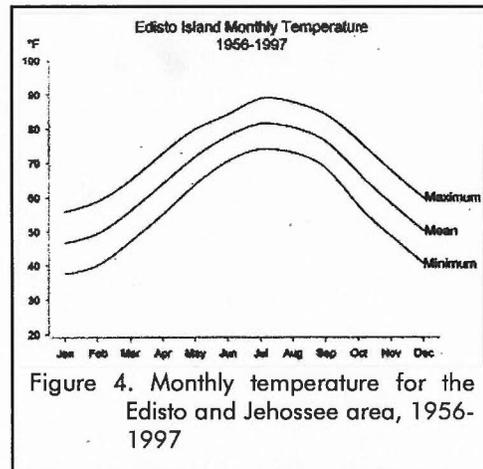


Figure 4. Monthly temperature for the Edisto and Jehossee area, 1956-1997

personal habits. "If temperate," they asserted, those who lived on "dry healthy Land," were "generally very healthful" (Greene 1989:16).

While making for good public relations,

Table 1.
White and Slave Population of South Carolina
in 1720 (adapted from B.P.R.O. Transcripts, vol. 9,
page 23)

Parish	Whites	Black Slaves	% Slaves
St. Phillip's Charles Town	283	1390	83.1
Christ Church	107	637	85.6
St. Thomas & St. Denis	113	942	89.3
St. John's	97	1439	93.7
St. James' Goose Creek	107	2027	95.0
St. Andrew's	210	2493	88.9
St. George's	68	536	88.7
St. Paul's	201	1634	89.0
St. Bartholomew's	47	144	75.4
St. James' Santee	42	584	71.5
St. Helena	30	42	58.3

the reality was far different. Roy Merrens and George Terry (1984) found that in Christ Church Parish (just northeast of Charles Town), 86% of all those whose births and deaths are recorded in the parish register died before the age of twenty. Equally frightening statistics have been compiled by John Duffy (1952), who found that the average European could expect to live to the age of about 30 in South Carolina during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Yellow fever, smallpox, diphtheria, scarlet fever, malaria, dysentery all were at home in Carolina. Using the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) records, Duffy found that from 1700 to 1750, 38% of the missionaries either died or were compelled to resign because of serious illness within the first five years of their arrival. Within 10 years of their arrival, 52% had died or resigned because of their health. After 15 years in the colony, the combined death toll and resignations from sickness reached 68% — two out of every three missionaries.

African Americans fared no better. Frank Klingberg (1941:154), using SPG records found that in a single four month period over 400 slaves died of "distemper." William Dusiaberre, exploring rice plantations along the Carolina coast, entitled one of his chapters "The Charnel House" — a reference to the extraordinary morbidity of African Americans on rice plantations. He reports that on some plantations the child mortality rate (to age sixteen) was a horrific 90% (Dusiaberre 1996:51),

while the probable average for rice plantations was around 60% (Dusiaberre 1996:239). Cotton plantations were healthier, but even there fully a third of all slave children did not live to see their sixteenth birthday.

Beginning in the last third of the eighteenth century the life expectancy began to increase. Merrens and Terry suggest that this was the result of the occupants beginning to understand the cause of malaria:

During the middle of the eighteenth century South Carolinian's perception of the w h o l e s o m e environment of the lowcountry swamps began to change. People no longer preferred these areas on the score of health as a place of summer residence. Instead, residents began to view the lowcountry as fostering both mosquitoes and death (Merrens and Terry 1984:547).

The Charleston climate, with its moderate winters and long, hot summers, affected not only the health of the population and the crops grown, it also influenced the politics of Carolina. The summer climate of Carolina, while causing the Barbadian immigrants to feel that they had resettled in the tropics, also convinced most that slavery was inevitable. Not only was slavery the accepted order to the planters from Barbados, Jamaica, Antigua, and St. Kitts, it seemed impossible for white Englishmen to work in the torrid heat — making African American slaves that much more essential (Donnan 1928). St. John's Colleton Parish, even early in its history, boasted the second highest rate of slavery — 93.7% — just

Table 2.
Significant Charleston Hurricanes

Date	Classification	Damage
Aug. 25, 1686	Major	Water over tops of trees in Charleston
Sept. 14/16, 1700	Great	Street flooding, 97 deaths
Sept. 5-6, 1713	Major	Flooding, 70 deaths
Sept. 13-14, 1728	Major	23 ships damaged or lost
Sept. 15, 1752	Great	Flooding, extensive damage, many deaths
Sept. 7, 1804	Great	Extensive wharf damage in Charleston, even heavier damage to the south
Sept. 7-8, 1811	Major	Tornado in Charleston
Aug. 27, 1813	Great	Extensive damage to rice crop, severe winds, storm tide
Sept. 27, 1822	Major	Extensive crop damage, 300 deaths
Aug. 27, 1881	Major	
Aug. 25, 1885	Extreme	125 mph winds, 21 deaths in Charleston
Aug. 27, 1893	Extreme	120 mph winds, up to 2,000 dead
Oct. 13, 1893	Major	
Oct. 31, 1899	Major	
Sept. 7, 1906	Great	
Oct. 19-20, 1910	Great	8.5' storm tide in Charleston
Aug. 28, 1911	Major	106 mph winds, 17 deaths in Charleston
Sept. 18, 1928	Great	5 deaths in South Carolina
August 11-15, 1940	Major	16' storm tide in Jasper County
Sept. 29, 1959	Major	140 mph winds, 8.6' storm tide, 7 deaths

Data from Mathews et al. 1980:53-56 and Ludlum 1963. The classification is based on wind speed, storm surge, central atmospheric pressure, and destruction. With historical data it is often difficult to provide precise classifications, hence the system designed by Sugg and Carrodus (1969) is used.

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

The coastal area is a moderately high risk zone for tropical storms, with 169 hurricanes being documented from 1686 to 1972 (roughly one every two years) (Mathews et al. 1980:56). Table 2 provides information on 20 storms of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries that may have affected Jehossee Island. The hurricane of 1893 still lives in the lore of long-time residents of

behind the 95% black St. James Goose Creek Parish.

No discussion of the region's climate, however, is complete without at least a brief mention of the tropical storms, or hurricanes, which periodically buffet the coast. These storms occur in the late summer and early fall, the period critical to antebellum cane, cotton, and rice growers. The storms, however, are capricious in occurrence:

Edisto. Puckette, for example, notes that this hurricane, "practically swept the island itself into the sea" (Puckette 1978:20). A first hand account by an island black is even more dramatic:

When I woke up the next morning and looked out, everything was under water. . . . All the chickens and turkeys were drowned, all the goods — drowned, dead things

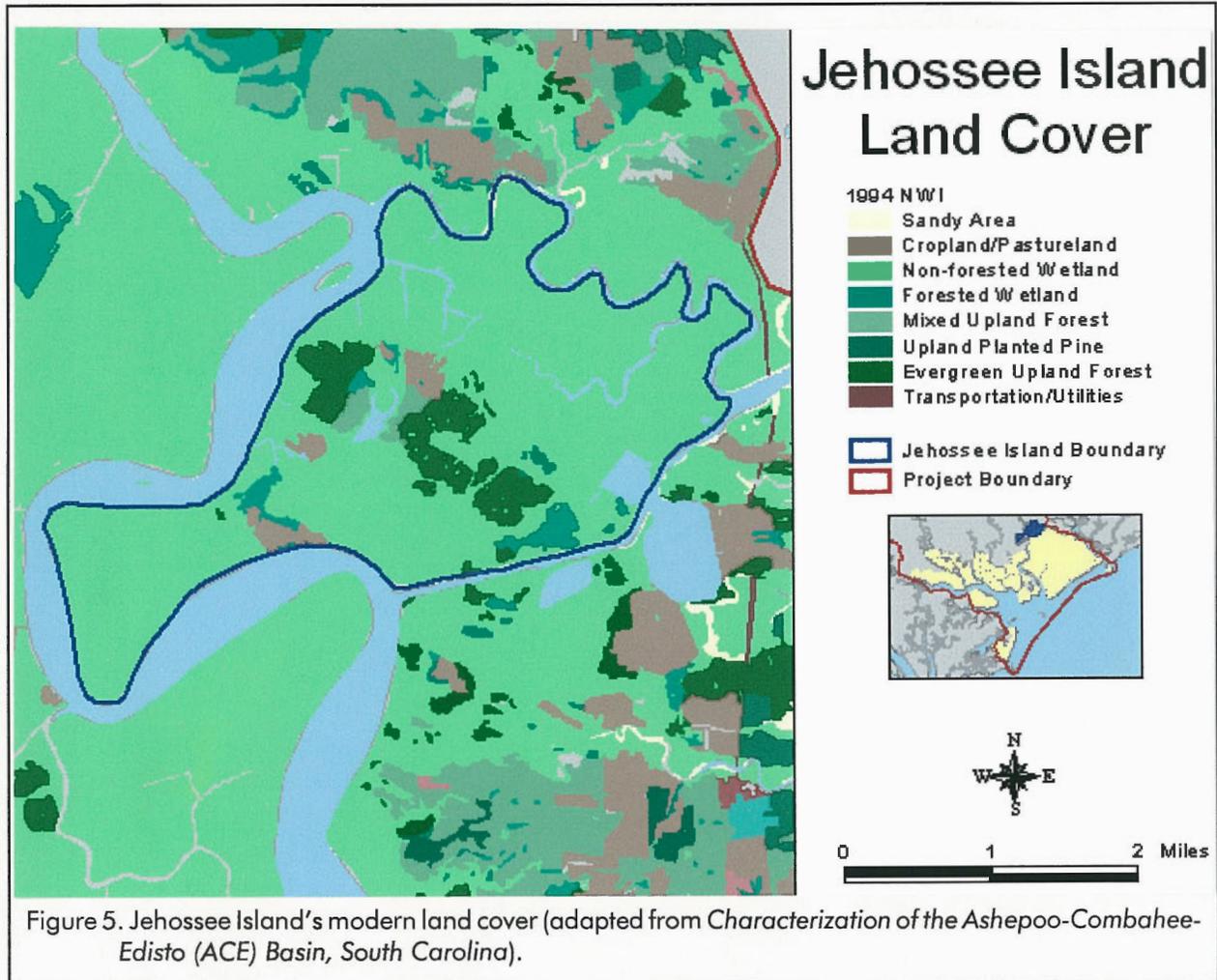


Figure 5. Jehossee Island's modern land cover (adapted from *Characterization of the Ashepoo-Combahee-Edisto (ACE) Basin, South Carolina*).

everywhere. . . . The storm of '93 was the hardest time I ever experienced and it brought on the hardest times that anybody ever saw on this island. . . . More people died after the storm than died in it. There was nothing to eat, the whole island stand with dead cattle. We had no time to bury them. . . . The next two years sickness broke out and killed almost all the old people. They were already starved, so they got sick easily (Lindsay and Cart 2000:111-112).

Vegetation

Just as the early explorers described the climate as healthful, the Carolina vegetation was usually described as bountiful and fruitful. Catesby described the swamp lands, typical of many areas in Charleston District, in the first decade of the eighteenth century:

before they are prepared for rice, are thick, over-grown with underwood and lofty trees of mighty bulk, which by excluding the sun's beams, and preventing the exhalation of these stagnating waters, occasions the lands to be

always wet, but by cutting down the wood is partly evaporated, and the earth better adapted to the culture of rice (Catesby, quoted in Merrens 1977:93).

He also mentions that these swamps, filled with "a profusion of fragrant and beautiful plants give a most pleasing entertainment to the senses, therein excelling other parts of the country, and by their closeness and warmth in winter are a recess to many of the wading and water-fowls" (Catesby, quoted in Merrens 1977:93).

Figure 5 reveals the land cover present today on Jehossee Island. Most of the island is non-forested wetland. The marsh area is often dominated by marsh elder, sea myrtle or groundsel, and cordgrass. Slightly lower marsh areas might be dominated by glasswort, smooth cordgrass, and sea oxeye. Regardless, these communities are almost entirely dependent on the duration of flooding and the salinity of the water. Much of this marsh was historically ditched, banked, and placed under rice cultivation. The newly created dikes and other areas of slight elevations provide surfaces for hydrophytic and aquatic plants, such as *Spartina* and loblolly pine.

Just behind the marsh, and only slightly further inland, are areas of maritime or upland forest (Barry 1980:178). Here live oaks, palmettoes, and pines are most frequently found. Other species might include the loblolly pine, turkey oak, red bay, and wax myrtle.

Further inland there would likely be a mixture of different communities, many influenced by the action of humans — earlier by the Native Americans and later by the English planters. Areas of mesic mixed hardwood and pine might be found on the better drained soils. The dominant species would be white oak, often in combination with loblolly pine. Found as occasional overstory trees would be sweetgum, beech, southern red oak, post oak, maple, and hickory. Understory plants would include dogwood, redbud, and holly.

Absent from Jehossee Island, at least

today, are old growth pine communities, historically created by disturbances such as fire or clear cutting the hardwoods. In these areas longleaf pine culminates in a closed canopy with a very sparsely populated understory. Hardwood introductions are exceedingly uncommon, but where present may include sweetgum, persimmon, and hickory (Barry 1980:172-173). The pine flatwoods were described in many early accounts as being unproductive and along the coast were often called "pine barrens." These are closely related, biologically, to the pine savannahs which might best be described as longleaf pine pyric climax forests.

It seems likely, as will be briefly mentioned in the following discussion of the historical documents, that Jehossee Island's vegetation has been radically affected by long-term human interaction. By the nineteenth century it appears clear that the island was largely deforested — either for planting or as a result of the insatiable need for firewood. Many of these areas returned to hardwood forest in the early to mid-twentieth century, although reforestation has increased most dramatically under USFWS control. Areas which were open during the historic period are today rapidly closing in — resulting in a dramatic change in the island's character and visual landscape.

Jehossee Island and Water

Cross cutting issues of geology, soils, agriculture, and settlement are issues of sea level fluctuation, shallow aquifers, adequate water for rice cultivation, and the availability of potable water on the island.

Prior to 15,000 B.C. there is evidence that a warming trend resulted in the gradual increase in Pleistocene sea levels (DePratter and Howard 1980). Work by Brooks et al. (1989) clearly indicates that there were a number of fluctuations during the Holocene (Figure 6). Their data suggests that from about A.D. 300 through about A.D. 900 the sea level was relatively stable at about 2 feet below current levels. By about A.D. 1000 the level began falling to a low of about 4

INTRODUCTION

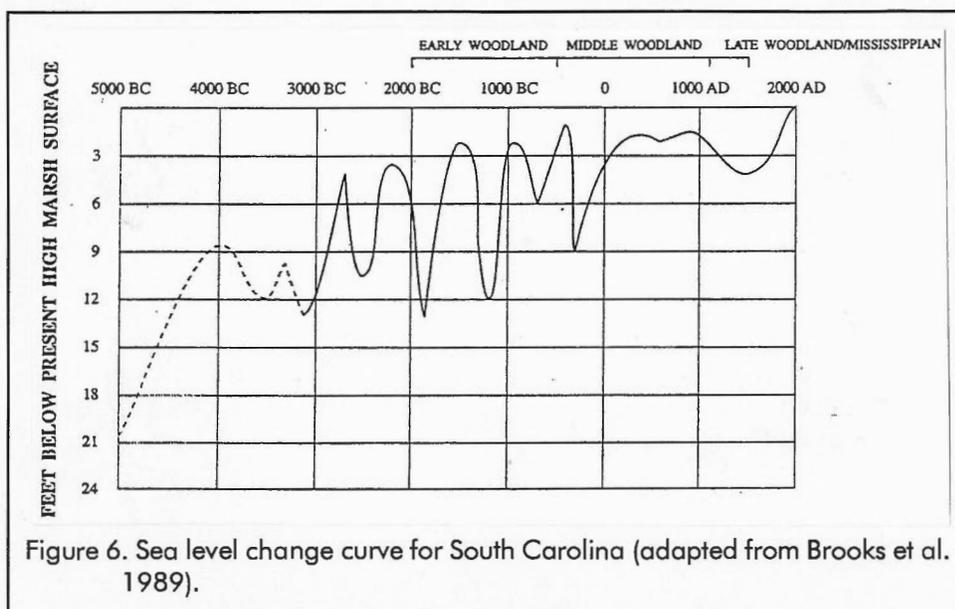


Figure 6. Sea level change curve for South Carolina (adapted from Brooks et al. 1989).

feet below modern levels at roughly A.D. 1500.

The effect these lower sea levels would have had on the local environment is hard to gauge, although it seems likely that the estuarine complex would have been somewhat reduced. The steeper gradient of the nearby sloughs would have allowed fresh water flow, later eliminated as the gradient was reduced by the rise in sea level to modern stands.

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

Jehossee Island is today at the upper reaches of the mesohaline salinity zone (5-18 ppt) of the Edisto River, with the north portion of the Edisto and all of the Dawho being classified as oligohaline (0.5-5 ppt) (Figure 7).

The oligohaline zone is an area of relatively high stress for both marine and

freshwater species, at least partially because the salinity changes from fresh water to low salinity. Nevertheless, the zone is one of considerable importance since it serves as a nursery ground for a number of species, including fish, shrimp, and blue crabs.

In contrast, the mesohaline zone is of considerable economic importance because it supports a wide range of

commercially exploited resources, including oysters, shrimp, blue crabs, and fish (such as mullet, spot, seatrout, and Atlantic croaker).

In addition, the salinity levels have considerable impact on rice cultivation. Not only must the salt water be kept out of the rice fields, but the planter must have access to fresh water during certain times of the year. The Edisto is tidally-influenced between river mile 38 (river miles are statute miles measured upstream from the mouth and follow the curves and bends of the river; Jehossee Island is between river mile 13 and 20) and the saltwater interface extends to river mile 19.5 during high tide. Regardless of tidal stage, low freshwater inflow allows the saltwater to intrude further upstream. Consequently, during periods of low freshwater flow (such as during droughts), the saltwater interface may reach up to river mile 32, near Jacksonboro.

Clearly the surrounding water bodies were never able to supply consistently reliable drinking water to humans or animals on Jehossee Island. The shallow aquifer system on Jehossee Island is unreliable because of the proximity of saltwater marshes and streams. They generally produce little water and the flows are variable. This may account for the limited use of wells on the island and the

development of the extensive system of cisterns.

While rainfall is approximately 49 inches a year, periods of drought are fairly common (Mathews 1980:50). Miller (1971:72-73) suggests that droughts may occur once every 10 years and makes special note of two disastrous droughts in the twentieth century — one in 1925 and another in 1954. As a consequence, it seems likely that there would be times where water was in short supply on an island such as Jehossee.

PREHISTORIC AND HISTORIC SYNOPSIS

Brief Prehistoric Synopsis

Overviews for South Carolina's prehistory, while of differing lengths and complexity, are available in virtually every compliance report prepared. There are, in addition, some "classic" sources well worth attention, such as Joffre Coe's *Formative Cultures* (Coe 1964), as well as some general overviews (such as Goodyear and Hanson 1989; even Ward and Davis 1999, while intended for North Carolina can provide valuable insights). Also extremely helpful, perhaps even essential, are a handful of recent local synthetic statements, such as that offered by Sassaman and Anderson (1994; see also the recently revised version in Anderson and Sassaman 1996) for the Middle and Late Archaic. Only a few of the many sources are included in this study, but they should be adequate to give the reader a "feel" for the area and help establish a context for the various sites identified in the study areas. For those desiring a more general synthesis, perhaps the most readable and well balanced is that offered by Judith Bense (1994), *Archaeology of the Southeastern United States: Paleoindian to World War I*. Figure 7 offers a generalized view of South Carolina's cultural periods.

Paleoindian Period

The Paleoindian Period, most commonly dated from about 12,000 to 10,000 B.P., is evidenced by basally thinned, side-notched projectile points; fluted, lanceolate projectile points, side scrapers, end scrapers; and drills (Coe 1964; Michie 1977; Williams 1968). Oliver (1981, 1985) has proposed to extend the Paleoindian dating in the North Carolina Piedmont to perhaps as early as 14,000 B.P., incorporating the Hardaway Side-Notched and Palmer Corner-Notched types, usually accepted as Early Archaic, as representatives of the terminal phase. This view, verbally suggested by Coe for a number of years,

has considerable technological appeal.¹ Oliver suggests a continuity from the Hardaway Blade through the Hardaway-Dalton to the Hardaway Side-Notched, eventually to the Palmer Side-Notched (Oliver 1985:199-200). While convincingly argued, this approach is not universally accepted.

The Paleoindian occupation, while widespread, does not appear to have been intensive. Artifacts are most frequently found along major river drainages, which Michie interprets to support the concept of an economy "oriented toward the exploitation of now extinct mega-fauna" (Michie 1977:124). While somewhat dated today, survey data for Paleoindian tools, most notably fluted points (Anderson 1992a:Figure 5.1) reveals a rather general, and widespread, occurrence throughout the region. Phelps (1983:21) states that settlement patterning in the North Carolina Coastal Plain is impossible to meaningfully discuss since there have been so few recorded sites, but speculates on the presence of base camps along major streams, with special activity sites in the uplands. An alternative is the model tracking the replacement of a high technology forager (or HTF) adaptation by a "progressively more generalized band/microband foraging adaption" accompanied by increasingly distinct regional traditions (perhaps reflecting movement either along or perhaps even between river drainages) (Anderson 1992b:46).

¹ While never discussed by Coe at length, he did observe that many of the Hardaway points, especially from the lowest contexts, had facial fluting or thinning which, "in cases where the side-notches or basal portions were missing, . . . could be mistaken for fluted points of the Paleo-Indian period" (Coe 1964:64). While not an especially strong statement, it does reveal the formation of the concept. Further insight is offered by Ward's (1983:63) all too brief comments on the more recent investigations at the Hardaway site (see also Daniel 1992).

JEHOSSEE ISLAND

			Regional Phases		
Dates	Period	Sub-Period	COASTAL	MIDDLE SAVANNAH VALLEY	CENTRAL CAROLINA PIEDMONT
1715	HIST.	EARLY	Altamaha		Caraway
1650		LATE	Irene / Pee Dee	Rembert	
1100	MISS.	EARLY	Savannah	Hollywood	Dan River
800		LATE	St. Catherines / Swift Creek	Lawton	Pee Dee
800	WOODLAND			Savannah	
A.D.			Wilmington	Sand Tempered Wilmington?	Uwharrie
B.C.		MIDDLE	Deptford	Deptford	Yadkin
300		EARLY		Refuge	Badin
1000	ARCHAIC			Thom's Creek Stallings	
2000		LATE		Savannah River Halifax	
3000		MIDDLE		Guilford Morrow Mountain Stanly	
5000		EARLY		Kirk	
8000				Palmer	
10,000	PALEOINDIAN			Hardaway	
					Hardaway - Dalton
12,000			Cumberland	Clovis	Simpson

Figure 7. A generalized cultural sequence for the central South Carolina coast (partially adapted from Coe 1964:Figure 116).

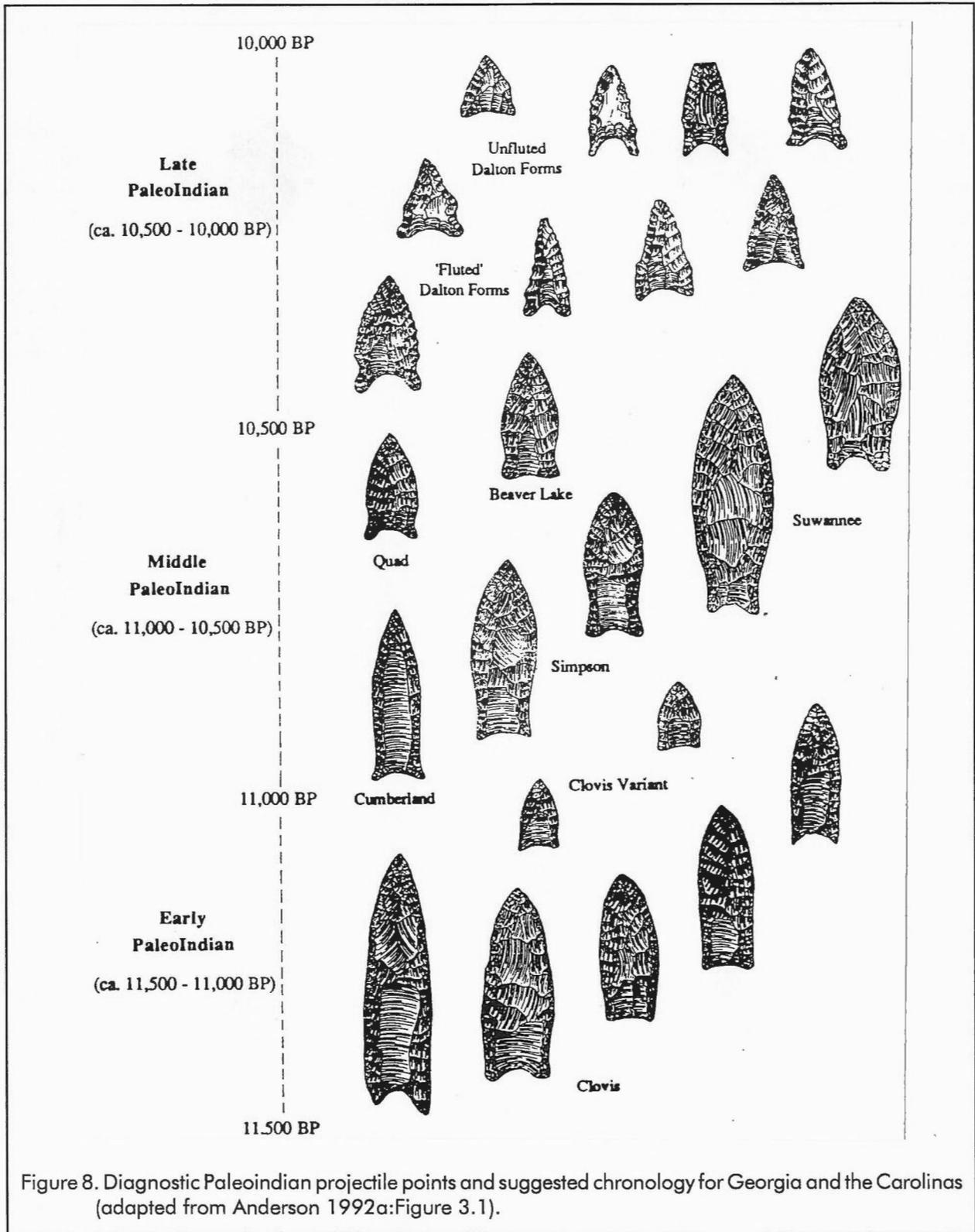


Figure 8. Diagnostic Paleoindian projectile points and suggested chronology for Georgia and the Carolinas (adapted from Anderson 1992a:Figure 3.1).

Distinctive projectile points include lanceolates such as Clovis, Dalton, perhaps the Hardaway (Coe 1964; Phelps 1983; Oliver 1985) (Figure 8). A temporal sequence of Paleoindian projectile points was proposed by Williams (1965:24-51), but according to Phelps (1983:18) there is little stratigraphic or chronometric evidence for it. While this is certainly true, a number of authors, such as Anderson (1992a) and Oliver (1985) have assembled impressive data sets. We are inclined to believe that while often not conclusively proven by stratigraphic excavations (and such proof may be an unreasonable expectation), there is a large body of circumstantial evidence. The weight of this evidence tends to provide considerable support. Recently Albert Goodyear (personal communication, 2002) has asserted that extensive excavations in Allendale County are pointing toward possible pre-Clovis components, dramatically extending the stratigraphic context in South Carolina.

Unfortunately, relatively little is known about Paleoindian subsistence strategies, settlement systems, or social organization (see, however, Anderson 1992b for an excellent overview and synthesis of what is known). Generally, archaeologists agree that the Paleoindian groups were at a band level of society (see Service 1966), were nomadic, and were both hunters and foragers. While population density, based on isolated finds, is thought to have been low, Walthall suggests that toward the end of the period, "there was an increase in population density and in territoriality and that a number of new resource areas were beginning to be exploited" (Walthall 1980:30).

Archaic Period

The Archaic Period, which dates from 10,000 to 3,000 B.P.², does not form a sharp

²The terminal point for the Archaic is no clearer than that for the Paleoindian and many researchers suggest a terminal date of 4,000 B.P. rather than 3,000 B.P. There is also the question of whether ceramics, such as the fiber-tempered Stallings ware, will be included as Archaic, or will be included with the Woodland. Oliver,

break with the Paleoindian Period, but is a slow transition characterized by a modern climate and an increase in the diversity of material culture. Associated with this is a reliance on a broad spectrum of small mammals, although the white tailed deer was likely the most commonly exploited animal. Archaic period assemblages, exemplified by corner-notched and broad-stemmed projectile points (Figure 9), are fairly common, perhaps because the swamps and drainages offered especially attractive ecotones.

Lofffield's (1979:54) data for the North Carolina coast suggests that there was a noticeable population increase from the Paleoindian (with five identified components in his study) into the Early Archaic (where at least 42 components were isolated). This corresponds with findings by other researchers. This has tentatively been associated with a greater emphasis on foraging. Diagnostic Early Archaic artifacts include the Kirk Corner Notched point, which appears to diminish in significance from Horry County southward into Charleston County (see Sassaman 1992:50). Of equal interest for this early period is the Taylor Side Notched point (Michie 1966) which appears to represent a local expression of the side-notched horizon better known through the Big Sandy and Bolen points (see Sassaman 1992:51). As previously discussed, Palmer points may be included with either the Paleoindian or Archaic period, depending on theoretical perspective. Regardless, they appear to be relatively common

for example, argues that the inclusion of ceramics with Late Archaic attributes "complicates and confuses classification and interpretation needlessly" (Oliver 1981:20). He comments that according to the original definition of the Archaic, it "represents a preceramic horizon" and that "the presence of ceramics provides a convenient marker for separation of the Archaic and Woodland periods (Oliver 1981:21). Others would counter that such an approach ignores cultural continuity and forces an artificial, and perhaps unrealistic, separation. Sassaman and Anderson (1994:38-44), for example, include Stallings and Thom's Creek wares in their discussion of "Late Archaic Pottery." While this issue has been of considerable importance along the Carolina and Georgia coasts, there has been no generally recognized convention.

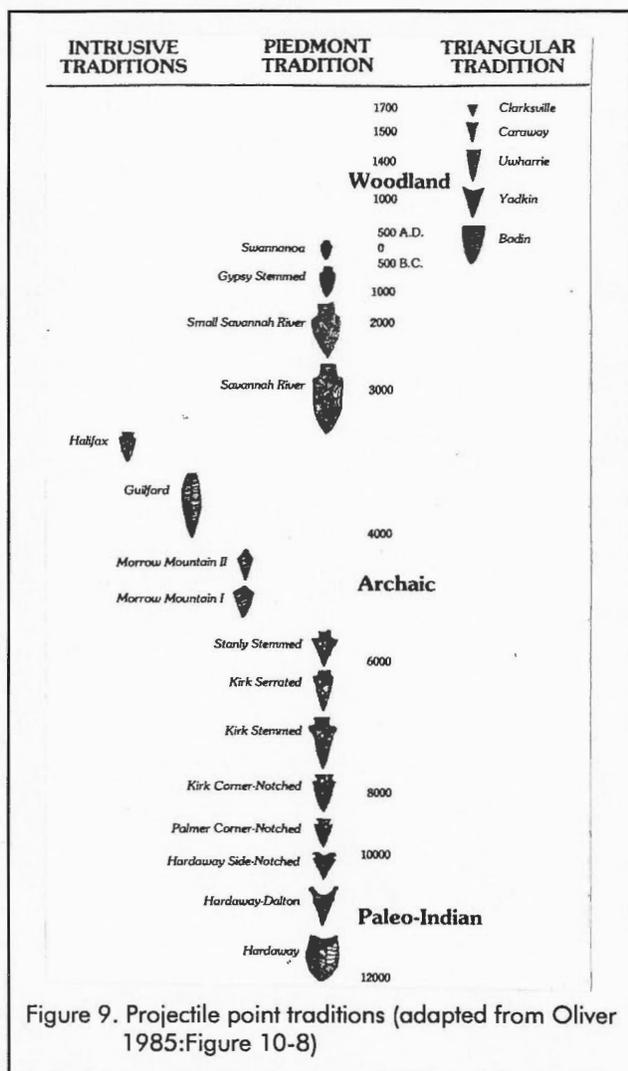


Figure 9. Projectile point traditions (adapted from Oliver 1985:Figure 10-8)

along the central coast, increasing to the interior and declining in popularity along the north and south coasts (Sassaman 1992:50).

As the climate became hotter and drier than the previous Paleoindian period, resulting in vegetational changes, it also affected settlement patterning as evidenced by a long-term Kirk phase midden deposit at the Hardaway site (Coe 1964:60). This is believed to have been the result of a change in subsistence strategies.

Settlements during the Early Archaic suggest the presence of a few very large, and

apparently intensively occupied, sites which can best be considered base camps. Hardaway might be one such site. In addition, there were numerous small sites which produce only a few artifacts — these are the "network of tracks" mentioned by Ward (1983:65). The base camps produce a wide range of artifact types and raw materials which has suggested to many researchers long-term, perhaps seasonal or multi-seasonal, occupation. In contrast, the smaller sites are thought of as special purpose or foraging sites (see Ward 1983:67).

Middle Archaic (8,000 to 6,000 B.P.) diagnostic artifacts include Morrow Mountain, Guilford, Stanly and Halifax projectile points. Terminal Archaic bifurcate and Stanly points are rare along the central coast, while the Middle Archaic types, at least the Morrow Mountain (see Sassaman and Anderson 1994:108) appear to be somewhat more common — perhaps suggesting an increasing population.

Much of our best information on the Middle Archaic comes from sites investigated west of the Appalachian Mountains, such as the work by Jeff Chapman and his students in the Little Tennessee River Valley (for a general overview see Chapman 1977, 1985a, 1985b). There is good evidence that Middle Archaic lithic technologies changed dramatically. End scrapers, at times associated with Paleoindian traditions, are discontinued, raw materials tend to reflect the greater use of locally available materials, and mortars are initially introduced. Associated with these technological changes there seem to also be some significant cultural modifications. Prepared burials begin to more commonly occur and storage pits are identified. The work at Middle Archaic river valley sites, with their evidence of a diverse floral and faunal subsistence base, seems to stand in stark contrast to Caldwell's Middle Archaic "Old Quartz Industry" of Georgia and the Carolinas, where axes, choppers, and ground and polished stone tools are very rare.

The available information has resulted in a variety of competing settlement models. Some argue for increased sedentism and a reduction of

mobility (see Goodyear et al. 1979:111). Ward argues that the most appropriate model is one which includes relatively stable and sedentary hunters and gatherers "primarily adapted to the varied and rich resource base offered by the major alluvial valleys" (Ward 1983:69). While he recognizes the presence of "inter-riverine" sites, he discounts explanations which focus on seasonal rounds, suggesting "alternative explanations . . . [including] a wide range of adaptive responses." Most importantly, he notes that:

the seasonal transhumance model and the sedentary model are opposite ends of a continuum, and in all likelihood variations on these two themes probably existed in different regions at different times throughout the Archaic period (Ward 1983:69).

Others suggest increased mobility during the Archaic (see Cable 1982). Sassaman (1983) has suggested that the Morrow Mountain phase people had a great deal of residential mobility, based on the variety of environmental zones they are found in and the lack of site diversity. The high level of mobility, coupled with the rapid replacement of these points, may help explain the seemingly large numbers of sites with Middle Archaic assemblages. Curiously, the later Guilford phase sites are not as widely distributed, perhaps suggesting that only certain micro-environments were used (Braley 1990; cf. Ward [1983:68-69] who would likely reject the notion that substantially different environmental zones are, in fact, represented).

Recently Abbott et al. argue for a combination of these models, noting that the almost certain increase in population levels probably resulted in a contraction of local territories. With small territories there would have been significantly greater pressure to successfully exploit the limited resources by more frequent movement of camps. They discount the idea that these territories could have been exploited from a single base camp without horticultural technology.

Abbott and his colleagues conclude, "increased residential mobility under such conditions may in fact represent a common stage in the development of sedentism" (Abbott et al. 1995:9).

Gunn and Wilson (1993) offer an alternative model for Middle Archaic settlement based upon their excavations at 38CT54 and 38CT58, located in the Sandhills physiographic zone of Chesterfield County, South Carolina. He accepts that the uplands were desiccated from global warming, but rather than limiting occupation, this environmental change made the area more attractive for residential base camps. Gunn and Wilson suggest that the open, or fringe, habitat of the upland margins would have been attractive to a wide variety of plant and animal species.

Another point of some controversy is the idea that the groups responsible for the Middle Archaic Morrow Mountain and Guilford points were intrusive ("without any background" in Coe's words) into the region, from the west, and were contemporaneous with the groups producing Stanly points (Coe 1964:122-123; Phelps 1983:23). Phelps, building on Coe, refers to the Morrow Mountain and Guilford as the "Western Intrusive horizon." Sassaman (1995) has recently proposed a scenario for the Morrow Mountain groups which would support this west-to-east time-transgressive process. Abbott and his colleagues, perhaps unaware of Sassaman's data, dismiss the concept, commenting that the shear distribution and number of these points "makes this position wholly untenable" (Abbott et al. 1995:9).

The Late Archaic, usually dated from 6,000 to 3,000 or 4,000 B.P., is characterized by the appearance of large, square stemmed Savannah River projectile points (Coe 1964). These people continued to intensively exploit the uplands much like earlier Archaic groups. While certainly found in the coastal plain (see Sassaman and Anderson 1994:110), there is also no question but that these points are more common in stone-rich piedmont.

One of the more debated issues of the

Late Archaic is the typology of the Savannah River Stemmed and its various diminutive forms. Oliver, refining Coe's (1964) original Savannah River Stemmed type and a small variant from Gaston (South 1959:153-157), developed a complete sequence of stemmed points that decrease uniformly in size through time (Oliver 1981, 1985). Specifically, he sees the progression from Savannah River Stemmed to Small Savannah River Stemmed to Gypsy Stemmed to Swannanoa from about 5000 B.P. to about 1,500 B.P. He also notes that the latter two forms are associated with Woodland pottery.

This reconstruction is still debated with a number of archaeologists expressing concern with what they see as typological overlap and ambiguity. They point to a dearth of radiocarbon dates and good excavation contexts at the same time they express concern with the application of this typology outside the North Carolina Piedmont (see, for a synopsis, Sassaman and Anderson 1990:158-162, 1994:35). This may be a particular concern on the central coast of South Carolina where these small variants seem to be associated with Woodland pottery as late as the Deptford phase.

In addition to the presence of Savannah River points, the Late Archaic also witnessed the introduction of steatite vessels (see Coe 1964:112-113; Sassaman 1993a), polished and pecked stone artifacts, and grinding stones. Some also include the introduction of fiber-tempered pottery about 4000 B.P. in the Late Archaic (for a discussion see Sassaman and Anderson 1994:38-44). This innovation is of special importance along the Georgia and South Carolina coasts, including Charleston County.

Called Stallings, after the type site excavated by the Cosgroves in 1929 (Clafflin 1931), the definitive features of this pottery is its large quantity of fiber, now identified as Spanish moss (Simpkins and Scoville 1981), included in the paste prior to firing. Vessel forms include simple, shallow bowls and large, wide mouthed bowls, as well as deeper jar forms. The pottery is generally molded, although coiling fractures are

occasionally present, particularly later in the period. Firing was poorly controlled. Decorative techniques included punctations (using periwinkle shells, reeds, and sticks), finger pinching, and incising. At least some of these motifs may be temporally sensitive (Trinkley 1986; Sassaman 1993a). Sassaman, for example, suggests an early period dominated by plain vessels, followed by a period of drag and jab linear punctations. The final period appears to include a broad range of decorative motifs, including a resurgence of plain vessels (see Sassaman 1993a:109-110).

In addition to the pottery, these Stallings sites also produce a rich cultural assemblage of bone and antler work, polished stone items, grooved and perforated "net sinkers" or steatite disks, stone tools (including knives, scrapers, and cruciform drills) (see Williams 1968).

Stallings phase sites are found clustered in the Savannah River drainage (Clafflin 1931; Hanson 1982; Sassaman 1993a) and in the coastal zone south of Charleston (Anderson 1975). Stoltman (1966, 1974) obtained an early radiocarbon date of 2515 ± 95 B.C. (GXO-345) from Rabbit Mount in the Savannah Drainage. This area has produced a number of large Stallings sites, such as Stallings Island (Bullen and Greene 1970; Clafflin 1931), Fennel Hill (38AL2 notes on file, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia), Rabbit Mount (Stoltman 1974), and Bilbo (Williams 1968:152-197; Dye 1976), with elaborate material assemblages.

Stallings pottery was produced as late as 1060 ± 80 B.C. (UGA-1686), based on a date from the Cunningham Mound C in Liberty County, Georgia; although Milanich and Fairbanks (1980:78) suggest that fiber tempering may be found on the Georgia coast as late as A.D. 1. While Stallings pottery is usually considered older than, and often the progenitor of, Thom's Creek pottery, the radiocarbon dates leave little doubt that the two pottery styles are largely contemporaneous (Trinkley 1976; cf. Sassaman 1993a:16-20).

The following Thom's Creek phase dates as early as 2220 ± 350 B.C. (UGA-584) from Spanish Mount in Charleston County (Sutherland 1974)³ and continues to at least 935 ± 175 B.C. (UGA-2901), based on a date from the Lighthouse Point Shell Ring, also in Charleston County (Trinkley 1980b:191-192). The Thom's Creek phase is characterized by an artifact assemblage almost identical to that of Stallings sites. The only major differences include the replacement of fiber tempering with sand, or a clay not requiring tempering, and the gradual reduction of projectile point size.

Thom's Creek pottery, first typed by Griffin (1945), consists of sandy paste pottery decorated with the motifs common to the Stallings series, including punctations (reed and shell), finger pinching, simple stamping, incising, and very late in the phase, finger smoothing (Trinkley 1976). Investigations at the Lighthouse Point and Stratton Place shell rings, stratigraphic studies at Spanish Mount and Fig Island, radiocarbon dates from Lighthouse Point and Venning Creek, and the study of surface collections from a number of sites, have suggested a temporal ordering of the Thom's Creek series. Reed punctate pottery appears to be the oldest, followed by the shell punctated and finger pinched motifs. Late in the Thom's Creek phase, perhaps by 1000 B.C., there was the addition of Thom's Creek Finger Smoothed (Trinkley 1983:44). Although an interesting idea, this relative chronological order seems destined for dramatic revision as more excavations are undertaken.

Vessel forms include deep, straight sides jars and shallow conoidal bowls. Lip treatments are dimple, and coiling fractures are common. Firing of the Thom's Creek vessels is certainly better than that evidenced for Stallings, but there continues to be abundant incompletely oxidized specimens.

³ This date is often discounted because of its large sigma and questionable association (see Sassaman 1993a:20). The next oldest date is 2090 ± 90 B.C. from the Bass Pond site on Kiawah Island in Charleston County (Trinkley 1993:160).

Bone pins illustrated by Williams (1968:152-197) and Trinkley (1980b:Plate 17) may have functioned as weaving or netting tools (shuttles or needles). Common to the Thom's Creek sites are whelk shells with a carefully executed and well-smoothed hole in shoulder of the body whorl close to the aperture and a heavily worn or smoothed columella and outer whorl. These tools likely served as scrapers (see Trinkley 1980b:209-214). Other whelk tools evidence a heavily battered columella which has resulted in a blunt tip.

Like the Stallings settlement pattern, Thom's Creek sites are found in a variety of environmental zones and take on several forms. Thom's Creek sites are found throughout the South Carolina coastal zone up to the Fall Line. In the Coastal Plain drainage of the Savannah River there is a change of settlement, and probably subsistence, away from the riverine focus found in the Stallings Phase (Hanson 1982:13; Stoltman 1974:235-236). Thom's Creek sites are more commonly found in the upland areas and lack evidence of intensive shellfish collection. In the coastal zone large, irregular shell middens; small, sparse shell middens; and large shell rings are found in the Thom's Creek settlement system.

Limited testing has been conducted at one small Thom's Creek non-shell midden on Sol Legare Island (38CH770) in Charleston County (Trinkley 1984). Faunal remains recovered from the site indicated that the occupants focused primarily on large mammals rather than shellfish and smaller vertebrates heavily relied on at other Thom's Creek shell midden sites. Excavations also identified a portion of a probable Thom's Creek post structure situated about 180 feet inland from the marsh edge.

Excavations at other coastal zone Thom's Creek sites includes the work by Sutherland (1973, 1974) at the Spanish Mount shell midden (38CH62) on Edisto Island. While this work has never been completed published, the site initially appeared to represent a seasonally occupied camp with a diffuse subsistence base, including reliance on shellfish, plant remains, fish, and

mammals. More recent investigations, however, suggest that this midden may represent the remains of a shell ring largely eroded away by Scott Creek (Cable 1993). However, when this site was described by Edmund Ruffin in 1843, it certainly seemed to be a mounded, not circular deposit:

It is a mound formed by the aborigines, & which is entirely of shells, except some considerable intermixture of ashes, & bits of their broken pottery, broken bones & charcoal. The shells are of various kinds, of the neighboring river waters & sea, but principally of oysters. The mound is elipitcal [sic], & measured by stepping over, is 150 feet long, & 48 feet wide to a perpendicular break on the creek made by the inroads of the water, & which apparently has washed away about 18 feet more of the side. The perpendicular section of the shells where exposed by this loss, is 10 feet, & 12 feet in all to the summit (above the ground of ordinary height, on which they are placed). The surface, except at the perpendicular cliff, is covered over with rich soil, & a growth of small trees and shrubs (Mathew 1992:113).

Work by Michie (1979) at the Bass Pond Dam site (38CH124) in Charleston County, suggests a similar subsistence orientation. Additional research at this site by Chicora Foundation (Trinkley 1993:160) has produced a date of 2090 ± 90 B.C. for the site, perhaps the oldest well documented date for Thom's Creek pottery along the South Carolina-Georgia coast. At this site Thom's Creek Plain pottery dominates the collection, followed by Thom's Creek Finger Pinched and Thom's Creek Reed Punctate. The faunal analysis suggested that the site was occupied in the fall and/or early winter by a microband of perhaps 20 or 30 individuals.

By far the most work has been conducted at Thom's Creek phase shell rings (see Trinkley 1980b, 1985). These sites are circular middens about 130 to 300 feet in diameter, 2 to 6 feet in height, and 40 feet in width as their bases, with clear interiors. These doughnut-shaped accumulations were formed as small mounds, arranged around an open ground area, and gradually blended together. The ring itself is composed of varying proportions of shell, animal bone, pottery, soil, and other artifacts. The midden soils are silts, and the shell is lenses and crushed. Post holes are abundant, although no structures have been clearly defined. Pits are evidenced throughout the midden, but under the midden large shellfish steaming pits, several feet in diameter and 2 to 3 feet in depth, are most clearly evident. Their use and the subsequent disposal of the shells actually formed the middens.

These shell rings were apparently mundane occupation sites for fairly large social units which lived on the ring, disposed of garbage underfoot, and used the clear interiors as areas for communal activities. The sites further suggest relatively permanent, stable village life as early as 1600 B.C., with a subsistence base oriented toward large and small mammals, fish, shellfish, and hickory nuts (Trinkley 1985).

These rings were also observed by Ruffin in the late antebellum period. He noted with special interest the shell middens:

which are still more artificially shaped, being regular, circular ridges, hollow in the middle. Such a one I saw on James Island, from 3 to 4 feet high, of oyster shells & periwinkles, in the center of which stands Dr. Legare's mansion house (Mathew 1992:113).⁴

⁴ This suggests that Ruffin was experienced enough to distinguish between circular rings, even when they were extensively modified, and large mounds.

Even earlier, at the turn of the nineteenth century, John Drayton described the James Island shell ring:

It is of circular form: measuring around two hundred and forty paces. Its width at the top is ten paces; and at its base from sixteen to twenty; and its height is from eight to 10 feet . . . It is situated in the midst of cleared lands, on no uncommon residing; surrounding the dwellings house and offices of a gentleman who resides on the island. And the waters, which were driven by the hurricane of 1752, over much of the adjacent lands, are said to have been completely banked out by this work. This being observed by Mr. Rivers, he placed his dwelling house therein; which had been continued, either by repairs or new buildings, to the present day (Drayton 1802:56-57).

In fact, both ownership and use of the Lighthouse Point shell ring can be traced from Henry Stirling Rivers to Dr. Thomas Legare (Trinkley 1980b:159) and the two quotes provide ample evidence of the site's gradual use, first for lime used in St. Michael's Church and later for road construction.

There is evidence that during the Late Archaic the climate began to approximate modern climatic conditions. Rainfall increased resulting in a more lush vegetation pattern. The pollen record indicates an increase in pine which reduced the oak-hickory nut masts which previously were so widespread. This change probably affected settlement patterning since nut masts were now more isolated and concentrated. From research in the Savannah River valley near Aiken, South Carolina, Sassaman (1993b) has found considerable diversity in Late Archaic site types with sites occurring in virtually every upland environmental zone. He suggests that this more complex settlement pattern evolved from an

increasingly complex socio-economic system. While it is unlikely that this model can be simply transferred to the coastal plain without an extensive review of site data and micro-environmental data, it does demonstrate one approach to understanding the transition from Archaic to Woodland. Moreover, there are data from sites such as Fish Hall (Trinkley 1986) that support the increasing importance of nut masts in the Late Archaic foodways.

Woodland Period

Sassaman (1993a:55) recalls the cautions of Joseph Caldwell, who found "the regional landscape of the Early Woodland ceramic traditions" a "fascinating array of local developments and diverse extralocal influences." As a consequence, the Early Woodland becomes quickly confused and difficult to interpret.

As previously discussed, there are those who see the Woodland beginning with the introduction of pottery. Under this scenario the Early Woodland may begin as early as 4,500 B.P. and continued to about 2,300 B.P. Diagnostics would include the small variety of the Late Archaic Savannah River Stemmed point (Oliver 1985) and pottery of the Stallings, St. Simons, and (to a lesser extent) Thom's Creek series (Griffin 1943; Trinkley 1976; DePratter 1991:159-162). The fiber-tempered Stallings and St. Simons wares and the sandy paste Thom's Creek wares are decorated using punctations, jab-and-drag, and incised designs (Trinkley 1976).

Others would have the Woodland beginning about 3,000 B.P. with the introduction of the Refuge wares, also characterized by sandy paste, but often having only a plain or dentate-stamped surface (DePratter 1976, 1991:163-167; Waring 1968). There is evidence that the punctated and dentate surface decorations are gradually replaced by plain and simple stamped treatments. Sassaman et al. (1990:191) report a distribution similar to the earlier fiber-tempered and Thom's Creek wares, and suggest that the Refuge wares evolved directly from these earlier antecedents.

The Refuge Phase, dated from 1070±115 B.C. (QC-784) to 510±100 B.C. (QC-785), is found primarily along the South Carolina coast from the Savannah drainage as far north as the Santee River (Williams 1968:208). Anderson (1975:184) further notes an apparent concentration of Refuge sites in the Coastal Plain, particularly along the Santee River. The pottery is found inland along the Savannah River (Peterson 1971:151-168), although it does not extend above the Fall Line (see Anderson and Schuldenrein 1985:719; Garrow 1975:18-21).

The Refuge series pottery is similar in many ways to the preceding Thom's Creek wares. The paste is compact and sandy or gritty, while surface treatments include sloppy simple stamped, dentate stamped, and random punctate decorations (see DePratter 1979:115-123; Williams 1968:198-208). Anderson et al. note that these typologies are "marred by a lack of reference to the Thom's Creek series" (Anderson et al. 1982:265) and that the Refuge Punctate and Incised types are indistinguishable from Thom's Creek wares. Peterson (1971:153) characterizes Refuge as both a degeneration of the preceding Thom's Creek series and also as a bridge to the succeeding Deptford series. There is a small stemmed biface associated with the Savannah drainage Refuge sites. This type has been termed Groton Stemmed by Stoltman (1974:114-115) and Deptford Stemmed by Trinkley (1980a:20-23). Peterson suggests that, "a change from the 'Savannah River' to the small stemmed points, a diminution basically, could occur during the Refuge" (Peterson 1971:159), although points similar to the Small Savannah River Stemmed continue to occur.

In spite of the relative lack of detailed investigations at Early Woodland sites, it seems likely that the subsistence economy was based primarily on deer hunting and fishing, with supplemental inclusions of small mammals, birds, reptiles, and shellfish. This is based on an impression that there was a continuation of a generalized Late Archaic pattern, which may or may not be appropriate.

Somewhat more information is available for the Middle Woodland, typically given the range of about 2,500 B.P. to about 1,200 B.P. The most characteristic pottery of this time period is Deptford, although both Swift Creek and Wilmington are likely late additions. Regardless, the Middle Woodland is best understood in the context of Deptford, which has been carefully described by DePratter (1979:118-119, 123-127), who suggests two divisions with check stamping and cord marking gradually being supplemented by complicated stamping. The introduction of clay or grog tempered Wilmington wares follows on the heels of the Deptford phase.

We do not, however, mean to imply that the origin of the Middle Woodland is well understood. In fact, Sassaman takes some pains to emphasize that the transition from Refuge to Deptford is *not* well understood:

the Refuge-Deptford problem is the result of numerous regional processes that converge in the Savannah River region between 3000 and 2000 B.P. The sociopolitical entities that existed on the coast and in the interior during the fourth millennium dissolved after about 2400 B.P., resulting in the dispersal of small populations across the region. . . . Pottery designs changed from highly individualistic punctuation and incision to the (seemingly) anonymous use of dowels for stamping. . . . the use of a carved paddle for simple stamping should mark the "blending" of Refuge and Deptford culture, or, more accurately, reflect the subsumption of Refuge culture by the expanding Deptford complex.

To complicate matters, the tradition of cord-wrapped paddles makes its way into the South Carolina area sometime after 2500 B.P. (Sassaman

1993a:118-119).

The work by Milanich (1971) and Smith (1972), coupled with the considerable additional site-specific research (see, for example, DePratter 1991; Sassaman 1993a:110-125; Thomas and Larsen 1979) provides an exceptional background for this particular phase. Milanich's (1971) interpretation of a coastal-estuarine settlement model with interior occupation limited to short-term extractive activities, while still useful, has been modified through the discovery of a number of interior base camps. In fact, there seems to be evidence for a number of interior seasonal or perhaps even permanent base camps, although there is as yet no convincing evidence of horticulture. Anderson (1985:48) provides a brief overview of some very significant concerns. He notes that Milanich's interpretation that the interior river valleys were used by small, residentially mobile foraging groups which dispersed from large coastal villages is clearly not correct. In fact, just the opposite appears more likely, with coastal use and settlement being seasonal (Anderson 1985:48-49).

DePratter (1979:119, 128-131; 1991) takes the position that Wilmington pottery post-dates Deptford, ushering in the use of grog or clay as a tempering material in the late Middle Woodland. The check stamping and complicated stamped motifs found in the Deptford continue, except with clay tempering for a short time. Called Walthour, these wares are described by DePratter (1991:174-176), but they apparently existed for only a short period of time before being completely replaced by cord marking (DePratter 1979:119). They are also only occasionally seen on the central Carolina coast.

Wilmington phase sites are rather poorly understood in the South Carolina coastal plain. Not only has there been little effort to develop settlement models incorporating the Wilmington, there is very little technological research on the pottery itself. In fact, the distinction between grog or clay tempered and sand tempered is occasionally ignored, resulting in considerably typological confusion.

Largely contemporaneous with the sherd tempered wares are the Mount Pleasant, McClellanville, and Santee series. The Mount Pleasant series has been developed by Phelps from work along the northeastern North Carolina coast (Phelps 1983:32-35, 1984:41-44) and is a Middle Woodland refinement of South's (1960) previous Cape Fear series. The pottery is characterized by a sandy paste either with or without quantities of rounded pebbles. Surface treatments include fabric impressed, cord marked, and net impressed. Vessels are usually conoidal, although simple, hemispherical, and globular bowls are also present. The Mount Pleasant series may be found from North Carolina southward to the Savannah River (perhaps being evidenced by the "Untyped Series" in Trinkley 1981b). North Carolina dates for the series range from A.D. 265±65 (UGA-1088) to A.D. 890±80 (UGA-3849). The several dates currently available from South Carolina (such as UGA-3512 of A.D. 565±70 from Pinckney Island) fall into this range of about A.D. 200 to 900.

The McClellanville (Trinkley 1981a) and Santee (Anderson et al. 1982:302-308) series are found primarily on the north central coast of South Carolina and are characterized by a fine to medium sandy paste ceramic with surface treatment of primarily v-shaped simple stamping. While the two pottery types are quite similar, it appears that the Santee series may have later features, such as excurvate rims and interior rim stamping, not observed in the McClellanville series. The Santee series is placed at A.D. 800 to 1300 by Anderson et al. (1982:303), while the McClellanville ware may be slightly earlier, perhaps A.D. 500 to 800. Anderson et al. (1982:302-304; see also Anderson 1985) provide a detailed discussion of the Santee Series and its possible relationships with the McClellanville Series. Anderson, based on the Santee area data from Mattassee Lake, indicates that there is evidence for the replacement of fabric impressed pottery by simple stamping about A.D. 800 (David G. Anderson, personal communication 1990). This may suggest that McClellanville and Santee wares are closely related, both typologically and culturally. Also probably related is the little known

Camden Series (Stuart 1975) found in the inner Coastal Plain of South Carolina.

In some respects the Late Woodland (1,200 B.P. to 400 B.P.) may be characterized as a continuation of previous Middle Woodland cultural assemblages. While outside the Carolinas and Georgia there were major cultural changes, such as the continued development and elaboration of agriculture, the coastal South Carolina and Georgia groups settled into a lifeway not appreciably different from that observed for the previous 500-700 years. From the vantage point of Middle Savannah Valley Sassaman and his colleagues note that, "the Late Woodland is difficult to delineate typologically from its antecedent or from the subsequent Mississippian period" (Sassaman et al. 1990:14). This situation would remain unchanged until the development of the South Appalachian Mississippian complex (see Ferguson 1971). Anderson (1994:366-368) provides a basic review of the Late Woodland and Mississippian ceramic sequence at the mouth of the Savannah River. This review is particularly useful since it also compares and contrasts these developments to those in the middle and upper reaches of the Savannah (Anderson 1994:368-377).

Along the northern Carolina coast, Anderson et al. (1982:303-304) suggest a continuation of the Santee series into the Late Woodland. The Hanover and Mount Pleasant series may also be found as late of A.D. 1000. Along the southeastern North Carolina coast, South (1960) has defined the Oak Island complex, which is best known for its shell tempered ceramics with cord marked, fabric impressed, simple stamped, and net impressed surface finishes. The phase is briefly discussed by Phelps (1983:48-49), but curiously this manifestation is almost unknown south of the Little River in South Carolina.⁵ Very

⁵ The Wando Series, or something similar, has been identified by a number of researchers along the coast north of Charleston. The pottery, most commonly cord marked or check stamped, is limestone tempered and may be either Middle or Late Woodland in time (see Adams and Trinkley 1993:64-71 and Trinkley et al.

little is known about the northern coastal South Carolina Late Woodland complexes, although sites such as 38GE32 may document the occurrence of village life in the Late Woodland.

South Appalachian Mississippian

As Schnell and Wright (1993:2) observe, "Mississippian" means different things to different people — even to its earliest researchers. To Willey (1966) it meant a particular group of traits. To Griffin (1985) it meant a complex social and technological interaction sphere. To Smith (1986) it was defined as an adaptive strategy. The meaning is further distorted, or at least affected, when the issue is viewed from a strict temporal or chronological orientation, such as this presentation (since to us, the period covers the time span from about A.D. 900 to A.D. 1500).

The Mississippian may be viewed rather basically by focusing on a simple coastal chronology based almost entirely on the results of excavations at Irene (Caldwell and McCann 1941) and the resulting synthesis by DePratter (1979:Table 30; 1991:183-193). In this scenario the Savannah Phase, consisting of three subphases, is followed by the Irene, broken into two subphases.

The Savannah I Phase, characterized by cord marking, is seen as developing from earlier cultures. Present are flat-topped temple mounds, although these seem to decline dramatically from the mouth of the Savannah River northward. While the settlement system is very similar to that of the Late Woodland, there are also nucleated settlements found near estuaries and along freshwater rivers further inland. Although agriculture is seen by many as almost essential, there is no good evidence for corn or other domesticated crops.

Savannah II is distinguished by the introduction of check stamping and Savannah III is defined by the presence of complicated

2001 for additional information).

stamping. The Savannah III Complicated Stamped pottery is primarily curvilinear, often of concentric circles or oval motifs. Sassaman et al. (1990:207) suggest that the current temporal ranges are likely too restrictive for these subphases and suggest instead broader period of perhaps A.D. 1100 to 1200 for Savannah II and perhaps A.D. 1200 to 1300 for Savannah III.

The Savannah phase gives way to what is often called the Irene Phase, probably beginning about A.D. 1300. The Irene I Phase is identified by the appearance of Irene Complicated Stamped pottery using the filfot cross and line block motifs. Not only are these motifs different from the earlier Savannah Complicated Stamped designs, but the Irene ware is characterized by grit inclusions and a coarse texture, compared to the Savannah's sandy inclusions and fine to medium-grained paste.

Also present in Irene collections are a range of rim decorations, including nodes, rosettes, and fillet appliques. Although incising is found in very low quantities during this early period, the succeeding Irene II phase is characterized by bold incising. The mouth of the Savannah River, however, was likely abandoned by the end of the Irene I Phase since little incising is found in this area.

From the more northern region, the Pee Dee culture was defined through the excavations of Joffre Coe at Town Creek which is located about 150 miles due north of Charleston (Coe 1995; Reid 1967). The site, generally accepted to represent a northern intrusion of a Mississippian chiefdom, was originally dated from about A.D. 1550 to 1750, although more recent analyses suggests a date more likely between A.D. 900 and 1400 (Coe 1995:159).

In the Charleston area the most commonly mentioned Mississippian excavations are those undertaken by Stanley South at the moundless ceremonial center at Charles Town Landing (South 1971). Anderson (1994:115) notes with regret that there has been "no broad-scale comparative analyses of Mississippian ceramics" for the South

Carolina area, although there has been some effort to untangle the typology of the Middle Wateree valley. In particular DePratter and Judge (1986, 1990:56-58) have proposed a fairly detailed six phase division encompassing the period from A.D. 1200 through 1670. Although it remains to be debated how well their chronology and associated ceramic changes can be transposed from the Middle Wateree to the coast, it seems to be an excellent starting point (Figure 9 provides a generalized scheme).

The Belmont Neck Phase pottery (A.D. 1200-1250) is characterized by complicated stamped motifs with plain or notched rims. In the Wateree Valley these motifs are primarily concentric circles, with other various curvilinear designs and perhaps a cross bar diamond motif. Burnishing, while present, is a minority. Tempering ranges from fine to coarse sand.

The Adamson Phase pottery (A.D. 1250-1300) becomes dominated by the filfot motif, along with a minor amount of line block stamping. Burnished pottery is about twice as common as in the earlier Belmont Neck Phase. Lip notching and reed punctates below the lip are more common. There does not seem to be any significant change in tempering, although there may be a trend for the fine sands to drop out.

During the Town Creek Phase (A.D. 1300-1350) the pottery motifs are similar to those found earlier, with the addition of punctated and segmented rim strips. Fabric marking, which is rare in earlier phases, becomes more noticeable during the Town Creek Phase and then drops out quickly. Burnishing is only slightly more common and the temper does not seem to change.

The McDowell Phase (A.D. 1350-1450) is characterized by pottery with larger, bolder stamped motifs. The filfot motifs are still most common, although DePratter and Judge seem to suggest that simple stamping increases during this phase. Burnishing now accounts for nearly a quarter of the typical collection.

The most noticeable change during the

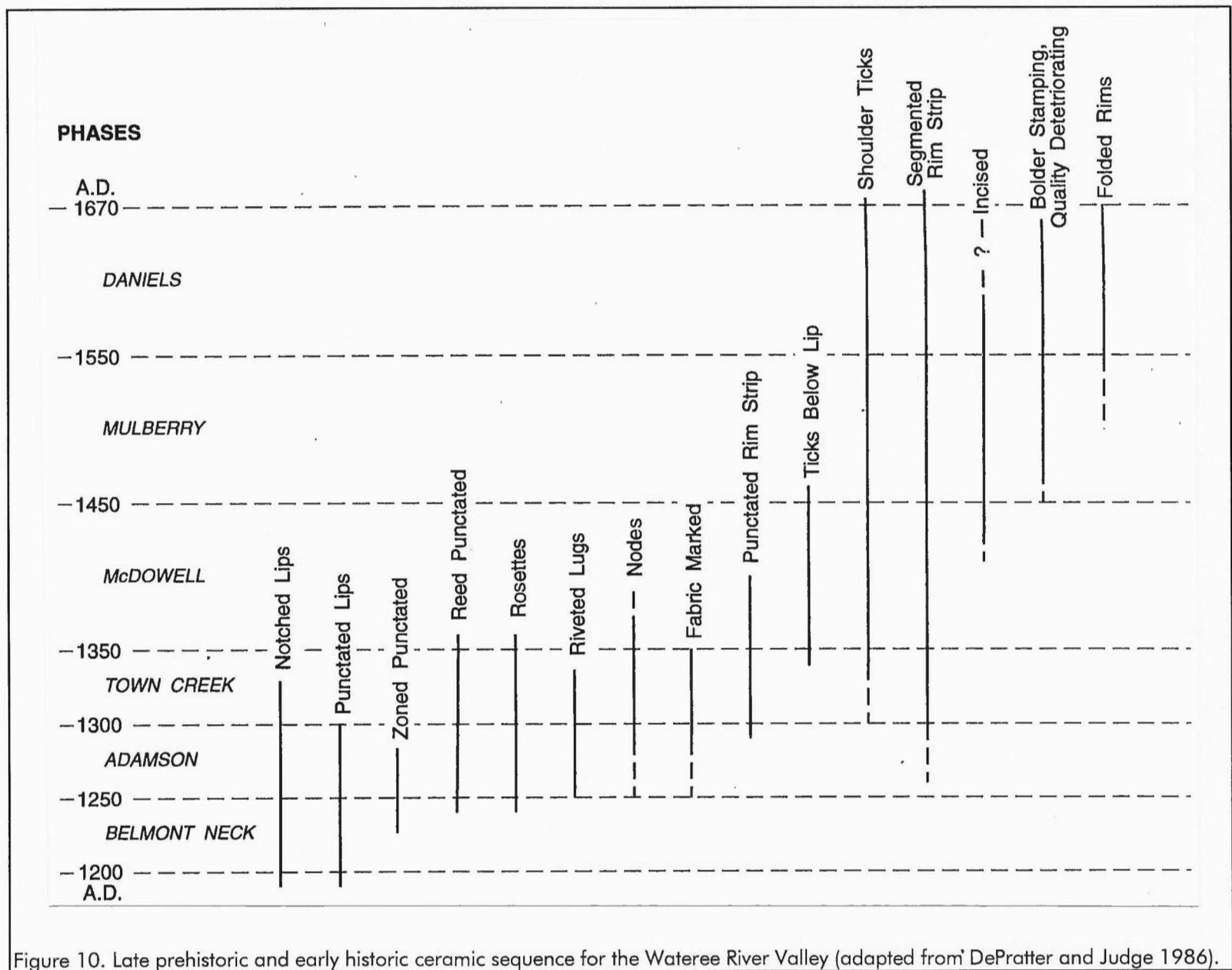


Figure 10. Late prehistoric and early historic ceramic sequence for the Wateree River Valley (adapted from DePratter and Judge 1986).

Mulberry Phase (A.D. 1450-1550) is the addition of incising. In addition, there may be a shift away from the filfot to other motifs, apparently at the expense of plain burnished pottery, which declines in frequency. Segmented applique strips are the most common rim decoration.

During the final Daniels Phase (A.D. 1550-1670) the pottery is recognizable by a deterioration in stamping quality and larger, more abstract motifs (or perhaps just less recognizable motifs?). Burnished pottery is again more common with incising remaining stable. Applique rim strips are larger and located farther down from the lip. Tempering remains a medium sand.

An effort to apply these phase designations on a small collection from 38CH1257 on Johns Island (Trinkley 1999) met with failure because the sorting criteria, being rather complex, require large collections. As a consequence the study fell back on the earlier designations of Charleston and Ashley series (South 1973). From this excavation the Ashley Series was radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1645 to 1670 (Beta-118433) — consistent with the recovery of peach pits. This would place the remains entirely within the Daniels Phase. The stamping, however, does not appear as “deteriorated” as that suggested by DePratter and Judge (1986) for the Daniels Phase (which much more closely resembles the historic Wachesaw Series of the Waccamaw Neck (Trinkley et al. 1983). Nevertheless, it is likely that the pottery fits within the general continuum and it would be interesting to have the original Charles Towne Landing report available to compare these materials to those identified at the moundless ceremonial center by South. Regardless, the abbreviated description (South 1973) seems to fit the ceramics found at 38CH1257 with the exception that cob-cob impressing and finger pinching were not identified.

Historic Native American Groups

Just as our understanding of the late ceramics along the coast is limited, so too is our knowledge of Native American groups. And just as

we owe most of knowledge of the pottery to DePratter and Judge, Waddell (1980) remains the best source for information on the low country Indian groups. The group most commonly associated with the immediate area is the Edisto (Waddell 1980:126-168). While the early Spanish and French accounts are often confusing and contradictory, it is clear that the Edisto were friends of the English and by 1682 had a population of only about 40 (Waddell 1980:164). Within the next decade a series of events occurred which dramatically altered the lives of the region’s Native Americans.

First, there was the 1684 land cession where the “Queen of Edistoh” and “ye young Casique of Edistoh” signed an agreement with the “Kussoe Stono . . . Ashepoo Combahe Jussah St. Helena and Winbee” selling all land between the Stono and Savannah rivers to the Proprietors (Waddell 1980:165). This was quickly followed by the Spanish laying waste to the island in 1686. During this foray Waddell suggests that many of the Edisto were killed. Nevertheless, as late as ca. 1695, the Thornton-Morden map shows “Edestow Settlements” on the island (in almost the exact spot shown by Sandford in 1666). By 1711 (the time of the Crisp map), however, Edisto Island had been converted to plantations and no Native American settlements are shown.

Into the eighteenth century there remained a few Edisto since there are various acts concerning trade, military agreements, and other issues. The last specific mention seems to be 1743 when the “Edistoes” and a few other tribes were excluded from trade restrictions (Waddell 1980:167).

Waddell observes that the 1695 Thornton-Morden map identifies:

“Chebash” beside a house marked on Jehossee Island (here not distinguished as separate from Edisto Island). Although the primary source for this map is Mathews c. 1685 map, the name does not occur on that map

(Waddell 1980:218; see Figure 11).

He does not attribute the name to the settlement or any Native American group, instead asserting that "this establishes that Jehossee was earlier called Chebasah, and the forms are sufficiently similar for one to be a corruption of the other (Waddell 1980:218-219). Somewhat later the island was also called Chebash, first being called "Johoowa" on the 1706 Thornton map. By the time of Yemassee War in 1715 it was known as Johasse, clearly being distinct from adjacent Edisto. By 1752 the name had evolved to Jehossa.

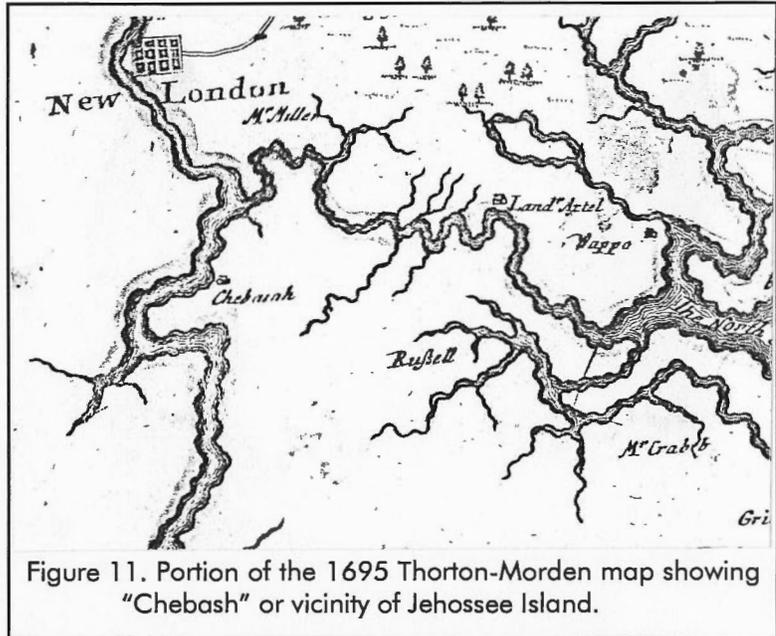
This analysis is unusual since Waddell acknowledges that the name ("Chebasah") is adjacent to a house symbol, yet goes on to assert that the name applies to the island, not a resident. There is additional discussion in the section specific to Jehossee's ownership.

Historic Synopsis

Early Settlement and Economic Development

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 Lord Proprietors, who owned the colony until 1719-1720, intended to discover a staple crop which would provide great wealth through its distribution in 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 situation of this Town is so convenient for public Commerce that it rather seems to be the design of some skillful Artist than the accidental position of nature (Mathews 1954:153).

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

Early agriculture experiments which involved olives, grapes, silkworms, and oranges were less than successful. Ironically, it was often the climate which precluded successful results. 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. Ranching offered quick, and relatively easy, cash, but again the proprietors resisted such efforts, realizing that the profits they

would reap were far smaller than possible from the mercantile system. Consequently, the cultivation of cotton, rice, tobacco, and flax were stressed as these were staple crops whose marketing the proprietors could easily monopolize.

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

Although four counties, Berkeley, Craven, Colleton, and Granville, were created by the Proprietors between 1682 and 1685, the Anglican parishes, established in 1706, became the local unit of political administration. Initially Jehossee Island was part of St. Paul's Parish. The parish — calculated as 187,976 acres — ran from the South Edisto River east to the Stono and included Edisto, Wadmalaw, Seabrook, Kiawah, and John's islands, as well as a large inland area of swamps and sandy swales. In 1720 the population of St. Paul's was 1,835, of which 89% (1,634) were enslaved Africans and African Americans (BPRO Transcripts, vol. IX, pg. 23).

By 1734 St. John-Colleton Parish was created from the coastal islands, resulting in Jehossee forming the northern boundary of the new parish. South Carolina's economic development during the pre-Revolutionary War period involved a complex web of interactions between slaves, planters, and merchants. At the close of the eighteenth century some South Carolina plantations had a ratio of slaves to whites that was 27:1 (Morgan 1977). While over half of eastern South Carolina's white population held slaves, few held very large numbers. The

Charleston area had a slave population greater than 50% of the total population by 1790. This imbalance between the races, particularly on remote plantations, may have led to greater "freedom" and mobility (Friedlander in Wheaton et al. 1983:34). By the antebellum period this trend was less extreme.

The American Revolution in the South Carolina low country was largely played out in the vicinities of Beaufort and Charleston. In June 1776 a British fleet entered the Charleston harbor in an unsuccessful effort, via the Isle of Palms, to take the city. From late 1776 through 1778 the war moved northward and an uneasy peace fell across much of South Carolina. In May 1779, however, the British again moved on Charleston, marching from Savannah to besiege the city. They built earthworks at Stono Ferry, holding the Americans at bay in late June, and then retreating to Beaufort.

Mattern explains why Charleston again became a British target:

In 1780 Charleston, South Carolina was the fourth largest city in the United States. It was a small town for all that. About twelve thousand people, half of them black, clustered on a low sandy spit of land at the confluence of the Ashley and Cooper rivers. Its harbor was magnificent. From Charleston's wharves rich cargoes of rice, indigo, and naval stores made their way to Europe and the West Indies. Small as it was, Charleston dwarfed other southern ports in the amount of its commercial traffic. It was the economic jewel of the lower South.

It was also the political heart of the rebellion in the deep South. Whig leadership was rooted in the city and in the

wealth, low-country plantations of the surrounding districts. It was generally believed that the loss of Charleston to the British would cause the collapse of revolutionary resistance in the lower South (Mattern 1995:88)

By February 1780 a second — and this time successful — effort was made by Sir Henry Clinton. Troops were landed on Seabrook Island, secured the upper Stono, and moved across to Johns Island where a temporary headquarters was established at Fenwick Hall. Troops were moved from Johns to James Island, where they took a variety of positions and built a bridge across Elliot's Cut to move to the mainland. On April 8, the British fleet moved into the harbor and subjected to both land action and a naval blockade, the City surrendered to British occupation on May 12, 1780 (Ulhendorf 1938). Although Cornwallis surrendered in October 1782, Charleston was held by the British until December 1782.

While Puckette indicates that Edisto "remote from the beaten path was never a battlefield" (Puckette 1978:7). Yet Lipscomb (1991:22) reveals that at least one skirmish took place on the island in August 1782. Regardless, the region appears to have suffered few long lasting effects of the Revolution.

The Economic Base into the Antebellum

While many settlers were drawn to the area by the lure of the lucrative Indian trade, other activities focused on the naval stores of the pristine forests. All were described by Coclanis as "land-intensive activities, activities which included not only mixed agriculture, but rudimentary extraction and plunder — the stuff of Marxian primitive accumulation" (Coclanis 1989:58).

Indigo was one of the region's first major crops, but it had a relatively short life — less than 50 years. Production, which began in the 1740s and reached its peak from 1754-1760, was artificially stimulated by an English bounty and

King George's War (1739-1749) which cut off England's supplies in the French and Spanish West Indies. Indigo grew particularly well in low, wet areas:

Indigo is one of those rank weeds like tobacco, which not only exhaust the substance of the earth, but require the very best and richest lands, and such as have natural moisture in them (Carman 1939:281).

The processing of indigo required settling through a series of vats which drew flies and mosquitoes rendering it a fairly offensive labor (Kovacik and Winberry 1987:75). One 1775 account mentions:

indigo has a very disagreeable smell, while making and curing; and the foeces, when taken out of the steeper, if not immediately buried in the ground (for which it is excellent manure, breeds incredible swarms of flies (Carman 1939:281-290).

Indigo required a fairly major initial investment, estimated at slightly over £2,024 (\$273,036 in 2002 dollars⁶) (Gray 1958:541). A major benefit, however, was that its production could be integrated with rice on the same plantation. James Glen remarked:

I cannot leave this Subject without observing how conveniently and profitably, as to the Charge of Labor, both Indigo and Rice may be managed by the same Persons; for the labor attending Indigo being afterwards manufacture Rice in the ensuing Part of the Year, when it becomes

⁶ Using the American Institute for Economic Research Purchasing Power Conversion Factors. See Coclanis (1989:89) for conversion of £ sterling to 1978 dollars.

most laborious; and after doing all this, they may have some time to spare for sawing Lumber and making Hogshead and other Staves to supply the Sugar Colonies (Glen 1761:10).

Gray suggests that it was partially this allocation of labor that resulted in far less intensive cultivation than was necessary to achieve true financial success (Gray 1958:294).

A crop which was to have a far more enduring and extensive effect on the economic and cultural life of Carolina was rice. Tidal rice cultivation began in 1730s and became the lifeblood of the Waccamaw, Santee Delta, and ACE Basin until the slave system upon which it depended was ended by the Civil War.

Coclanis argues that rice was indeed "highly profitable to those individuals in both the low country and in Europe with capital directly involved in the production or distribution" (at least initially). Yet,

of the greatest tropical and semitropical staples in the Americas, rice was by far the least significant. Despite the pretensions of low country planters and the puffery of later apologists for the industry, rice was never vital to the West. In comparison with sugar, cotton, and tobacco, which have been described with some accuracy in the literature as mighty, kingly, and holy commodities respectively, rice was but a humble footman or sexton, lacking even a hint of sovereignty in the marketplace (Coclanis 1989:133).

The early history of rice is discussed by Clowse (1971:125-132) and Doar (1936). Although the records of rice exportation are vague, they do indicate that production increased

dramatically after 1705 (see Clowse 1971:167-168 and Coclanis 1989:97-99 for additional discussion). In the late Colonial period rice profitability also increased. Perkins observes that:

yields were from 2 to 4 barrels per acre, and most plantations had 2 or 3 acres under cultivation for each field hand. Based on an average price of £2.3 [\$183] per barrel from 1768 to 1772, slaves generated revenues annually of from £9.2 up to £27.6 [\$730 - \$2,192], with around £15 [\$1,187] probably the average figure (Perkins 1980:58).

Clowse points out the relationship between rice and slavery in clear economic terms:

it is probably safe to assert that the increase in rice culture was mainly responsible for the rapid growth of the slave population up to the 1715. A "common computation" in the eighteenth century was that each field hand should produce about a ton of marketable rice annually. If this rule of thumb were applicable to the 1715 situation, every five or six barrels of rice exported represented the labor of one field hand. On this basis, a minimum of 3,500 slaves were engaged in full-time rice growing, as opposed to perhaps 500 in 1700. While such figuring must be used cautiously, the demand for slaves for the rice fields had to be sharp since many slaves in this period must have worked primarily to clear and ready new rice lands for cultivation (Clowse 1971:170).

Rice was a labor intensive crop, requiring skill, ingenuity, and wealth. Yet it was the slave who performed the tasks which made the wealth

for the white owner:

the first business is to drain the swamp, in which work they have no particular methods deserving notice, or which are unknown in England. The moment they have got the water off they attack the trees, which in some swamps are very numerous; these they cut down at the root, leaving the stumps in the earth However they do not wait for the ground being cleared of them, but proceed to plant their rice among the stumps. In March, April, and May they plant; the negroes draw furrows eighteen inches asunder, and about three inches deep, in which the seeds are sown; a peck is sufficient for an acre of land: as soon as planted they let in the water to a certain depth, which is, during the season of its growth, repeated, and drawn off several times; but most of the growth is while the water is eight, nine, or ten inches deep on the land. The great object of the culture is to keep the land clean from weeds, which is absolutely necessary, and the worst weed is grass This is the only object till it is reaped, which is usually about the latter end of August or beginning of September. Like wheat in England, they prefer cutting it while the straw is a little green, leaving it on the stubble to dry and wither two or three days in case the weather is favorable: after which they lay it up in barns or stacks

The next operation . . . is the threshing of it, after which it is winnowed, which was formerly a very tedious operation, but now much accelerated by the use of

windfan. When winnowed it is ground, to free the rice from the husk; this is winnowed again, and put into a mortar large enough to hold half a bushel, in which it is beat with a pestle by negroes, to free it from its thick skin; this is a very laborious work. In order to free it from the flour and dust made by the pounding, it is sifted; and again through another sieve, called a market sieve, which separates the broken and small rice, after which it is put up in barrels, and is ready for market.

The reader must observe upon this account that the cultivation of it is dreadful: for if a work could be imagined peculiarly unwholesome and even fatal to health, it must be that of standing like the negroes, ankle and even mid-leg deep in water which floats an ouzy mud, and exposed all the while to a burning sun which makes the air they breathe hotter than the human blood; these poor wretches are then in a furnace of stinking putrid effluvia We are told indeed that South Carolina breeds more negroes than she destroys, which is certainly a fact, as appears by the annual exportation of a few; but then let it not be imagined that it is in these properly denominated *dismals* (Carman 1939:275-279).

There is, in fact, ample evidence to support the characterization of the rice plantation as a charnel house for African Americans. Dusinbere observes:

A conservative modern estimate suggests that at least 55 percent of the children born on

nineteenth century rice plantations died by age fifteen. (By contrast, the same study implies that about 38 percent of children born on large cotton plantation and sugar plantations died by age fifteen.) The true figure for the rice plantations is surely higher even than a 55 percent child mortality rate, for even the best plantation records probably omitted many deaths which occurred during the first four weeks of infancy .

. . . Probably about two-thirds — perhaps more — of the slave children born on rice plantations during the nineteenth century were dead by age fifteen (Dusinberre 1996:80.)

While callousness toward the slave's welfare was unquestionably the hallmark of the plantation system (how could the valuation of a human being as property be viewed as anything but callous?), some question why owners, with an economic interest in their slaves, would allow such extraordinary mortality rates. Such questioning forgets that owners were pulled in a variety of direction and economic self-interest is rarely as simple as it appears. For example, as Dusinberre points out, there was the owner's economic interest in maintaining plantation discipline, the owner's economic interest in presenting himself as wealthy and successful to colleagues, and most fundamentally, the owner's economic interest in

Table 3.
Exports and Export Prices of Rice Shipped from the United States, 1721-1860 (Gray 1933:II:1032)

Year	Exports (in 1,000 lbs.)	Exports (from Charleston)	Price (\$/lb.)	Year	Exports (in 1,000 lbs.)	Exports (from Charleston)	Price (\$/lb.)
1721	8,752	21,879 bbls	1.0	1800	56,920	75,788 bbls	
1730	19,744	39,487 bbls	1.9	1810	71,614		3.3
1740	40,447	91,110 bbls	2.7	1820	52,933		2.8
1750	30,806	46,855 bbls	1.8	1830	69,910		3.0
1760	52,342	64,652 bbls	1.8	1840	60,970		3.3
1770	76,511	130,500 bbls	3.4	1850	63,354		3.4
1785	32,929	65,857 bbls		1860	43,512		3.2
1790	74,136	87,179 bbls	2.6				

securing a big crop. In fact,

If there was danger of a freshet, the manifest requirement was to strengthen the embankments. If the tidal irrigation system was inefficient, the canals must be deepened. If drainage didn't function properly, more ditches had to be dug. If a trunk seemed likely to give way, it must be renewed and its emplacement strengthened. Any one of these problems might lead to a crisis costing the plantation thousands of dollars; by contrast, the economic loss when a slave died was relatively small (Dusinberre 1996:77).

Returning to the technology of rice

production for a moment, Gray comments that while the flail was used in threshing by many planters, the larger and more prosperous used threshing machines. By 1829 a machine was developed, "with beaters provided with teeth composed of serrated iron wire, so arranged as to comb the grain from the ears of rice" (Gray 1933:II:730). While the stationary steam equipment cost upwards of \$7,000, it was able to thresh over 1,000 bushels a day.

DeBow's *Review* provides additional details on the movement of the rice from the barn to the market. While the earliest pounding mills (called "pecker mills") were animal powered, by the 1780s water mills (using reserves for power) were being erected and by 1791 a tidal powered mill was constructed at Millbrook on the Santee (Allston 1846:285). Within a few years additional improvements were made, so that the tidal mill was combined all of the milling activities — grinding, winnowing, pounding, screening, and polishing (Allston 1846:285; Gray 1958:730). And by the late 1840s, Allston was able to comment, "at present almost every planter of four hundred acres and upward, is provided with a tide-water of steam-pounding mill for preparing his own crops for market" (Allston 1846:286). He explains:

the stones which are used for grinding rice should be 5 to 6 feet two inches in diameter, and 18 inches thick at the centre. . . . The whole process of preparation [begins with the rough rice being passed through a] sand-screen revolving nearly horizontally, which, in sifting out the grit and small grain rice, separates also all foreign bodies, and such heads of rice as were not duly thrashed.

From the sand screen the sifted rough of large size is conveyed directly to the stones on the same floor, where the husk is broken and ground off, thence to

a wind-fan below, where the chaff is separated and blown off. The grain is now deposited in a long bin, placed over the pestle-shaft, and corresponding in length with it, whence the ground rice is delivered by wooden conductors into the mortars on the ground floor — ten, twelve, fourteen, or twenty-four in number, as the power applied may justify. . . .

The pestles, also constructed of the heart of pipe, and corresponding in number and position with the mortars, are sheathed at foot with sheet iron, partially perforated in many places from within by some blunt instrument, so as to resemble, on a very coarse scale, the rough surface of a grater. . . . A mortar of rice is disposed of, of sufficiently pounded in one hour and forty minutes to two hours. The grain thus pounded is again elevated to the upper floor, to be passed through a long horizontal rolling-screen, slightly depressed at one end, where by means of a system of wire-sieves, grading coarser and coarser towards the lower end, are separated, first the flour, second the "small rice" (the eyes and smaller particle of the broken grains), third the "middling rice," or the smaller and half-broken grains, fourth and last the "prime rice," the larger and chiefly unbroken grains which fall through the largest wire, and forthwith descend to the "polishing" or "brushing screen" below, whence it descends through a fan into the barrel on the first floor, where it is packed, and the preparation is completed. The head rice, or

largest grains of all, together with the rough, unbroken by the stones, passes off at the lower end of the screen, to be pounded over. . . .

The rice thus brushed clean and polished against the wire, is packed in barrels constructed of pine staves to contain six cwt. net. The middling and small rice are passed through a fan which blows off from them the flour into an apartment kept for that purpose. They are packed separately, and used as provisions for the laborers on the plantation during the warm months, chiefly at Christmas holidays and throughout harvest, and habitually by the families of both the proprietor and his overseer (Alliston 1846:348-349).

Coclanis presents compelling data for the early strength of rice. Planters in the eighteenth century had estimated annual net rates of return on their investments ranging from 12.5% up to perhaps 33.5%. By the nineteenth century, however, rice had collapsed and, at the high end, represented perhaps only a 1.44% rate of return. More often there were losses of perhaps 3% to an astonishing 28%.

The first census of the United States was taken in 1790 — after the Revolution. The twelve parishes of Charleston District had a total population of 66,985, with about 50,000 of those living outside the City of Charleston. Fully 77% of the district's population was African American, almost all of them enslaved.

St. Johns Colleton Parish — in spite of the rice production of Jehossee — was dominated by cotton plantations. There were 585 whites, over 4,700 slaves, 17 "mulattoes and free" and 23 free persons of color attached to white households. Five percent of the white households held no

slaves and 32% had 10 or fewer. Sixty-three percent owned more than 10 slaves and 15 planters (9% of the total) owned between 50 and 100, while four (2%) owned over 100 (Fick 1992:23).

Coclanis points out that there were differences between the various parishes, most particularly in terms of accumulated wealth. By the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century Coclanis (1989:152) examined both the Gini and Schutz coefficients to explore concentration of wealth. While the Schutz coefficient is somewhat more precise, they both range from 0, indicating complete equality of wealth, to 1, indicating complete concentration of wealth. The Gini coefficient for St. Johns Colleton is only .53, compared to .79 for All Saints Parish in Georgetown District. The Schutz coefficients are .39 and .68, respectively. Both statistics rank St. Johns Colleton at the bottom of the South Carolina parishes in terms of concentrated wealth.

This may be at least in part to the role played by cotton, described by Coclanis as "a more 'democratic' staple than rice," during the nineteenth century (Coclanis 1989:153). Part of the "restructuring" of the State's agricultural and economic base after the Revolution was the emergency of cotton as the principal cash crop.

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

While the fibers of upland cotton might be ¾ to 1-inch in length, Sea Island was typically 1¾-inches, although it might be as long as 2½-inches. The plant itself was described by Hammond as "larger and [a]more vigorous grower than the upland plant" and, in addition, it was better able to resist both low and high temperatures, blight, and rust. The bolls of the plant are smaller and

Table 4.
Annual Average Monthly Prices of Sea Island Cotton at Charleston (Gray 1933:II:1031)

Year	Price (¢/lb.) (2002\$)	Year	Price (¢/lb.) (2002 \$)
1800	44.9 (\$6.11)	1835	34.8 (\$6.63)
1805	51.6 (\$7.02)	1840	22.5 (\$4.29)
1810	28.4 (\$3.86)	1845	26.6 (\$6.33)
1815	37.9 (\$4.01)	1850	27.8 (\$5.29)
1820	32.8 (\$4.46)	1855	31.6 (\$6.02)
1825	54.3 (\$8.62)	1860	47.0 (\$8.95)
1830	24.8 (\$4.72)		

have sharp points. The fiber was described as "finer, stronger, smoother, and silkier than uplands cotton" (Hammond 1884:21).

The process of planting Sea Island cotton began with listing — or manuring and raising of the plant bed — usually done between January and late March (or as soon as weather permitted). The best planting time was controversial, with some planting as early as March 10. They claimed that while this exposed the plant to frost damage, that which survived was of such high quality that it made up for the losses. Nevertheless, by the mid-antebellum it seems that most planters avoided the threat, planting during the first several weeks of April.

Cotton favored a "light yellow, sandy soil" (Allston 1854:13), although it was often planted in wet, partially drained soils, using ridges to help with drainage. The plants were up in about 8 to 12 days and by the first of May periodic weeding would begin. This served to not only keep down the grass, but to also shift soil up to the plants to help give them support. As weeding progressed

into July, the plants were gradually thinned out, leaving the healthiest with about one plant per 18 inches.

The blooms appeared in mid-June when the plants were about 15 inches high. The bolls opened toward the end of August, by which time the Sea Island cotton was 4 to 5 feet in height (far taller than the upland cotton seen today). The picking began in very late August and continued to mid-December. During this period the planter's worst enemy was rain, which would significantly degrade and even discolor the lint.

One of the contradictions of cotton was the ease of planting compared to the difficulty in gathering. Hammond comments that one coastal planter explained, "Any one hand, with ordinary implements and management, can make four times as much cotton as he can gather" (Hammond 1884:55).

Allston (1854:15) determined that it took fifty to sixty days to prepare a single bale for market. First, it was necessary to sort out the dead leaves and other debris. Next the seed was removed. During the early antebellum a "foot gin" or "treadle" with two rollers was used, although by mid-century the McCarthy roller gin with only one roller was being widely used. With steam power it would clean upwards of 200 pounds during the antebellum; by the postbellum runs of 400 to 600 pounds of lint in a 10 hour were common.

To maintain the high price, the lint would then be "moted" or hand picked for debris such as broken seeds. Allston reports that 30 pounds per hand would be moted after the use of a hand gin, while the McCarthy gin allowed a single hand to mote upwards of 60 pounds of lint (Allston 1854:16).

Afterwards the lint was hand packed in round bales weighing 320 to 400 pounds. No press was used because the fibers were so delicate that they would be damaged. According to Hammond by the postbellum:

this lint is packed, by hand

pressure, in round bags 7½ feet long, or, as the correspondent from John's island expresses it, "the press used is a hole in the floor, hung bag, iron pestle, and a negro." Three bags per day can be thus pressed. The weight given these bags of long staple is about 350 pounds; 1,600 of the seed-cotton is required for 400 of lint" (Hammond 1884:58).

Cotton provided about 20 years of economic success for South Carolina. During this period the state monopolized cotton production with a number of planters growing wealthy (Mason 1976). The price of cotton fell in 1819 and remained low through the 1820s, primarily because of competition from planters in Alabama and Mississippi. Friedlander, in Wheaton et al. (1983:28-29) notes that cotton production in the inland coastal parishes fell by 25% in the years from 1821 through 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 even more.

Cotton production in St. Johns Colleton by 1850 was 1,009 bales (there is a range from 0 to 172 bales, with a mean production per plantation of 34 bales). This represents nearly 13% of Charleston District's cotton. In contrast, there were 1,194,975 pounds of rice harvested in St. John Colleton, representing about 7% of the rice from Charleston District in the 1850 agricultural census.

Fick provides a breakdown of those residing in the parish during the 1850 census. There were 87 planters, 12 overseers, 16 physicians, three blacksmiths, two laborers, seven carpenters, three clerks, seven clergymen, five storekeepers, and two seamen. The whites in the parish held an average of 75 slaves per household. Of the 104 plantations nearly all (93%) grew cotton and only three had made less than 10 bales. There were 20 rice producers, although only three planters produced more than 50,000 pounds, including William Aiken on Jehossee,

where 930,000 pounds were grown (Fick 1992:29).

By 1860 cotton production in St. Johns Colleton had increased to 2,208 bales, representing nearly 35% of the cotton production in Charleston District. St. Johns Colleton contained 27,361 improved acres — or about 21.5% of the district's total. In addition, the parish boasted plantations with a cash value of \$2,057,110, or about 39.5% of Charleston district's total of \$5,202,502. Rice production, while down to 1,150,000 pounds, held steady at about 8% of the total district production. By 1860 Coclanis notes that the Gini coefficient for St. Johns Colleton increased to .60, while the Schutz coefficient increased to .45 (Coclanis 1989:153). In contrast, Prince George Parish revealed a Gini coefficient of .84 and a Schutz coefficient of .73. While these figures still rank St. Johns Colleton second to the bottom for the state — indicating relative equality of wealth — they do suggest that since 1824 there had been some concentration of wealth in a smaller group. Thus, on the eve of the Civil War, St. John Colleton parish represented considerable wealth, although it was spread fairly evenly across the 558 plantations or households present. Coclanis warns us again that in spite of this appearance of wealth, there were troubling signs. For example, in terms of mean nonhuman wealth per capita the low country significantly trailed both New England and the Middle Colonies — revealing that the bulk of its "wealth" was tied up in human bondage (Coclanis 1989:125). Just as telling, a considerable proportion of the ships entering the Charleston harbor to "trade" carried nothing but ballast — the home market by 1860 was weaker than ever (Coclanis 1989:146).

It should be no surprise, therefore, that Zierden and Calhoun comment,

the 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

(Zierden and Calhoun 1984:54).

The Civil War

The election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 precipitated the long-brewing crisis between the North and the South. Seven Southern states, led by South Carolina, seceded before Lincoln's inauguration; four more plus the Indian Territory joined them in early 1861, with elements in Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Arizona also finding representation in the resulting Confederate States of America. Irresolution marked the initial Northern response to secession, but this was quickly changed after the morning of April 12, 1861 when Confederate forces fired on Fort Sumter (see, Rosen 1994:63-68 for an overview of the events leading up to the attack on Sumter and the disagreements among historians of how these events transpired).

Federal response was galvanized by the South's first hostile action and in less than a month the Union blockade on Charleston and other Southern ports was established. By November 1861 what Burton called "the most formidable armada ever assembled under the American flag" sailed into Port Royal and began to methodically destroy the Confederate forts guarding the entrance and protecting both Hilton Head and the town of Beaufort (Burton 1970:68). The Confederate forces retreated after only a few hours, leaving the area to the Federal troops.

The fall of Port Royal sent shock waves through the Confederacy and shortly afterward the little-known General Robert E. Lee arrived in Charleston to assume command of the new military department of South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida. Lee established his command at Coosawhatchie, on the line of the Charleston and Savannah Railroad. The sea islands, from Beaufort northward were ordered evacuated during the winter of 1861-1862. Lee's strategy, in the words of Rosen was:

to concede the immediate coast (a move that did not sit well with the planters of the area) except

for the forts guarding Charleston and Savannah, which he greatly improved; to obstruct all the waterways between the two cities not already occupied by the Union navy; and to protect the railroad (Rosen 1994:83).

In early 1862 Jefferson Davis wrote Governor Francis Pickens in South Carolina that both he and General Lee "concur with you in opinion as to the importance of the preservation of the Charleston and Savannah Railroad" (OR 6, page 594). As the war continued this focus on Charleston and the critical land link to Savannah never wavered. In October 1863, as Union troops became more noticeable creeping up the coast there was considerable concern that the Union forces might attack Charleston from the Edisto area (see, for example, OR, vol. 47, pages 393-395). As a result, the vast majority of the Confederate fortifications in the South Carolina low country were intended to "work together" and be part of a much larger, and often all-consuming, plan.

Regardless, for most of the Civil War, Union forces occupied Edisto Island and Fick notes that Federal troops were stationed at the Cassina Point, Frogmore, Oak Island, and Windsor houses, with Windsor being of special note since a large amount of graffiti from the period remains in the house (Fick 1992:35). In fact, Edisto may best be remembered for its documented architecture, which ranged from the stately grand mansions characterized by the Seabrook Oak Island house (illustrated in sources such as Davis 1985:1:37 and Puckette 1978:33) to the far more rustic I-house farm characterized by the Hopkinson plantation (illustrated by Davis 1985:118 and Puckette 1978:31).

In spite of the concentrated Union forces, and their proximity to the Confederate forces on the mainland, just a few miles to the north, no battles or skirmishes took place on Edisto, although as one Union private with the 3rd New Hampshire Infantry explained, life was far from peaceful:

In a few weeks after our arrival the "minges" made their appearance, and tormented us night unto death. Mosquito netting (technically "mosquito bars") was issued as a measure of relief; but the meshes were so large that the minges easily passed through. Our quarters were the old negro huts (cabins), which were inhabited by fleas on our arrival. As we were determined to occupy the same quarters, many and hot were the battles between us, and in which more or less blood was shed . . . Boat loads of negroes, of both sexes, old and young, came over from "de main" nearly every night, and in such numbers that provision could scarcely be made for them. They were shipped to Hilton Head and St. Helena Island as fast as possible (Daniel Eldredge, quoted in Woodhead 1997:23).

The Postbellum

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. General sources discussing the changes in South Carolina include Williamson (1975), Goldenwieser and Truesdell (1924), and more recently, Zuczek (1996).

As Scardaville notes (Brockington et al. 1985:52), it is very difficult to use the agricultural schedules for economic analyses after 1870. The 1880 schedule seriously under-represents Charleston District, the 1890 schedules were destroyed by fire, all subsequent schedules are provided only on a county level (the individual parish and farm level information being destroyed

under authority of Congress), and vital information is missing from the 1900 census. At a county-wide level, however, it is clear that between 1870 and 1910 Charleston's agricultural production gradually increased, the labor system stabilized, and prosperity returned.

The situation is made even more complex since, for about 11 years (from November 1882 through December 1893) southern Charleston County, including Edisto and Jehossee, were incorporated into Berkeley County. An 1884 report of agriculture in Berkeley County remarked that John's, Wadmalaw, and Edisto islands produced the bulk of the sea island cotton crop (Anonymous 1884:n.p.).

In terms of relative importance, cotton and livestock were the two most important agricultural activities in Charleston County, followed by truck farming and grain production. During the early postbellum period there is also evidence of some land consolidation — the four tracts in excess of 1,000 acres in 1870 had increased to 151 tracts by 1880. Probably caused by high property taxes, foreclosures, and low selling prices this trend continued only for a decade (Scardaville in Brockington et al. 1985:57). During the late postbellum tenancy increased dramatically throughout South Carolina, except for several coastal areas where Scardaville suggests black farmers were able to purchase small tracts. Where tenancy did exist, it was largely cash rental, not sharecropping, and Scardaville argues that this formed the vital link allowing black ownership (Scardaville in Brockington et al. 1985:62).

Hammond found that in the postbellum cotton production involved smaller acreage:

the largest number of acres of sea-island cotton planted under one management nowhere exceeds 100 acres. The largest white planters do not probably average more than 30 acres, and this necessitates that he should be a landlord of considerable estate. . . . On Edisto island the two-day

system prevails. The laborer gives the landlord two days' work in every week during ten months of the year, and receives in return a house, fuel, and 6 acres of arable land, which, together with such other land as he may rent, he cultivates on his own account during the remainder of the week. When extra work is required on the farm, these laboring tenants are employed at 50 cents per day (Hammond 1884:61).

Hammond reported that owners found the "two-day system" "quite unsatisfactory," since it resulted in large families on the property which contributed nothing to the cultivation. Yet, these families were needed to pick the cotton and so were tolerated by the owners. Moreover, the tenants themselves liked the system, since it gave them four days out of the week to cultivate their own lands.

While cotton remained a dominant force, rice planting was greatly reduced. Most planters were unable, without slave labor, to maintain the water control structures and plant successful crops. Not surprisingly, African Americans were generally unwilling to toil in the rice fields once free to make the choice. Property values declined dramatically — by 1883, the average value of riceland in the state was about 10% of its prewar price (Fick 1992:38).

Other factors also affected the future rice, including a series of natural disasters which seemed timed to make certain that rice planting never return to the low country. The "Great Cyclone of August 25, 1885 hit the Charleston area, while the earthquake of 1886 was felt throughout the region. Puckette remarks that the effects were even felt on Edisto:

Some of the oldest living inhabitants of Edisto can still recall the dancing earth, falling chimneys, and fearful aftershocks. The quake was

accompanied by extremely high tides. Crops and many island homes were damaged by the flooding (Puckett 1978:54).

That was followed by the hurricane of August 27, 1893 which flooded many of the sea islands south of Charleston and is reported to have drown 2,000 persons (Fick 1992:38). Puckette (1978:56) reports that on Edisto there was tremendous loss of crops and buildings, with the Edingsville Beach community being "completely swept away." While the loss of life was extraordinary, so too was the destruction to the rice trunks and dikes. The fields were covered in salt water and most planters lacked the resources to reclaim the land. Increasing competition from Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas, the degrading agricultural infrastructure, as well as an rice blight, brought an end to commercial cultivation in 1903 (Fick 1992:38).

Looking for economic activity to replace cotton and rice, many turned to phosphate mining. Centered in Charleston, Beaufort, and Colleton counties, the rock was used processed for fertilizer and found ready markets in both the United States and Europe. Relatively little phosphate was found in the Edisto River, although very rich deposits were found in the Ashepoo vicinity (Chazal 1904:5). Major land deposits were found north of Jacksonboro, between the Edisto and Ashepoo (Wyatt 1891:48). The industry rose and fell within a generation and deserves little more than a footnote in history. Fick (1992:36) comments that the industry was doomed by political opposition to state subsidies, competition from Florida, and the hurricane of 1893.

Even away from the rice fields and phosphate mines life was far from peaceful, most especially for African Americans. Not only was land first seemingly given and then taken away, but Zuczek notes that even on islands such as Edisto, which had large contingents of Federal troops, there were bands of "guerrillas" intent on preventing the Civil War from ending (Zuczek 1996:19).

The Black Codes were passed in 1865 in response to the "interference" in local labor conditions by the Freedmen's Bureau. These codes, regulating the status of freedmen, effectively created nominal freedom, leading to a new form of slavery through the regulation of labor and associated practices. There were a variety of contracts used by planters throughout the South, although one common type was that of a "standing wage," wherein the planter paid the freedmen a fixed wage in addition to a weekly ration of meat and meal. The wage might range from as little as \$2 a month to as much as \$25. The 1884 report from Berkeley County (which included southern Charleston County) revealed wages of \$8 month, plus rations. Often African Americans saw these "agreements" as too much like slavery, as well as an impediment to land ownership.

A variety of laws were passed to allow plantation owners to reclaim their lands. The 1872 redemption process was not totally successful, partially because some tracts had such low value. The land situation went from bad to worse, with Congress extending the law for an additional two years and extended its coverage to all Federal lands which had not been sold. The previous owner had only to pay the back taxes, costs, and interest. The law was extended on several more occasions and gradually black ownership became more difficult.

As Willie Lee Rose (1964) so candidly illustrates, the Northern determination to ensure the freedom and success of African Americans was gradually eroded. This included the famous "Bargain of 1877" whereby Hayes recognized Democratic control of the remaining Southern states in exchange for them not blocking the certification of his election by Congress. With Hayes as president, Reconstruction came to an end. With its end, there was considerably less interest in supporting black ownership of land.

By the 1890s Southern states were stripping African Americans of the rights granted by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. The South fell, "to one party rule under control of a

reactionary elite who used the same violence and fraud that had helped defeat Reconstruction to stifle internal dissent" (Froner and Mahoney 1995:134). As part of the process to get the Federal government out of land holding in Southern states, the Direct Tax Refunding law was passed by Congress in 1891. This allowed plantation owners to claim compensation for land confiscated by the Federal government during the Civil War (McGuire 1982:77).

The Twentieth Century

Fick (1992:48) observes that the face of Charleston County began to change during the early twentieth century. In 1904 Charleston County had 700 miles of public roads — all but 31 miles being unimproved dirt (Watson 1907:336). And in spite of its size, 17 other counties in South Carolina spent more for road work, perhaps explaining the generally poor condition of Charleston's road network. By 1915 the total number of road miles in Charleston County had dropped to 500, although there were by that time 40 miles of sand clay roads and 122 miles of graded and drained earthen roads, suggesting some overall improvement. By 1915 Charleston ranked seventh in terms of road expenditures (Watson 1916:154).

During much of the early twentieth century, transportation relied more on the waterways than on Charleston's generally poor road system. There was both coastwise and river service linking Charleston with the southern sea islands, including Edisto (Watson 1907:496-498). Completing the transportation system was the 85.25 mile Charleston and Savannah branch line of the Atlantic Coast Line, as well as the 45.70 mile Sea Island branch and 15.32 mile Sea Island spur (Watson 1907:505). Even closer to Edisto was the Seaboard Air Line which traveled from Charleston across the Stono to the northern end of Johns Island and then south of Rantowles to Hollywood and from there crossing the Edisto River south of Willtown Bluff (Fetters 1990:41, 43).

Fick comments on how economic activity diversified somewhat, with logging being

spearheaded by the formation of the A.C. Tuxbury Lumber Company in 1905. They created the largest mill in South Carolina on the Cooper River which, at its height, employed 400 to 500 people. After 33 years of operation, and the cutting of 715,000,000 feet of timber, the company ceased operation in June 1939. Smaller companies included the E.P. Burton Lumber Company (which logged extensively on the east branch of the Cooper River), Whipple Lumber Company (in the Ravenel area), and McLeod & Sons Lumber Company (in the Caw Caw Swamp area). The sea island, in general, saw much less logging than other coastal areas (Fetter 1990).

Truck farming, begun in the late nineteenth century, expanded during the first quarter of the twentieth, aided by improved rail connections. Fick observes that the "truck belt of Charleston County included Edisto, Wadmalaw, and James islands, as well as mainland areas from McClellanville southward to Parkers Ferry and Yonges Island (Fick 1992:49; see also Scardaville in Brockington et al. 1985:67-78). Watson commented that trucking increased by 295% in this area between 1889 and 1907, although in Charleston County the increase was an astonishing 1210%, from \$212,200 in 1900 to \$3,717,000 in 1906 (Watson 1907:290-291). The county boasted a profit in 1905 of nearly \$2,000,000 and Watson explains:

About Meggett's are the largest farms and greater diversification of crops. Here are the farms of Norman H. Blicht, the "Cabbage King," so called from the fact that he raises a larger number of cabbages than any other individual planter in the world; W.C. Geraty, who makes a specialty of raising cabbage plants for replanting and cultivation in other sections, and other substantial truck raisers who have achieved a reputation in the market in other respects (Watson 1907:297).

While "it is possible to drive for miles through the truck belt about Charleston without being able to change the scene of growing cabbages which greet the eyes" (there were 6,600 acres of cabbage in 1906), other significant crops included Irish potatoes (6,400 acres), sweet potatoes (1,200 acres), asparagus (850 acres), cucumbers (3,000 acres), beans (2,200 acres), and green peas (1,000 acres). Minor crops, such as beets, carrots, radishes, cauliflower, spinach, and turnips, accounted for an additional 2,500 acres (Watson 1907:298-299).

Other aspects of the low country economy, however, were clearly stagnant. The phosphate industry, struggling since the last decade of the nineteenth century, ceased operation in 1911. In 1907 the best that could be said about South Carolina's sinking rice industry was that it "is still more or less profitable" (Watson 1907:303). In fact, in 1905 there were only 17,825,732 pounds of rice milled in South Carolina, valued at only \$481,401. Table 3 reveals both declining acreage and declining value from 1900 through 1915.

Cotton, too, had begun to lose its luster during the twentieth century. Production in Charleston County increased from 6,013 bales in 1901 to its peak of 10,812 bales in 1905, then began falling to only 1,506 bales by 1930. On the other hand, prices rose — from the 9.8¢ per pound offered in 1880 (\$1.55 in 2002 \$) to 40¢ (\$3.26) in 1920. Yet 1920 was a defining year. Cotton prices collapsed that year as a result of overproduction and the loss of overseas markets. A series of droughts also damaged crops, although it was the introduction of the boll weevil which spelled doom for the crop. In 1921 the Sea Island crop was wiped out and Edgar (1998:485) indicates that it was never able to recover. He comments that:

By 1930, after a decade of difficulties, South Carolina agriculture was about to go under. Farmland and buildings had lost more than one-half their value. One-third of the state's farms were mortgaged, and

Table 5.
Statistics for South Carolina Rice in the Early Twentieth Century
(Watson 1907:305,1916:32)

Year	Acreage	Production, Bu	Value (corrected to 2002 \$)	Av Value per Acre (corrected to 2002 \$)
1900	77,657	47,360,128 (lbs)	not reported	
1904	33,300	832,500	\$ 557,775 (\$10,624,286)	\$16.75 (\$319)
1905	18,114	470,964	\$ 499,222 (\$9,508,990)	\$27.56 (\$525)
1906	19,036	418,792	\$418,792 (\$7,976,990)	\$22.00 (\$419)
1911	10,000	117,000	\$88,000 (1,676,190)	\$8.80 (\$167)
1912	8,000	200,000	\$186,000 (\$2,952,381)	\$23.25 (\$369)
1913	4,900	147,000	\$132,000 (\$2,167,487)	\$26.94 (\$442)
1914	6,900	179,000	\$165,000 (\$2,663,438)	\$23.91 (\$386)
1915	3,700	90,000	\$81,000 (\$1,307,506)	\$21.89 (\$353)

70 percent of the state's farmers survived on borrowed money (Edgar 1998:485).

The problems were apparently not as bad in Charleston as elsewhere in the state. For example, in 1930 only 9.2% of the Charleston farms were mortgaged and the average size of farms increased from 55.2 acres in 1920 to 79.7 acres. The average value of these farms increased from \$3,046 (\$24,794 in 2002 \$) in 1920 to \$4,621 (\$44,907) in 1930.

In Charleston County the average value of the farms was greatest in St. Michael and St. Phillip (the city) at \$9,863 and was lowest on St. John's Island at \$2,716. The vicinity of Edisto was in the middle, with the farms there having an average value of \$4,587.

Scardaville (in Brockington et al. 1985:59) discusses the relatively low incidence of tenancy in Charleston County. What tenancy did exist was found primarily on cotton farms and cash rental (where the landlord provided the land, house, and fuel; the tenant provided labor, animals, equipment, seed, and fertilizer; and the landlord received a fixed amount in either cash or crop) was the most common form. The reason for this is almost certainly the increasing number of black farmers who, by the early twentieth century, were able to own their own land. While the state-wide average of black farmers owning land was only 22.4% in 1900, in Charleston County it was

42.8% (Brockington et al. 1985:59). The prevalence of cash rental allowed blacks to accumulate wealth and fostered a greater degree of ownership (Brockington et al. 1985:62).

By 1940 the number of farms had increased to 2,124, although the average acreage fell only slightly to 78.4 acres, indicating that the increase in farms was the result in bringing more land into cultivation, not the division of existing farms into smaller units. The average value, however, plummeted — because of the depression — to only \$2,952 (\$34,285). Likewise, the number of farms operated by tenants was down to only 19.7%.

During this period other factors played an important roll in agricultural development. Fick notes that the continuing out migration of African

Americans, combined with wartime personnel demands, significantly reduced labor available to the truck farming industry. This labor shortage was at least partially responsible for the increased use of gasoline tractors. Draft animals, and their feed crops, began to disappear from the low country landscape (Fick 1992:56).

A second "northern invasion" consisting of wealthy industrialists had begun moving into the South Carolina low country in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Attracted by cheap land and plantation houses "already equipped with the charm of time" (Fick 1992:40), the plantations were used primarily for the leisure activities of the wealthy, often as hunting reserves or "sporting retreats." The absentee owners supported small communities of white and black workers, providing employment in chronically poor areas of the state. By the Second World War, however, many of these tracts were being sold. Many others, for the first time in memory, were timbered heavily during the 1940s and 1950s. And by the 1960s a number were being actively development.

An appropriate summary of "modern development" is provided by Coclanis:

In the absence of a strong agricultural base, developmental efforts in the low country in the twentieth century have relied mostly upon extractive industries — forest products primarily — low value-added manufacturing, military installations, and, increasingly, tourism and the resort industry. In its developmental strategy the low country shares much with other former plantation economies, not the least of which similarities are a low regional wage-scale and an emphasis — overemphasis, I believe — on tourism and the creation of what has become known derisively in the Caribbean as a "pimps and bellhops" economy. And so, the low

country, but for certain enclaves, remains one of the poorest parts of one of the poorest states even today (Coclanis 1989:155).

In 1988 the ACE Basin Task Force was formed to help preserve and protect the wetlands which had been recognized as being of national and international significance. Consisting of federal and state agencies and private landowners, the organization has been used as a model for other similar coalitions elsewhere in the nation.

Jehossee Island

As mentioned earlier, Waddel attributes "Chebasah" on the Thornton-Morden c. 1695 map to the name given the island at that time. In contrast, Linder provides a different interpretation:

A 1690 map of South Carolina settlements shows the name "Cebahal" on Jehossee Island just above the horseshoe curve of the Edisto in the approximate location of later plantation settlements. A warrant for 320 acres was issued in 1685 to Thomas Cheveral (Sacheverall) who arrived in the providence on October 23, 1684 (Linder 1995:286).

The map she references is Sanson's ca. 1696 *Carte Generale de la Carline Dresse sur les Memoires le Plus Nouveaux par le Sicur S[anson]*, which was based, to even the smallest topographic detail, on the Thornton-Morden-Lea ca. 1685 *New Map of Carolina* (Cummings 1998:180, 187). Unfortunately, neither the *Carte Generale* nor the *New Map of Carolina* show the settlement. It is likely that Linder intended to reference Sanson's *Carte Particuliere de la Caroline*, also dated ca. 1696 and which does show a settlement, identified as "Chebasab," rather than "Chebasah." This is a copy of the Thornton-Morden map, which is based on the Mathews map a decade earlier.

JEHOSSEE ISLAND

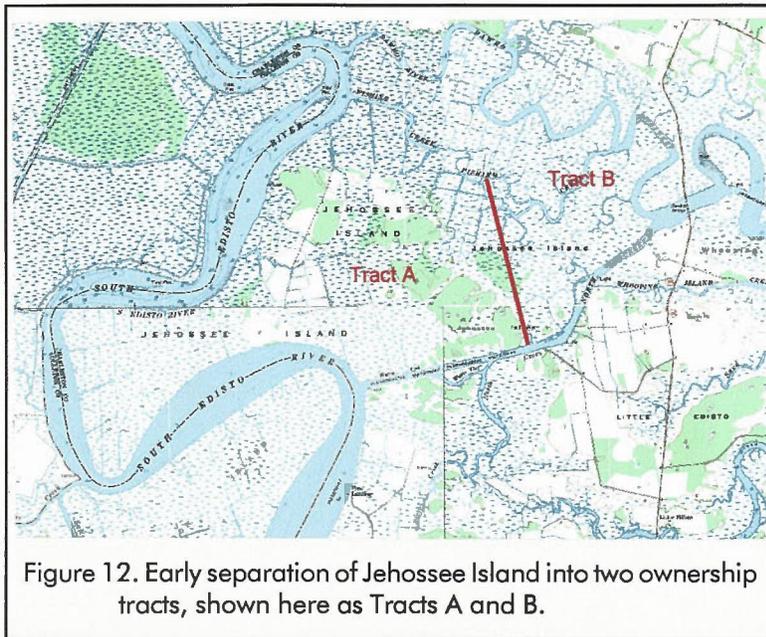


Figure 12. Early separation of Jehossee Island into two ownership tracts, shown here as Tracts A and B.

While it seems unlikely that an immigrant arriving in late 1684, would have already been shown on a map dating just a year later, there is clearly some settlement shown on the various maps and, as will be discussed below, there is independent evidence that the lands were settled by someone.

The warrant for the 320 acres issued to Thomas Cheverall [Sacheverall] and his family does not specify a location (Salley and Olsberg 1973:388). Another warrant, for William Bower, mentions that property is adjacent to the "Land of the Chiverells" (Salley and Olsberg 1973:605) and Bower's land may have been adjacent to Palmetor Creek (Salley and Olsberg 1973:617). Unfortunately, this creek (or at least the name) does not seem to exist today.

There are additional problems, largely unresolvable, concerning the warrant. The process of warrant - plat - grant system for this early period is poorly preserved and fragmentary. We have, for example, no evidence of either a plat or grant in the name of Cheverall or Sacheverall. Yet, Salley warns us:

As a means of tracing actual land

grants, the warrants are even less effective. Settlers who applied for land died or left the colony before the granting process was complete. Lack of coordination between the officers of the provincial government resulted in oversights and duplications. Warrants or surveys made in one person's name might pass to another. Lands were not taken up, and warrants or plats to them lapsed (Salley and Olsberg 1972:xiv).

In spite of these disagreements and uncertainties, the available maps do show a settlement on what appears to be Jehossee. How long it remained or the exact nature of the settlement are uncertain. But this may, in fact, represent the earliest (ca. 1685-1700) settlement on the island and may be recognized archaeologically through the presence of such ceramics as North Devon gravel tempered wares, delft, and a range of other types only occasionally seen in most archaeological collections.

Whatever the nature of the Cheverall settlement might have been, it does not appear to have been permanent. In addition, very early in history the island had two divergent lines of ownership. Figure 12 designates these as Tracts A and B.

Tract A

In 1742 a Royal Grant was issued for 3,500 acres to Thomas and Elizabeth Jenys, Executor and Executrix of the Last Will and Testament of Paul Jenys, deceased, in trust for Paul and George Jenys, sons of the decedent.

Paul Jenys was a Carolina planter and merchant who had several plantations (including 1,000 acres on the south side of the Pon Pon (Edisto) River and a Charleston house. Using his mercantile power he was able to wield

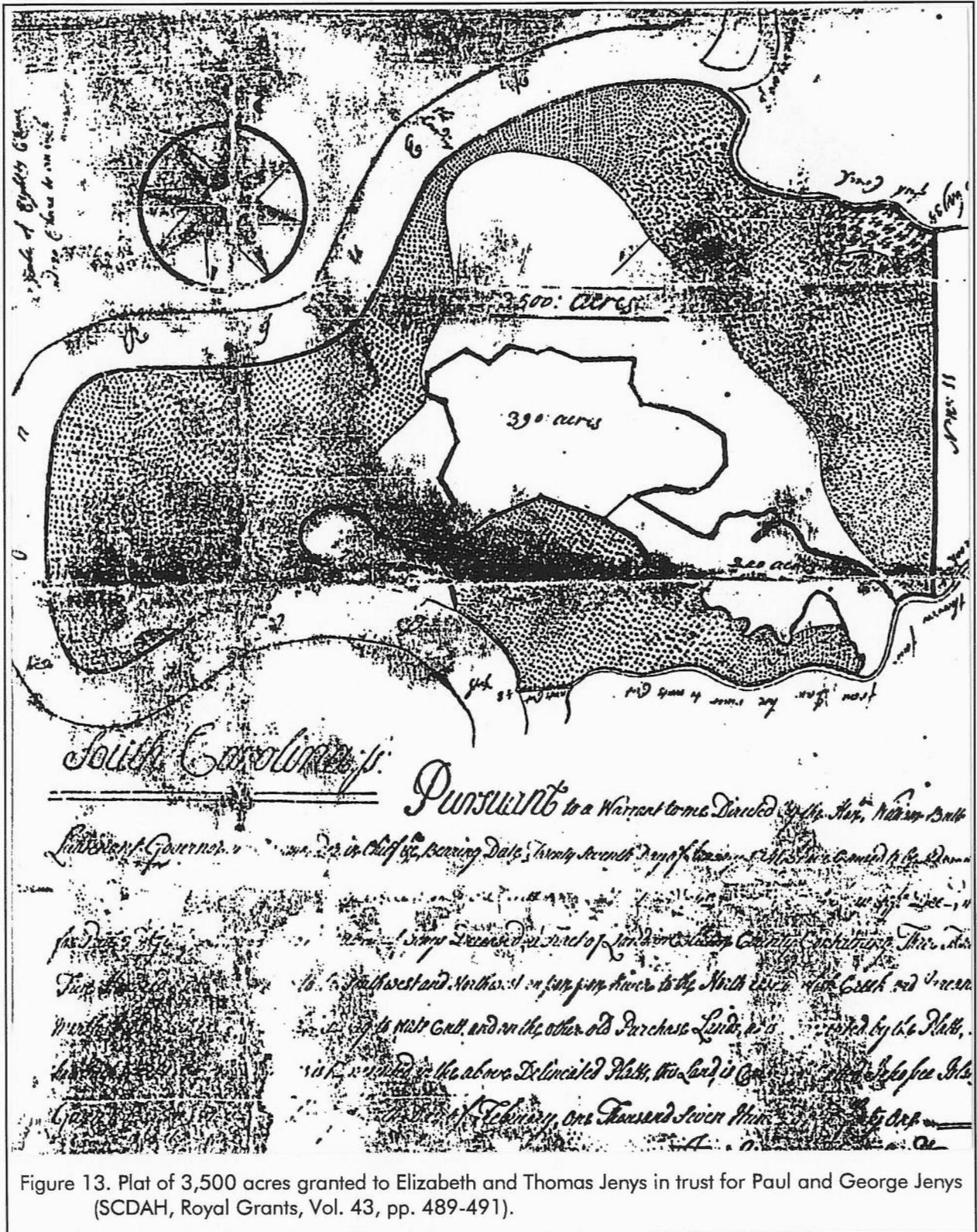


Figure 13. Plat of 3,500 acres granted to Elizabeth and Thomas Jenys in trust for Paul and George Jenys (SCDAH, Royal Grants, Vol. 43, pp. 489-491).

considerable political power, serving in the Fourth through Tenth Royal Assemblies. Jenys died in July 1737, leaving his wife, Elizabeth, and three sons, Paul, Thomas, and George, as well as a brother, Thomas. At his death he owned 180 slaves (Edgar and Bailey 1977:366-367). It is likely that his executor was his brother, Thomas, with his wife, Elizabeth serving as executrix.

The property conveyed to Jenys' was described as:

All that parcel or Tract of Land Containing Three Thousand Five hundred Acres Situate lying & Being in Colleton County in the Province aforesaid and butting and Bounding to the Southwest & Northwest on Pon Pon River to the Northeast on fish Creek and Vacant Marfh to the Southeast on a Creek leading to Wats cut and on the other side on old Purchase Lands and fath such shapes and marks as appears by a platt thereof hereunto annexed together with all woods, underwoods Timber and Timber Trees Lakes, Ponds, Fishings Waters, Water Courses, Profits Commodities Appurtances and Hereditaments Whatsoever thereunto belonging or in anywise appertaining together with the Priveldges of Hunting Hawking and Fowling in and upon the same and all mines and mineral Whatsoever Saving and Reserving neverthelefs to us our heirs and succesors all white Pine Trees if any there should be found growing thereon and also saving and Reserving to us our Heirs and Succesors One tenth Part of Mines of Silver and Gold only (SCDAH, Royal Grants, Vol. 43, pp. 489-491).

The accompanying plat (Figure 13) indicates that

the property "is Commonly called Jehofsee Island," indicating that by 1742 the name was attached. The plat is otherwise relatively uninformative, showing only that much of the 3,500 acres was either marsh or low ground. Two areas of high ground, comprising less than 700 acres, are shown on the plat.

There seems to be no information pertaining to the son, George, other than that he died young. Paul, however, was a merchant and planter like his father. He resided in St. George Dorchester and, through inheritance, owned two plantations in addition to the Jehossee tract. One was at Euhaws and the other was on the Ashley. Paul Jenys, at his death in 1752, held a library of 133 volumes valued at £185.5 — an extraordinary collection of books for the period. He served in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Royal Assemblies, but appears to have been less of a politician than his father (Edgar and Bailey 1977:367-368).

At his death in 1752, Paul Jenys' will devises his "lands to the southward, called Jehossa," as a moiety eventually to Henry Middleton and his wife Mary Henrietta Middleton, and to his cousin Walter Izard (Charleston County WPA Wills, Vol. 5, pg. 623). While we are able to determine the approximate chain of title, we have no clear idea of activities which might have been taking place on the island during the first half of the eighteenth century.

Henry Middleton and his wife, Mary Henrietta Middleton, apparently sold their portion of the moiety to William Maxwell in 1764 (unrecorded, but reported in *David H. Maybank, Thomas H. Maybank and John F. Maybank, Jr. v. The State of South Carolina*, Charleston County Court of Common Pleas Case No. 82-CP-10-2000, August 9, 1982).

At his death in 1759, Walter Izard had amassed "one of the most considerable Fortunes in this province" (quoted in Edgar and Bailey 1977:363). Although his principal residence was Cedar Grove on the Ashley River, at least one holding was the Jehossee Island tract. The moiety,

or half given to him, apparently passed to his son, John Izard. John, in turn, sold his portion in 1767 to William Maxwell (unrecorded, but reported in *David H. Maybank, Thomas H. Maybank and John F. Maybank, Jr. v. The State of South Carolina*, Charleston County Court of Common Pleas Case No. 82-CP-10-2000, August 9, 1982). This served to restore the original Jenys estate of 3,500 acres to one owner.

Maxwell is reported by Edgar and Bailey (1977:442) to have been a successful planter in Colleton District, although the only property they specifically mention was a 1,500 acre grant near Saltketchers Swamp in St. Bartholomew Parish. It seems likely, therefore, that Maxwell may have made Jehossee his primary country residence. If so, he may have been the first planter to focus his attentions on the property.

Regardless, in 1776 Maxwell and his wife, Sarah, sold Jehossee to Charles Drayton (unrecorded, but reported in *David H. Maybank, Thomas H. Maybank and John F. Maybank, Jr. v. The State of South Carolina*, Charleston County Court of Common Pleas Case No. 82-CP-10-2000, August 9, 1982). The deed specified "all that island or tract of land and marsh commonly called Jehossee in Colleton County containing 3500 acres more or less."

Charles Drayton, the elder, was the son of John Drayton and second wife, Charlotta Bull. He studied medicine in Scotland, but returned to Charleston to establish his practice. He inherited Drayton Hall from his father and appears to

Table 6.
Inventory of Real Property at Jehossee in 1820

Item	Value (\$)	2002\$	Item	Value (\$)	2002\$
Plantation tools	20	272	Cotton, 5 bales	300	4,082
Cooper & carpenter tools	6	82	Cotton bagging	20	272
Corn, 216 bu	100	1,360	Old wine, 18 bottles	30	408
Peas, 110 bu	50	680	Old silver	6	82
Potatoes, 300 bu	36	490	Household & kitchen furn	10	136
Cattle, 60 head	500	6,803	Old guns	8	109
Grindstone	2	27	Rice	840	11,429
Corn mill	1	14			

devoted his life to painting, botany, and his plantation gardens (Linder 1995:288).

The National Trust for Historic Preservation reveals that the property was referred to in Charles' diaries only as "Jehossee,"

The Draytons owned Jehossee for 47 years and developed it as a rice plantation. In addition to rice, Jehossee slaves grew corn, potatoes, indigo, and cotton. From Charles Drayton's diaries we know of the existence of slave houses, a rice mill, cotton gin, overseer's house, and other buildings . . . Eleven slaves with names of possible African derivation, such as Dembo, Binah, Quash, and Quamina, appear on an 1820 Jehossee inventory" (Anonymous 2001a:6).

A latter article recounts additional details of the plantation, focusing on conflicts between a newly appointed overseer, Thomas Merchant, and the island's slaves from January 1800 through the end of that year. It appears that the slaves were

JEHOSSEE ISLAND

Table 7.
 Tabulation of Rice and Cotton Produced by Jehossee, 1789 - 1813 (Charles Drayton Diaries, 1784 - 1818, Drayton Hall Archives, Charleston, South Carolina)

Date	Rice, barrels	Other Rice (b -barrel)	Cotton (b=bag)
1789	71		
1791	80		
1792	155		
1793	50	2 b rough, 2 b chaff, 1b flour	
1794	56	2 b small	
1795	210	1 b small, 117 b seed	
1796	188	3 b rough, ½ b small	
1797	183		
1798	187	2 b seed	3 b, 40 bu
1799	130	1 b small	8 b
1800	113	4 b seed, 1 b small	11 b
1801	325	8 b small, 14 b flour	19 bales, 6 b
1802	166	9 b flour, 20 b seed	36 bales
1803	82	1 b small	13 bales
1806	70	14 b seed	
1811	1	22 b seed, 2 b small	
1813	38		29 bales

unhappy with the treatment from the overseer and complained to Drayton, who attributed their unhappiness to the fact that Merchant was "more intelligent & industrious than suits their disposition." On October 23 Drayton received a letter from a planter on nearby Edisto, "announcing the death of my overseer at Jehossee Mr. Thomas Merchant." Following this announcement "sundry negroes were carried from Jehossee to Edistow by warrant on Suspicion" although no additional information is provided in the diary (Anonymous 2001b:4).

While only a brief glimpse of the daily

activities on Jehossee, this account provides yet one more bit of evidence that enslaved African Americans were not passive victims of the horrors of slavery, but engaged in daily acts of dissidence and resistance. While acts of discontent were generally shown through inefficiency, sabotage, theft, malingering, and escape — however brief — there were occasional acts of overt physical resistance and this may document one such case. Certainly the isolation of Jehossee would make such a location fertile ground for slave resistance.

The diaries, however, provide a wide range of other details concerning the economic life of Jehossee. They reveal, for example, the gradual increase in rice production on Jehossee, from 71 barrels in 1789 to as many as 325 barrels in 1801. After this date the rice production appears to decline, although no clues for this are offered in the narratives. About 1798 Jehossee began to produce cotton, initially in very small quantities, although by 1802 36 bales were produced, coming from both the "swamp" lands and uplands on the island (see Table 7 for additional details).

Jehossee also shipped a wide range of animals to Drayton Hall, including hogs, ducks, fowl, and turkeys, as well as eggs and butter. Two "small barrels" of indigo were even produced, perhaps as an experience since there is only this one notation, in 1793.

The items flowing to Jehossee, from either Drayton Hall, Savannah, or Charleston included provisions, clothing for the slaves, rye seed, and corn. There are also notations of various building activities on the island, such as the shipment of two sills for a barn in 1790 or the setting of new mill stones in the rice mill in 1811. Drayton also indicated that he made periodic shipments of guns, gunpowder, shot, and flints to Jehossee — in amounts that suggest use beyond just the overseer.

Besides the ill-fated Mr. Merchant, Drayton mentions at least two earlier overseers, a Mr. "Culliot" in 1794 and a Mr. Sevindersign or

Swinderine in 1795. The terms for the latter's employment were, "meat 5 hogs & ½ beef, 1 wench, boy, girl, not serviceable." In 1806 there is mention only of a slave driver, Paris (Charles Drayton Diaries, 1784 - 1818, Drayton Hall Archives, Charleston, South Carolina).

At his death in 1820, 40 slaves from Jehossee are inventoried with a value of \$27,851 (\$378,925 in 2002\$). Other items (see Table 6), especially when compared to the inventory of Drayton Hall, suggest that Jehossee was a working plantation and while there was likely a main house, it was spartan and rarely visited by Drayton and his family. The inventory reveals that while provision crops, such as corn, peas, and potatoes, were being grown, the cash crops were cotton and rice, with rice seemingly far more important (an ad for the Drayton holdings describes "that well known Island, called *Jehosse*, containing 1000 acres of first quality Swamp Lands" (*Charleston Courier*, December 17, 1822). What is perhaps surprising about the inventory is that there were so few plantation tools present — nothing to indicate the skill or capital necessary to prepare rice or cotton for the market (except perhaps for the grinding stone which might have been associated with the rice mill).

The Jehossee plantation management was passed to his son, Charles Drayton, the younger, who was also a physician. The elder Drayton had previously deeded a portion of Jehossee to his son in 1814, since the will states that the current tract, "meets the boundary of lands heretofore given to him" (Charleston County WPA Wills, Vol. 34, pg. 344; Colleton County Clerk of Court, DB B, pg. 268-269). Linder (1995:288) indicates that Charles had been involved in the management of Jehossee since at least 1785, again referring to the details of plantation which may be available in the Drayton diaries.

Before his death in 1824, Charles Drayton the younger sold Jehossee to Thomas Milliken in two transactions. The first, by Sheriff Thomas May, resulted from a suit brought by Corbett against Drayton as the executor of his father (Charleston District Clerk of Court, July 9, 1823) which

required the sale of 2070 acres of Jehossee. That sale involved the portion of Jehossee described as:

North by Fish Creek and Pon Pon River, East by Watts Cut Creek and Marsh land granted to Ash, South by Pon Pon River and Watts Cut and West by Charles Drayton (the Executor's land on the said island) (Colleton County Clerk of Court, DB E, pg. 205).

The second sale, by Drayton, involved:

All that plantation or tract of land on Jehossee Island, District of Colleton, measuring and containing 1180 acres, more or less, butting and bounding on three sides thereof Northerly Westerly and Southerly on the Pon Pon River, Eastwardly on lands formerly of my father Charles Drayton deceased, now of said Thomas Milliken under conveyance to him by John May, Sheriff, . . . on sale of land belonging to that estate and forming together with the said conveyance by the said Sheriff to said Thomas Milliken the whole of the land of my said father on the said island at and immediately before the time at which he conveyed a part thereof to me under his deed bearing date June 16, 1814 (Colleton County Clerk of Court, DB E, pg. 203).

Not a great deal is known about Milliken. The 1820 Federal census identified him in Charleston County and revealing his ownership of 16 slaves (SCDAH, 1820 Federal Census, Charleston District, pg. 84). *Mills' Atlas* of 1825 shows Jehossee Island on both the Charleston and Colleton district maps, although the Colleton map more clearly shows the island — and the plantation — at the foot of the rice basin. The

settlement is labeled Milliken, suggesting that not only was Milliken spending some time at the plantation, but also that he was interested in announcing this as a subscriber to the atlas.

Milliken appears in two Charleston City Directories and is reported to have lived on Charlotte Street, near Elizabeth (Schenck 1822; Cromwell 1828). Although Poston does not identify an extant structure on Charlotte attributed to Milliken, he does report that the Robert Martin House, 16 Charlotte Street, was built on a lot purchased from "planter Thomas Milliken in 1834" (Poston 1997:595). The general area of Mazyckborough and Wraggborough was popular with Charleston's wealthy families, including the rice-planters, newly risen merchants, and former mechanics. By the 1830 Federal census, Milliken is reported to be residing on the Charleston Neck (SCDAH, 1830 Federal Census, Charleston District, pg. 117) and by 1840 he was enumerated in the 1st Ward of Charleston (SCDAH, 1840 Federal Census, Charleston District, pg. 10).

It seems likely that Milliken continued the operation of the rice plantation began by Drayton, selling his property in 1830 to William Aiken, the younger. The deed describes the plantation as:

known by the name of Jehossee Island, situate and being in Colleton District in said State, measuring and containing 3250 acres more or less, butting and bounding southwardly, westwardly and northwestwardly and eastwardly on marsh land granted to Ash and on Watt's Creek and Cut and having such form and marks as are set forth and delineated in the plat or plan thereof made by Henry Ravenel, Surveyor and Engineer dated in 1822 and hereby specially referred to and made a part hereof (Colleton County Clerk of Court, DB I, pg. 19).

Unfortunately, no one has been able to identify the

Ravenel plat in Charleston or Colleton counties, or in the records of the South Carolina Historical Society or the S.C. Department of Archives and History. Curiously, this plat was mentioned in an April 5, 1947 newspaper article. Apparently the Milliken deed was found among some Maybank papers and was taken to the Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance to be recorded. The newspaper article focused on the long delay and indicated that it "was recorded yesterday by Julius F. Gosswell, register of mesne conveyance." It went on to comment:

the conveyance sets forth that the property is in accordance with a plat by Henry Ravenel, surveyor and engineer, made in 1822 and includes houses, outhouses, fences, and gateways" (Anonymous 1947).

This plat was certainly present in 1947 and has since been stolen or horribly misfiled. Either way, its loss is a significant disappointment since it likely provided exceptional details on the plantation development during the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

Tract B

The second portion of the Jehossee Island is that portion initially granted by the State of South Carolina to Samuel Ash in 1786 (SCDAH, State Grants, Vol. 14, pg. 422). The grant itself provides no real information concerning the parcel, although the accompanying plat does at least provide recognizable geographic boundaries (Figures 14 and 15). It also reveals that the bulk of the tract consisted of marsh, with only two "islands" suitable for occupation.

Samuel Ash died in 1794 and the property appears to have been passed to his widow, Hannah Deveaux Ash, perhaps in trust for his two infant sons, Samuel Ash, Jr. and Andrew Deveaux Ash. In 1806 Hannah married Dr. William S. Stevens (Charleston County RMC, DB Q7, pg. 339). She died in 1822 and it appears that the property passed to the eldest son, Samuel Ash, Jr.,

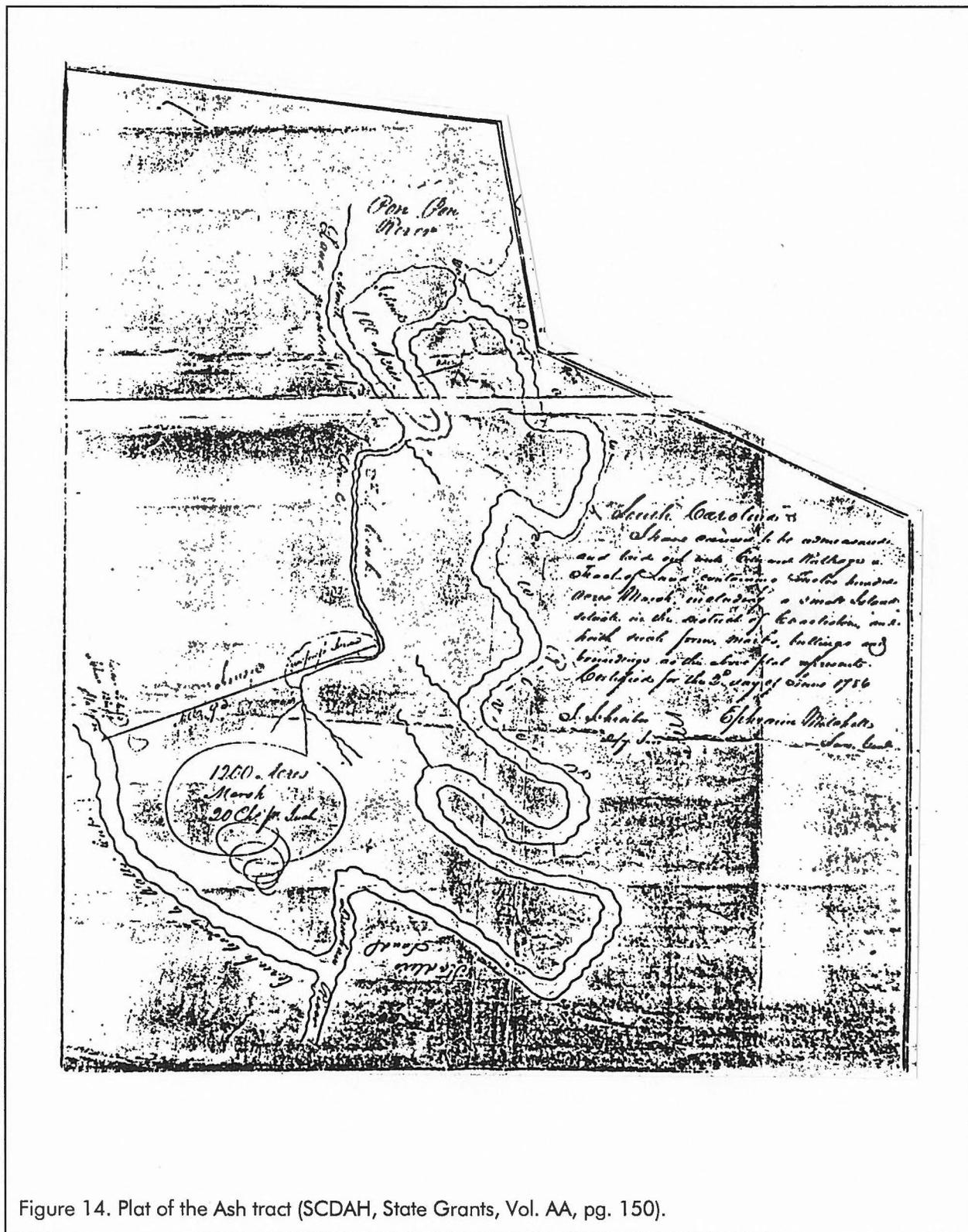


Figure 14. Plat of the Ash tract (SCDAH, State Grants, Vol. AA, pg. 150).

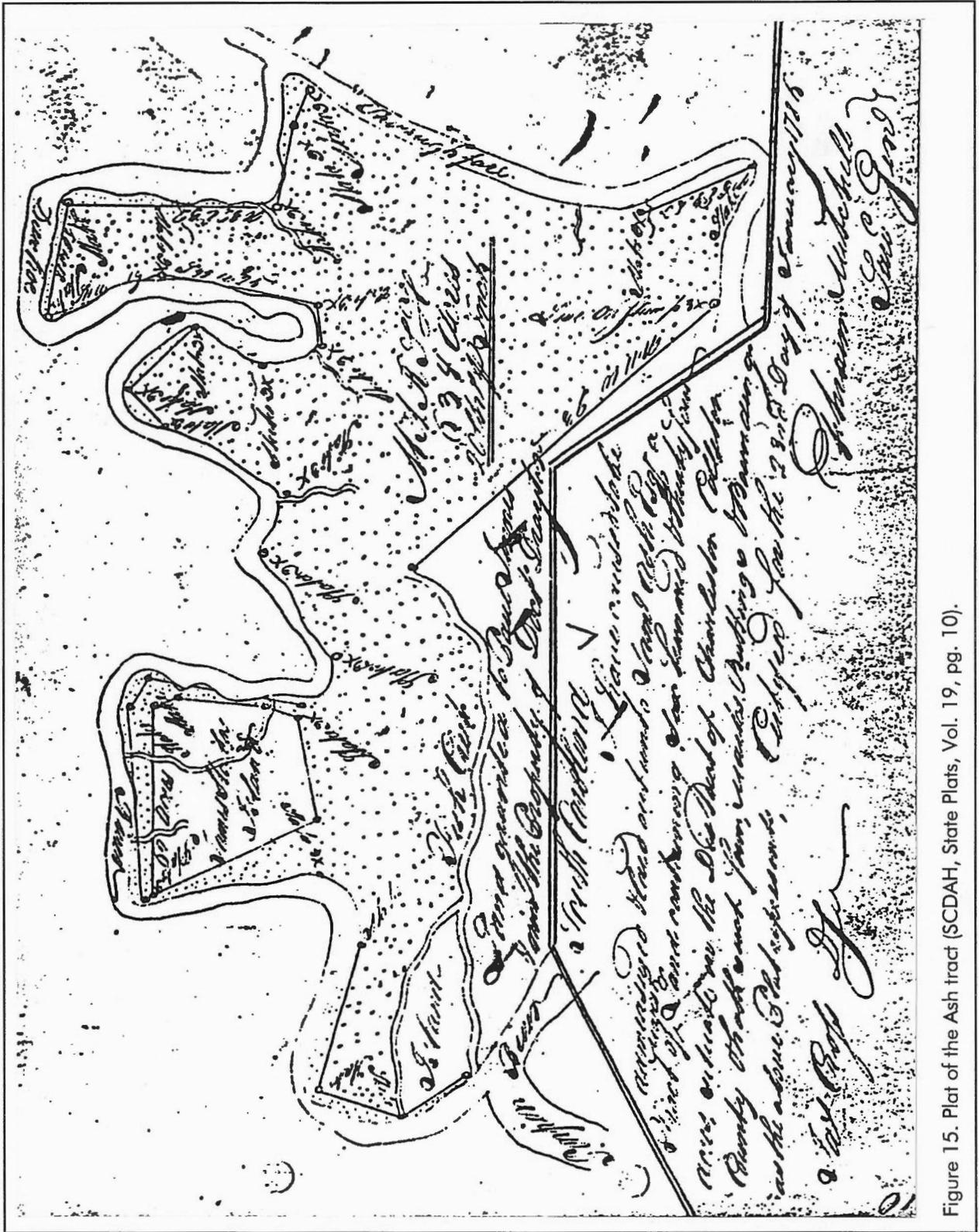


Figure 15. Plat of the Ash tract (SCDAH, State Plats, Vol. 19, pg. 10).

who in 1812 married Mary Elizabeth Pinckney (reported in *David H. Maybank, Thomas H. Maybank and John F. Maybank, Jr. v. The State of South Carolina*, Charleston County Court of Common Pleas Case No. 82-CP-10-2000, August 9, 1982). Samuel Ash, Jr. died 12 years later in 1824. When his widow, Mary Elizabeth Pinckney Ash, remarried in 1826 her marriage settlement reveals that her husband's estate had not been settled and that she had yet to receive her one-third dower interest (Charleston County RMC, DB T9, pg. 41). A year earlier Andrew Deveaux Ash died, leaving no next of kin (Charleston County WPA Wills, Vol. 35, pg. 827).

With the end of the Ash line, it seems likely that the estate was sold at public auction. It appears that a Charles E. Miller acquired the property, probably around 1826.

Given the frequency the tract changed hands and how often it was held in trust for other heirs, it is uncertain how effectively the plantation might have been managed — or how economically successful it might have been. The only Ash for which information has been found is Samuel Ash the elder, who was a bricklayer and planter. Although he acquired not only Jehossee, but also at least one additional plantation near Toobodoo in St. Pauls Parish, his principal residence appears to have been Charleston. The only record of slaves in his inventory is 17 on the St. Pauls Parish tract — suggesting that Jehossee may not have been developed, at least during his early tenure. During the American Revolution he served as a private in the third company of the Charleston Battalion of Artillery and was imprisoned on the ship *Torbay* in Charleston harbor (Bailey and Cooper 1981:44).

The new owner, Charles E. Miller, is even less well known. There is a listing for a Charles Miller at 52 Anson Street in 1828 (Cromwell 1828) and he appears in the 1830 Colleton District Federal census. At that time his household consisted of six whites (two male children, one female teenager, two adult males, and one adult female) and three enslaved African Americans (an adult male and female and a female child)

(SCDAH, 1830 Federal Census, Colleton District, pg. 437). Miller is not again listed in either the Federal Census or a Charleston City Directory.

After perhaps a decade, Miller sold his portion of Jehossee to a Samuel G. Barker (Charleston County RMC, DB C11, pg. 233) describing the tract as "Lots 1 and 3," apparently in exchange for Lot 2 (which was released to Miller by Barker in a quit claim deed only a few days later; see Charleston RMC, DB K11, pg. 395; Figure 16).

After only five years of ownership, Barker sold "700 acres, lots 1 and 3" to William Brisbane on February 1, 1840 (Charleston County RMC, DB Y10, pg. 325). By June 14, 1842 Brisbane mortgaged Lot 2, consisting of 532.46 acres, to Charles E. Miller (Charleston County RMC, DB S11, pg. 479). At the same time he sought and received a quit claim deed for the properties from Miller (Charleston County RMC, DB C11, pg. 461).

A little over a year later, Miller assigns the mortgage to Mrs. Jane Neyle (Charleston County RMC, DB S11, pg. 479). Moreover, there is no notation that the mortgage was ever satisfied by Brisbane, resulting in Neyle acquiring, through default, the portion of Jehossee or Cedar Island known as Lot 2

Apparently Brisbane had other financial problems since a 1855 suit, *William Brisbane, et. al. v. Thomas Osborne Lowndes, et. al.*, reveals that he had mortgaged certain trust property and then sued for additional estate settlements. This wound its way through Equity Court, eventually being turned over to a Master for settlement (SCDAH, Charleston County, Equity File Book 5, 1851-1855, pg. 52, 80; Equity Court Bills 1851, No. 73). All this resulted in his loss of the remainder of Jehossee or Cedar Island, Lots 1 and 3 (Charleston County RMC, DB W13, pg. 177).

Samuel G. Barker is another poorly known owner. He appears in the 1828 Charleston city directory living on the north side of Charlotte Street, part of the prestigious antebellum

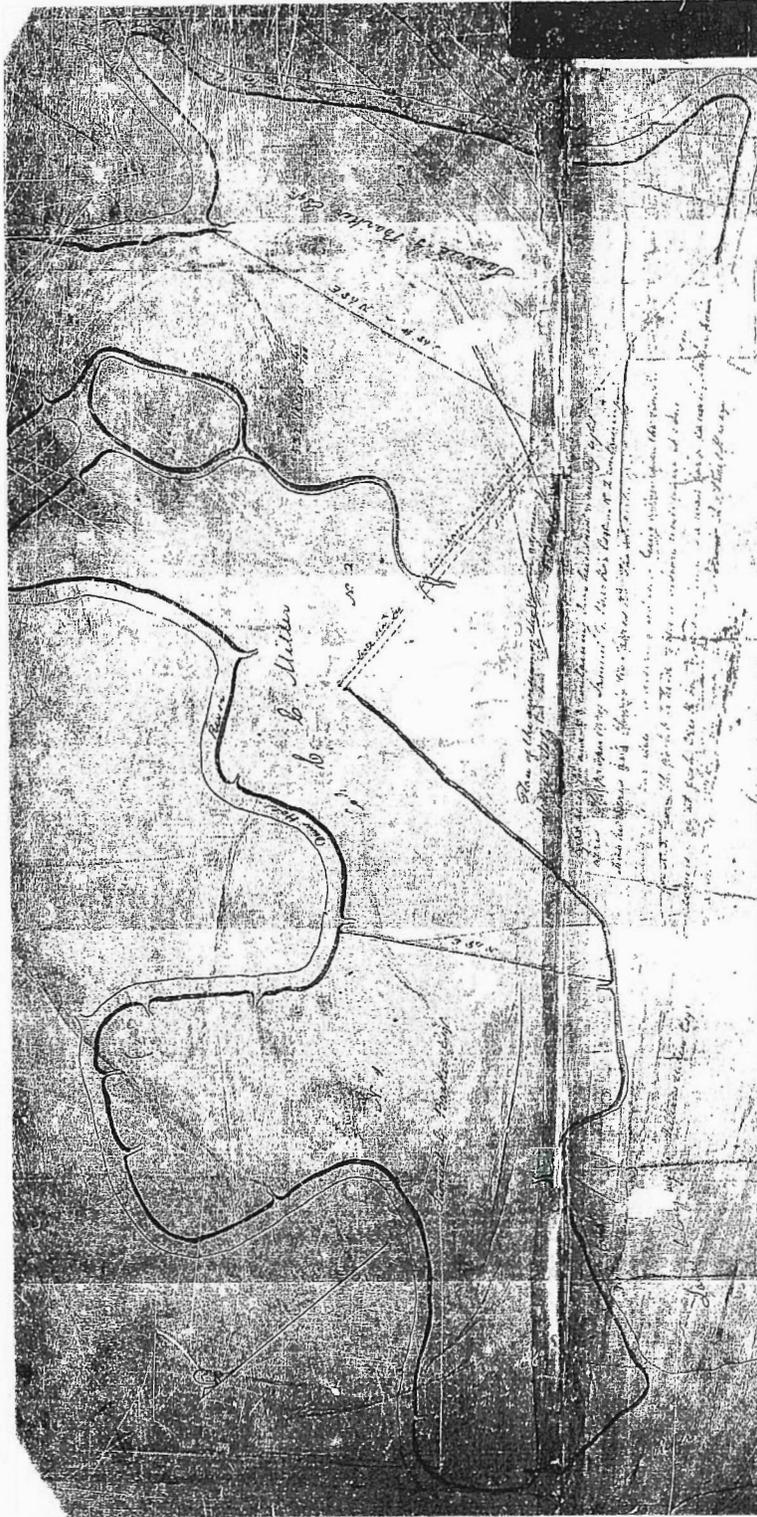


Figure 16. Division of Lots 1, 2, and 3 (Charleston County RMC, Plat Book A, pg. 9).

Mazyckborough and Wraggborough neighborhood (Cromwell 1828). He also appears in the 1840 Federal census, although by 1860 his holdings appear to be in the St. Andrews Parish.

Mrs. Jane Neyle was a widow and small Colleton District planter. The 1850 Federal census lists her age as 44 years, with her household including a 14-year old daughter, Mary, and a 9-year old son, Henry. The value of her real estate holdings was only \$9,000 (\$171,482 in 2002\$) (SCDAH, 1850 Federal Census, Colleton District, pg. 228).

Of all these owners, the most confusing is William Brisbane. This is one of the two nephews and adopted sons of the elder William Brisbane. The elder's 1821 will explains, "having no children of our own we were desirous of substituting some one towards whom we might exercise the endearing assiduities required of parents In making choice of persons for this purpose it was natural to select them from my own kindred and name. I therefore applied to my two Brothers who freely and voluntarily delivered up to me each of them a Son whom I received from their Parents in early infancy" (Charleston County WPA Wills, vol. 35, pg. 607).

One of his adopted sons was William Brisbane, the other, William Henry Brisbane. William Henry received his father's Milton Lodge Plantation, as well as a house at 39 Meeting Street. William received a house at 15 Meeting Street and a sum of money as an equivalent for Milton Lodge.

The 1830 census lists a William Brisbane in St. James Goose Creek, although no household data is provided (SCDAH, 1830 Federal Census, Charleston District, pg. 172).

Linder provides some additional details concerning the operation:

William and Julia [his wife] lived with their large family at Willtown, Meta Morris Grimball, a neighbor, found them to be

witty and charming. She described Julia as timid, but intelligent and amiable "Mrs. played on the harp, and sang very sweetly, they did not entertain, but there was a sort of dash, about them, which made you think them very rich, and fashionable, and happy, they were much attached to each other" William, through charming, was not a successful planter. He lost the land and moved north (Linder 1995:294).

Lots 1 and 3 were sold at auction by James Tupper, Master in Equity, to Augustus L. Taveau in 1857. The two parcels were described as:

All that Rice Plantation known as Wilderness in Charleston District being Lots 1 and 3 of the lands of Barker and Miller described on the plat by Robert Q. Pinckney in 1835, lying between Dawhoo River North, Pon Pon River West, Fish Creek and the thoroughfare to Ashepoo sometimes Watts Cut Creek measuring together about 700 acres as are set forth on said plat (Charleston County RMC, DB W13, pg. 177).

Taveau, also in 1857, also acquired Lot 2 held by Mrs. Jane Neyle since about 1845 (Charleston County RMC, DB W13, pg. 175).

While Taveau does not appear in the 1840, 1850, or 1860 Federal census, he is found in several city directories. In 1822 he is shown living on 9 Legare Street, while by 1828 his residence had moved to East Bay, near Boundary Street (Schenck 1822; Cromwell 1828). There is also a record of his youngest daughter, Augusta Melaine, marrying at Strawberry Chapel in St. Johns Berkeley Parish (*Charleston Observer*, February 15, 1845). Beyond this, no additional information concerning his plantation activities has

been identified.

Linder, again referring to the Meta Grimball diaries, mentioned that he was disapproved of by his neighbors since he worked as usual on Sundays. Meta Grimball also noted, "Mr. Taveau was quite in debt when he commenced his planting in our Parish and he did not succeed so after 3 years trying he sold out at great sacrifice and went off with his wife and two children" (quoted in Linder 1995:294).

Actually, Taveau held the Jehossee or Cedar Island tract only a year, selling what was called, for the first time, "Wilderness Plantation" to William Whaley, Administrator of George W. Morris, deceased in mid-January 1858 (Charleston County RMC, DB B14, pg. 533). Grimball's reference to "three years" may mean that he had tried planting another tract in the vicinity earlier.

This purchase was likely an investment since Whaley also held the property only a year, selling it to William Aiken in February 1859 (Charleston County RMC, DB F14, pg. 204). The property was still called "Wilderness" and Jehossee took on its modern appearance under one owner.

The Antebellum Ownership of William Aiken

To briefly recap, William Aiken acquired the core of the Jehossee Island tract, containing 3,250 acres, in March 1830 from Thomas Milliken. The northern and eastern portions, known variously as Lots 1-3, Cedar Island, or Wilderness Plantation, were purchased in February 1859 and totaled 1,232.46 acres.

Aiken was a first generation Charlestonian, born in 1806 of William Aiken, Sr. and Henrietta Wyatt Aiken. His father, a merchant, planter, and banker, immigrated to Charleston in 1801 from Antrim County, Ireland and married Henrietta Wyatt that same year. Aiken's younger brother, Peter, was born in 1808 and died only three years later, leaving him the only surviving child of his parents. The elder Aiken made a

impressive fortune. In 1810 he owned no slaves, but by 1820 he is listed as having 22 in Charleston, all but one apparently at his home. By 1830 he had 20 slaves at his Charleston Neck home and 171 slaves on a St. Paul Parish, Colleton plantation (Moore 1992:3-4). By the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the elder Aiken was a very successful cotton merchant and was considered one of the wealthiest men in the state (Zierden et al. 1986:8).

The elder Aiken served in the South Carolina General Assembly continuously between 1823 and 1830, as well as serving on a variety of bank boards and playing a significant role in the establishing of the Charleston to Hamburg railroad (Moore 1992:4).

The younger Aiken was educated in-state, attending the Hurlburt School and graduating in 1825 from the South Carolina College (Bailey et al. 1986:40). After college he embarked on extensive travels in Europe (Easterby 1928:128).

With the premature death of Aiken in 1831 his widow and son divided his holdings between themselves. William Aiken, Jr., who married Harriet L. Lowndes that same year, made his residence at 48 Elizabeth Street — property which up to that time had been rented out by Aiken (Charleston County RMC, DB D51, pg. 337).

Aiken made extensive changes to the Elizabeth Street property. It was enlarged, the central entrance which faced Judith Street was closed and a new entrance, on Elizabeth Street, was created in a Greek Revival style. He enlarged the kitchen building in the rear and added Gothic arches to all of the outbuildings (Zierden et al. 1986:10). Perhaps evidencing his practicality, the rear yard of his residence never had formal gardens. Instead, it was a working yard, dominated by service buildings. The only decorative plantings were apparently a few magnolias and perhaps a small herb garden.

By 1850 his household consisted of himself and his wife, their daughter, Henrietta, and

a 20 year old French woman. The total value of the Charleston real estate at the time was \$199,000, including seven house servants (\$3,790,476 in 2002\$) (SCDAH, 1850 Federal Census, Charleston District, pg. 293). The value of his Charleston holdings, by 1860, had increased to \$290,600 (\$5,535,238 in 2002\$), including 19 slaves (11 of who, all mulattoes, were fugitives at the time) (Zierden et al. 1986:11). His personal estate was valued at \$12,000 (\$228,571) (Bailey et al. 1986:40).

Aiken entered politics in 1838 when he was elected to the South Carolina House representing St. Philip and St. Michael parishes, holding that office for two terms (Bailey et al. 1986:41). In 1840 he was elected to the State Senate, resigning in 1844 to assume the position of Governor. His election was marked by a party appropriate to Aiken's wealth. Jones (1977:20) comments that there was a "magnificent Democratic party" in Columbia. His 1,000 guests drank 1,800 bottles of champagne and untold bottles of wine and brandy. Nevertheless, his most memorable actions as governor focused on his support of the railroad system and the economic growth of the state (Easterby [1928:129] remarks that his administration "was marked by no unusual incident"). In 1846 he briefly retired to plantation life, being elected to the United States House of Representatives from 1851 through 1857. There he is perhaps best remembered for his reluctant bid for the Speaker's position as a compromise candidate. He was defeated by a narrow margin on the 133rd ballot. He declined a third term, once again retiring to attend to his agricultural interests (Easterby 1928:129).

In 1857, retiring from politics, Aiken took his wife and daughter on an extended tour of Europe. During this tour he apparently acquired a quantity of artwork, including marble statuary (Lewis 1999:29). An addition was added to his Elizabeth Street house to display much, but we believe that some pieces were taken to Jehossee (and are discussed in a following section).

Aiken opposed nullification and secession — perhaps his pragmatism made him well aware

of the eventual outcome should the south dissolve the Union (his father, too, was a noted Unionist, see Wallace 1951:397). Regardless, during the Civil War he financially supported the Confederacy (although not to the point of bankruptcy like so many of his planter colleagues). Perhaps, like Dr. James H. Carlisle, he was swept up in "the wild passions of that mad hour," feeling like B.F. Perry, "if the State was determined to go to hell, he would go along with her" (Wallace 1951:529).

During the war his Charleston residence was used as the headquarters of his friend, General P.T. Beauregard from late 1863 through mid-1864 (Zierden et al. 1986:13). Aiken also hosted President Jefferson Davis for his week visit in 1863. Rosen comments that Davis, "relaxed and dined with members of a frayed and dying but nevertheless charming Charleston aristocracy It was one of the last moments of the Old South for Jefferson Davis, William Aiken, and the Charleston aristocracy" (Rosen 1994:130).

After the war he was arrested and transported to Washington where he was only briefly detained before being released. Aiken was elected again to the United States House in 1865, but Northern members denied him the seat.

Aiken was an active member of his community, serving on the boards or as a member of such organizations as the Carolina Art Association, the Peabody Educational Fund, Vanderbilt Benevolent Society of Charleston, Charleston Orphan House, and South Carolina College. His business dealings included such companies as the City Railroad Company of Charleston, the Charleston and Philadelphia Steam Packet Company, West Point Mill Company, Peoples' National Bank of South Carolina, and the Charleston and Hamburg Railroad (Bailey et al. 1986:41).

In spite of all these commercial and charitable activities, all agree that Aiken's focus was on his agricultural pursuits. Easterby, for example, commented that, "agriculture, however, held more attractions for him than commerce" (Easterby 1928:128). He died in Flat Rock, North

Carolina on September 6, 1887 and was buried in Magnolia Cemetery. His widow died March 24, 1892.

Perhaps the most telling remark made in his long obituary was the simple observation, "the sweet strength of his career lay in its harmony, its consistency, and its charitableness" (Anonymous 1887:2).

There has been some speculation regarding how, and when, Aiken acquired the vast number of slaves that made Jehossee productive — and Aiken one of the wealthiest men in South Carolina. We have identified an 1839 bill of sale from the estate of "Evan Edwards, late of St. Thomas Parish" for 57 African Americans, bought by Aiken for \$27,000 (\$428,570 in 2002\$) (Aiken-Rhett Collection, Box 38, The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina). While not conclusive, this suggests that Aiken acquired his slaves relatively quickly through large sales.

Just as we are hampered by the loss of the 1822 Ravenel plat, Easterby (1928:129) sadly reports, "the private papers of William Aiken were lost in a fire which destroyed his plantation home at Jehossee Island." Like so many other plantations, interest came too late to save documents which would allow us a far fuller and comprehensive understanding of Aiken's management and operation. We are, however, fortunate that Jehossee was visited repeatedly during the antebellum and postbellum — allowing us at least foggy glimpses through the haze of time.

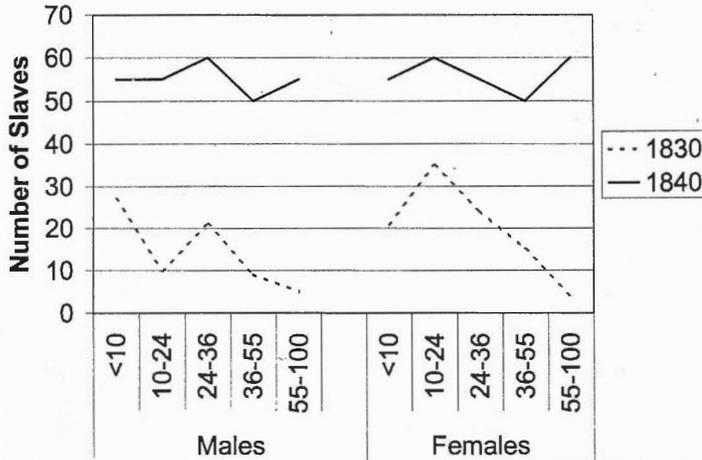
The first we have found is the March 1843 account by Edmund Ruffin, who visited the plantation in the company of "Mr. Seabrook" from Edisto during his visit with the Edisto Agricultural Society:

An artificial canal [Watts Cut], which crosses the island & is used for navigation, separates this land [Edisto Island] from the celebrated rice plantation of Jehossa Island, which belongs to

Mr. Aiken, &, to see which was the main object of our ride. The vast extent of rice ground of embanked marsh in fine order, was an interesting object, but not varying except in extent of surface & the large size of the canals from other rice grounds. But a more interesting sight was the negro houses, which in number may be considered as a large village, & certainly the most regular & handsome village of its size that I have seen. For all villages, & even towns, though they may have some splend [sic] edifices, have also many more that are mean, wretched, & offensive to the eye. In this negro village, while every building is plain & humble, every one is also neat, comfortable & pleasing to the view, & still more to the imagination. The houses are of uniform size & construction, (except the church,) & area all neatly built of frame-work, & each containing two tenements, & having a brick chimney in the middle. They are all white-washed; & as seen when approaching the plantation, appear to stretch continuously for nearly a mile. In fact the village must be more than half a mile long, besides a vacant interval along the wide bank which forms part of the road. In the first part of the village there are four rows of houses. Across the causeway three rows, & at the farther extremity two rows. Each house has attached its garden ground, of uniform size, & well enclosed by stakes poles. The negroes residing in them are about 700 in number.

The main drains of this

Table 8.
Slave Population by Age Group on Jehossee Island,
1830 and 1840



great rice plantation are canals which seemed to be 20 feet wide, & furnished good navigation, & seeming to be designed to be so used. The rice is thrashed by steam, the engine driving three thrashing machines & a fanner for each. The pounding mill is separate, & worked by tide waters, part of the rice ground serving as the pond.

We saw neither the owner, who was absent or his overseer, who was engaged on another part of the plantation. Mr. Butler, the overseer, receives about \$1800 [\$42,857 in 2002\$] a year as wages, besides the support of himself & family (Mathew 1992:117-118).

This view provides a base-line for our reconstruction. In 1843 the slave settlement was regularly laid out using duplex structures with central chimneys. They lined a road, interrupted only by a causeway through a rice field. Proceeding from the south there were first four

rows, then three, and finally two. The account also mentions a church and, while no details are provided, we do know that it was recognizably distinct from the slave dwellings. Aiken was using a steam thrashing machine — a sign of both wealth and sophistication. The pounding mill is described as “separate,” which we suppose means that it was in a different building. Moreover, rather than steam or animal powered, it was tide powered. Finally, the account is clear that Ruffin was impressed with both the technology and organization of the plantation. Certainly the wage paid to the overseer

suggests that Aiken was sparing little expense to ensure the care and maintenance of Jehossee.

The Federal manuscript population census for Jehossee in 1830 and 1840 also reveal the intensity with which Aiken set about making the island successful. The number of slaves increased from 171 in 1830 to 555 only a decade later. The increase itself is extraordinary, representing a great deal of capital invested in human flesh. To help place these numbers in perspective, Phillips (1966) estimates that the average price of a prime male field hand on the Charleston market in 1830 was \$500 (\$9,523 in 2002\$). This increased to \$1150 (\$21,904) by 1840.

Just as interesting as the increase in number of slaves is the change in their demographics. Table 8 shows that in 1830 the male population was bi-modal, with large numbers of young children and working age slaves. The females, in contrast, had one peak — adolescents who were at prime fertility and capable of producing more children. By 1840 we see nearly flat lines — virtually all age groups are present and in approximately equal numbers. There is some indication in the population trends that if an African American managed to live past

50, then old age was assured. For both males and females we see a dip in the 36-55 age group, and a rebound in the 55 to 100 year range.

The population schedule for Jehossee suggests that at some point Aiken imported a large number of slaves — representing a wide cross section of ages — onto the island. It appears, in other words, that he was stocking his plantation, rather than waiting for any sort of natural population growth.

The next account is just a year later, in July 1844 and is presented as an account in the local newspaper (*Viator* 1844). The individual (likely William Elliott; see Linder 1995:290) had spent several weeks at the planter's resort Edingsville and doesn't appear to have a particularly sophisticated understanding of the local conditions, referring to Jehossee as being situated at the "southern part of Edisto Island" when, in fact, it is at the northern edge. Nevertheless, the account seems otherwise to be relatively accurate and worth detailing here.

Access to Jehossee was by way of a causeway, connected to Edisto (since Ruffin, on horseback, makes no mention of boating to Jehossee, it is likely that the causeway was in existence at the time of his visit as well). "*Viator*" remarks also that he had heard of Jehossee, most particularly of Aiken's management, not only of the famous rice crop, but also "of the moral, religious, and physical well-being" of his enslaved African Americans — suggesting the motive for the description. *Viator* continues:

Just at the head of the causeway, which connects Jehossee with Edisto Island, a view of the riceland appears. The eye here glances over some twelve or fifteen hundred acres, in one field, in a state of very highest cultivation. . . . The [main] canal, which is upwards of four miles in extent, 22 feet broad and 6 feet deep, was cut by Mr. Aiken, at a very large expense,

for the purpose of supplying his fields at all times with plentiful irrigation. . . . Intersecting the canal at right angles, are other canals by which the fields are irrigated. . . .

On the south side of Jehossee is the overseer's summer residence, situated on a high bluff of the river, and commanding a distant view of the ocean. This spot is considered quite healthy which any one can readily believe, from the healthful appearance of Mr. _____, the overseer. This gentleman is employed by Mr. Aiken, at a liberal salary, to superintend his planting interests. . . .

Before his [Aiken's] purchase of the Island the lands were considered in a great degree as irreclaimable Savannah. . . . corn field, three hundred acres of which are under culture. . . .

The entire crop of this plantation is prepared for market on the spot. To facilitate the preparation, Mr. Aiken has erected threshing, pounding and other mills, all worked by steam power [only the threshing mill was steam powered; the pounding mills were tidal] and said to be among the best planned of any in the south. When prepared for market, the crop is sent there in his own vessels — thus uniting a system of production, of manufacture and transportation all under one hand.

Upon Jehossee there are between seven and eight hundred

slaves. In the management of these, Mr. Aiken merits the commendation of every lover of humanity. . . .

The habitations of the slaves on this plantation present the appearance of a neat little village. The houses are of uniform size, and contain four apartments each [this is likely an error, Viator must have meant two]; with double fire-places of brick. Attached to every house is a small garden and yard in front. The slaves are required to cultivate their gardens — and in every yard is a poultry house, and other suitable buildings. All the houses are kept neatly white washed inside and out, and the strictest and most constant cleanliness is required on the part of the occupants.

On the plantation is a commodious and well arranged hospital, to which every sick negro is carried, and attended to during his illness. This building is supplied with numerous rooms, each comfortably furnished with clean bedding, &c., for the different patients. Nurses are always in attendance and a skillful physician is yearly employed, to minister in all cases requiring medical treatment. In the same building is a large hall for invalids; and the whole arrangement of the place is after the plan of the best conducted hospital in the country. . . .

The best kind of food and clothing is given the negroes. Nor are they left, as on most plantations at the South, to grind their own corn, after a hard day's

work in the field. This labor is done for them by a Steam Mill, erected for the purpose on the place; and their weekly allowance is measured out to them, in the best and most wholesome grist. This, with other articles of food, such as meat, potatoes, &c., they cook for themselves, it having been found that they infinitely prefer their own mode of cookery. The food of the children, however, is cooked for them by nurses, who attend them during the absence of the parents, at a building called the nursery. I never saw a finer looking set of little negroes any where.

. . . On this plantation he has a neat chapel, at which religious services are performed semi-monthly by a minister employed for the purpose. Every slave is required to attend, and each is orally instructed and catechized by the minister. Marriages are performed according to religious rites, and a christian code of morals is strictly enjoined upon the slaves in their intercourse with each other. More than one half of the negroes on the plantation are communicants of the church; and, as few cases of back-sliding are said to take place as in any religious community of equal number. Felonies are almost unknown among them, and those petty crimes, which, on other plantations, are considered unavoidable, with these negroes are of rare occurrence. . . .

Upon our visit to Jehossee, Mr. Aiken was absent at his summer residence in Charleston. This, however, did

not preclude us — his overseer inviting us to visit the mansion or homestead. This found a neat and very comfortable building, without any pretension or show [this seems to stand in contrast to other descriptions]. Comfort and utility seemed chiefly consulted in the arrangement of every thing around . . . (Viator 1844).

We must accept the Viator article as having purposes other than providing a historical snapshot of Jehossee. In fact, the historical nuggets that can be mined from the commentary should probably be considered a "bonus." While far more flowery than Ruffin, there are clear similarities — most particularly in terms of the houses and yard. Yet, some of Viator's comments give at least momentary pause. For example, his explanation that gardens were in the front of each house seems unreconcilable with the archaeological findings (discussed in a following section). Other details are so overstated — such as the elaborate, yet surprisingly uninformative description of the hospital — that they must be cautiously accepted.

At the very least we have another account of the slave village, as well as the chapel and a hospital. We are told something, albeit rather generic, concerning the slave diet and foodways. The mill is again described, but in sparse detail. For the first time we have the overseer possessing a "summer house" on the island. Viator places it at the southern bluff edge — an area which has suffered extensive erosion, virtually eliminating archaeological evidence. Yet there is no mention of the overseer's "winter" residence, nor is there any meaningful description of the main settlement, except that it is described as appropriate for someone who had made "republican simplicity the habit of his life."

The next account is that of Solon Robinson, noted reporter of the *New York American Agriculturalist*. Visiting the plantation in March 1850 he provided one of the most detailed accounts since he was viewing the plantation as an

economic and agricultural laboratory. His account was variously published in the *American Agriculturalist*, *DeBow's Review*, *DeBow's Industrial Resources, Etc. of the Southern and Western States*, and is reprinted in Kellar (1936).

Unlike the other visitors, Robinson traveled to Jehossee by steamer, a trip that required 12 hours from Charleston. He explained that Jehossee was about 3,300 acres, "no part of which is over ten or fifteen feet above tide, and not more than 200 to 300 acres but what was subject to overflow until diked out" (Robinson 1936:364). He, too, recounted 1,500 acres of rice land, "all laid off in beds between ditches 3 feet deep, only 35 feet apart" and noted that Aiken:

cultivates 500 acres in corn, oats, and potatoes; the balance is gardens, yards, lawns, and in woods, pasture, and unreclaimed swamp. Wood is becoming scarce on the island, so much so, that he drives the steam engine to thresh the crop, by burning straw (Robinson 1936:364-365).

As an example of his brutal honesty, Robinson observes that while the straw serves the purpose well, it was of doubtful economy. Robinson seems to suggest that the straw would be better used as manure.

Because the straw results in a greater danger of fire, Aiken apparently created a special arrangement:

The flue is carried off fifty or sixty feet along the ground, and there rises in a tall stack that never emits any sparks (Robinson 1936:365).

In order to clean out the accumulation of cinders at the base of the stack, Aiken built in two "man holes" both closed with iron covers. Robinson goes on to explain in detail the other machinery present:

The threshing apparatus

is a most convenient one. The sheaves are brought from the stacks in the great smooth yard, to a large shed where all the sheltered grain can be saved, and are there opened and laid on carriers, similar to can carriers, which carries them up to these machines in the second story, where the grain is separated from the straw, and falls down into winnowing machines, from whence it is removed by hand, (it might be carried by machinery,) to another part of the building over a canal, and is let down into boats to carry about half a mile to the hulling mill, which is exactly like Col. Carson's and driven by tide. It is carried from the boats to the mill by hand, or rather head, where a little head work of another kind would take it up out of the boat by elevators.

The straw is consumed almost as fast as threshed. And here the saving of labor in getting wood, as well as the saving of labor stacking the straw and hauling manure, must be taken into account, as an offset to the loss of manure in burning the straw.

The rice for seed is always threshed by hand, as experience has taught that the vitality of a considerable portion is injured in the threshing machines. . . . The quantity of seed to the acre is 2 to 3 bushels, planted in drills 15 inches apart, opened by trenching plows, and singular as it may sound to some other rice planters, Governor Aiken plows all of the land that will bear a mule or horse, of

which he works about forty and twenty oxen.

Corn is generally planted in hills, upon the upland part of the island, which is sandy, 4 by 5 feet, two stalks in a place, and yields an average of 15 bushels per acre. Corn upon the low, or rice land, does not yield well, though it makes very large stalks. With sweet potatoes, on the contrary, the low land produces nearly double, and of better quality, averaging 200 bushels to the acre, and frequently 400 bushels. The average yields of rice is 45 bushels to the acre, and upon one eighty-acre lot the average yield is 64 bushels. The crop upon that lot last year as 5,100 bushels, weighing 234,600 lbs. That is 46 lbs. to the bushel. This made 229 barrels of whole rice, two barrels of middling, and two and a half barrels of small rice, which at 600 lbs. each (probably about 20 lbs. below the average,) would make 140,100 lbs. This, at three cents, will give the very snug sum of \$4,203 [\$80,057 in 2002\$] for the crop of 80 acres.

The average annual sales of the place do not vary materially from \$25,000 [\$476,190], and the average annual expenses not far from \$10,000 [\$190,476], of which \$2,000 [\$38,095] is paid the overseer, who is the only white man upon the place, besides the owner, who is always absent during the sickly months of summer. All the engineers, millers, smiths, carpenters, and sailors are black. A vessel belonging to the island goes

twice a week to Charleston, and carries a cargo of 100 casks. The last crop was 1,500 casks — the year before, 1,800, and all provisions and grain required, made upon the place. Last year, there was not more than half a supply of provisions.

Like nearly all of the "lower-country" plantations, the diet of the people is principally vegetable. Those who work "task work" receive as rations, half a bushel of sweet potatoes a-week, or 6 quarts of corn meal or rice, with beef or pork, or mutton occasionally, say two or three meals a-week. As all the tasks are very light, affording them nearly one fourth of the time to raise a crop for themselves, they always have an abundance, and sell a good deal for cash. They also raise pigs and poultry, though seldom for their own eating. They catch a great many fish, oysters, crabs, &c.

The carpenters, millers, &c., who do not have an opportunity of raising a crop for themselves, draw large rations, I think a bushel of corn a week, which gives them a surplus for sale. The children and non-workers are fed on corn bread, hommony [sic], molasses, rice, potatoes, soup, &c.

The number of negroes upon the place is just about 700, occupying 84 double frame houses, each containing two tenements of three rooms to a family, besides the cock loft. Each tenement has its separate door and window and a good brick fireplace, and nearly all have a

garden paled in. There are two common hospitals, and a "lying-in hospital," and a very neat, commodious church, which is well filled every Sabbath with an orderly, pious congregation, and service performed by a respectable methodist clergyman who also performs the baptismal, communion, marriage and burial rites.

There is a small stock of cattle, hogs, and sheep kept upon the place for meat, which are only allowed to come upon the fields in winter, under charge of keepers. The buildings are all of wood, but generally plain, substantial, and good. There is pretty good supply of tools, carts, boats, &c., and the land is estimated to be worth

\$100 [\$1905] an acre for the rice land, which would be \$150,000 [\$2,857,142]

The 500 acres upland, \$25 per acre, \$12,500 [\$238,095]

The negroes, at \$300 [\$5,714], \$21,000 [\$400,000]

Stock, tools, and other property, say, \$7,500 [\$142,857]

\$380,000 [\$7,238,095]

which will show a rather low rate of interest made from sale of crops, notwithstanding the amount of sales look so large.

Now the owner of all this property lives in a very humble cottage, embowered in dense shrubbery, and making no show, and is, in fact, as a dwelling for a

gentleman of wealth, far inferior in point of elegance and convenience, to any negro house upon the place, for the use of comfort of that class of people.

He and his family are as plain and unostentatious in their manners as the house they live in

....

Nearly all the land has been reclaimed, and the buildings, except the house, erected new within the twenty years that Governor Aiken has owned the island. I fully believe he is more concerned to make his people comfortable and happy, than he is to make money (Robinson 1936:365-368).

This discussion helps us understand more fully the layout of the threshed and winnowed. It also explains that the rice was then moved from the inland milling site to another on the water, where a tidal mill completed the process. It also provides us with a broad overview of the crops being produced by Jehossee, as well as providing a brief orientation to the profitability of the plantation.

While Robinson, impressed with the rice plantation's careful operation, was unimpressed with the rate of return on Aiken's investment, Clifton offers a different perspective. Using Robinson's figures, Clifton argues that the 4% return was average for "plantations with a surplus of slaves" such as Jehossee during the lean years when rice was selling at 3¢ a pound (Clifton 1985:60). But, he figures that during the 1860s, when rice was bringing 4¢, Jehossee's return on investment rose to 10% — equal to that of even plantations being operated with only a minimal slave population (Clifton 1985:61).

The discussion also provides better detail on the structures, informing us that there were — at least in 1850 — 84 double pen structures.

We're also told that each family's dwelling had three rooms, not counting an overhead loft. While possible, this seems implausible based on the dimensions. Vlach (1993:161), however, notes that such plans are found at a number of plantations.

We're also told that the plantation didn't have one hospital, but three. While this may be accurate, it seems rather extraordinary. The account again mentions a church, although the services are now "every Sabbath," not bi-monthly. We're told that a "respectable methodist clergyman" administered to an "orderly" congregation. If this is accurate than we can only imagine that the African Americans on the plantation showed the face the plantation owner, overseer, and clergy wished to see (for example, contrast this with Creel's (1988) description of the physical expressions of religious fervor or Du Bois' (1903) comments on the "frenzy of a Negro revival."

All of these inconsistencies may indicate that Robinson was a far more accurate reporter concerning agricultural issues than social concerns.

We are fortunate to have a detailed cartographic representation of Jehossee, the U.S. Coast Survey entitled, "Upper Part of Edisto Island and Jehossee Island." It was prepared as a result of surveys conducted in 1856 and 1857, so it shows Jehossee in the decade immediately before the Civil War — when Aiken's plantation was at its height.

Figure 17 shows the locations of a number of structures, areas of cultivation, and a range of physical features. There are several "areas" shown in considerable detail on the map, including (see also Figure 33):

- Area 1, which is the settlement acquired by Aiken in 1859 from Augustus L. Taveau. Although the settlement had several owners, it is often called the Brisbane Plantation since he seems to have been the most active in making it a working rice plantation. It is also at times called Wilderness

JEHOSSEE ISLAND



Figure 17. U.S. Coast Survey, "Upper Part of Edisto Island & Jehossee Island," scale is 1" to 3,700.

Plantation, undoubtedly for its stark, if not actually bleak, appearance. This area, situated adjacent to deep water, measures about 400 by 400 feet, or 3.7 acres. It appears to represent a main house and a double row of nine structures, probably a slave settlement.

- Area 2, situated north-northeast of Area 1 is three structures on the edge of the Dawho River. Given their placement, it is likely that they are rice bars or other utilitarian buildings. They are found in a diked area which appears to measure about 350 feet square, or about 2.8 acres.
- Area 3 is a water mill associated with the Aiken plantation on the South Edisto River. The involved area here is estimated to be about 300 feet square, or 2.1 acres.
- Area 4 is the main Aiken settlement situated along the shore edge at the south end of a main canal connecting the site to the South Edisto River. The settlement consists of at least 26 identified structures, including a rice mill at the east edge. The area extends about 2,500 feet along the rice field edge and inland about 600 feet, covering an area of about 34.4 acres.
- Area 5 represents a double row of 36 structures, all on the east side of main island road. This area is projected to encompass an area about 2,400 feet by 300 feet, or 16.5 acres.
- Area 6 may represent a continuation of Area 5 to the south. It consists of triple row of 31 structures covering an area 1,000 feet by 400 feet, or 9.2 acres.
- Area 7 appears to contain a third slave settlement (consisting of 21 structures in a somewhat unusual gridded pattern four structures deep), a work area of perhaps three or more structures, and a second rice mill, situated on the South Edisto River. Included is an area measuring 1,100 feet by 1,000 feet, or 25.3 acres.
- Area 8 are two unusual structures, situated away from all other settlements, and fenced. It is located in a wooded area, adjacent to swamp, but

not to any rice fields. We estimate the area covered is perhaps 600 by 600 feet, or 8.3 acres.

A ninth area, marked only with a dot and the word "Aiken" at the far eastern end of the plantation, is likely a survey marker, not a cultural feature. It would be located in dense marsh today and it is unlikely that anything remains after 140 years of erosion and storms.

Comparing this map to the previous commentaries reveals that all of the reporters did a generally good job of describing the plantation layout. For example, the map clearly reveals the arrangement of:

four rows of houses. Across the
causeway three rows, & at the
farther extremity two rows

described in 1843 by Edmund Ruffin. The map also shows the causeway, close to the edge of the Edisto River crossing Watt's Cut, which Aiken built to access Jehossee from Edisto. This causeway was apparently widely used. J.B. Grimball noted in November 1839 that the Slann's Island causeway was in such poor condition that, "we were obliged to come by way of Mr. Aiken's Plantation" (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, *Diary of J.B. Grimball, Charleston, South Carolina*, Vol. 2, No. 6, pg. 46).

While the map doesn't label critical structures such as the main house and steam powered threshing and winnowing mill, their placement can be inferred through the archaeological investigations (described below). What the map fails to clarify are the issues associated with the plantation chapel and various hospitals. Regardless, it is an exceptional resource.

The map was eventually published, with some modifications, as Coast Chart 53, dated 1866 ("Coast of South Carolina from Long Island to Hunting Island Including Charleston Harbor and St. Helena Sound"). While the original chart was prepared at a scale of 1:20,000, the 1866 version was published at a reduced scale of 1:80,000, resulting in the loss of some important

details. For example, Areas 2 and 8 have disappeared, likely being too small to show effectively (Figure 18).

There are, in addition to these published maps, three draft plats or sketches in the McCrady Plats which show portions of Jehossee (McCrady Plats 5109, 5113, and 5668). They are undated, but appear to date from the period between 1820 and 1860. While they provide some interesting topographical details, such as the arrangement of dike systems or the names of small islands, they fail to show any structures or provide any meaningful assistance in our historic reconstruction.

Some additional information concerning the plantation and its development under Aiken is provided by the Agricultural Schedules for 1850 and 1860, shown in Table 9 (1850 Federal Agricultural Schedule, St. John's Colleton, Edisto Island, pg. 317; 1860 Federal Agricultural Schedule, St. John's Colleton, Edisto Island, pg. 507).

Jehossee During the Civil War

With the fall of Hilton Head Island to Union forces on November 7, 1861, the Confederate coast south of Charleston was in an uproar and many of the plantations on the sea islands were quickly evacuated. J.B. Grimball commented on December 7, 1861:

Aiken stayed with us last night — he has moved all his people except 10 or 12 from Jehossee to town en route for the interior (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, *Diary of J.B. Grimball, Charleston, South Carolina*, Vol. 3, No. 2, pg. 84).

Exactly how far they got is uncertain. There is an 1864 "List of Negroes at Lanes," first apparently by households and then with each household member identified as "Full" or "Half" hand. There is also a summary notation addressed to Governor

Aiken and signed by "Jno Nitbs:

By your request - I sen you as above [list?] of Children under 12 years old and also those over 50. The collector is John Frierston. The war assessor Mr. Gadsden. Frierston address Camp Ridge PO. Gambles address Depot at 9 RR (Aiken-Rhett Papers, Box 90, The Charleston Museum, Charleston, SC).

This suggests that some of Aiken's slaves were being maintained at "Lanes" and the list was used for tax assessment purposes.

The Grimball diary account, however, provides a little more detail concerning the relations between the two men. It goes on to explain that Aiken had left:

he thinks 15000 bus of Rice unthreashed in his Barn Yard and fields — He this morning requested as a great favor that I would allow him to bring his rice over and thresh it at my mill — To which I consented reluctantly and upon the following conditions proposed by himself— His hands are alone to be employed about it — He is to have the necessary wood [for burning] from his own land at Cedar Grove — If any injury is sustained by the Mill his is to repair it — and should it be burnt in consequence of his use of it — he is to rebuild it — If I send a crop to market next year — he is to pay all the mill charges in Charleston (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, *Diary of J.B. Grimball, Charleston, South Carolina*, Vol. 3, No. 2, pg. 84-85).

Only a few days before Aiken's

Table 9.
Agricultural Schedule for Jehossee Island, 1850 and 1860

Date	Improved acres	Unimproved acres	Value \$	Value Implements	Horses	Asses	Milk Cows	Oxen	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	\$ of Livestock	Corn, bu.	Oats, bu.	Rice, lbs.	Wool, lbs.	Peas, bu.	S. Potatoes, bu.	Butter, lbs.	Hay, tons	\$ Animals Slaughtered
1850	1700	2500	100,000	25,000	23	19	40	17	27	102	125	3,300	2,500	900	930,000	-	700	8,880	300	-	500
1860	1800	3200	150,000	35,000	6	20	10	10	12	100	100	5,200	2,000	100	1,500,000	300	200	4,000	1,000	50	-

Table 10.
Agricultural Schedule for Jehossee Island, 1870 and 1880

Date	Improved acres	Unimproved acres	Value \$	Value Implements	Total Wages	Horses	Asses	Milk Cows	Oxen	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	\$ of Livestock	Poultry	Corn, bu.	Rice, lbs.	Wool, lbs.	Butter, lbs.	\$ Farm Produce
1870	1,200	390	90,000	15,000	7,000	5	9	-	-	-	-	-	4,000	70 (25 doz eggs)	30	1,200,000	-	-	35,000
1880	450	1,800	50,000	100	12,000	-	20	6 (600 g)	-	14	50	6	2,000	-	-	881,000 (450 acres)	100	300	25,000

JEHOSSEE ISLAND

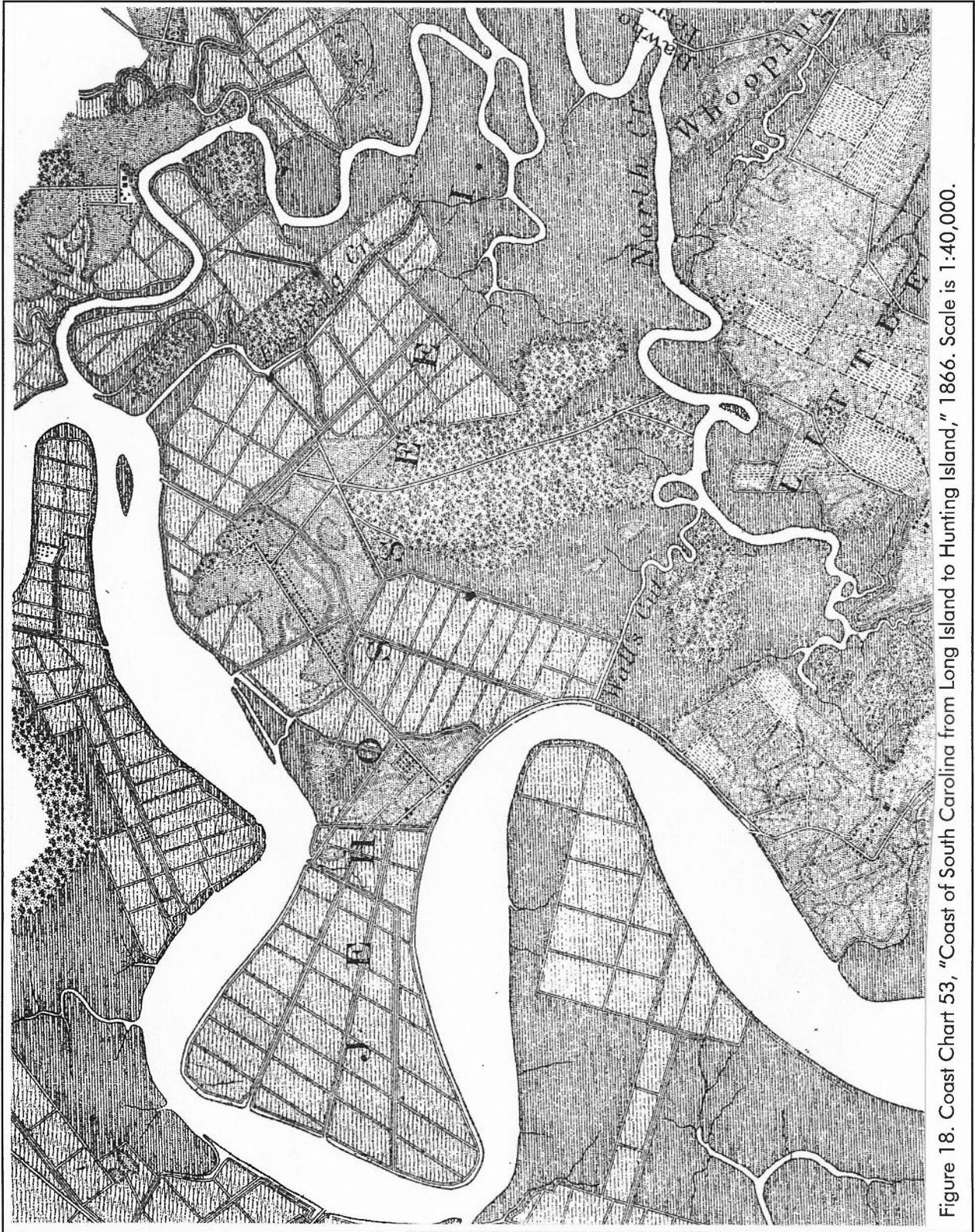


Figure 18. Coast of South Carolina from Long Island to Hunting Island," 1866. Scale is 1:40,000.

abandonment of Jehossee, Confederate General R.S. Ripley conceded that "our inland navigation south of Jehossee [is] gone" (OR⁷, vol. 6, pg. 337) and the island effectively became a no-man's land, periodically subjected to both Confederate and Union incursions.

One of the very first has been used to "prove" that the Jehossee main house was destroyed early in the war — which is unlikely. A January 1, 1862 letter from Lafayette W. Lord, a Pennsylvania soldier at the time stationed on Fenwick Island. He reported that some Marines stationed on Otter Island had taken a small boat up the Edisto:

till they came to, or opposite ten Rebel pickets who invited them ashore, which the officer in the boat declined upon which the rebels shot at them doing no damage. An instant more and a shell went whizzing among them which drove them in every direction. The boats were within fifty yards of the shore at the time the pickets shot at them. Our men feared to go ashore as there might be a large force concealed. They had a howitzer aboard of the boat. They went ashore in another place on the plantation of Ex-Governor [sic] Aiken, once the Governor [sic] of South Carolina but now a traitor & in the Rebel Army. Before going ashore they saw men pass by the windows in the House. They put several shots through the House which cleaned it of rebels. They found a number of valuable things. Set fire to the House & burned it to the ground. This was several days ago (South

Caroliniana Library, Lafayette W. Lord Papers, January 1862).

The U.S.S. Dale was a sloop dispatched to participate in the blockade of Charleston and would have been in the area. Lord himself is articulate and plausible, providing considerable detail, always carefully attributed, in his letters. Yet it must be remembered that the account is second hand. Moreover, it seems that given the gardens around Aiken's house and its distance from the water, it is unlikely that anyone could be seen, whether present or not. While we have no doubt that something was burned, we do not believe that it was the Aiken house. We suspect that the Marines were unfamiliar with the waterways and the available charts and simply misidentified their location. In particular, we place far more trust in the first hand account from 1863 reported below, which indicates that the house was standing by that date.

The first occurred in late January 1862, when troops from the Holcombe Legion went on an expedition through Jehossee and onto Edisto in search of Union forces. Colonel P.F. Stevens commented on January 27:

After considerable delay at the inconvenient ferry near Mr. Grimball's (three-quarters of a mile long) and at the bridge over Watt's Cut between Jehossee Island and Edisto, I left the cut about 3:30 p.m. and began my march on Edisto (OR, vol. 6, pg. 78).

Eventually the Confederate forces determined they were too far removed from their supply lines and they retreated back north, reaching:

Mr. Aiken's summer house [the overseer's house at the south end of the island on the water?] about 4 o'clock, after a march of some 15 miles, or thereabouts. Spending the night on Jehossee, I returned to camp about 4

⁷ This abbreviation is used for *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*.

o'clock on Saturday (OR, vol. 6, pg. 78).

It was during this stay on Jehossee that John M. Carson wrote:

We got lost . . . in consequence of the numerous embankments & after marching until about one o'clock AM found ourselves again at the ferry. The tops of the dikes were only about a foot wide & slick as glass, every few steps some one would slip off in to the mud & water on either side (South Caroliniana Library, Carson Family Papers, February 1862).

It appears that the only action seen by the Confederate force was an attack of their pickets on Jehossee Island by five African American slaves — suggesting that however well they were treated by their owners, freedom was preferable to bondage (OR, vol. 6, pg. 78).

On February 14, 1862 Confederate forces were reporting the landing of Union troops on Edisto. This force apparently sent skirmish parties as far north as Jehossee Island, since the Confederate pickets there were driven off (OR, vol. 6, pg. 382). It seems that Union pickets were then placed on the island, resulting in considerable concern:

The enemy have occupied Edisto Island in considerable force and have thrown pickets as far out as Jehossee Island Should the enemy occupy Jehossee Island (which he can whenever he pleases) and erect batteries on the island out of range of our guns (24-pounders), he could, with the assistance of his gunboats, take our batteries, overpower my small force [at Slann's Island and Pineberry], and make his way to the railroad [leading to Charleston and

cutting the vital link with Savannah] (OR, vol. 6, pg. 383).

The Union forces, while seeming to prepare "to make a feint from Jehossee" in late March 1862 (OR, vol. 6, pg. 415), never did so (in fact, as late as April 1862 the Union strategists concluded, "it does not appear desirable to occupy the island farther inland, than Edisto" [OR, vol. 6, pg. 266]). Confederate forces, however, several times passed through the plantation. At the end of March 1862 the Holcombe Legion (along with the Washington Light Artillery) again moved to Edisto, this time killing two Union pickets on Edisto (one of whom was buried somewhere on Jehossee) and establishing a short-term post at Aiken's Mill (OR, vol. 6, pg. 116). They briefly camped at "Governor Aiken's winter residence on Jehossee Island" (OR, vol. 6, pg. 113), probably meaning the main settlement at the north end of the island. As late as April 9, 1862 Confederate forces had posted a relatively large force of pickets on Jehossee in the vicinity of Watt's Cut (OR, vol. 6, pg. 267; see also OR, vol. 20, pg. 336).

On May 15, 1862 Colonel E.Q. Fellows with the Third New Hampshire Volunteers reported that he thought:

the enemy were erecting earthworks at Watt's Cut, on Jehossee Island. I immediately ordered the point to be shelled, and sent a detachment from the Third New Hampshire Volunteers, under cover of artillery, on the island. The earthworks proved to be simply a shelter for the pickets stationed there. I propose to make a reconnaissance in force on the island in a few days (OR, vol. 20, pg. 4).

The Union account of this incursion doesn't mention the death of their pickets, but does report:

It appears the rebel forces have crossed over Watt's Cut from Jehossee Island to Edisto Island,

driven in the picket guard of our troops, and are supposed to be making arrangements for a general attack.

A large number of contrabands just arrived assure me that the rebel forces have abandoned Willtown, on the mainland, and moved over to Jehossee Island, where heretofore they have only kept a small picket (NOR⁸, vol. 12, pg. 675).

The only report on the "reconnaissance" is by Lieutenant George B. Balch of the USS Pocahontas on April 9 and 10 (NOR, vol. 12, pg. 727).

The next mention of Jehossee comes from a May 20, 1863 report by Acting Master Dutch of the U.S. Bark Kingfisher. Investigating reports of a schooner lying at Grimball's Plantation on the Pon Pon, he led a party to Aiken's Landing, and "reconnoitered carefully." Unable to see any Confederate activity on the Dawho or Edisto River, they eventually made their way to Aiken's house, where they:

entered Aiken's house through a side window. The house contains a large amount of rich and valuable furniture; also a very expensive library. Two or three rooms were locked, which I did not enter. Should judge the house contained all that was in it when last occupied. Also found considerable quantity of rough rice and other property in the outbuildings, all of which can, I think, be safely and easily removed if desired. Not feeling at liberty, however, to remove anything, secured the doors and

windows, and left the premises as we found them (NOR, vol. 14, pg. 206).

There is no mention of Jehossee again until a January 12, 1864 report from Confederate General Henry Wise, who mentioned that his troops:

had gotten this morning from Jehossee Island some valuable tools and iron, all of which will be noted and accounted for to Governor Aiken, the reputed owner (OR, vol. 65, pg. 523).

This Confederate incursion may have caused Aiken some concern, since by April he apparently had his furniture, for the first time, removed from Jehossee and stored for safe keeping at The Grove — indicating that the US troops, for whatever reason, chose not to go back and remove any of Aiken's furnishings (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, *Journal of Meta Morris Grimball, South Carolina, December 1860–February 1866*, April 25, 1864, pg. 103). Apparently other planters found their own forces more damaging than the "Yankees." As early 1862 the Grimballs found:

our own soldiers broke into my house and took away several things — plates, etc. — on going away they took the keys of the house with them in order I suppose to find an easy entrance when they next came (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, *Diary of J.B. Grimball, Charleston, South Carolina*, Vol. 4, No. 13, pg. 44).

Union forces again visited Jehossee on May 27, 1864, when they set up field artillery at Aiken's Plantation in an effort to bombard Willtown. They, however, "discovered from the window of one of the mills [that Willtown was] entirely out of range" (NOR, vol. 15, pg. 460) and, instead, set out gunboats.

⁸ This abbreviation is used for *The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*.

During the last year of the Civil War, Union General J.G. Foster wrote to General W.T. Sherman explaining that troops were pushing up to Jehossee to "make a show of crossing" in order to distract the Confederate forces (OR, vol. 99, pg. 151). There is no mention of any activities on Jehossee afterwards, so it seems that the island largely escaped much of the destruction as Sherman pushed through the low country on his way to Columbia.

The Postbellum

There is little indication of any problems Aiken may have had returning to Jehossee. While Grimboll found his plantations in very poor condition, "deplorable," and detailed all the losses, it seems likely that Jehossee, being somewhat removed from both Confederate and Union activity, may have been spared (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, *Diary of J.B. Grimboll, Charleston, South Carolina*, Vol. 4, No. 15, pg. 14, 36). In spite of the detail, Grimboll makes no mention of Aiken's property, although he did observe, "4 or 5 negro men from Jehossee at Pinebury, apparently were prowling about to see what they could find at the Battery" (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, *Diary of J.B. Grimboll, Charleston, South Carolina*, Vol. 4, No. 15, pg. 36). This suggests that at least some of Aiken's hands had managed to return to the area and were perhaps starting afresh themselves.

There is a second list of Aiken's slaves, apparently dating from the last year of the war. It lists names within family groupings and itemizes the enslaved as dead, field hand, child, old and infirm, carpenter, runaway, driver, nurse, and nurse — perhaps reflecting a list of losses in the hope that there would be some form of compensation. This particular list indicates a total of 505 individuals: 22 dead, 251 field hands, 157 children, 32 old and infirm, 21 carpenters, eight runaways, three drivers, seven nurses, three cooks, and one blacksmith (Aiken-Rhett Papers, Box 90, The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina).

Our research has found a December 29, 1865 diary entry which describes a trip to Jehossee. Martha Schofield was one of a large number of Northern missionaries who moved to South Carolina to work with the freedmen. Her entry recounts:

This morning at ½ past 10 Messers [H.A.] Evans & Fisk, we [Schofield and her associate teacher, Mary A. Sharp] and three boatmen started in a small boat, for Jehossee Island, had the sail up and went swiftly over the waters, the way was very crooked, all rivers about here are winding, at ½ past one we met the Sloop Rebecca and by invitation of the Captain went on board, remained there about 2 hours, then returned to our own little craft, saw many ducks, and the rice plantations, which have to be over flowed by opening gates, and letting in fresh water from the creeks - -. At five we landed [probably at the north end of the island] and after a pleasant walk beneath grand old live oaks we reached the home of Ex. Governor Aiken of South Carolina; the Misses Allen from New England met us very cordially. They are teachers & saw H.A. on the Steamer only been there 10 days - -. The house is large, grounds nicely laid out, and urns & statuary beneath the stately magnolias, beautiful roses in bloom - -. He owned the whole island and lived here in style - -. Mr. Archer was there, we had a pleasant evening, they are so intelligent - -. We took them frying pan, tin plates &c which was very acceptable, we also had our own provisions & bedding, knives, spoons &c - - (Martha Schofield

Papers, #999, pg. 43, Manuscript Department, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

They left the next day, December 30, with no additional account of the island, its structures, or its people. Nevertheless, what is available makes it clear that by the end of 1865 the island was being occupied by Northern missionaries engaged in teaching blacks on the island.

With the fall of Hilton Head in 1862 the low country of South Carolina held by Union forces was flooded with "humanitarians," such as the Rev. and Mrs. Mansfield French of the American Missionary Association. These individuals were a driving force in the spiritual and worldly education of the contraband. A plan was quickly devised for the education, welfare, and employment of the freed blacks. A number of philanthropic individuals in the north responded to the call and this is largely the "Port Royal Experiment" of Rose's (1964) excellent study.

While much of the teaching during the war years was conducted by Quartermaster employees, there were a number of missionaries in South Carolina. The most active, as previously mentioned, was the American Missionary Association, a group which obtained its funds from the Wesleyan Methodists, Free Presbyterians, and the Free Will Baptists. Additional research may identify Miss Allen or Mr. Archer and they may have diaries or letters of their own which provide additional information.

Regardless, the account tells us that the main house was standing and provides the only available account of Aiken's garden, specifically mentioning both urns and statues. It also recounts the presence of live oaks, magnolias, and roses. Other plantings, in December, may have been unobserved while some plants, such as box, were so ubiquitous that special note was unnecessary. Schofield also comments that Aiken lived "in style." Based on her diary entries concerning other plantations she visited, this suggests that the main settlement was impressive.

On January 23, 1866 General David E. Sickles telegraphed Major General Oliver O. Howard in Washington concerning the Aiken property. The content itself is short:

No restoration had been made or contemplated by me[.] Besides Gov. Aiken plantations all the people who had recd possessory titles had left the place[.] No freed persons even on the premises except the foreseen slaves of Gov. Aiken sent there by himself. Please communicate this dispatch to General Grant (South Caroliniana Library, Sickles File).

To understand the telegraph it is important to understand the context. By the late summer of 1865, General Rufus B. Saxton was seizing abandoned sea island plantations and settling African American freedmen on them as rapidly as possible. In the continuing contest of wills between President Andrew Johnson and the Congress, Johnson ordered the Secretary of War, General Howard, to issue instructions intended to nullify the program. He specified that all lands held by the government were to be restored if they had not been abandoned "voluntarily" in support of the Confederacy or if the previous owner had been pardoned. In spite of the order, Saxton and Howard acted slowly, developing a review board and throwing other roadblocks in the way of the President's attempt to curry favor with the Southern old guard. By November 1865, John Berkeley Grimball complained that Governor Aiken had been "persistent at Gen. Saxton's office with no result," implying that Jehossee had been considered abandoned (which it had been) and as a result had been turned over to freedmen (Duke University, J.B. Grimball Papers, quoted in Williamson 1965:81).

By 1866 leadership of those responsible for the well-being of African Americans in South Carolina was changing dramatically. Sickles, who carefully watched the prevailing political wind was placed in charge of the South Carolina military district. Saxton was relieved as the Freedmen's

Bureau assistance commissioner in South Carolina. Williamson explains that "Sickles simply used his administrative power to do what Johnson and the owners had been unable to do by judicial and legal means" (Williamson 1965:84).

In the case of Jehossee, it appears that while no restoration had been made, Sickles was pointing out that those who had received government title to various plots on the island were no longer present on it and that, in fact, the only freedmen on the island were those placed there by Aiken himself.

While additional research would be necessary to untangle the specifics of the process, we know that Aiken himself was back on the island at least by 1873 when he was receiving correspondence there from Charleston colleagues (Historic Charleston Foundation, Aiken-Rhett Collection, Box 40, Folder A).

The first account of the plantation after the Civil War we have located is that of N.H. Bishop, who sailed his "paper canoe" from Quebec through South Carolina waters and eventually to the Gulf Coast in 1874-1875. It is regrettable that Bishop's narratives spend far more time providing an apology for slavery and recounting the joys of the "old times" than in providing any meaningful account of conditions as they stood upon his arrival on Jehossee the evening of February 12, 1875. His narrative laments destitution brought on former slaves by freedom and even recounts a story of Aiken burying his family silver in the yard, only to have it dug up and carted away by Union troops. Bishop even tells us that all of Aiken's furniture was carried away from the house by Federal soldiers — when in fact we know that Aiken had it moved off Jehossee. The few portions of the account which offer any semblance of meaningful information are provided below:

the extensive marshes of Jehossee Island were reached, and I approached the village of the plantation through a short canal. Out of the rice-fields of rich, black alluvium rose an area of

higher land, upon which were situated the mansion and village of Governor Aiken, where he, in 1830, commenced his duties as rice-planter. A hedge of bright green casino surrounded the well-kept garden, within which magnolias and live-oaks enveloped the solid old house, screening it with their heavy foliage from the strong winds of the ocean, while flowering shrubs of all descriptions added their bright and vivid coloring to the picturesque beauty of the scene. The governor had arrived at Jehossee before me, and Saturday being pay-day, the faces of the negroes were wreathed in smiles. Here, in his quiet island home, I remained until Monday Before the war he owned one thousand slaves. He organized schools to teach his negroes to read and write [this is implausible] . The improvement of their moral condition was his great study. . . . From the original two hundred and eighty acres of cultivated rice land, the new proprietor developed the wild morass into sixteen hundred acres of rice-fields, and six hundred acres of vegetable, corn, and provender producing land. For several seasons prior to the war, Jehossee yielded a rice crop which sold for seventy thousand dollars, and netted annually fifty thousand dollars income to the owner. At that time Governor Aiken had eight hundred and seventy three Slaves on the island, and about one hundred working as mechanics, &c., in Charleston. The eight hundred and seventy-three Jehossee slaves, men, women, and children, furnished a working

force of three hundred for the rice-fields (Bishop 1878:n.p.).

Although common to the Charleston area, it is useful to have confirmation that Aiken, after the Civil War, began a system of wage tenancy on Jehossee. While perhaps romanticized, Bishop's account also suggests that some effort was made to place the gardens around the main settlement in something approaching their former order. It seems that some effort was made by Aiken to return Jehossee to a productive plantation.

The Agricultural Schedules for 1870 and 1880 may offer a more accurate view of the economic conditions on Jehossee, although they provide no information on the social conditions on the island. Little research has been done in the immediate postbellum economy to know if these declines are typical, or if they represent the problems inherent in attempting to operate the largest rice plantation in South Carolina using freed labor. In 1870 Jehossee ranked second in terms of improved acres (Peter Wright reported 1,631 improved acres). The mean for the enumeration district, however, was only 343, suggesting that Jehossee remained an extraordinary plantation. In terms of the value of the farm or plantation, Jehossee ranked first, with a mean of only \$10,968. Likewise, in terms of total value produced, Jehossee's \$35,000 was extraordinary, with the average for Edisto being only \$8,120. Yet these differences should be viewed cautiously. While St. Bartholomew's Parish was virtually all rice and St. Paul was about evenly split between rice and cotton, Edisto was nearly all cotton. So the value of Jehossee may reflect only crop differences and additional research using comparative data is appropriate.

While the decline is clear in 1880, Aiken's Jehossee Plantation still ranked first both in terms of tilled acres (the enumeration district average among owners only was 32) and total value (the average among owners only was \$1,792).

Regardless, the economic condition of Aiken appears bleak based on these limited data. The improved acreage declined slightly in 1870,

and precipitously by 1880. The value of the real estate, the plantation's implements, and most importantly, the value of the produce, also declined dramatically in 1880 (Table 10). By all accounts postbellum production and plantation activity was significantly less than it was in 1860.

Curiously, in spite of declining productivity, Jehossee drew \$5,000 more wages in 1880 than in 1870. Putting this in 2002 dollars, the wages rose from \$83,333 in 1870 to \$190,476 — more than doubling. Yet total production fell from \$416,666 in 1870 to \$396,825 in 1880. Thus, wages represented about 20% of the total dollar production in 1870 and 48% in 1880. It may be that this represents wage competition with phosphate mining. Fick (personal communication, 2002) points out that there was a very large mine near Red Top where many black Edistonians were employed.

This may account for several letters in the Aiken-Rhett collection at the Historic Charleston Foundation which describe the great financial hardship among planters brought on by the poor rice market. One letter, from Henretta Aiken Rhett (the daughter of William Aiken, who likely took over the financial operation of the plantation upon the death of her mother in 1892) to her son, Edmond Rhett, recounts the "horrible losses at Jehossee" (Historic Charleston Foundation, Aiken-Rhett Collection, Box 1, Folder C). While undated, it is likely that both letters date from the 1890s.

More information from the 1890s is provided by a few surviving letters from the overseer of Jehossee, Henry J.B. Richardson, to "Mrs. H.A. Rhett" (Henretta Aiken Rhett, who likely was responsible for the operation of the island from 1892 to her death in 1918). The letters detail the extent of damage of two hurricanes which hit the South Carolina coast in 1893 — an "extreme hurricane" on August 27 and a "major" one on October 13.

After the terrible storm in August, Richardson wrote on September 12 (original spelling throughout):

Your house is standing all right but the roof leake badly so a little of the plasting drop off — the out building are much the same. First a few pises of old board is blown off in places — some shingles is licked off back roof of kichens — a great deal of the yard back fince washed away. A great many large trees at front and back of your house blown down. Now about the negroes that is drowned one is Die Smalls — Dissey son wife. One are old Bess — Capten Harry wife. One is David Bogges grand dather — three dead in all.

Very sorry to say very few of the negroes will get any rice they planted late and the salt water kild it on account of not ripe — and they have two large brake, just like the three we have around the house at old ground on June rice (South Carolina Historical Society, Robert Barnwell Rhett Papers, 11/358/1).

The rest of the letter recounts problems with repairing the "old cypress boat for plantation use," as well as problems repairing the various dikes. Accompanying the letter was an account of \$49 (\$933 in 2002\$) paid as wage labor to repair the breaks and raising the banks. There is also mention of laying new sills for the rice barn.

The next letter in the collection dates from October 24, 1893 — after the second hurricane of the season. While this storm seems to have caused little problem (except rainfall), the workers on Jehossee are still feeling the results of the September Category 5 hurricane:

The vessel leave heare on 20th with 6 hundred & 15 bushels rough rice gold such as we could get after the storm — we get through threshing the little that the people had today — some have 5 bush some 8 — 9 — 10

bush, along so. Please let me know how or what must I do about your rent.

Nothing more can I do until heare from you — the Renters have two large brakes on land rented and great deal of washing down banks and we have 3 brakes on old ground where the June rice ware & great deal washing down. Bout to raise up 3 thrunks are needed that went away by storm 27 of Aug. (South Carolina Historical Society, Robert Barnwell Rhett Papers, 11/358/18).

The last letter dates from 1898 — Richardson is still the overseer and while short, it sounds as though problems on the island have only increased in the intervening four years:

Both of your letters 27th & 28th received — yesterday afternoon 31st which were one week to late or would I not let the people work a tall last week but I could no stop the work on plantation until your say so — I now tell montly hands they are not needed but kep the one at stable. About the break stoping to save the road will have to send & get the people together and tell them what you wishes them to do for save causeway.

All of the contracted hands and renters leave Jehossee since last Monday there are working over the river some way another.

What must I do about keeping Jessy flat it is the only flat on the place all of the others are brakeing up by storm — as soon as David leave that flat will be gone then there will be no way



Figure 19. Logging on Jehossee, ca. 1959 (courtesy SC Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia, 38CH848, Roll 1, Exposure 12).

Rhett Collection, Box 8, Folder b). Another is dated January 4, 1892 and describes the holidays on the island (Historic Charleston Foundation, Aiken-Rhett Collection, Box 7, Folder S).

Jehossee in the Twentieth Century

It is ironic that we have far less information about activities on Jehossee during the twentieth century — within relatively recent memory — than we do for any period since

for any one go the Jehossee.

Write please & let me now what [] I do about it (South Carolina Historical Society, Robert Barnwell Rhett Papers, 11/358/18).

We have only one side of this correspondence and so can only guess at the details which could be reconstructed about life on Jehossee with more complete records. Nevertheless, it appears that labor conditions on the island deteriorated as the economic conditions for Carolina rice planters worsened. It seems, however, that there were attempts to maintain a planter's lifestyle on Jehossee. There are several letters describing parties on the island. One, undated but written by Harriet Aiken (the widow of William Aiken to Henrietta Aiken Rhett (Aiken's daughter) describes a party on the island and must date from the 1880s (Historic Charleston Foundation, Aiken-

perhaps the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, much of the local interest concerning the island focused on the wealth, romance, and prestige of William Aiken. With the coming of the Civil War, the end of plantation life, and the gradual economic decay of the plantation in the postbellum, the plantation's history became frozen in time.

Land ownership is well understood. With the death of William Aiken in 1887 the plantation passed to his widow, Harriet Lowndes Aiken (Charleston County Probate Court, Case 323, File 10). His probate file does not specifically mention Jehossee and provides no additional information concerning the island's activities. Aiken's widow held the plantation for five years, until her death in 1892 (Charleston County Probate Court, Case 368, File 8). Her estate file consists of little more than the final discharge papers, so again there is no indication of the activities on Jehossee.



Figure 20. "Carting Sheaves of Rice." Structure to the left is identified as the hospital, to the right are the remains of the "lying-in hospital" (photograph courtesy of Lindsay Oswald; originally reproduced in Phillips 1929).

was not settled until 1945 and over the intervening 27 years the estate kept relatively detailed account of stocks, rental, and other activities — yet there is strangely no specific mention of any activities on Jehossee. There is no indication of rental income, no evidence of income from rice, and no costs associated with fertilizer or shipping. This indirectly suggests that Jehossee, by

The property passed to Aiken's daughter, Henrietta Aiken Rhett, who as previously discussed, continued rice planting activities on the island using both wage and contract labor. At her death in 1918 the property passed to her children, Edmund Rhett, William Aiken Rhett, Hariett R. Maybank, A. Burnett Rhett, and l'On L. Rhett (Charleston County Probate Court, Case 563, File 45). Her estate, however,

1918 or shortly thereafter, had ceased to be



Figure 21. "On Jehossee, South Carolina." Remnant of the slave row in ca. 1910 (photograph courtesy of Lindsay Oswald; originally reproduced in Phillips 1929).



Figure 22. "Care taker's house and store." Store is situated west of the overseer's house ca. 1910 (photograph courtesy of Lindsay Oswald).

conditions on the island were beginning to deteriorate.

This photograph also shows the overseer's house without its rear bathroom addition or the rear porch. The standing trees also show the effects of the recent hurricane.

During the 1930s three of Henrietta's heirs, Edmund Rhett, William Aiken Rhett, and

Hariett R. Maybank died, leaving their individual 1/5 interests in Jehossee to a total of 14 heirs (Charleston County Probate Court, Case 696, File 28; Case 716, File 15; Case 752, File 8). In 1947 John F. Maybank purchased the various interests in Jehossee, becoming the sole owner of the island (Charleston County RMC, DB H47, pg. 477, 483, 489, and 499).

During the early 1950s there appears to have been one last effort to renew rice cultivation on Jehossee. John F. Maybank is reported to have hired Taiwanese laborers to work the fields. This effort, however, was sidetracked by Maybank's rapidly declining health (David H. Maybank, personal communication 2002).

When John F. Maybank died in 1956 the island passed through his wife, Lavinia H. Maybank as trustee, to his three sons, David H. Maybank, Thomas H. Maybank, and John F. Maybank, Jr. (Charleston County Probate, Wills, Vol. 863, pg. 11). The brothers began their active interest in the island only after about 1960, by which time they had graduated from high school. Over the next 30 years they rebuilt dikes, repaired

actively cultivated.

It was also about this time that Jehossee began even more isolated from the outside world than it had been during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The creation of the Intracoastal Waterway in the 1920s (Mathews et al. 1980:107) destroyed the Jehossee causeway, the island's only convenient link to Edisto, as well as the mainland.

While some of the Aiken property, specifically Cedar Island, was logged prior to 1946, Jehossee itself was apparently spared, probably because getting the timber off the island made the effort unprofitable. The island wasn't logged until after the 1959 hurricane, which appears to have caused extensive damage to the island's vegetation and dike systems.

Figure 19 is a view of the logging north of the overseer's house, opening what is today is a large field in second growth. The photograph shows pine which is perhaps 50 to 75 years old, suggesting that the area began to grown up around 1890 — or about the time that economic

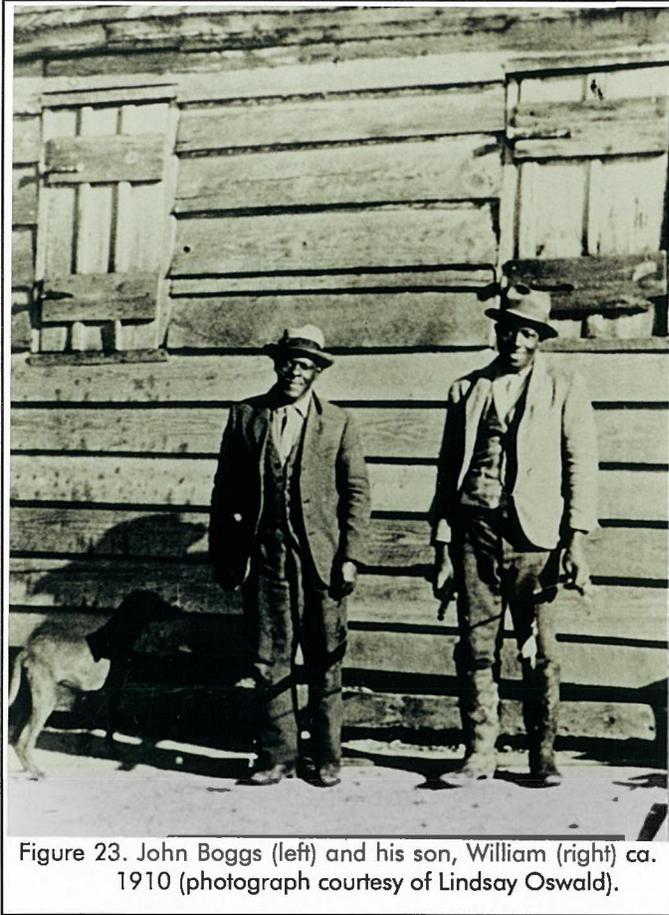


Figure 23. John Boggs (left) and his son, William (right) ca. 1910 (photograph courtesy of Lindsay Oswald).

the bridge on the island, and maintained the last standing structure.

In an effort to make the island self-sustaining, the Maybank family sought to restore a number of the dikes and impoundments, believing that waterfowl hunting might provide a means to help pay the increasing taxes on the island. This effort was ultimately thwarted by the Environmental Protection Agency, which apparently objected during the permitting process (David H. Maybank, personal communication 2002).

The three brothers held this island until 1993 when it was deeded to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

During the first decade of the twentieth century Jehossee was once again visited by an "outsider." Historian Ulrich Bonnell Phillips visited

Jehossee about 1910, shortly after he received a professorship at Tulane and just before being lured away to the University of Michigan. During his stay in New Orleans he appears to have focused his research on plantation records and other primary data, so the reason for his visit to Jehossee isn't clear. Regardless, a brief comment concerning the island appeared in his 1918 work, *American Negro Slavery*:

When the present writer visited Jehossee in the harvest season, sixty years after Robinson [1850 + 60 = ca. 1910], the fields were dotted with reapers, wage earners now instead of slaves, but still using sickles on half-acre tasks; and the stack yard was aswarm with sable men and women carrying sheaves on their heads and chattering as of old in a dialect which a stranger can hardly understand. The ante-bellum hospital and many of the cabins their far-thrown quadruple row were still standing. The site of the residence, however, was marked only by desolate chimneys, a live-oak grove and a detached billiard room, once elegant but now ruinous, the one indulgence which this planter permitted himself (Phillips 1918:253).

Two photographs from his visit to the island appeared in his 1929 work, *Life and Labor in the Old South*, although that publication fails to mention Jehossee. Apparently the photographs were added only for affect.

Phillips' brief description of Jehossee, while leaving out much detail he could have provided as a first-hand observer, does at least tell us that in 1910 (while still under the ownership of Henrietta Aiken Rhett) there was still economic activity on the island — African Americans were



Figure 24. Harrietta and William Boggs in front of their cabin on Jehossee, ca. 1910 (photograph courtesy of Lindsay Oswald).

still farming rice on the plantation — and in some respects life had not changed dramatically since 1860. Even as late as 1910 there were a number of structures standing on the island and, perhaps more importantly, there was still a rich oral tradition concerning the function of the various buildings (with both the “hospital” and “billiard room” being identified to Phillips). The brief quote also provides good evidence that by 1910 the main house was no longer in existence. As previously discussed, we firmly believe that the structure made it through the Civil War intact — meaning that the house burned sometime between ca. 1866 and 1910.

There is another “mysterious” reference to the main house. Davidson explains that the main house:

It was finally burned, accidentally (Mrs. Olive F. Gunby in *N.Y. Commercial Advertiser*, undated clipping in Plantation Scrapbook of Charleston Library Society) (Davidson 1971:152-153).

This reference was picked up by Linder who, citing Davidson, explains, “. . . it was burned accidentally in the 1890s” (Linder 1995:294).

Unfortunately, this clipping has been stolen, discarded, or lost — in any case the Charleston Library Society has been unable to identify it. The newspaper itself is not on-line and was published from 1797 through 1904,

when its name was changed to *The Globe and Commercial Advertiser*. An effort to locate the article by using the indexed on-line *New York Times* and by scanning the microfilm for the *Charleston News and Courier* from 1890 through 1900. Neither was successful.

An effort was also made to learn more about Olive F. Gunby. She appears only once in census records. In 1920 she is enumerated as 60 years old and living in Cambridge, Massachusetts (although she was born in South Carolina). Being born in 1860, and her life spanning the postbellum and early twentieth century she may well have had some knowledge of Jehossee. However, at present, we are unable to locate her article.

The two photographs Phillips chose to publish in his 1929 work are shown here as Figures 20 and 21. Figure 20 is identified by Phillips (or his editor) only as, “Caring Sheaves of Rice.” A copy of the photograph in the possession of William R. Judd, however, has an additional notation, indicating that the structure to the left is the “hospital.” It appears that the photograph is



Figure 25. Rear of old slave cabin on Jehossee, ca. 1910 (photograph courtesy of Lindsay Oswald).

in the side and rear yard. Elsewhere vegetation appears somewhat rank. Several pathways are clearly visible, one leading from the structure in the foreground to the road and several others parallel to the road. Two more structures can be seen distantly in the background.

There are a series of six additional photographs

taken from the road to the main settlement looking east-southeast. The posited hospital is largely shielded by a live oak, so only the gable end is visible. It is of frame construction and lacks an end chimney. Several gable end windows are barely visible and the structure may have a front shed porch. The structure to the right in the photograph lacks a roof and we are able to see through the doorway to the marsh beyond, suggesting that it was in an advanced state of decay in 1910.

Figure 21 has been identified by Phillips as only, "On Jehossee Island, South Carolina," but it is easily recognizable as the main road running north-south across the island, with a series of standing slave cabins on the right (or east) side of the road. The two which can be seen best are set back from the road perhaps 40 feet. The structures are frame, with a central chimney. There is a shuttered window centered on the gable ends which are visible and there are two doorways symmetrically placed on the front (west) facade). It isn't possible to determine if there are also shuttered windows. The structure in the foreground has a pole fence



Figure 26. "Old Alfred and Flora" on Jehossee, ca. 1910 (photograph courtesy of Lindsay Oswald).

identified in the Lindsay Oswald collection which shows other activities on Jehossee. They appear to be the same type of photograph, the same size prints, and detail similar island activities — we believe that they, too, were taken by Phillips during his 1910 tour.

Figure 22 is perhaps the earliest extant photograph of the overseer's house revealing the original porch design and wood shake roof. But perhaps most interesting is the presence of a structure, identified as a store on the photograph, immediately to the west of the overseer's house. This building, with multiple windows, seems hardly secure enough to have served as a plantation store — yet there is a very similar example of a twentieth century plantation store from Boone Hall (Sarah Fick, personal communication 2002). Nevertheless, the structure may also have been a detached kitchen which was later converted into a store. Regardless, it represents yet another previously unknown structure on Jehossee.

Figure 23 shows John Boggs (L) and his son, William (R) standing next to one of the cabins on the island. While the photograph serves as a fitting tribute to the African Americans who made Jehossee what it was, it also reveals considerable details about the structure. It appears well constructed of perhaps 10-inch weatherboard. The roof is wood shingled and the windows are both shuttered, indicating that glass was not present.

The woman (holding an infant) in Figure 24 is identified as Henrietta Boggs. The male, while not identified on the photograph appears to be William Boggs based on his vest and tall boots. He is holding a fishing pole with a deer tail — used by the blacks on the island for rockfish. This photograph again shows shuttered windows, although this time one is open — revealing that no glazing is present. Also clearly visible, through the open door, is a covered table. Presumably this reflects the "front" of the cabin, probably with the central chimney to the left.

Figure 25 is thought to be the rear of a cabin. This reveals that the rear doors are not symmetrical and that there is only one window. It may be that the cabins were reworked by the

postbellum, perhaps combining two living spaces into one.

Figure 26 shows two additional African Americans on Jehossee, clearly dressed for the special visitor and the photograph. They are identified as "Old Alfred and Flora," but with no last names.

The final photograph, shown here as Figure 27, shows workers loading carts with cut rice.

Yet another photograph has been attributed to Jehossee Island. The photograph, reproduced here as Figure 28, was found in the Aiken-Rhett house when it was acquired by The Charleston Museum.

The structure is a hipped roof single story frame structure. It has very tall ceilings and appears to be about 20 feet square. The building has wood shingles, and a single corbeled chimney is visible at the rear of the building. From the dress of the four men at the front of the building, the photograph perhaps dates from perhaps 1880 through 1920.

What remains uncertain is whether this structure was, in fact, on Jehossee. On the back of the photograph is a water damaged pencil notation, "ruins []see Island house," which would certainly seem to suggest that the structure is from Jehossee. Unfortunately we have no archaeological foot print on the island which matches this structure. As will be discussed below, it can be ruled out as the main house, the billiard room, the kitchen, and other structures *known* to be in the main complex. It remains possible that the photograph shows some other structure on Jehossee — perhaps the slave chapel.

The last relatively detailed map of Jehossee was published in 1919 from surveys conducted the year before (Figure 29). This map is of special interest since it was drawn not too long after the visit of Phillips and may be correlated with his photographs. The map clearly shows four remaining slave structures along the main Jehossee Road — which we believe are those



Figure 27. Harvesting rice on Jehossee, ca. 1910 (photograph courtesy of Lindsay Oswald).

shown in Figure 21. To the north is a single structure, just before a road leading west to the main settlement. This structure, we believe is that shown in Figure 20 and thought to be one of the hospitals.

Further north, the next structure is the overseer's house, which is still standing today. At the very north end of the road, adjacent to the marsh is a structure which we believe is documented archaeologically, but for which we have no period photographs.

The only structure shown in the main settlement area is at the end of the road, immediately adjacent to the marsh. We believe that this represents a slave quarter associated with the main house. This building is represented today as foundation remains, as well as remnant timbers, indicating that it was standing, at least as ruins, into the mid-twentieth century.

Oral history accounts of the island provide some framework for events in the past 50 or 60 years. Sometime shortly after the death of John F. Maybank, his widow, Lavinia H. Maybank, is reported to have let a contract for the removal of

a great deal of brick from the most southern of the slave settlements on the island (William R. Judd, personal communication 2002). The "old Charleston brick" was being heavily salvaged during this time to be recycled into modern buildings.

John Boggs, who was born a slave on Jehossee died about 1950. In about 1956

William Boggs, his son, left the island and later died without children (Charles et al. 1986:10; David H. Maybank, personal communication 2002). Percy Williams, another African American who worked on the island, later worked at Detyens Shipyard in Charleston and died only a decade ago (Lindsay Oswald, personal communication 2002). In our interviews with various whites associated with the island over the past 50 years we have been unable to obtain any information on other African Americans who worked on the island and who may still be alive.

The next to the last overseer on Jehossee was Carol White, with Lindsay Oswald following him about 1968. During this period the island was cultivated only to promote hunting of duck and deer. While removed from slavery by 110 years, even during his tenure fields on the island were known by the names of the last African Americans who lived nearby — so there was the John Boggs field, the Harriet Boggs field, and so forth. Charles and his colleagues make a brief mention of "Harriet's Field," but without an explanation (Charles et al. 1986:9).

Lindsay was also able to document the



Figure 28. Structure attributed to Jehossee Island (photograph MK 10490 courtesy of The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina.)

JEHOSSEE ISLAND

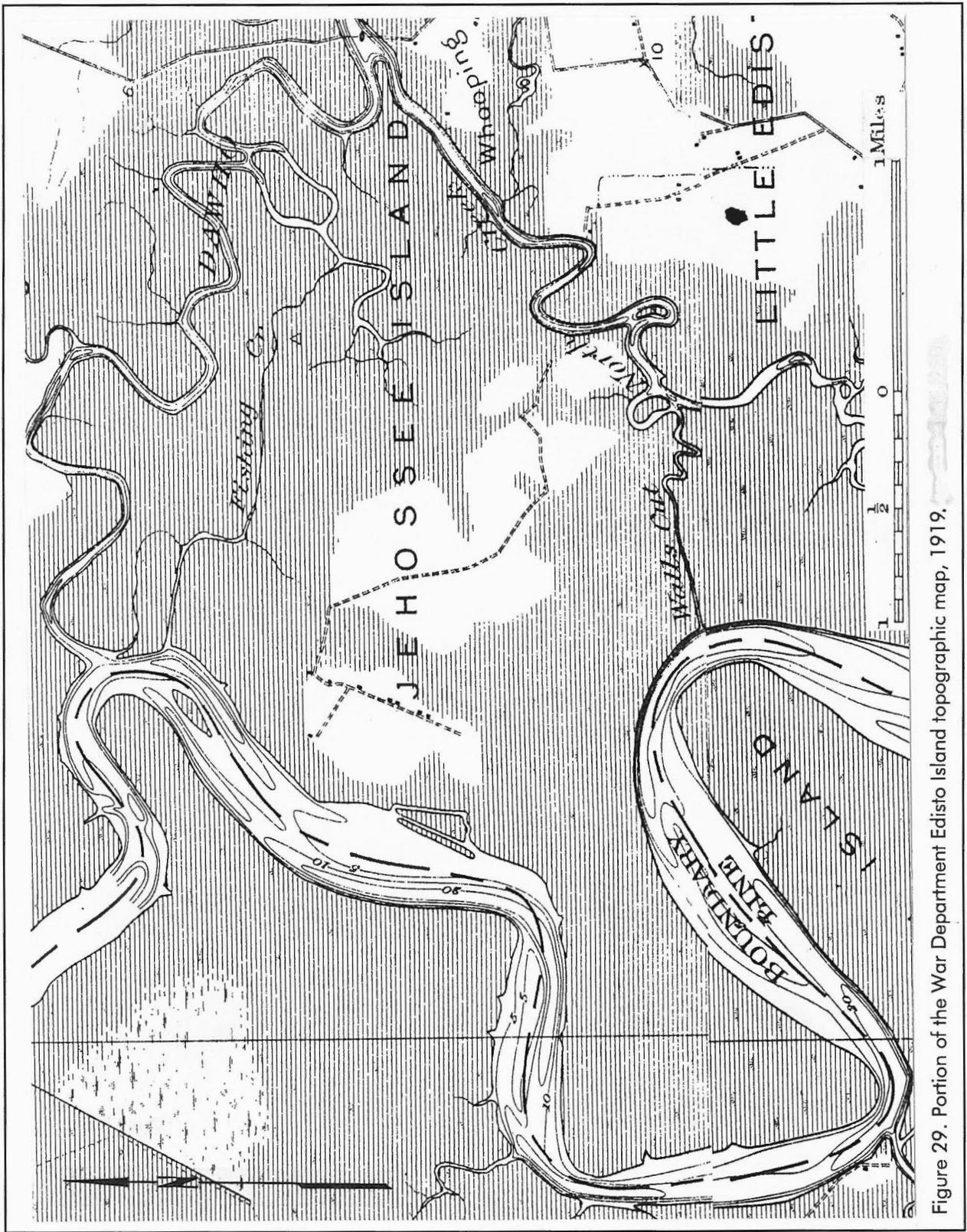


Figure 29. Portion of the War Department Edisto Island topographic map, 1919.

most recent activities to the overseer's house, noting that the upstairs rooms were "redone," the front porch was replaced, and the rear porch added in the late 1970s or early 1980s (Lindsay Oswald, personal communication 2002). To this David Maybank (personal communication 2002) added that the rear porch was removed sometime before the early 1950s (certainly before the ca. 1959 logging photograph, Figure 19). He also mentioned that some portions of the house were replastered and the vinyl siding was added during the mid-1980s. Prior to that roll siding had been placed on three sides of the structure.

RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

As was previously indicated, the primary goals of the Jehossee survey were to identify, record, and assess the significance of archaeological and architectural sites within the approximately 4,000 acre tract. Secondary goals included developing a historical overview, attempting to identify untapped sources of documentary information; comparing the identified archaeological resources with the historical documentation to better understand the island and its plantation activities; and developing guidance for the USFWS to more effectively manage the resources present on the island.

No major analytical hypotheses were created prior to the field work and data analysis, although certain expectations regarding the secondary goals will be outlined in these discussions. The research design proposed for this study is, as discussed by Goodyear et al. (1979:2), fundamentally explorative and explicative.

Previous Research

The only previous professional research conducted on Jehossee was a two-day reconnaissance by the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology in May 1986 (Charles et al. 1986). Charles and his colleagues outline four very ambitious goals:

- (1) verify and locate the presence of cultural resources;
- (2) assess the site's research potential;
- (3) ascertain the possibilities for nominating the site to the Historic Register;
- (4) assess the site's interpretative value and potential for reconstruction (Charles et al. 1986:2).

To accomplish these goals a very generalized historic background using secondary sources was compiled. Then the team, consisting of four individuals, plus various occasional volunteers who were visiting the island, focused on identifying historic sites on the island shown to them by the various informants who were visiting during the trip. In an effort to identify prehistoric resources, the team sought out well drained soils in the uplands and examined bluff areas where shell middens might be found (Charles et al. 1986:5-6).

As a result of this work, Charles decided to give the entire island one site number, 38CH848, with "individual units of ruins . . . assigned field numbers for the purpose of recording and plotting them on the locator map" (Charles et al. 1986:2). This locator map is reproduced here as Figure 30. No materials were collected from any of the sites, so there are no collections resulting from the study. There are, however, photographs of a variety of sites, showing conditions on the island about 15 years ago.

Two prehistoric sites (P-1 and P-2) were identified during the study. P-1 was a single flake which appears to have found in the middle of a rice impoundment (perhaps on a dike?). P-2 was another isolated find — a fragmentary projectile point which "resembles the Brier Creek lanceolate type" found during the Middle Archaic.

No shell midden sites were found and the researchers observe, "areas that seem to be selected by prehistoric populations for shell middens are virtually non-existent on Jehossee Island" — a finding which we can verify. They also point out that, at least today, this portion of the Edisto is "just landward of the salt-freshwater transition zone, such that the salinity requirements for optimal oyster productivity is insufficient" (Charles et al. 1986:7).

JEHOSSEE ISLAND

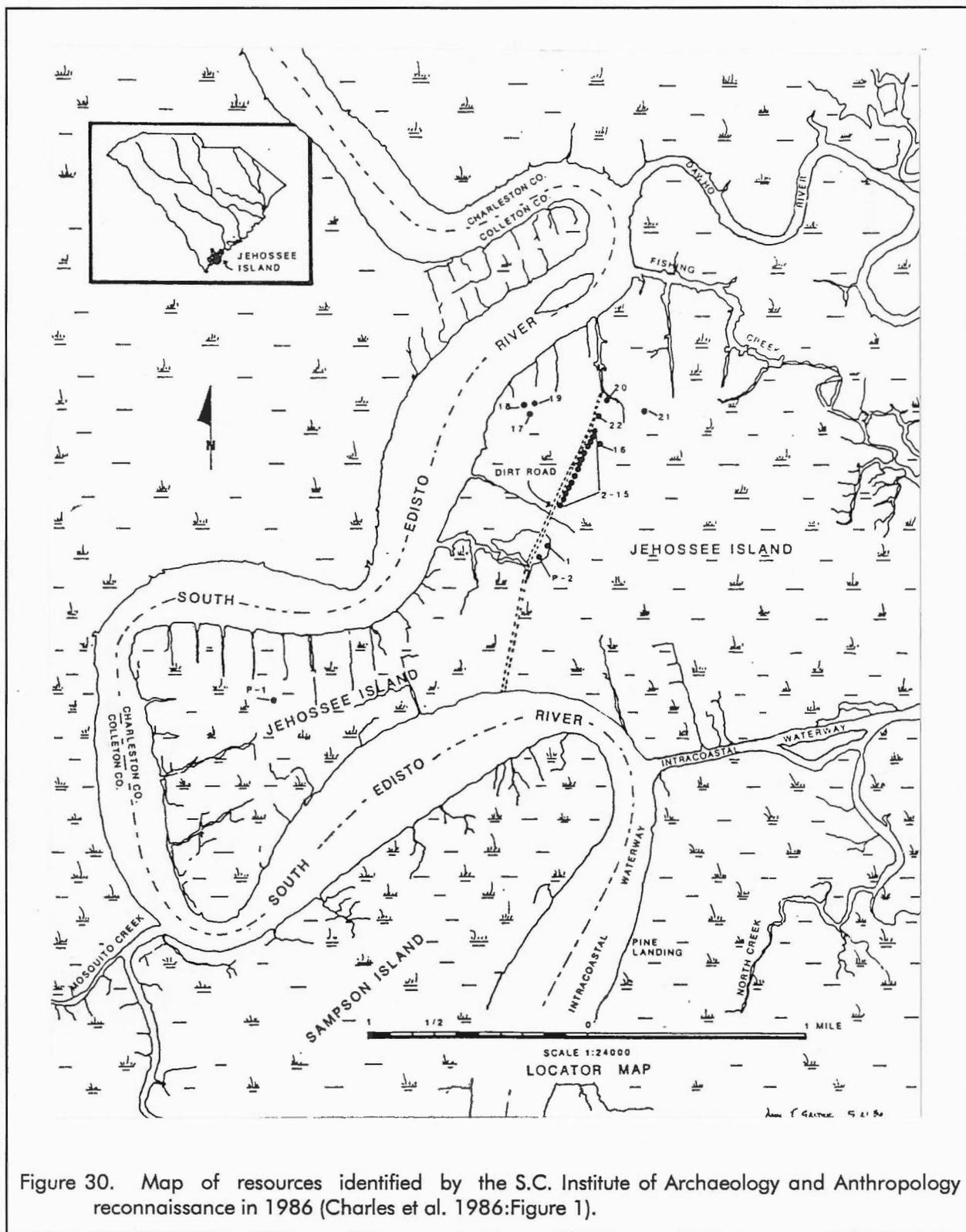


Figure 30. Map of resources identified by the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology reconnaissance in 1986 (Charles et al. 1986:Figure 1).

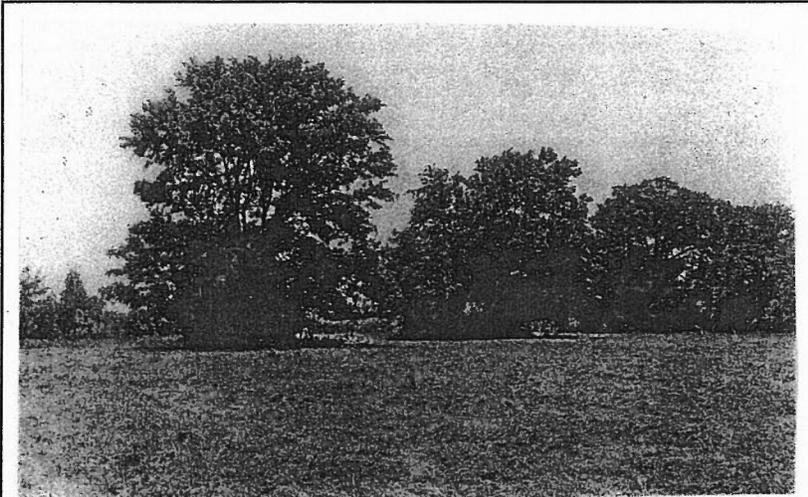


Figure 31. Cultivated field containing SCIAA Historic Site 1, looking east (38CH848, Roll 1, Exposure 3; photograph courtesy of the SC Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia).

Historic Site 1 was situated in a field (Figure 31) east of the main Jehossee Road and incorporated a cistern, as well as "large quantities of brick rubble" (Charles 1986:9).

Historic Sites 2-15 were "clusters of sites located north along the dirt road immediately after crossing the marsh to higher ground" which they attributed to the various slave cabins on the island (Charles et al. 1986:9-10). Included at this site were two cisterns. They provide a little additional information concerning each of the various concentrations. For example, they attribute Site 2 to the home of John Boggs, who was "born a slave on Jehossee Island" and his son until 1956-1957 (Charles et al. 1986:10). Sites 3-6 are probable house sites. Site 7 is a cistern. Sites 8-13 were more brick scatters thought to be houses. Site 14 was another structure although "boards and logs were found associated with the structure" as well as household items "of recent vintage" (Charles et al. 1986:11). Site 15 was another cistern and they comment that this represented "the last well-defined structural evidence on the east side of the road" (Charles et al. 1986:11).

A historic cemetery was assigned site

number 16. They comment on one marked grave, that of Nancy Green (d. 1886).

Apparently a very brief examination was made of the west side of the road, where they found no structures. Likewise, they examined the southern bluff edge of Jehossee, in the area where a "summer house" was reported, but they found only "a scatter of bricks at the water's edge" (Charles 1986:12).

Site 17 was assigned to a depression near the main house which was thought might represent a collapsed well. Site 18 was a cistern and structure ruins at the west end of the main house complex. The main house itself was assigned Site 19. They mention the statues found between the small brick structure and the main house, and comment that three chimneys were found at the main house. Finally, another cistern was reported at the main house.

Site 20 was described as "a massive brick structure located very near the present boat landing just north of the hunting lodge in a wooded area adjacent to a tidal creek" (Charles et al. 1986:14-15).

Site 21 includes a "large brick smoke stack, flue, and cistern" (Figure 32) and they note "there is little doubt that this is the site of the steam engine and threshing operations" (Charles et al. 1986:15).

Finally, Site 22 was the "present-day hunting lodge" which they attribute to "the house of the plantation overseer . . . probably constructed about 1830" (Charles et al. 1986:15). The cistern on the west side of the house was also noted.

In conclusion, the authors review their goals, commenting that the first was met by the

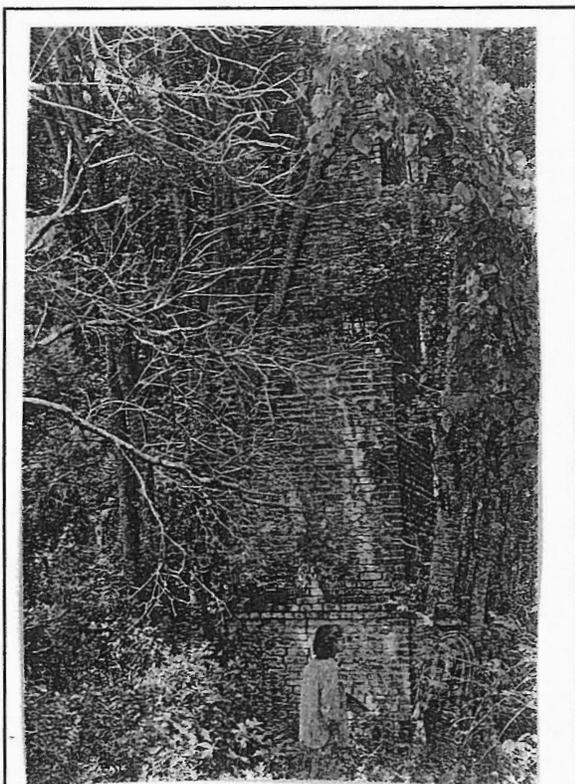


Figure 32. Chimney at Historic Site 21 looking northeast (38CH848, Roll 3, Exposure 2; photograph courtesy of the SC Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia).

identification of the 22 historic sites and two prehistoric sites. They justify the research significance of the plantation noting that a wide range of social, economic, technological issues could be addressed with further research. They also suggest,

Jehossee Island's prominence as a rice plantation, and the social and political status of its owner, William Aiken, in South Carolina's history, together with the island's cultural resources, should easily meet all criteria for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places (Charles et al. 1986:17).

To confirm this assessment, the archaeological site form recommends the island eligible, certainly at the state level of significance and possibly even at the national level (38CH848, SCIAA Site Files).

Finally, they note that while reconstruction of structures would be costly, stabilization and preservation should be undertaken and that the island lends itself to the development of nature trails and interpretative signage (Charles et al. 1986:18).

Recently the USFWS conducted an archaeological survey of the location proposed for a pole shed and access road. The survey area was located west of the main plantation road near the southwest corner of Area 5. The shovel tests did not yield any evidence of cultural remains (Richard Kanaski, personal communication 2002).

It is appropriate to mention that the nearby Grove Plantation, which was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1978, has received two studies. The first, in 1994, was in response to utility upgrades and the investigation found evidence of occupation to at least the first quarter of the nineteenth century, including probable evidence of a nearby slave dwelling (Steen 1994). The second, in 1998, provides a general overview of the site and was prepared to assist the Fish and Wildlife Service conduct long-term management activities (Kanaski 2000).

Archival Research

The study of Jehossee incorporated a review of the site files at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology and consultation with the S.C. Department of Archives and History for information on previous architectural surveys and National Register sites.

In addition, archival and historical research was conducted at the Thomas Cooper Library Map Repository, the South Caroliniana Library, the S.C. Department of Archives and History, the South Carolina Historical Society, the Charleston Library Society, the Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyances, the Charleston

County Probate Court, the Charleston Museum, the Charleston Historic Foundation, and the files of the USFWS.

While not visited in person, telephone and off-site research was also conducted at the Southern Historical Collection (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill) and the Yale University Library.

While the historical research is not exhaustive, it does provide a clear background and context for the evaluation of identified sites. It also offers a significant base for future work in the project area. This historical and archival research was primarily conducted by Dr. Michael Trinkley, with assistance from Ms. Sarah Fick, Mr. Tom Covington, and Ms. Nicole Southerland.

The results of this historical research have been previously outlined and provide the reader with both a historic context for Jehossee Island, as well as specific documentation of activities which took place on Jehossee from the early eighteenth century through late twentieth century.

One result of this research, alluded to in the previous discussion, was to identify historical questions which deserve additional research. While in general we argue that historical research has a lower priority than archaeological study — since the historical records are presumably not endangered by development or loss — we believe that the Fish and Wildlife Service would do well to make a detailed historical study a very high priority. We have found in our study numerous examples of significant historical documents being lost or stolen. Older residents with important information had died. Clearly the historical database is threatened and every possible effort should be made to assemble all the information pertinent to Jehossee as quickly as possible.

There are several lines of research which may be of particular interest. One involves exploring the information which may have been collected from Jehossee by Phillips during his ca. 1910 visit. At time he was a professor at Tulane University, but they have none of his papers. The

bulk of the Phillips material appears to be at Yale University. In particular, this collection includes photographs (U.B. Phillips Papers, Manuscript Group No. 397, Series XVIII, Boxes 45 and 46, Yale University Library, Manuscript and Archives Division) which may include originals (perhaps some previously unpublished or circulated ones) of the Jehossee photographs. There are also what are described as “transcripts” or research notes collected by Phillips, arranged into topics such as “overseers,” “plantations,” “plantation labor,” “plantation life,” “plantation management,” “plantations,” and “rice and indigo,” which may contain relevant Jehossee information (U.B. Phillips Papers, Manuscript Group No. 397, Series XV, Boxes 27 and 28, Yale University Library, Manuscript and Archives Division). Finally, there are files of Phillips’ correspondence, including the time period when he would have been visiting Jehossee (U.B. Phillips Papers, Manuscript Group No. 397, Series I, Boxes 4 and 5, Yale University Library, Manuscript and Archives Division). All of these deserve additional attention.

Another line of inquiry which is still worth pursuing is identification of the Gunby article in the *New York Commercial Advertiser*. It is impossible to determine the information the article might contain. The only source for the newspaper is the New York Public Library, which has runs from 1889 through 1892 (OCLC #01564355) and from 1895 through 1904 (OCLC #11610793).

A final line of research that should be mentioned is the need to identify and seek out African American residents, or their descendants, of Jehossee. These families represent the last best link to the early twentieth century agricultural activities on the island and their stories should be recorded before they are lost.

Field Survey Methodology

The typical methodology for a survey of a tract such as Jehossee is to establish a systematic intensive survey methodology which examines the entire acreage for archaeological and historical resources. Such an approach is extremely labor intensive and was beyond the funding level

available through the Fish and Wildlife Service. As a result, an approach was devised which focused research efforts on portions of the tract which were thought to have the highest potential for archaeological resources.

Shovel Testing

We have previously discussed the specific survey areas, shown in Figure 33 To briefly review:

- Area 1 is the Brisbane settlement, which is estimated to measure about 400 by 400 feet or 3.7 acres.
- Area 2 is situated north-northeast of Area 1 and includes structures on the edge of the Dawho River. They are found in a diked area which appears to measure about 350 feet square, or about 2.8 acres.
- Area 3 is a water mill associated with the Aiken plantation on the South Edisto River. The involved area here is estimated to be about 300 feet square, or 2.1 acres.
- Area 4 is the main Aiken settlement situated along the shore edge at the south end of a main canal connecting the site to the South Edisto River. The area extends about 2,500 feet along the rice field edge and inland about 600 feet, covering an area of about 34.4 acres. It was thought to include a number of structures documented in various historic accounts, including the main house, billiard room, overseer's house, and steam powered mill.
- Area 5 represents a double row slave structures on the east side of main island road. This area is projected to encompass an area about 2,400 feet by 300 feet, or 16.5 acres.
- Area 6 represents a continuation of Area 4 to the south. It consists of triple row of structures covering an area 1,000

feet by 400 feet, or 9.2 acres.

- Area 7 is a third slave settlement, a work area of perhaps three or more structures, and a second rice mill, situated on the South Edisto River. Included is an area measuring 1,100 feet by 1,000 feet, or 25.3 acres.
- Area 8 is an isolated complex located in a wooded area, adjacent to swamp, but not to any rice fields. We estimate the area covered is perhaps 600 by 600 feet, or 8.3 acres.

These eight areas, combined, total about 102.3 acres, and represent a 2.6% sample of the total 4,000 area tract. For each of these eight projected areas we proposed a relatively intensive survey, with shovel testing spaced at 100 foot intervals along transects spaced every 100 feet. This work would involve the excavation of approximately 450 shovel tests.

The use of 100 foot interval testing is traditional in archaeological research, representing a compromise between acceptable levels of site discovery and acceptable levels of cost. Obviously, the closer the interval the more field time involved and the higher cost of the survey. For example, the USFWS typically uses a 60-foot testing interval for phase 1 reconnaissance studies in the Southeast. It is important to understand that the 100 foot transects incorporated into this study offer only a gross level for a site of the complexity found in some areas of Jehossee Island.

While this work might not be sufficient to document the precise location of some structures, it would establish better site boundaries for the USFWS. This is expected to help better evaluate the potential effects of different managements activities on the island.

Shovel tests would be approximately 1 foot square and would be excavated to the base of the plowzone or about 1.0 to 1.4 feet in depth. All soil would be screened through ¼-inch mesh and all

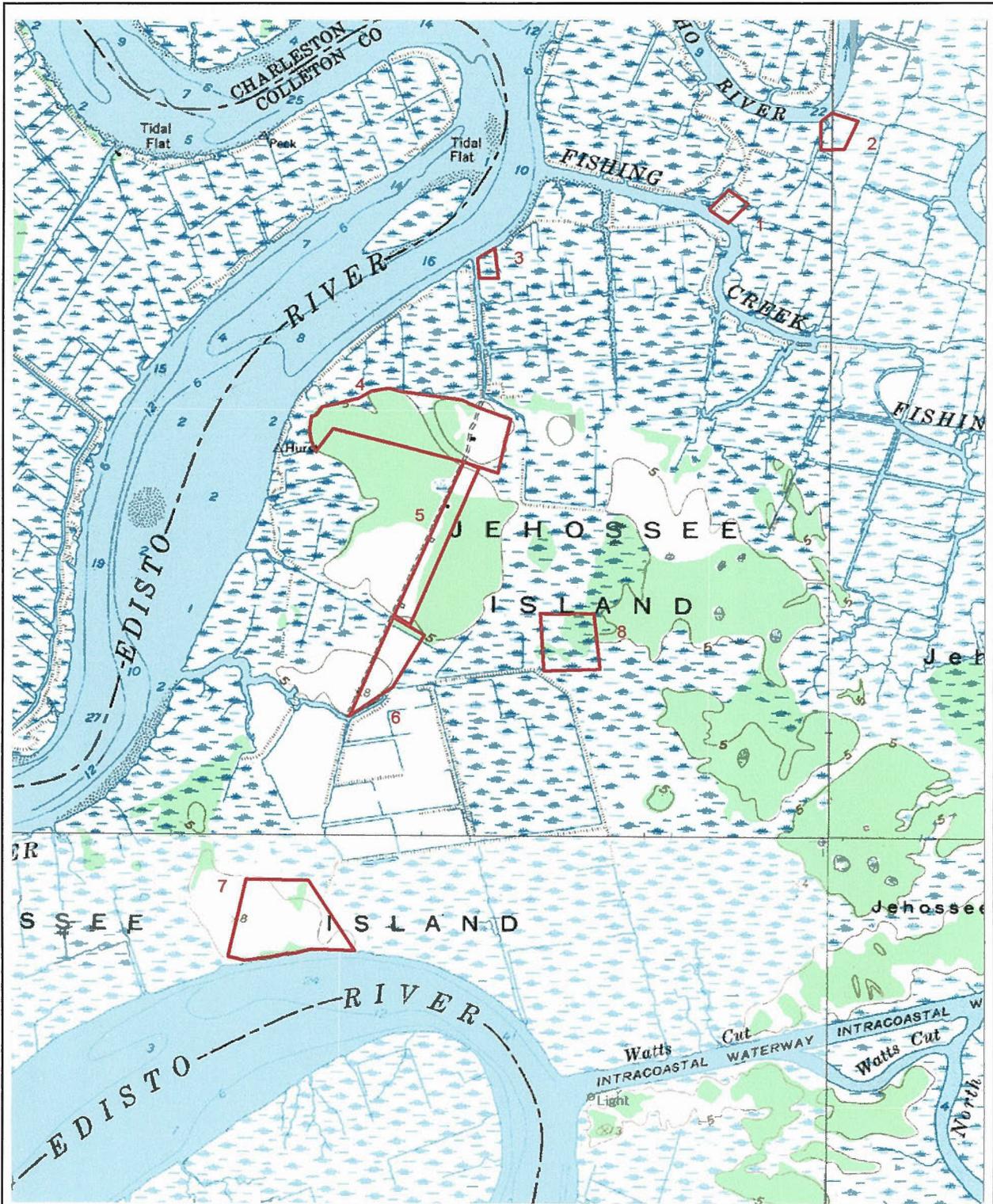


Figure 33. Specific survey areas on Jehossee (scale is 1:24,000).

shovel tests would be immediately backfilled. All artifacts, except rubble (brick, mortar, etc.) and shell, would be collected by test and transect. Rubble and shell would be quantified in the field and discarded. Profiles will be maintained of positive tests, using USDA nomenclature and Munsel soil colors.

A total of 112 transects were ultimately laid out (Transects 1 - 113, number 85 was not assigned) and 693 shovel tests were excavated at 100 feet intervals (Figure 34).

The only significant modification of the proposed methodology was that we discovered Areas 1, 2, and 3 consisted only of soft tidal soils. Even at low tide it was impossible to conduct shovel testing in these areas. As a result, no transects were established and no shovel testing was conducted. Each area, however, was subjected to a pedestrian survey and as thoroughly explored as the tides would allow.

In spite of eliminating shovel testing in some areas, the 693 shovel tests actually excavated reveal that slightly over 160 acres were investigated — well over the proposed 102.3 acres.

Site Testing

The Scope of Work for this study also specified that two types of more specific testing be undertaken. First, it indicates that "limited subsurface testing" be conducted in order to identify specific structures. Second, it required that a minimum of 10 1-meter units be excavated in areas of dense remains.

While it was not possible at a reconnaissance level to fund detailed or close interval testing of all the various site components we anticipated finding on Jehossee, we did propose to conduct close-interval testing at no more than three locations, each no greater than 200 feet square (a maximum of 1 acre each). Using 25-foot intervals, each such test area would require about 81 shovel tests.

We were certain that the close interval testing would result in larger samples from the tested sites and would allow better cultural interpretations. They would, for example, allow more accurate calculation of mean ceramic dates and provide samples that might better reveal artifact patterns in the assemblage.

These close interval tests would be excavated in a manner similar to the initial shovel tests, except that in each case horizontal control would be maintained by using a modified Chicago grid system rather than through the Transect and Shovel Test designations. The grid system assumes an offsite ORO point and the centerpoint of the shovel test is designated by the feet north and right (or east) of this arbitrary ORO point. Hence, shovel test 25R50 would be 25 feet north and 50 feet right, or east, of the ORO point.

Ultimately we conducted close interval

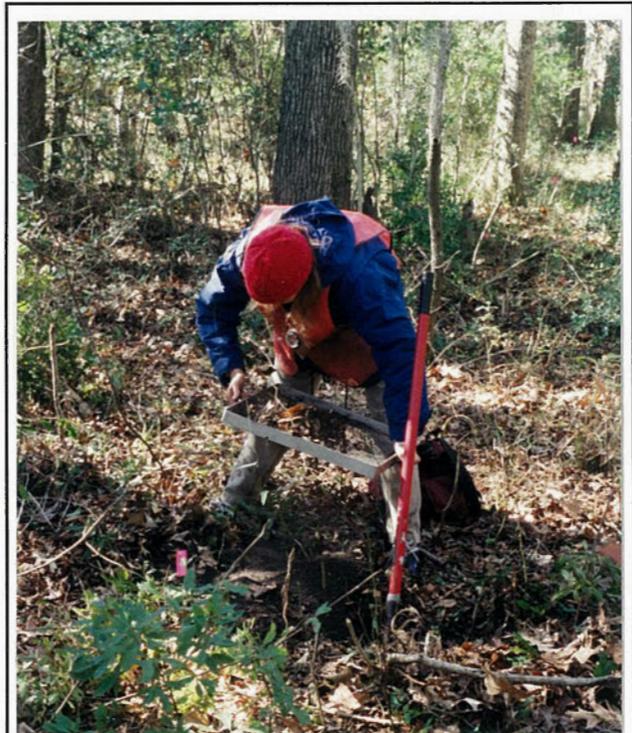


Figure 34. Nicole Southerland shovel testing on Jehossee Island. This view shows a typical second growth hardwood stand.

testing at five, rather than the originally proposed three, sites. At sites 38CH1893 and 38CH1899 we established grids covering 200 by 200 foot areas — representing the maximum anticipated in the proposal. At site 38CH1894 we established a grid measuring 150 by 150 feet (or approximately 0.5 acre), while at site 38CH1897 we used a grid measuring 350 by 75 feet or 0.6 acre. At site 38CH1894 the grid covered a relatively small area, 100 by 150 feet, or 0.3 acre.

We anticipated that the location of the 10 1-meter units would also be based on the initial shovel tests, with an effort to place them in areas of dense remains. We left open the option, however, of also placing them in areas of less dense remains if there was hope that a larger unit might help resolve structural issues or provide a larger sample of artifacts for analysis.

The units would be excavated by natural soil zones with all soil screened through ¼-inch mesh. Units will be cleaned, photographed (in B/W and color slides), and drawn at the base of the plowzone. Features, if encountered, were to be excavated as required by the Scope of Work. Each unit would be tied into a horizontal datum. This might be a site datum (discussed below), or it might be reference to known cultural or biological features which are relatively permanent. Vertical control would be maintained through reference to the nature surface (i.e., depth below grade or surface).

The specified number of units were excavated without any modifications. One unit was placed at 38CH1893, about 100 feet west of the main Jehossee road. At 38CH1894 one unit was excavated about 50 feet west of the road. At 38CH1897 a unit was placed about 25 feet south of the marsh and 50 feet west of the road. At 38CH1898 a unit was excavated about 5 feet north of the overseer's house. Five units were excavated at 38CH1899 — the main plantation settlement at Jehossee. While this may sound excessive, this is actually a very large site and the five units were placed to allow examination of several different site areas, including the main house, the posited kitchen, the billiard room, and

a double pen servant quarter. Finally, one site was excavated at 38CH1895, 50 feet east of the road.

A final aspect of the testing program included a requirement that we establish at least three permanent datums on the island. The goal of this work was to help relocate the sites in the future.

We placed five datums at four different sites. At 38CH1893 a datum was established about 20 feet off the road. At 38CH1894 we established two datums at different site areas — one about 150 feet east of the road and another on the north side of the road. The datum at 38CH1895 was established about 25 feet east of the road. At 38CH1899 a datum was established about 150 feet south of the marsh, adjacent to the posited kitchen structure.

Each datum consists of an aluminum cap set on a 1.5 foot section of rebar which has been set in concrete. Since these datum are at ground level and easy to lose, each has set adjacent to it an orange fiberglass survey marker. Each is 2 5/8 inches in width and has a length of 66 inches, with about 40 inches remaining above grade.

Other Survey Activities

Two additional survey activities were anticipated. The first was a boat survey of the rice fields, with the goal being to identify and record any architectural features which might be present and identifiable at a reconnaissance level. We anticipated that this would begin with an interview of the Refuge staff, who would likely have great familiarity with the impoundments and rice fields. It would be followed by an effort to gain access to these areas and visually search for signs of remnant water control structures or other features.

We found that this activity was not as practical as originally anticipated. The Refuge staff knew of no water control structures except for one washing out on the edge of the South Edisto River. Many of the impoundments have been rehabilitated by the previous owner and the USFWS. The nineteenth century agricultural

infrastructure, such as the dikes and trunks, deteriorated on many Low Country rice plantations after the Civil War. Much of this infrastructure was repaired or replaced during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as the rice plantations became hunting plantations. The USFWS continues to use the footprints of the nineteenth century rice fields as part of their wildlife management. In addition, we found that access to many of these locations was impossible by boat.

As a result, our survey incorporated the edges of the island where possible to observe the shore at low-tide, as well as those interior areas where the dike system was stable enough to allow the use of a vehicle.

The second aspect of the additional survey would be the examination of well defined marsh edges for evidence of prehistoric occupation. While the bulk of this study has clearly been directed toward the extraordinary historic resources of Jehossee, we felt it important to make an effort to identify any prehistoric sites which might be present and which could be identified at a reconnaissance level. Distinct marsh edges not only represent areas where high ground meets tidal waters, but are also locations where erosion might expose a buried shell midden — providing an opportunity to identify prehistoric activities that might otherwise not be visible.

This survey methodology was completed without modification, but the results were found to be very disappointing. Jehossee generally lacks areas of distinct bluff edges; in most areas the bank grades into marsh with no distinct separation. This, of course, was previously mentioned and a similar methodology once before had failed to recover any shore edge prehistoric sites (Charles et al. 1986).

Site Recordation and Mapping

We should note that the very brief reconnaissance survey of Jehossee in 1986 (Charles et al. 1986) gave one archaeological site number, 38CH848, to the entire 4,000 acre island (no architectural site numbers were assigned).

After careful consideration it was determined that such an approach would not provide useful management information and determined that, for the purpose of this study, a site would be defined as three or more artifacts recovered from the surface or shovel tests within a 50-foot area.

At each site identified, we anticipated collecting all the information necessary to complete a SCIAA archaeological site form. Photographs (B/W, color prints, or color transparencies) would be taken of archaeological sites, or features at those sites, when in the opinion of the field director they would be beneficial.

Sites would also be located using mapping grade GPS. In the case of this project we used a Garmin GPS 12XL rover which tracks up to twelve satellites and uses WAAS (Wide Area Augmentation System) technology. Selective availability was off throughout the project and, with WAAS and 3-D differential we were typically able to obtain coordinates with errors no greater than 20 feet.

This level of site recordation was particularly important to ensure that identified sites could be easily relocated by future researchers and by USFWS personnel prior to undertaking management activities. As a result of this work we have identified 16 archaeological sites.

A final project activity involved mapping. While field maps were prepared for individual sites and these often provide considerable site-specific detail, Fish and Wildlife Service desired an overall map of the island and its cultural resources. Regrettably there is no topographic map available for the island at a scale which would be useful for this type of work.

We unsuccessfully attempted to identify any existing mapping, such as LIDAR maps being prepared of some coastal areas by the S.C. Department of Natural Resources. We developed our own base map that used uncorrected aerial imagery. For this purpose the base map was primarily derived from a 1957 B/W print, CDV-4T-157 and a 1999 false color infrared print NAPP

080-4E-277, both to a scale of 1-inch to 660 feet.

Laboratory Processing and Conservation

The cleaning of artifacts was begun on Edisto Island during the field work and completed in Columbia. Cataloging of the specimens was conducted at the Chicora laboratories in Columbia immediately after the fieldwork. All artifacts except brass and lead specimens were wet cleaned. Brass and lead items were dry brushed.

All items were evaluated for conservation needs and at the time of our study the brass items were all stable, exhibiting no active bronze disease. These items were packed in the same manner as other specimens.

The ferrous items identified as requiring conservation treatment were first tested with a magnet to determine if there was sufficient metal intact to yield successful treatment. Those which appeared to have little integrity were identified when possible, drawn as appropriate, and discarded. Those objects found to consist of relatively sound metal were subjected to electrolytic reduction in a bath of sodium carbonate solution in currents no greater than 5 volts for a period of 10 to 40 days. When all visible corrosion was removed, the artifacts were wire brushed and placed in a series of deionized water soaks for the removal of soluble chlorides. When the artifacts tested free of chlorides (at a level less than 0.1 ppm, or 2 μ mhos/cm using a conductivity meter), they were dewatered in an acetone bath and allowed to air dry under low humidity conditions (\leq 35% RH) for 24 hours. A series of phosphoric (10% v/v) and tannic (20% w/v) acid solutions were then applied. The artifacts were air dried for an additional 24 hours and coated with a 10% solution (w/v) of acryloid B-72 in toluene. Conservation treatments for some items are still ongoing.

As previously discussed, the materials have been accepted for curation by the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. The collection has been cataloged using this institution's accessioning practices. Specimens

were packed in plastic bags and boxed. Field notes were prepared on pH neutral, alkaline buffered paper and photographic materials were processed to archival standards. All original field notes, with archival copies, are also curated with this facility. All materials will be delivered to the curatorial facility upon final acceptance of this report by the Fish and Wildlife Service.

Analyses

Analysis of the collections followed professionally accepted standards with a level of intensity suitable to the quantity and quality of the remains. Prehistoric pottery was uncommon in these investigations but was typed as well as possible using nomenclature common to the central South Carolina coast (for example, Trinkley 1976, 1980b and Anderson et al. 1982).

The temporal, cultural, and typological classifications of the historic remains follow such authors as Cushion (1976), Godden (1964, 1985), Kowalsky and Kowalsky (1999), Lehner (1988), Miller (1980, 1991), Noël Hume (1978), Norman-Wilcox (1965), Peirce (1988), Price (1970), South (1977), and Walton (1976). Glass artifacts were identified using sources such as Jones (1986), Jones and Sullivan (1985), McKearin and McKearin (1972), McNally (1982), E.A. Smith (1981), Vose (1975), and Warren (1970).

The analysis system used South's (1977) functional groups as an effort to subdivide historic assemblages into groups which could reflect behavioral categories. Initially developed for eighteenth-century British colonial assemblages, this approach appears to be an excellent choice for the Jehossee collection. The functional categories of Kitchen, Architecture, Furniture, Personal, Clothing, Arms, Tobacco, and Activities provide not only the range necessary for describing and characterizing most collections, but also allow typically consistent comparison with other collections.

Architectural and Above-Ground Resources Survey

A review of the GIS database at the S.C. Department of Archives and History revealed that no architectural sites on the island had been previously recorded. Consequently, the architectural/above-ground resources survey would record buildings, sites, and structures that appear to have been constructed before 1950.

For those resources which appeared to maintain their integrity, a Statewide Survey Site Form would be completed and two black-and-white photographs would be taken. Control numbers would be assigned by the Survey Staff of the S.C. Department of Archives and History.

As a result of this study, only one structure, the overseers house (U/19/2111), was identified and recorded. Other resources, such as the cemetery, oak avenue for the main settlement, and even the water control structures themselves, have not been assigned architectural numbers but are included as components in the various archaeological sites.

Site Evaluation

Archaeological sites will be evaluated using the eligibility criteria for the National Register of Historic Places. Chicora Foundation only provides an opinion of National Register eligibility and the final determination is made by the USFWS, in consultation with the State Historic Preservation Officer at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

The criteria for eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places is described by 36CFR60.4, which states:

the quality of significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials,

workmanship, feeling, and association, and

a. that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or

b. that are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or

c. that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

d. that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

National Register Bulletin 36 (Townsend et al. 1993) provides an evaluative process that contains five steps for forming a clearly defined explicit rationale for either an archaeological site's eligibility or lack of eligibility. Briefly, these steps are:

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

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

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

- evaluation of the site's archaeological integrity to ensure that the data sets were sufficiently well preserved to address the research questions; and
- identification of important research questions among all of those which might be asked and answered at the site.

This approach, of course, has been developed for use documenting eligibility of sites being actually nominated to the National Register of Historic Places where the evaluative process must stand alone, with relatively little reference to other documentation and where typically only one site is being considered. As a result, some aspects of the evaluative process have been summarized, but we have tried to focus on each archaeological site's ability to address significant research topics within the context of its available data sets.

For architectural sites the evaluative process was somewhat different. Given the relatively limited historical data that is often available for many sites identified during this type of study, we often concentrate on evaluating these sites using National Register Criterion C, focusing on the site's "distinctive characteristics." Key to this concept is the issue of integrity. This means that the property needs to have retained, essentially intact, its physical identity from the historic period.

Particular attention was given to the integrity of design, workmanship, and materials. Design includes the organization of space, proportion, scale, technology, ornamentation, and materials. As *National Register Bulletin 36* observes, "Recognizability of a property, or the ability of a property to convey its significance, depends largely upon the degree to which the design of the property is intact" (Townsend et al. 1993:18). Workmanship is evidence of the artisan's labor and skill and can apply to either the entire property or to specific features of the property. Finally, materials — the physical items used on and in the property — are "of paramount importance under Criterion C" (Townsend et al.

1993:19). Integrity here is reflected by maintenance of the original material and avoidance of replacement materials.

Curation

As required by USFWS, two copies of the final SCIAA site forms and S.C. Department of Archives and History (SCDAH) architectural site cards have been forwarded to the USFWS Regional Archaeologist. In addition, copies of these forms are available at SCIAA and SCDAH.

The field notes, photographic materials, and artifacts resulting from these investigations have been curated at SCIAA using that agency's curation procedures. The collections have been cleaned and/or conserved as necessary. All original records were provided to the curatorial facility on pH neutral, alkaline buffered paper and the b/w prints and negatives were processed to archival permanence standards. The color transparencies and color prints were processed to industry standards, but are not considered archival.

Copies of all field records and photographic materials have been provided to the Regional Archaeologist so that USFWS will also have a permanent record of the survey and its findings.

Recommendations

A major objective of this investigation was to aid the USFWS in the development of realistic historic preservation goals that balance their responsibility for natural and cultural resources. The National Wildlife Refuge System Improvement Act of 1997 specifically defines the USFWS's primary mission as the administration of "a national network of lands and waters for the conservation, management, and where appropriate, restoration of the fish, wildlife, and plant resources and their habitats within the United States for the benefit of present and future generations of Americans." Any cultural resource recommendations must recognize this primary mission and seek ways of reconciling preservation

of the environment with preservation of historic resources.

For each site we have evaluated potential threats and offered, where it seemed appropriate, suggestions that are largely site-specific. This includes some suggestions regarding actions which we deem as critical and which require immediate attention.

At a broader level, we understand that by 2008 the Refuge is responsible for the development of a Comprehensive Conservation Plan (or CCP). This is a 15-year plan that addresses, among other issues, public use and that includes various step-down plans. We believe, as part of the CCP process, it would be helpful to finalize the current draft management plan (Anonymous 1998) and incorporate archaeological resources. This report, we believe, will provide valuable data for incorporation in that plan, including details on site location and how sites might be affected by various USFWS activities.

SURVEY RESULTS

Introduction

As a result of this reconnaissance level study, 16 sites (38CH1891 through 38CH1906) and one standing architectural site (U/19/2111) were identified on Jehossee Island. Table 11 provides a brief overview of these sites, while their locations are shown in Figure 35 (UTM coordinates have been omitted from this document, but are available on the site forms, recorded with the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology).

As discussed in the previous section, all of Jehossee Island was assigned a single archaeological site number, 38CH848, as a result of an earlier reconnaissance level study (Charles et al. 1986). We recommend that this earlier number be disregarded and no longer used in discussions of the island's resources. We have chosen to use a more conventional approach and assign each concentration, or cluster of remains identified during the survey it's own number. This approach allows easier management of the resources. One site has been divided into three loci or areas, although only one number, 38CH1905, was assigned. We believe that this site represents one related dike support system and only one number is therefore appropriate.

We should also briefly mention that this reconnaissance did not attempt to locate, or assign architectural or

archaeological numbers, to individual remnant dike systems. There will, however, be some discussion of these features in the summary section, when we consider management and eligibility issues.

Likewise, we did not assign an architectural number to the cemetery, although we did assign such a number to the standing structure. We believe that the cemetery, 38CH1896, is best managed as an archaeological, rather than architectural, resource.

Archaeological Sites

38CH1891

Site 38CH1891 consists of a surface and

Table 11.
Cultural Resources Identified on Jehossee Island

Site Number	Name/Site Type	Size	Eligibility
38CH1891	overseer's summer house	430x50	NE
38CH1892	prehistoric lithic and pottery scatter	130x70	NE
38CH1893	slave settlement	470x430	E
38CH1894	slave settlement	1300x400	E
38CH1895	slave settlement w/postbellum occup	200x1800	E
38CH1896	African American cemetery	350x450	E
38CH1897	rice mill & slave settlement	600x800	E
38CH1898	overseer's house - archaeology	400x300	E
U19/2111	overseer's house - architecture		E
38CH1899	Aiken main house complex	1000x600	E
38CH1900	rice trunk ruins	50x10	NE
38CH1901	rice dike bulkhead	50x900	NE
38CH1902	tidal rice mill ruins	250x250	E
38CH1903	structural remains - possible stable	100x50	PE
38CH1904	footbridge remains	20x100	NE
38CH1905a	rice dike bulkhead	200x25	NE
38CH1905b	rice dike bulkhead	200x25	NE
38CH1905c	rice dike bulkhead	200x25	NE
38CH1906	Brisbane main plantation complex	400x300	PE

Size is in feet

National Register of Historic Places Eligibility: E - eligible, PE - potentially eligible, NE - not eligible

JEHOSSEE ISLAND

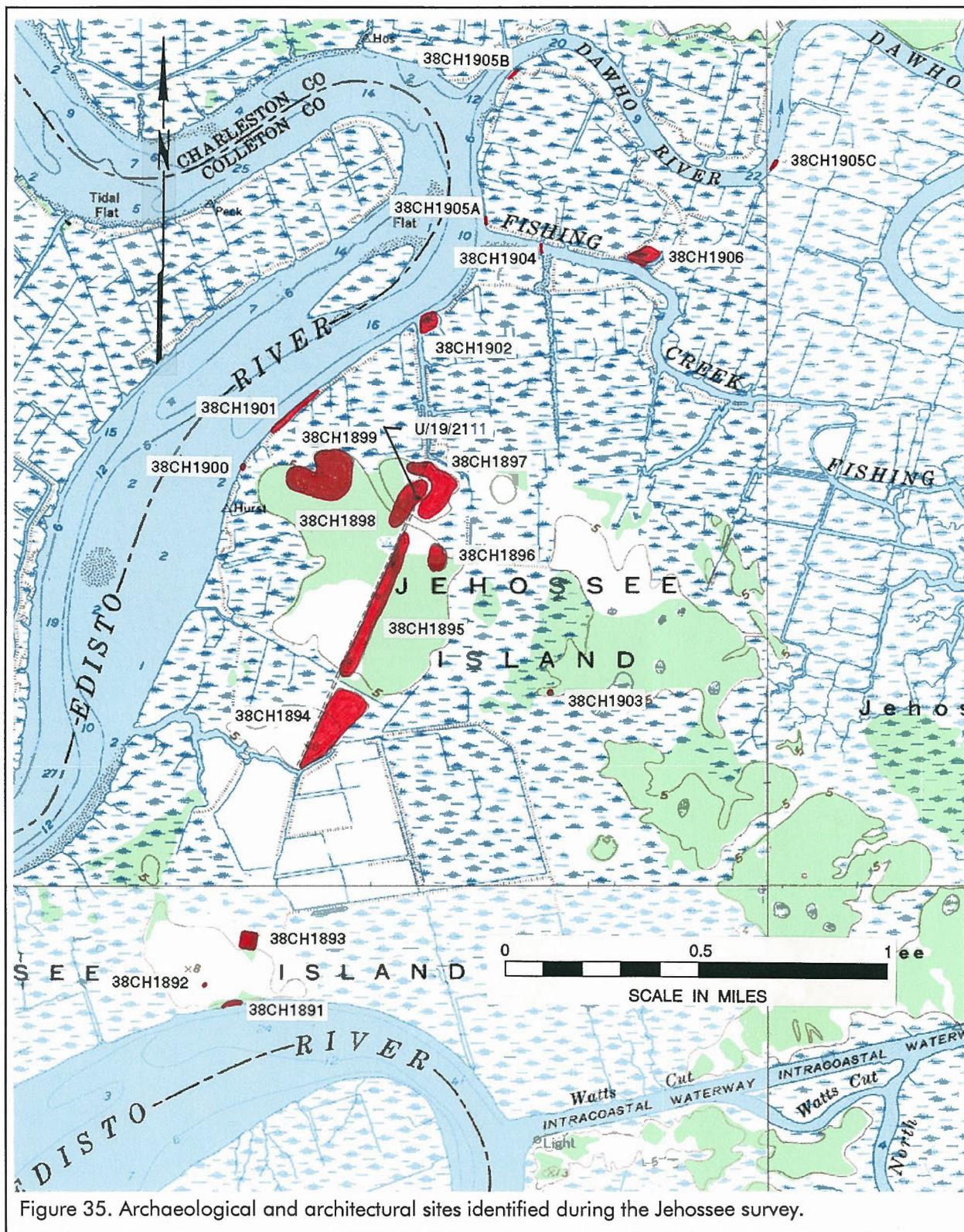


Figure 35. Archaeological and architectural sites identified during the Jehossee survey.

SURVEY RESULTS

Table 12.
Artifacts recovered from 38CH1891

	T1, ST2	Surface
Whiteware, undecorated		1
Stoneware		3
Eye bolt		1
UID metal	1	

a sparse subsurface scatter of artifacts which are currently eroding out of the bank into the South Edisto River (Figures 35 and 36). While most of the site appears destroyed by heavy erosion, the remaining portion is situated on the river edge at an elevation of about 12 feet above mean sea level (AMSL). Vegetation atop the river terrace is grass with a light scatter of scrub or very young second growth hardwood — within the past 20 years this area was under heavy cultivation.

At low tide two concentrations of brick rubble are visible in the mud (Figure 37). These are located about 150 feet and about 10 to 30 feet from the existing bluff edge.

The site was initially encountered during routine shovel tests, with ST2 in Transect 1 being positive. No close interval testing was conducted at this site because of the low density of remains, its proximity to the shore edge, and the generally good surface visibility. The site size of 430 feet east-west by 50 feet north-south incorporate the one positive test, as well as the two brick scatters found at low tide. The boundaries also include a very sparse scatter of materials found on the surface or in slump from the bluff edge.

The soil profile on the river terrace resembles Yorges loamy fine sands which have an Ap horizon of dark grayish-brown (10YR4/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of 0.8 foot over a light brownish-gray (10YR6/2) loamy fine sand which occurs to a depth of 1.2 feet. As previously mentioned, this site has been extensively cultivated, although erosion is more likely the result of the natural movement of the river accentuated by boat traffic.

Artifacts from this site are shown in Table 12 and reveal relatively little about the nature of these remains. They are suggestive of a nineteenth

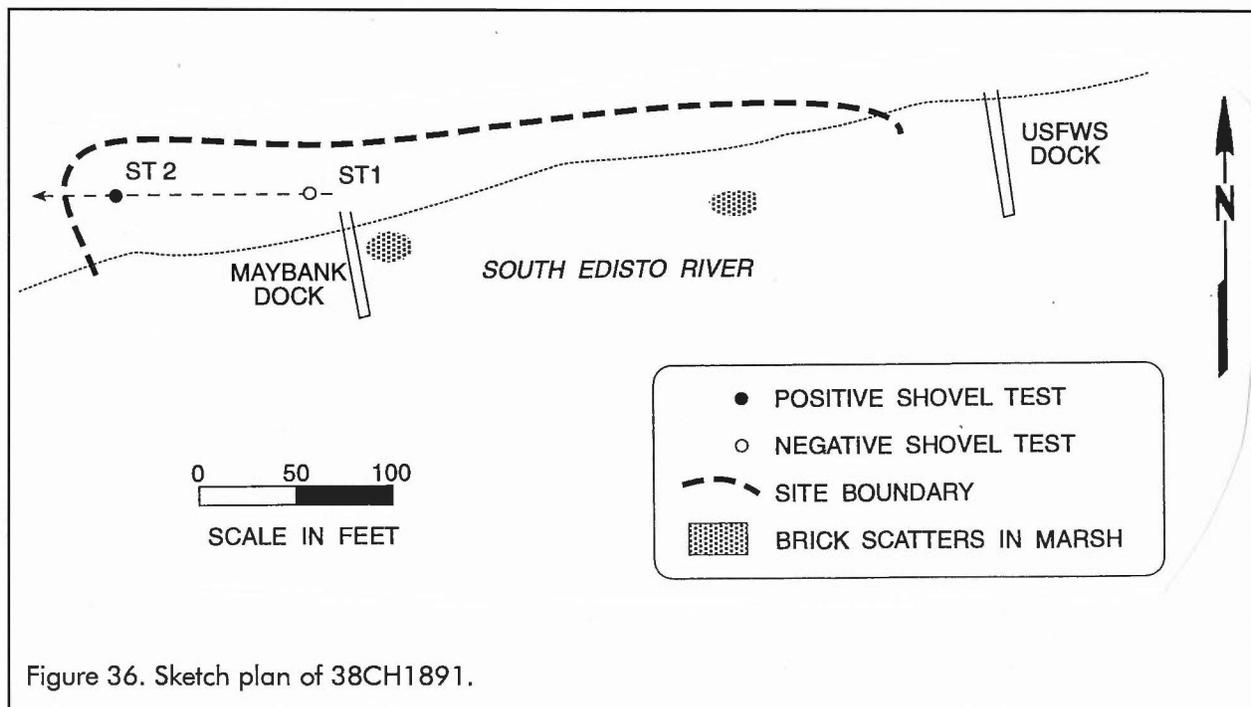


Figure 36. Sketch plan of 38CH1891.



Figure 37. Western scatter of brick rubble on the shore at 38CH1891, view to the north.

In addition, we have also previously discussed the Viator article of July 19, 1844 in the *Charleston Courier* which mentioned the "overseer's summer residence, situated on a high bluff of the river" on the "south side" of the island.

Consequently, it is likely that this complex included a shore edge residence for the overseer — a location considered more healthy and which would allow his year-round presence on the

century occupation and the bricks found on the shore are consistent with those found elsewhere on Jehossee.

island. Also present were support or storage structures.

The 1856 "U.S. Coast Survey of the Upper Part of Edisto Island and Jehossee Island" (see Figure 17, a portion of which is reproduced here as Figure 38) shows a series of six structures in an area measuring about 800 feet along the river edge and extending inland about 100 feet.

Initially we believed that the only indication of function is the comment on the map that at least one of these is a "rice mill." After more careful study of this map, we believe that the "rice mill" is actually about 850 feet to the west-northwest along a road in the rice fields (an area which was not included in this survey). There are three structures shown in the posited rice mill area, one of which is circled, probably indicating a tall stack used for triangulation purposes. The distance from the water also suggests that the mill was steam powered.

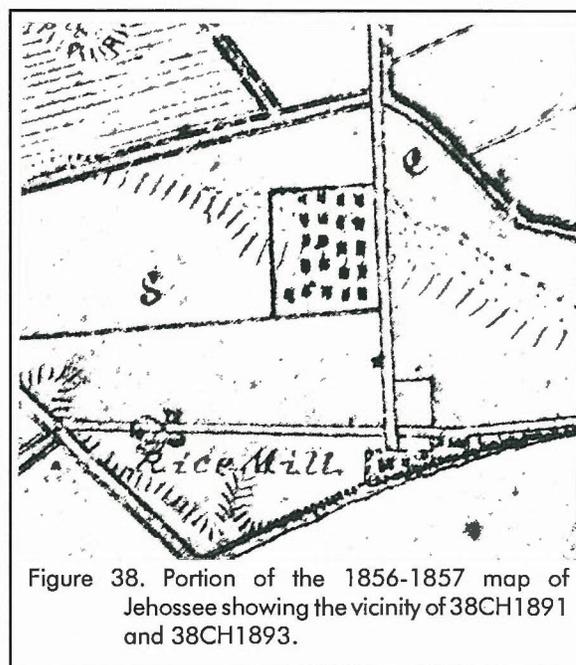


Figure 38. Portion of the 1856-1857 map of Jehossee showing the vicinity of 38CH1891 and 38CH1893.

SURVEY RESULTS

There is certainly no lack of important research questions appropriate for this complex: what, if any differences might be found in the assemblage of a "winter" and "summer" overseer's residence? What were the functions of the other structures found in the complex? It is likely that one would have been a kitchen for the overseer, leaving us wondering what, if any, differences might be seen in the diets of a "summer" and "winter" occupation.

Today, however, virtually nothing remains of these structures — all having been lost to the South Edisto River. As a result, both above ground and subsurface integrity of the site must be rated very poor — as evidenced by the near lack of data sets present in situ. Although there are remains on the beach at low tide, we do not believe that these secondary deposits are able to address the most meaningful research questions for this site. As a result, we recommend the site not eligible for inclusion on the National Register and recommend no additional management activities, pending the review and concurrence of the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO).

38CH1892

Site 38CH1892 (Figures 35 and 39) consists of a sparse subsurface scatter of prehistoric remains as well as a single historic artifact likely representing scatter from nearby 38CH1891. It is situated about 380 feet inland from the South Edisto River at an elevation of 12 feet AMSL.

The site is about 800 feet west of the main road which runs roughly north-south through the center of Jehossee. It is located on an area relatively high and level, with a slight slope to the north and west. The site is found in an area of heavy previous cultivation, although it is today covered in scrub second growth hardwood and weeds.

The site was initially discovered during

shovel testing at 100-foot intervals on Transect 2, with Shovel Test 3 (designated 150R250 in the close-interval grid) producing an unidentifiable prehistoric sherd. Based on this find, close interval testing at 25-foot intervals was initiated. Shovel testing occurred along the cardinal directions until two consecutive negative shovel tests were encountered.

A total of 32 shovel tests were excavated with only five producing artifacts. Table 13 shows the sparse number of artifacts found, with seven of the eight artifacts representing a prehistoric site. Several of the prehistoric sherds, based on the paste, likely belong to the Deptford Series and date from the Early Woodland. As mentioned, we believe the single historic artifact is scatter from nearby 38CH1891 (about 400 feet to the southeast). The estimated site dimensions are 130 feet east-west by 70 feet north-south, based on the close-interval shovel testing.

Soil profiles resemble Yonges loamy fine sands which have an Ap horizon of dark grayish-brown (10YR4/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of 0.8 foot over a light brownish-gray (10YR6/2) loamy fine sand which occurs to a depth of 1.2 feet.

Prehistoric data sets at this site include two

Table 13.
Artifacts recovered from 38CH1892

	100R200	100R225	125R150	150R200	150R250
Chert chunk	1				
Chert biface fragment			1		
Sherds		2		2	1
Glass, "black"	1				

fragments of lithics — a fragmentary, nondiagnostic chert biface and a chert chunk. The pottery, likely Deptford, is all heavily fragmented, likely from intensive plowing. No features were encountered, or even hinted at by the shovel testing, and even the density of the artifacts present is very low.

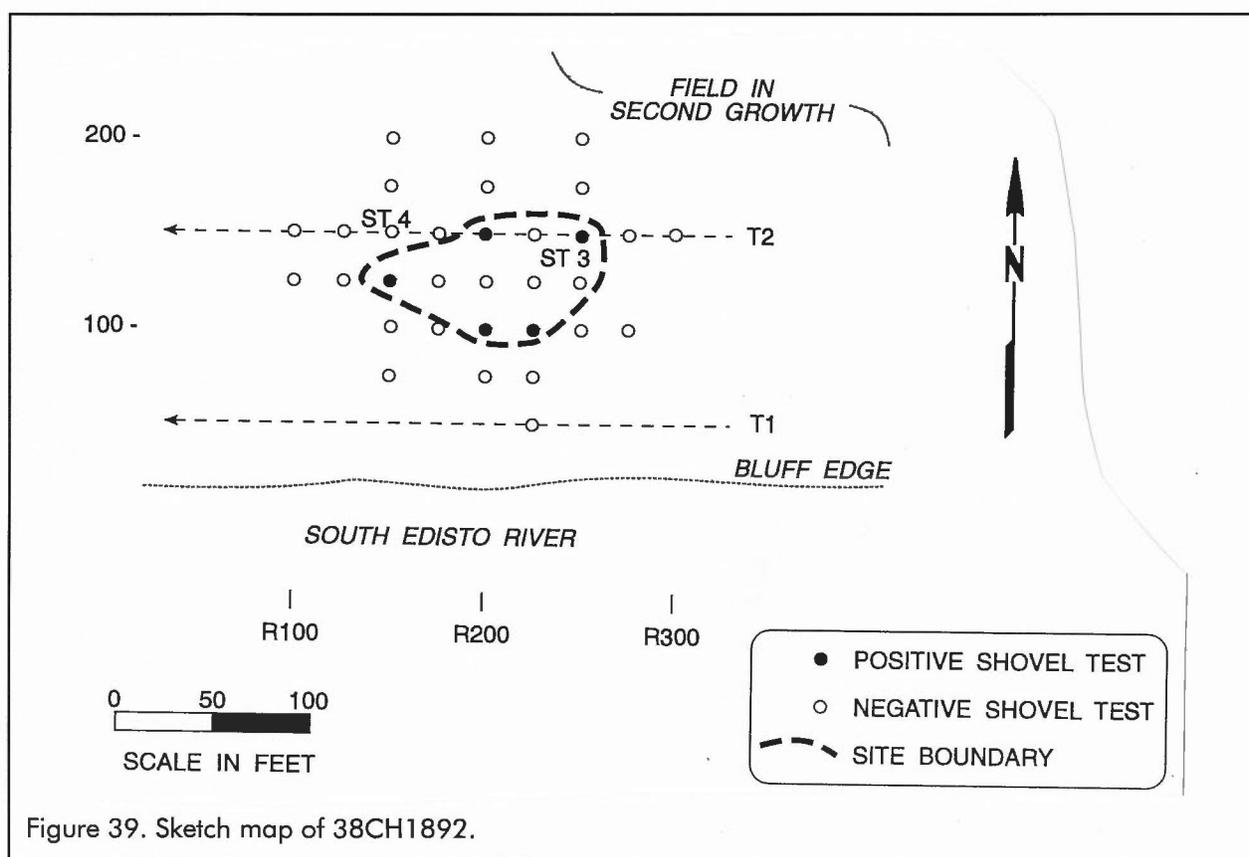


Figure 39. Sketch map of 38CH1892.

There are a broad range of appropriate prehistoric research questions presented in the prehistoric overview for this survey. This site, however, lacks the data sets, as well as the integrity, to allow those questions to be meaningfully addressed. As a result, we recommend the site not eligible for inclusion on the National Register and recommend no additional management activities, pending the review and concurrence of the SHPO.

38CH1893

38CH1893 (Figures 35 and 40) represents a large, and somewhat unusually laid out, slave settlement. It is located at the north edge of highland overlooking old rice fields to the north with the South Edisto River about 500 feet to the south. The elevation is about 12 feet AMSL and the topography drops gradually to the west and east. In those directions the high ground gradually gives

way to swampy hardwoods.

Providing clear evidence that the site was always surrounded by low, wet lands, there is a system of dikes and ditches surrounding the periphery of the site. The best preserved is found at the southern edge (Figure 41), where ditches about 5 feet in width and 2 to 2.5 feet in depth are found on both sides of a dike measuring 10 to 12 feet in width at the base and about 3 feet in height. There is evidence only of a low dike on the west side, while there are ditches to the north and east.

The current vegetation on the site consists of second growth hardwood, ranging from about 50 to 75 years in age — revealing that the site was allowed to go fallow gradually between about 1925 to 1950. The only older vegetation consists of four oaks, two bordering the main Jehossee Road and two slightly further west, apparently associated with an old access road running off the

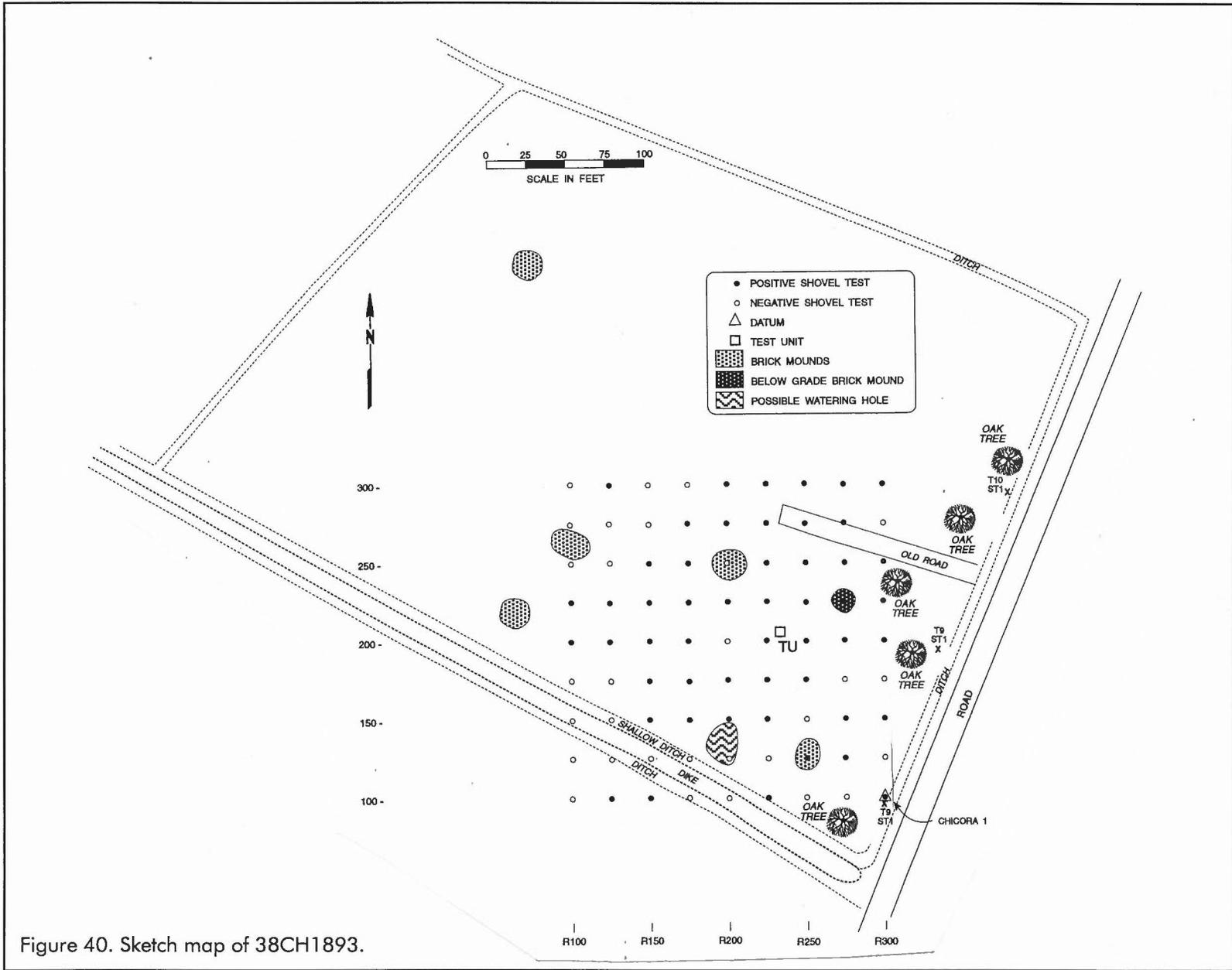


Figure 40. Sketch map of 38CH1893.

SURVEY RESULTS



Figure 41. Ditches and dike at the southern edge of 38CH1893, view to the west.

main road to the west. These trees appear to be 150 or more years old.

The site, based on shovel testing and natural boundaries (such as the system of dikes) is estimated to measure 470 feet east-west by 430 feet north-south.

The site was initially located by historic information and maps, so was easily found. Initially five transects (T 8 through T12) were placed at 100-foot intervals through the site, with a total of 18 shovel tests within the site area — 8 (or 44%) were positive producing a small quantity of pearlware, whiteware, glass, and nails. Once the site was encountered, a grid measuring 200 feet by 200 feet was placed at the southeast corner of site to provide close interval

testing information. As a result of this work 81 shovel tests were excavated at 25-foot intervals — 51 (or 63%) were positive (Table 14). A site datum was established at the southeastern corner of this site, at 100R300.

Soil profiles resemble Yonges loamy fine sands with an Ap horizon of dark grayish-brown (10YR4/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of 0.8 foot over a light brownish-gray (10YR6/2) loamy fine sand excavated in

some areas to a depth of 1.2 feet.

During these investigations a series of five

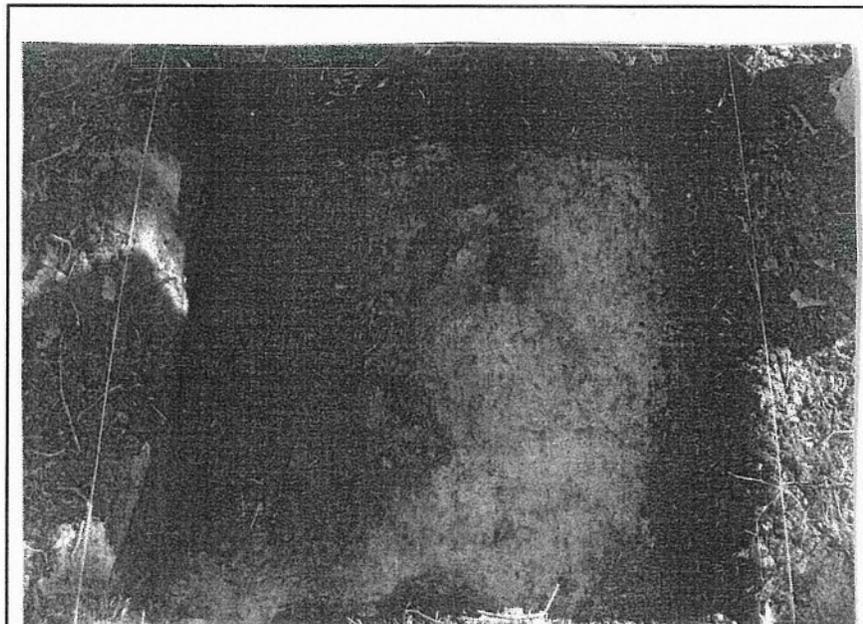


Figure 42. Unit at 38CH1893, base of excavations, view to the north.

above grade and one below grade brick piles were encountered. They ranged from 10 to 15 feet in diameter and those above grade were generally no higher than about 1.0 foot. The below grade bricks were found during shovel testing and the limits determined by probing. In each case the bricks are primarily broken and often mixed with abundant soft mortar. The only other site feature identified is an old roadbed, running off the main Jehossee Road to the west that provided access to site. This road is well defined with a slight crown and ditches on either side for about 250 feet and then disappears.

A single 1.0 meter unit was excavated at 221.5R225 in order to obtain a larger sample of cultural remains and to also examine a larger soil profile. A large number of artifacts (n=370) were recovered in the about 0.5 foot layer of very dark

southeast corner and along the easter wall, there was a large dark stain attributed to a tree. In the northeast corner there was the 225R225 shovel test. But also present were four identifiable post holes — one in the southwest quadrant, one along the north wall, and two in the northwest corner (Figure 42). They ranged from 0.4 foot to perhaps nearly a foot in diameter, with depths from only 0.1 foot to 0.6 foot below the base of the unit.

Overall the artifacts represent a early eighteenth through mid-nineteenth century assemblage. The mean ceramic date (Table 15) for the site is 1837.6 — suggesting that this settlement may have begun after the island was acquired by Aiken and did not extend into the postbellum. Most of the assemblage reflects European materials, although eight Colono ware sherds — fragments of a low fired, hand made slave pottery — are present. While 12 fragments of window glass are present, this low incidence more likely indicates that the slaves at the settlement were collecting glass from elsewhere on the site for their own use, than that the windows of their cabins had glazing.

Artifacts must be grouped, or arranged, in a manner that both makes sense and also helps us organize our thoughts about what they mean. One of the most common approaches has been to use the various functional groups of Kitchen, Architecture, Furniture, Personal, Clothing, Arms, Tobacco, and Activities developed by Stanley South (1977). These serve to subdivide historic assemblages into groups which could reflect behavioral categories. In other words, Kitchen Group artifacts include things that might be found in, or

used in, a kitchen — ceramics, table glass, serving pieces, and bottles. Architectural artifacts are

Table 15.
Mean Ceramic Date for 38CH1893

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Overglaze enam porcelain	1660-1800	1730	1	1730
Underglaze blue porcelain	1660-1800	1730	1	1730
Jackfield	1740-1780	1760	1	1760
CW, cable	1790-1820	1805	6	10830
PW, mocha	1795-1890	1843	1	1843
edged	1780-1830	1805	9	16245
annular/cable	1790-1820	1805	6	10830
undecorated	1780-1830	1805	9	16245
WW, green edged	1826-1830	1828	4	7312
poly hand paint	1826-1870	1848	1	1848
blue tp	1831-1865	1848	1	1848
non-blue tp	1826-1875	1851	2	3702
annular	1831-1900	1866	12	22392
sponged	1836-1870	1853	1	1853
undecorated	1813-1900	1860	38	70680
Yellowware	1826-1880	1853	3	5559
$176,407 \div 96 = 1837.6$				
tp = transfer printed				

brown (10YR2/2) loam which overlay a gray (10YR6/1) fine sand. At the base of this unit, in the

SURVEY RESULTS.

Table 16.
Previously Published Artifact Patterns Compared to 38CH1893
(numbers in percents)

	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern ^a	Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern ^a	Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern ^b	Tenant/Yeoman Artifact Pattern ^c	Freedmen ^d	38CH1893
Kitchen	51.8-65.0	70.9-84.2	20.0-25.8	40.0-61.2	36.8	32.1
Architecture	25.2-31.4	11.8-24.8	67.9-73.2	35.8-56.3	57.0	59.1
Furniture	0.2-0.6	0.1	0.0-0.1	0.4	0.7	0.2
Arms	0.1-0.3	0.1-0.3	0.0-0.2	-	0.3	-
Tobacco	1.9-13.9	2.4-5.4	0.3-9.7	-	0.7	7.4
Clothing	0.6-5.4	0.3-0.8	0.3-1.7	1.8	1.2	0.2
Personal	0.2-0.5	0.1	0.1-0.2	0.4	0.2	-
Activities	0.9-1.7	0.2-0.9	0.2-0.4	1.8	3.1	1.0

^aGarrow 1982

^bSingleton 1980

^cDrucker et al. 1984:5-47

^dTrinkley 1986:Table 21

those associated with buildings — nails, hinges, door locks, and even plaster remains. Initially developed for eighteenth-century British colonial assemblages, this approach is an excellent choice for Old House, which is also thought to contain a major eighteenth century component.

But South's artifact groups are useful for more than simply arranging lists of artifacts. When collections from different sites — and different kinds of sites — are compared we can often see differences in the proportions of the different types of artifacts that the occupants possessed. For example, wealthy planters tended to possess more personal artifacts (pocket knives, watches, writing instruments, and jewelry than did slaves. Archaeologists through time have developed a series of "patterns" for different types of sites and their occupants. Table 16 compares the artifact patterns of this site with five different site types. The Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern is often seen at eighteenth and early nineteenth century low country plantations. The Town House Pattern was developed from excavations at the Charleston town houses of wealthy planters and, while similar to the Carolina Artifact Pattern, tends to represent even more wealth and conspicuous consumption.

At the opposite end of the spectrum is the

Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern, which represents the collections typically found at eighteenth century slave sites. The Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern represents nineteenth century slave sites. One of the biggest differences between these last two is the varying proportion of kitchen and architectural items. At eighteenth century slave sites the architecture was very ephemeral and relatively few nails or hinges were present. By the nineteenth century there were different, some say less African inspired, housing forms and the proportion of architectural items, especially nails, increased dramatically.

While not perfect (perhaps because of the small sample size), the site most closely resembles the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern, generally regarded as representative of nineteenth century slavery. This pattern, in combination with the Colono wares and the historic documentation (discussed below) provide excellent documentation that the settlement was used by enslaved African Americans.

This site is also shown on the 1856-1857 Jehossee map (Figures 17 and 38) as a rectangular arrangement of structures. There are five rows running perpendicular to the main road, with the first four rows having four structures and



Figure 43. View of the rice canals at the south edge of 38CH1894, looking east).

the fifth or southern most row having six. They are surrounded by what appears to be a ditch or dike network and the map suggests that the topography fell to the north, placing much of the site on relatively poorly drained ground. In addition, Ruffin's 1843 account describes, "in the first part of the village there are four rows of houses," (Mathews 1992:117), which is how a casual observer might describe this arrangement. The absence of more brick, given the posited location of 21 structures, is explained by the oral histories — this is the site from which brick was salvaged in the late 1950s or early 1960s.

The data sets at 38CH1893 include a broad range of eighteenth and early to mid-nineteenth century artifacts, as well as structural piles, both above and below grade. An old road bed provides another cultural feature and the site is well defined by a ditch and dike system. A single excavation unit reveals that artifacts are abundant, at least in some site areas, and that features are well preserved at the site. The unit also documents that neither cultivation nor the salvage of bricks appears to have affected the integrity of the remains. By all accounts, it appears that the site was abandoned about the time of the Civil War

and was never reoccupied.

There are a number of significant questions which this site might address. The assemblage from the site may provide some clues concerning the arrangement — and may even help determine if the one "odd" structure at the southwest edge was a driver's house. This is the only slave site which lacks evidence of either a well or cistern and it begs the question of why none

is present. In particular, it will be possible to compare and contrast the assemblage from this site with that at other slave sites on the island. It is of particular importance that this site does not appear to contain any postbellum occupation — making it easier to ascribe the occupants as slaves rather than freedmen.

We believe that the site is eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

38CH1894

This site consists of a surface and subsurface scatter of a probable nineteenth century slave settlement that also exhibits postbellum occupation (Figure 35). It is situated east of the main Jehossee Road on the north end of high ground which was made an island by the excavation of a rice canal to the south (Figure 43). It is bordered to the north by a marsh slough (through which a historic canal has been excavated) and to the east by rice fields. The elevation is about 5 feet AMSL, with the ground sloping noticeably to the east and north. A relatively high bank has been created to the south,

SURVEY RESULTS

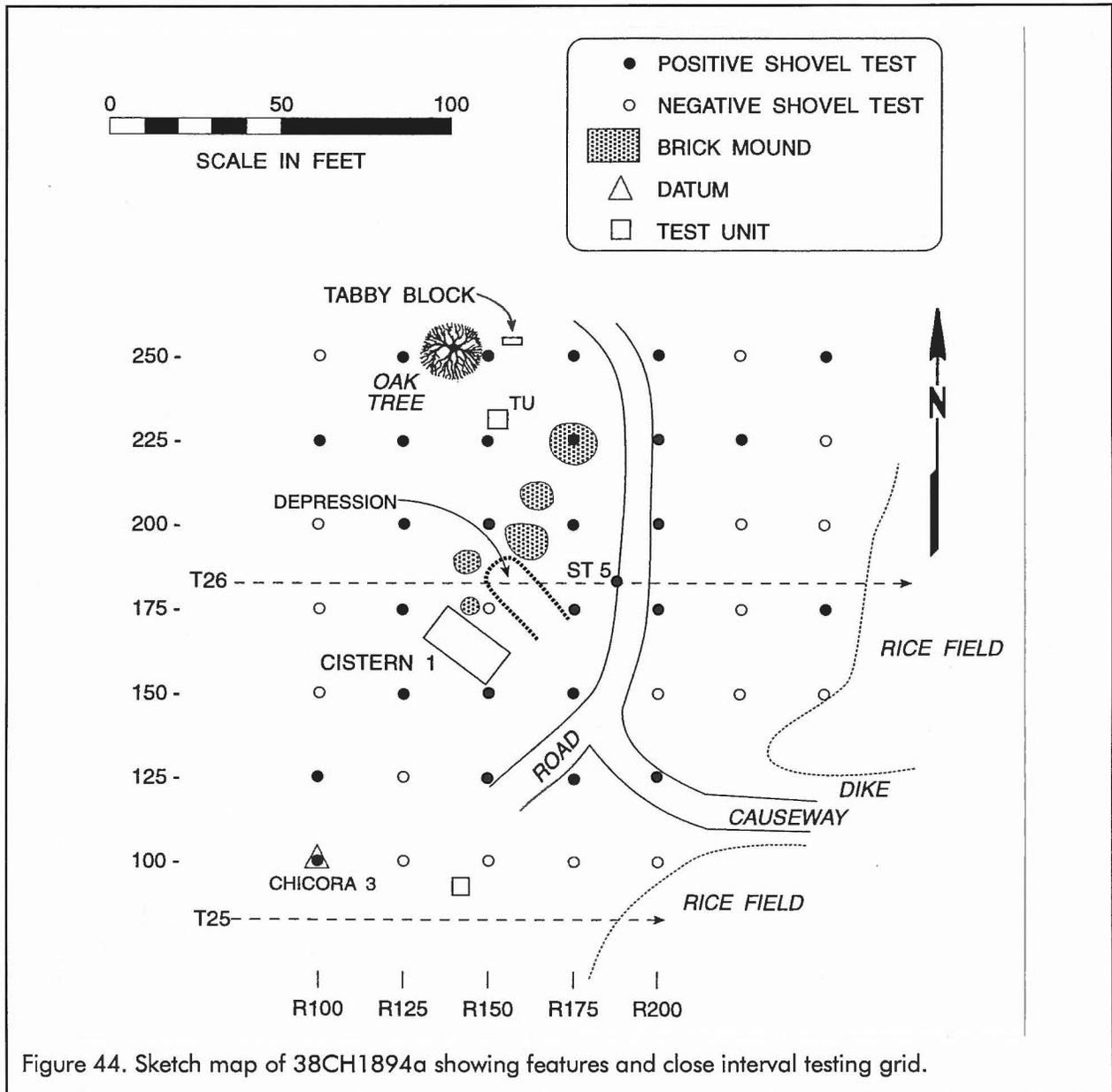


Figure 44. Sketch map of 38CH1894a showing features and close interval testing grid.

along the edge of the rice canal. The South Edisto River is situated about 2,400 feet to the west.

The site area, historically, was clear cut and much was cultivated. In fact, this area has been called Harriet's field. Even after the island was no longer being actively farmed, this field was cultivated for wildlife and has only been allowed to go fallow within the past 10 to 20 years. Currently

it is heavily overgrown with hardwood scrub. In the center of the field there are several areas of older vegetation, associated with several of the structures which were once present. At the north edge of the field there is a fringe area of dense second growth hardwood. This area has been out of cultivation far longer and the vegetation suggests far less disturbance.



Figure 45. Site 38CH1894a, view to the south showing cistern and mounds.

which appears to represent a pier. No other structural remains, however, could be located. The two smaller brick mounds are each only 3 by 3 feet in size and only 1.5 feet in height. They may represent piers, but may also be secondary deposits of bricks being salvaged and then abandoned.

At the southern end of these remains is the cistern (Figures 46 and 47).

Shovel tests were initially conducted every 100 feet along Transects 22 through 32, spaced 100 foot intervals. This work began to reveal the complexity of this site area. We found that in the central portion of the field artifacts were found parallel to the main Jehossee Road eastward to the ricefields.

At the backside, or eastern edge, of this field we found a cistern, three large brick piles probably representing one or more structures, two small brick piles of uncertain origin, a large rectangular depression which may represent a borrow area for dike repair, and a single tabby foundation pier. This area (for subsequent testing purposes) was designated 38CH1894a (Figures 44 and 45).

The three largest brick mounds are oriented approximately northeast-southwest and are spaced almost exactly 10 feet apart from each other. Each is about 3 feet in height and they range in size from 8 by 5 feet to 5 by 5 feet. While they may represent three different structures their proximity to one another suggests that they may all be associated with one building. To the northwest is a tabby block,



Figure 46. Site 38CH1894a, view of cistern, looking northwest.

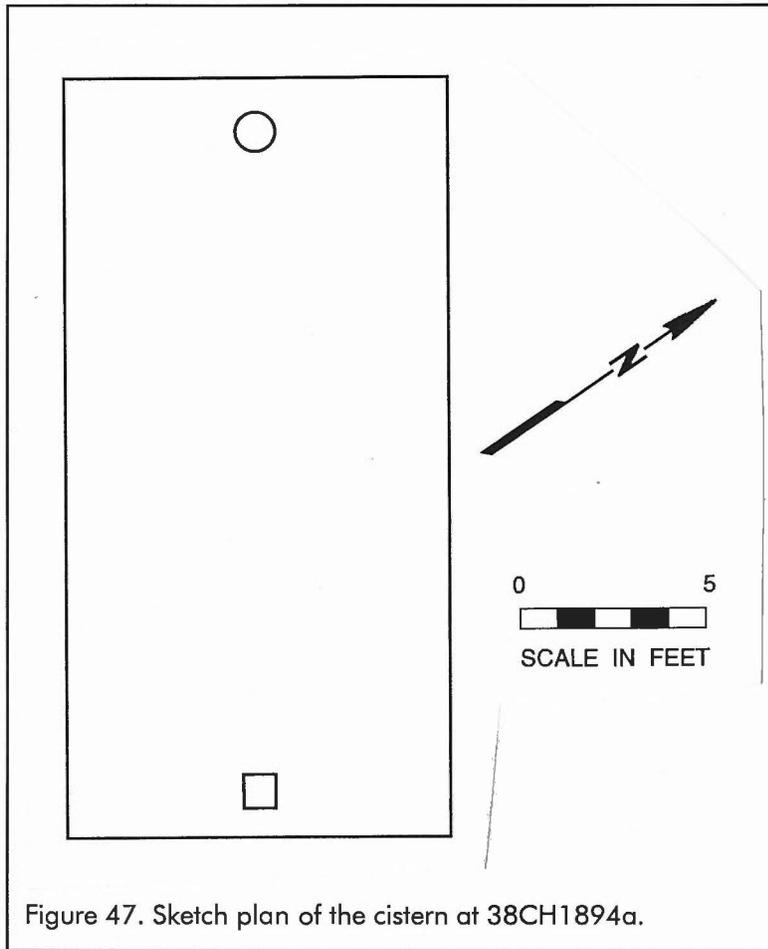


Figure 47. Sketch plan of the cistern at 38CH1894a.

This example measures (externally) 20 feet in length (northwest-southeast) and 10 feet in width. The walls are 1.1 feet thick and the roof, which is slightly arched, is 0.7 foot thick. The interior height is about 5 feet (the exact height cannot be determined without removing interior rubble). This suggests that the interval volume is approximately 694.2 cubic feet, and that it was capable of holding 5,193 gallons of water. On the top of the cistern are two openings. At the northwest is a circular opening about a foot in diameter, while to the southeast, also centered in the top vault, is a square opening, measuring 1 foot on a side.

An access road runs along the eastern edge of the site, running east off the main Jehossee Road, paralleling the rice fields and eventually joining up with the main road again at

the south edge of the island and site. Only the northern portion of this road, however, is still passable. Since it serves as access to not only this portion of the site, but also the canal system to the east, it seems likely that the road is part of the historic network on the island.

In this site area we established a grid covering an area 150 by 150 feet (Figure 44), with a datum established at 100R100. Of the 45 shovel tests, 26 (or 58%) were positive. The distribution of these positive tests also suggests that the grid is situated at the southeast edge of the site, with most remains being found to the north and west.

At the northern edge of the site, in the second growth hardwoods, we found a series of four distinct brick piles, each representing an individual structure (see Table 17; Figure 48). Figure 49 shows three of these, as well as a close-interval testing grid. This grid was established to cover an area 100 by 150 feet, with a datum again established at 100R100. The grid was designed to incorporate three of the four brick mounds. Of the 35 shovel

tests, 30 (or 86%) were positive and the distribution suggests that the grid was placed in the center of the site, with no decline in density observable in any direction.

Taking into account all the shovel testing and incorporation of the brick mounds, an estimated site dimension is 1,300 feet by 400 feet. Soil profiles throughout the area resemble Capers silty clay loams

Structure	Size (in feet)
Mound 1	20x12x2
Mound 2	10x10x3
Mound 3	10x10x3
Mound 4	15x15x2



Figure 48. Site 38CH1894b, Mound 3, view to the northeast.

As previously mentioned, the artifacts appear to date in the first half of the nineteenth century (Table 18). Combining all of the recovered artifacts reveals a mean ceramic date of 1828.4 (Table 19). This site, however, lacks Colono wares and the late eighteenth century Creamwares are also far less common, suggesting that this site may actually be somewhat later in time than 38CH1893 to the south.

which have a surface layer of dark gray (5Y4/1) silty clay loam to a depth of 0.4 foot over a dark grayish brown (2.5Y4/2) silty clay to a depth of 1.5 feet. All of the artifacts were found in the surface layer of silty clay loam.

When the artifacts are viewed by group, the Architecture Group is again dominant, accounting for 58.9% of the assemblage, followed

A single 3.5 foot unit was excavated at 225R155 at 38CH1894a in order to obtain a larger sample of cultural remains and to also examine a larger soil profile. We found a surface layer of dark gray (10YR4/1) sand about 1.3 feet in depth. The subsoil revealed a brown (10YR5/3) fine sand. In the southeastern corner and along the eastern wall we encountered a dark gray (10YR4/1) sand which we designated Feature 1. This was found to be a shallow basin or pit with gradually sloping walls and a maximum depth of 0.3 foot in the portion exposed (which appears to have exposed only a small portion of the pit).

Table 19.
Mean Ceramic Date for 38CH1894

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Canton porcelain	1800-1830	1815	1	1815
CW, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	6	10746
PW, blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	2	3600
blue trans printed	1795-1840	1818	3	5454
annular/cable	1790-1820	1805	10	18050
undecorated	1780-1830	1805	27	48735
WW, blue edged	1826-1880	1853	1	1853
poly hand paint	1826-1870	1848	2	3696
blue trans printed	1831-1865	1848	1	1848
non-blue tp	1826-1875	1851	2	3702
annular	1831-1900	1866	6	11196
sponged	1836-1870	1853	1	1853
undecorated	1813-1900	1860	25	46500
Yellowware	1826-1880	1853	1	1853

$$160,901 \div 88 = 1828.4$$

JEHOSSEE ISLAND

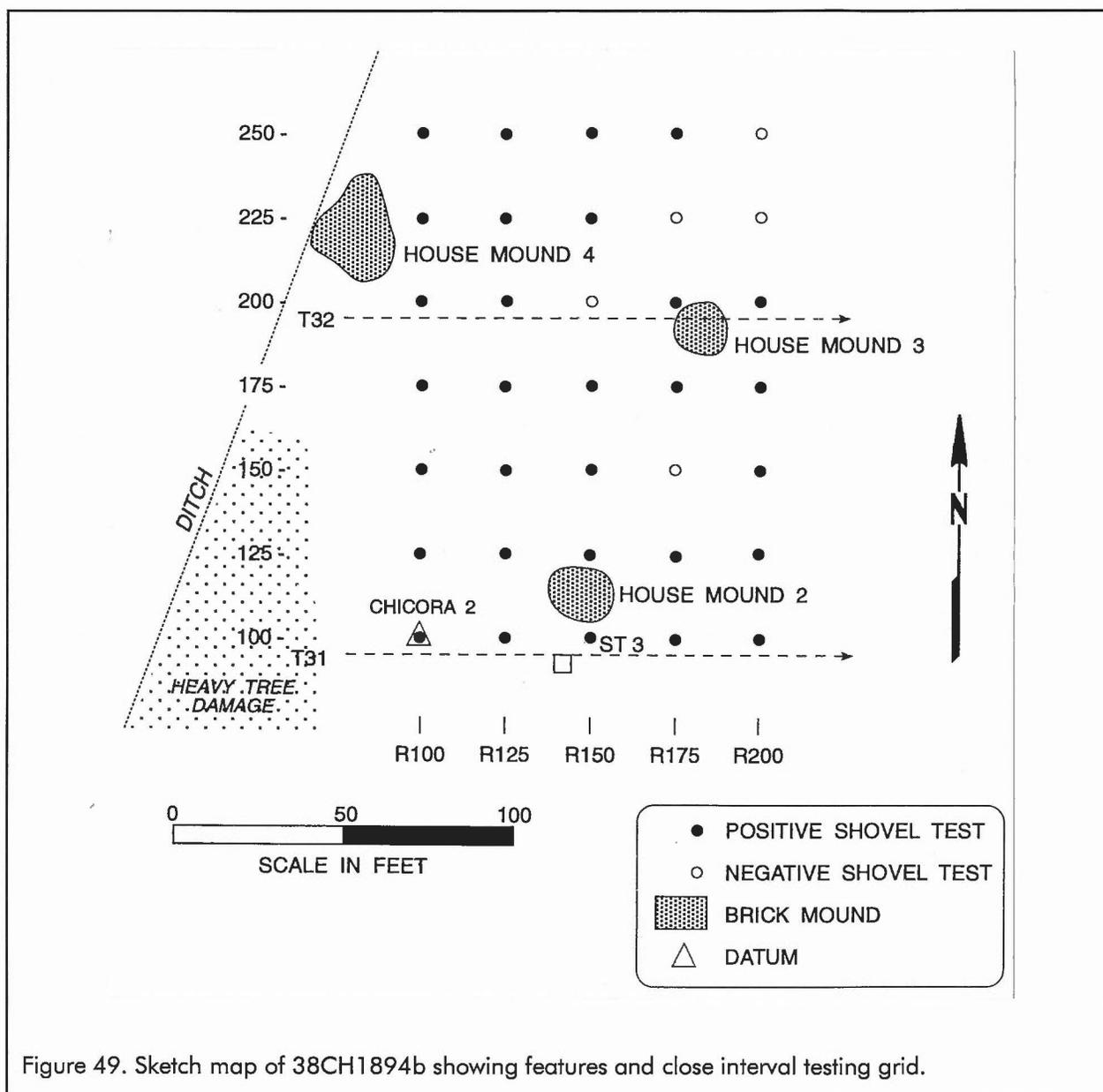


Figure 49. Sketch map of 38CH1894b showing features and close interval testing grid.

by the Kitchen Group, accounting for 37.7%. Tobacco contributes 1.6%, followed by Clothing at 0.9%. The Activities Group is 0.7% and personal items are at 0.2%. While this is similar to the Georgia Slave Artifact Group, it is actually closer to the Freedman's Pattern established from work at the freedmen's village of Mitchelville on Hilton Head Island. This may indicate that the site contains abundant materials from the postbellum

occupation of the island — or it may indicate that Aiken's slaves possessed a wider and more varied assemblage. There are certainly some artifacts suggestive of a later occupation, such as some of the whiteware motifs, we do not see evidence of extensive postbellum occupation.

Like 38CH1893, this site is clearly shown on the 1856-1857 chart of Jehossee, revealing it to

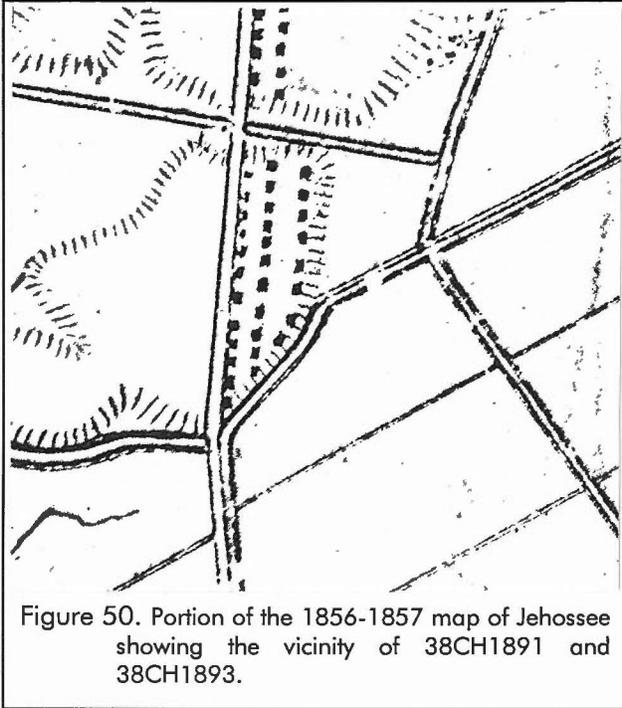


Figure 50. Portion of the 1856-1857 map of Jehossee showing the vicinity of 38CH1891 and 38CH1893.

consist of three rows of what are likely slave dwellings (Figures 17 and 50). A series of 31 structures are shown, 28 of which are rows and two arc around the shore at the south edge of the site.

We believe that the bulk of these sites have been heavily plowed and are seen today only as scattered artifacts (although subsurface stripping might well reveal features). There is better preservation in the tree line in the center of the field, where portions of the inner row are preserved. There is also very good preservation on the backside of the site, where several structures and a cistern are well preserved at Area A. And there is good preservation of several rows in the woods to the north, at Area B. It is likely that more intensive investigations throughout the site area would result in better definition of the different rows.

This site possess a broad range of data sets. We have recovered kitchen, architecture, personal, clothing, activity, and tobacco related artifacts from the shovel tests and single test unit.

We have also determined, from the one test unit, that subsurface features are preserved, at least in those portions of the site which have not been subjected to intensive cultivation (and even there features cannot be ruled out since no testing was conducted).

The site has also produced a broad range of architectural features, including house ruins or mounds of brick, a cistern, and a large tabby pier. This last item is of special interest since it may represent pre-nineteenth century architecture in this portion of the island which has yet to be documented.

These remains have the potential to address a broad range of significant research questions. Although we are concerned that some structures were occupied into the postbellum (and therefore exhibit an assemblage where slave and freedman may be indistinguishable), it is unlikely that all of the structures were continuously occupied. Consequently, they may help us begin to determine if there are any functional or social differences between the different slave settlements. The recovery of faunal and floral remains will help in the reconstruction of diet and foodways. And the architecture provides insight on lifeways on the island.

Even those structures where we find clear and convincing evidence of freedmen occupation can provide important research. They will help us examine the movement from enslaved to free on an island where the population appears to have been stable.

And the tabby remains offer the potential to examine a possible location of pre-nineteenth century occupation which is not documented in the historic records. Although the current testing found few artifacts suggestive of an earlier occupation, this feature was found on the northern edge of the close interval grid, so it is possible that such remains lay just beyond our tests.

Consequently, we recommend the site eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion D.

38CH1895

Site 38CH1895 (Figure 35) consists of both surface and subsurface remains of nineteenth and early twentieth century artifacts. The settlement is located in the central portion of the Jehossee highland about 2,200 feet east of the South Edisto River at an elevation of 5 feet AMSL. The southern edge of the site borders a marsh slough which has been excavated to create a canal. The topography gradually drops to the east, with the land being lower and wetter. The land is also lower on the west side of the main Jehossee Road. Vegetation for the site area is second growth hardwood, generally 50 to 75 years old reflecting the abandonment of the settlement between ca. 1925 and 1950.

A central UTM coordinate for 38CH1895 is E557024 N3610898 (NAD27 datum) with its western border being the main road running approximately north-south through the island. The estimated site dimensions for the site are 2,000 feet north-south by 200 feet east-west based on the shovel tests and presence of above grade remains.

This site was initially examined by a series of 24 transects (Transects 32 through 54). Of the 158 shovel tests, 48 (or 30%) were positive, reflecting that the site is well confined to a narrow strip parallel to the main road.

This work also revealed a total of 36 clearly defined brick mounds, each thought to represent a distinct structure (Figure 51; Table 20). In addition, two above grade cisterns were also encountered (Figures 52 and 53).

Cistern 2 measured 22 feet northwest by southeast and 9 feet southwest by northeast. The cistern exhibits an arched top, about 0.9 foot in thickness, which is about 0.5 foot above grade. The side walls are about 1.1 feet in thickness. The internal height is about 5.5 feet, although again the measurement is affected by collapse and damage. We estimate that this cistern, situated in the southern third of the slave settlement, held approximately 5,539 gallons of water. There were

two openings in the top of the cistern, with the southeastern one circular measuring about 1.0 foot. The northwestern one, while also centered, has been damaged by the collapse of the arch and its opening can no longer be discerned.

Cistern 3 is located in the northern third of the settlement. It measures only 11 feet northwest by southeast by 8.5 feet southwest by northeast. The walls of this example are also 1.1 feet thick, but not only is the example smaller, but 2.4 feet of the structure, which has a nearly flat arch, are above grade. This top is 0.8 foot in thickness and the internal height is about 4.5 feet. This cistern is calculated to have held only 1,866 gallons, just more than a third of the other cistern on this site. There are two square openings at the top. The one at the southeast is centered, about 1.8 feet from the cistern edge and measures 2 feet square. This one is sufficiently large that it was likely used as access for cleaning purposes. The other opening measures only 0.5 by 0.8 foot and is situated at the opposite end, but offset to the southeast.

The brick piles showed considerable variation, with some just barely visible and recognizable as nothing other than slight pimples on the landscape. Others, however, were extraordinarily well preserved, with clearly defined central fire boxes and well preserved house piers. Many also exhibited considerable yard trash, much of which dated from the early twentieth century. In particular, some structures showed a number of alcohol bottles, while the yard trash at least one of the structures contained only soda bottles.

Prior to any more detailed work at the site, we sought to carefully record representative architectural details, looking for consistency between the various structures. Structure 3 revealed dimensions of 36 by 19 feet, with a central chimney support measuring approximately 7 feet in length by 6 feet in width. Structure 23 measured 38 by 19 feet, although the central chimney was too deteriorated to provide measurements. In both cases there were refuse piles in the rear yard, 45 feet to the southeast and 30 feet to the east, respectively. The best preserved was Structure 30 (Figures 54 and 55), which

SURVEY RESULTS

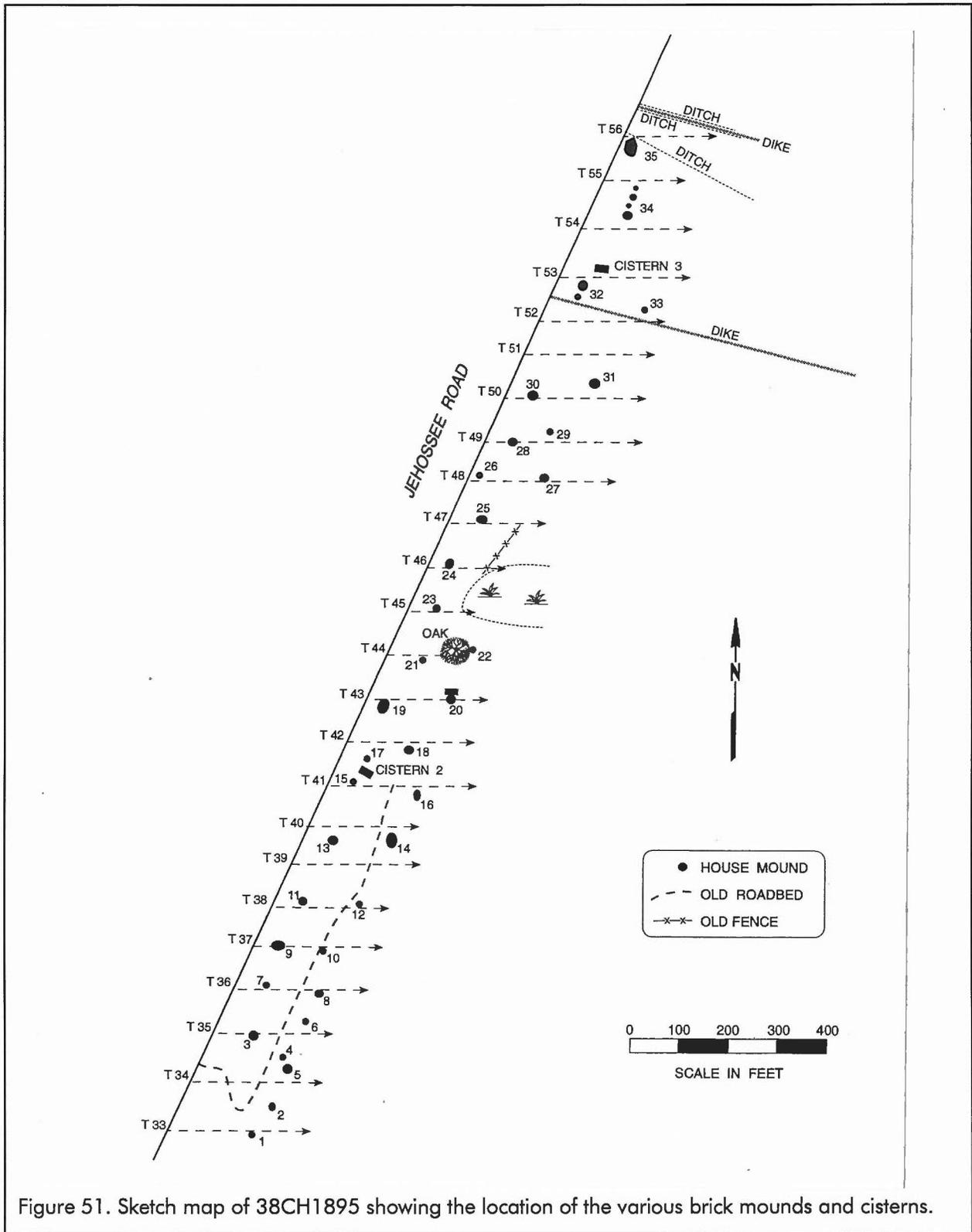


Figure 51. Sketch map of 38CH1895 showing the location of the various brick mounds and cisterns.

revealed a series of 12 brick piers outlining a structure measuring 37 by 18 feet. The central chimney measured nearly 6 by 6 feet. The opening measured 4.5 feet wide and was 2.1 feet in depth, with about 3 feet standing. The hearth, which would have been at about floor level, is about 2 feet above grade, revealing that it was not elevated much above the surrounding damp soil. The abundant trash surrounding this structure indicates that it was occupied well into the twentieth century.

One structure in 38CH1895, Structure 30, was selected for close-interval shovel testing. A grid was laid out measuring 175 feet by 125 feet and a site datum was established at 150R125. A total of 39 shovel tests were excavated within the grid with 32 (or 82%) being positive. The soil profiles reveal cultivated Hockley loamy fine sands which have an Ap horizon of dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of 0.8 foot over a light yellowish brown (10YR6/4) loamy fine sand to a depth of just over 1.0 foot.

A single 3.5 foot square unit was excavated at 95R155, situated east of the brick rubble mound identified as Structure 28 at the south edge of the testing grid (see Figure 56). This unit revealed two distinct zones. The upper, about 0.5 foot in depth consisted of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) sandy loam with brick and dense artifacts, overlying a lower zone, about 0.3 foot in depth, of mottled grayish brown (10YR5/2) clay with charcoal. This graded into a subsoil of mottled light grayish brown (10YR6/2) clay. The test unit suggests that ash and other trash was being dumped in the rear yard — a

Table 20.
Brick mounds identified at
38CH1895

Structure	Size (in feet)
1	5 x 5 x 1
2	15 x 15 x 1
3	20 x 20 x 4
4	10 x 10 x 1
5	15 x 15 x 2
6	10 x 10 x 1
7	10 x 10 x 1
8	15 x 10 x 3
9	25 x 15 x 2
10	10 x 10 x 2
11	10 x 10 x 2
12	20 x 10 x 2
13	15 x 15 x 2
14	20 x 10 x 2
15	15 x 10 x 2
16	20 x 10 x 2
17	10 x 10 x 2
18	12 x 12 x 2
19	12 x 12 x 2
	8 x 5 x 2
20	20 x 20 x 1
21	10 x 10 x 2
22	10 x 10 x 2
23	15 x 15 x 4
24	20 x 10 x 1
25	30 x 20 x 2
26	15 x 10 x 2
27	20 x 20 x 2
28	20 x 15 x 2
29	10 x 10 x 1
30	20 x 20 x 5
31	20 x 20 x 2
32	10 x 10 x 1
	10 x 10 x 1
33	20 x 10 x 2
34	10 x 10 x 1
	25 x 15 x 2
	10 x 10 x 2
	10 x 10 x 2
35	20 x 15 x 2

finding consistent with trash piles documented from other structures.

The artifact assemblage from 38CH1895 (Table 21) includes a broad range of creamware, pearlware, and whiteware, although the latter is clearly the most common — indicative of the relatively late period of occupation. In addition, this slave settlement lacks evidence of Colono wares, also suggesting the settlement was created after the island was acquired by Aiken. The mean ceramic date for the assemblage is 1844.3 (Table 22).

A few of the artifacts, however, reveal a far later date for the site. For example one recovered panel bottle was embossed, "R.V. PIERCE, M.D." and "BUFFALO, N.Y." Fike (1987:110) indicates that this company was established in 1873 and ceased operation about 1914. It is interesting to note that Dr. Ray V. Pierce was the author of *The People's Common Sense Medical Adviser*, and was founder (in 1879) of the Invalid's Hospital and Surgical Institute in Buffalo, New York (Nixon 1972:47).

Another dateable object is a clear glass canning jar embossed "Ball/Perfect/Mason," which is found in collections from ca. 1935 (Toulouse 1977:8).

Other objects are less well datable, but still provide extraordinary insight into the life of the African American community on Jehossee. One such item is an iron grub hoe — a tool used for planting more often than weeding. Another is a brass force pump, which was probably used in one of the cisterns at the site. This pump is similar to a variety illustrated in mid-nineteenth through early twentieth centuries. While it cannot, at present, be more closely dated, it provides a personal tie with the cisterns, reminding



Figure 52. Cistern 2 at 38CH1895, view to the east.

1999:599-600).

If the artifact pattern at 38CH1895 is examined we find that once again the Architecture Group is dominant, accounting for 51.3% of the assemblage, followed by the Kitchen Group at 45.8%. Tobacco Group artifacts comprise an additional 2.1% of the collection, with Activities Group at 0.7% and Clothing Group at 0.1%. Comparison to other, identified patterns (Table 23) suggests

us that while water was available, pumping it for use was a time consuming, and laborious undertaking. Also recovered was coffee grinder, again similar to those found in mid-nineteenth century catalogs. Marked "C.P.Co./ No/1350" additional research could likely more closely date the object, but it, too, provides a personal association with the site's occupants. Kanaski (personal communication, 2002) suggests this may represent one of the Parker companies operating out of Meriden, Connecticut. The companies date from ca. 1835 until the late 1800s and manufactured coffee mills, guns, spectacles, and sad iron stands (Nelson

that while the collection bears little resemblance to slave patterns, it is very close to both the tenant and the freedmen's patterns — suggesting the

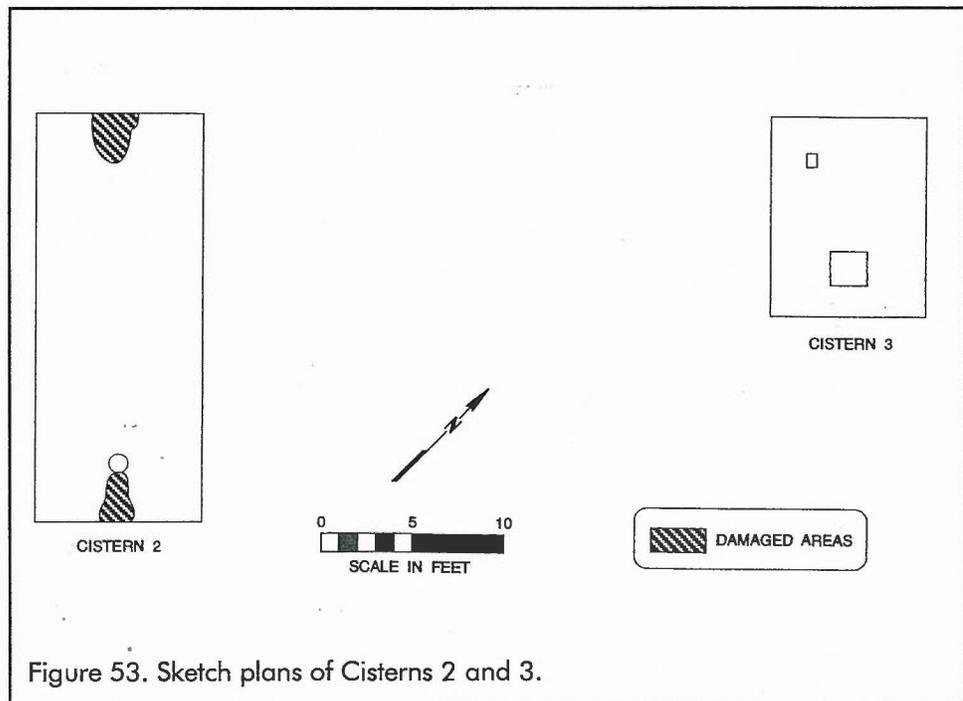


Figure 53. Sketch plans of Cisterns 2 and 3.



Figure 54. Chimney box associated with Structure 30 at 38CH1895, view to the northeast.

and postbellum remains, representing a broad range of artifact classes. Many of these remains are in excellent condition and provide an opportunity to explore and document the lifeways of African Americans on the sea islands. The investigation also reveals a broad range of architectural features. While in ruins, many are still able to provide important documentation regarding building forms and, perhaps, functions. The cisterns are in excellent

strong influence the postbellum has had on the assemblage collected from this site.

condition.

Excavation at the site, both as shovel tests

This site is clearly shown on the 1856-1857 chart of Jehossee (Figures 17 and 57) as a double row of structures. Thirty six are shown on the map, which likely does not include the cisterns — only one more than documented by this field investigation. The chart also seems to indicate that there is a gap in occupation between the north end of this settlement and the next series of structures.

The data sets from 38CH1895 reveal a broad range of both antebellum

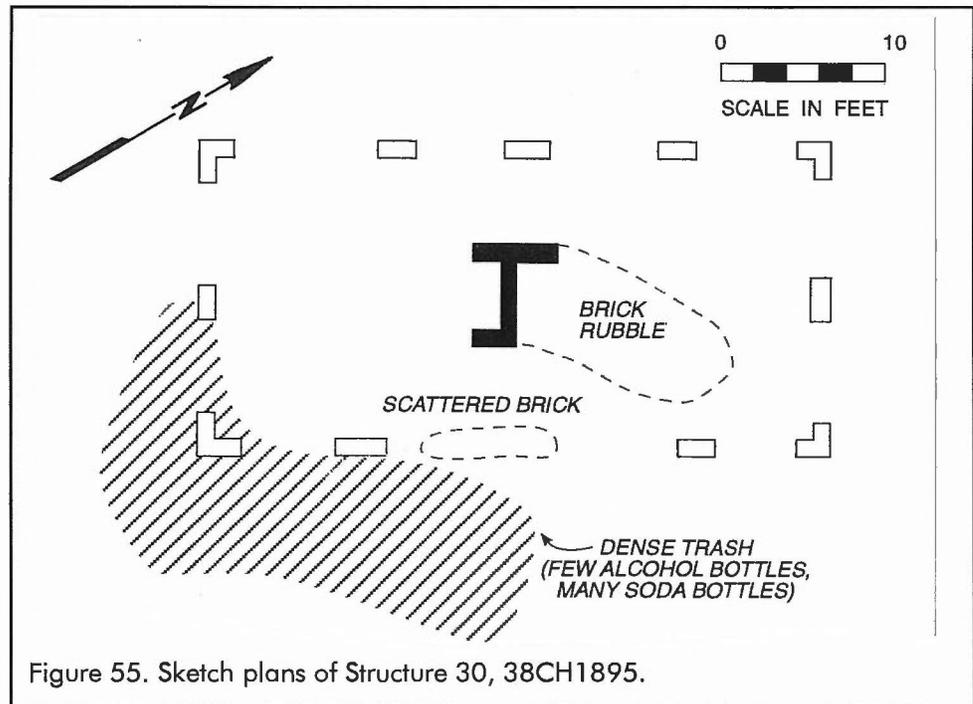
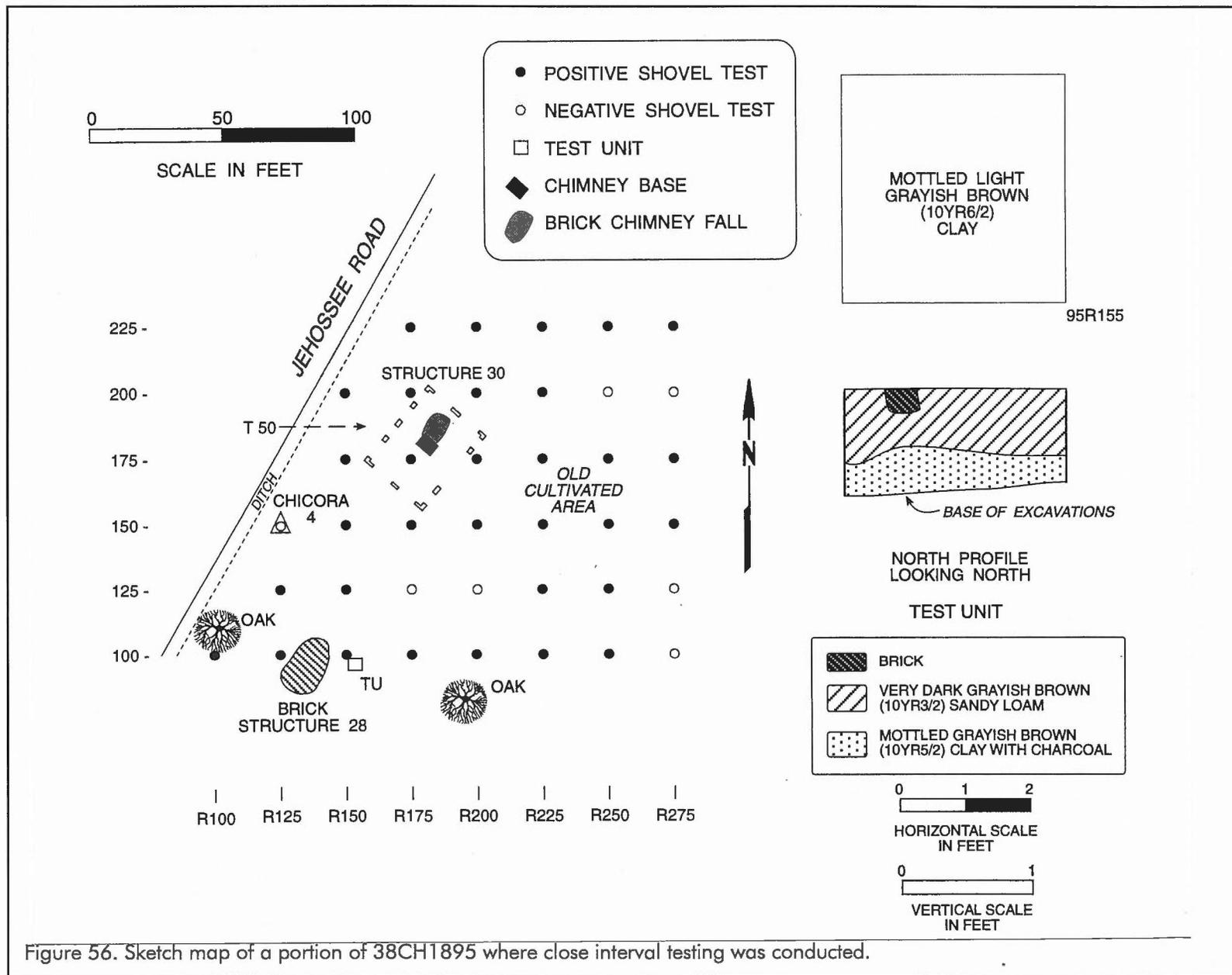


Figure 55. Sketch plans of Structure 30, 38CH1895.



SURVEY RESULTS

Figure 56. Sketch map of a portion of 38CH1895 where close interval testing was conducted.

SURVEY RESULTS

Table 22.
Mean Ceramic Date for 38CH1895

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Canton porcelain	1800-1830	1815	1	1815
Overglaze enam porcelain	1660-1800	1730	1	1730
CW, annular	1780-1815	1798	1	1798
undecorated	1762-1820	1791	5	8955
PW, poly hand painted	1795-1815	1805	1	1805
blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	1	1800
edged	1780-1830	1805	1	1805
annular/cable	1790-1820	1805	2	3610
undecorated	1780-1830	1805	1	1805
WW, blue edged	1826-1800	1853	4	7412
poly hand paint	1826-1870	1848	2	3696
blue tp	1831-1865	1848	4	7392
non-blue tp	1826-1875	1851	1	1851
annular	1831-1900	1866	7	13062
sponged	1836-1870	1853	5	9265
undecorated	1813-1900	1860	41	76260
Yellowware	1826-1880	1853	7	12971

$173,367 \div 94 = 1844.3$

tp = transfer printed

and a single test unit, reveal that while some areas are plowed, there is no indication of extensive disturbance. In fact, it is likely that the plowed areas were cultivated during the historic occupation of the site.

The site also possesses extraordinary integrity with many of the house sites, while in ruins and overgrown, appearing as though they were when originally abandoned. Figure 58 illustrates two gate posts in the front yard of Structure 3. While these features, frozen in time, provide exceptional research opportunities (for example, helping to document yard sizes and entrances), they also evoke a strong feeling or sense for the history of the island.

Research questions at this site, like at 38CH1894, include exploration of the transition from slavery to freedom and its continuation into the twentieth century, helping us

Table 23.
Previously Published Artifact Patterns Compared to 38CH1895
(numbers in percents)

	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern ^a	Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern ^a	Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern ^b	Tenant/Yeoman Artifact Pattern ^c	Freedmen ^d	38CH1895
Kitchen	51.8-65.0	70.9-84.2	20.0-25.8	40.0-61.2	36.8	45.8
Architecture	25.2-31.4	11.8-24.8	67.9-73.2	35.8-56.3	57.0	51.3
Furniture	0.2-0.6	0.1	0.0-0.1	0.4	0.7	-
Arms	0.1-0.3	0.1-0.3	0.0-0.2	-	0.3	-
Tobacco	1.9-13.9	2.4-5.4	0.3-9.7	-	0.7	2.1
Clothing	0.6-5.4	0.3-0.8	0.3-1.7	1.8	1.2	0.1
Personal	0.2-0.5	0.1	0.1-0.2	0.4	0.2	-
Activities	0.9-1.7	0.2-0.9	0.2-0.4	1.8	3.1	0.7

^aGarrow 1982

^bSingleton 1980

^cDrucker et al. 1984:5-47

^dTrinkley 1986:Table 21

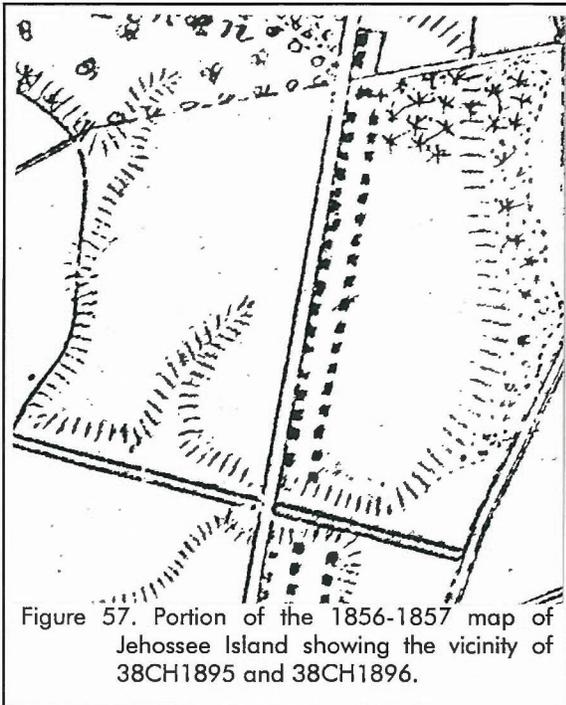


Figure 57. Portion of the 1856-1857 map of Jehossee Island showing the vicinity of 38CH1895 and 38CH1896.

to better understand life on a remote sea island. Since the sites have not been looted, or even in most cases, even cleaned up, they offer the opportunity to examine near and far yard trash deposits. Additional historic research may even be able to ascribe particular occupants to some structures, further expanding research possibilities.

Given the data sets, site integrity, and range of significant research questions, we recommend this site as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

38CH1896

Site 38CH1896 (Figures 35 and 59) is an African American cemetery on Jehossee Island. It is situated on the eastern edge of the island on generally low, somewhat poorly drained Hockley loamy fine sands at an elevation of 5 feet AMSL. The topography is level, with a slight slope to the east, toward the marsh.

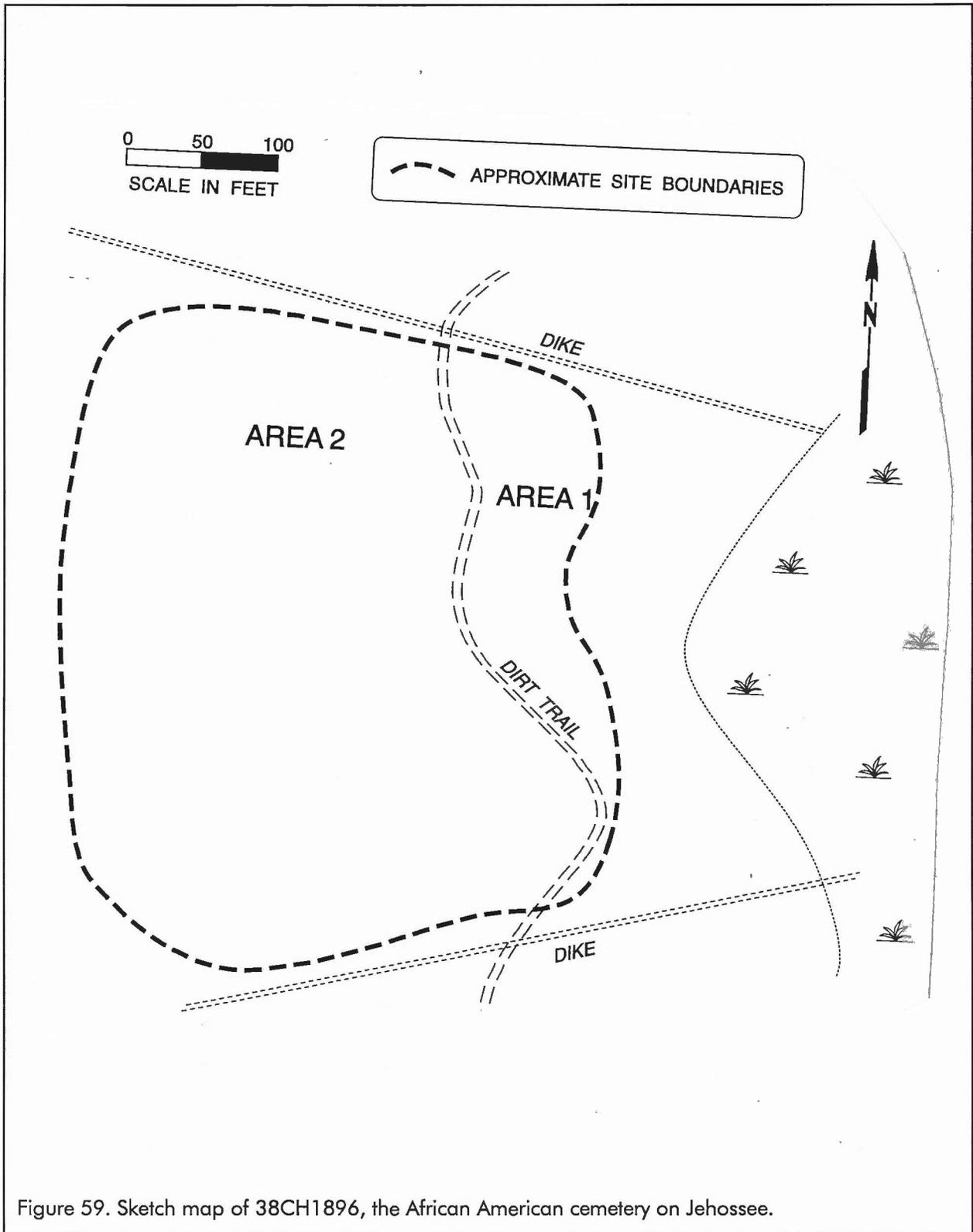
The cemetery is well known to those who



Figure 58. Fence posts marking the yard at Structure 3, 38CH1895, view to the northeast.

have worked on the island, as well as the USFWS. As a result, it was not difficult to locate the few marked graves. More careful pedestrian survey, however, revealed that the cemetery is defined to the north and south by dikes with shallow (now largely filled in) ditches. The eastern boundary is equally well defined by the marsh, although we were not able to determine if graves extend to the marsh edge. The western boundary is not well marked and has been established by this reconnaissance based on the gradual decline in clearly identifiable sunken grave shafts. Overall we

SURVEY RESULTS



estimate the cemetery measures about 350 feet east-west by 450 feet north-south, or an area of 3.6 acres. During this survey we counted 200 obvious graves in about 0.4 acre, suggesting that the entire cemetery may contain around 1,800 graves.

This investigation identified four markers in Area 1 (Figure 60). Two are marble footstones, one marked, "N.G. / 1886" and the other "MM". There is also a broken marble tabletstone. The only readable portion states, "Died June 12 / ---- / Rest in peace". The one complete marble tabletstone reads, "IN MEMORY / of / NANCY GREEN / Wife of / Jackson Green / Died July 12th 1886 / In her 25. Year of Age. / ---- / *The memory of the just / is blessed / their works do follow them / ----*". Clearly, while not today associated, the footstone marked "N.G. / 1886" goes with this marker.

In Area 2 we found one marked stone, a marble tabletstone, "IN MEMORY OF / ANNA LAURA / RICHARDSON / Born Sept. 15th, 1858 / Died March 13th, 1874 / ---- / 'Suffer little children, / and forbid them not / to come unto me; / for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.'" Nearby to the



Figure 60. Area 1 at 38CH1896, showing the broken stone, Nancy Green stone, and footstones, view to the north-northeast.



Figure 61. Area 2 at 38CH1896, showing the Richardson stone and wheelk, view to the west.

northwest is another grave marked only with a whelk shell (Figure 61).

There is a winding road, which appears relatively recent, that runs from north to south through the cemetery and continues for some distance further along the marsh edge. It is likely a hunting road and has no historic significance. The cemetery is in an area of hardwoods, although few appear older than perhaps 100 years, suggesting that some logging may have taken place (although none has been documented in the historic record). There is not, however, any indication of rutting and graves throughout the cemetery are generally well defined and distinct.

While almost all of the land around the various slave settlements is shown clear of vegetation — and likely being cultivated — the vicinity of the cemetery is shown in woods on the 1856-1857 chart of Jehossee Island (Figure 57). Robinson, in 1850 (just a few years before the publication of the chart) told readers that, "wood is becoming scarce on the island." Yet this one area of the plantation is represented as densely wooded. One explanation is that the wooded area on the chart represents — at least in part — the cemetery. If so, it may be that the cemetery is actually larger than currently identified, extending further to the west than realized.

Based on the limited information, we believe that this cemetery is intimately associated with the African American presence on the island and, as such, includes burials of both enslaved and free. While its origin is uncertain, a date as early as the first half of the eighteenth century is not unreasonable. Use of the cemetery is not documented beyond 1886, although it may have been used into the first quarter of the twentieth century. By the mid-twentieth century, however, the Jehossee community was broken apart and there were no blacks living on the island.

Cemeteries are most often viewed in the context of historic places, design and workmanship, landscape, or historic people (National Register Criteria A, B, and C). Prior to the last decade in South Carolina relatively few cemeteries were

recorded or evaluated as archaeological resources. *National Register Bulletin 41* (Potter and Boland 1992) clearly indicates that cemeteries can, *and should*, be assessed under criteria D; that they yield, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Unlike cemeteries eligible under Criteria A, B, or C, those evaluated under Criterion D (except of the graves of significant persons) do not need to meet the special requirements of the Criteria Considerations. As a result, the assessment process may actually be simpler and more straightforward.

An important issue is assessing integrity. Under Criterion D, integrity of location, design, materials, and association are essential, with integrity of setting often assisting in the evaluative process. Location refers to the actual physical place. In the case of 38CH1896, there is integrity of location — the cemetery has not been moved and the place is as it has been for the past 100 or more years. Design, in reference to archaeological sites, means the patterning of features and areas. That individual graves are still clearly distinct and identifiable documents a high degree of design integrity. Integrity of materials generally refers to the completeness and preservation of the assemblage. We have found no evidence of disturbance, rutting, erosion, soil removal, or even plowing — this all indicates that the assemblage is well preserved. Integrity of association, under Criterion D, means only that there is a clear connection between the research questions and the data sets, which we'll discuss below. Finally, integrity of setting includes the total landscape, including both natural and man-made features. At 38CH1896 there has been no significant alteration of the landscape and integrity of setting is clear — this is one area of the island which appears much as it would have in 1900, or perhaps even earlier.

Cemeteries are exceptional data sources, even if they are never excavated. There are a number of research questions appropriate to archaeological investigation that do not require destructive techniques. The use of a penetrometer,

for example, can help document the exact location and orientation of graves. Mapping a cemetery to reveal its size, complexity, and nature of above-ground features may provide information on socioeconomic status and social organization (particularly when combined with documentary research). The markers, their materials, and their execution may provide information on trade and business patterns (which may tie into consumer choice studies being conducted using strictly archaeological material at nearby sites).

Excavation at a site such as 38CH1896 offers even more potential, allowing the biocultural study of diet, health, and disease; examination of grave goods and ethnicity; recordation of coffin hardware and investigation of socioeconomic status; and searching for information on slave burial rites and practices.

Of course, eligibility does not require excavation — any more than the eligibility of any archaeological site makes excavation either a priority or necessity. The assessment only documents the information and data potential likely to occur at a specific cemetery.

We recommend 38CH1896 as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

38CH1897

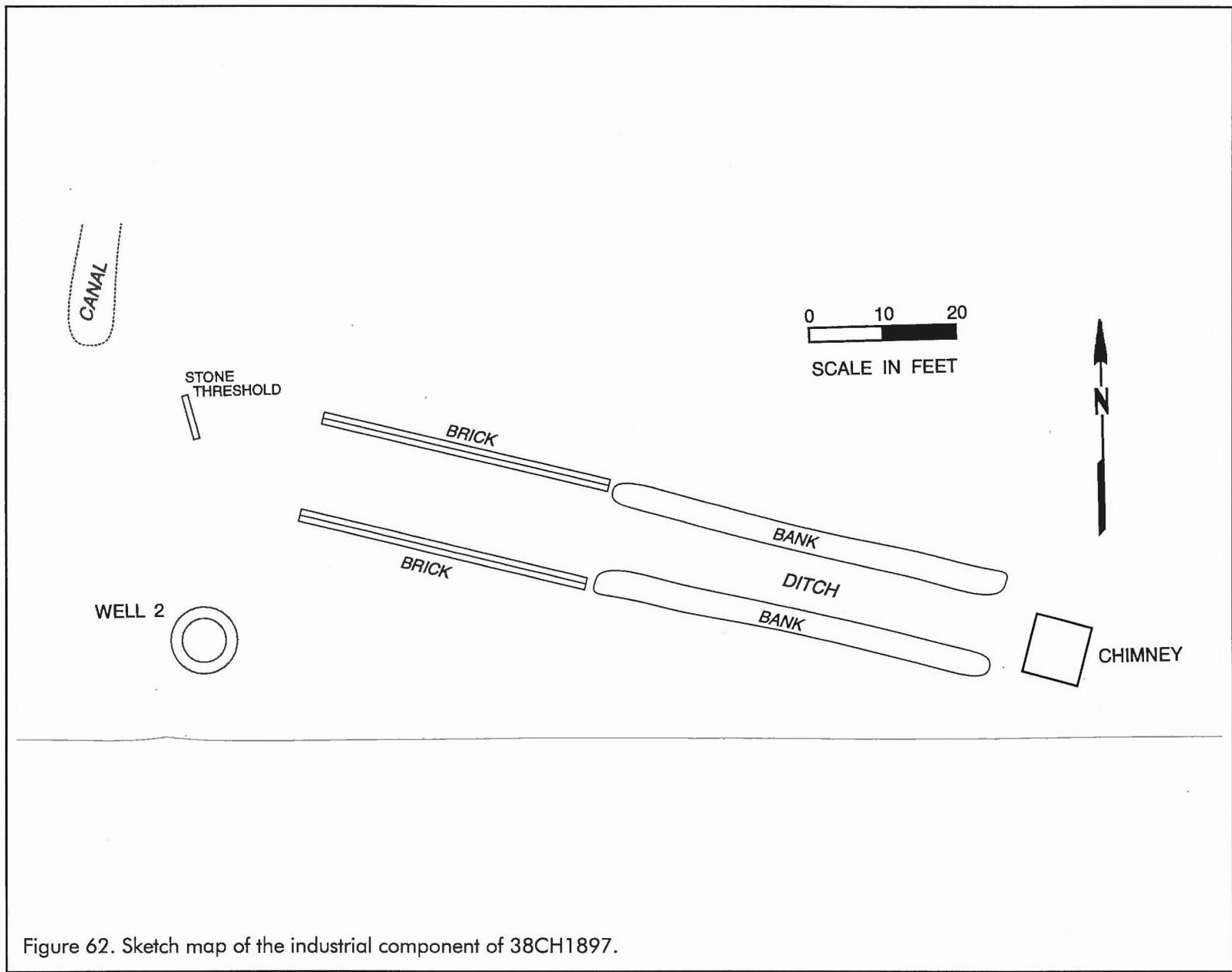
Site 38CH1897 (Figure 35) includes an industrial site (the rice threshing and milling operations on Jehossee), as well as a possibly associated slave settlement. The milling operations took place at the edge of the high ground on the southeast edge of the smallest northern island, and extended northwestward to a probable milling and warehousing area. This is also an area where some have suggested there may at one time have been diamond gates controlling water flow and boat access to the canals in this area of the island (see Doar 1936:10-13 for a discussion of gates and, in particular, a drawing of diamond gates). The slave settlement was to the west of this operation, along the northern edge of the island. These two site areas are spread over an area measuring about 900 feet northwest-southeast by 500 feet southwest-

north. Throughout the area the elevation is about 5 feet AMSL. As would be expected, the topography slopes to both the east and north, toward the marsh areas. Both sites loci are in areas of generally low, poorly drained soils.

Vegetation in the vicinity of the industrial site is second growth hardwoods, with much understory scrub — all from within the past 50 years. This is in an area of extensive hurricane damage and subsequent logging, so the vegetation is not a reliable indicator of what was present during the historic operation of the site. In the area of the slave settlement there is a partially open pasture with an overstory of large, old live oaks — a setting which is likely more consistent with the original vegetation.

The industrial site was investigated initially by a series of five transects (T60 through T64) with a total of 22 shovel tests. Of these only one (T60, ST4) produced artifacts. This, however, seems appropriate for an industrial site being tested at 100-foot intervals.

While few artifacts were encountered in shovel testing, there are a variety of above grade features, many of which have been mentioned in various historic accounts (Figure 62). Perhaps the most distinctive feature is the chimney associated with the threshing operation (Figure 63). This structure measures 7 feet square at the base and tapers upward to a height today of approximately 32 feet. The chimney is laid up in a variation of common English bond, usually called Liverpool bond, consisting of the alteration of one header course with three courses of stretchers. McKee (1973:50) notes that while this bond was occasionally used before the middle of the eighteenth century, it was often found from that time well into the nineteenth century — suggesting that the chimney dates from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. The mortar includes very soft lime paste, as well as much harder portland cement mortar, indicating a late repointing repair effort. At the base of the chimney on its east side is the top of a just barely visible arch (Figure 64), likely intended to provide access to clean cinders out of the stack.



SURVEY RESULTS

Figure 62. Sketch map of the industrial component of 38CH1897.

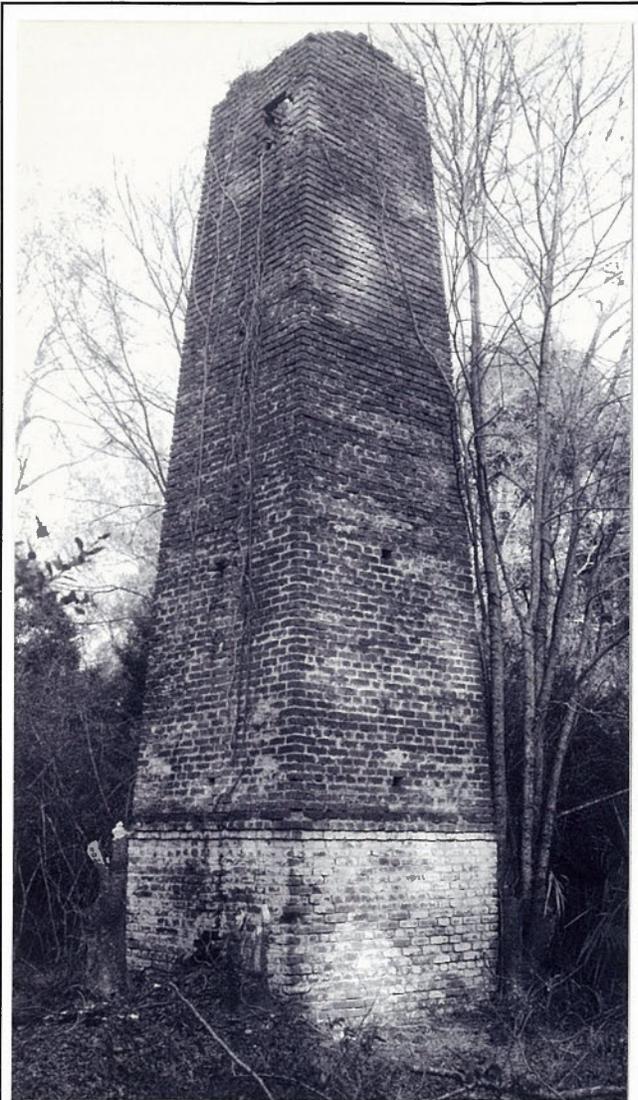


Figure 63. Chimney at the rice threshing operations, 38CH1897, view to the northeast.

To the northwest of the chimney are two parallel banks about 55 feet in length, comprised of brick rubble and mortar. They are about 11 feet apart and each is about 3 feet at the base and about 1.5 to 2 feet in height. Between them is a poorly defined ditch. This feature represents the flue from the boiler to the chimney. It is likely that the brick from the arched flue has been robbed, and we are seeing only the remaining spoil piles on either side of the original flue run.

At the western end of this flue are two intact brick foundation walls, measuring 40 feet in length and spaced 15 feet apart (Figure 65). These walls are in poor condition, having been damaged by tree growth and possibly robbed in several sections. Nevertheless, they appear to be more substantial than would have been required even for a two story frame structure and were likely intended to help support the equipment placed on the ground floor. This would have been the boiler room and steam engine, providing power to the threshing operations.

To the southwest of the boiler room was a circular, bell shaped well or cistern (Figure 66). At the ground surface the opening is 6 feet in diameter. The depth is only 3 feet, with the rest filled with rubble. This was undoubtedly intended to provide water for the boiler. A cistern seems an unreliable source of constant water, although the feature may also have served to collect rain water, which would account for the upper portion evidencing parging.

About 18 feet to the west is a large granite threshold. While no other structural remains were identified during this

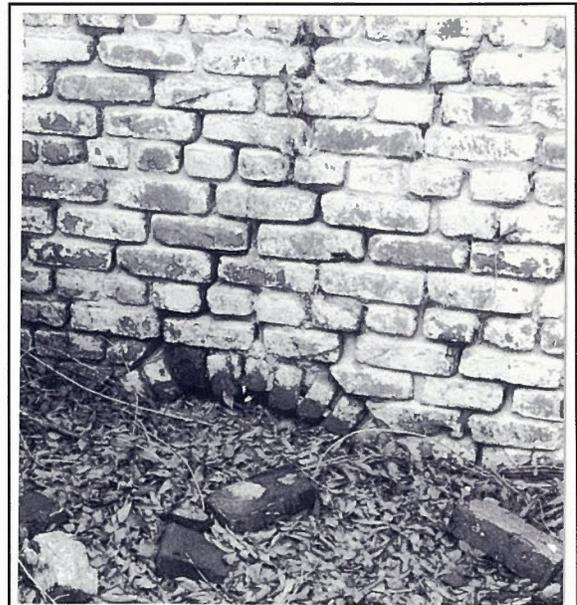


Figure 64. Arch at the base of the chimney's east elevation, view to the west.

SURVEY RESULTS



Figure 65. Portion of the brick machinery support at the industrial component of 38CH1897, view to the east.

reconnaissance, it is likely that there was some sort of holding structure, probably for rice, at this location and the stone was used to prevent the wear that would occur with a brick opening. Although this may have been where the threshing took place, it seems more likely that all of the mechanical operations took place above the boiler.

To the northwest of this granite threshold there is the terminus of a small canal, which would have been used to transport the rice to and from the threshing mill.

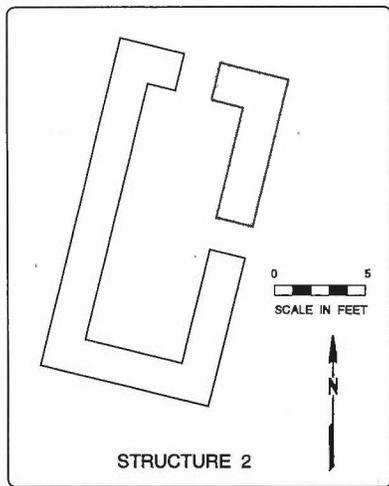
To the west there are two additional features. One is an area of heavy brick rubble along the edge of the canal

north of the overseer's house (identified as Structure 1 on Figure 67). The other is shown as Structure 2.

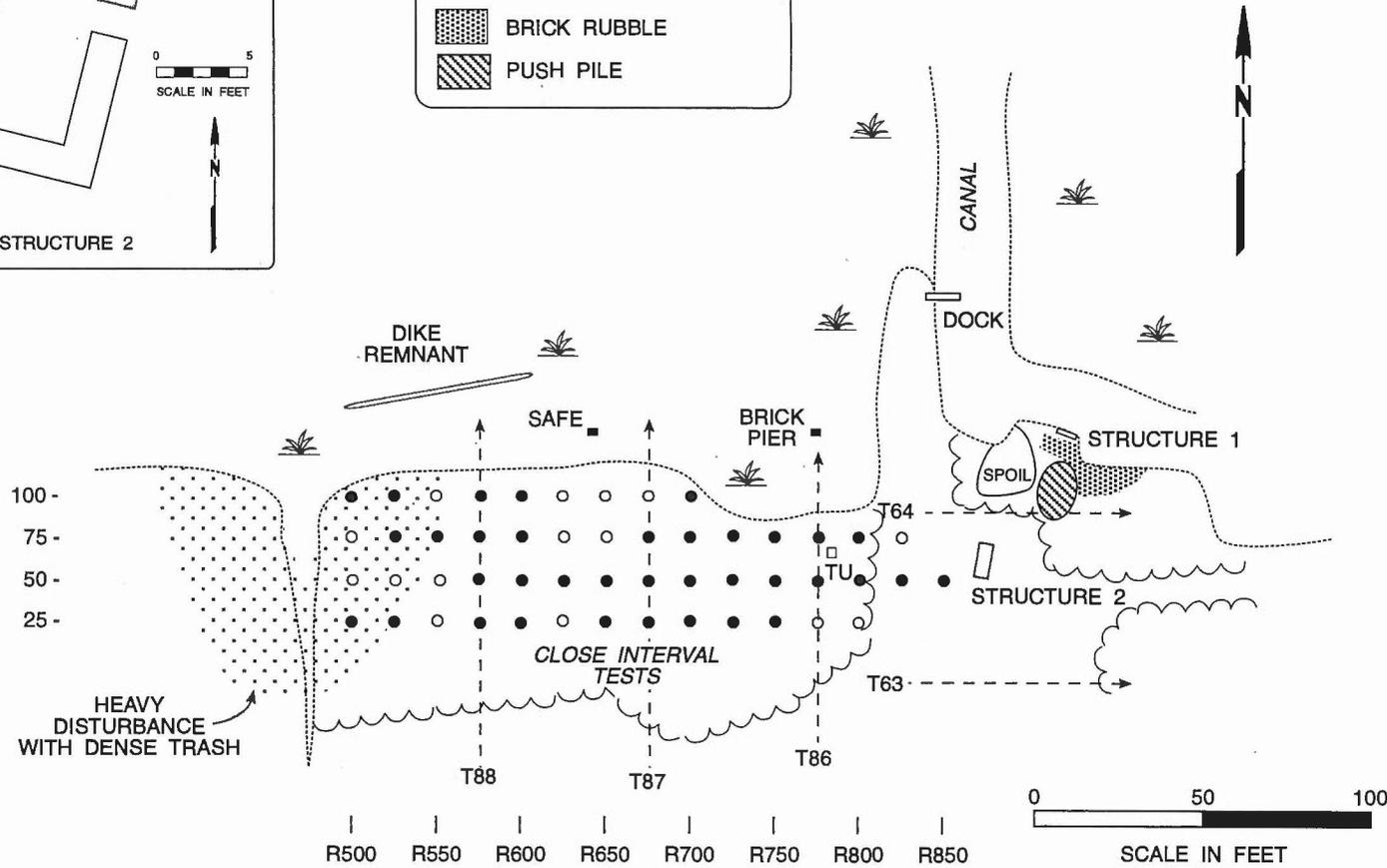


Figure 66. Portion of the brick well at the industrial component of 38CH1897, view to the west-southwest.

Structure 1 includes mounds of brick rubble, apparently in situ, a significant push pile filled with brick rubble (perhaps associated with spoil which has



- POSITIVE SHOVEL TEST
- NEGATIVE SHOVEL TEST
- ▒ BRICK RUBBLE
- ▨ PUSH PILE



JEHOSSEE ISLAND

Figure 67. Sketch map of the western industrial component and slave settlement at 38CH1897.



Figure 68. Structure 2 at the western industrial component of 38CH1897, view to the east.

been deposited on the highland to the west), and intact brick walls along the canal edge. Nothing can be determined concerning this rubble without extensive excavations.

There other feature associated with the milling operations, identified as Structure 2, is also north of the overseer's house and adjacent to the access canal. It is an unusual "building," now largely in ruins (Figure 68). Measuring 18 feet by 9.25 feet, the structure has an interior area of only 14 by 5.5 feet (the walls are nearly 2 feet thick). There are two narrow openings, each 1.8 foot in width; one is on the north elevation, the other on the east.

This structure may be a chimney to another component of the milling operation, or it may be a support for the grinding operation, similar to those documented for sugar (see, for example, Brooker 1991).

It is worthwhile to compare this industrial

operation to the layout shown on the 1856-1857 chart of Jehossee, show in Figure 69. Beginning again at the standing chimney stack, this feature is shown on the chart as a circled item, probably since it would have been a survey or navigation feature. To the west is the flue and then a large rectangular building with its long dimension oriented north-south. It also has what appears to be an addition at the west end. Just north of this addition is the canal.

The best interpretation of this information is that the two brick supports are not foundation walls, but perhaps supports for the heavy boiler and steam engine, while the actual structure extended further northeastward and southwestward, placing the well at the southwest corner of the structure.

The granite threshold may be out of situ since it has a distinctly different alignment than the other structures. Nevertheless, this chart suggests that the threshing operation took place entirely

JEHOSSEE ISLAND

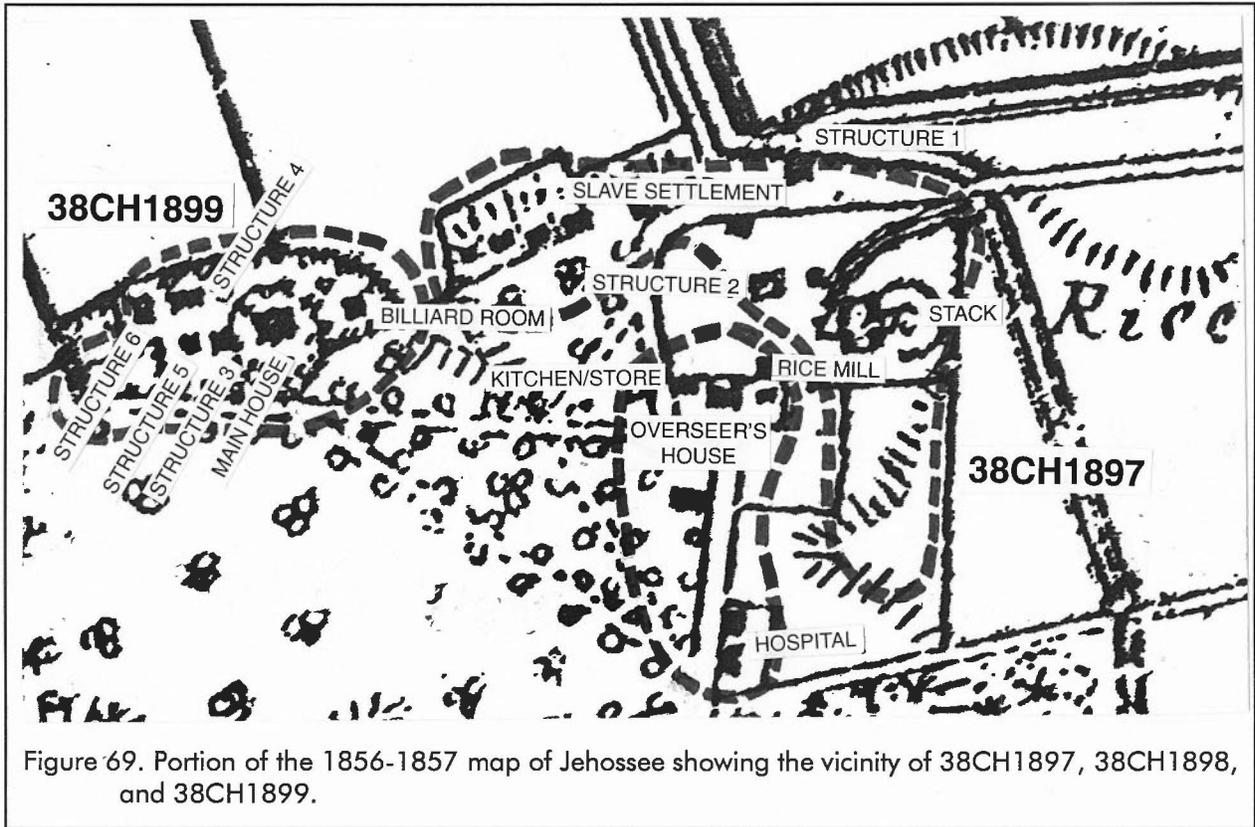


Figure 69. Portion of the 1856-1857 map of Jehossee showing the vicinity of 38CH1897, 38CH1898, and 38CH1899.

within one structure, or string of structures, at this location.

To the northwest of the canal were two additional structures not encountered by this study. The canal itself, which terminates at the threshing area curves northeastward, tying into one of the major canals on the island. It can be followed back to the west, to the location of Structure 1, which is clearly shown on the chart as a large structure adjacent to the canal. It is in this location that some have suggested there may have been diamond gates, although no good evidence for them has been identified. Even at the lowest tide there is no evidence in the mud and muck of any wooded devices.

Structure 2 is also shown on the chart, at the south edge of a large yard or roadway, southwest of Structure 1.

The slave settlement (Figure 67) was

initially investigated by four transects (T86 through T89) with 24 shovel tests. Of these only one (T86, ST 7) produced artifacts. Given this very poor return, we laid out a close interval testing grid measuring 350 feet east-west by 100 feet north-south. Of the 51 shovel tests, 36 (or 71%) were positive — providing a far better perspective of this site area. Soil profiles in this area also resembled Hockley loamy fine sands which have an Ap horizon of dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of 0.8 foot over a light yellowish brown (10YR6/4) loamy fine sand to a depth of just over 1.0 foot.

In addition to the shovel tests, a single 3.5 foot square test unit was excavated at 65R785 on the grid. This unit produced a surface layer of dark gray (7.5YR4/1) sandy clay to a depth of 0.4 foot over a very dark gray (7.5YR3/1) sandy clay which had charcoal and brick rubble mixed in. The very dark gray layer was taken to 1.2 feet in depth at which time it was decided that it was a



Figure 70. Test unit at slave settlement, 38CH1897, base of excavation, view to the north.

very large feature and an expansion of the unit would be necessary to find the edges. We felt that further excavation of this small unit would only serve to compromise the feature and excavation was terminated. The bottom of the unit also revealed a small section of white (neutral 8/) fine sand and a small section of mottled gray (10YR6/1) sandy clay (Figure 70).

The artifacts recovered (Table 24) from the site reveal two distinct areas. From the industrial component only one shovel test, producing a single fragment of aqua container glass, was positive. From the slave settlement area again only one shovel test was positive, yielding a single fragment of clear glass. The additional close interval testing, combined with the test unit, produced the vast bulk of the collections and help provide a far better view of the assemblage from the slave settlement.

Perhaps most obvious is that whiteware comprises a very small proportion of this assemblage, while slave made Colono wares are

far more abundant than at any previous site (contributing nearly 52% of the Kitchen Group artifacts). The suggestion that this site is among the earliest recorded on Jehossee is confirmed by the mean ceramic date of 1794.5 shown in Table 25. This indicates that this settlement was constructed and used prior to Aiken's acquisition of Jehossee and that it may provide insight into operations on the island prior to Aiken's efforts. Only the two whiteware ceramics must have been deposited after Aiken's purchase of the island.

In spite of the importance of this particular site, we have not been successful at making much sense of the artifact pattern. If all of the materials are incorporated into the pattern, as has been done at other sites, we find that the proportion of Kitchen and Architecture artifacts are very close to one another (47.4 and 45.6% respectively), with Tobacco Group artifacts accounting for 5.3% of the assemblage and the remaining 1.7% of the collection representing Activity Group items. This pattern, except for the high tobacco, is nearly

SURVEY RESULTS

Table 25.
Mean Ceramic Date for 38CH1897

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Underglaze blue porcelain	1660-1800	1730	1	1730
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	2	3466
CW, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	10	17910
PW, poly hand painted	1795-1815	1805	2	3610
blue transfer printed	1795-1840	1818	1	1818
annular	1790-1820	1805	1	1805
undecorated	1780-1830	1805	4	7220
WW, blue transfer printed	1831-1865	1848	1	1848
annular	1831-1900	1866	1	1866

$$41,273 \div 23 = 1794.5$$

At both components, however, there are a broad range of other data sets. A probable feature was encountered at the slave settlement, and there are numerous above ground architectural features. While the function of many is understood, there are others for which we have too little data to provide any reasonable interpretation. There are also suspected structures in the site area which have not been identified.

The preservation of the data sets is, in general, good. Some site areas, such as along the canal at the north edge of the site, have been affected by

modern land altering activities. The far western edge of the slave settlement has also been affected by a large mid- to late-twentieth century dump area (some of the materials, such as lead acid batteries and farm chemicals may have created pockets of hazardous chemicals). Nevertheless, most of the site exhibits no significant disturbance and appears to retain excellent integrity.

identical to the Piedmont Tenant/Yeoman Pattern, although this site has no indication of occupation into the postbellum and clearly predates any tenancy. If only the materials from the test unit are examined, we find that Architecture Group items account for 59.2%, followed by Kitchen artifacts, at 33.6%. Tobacco and Activity Group artifacts are nearly unchanged (5.5 and 1.7% respectively). This pattern bears closest resemblance to the Freedmen Pattern, although again there is no indication that the site was occupied into the postbellum.

Consequently, at this time we can offer no explanation for the unusual, and unexpected, pattern results from 38CH1897. Additional excavation is necessary to obtain a larger collection which may be of assistance in resolving this concern.

Turning to the issue of eligibility, this site exhibits a wide range of data sets. In the slave settlement, we have found a wide variety of materials, including small quantities of ethnobotanical (wood charcoal) and zooarchaeological (food bone) remains. While artifacts are seemingly not common in the industrial component, we also have not conducted any close interval testing in that area — so artifacts may be more common than currently documented.

The site can address a wide range of significant research questions. For example, the slave settlement may be able to provide us with information concerning the earliest slave activities on Jehossee, helping to fill a gap and push the record of African American activities on the island into the eighteenth century. At the industrial site we have the opportunity to explore rice processing. In spite of the importance of rice to the Carolina economy — and to the development of African American slavery — there has not been an industrial archaeological investigation at any rice plantation. As a result, our understanding of rice processing is based on historical accounts and efforts to force the physical remains into pigeon holes created by period observers.

Consequently, we recommend 38CH1897 eligible for inclusion on the National Register, pending the review and concurrence of the State

Historic Preservation Office.

38CH1898

Site 38CH1898 (Figures 35 and 71) is the overseer's house (the standing architecture is discussed in the following section) and several poorly defined other structures. It is situated at the north end of the main Jehossee Road at an elevation of about 5 feet AMSL. The house is situated in a grassed pasture area, while the southern portion of the site extends into both a hardwood forest and second growth hardwoods.

Identified features at the site include the standing overseer's house, a cistern immediately to the west of the house, and a brick lined well.

The house is a two-story frame structure with a lateral gable metal roof over wood shingles. It has end corbeled chimneys and is covered in beaded weatherboard on its south (front) elevation. There is a full facade, one-story front porch, although oral history accounts indicate that there was a similar rear porch prior to the addition of a bathroom in that area.

The cistern (designated Cistern 4) is situated only 2.3 feet from the west elevation of the structure (Figures 72 and 73). This cistern measures 19.25 feet in length and 11 feet in width. It is raised 1.2 feet above grade and the interior height is 7.9 feet (the cistern still held 2.0 feet of water at the time of this study). The cistern is calculated to have held a maximum of 12,513 gallons. The central access was 4 inches in diameter, surrounded by a brownstone collar measuring 1.15 feet square. Rainwater flowed off the roof into gutters and was channeled via a down spout, into this opening. At the south end is a slate collar measuring 3 feet square with a circular opening 1-foot in diameter. Below this slate, however, the bricked opening is square and measures 1.5 feet square. At the north end is a similar slate collar, measuring 3 feet east-west by 3.5 feet north-south. In the center is a circular hole measuring 1.1 feet in diameter, the same dimension as the hole in the brickwork.

The well (Figure 74) was found about 335

feet south of the overseer's house on the west side of the road. It is brick lined well (Well 1) which has an exterior diameter of 4.2 feet and an interior diameter of 3.0 feet. The well is 9.8 feet from the ground surface to a hard soil (probably clay) bottom) and there were 3.4 feet of water standing in the well at the time of the survey.

In addition to these features, we found scattered brick rubble east of the well on the west side of the main Jehossee Road, as well as small amounts on the east side of the road. Additional rubble was found in a lightly disced area south of the USFWS container storage area at the overseer's house.

The most complete historic documentation is the 1856-1857 chart of the island. Figure 69 shows the overseer's house and flankers to the east and west. The structure to the west (shown in Figure 22) has been interpreted in 1910 as a "store" probably meaning a commissary for the African Americans who worked on the island (this store may have been the source of the safe today found discarded in the marsh north of 38CH1897; see Figure 67). Prior to that date it may have served as a kitchen for the overseer's structure. Other photographs reveal that it had been removed by the 1950s. To the west of this structure is yet another building, probably a barn or other utility structure. The flanker to the east is smaller and, while mentioned in oral histories, can be given no function at this time. To the north of this eastern flanker are two additional structures, probably related to rice production.

Across the road leading to the main house site there are three additional structures, while further to the south, east of the main Jehossee Road there are the two structures interpreted from the 1910 photographs to represent the island's hospitals.

Shovel tests were excavated throughout this area at 100-foot intervals, with Transects 57-60, 66-71, 86-87 covering the projected area. There were 61 shovel tests associated with these transects, although only approximately 50 were

SURVEY RESULTS

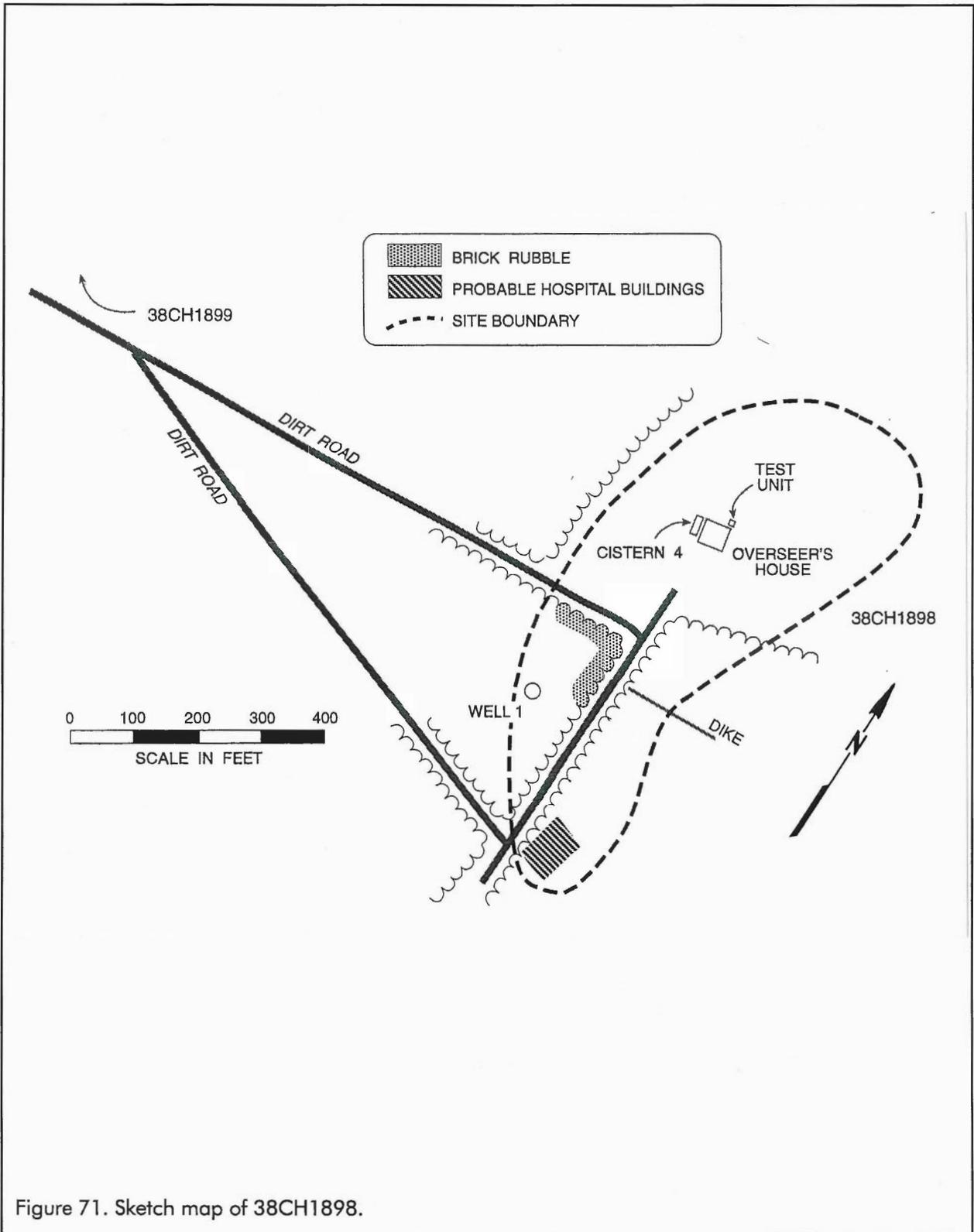


Figure 71. Sketch map of 38CH1898.



Figure 72. Cistern at the overseer's house, 38CH1898, view to the northeast.

Architecture group with 33 (64%) of the artifacts being window glass, 7 (14%) nails (one machine cut and six wire cut), and one roofing tack (2%). These remains reflect the long-term occupancy of the structure and the many repair episodes

within the suspected site area. Of these only six produced artifacts. This low density almost certainly reflects the gross precision of 100-foot testing. While it helps to indicate that a site is present, it provides little information concerning the nature of the site or the various components which might be present. Close interval tests will be critical to begin to more fully understand the complexity of this site. Until that time we estimate site dimensions to be 600 feet north-south by 500 feet east-west — incorporating both the identified features, the positive shovel tests, and the structures anticipated to exist based on the historic documentation.

Soil profiles resembled Hockley loamy fine sands. These soils have an Ap horizon of dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of 0.8 foot over a light yellowish brown (10YR6/4) loamy fine sand to a depth of just over 1.0 foot.

A single 3.5 foot square unit was excavated in the rear of the house in order to obtain a larger sample of cultural remains associated with the house, which is the only standing domestic structure on the island. The unit contained relatively few artifacts with only 11 (21%) out of the 52 total artifacts representing the kitchen group of ceramics and glass. The remaining artifacts represent the

which have taken place.

The soil profile also provides important information concerning activities at least in the rear yard of this structure. In only 0.5 foot of

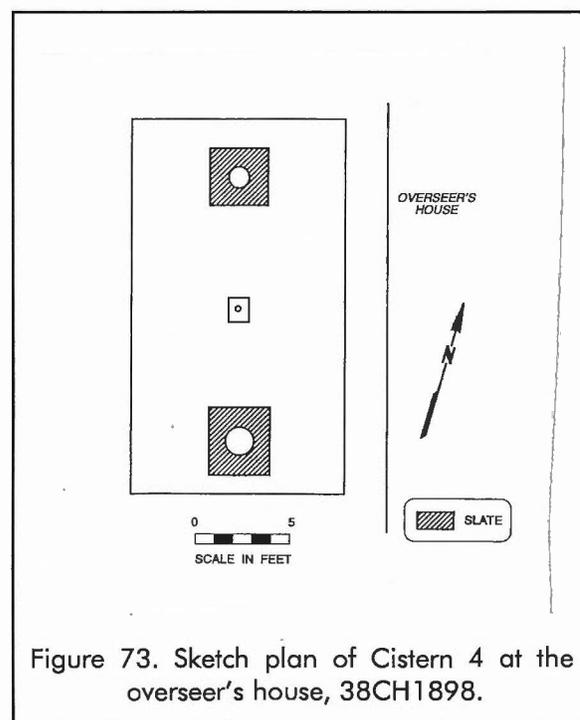


Figure 73. Sketch plan of Cistern 4 at the overseer's house, 38CH1898.

SURVEY RESULTS



Figure 74. Well 1 at 38CH1898, view to the east.

although at present they are derived primarily from the overseer's house. Shovel testing, however, indicates that artifacts will be present elsewhere on the site. There are, in addition, several very important architectural features, including the standing house, the associated cistern, and the well. Included in these data sets are the several photographs, showing the two hospital buildings and the store.

The integrity of these remains varies. The standing remains are in a good

state of preservation — although significant intervention is becoming increasingly critical. There

excavation, four different soils were encountered, including a dark brown (10YR3/2) loam, brown (10YR4/2) clay, another dark brown (10YR2.5/2) loam, and a heavily mottled light brown (10YR6/3) clay which also defined the subsoil (Figure 75). The complex nature of this unit was probably caused by cultivation or grading of the soil.

This is a complex site, containing a variety of different assemblages. Unfortunately we do not have the amount of information we would like to have in order to thoroughly assess the site. Yet, we believe that it is possible to provide a reasonably thorough eligibility justification. The data sets include a range of artifacts,

Table 26.
Artifacts Recovered from 38CH1898

	T56	T57	T57	T58	T59	T71	Surface	Test Unit	Total	Total per
	ST 1	ST 3	ST 6	ST 2	ST 1	ST 1				Artifact Group
Kitchen										
Porcelain, white undec.								1	1	
Pearlware, blue hand paint				1					1	
Whiteware, undec.		1						2	3	
Glass, brown							3	1	4	
Glass, milk								1	1	
Glass, clear				2			12	6	20	
Glass, blue					1				1	
Glass, aqua						1	2		3	
Glass, light green							2		2	
Glass, manganese	1		2						3	
Glass, melted							1		1	
Total Kitchen										40
Architecture										
Window glass					1			33	34	
Machine cut nail				1				1	2	
Wire cut nail								6	6	
Roofing tack								1	1	
Pintle, iron									3	
Total Architecture										45
Activities										
Iron pot							1		1	
Iron well crank							1		1	
UID iron			1						1	
Total Activities										3
TOTAL										86

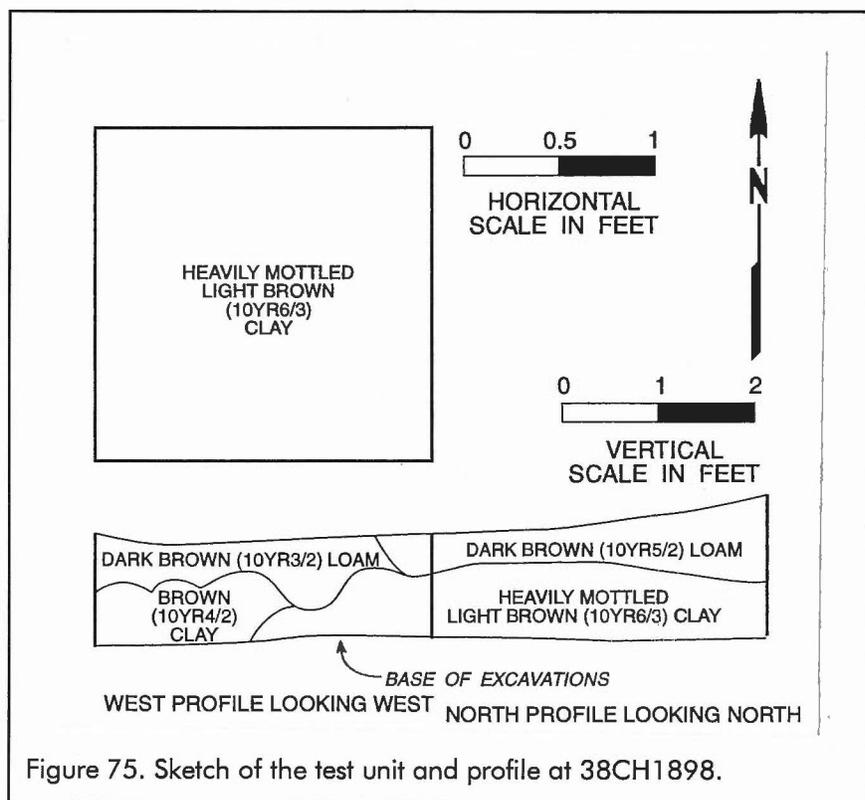


Figure 75. Sketch of the test unit and profile at 38CH1898.

is some indication that below grade remains have suffered from either logging or cultivation, at least in close proximity to the overseer's house. Similar disturbances have not been noted elsewhere on the site.

There are many research questions appropriate for these sites. We know that Aiken paid among the highest wages in the state for his overseer — will this be reflected in the status of the artifacts present? For example, flatwares (plates) will dominate high status or wealth tableware collections, especially compared to lower status or wealth sites, where "one-pot meals" dominate cooking and there are more holloware (bowl) forms. Even the decoration of vessels can be used to explore the owner's wealth. Research suggests that wares with transfer printing and hand painting tended, through time, to be more expensive than those with more simple decoration, such as annular and edged wares (see Otto 1984:61-65; see also Miller 1980, 1991 for discussions of pricing). Zierden and her colleagues have noted that in the

urban setting table glass (expressed as a percent of the Kitchen Group artifacts) is a status or wealth indicator (Zierden and Grimes 1989). While identical results are unlikely in the rural setting, there may still be some settings where table glass can be used to distinguish the wealth and status of the occupant.

Another question perhaps worth exploring is the extent of the differences in the artifacts found associated with enslaved, overseer, and owner on Jehossee? There will certainly be differences, based on the differing access to the marketplace, but Jehossee may reflect unusual circumstances. For example, there is some indication that the slaves had more than normal access to markets, such as those in Savannah. Will this be reflected in the artifact assemblage? Aiken paid his overseer a very high wage. Will this be reflected in the artifact assemblage? And there are at least some reports that Aiken maintained a modest dwelling with few luxuries on the island — will this be reflected in the artifact assemblage?

While we can no longer examine the summer residence for the overseer (38CH1891), we can examine the extant deposits at 38CH1898 to determine if there is any indication of seasonality. The absence of summer related faunal remains, for example, might indirectly support a secondary dwelling.

While the western building may originally have been a kitchen, what evidence might be present to document its use in the postbellum as a commissary or store? Such structures, while common on Southern plantations, have rarely been examined in the archaeological literature. At the Mount Pleasant Royall plantation, limited test

excavation was conducted at a ca. 1917 store (Trinkley 1987a:75-80).

Similarly, we are unfamiliar with investigations of plantation hospitals, other than the brief work conducted by The Charleston Museum at Area C of Archdale Plantation, where a 20 by 30 foot structure was identified as the plantation hospital (Zierden et al. 1985:70). Research on Jehossee would provide an opportunity to explore the nature of the building, as well as the artifacts associated with its particular function.

We have been told that at least one leather shoe was recovered from the well (William Judd, personal communication 2002). This suggests that the well feature may also present an opportunity to explore refuse disposal patterns. The constant presence of water has also resulted in an environment likely to preserve organic materials, such as leather and wood, as well as ethnobotanical and palynological materials — adding another dimension to the data sets present at the site.

We believe that 38CH1898 is eligible for inclusion on the National Register under Criterion D, information potential. The eligibility of the standing structure will be discussed separately in a following section. The presence of standing remains on this site, however, gives its preservation particular importance.

38CH1899

Site 38CH1899 (Figures 35, 69, and 76) consists of the Main House complex belonging to William Aiken. Situated west of the overseer's house the settlement is on the west edge of the northern limit of the island. The topography is generally low, with an elevation of only 5 feet AMSL — there seems to be little indication that Aiken reserved particularly high or favorable ground for his settlement. In fact, during high tide, portions of the complex are today overrun with water. The complex is bordered to the north and northwest by marsh while a marsh slough cuts in from the west. The South Edisto River is 600 feet northwest of the site. It seems likely that Aiken faced encroaching

tides since at one time the entire settlement was surrounded by a dike. Portions of this system to the west at 38CH1897 are still visible today and have been mentioned in historic letters concerning the main house.

The settlement was, however, located in an area where Aiken could catch breezes from both the north and west, perhaps helping to cool the house and keep it somewhat more disease free. Poston (1997:26) comments that this effort to take advantage of prevailing breezes guided the development of urban architecture in Charleston (see also Severns 1988; cf. Herman 1997:41). It seems feasible that similar concerns are at least occasionally reflected in rural architecture. Site dimensions are estimated at 800 feet by 500 feet.

The settlement today has been overgrown with rank second growth scrub and the only historic vegetation observed is the still magnificent oak avenue, which approaches the site from two directions (see Figure 76). Based on the limited historical accounts it is likely that surrounding the main house was an informal pleasure garden, although these plantings have long ago vanished.

The roads provide an interesting view of the landscape created by Aiken. While neither provides a formal view of the main settlement, they allow easy access to the house from either the southern or northern end of the island. The house itself appears situated to view the convergence of the two avenues.

Given the complexity of this site, it is useful to briefly review what is shown on the 1856-1857 chart of Jehossee first. Figure 69 reveals that the settlement consisted of the main house and five additional structures, as well as the road network and associated grounds. Surrounding the complex to the north, northeast, and northwest is a dike system. There are also several paddocks or fenced areas at the west edge of the complex. As mentioned above the main house was apparently oriented to the apex of the two roads leading to the settlement. Surrounding the house was an oval drive, with the house located to the rear of the drive. The front area, it seems, was filled with

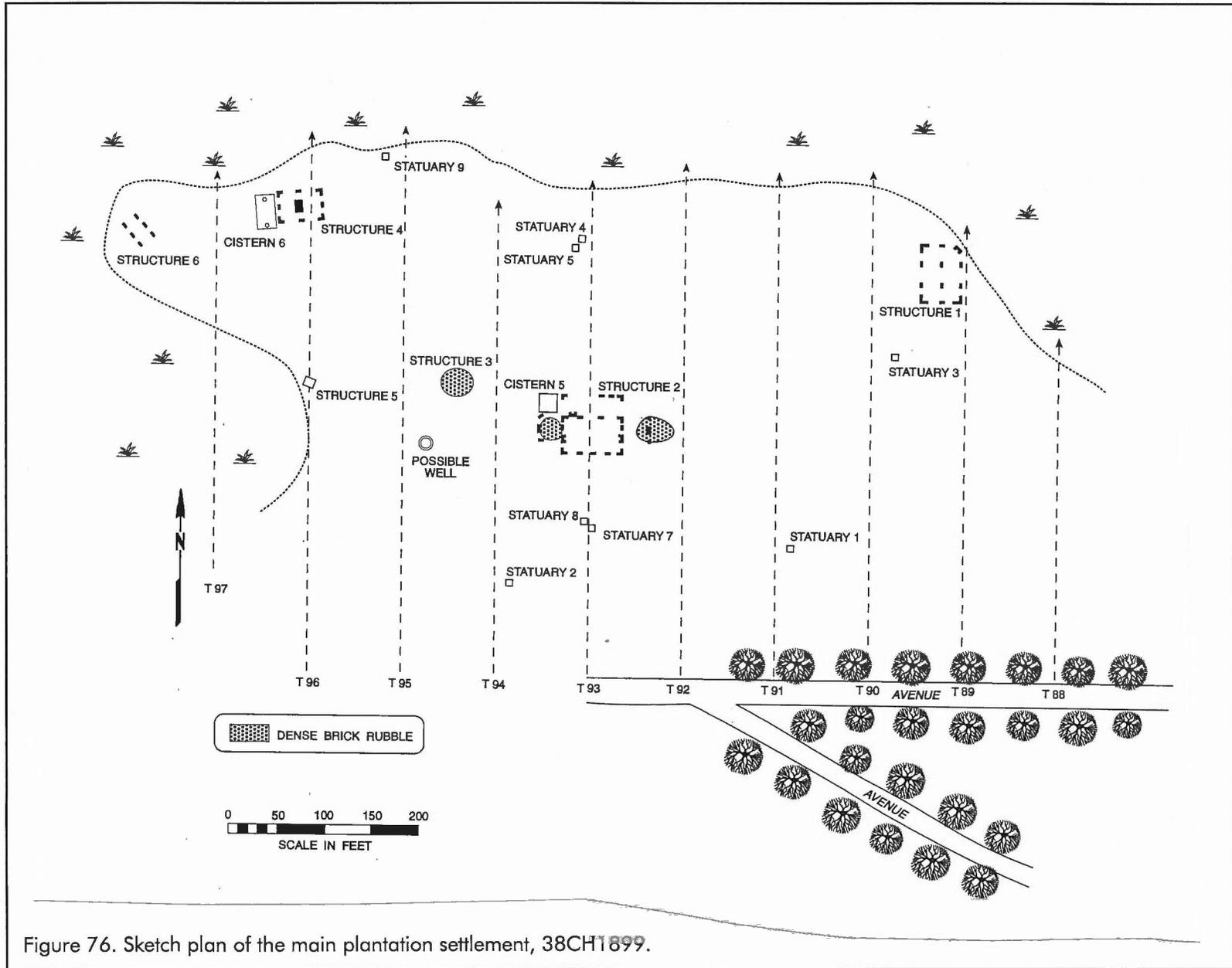


Figure 76. Sketch plan of the main plantation settlement, 38CH1899.

SURVEY RESULTS

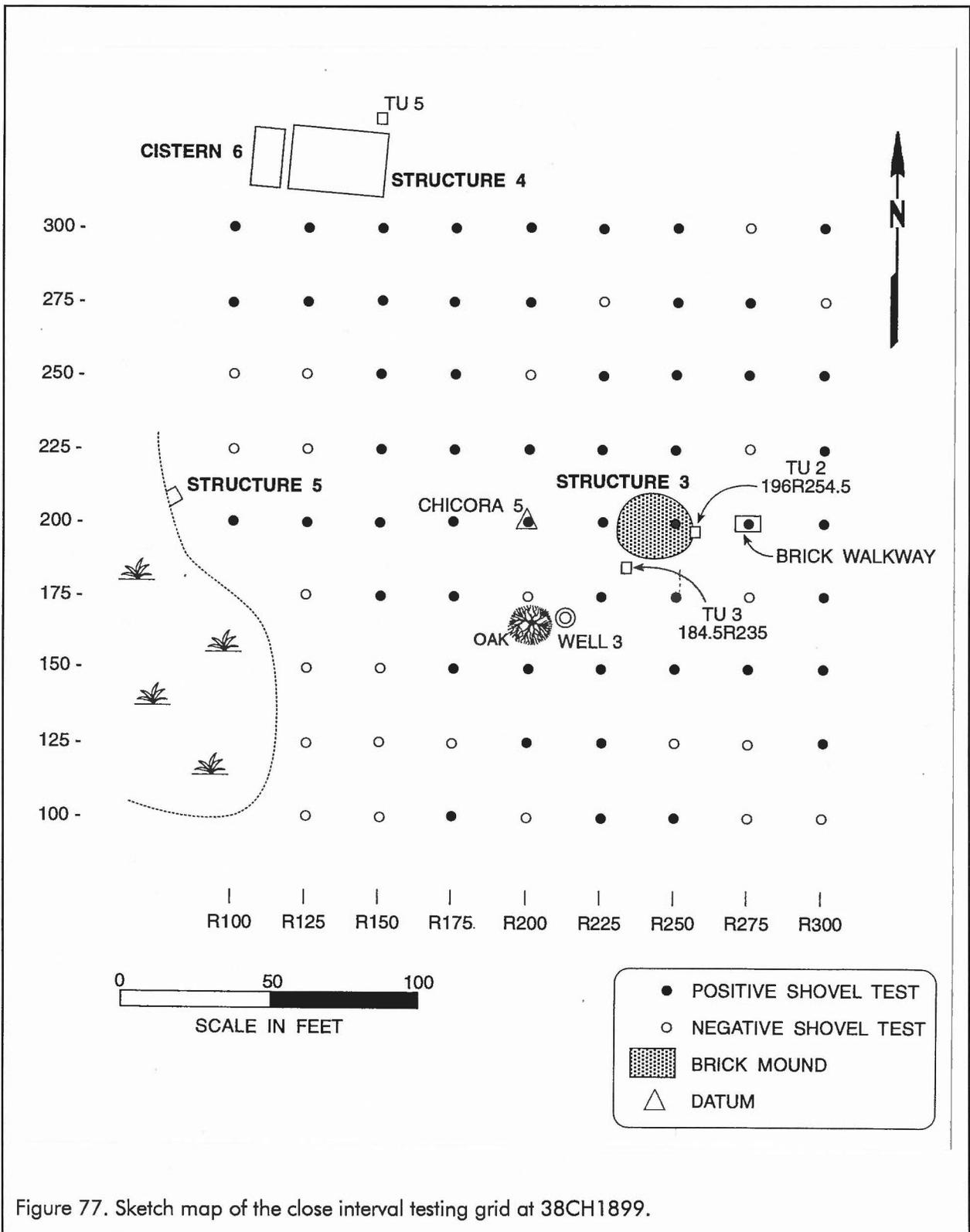


Figure 77. Sketch map of the close interval testing grid at 38CH1899.

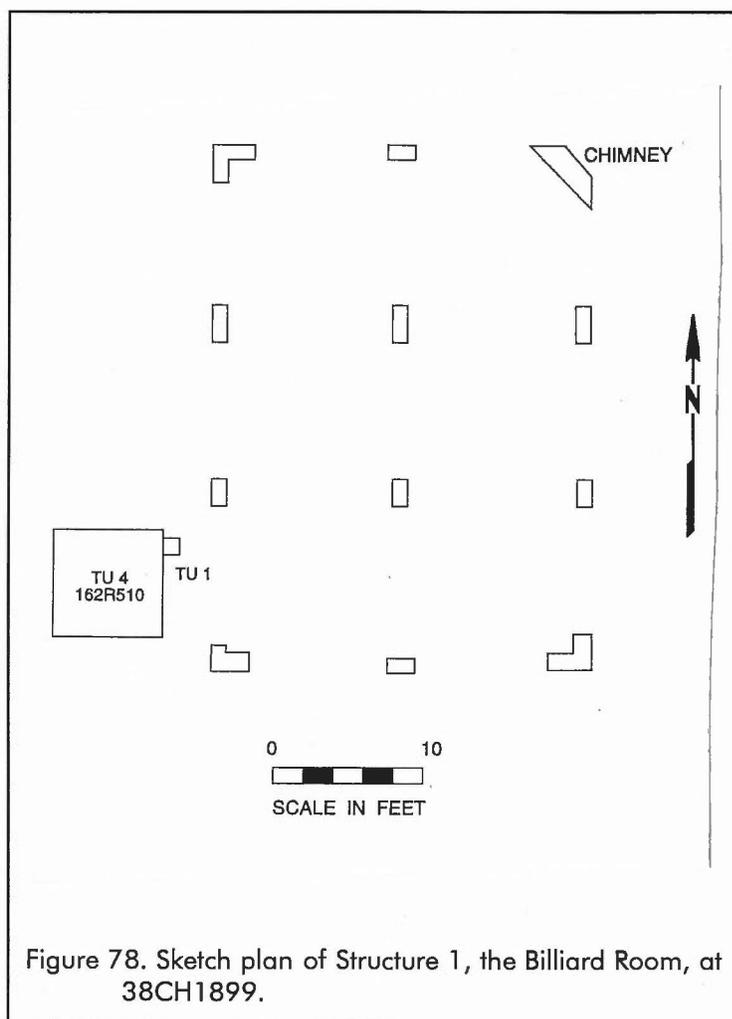


Figure 78. Sketch plan of Structure 1, the Billiard Room, at 38CH1899.

small plantings. To the east of the main house was a single structure. Immediately to the west of the main house were two additional structures, while behind these were two additional structures, one linear and one more square.

Shovel tests were completed at 100-foot intervals with the complex covered initially by Transects 92 through 95 (with some remains found scattered to the south into Transects 75 and 76). Of the 33 shovel tests, 12 (or 36%) were found to be positive. If those transects to the south (which really represent only scattered remains) are ignored, the proportion of positive tests increases to 56%.

Once the initial tests were complete and

something was known of the site limits, we established a grid, measuring 200 by 200 feet, for close interval (25-foot) testing in the vicinity of two of the identified structures (Figure 77). A site datum was established at 200R200 and, given the complexity of the main settlement, this grid was extended across the site, incorporating all of the various test units. At this particular location, however, it included 77 shovel tests, with 53 (or 69%) being positive. Soil profiles generally resembled Capers silty clay loams which has a surface layer of black (10YR2/1) loam to 1.0 foot in depth over a very dark gray (10YR3/1) clay to a depth of 1.5 feet. As previously mentioned, these soils are somewhat poorly drained, especially in close proximity to the marsh edge.

During this work a variety of features were found on the site, including the remains of six structures, a possible well, two cisterns, as well a number of marble pedestals and vases. Some of these structures were further explored with the excavation of 3.5 foot units.

Structure 1 (Figures 78 and 79) is situated at the eastern edge of the main house complex immediately adjacent to the marsh and at high tide water extends into these foundations. The structure is evidenced by a corner chimney and 11 brick piers. The structure measures 24 feet north-south by 35 feet east-west. The presence of additional piers through the center of the structure, cutting the 24-foot span in half, suggests that the floor was designed to carry a fairly concentrated load with sagging. Sill ledges on the back of the chimney indicate that the floor would have been about 1.5 feet above the current grade. The chimney itself has an opening measuring 2.5 feet in width and 1.8 feet in depth. There are nailing blocks centered at heights of 1.3 and 3.6 feet above the current grade. It is currently in failure and, without immediate intervention, will shortly collapse.

We believe that this structure, based on its



Figure 79. Structure 1 at 38CH1899, view to the east.

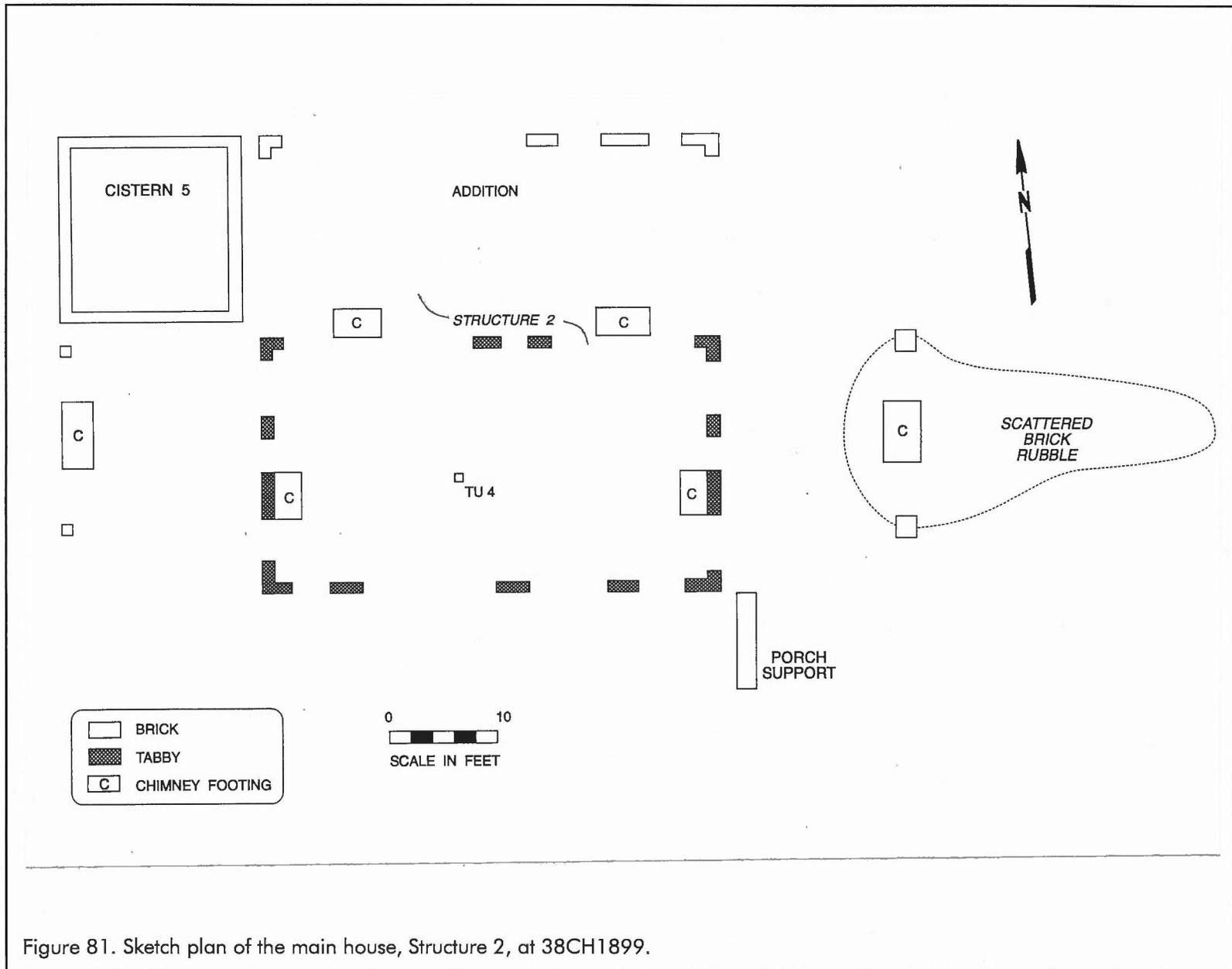
universally employed is the oblong, varying in size from six to twelve feet long, the width being always half its length" (Bohn 1851:544). A 12 by 6 foot table would fit nicely in a 35 by 24 foot room, probably with room left over for a card table and other "gentlemen's amenities." Concerning the building itself, Reese

notes only that "this in the country is found a useful resource for exercise in bad weather" (Reese floor loading, size, and use of a corner fireplace, is the billiard room mentioned in various historic accounts. We have found little in the way of documentation on billiard rooms, with the only other identified billiard structure being one illustrated by Marsh and Marsh (1961) at a Flat Rock, North Carolina nineteenth century residence. There it is an elongated structure with octagonal ends and abundant windows. Even gaming books of the period provide few clues, mentioning only that, "the shape

notes only that "this in the country is found a useful resource for exercise in bad weather" (Reese



Figure 80. Base of the test unit at Structure 1 showing the steps, view to the east.



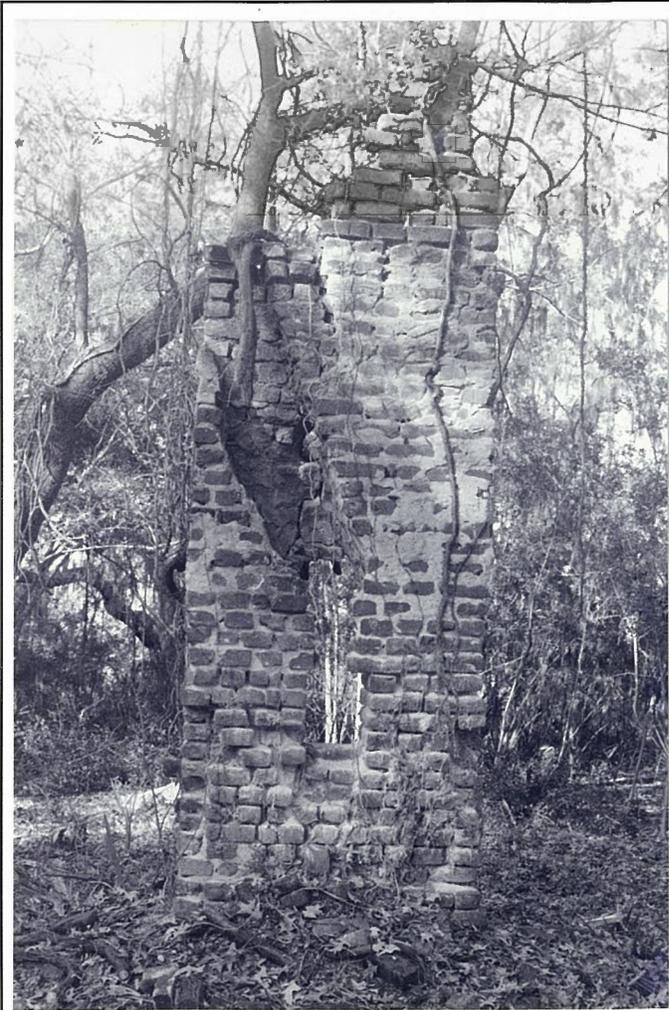


Figure 82. Standing western chimney at the addition to Structure 2, 38CH1899, view to the north.

1847:43).

A 3.5 foot square unit was excavated outside the structure at the southwest corner. The goal of this placement was to obtain a sampling of artifacts which might have been associated either with the structure itself, or that might have been discarded. While the only artifacts recovered were window glass, the unit was very profitable in terms of architectural features. We found the southern edge of a rather ornate set of stairs centered on the west elevation of the structure (Figure 80).

Stratigraphy in the unit consisted of an upper zone of humus, about 0.2 foot in depth, representing relatively recent deposits. Below was a 0.2 foot deposit of mottled clay, which we interpret to represent a series of flood deposits. Under this was 0.3 foot of dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) sandy clay to a depth of 0.5 foot. This appears to be the original A horizon soils at the site. The subsoil was found to be a light gray (10YR7/2) clay. No builder's trench was observed for the steps.

Structure 2 (Figure 81) is the main Jehossee plantation house. It is of special interest not just because it was Aiken's, but rather because it so clearly documents two phases of building. Careful inspection of the piers reveals 13 which are of tabby — a cement like mixture of shell (forming the aggregate) and burned shell or lime (forming the binder). Constructed using forms and laid up in "pours," this building technique dates from the eighteenth century and, although very labor intensive, was used when other building materials, such as brick, were unavailable or even more costly than slave labor (for additional information concerning tabby, see Eaddy 1998 and Griffin 1997). The outline of this original structure reveals a footprint measuring 41 by 23 feet. The rectangular form and associated dimensions suggests a simple I-house, something appropriate for the early eighteenth century settlement of Jehossee. No chimney supports are immediately evident from this early phase, so a more detailed analysis of the structure is not possible without archaeological study.

The remaining piers are all brick laid in soft lime mortar. They expand on the house, forming a 41-foot square core, with the addition to the north. From this second phase of construction we have two brick fireplace supports laid up against original tabby piers, indicating that at the south of the house there were two rooms. There are also two brick chimney supports (with one chimney partially standing; Figure 82) in the center of the house, serving the added rooms to the north. The standing chimney also reveals that



Figure 83. Cistern 5 at Structure 2, 28CH1899, view to the northwest.

William Judd (personal communication 2002) has identified footings for a full facade porch on the south elevation. While there may have been stairs ascending to this porch, they are not documented. On the north elevation he reports finding a centered porch measuring 11 by 4 feet, suggesting that there would have been a staircase. Attempting to define front and rear or formal

there was a second floor — with its own fireplaces as well.

We can speculate that this square structure had a hipped roof, probably wood shingle (since no slate is found and since the overseer's house has wood under the metal roof). It was also clad in weatherboard since there is insufficient brick for a more substantial construction.

There is a poorly defined front porch. Research by



Figure 84. Structure 3 at 38CH1899, view to the northeast.



Figure 85. Brick walkway connecting Structures 2 and 3, 38CH1899, view to the north

and informal entrances is difficult — these are terms which depend on definition and reflect usages which changed over time. The statuary (to be discussed later), the oval drive, the absence of northern access, and the presence of the southern live oak avenues, suggests, albeit only tentatively, that the “front” entrance faced south.

On either side of the original portion of the structure (i.e., that portion marked by tabby footings) there were small rooms measuring 17 by 18 feet with end chimneys. The western chimney’s fire box is relatively intact, while to the east only chimney base remains, with a considerable, and dense, chimney fall spread out to the east. In both cases only the outer corner piers are today intact and visible. The somewhat smaller size of piers suggests that these may have been only one floor in height — consistent with other plantation architecture.

At the northwest corner of the structure

there is a cistern, designated Cistern 5, with exterior dimensions of 16.3 feet and a wall thickness of 1.1 foot (Figure 83). The cistern likely had a domed roof, which has collapsed, resulting in a significant amount of infilling. If we assume a height of even 5 feet, this cistern would have had a capacity of 7,436 gallons of water. Increasing the height by a single foot would increase the capacity by nearly 1,500 gallons. Considering that Aiken was only an occasional visitor to Jehossee, this cistern seems to have allowed

a more than adequate supply.

A single 3.5 foot square unit, 197R343, was excavated within the main house. Zone 1 consisted of a thin lens of humic soil, representing modern or twentieth century deposition. Below this was Zone 2 — 0.5 foot of densely packed plaster, charcoal, soil, and burned debris. Artifacts within this zone were almost exclusively melted window glass, nails, and plaster fall — all architectural items associated with the collapse of the structure as the result of a significant fire. Since several furniture casters were recovered, it seems likely that some objects were in the house at the time of the fire. Non-architectural artifact density, however, was low, so the house was probably not being occupied at the time of the fire. Zone 3 consists of the old, pre-structure humus of brown (10YR5/3) fine sand.

Structure 3 (Figures 77 and 84) is found just west of the Main House (Structure 2) and is

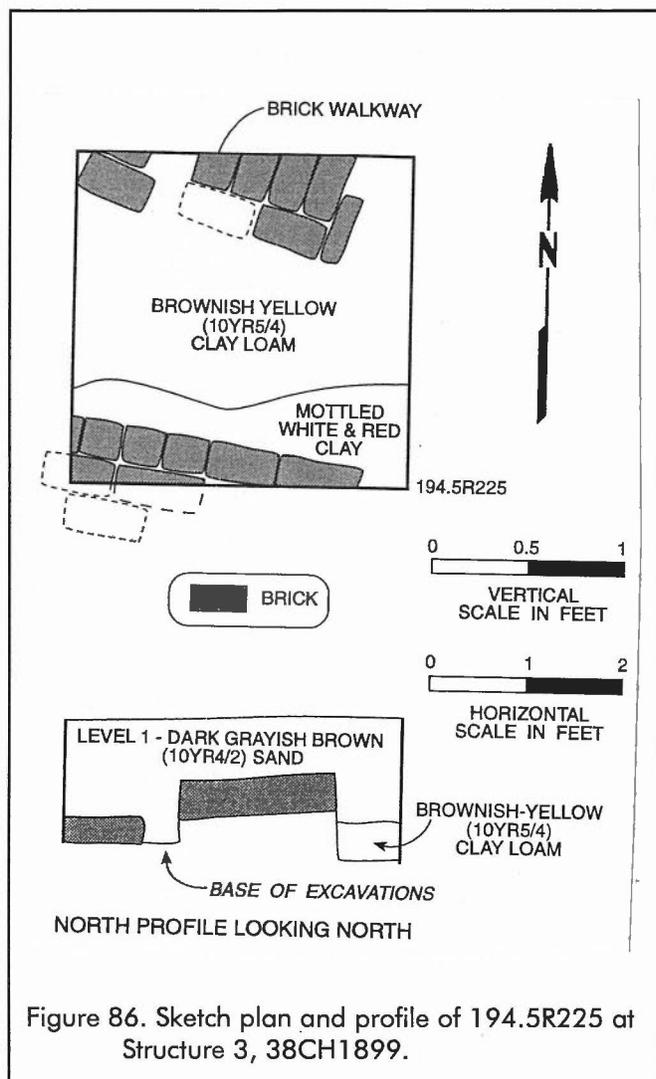


Figure 86. Sketch plan and profile of 194.5R225 at Structure 3, 38CH1899.

connected by a brick walkway (Figures 77 and 85) to the rear of the house. The structure, today, is recognized only a brick rubble pile measuring about 27 feet east-west by 22 feet north-south and about 4 feet in height. It seems likely that this represents the collapse of a large chimney — such as would be associated with a kitchen. In addition, the close proximity of this structure to the main house, and the presence of a neatly laid brick walk, all suggest a kitchen function for this structure.

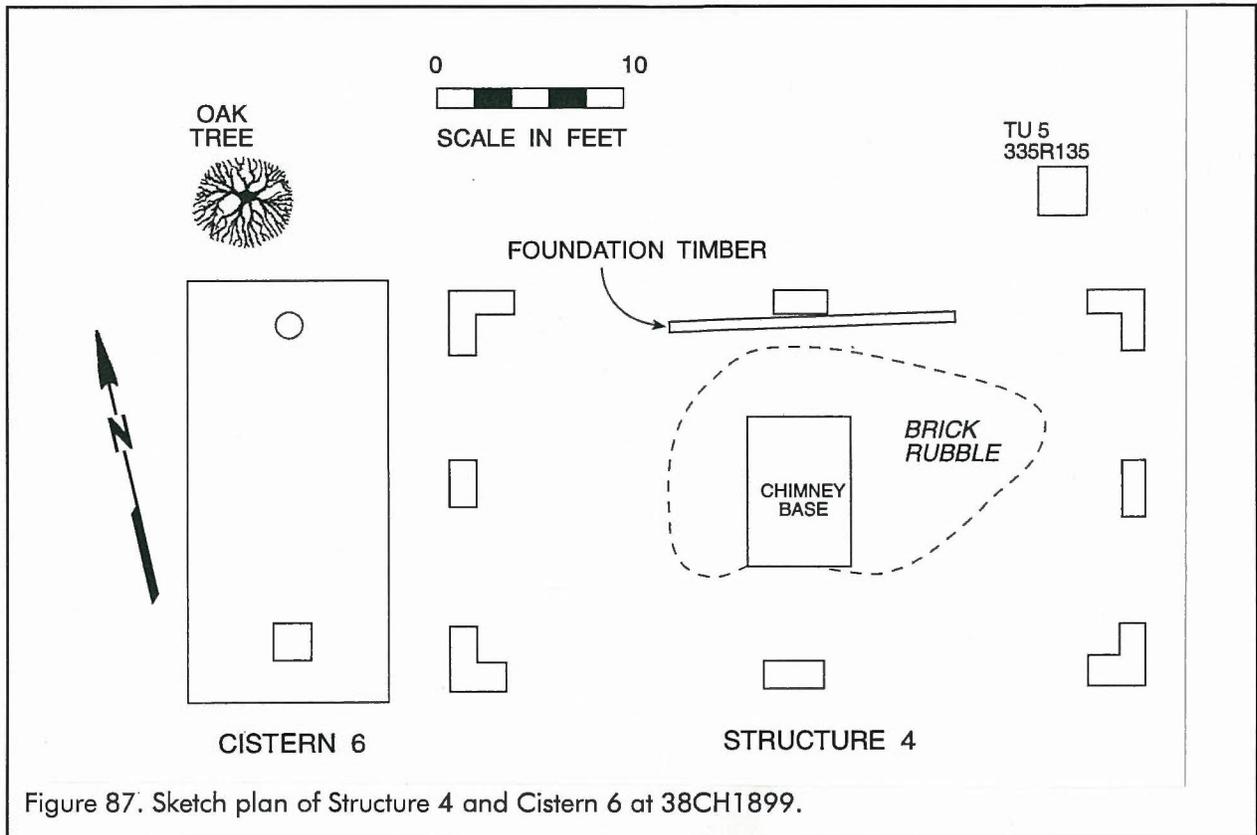
Some further support for this being the kitchen was provided by the close interval testing. Tests in the immediate area produced a range of

artifacts, but most noticeable was the large quantity of faunal remains.

Two units were excavated in the kitchen vicinity. The first, 196R254.5, was placed just east of the toe of the brick mound, where we hoped to recover a good sample of materials associated with the structure, without the need to deal with the dense rubble found further to the west. This unit revealed an upper zone of brown (7.5YR4/3) loamy sand with brick rubble to a depth of 0.7 foot along the west edge. Below, Zone 2 was a pinkish gray (7.5YR6/2) fine sand which graded into subsoil. Zone 1 produced the bulk of the artifacts and appears to be a mixed occupation and demolition or rubble zone. In contrast, Zone 2, about 0.4 foot in depth, is far more compact and artifact density is low. It represents the original humic soil; above was a sheet midden which, with the abandonment and decay of the building, was mixed with rubble. In addition to a large quantity of faunal remains, Zone 1 also produced such artifacts as a nearly intact whiteware saucer and an intact S.C. Dispensary bottle. The latter artefact suggests that the kitchen may have been standing as late as 1891 when the South Carolina Dispensary system began (Huggins 1971). The layer also produced occasional coal fragments, probably used in the twentieth century for heating and/or cooking, as well as oyster shells, indicating that some source was likely available not too distant from Jehossee.

The second unit, 184.5R235, was located south of the Structure 3 mound. This unit revealed a dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) sandy loam Zone 1 which overlaid remnants of another brick walkway and represents recent sheet midden and humic soil. It also contains pockets of dense oyster shell, suggesting that at least some of this zone may represent twentieth century sheet midden, placed over earlier plantation features. In areas where there was no brick walkway, we identified a brownish yellow (10YR5/4) clayey sand as Zone 2. This grades into a stiffer clay subsoil and appears to represent the base of the original site soil. The brick walkway is found on several different levels (Figure 86). This, in combination with the amount of robbing or displacement, makes it difficult in

SURVEY RESULTS



such a small unit to offer meaning interpretations. However, we believe this walkway connected the kitchen with the depression to the southeast, believed to be a collapsed and/or robbed well.

This site feature, designated Well 3, measures about 10 feet in diameter, with sloping sides and an internal depth of about 3 feet.

Structure 4



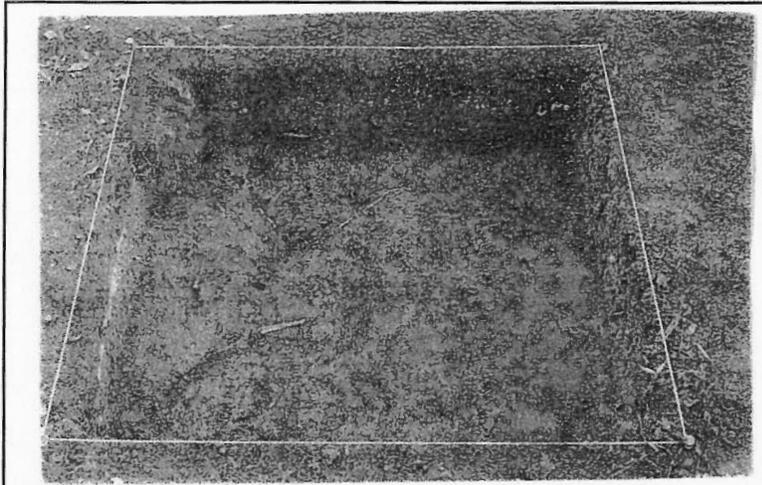


Figure 89. Test Unit 5, 335R135, base of excavations, view to the west.

A unit was placed just north of this structure, at 335R135. The upper level was found to be a very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) sand about 0.4 foot in depth, interpreted to represent sheet midden and deposits subsequent to the structure's construction and occupation. This overlaid about 0.15 foot of very dark grayish brown sand with mortar fragments, suggesting deposition during construction when mortar was commingled with the original humic soil on the marsh edge. At the base of the unit was a dusky red (2.5YR4/3) clay grading into a dark red (2.5YR4/6) stiff clay. Artifacts, primarily nails, are abundant in Zone 1, rapidly declining into Zone 2, consistent with the interpretation that Zone 2 represents

(Figure 87) is located northwest of Structure 2 (the main house) next to the marsh. The remains at this site include a series of eight well preserved brick piers revealing a structure measuring 34 feet in length (east-west) and 21 feet in width. There is a central chimney base measuring 5.8 feet in width (east-west) and 8 feet in length (north-south). At the north edge of the structure there are the remains of a foundation sill and there is much brick rubble, representing fall, around the chimney base.

To the west of the structure is Cistern 6. This cistern measures 22 feet north-south by 10.8 feet east-west, with walls about 1.1 foot thick, except for the roof, which is 0.9 foot. The interior depth is 5.3 feet and, at the time of the survey, the cistern was holding 1.2 feet of water. It has two openings, both of which originally surrounded with slate covers, still present but now broken. The northern opening in the brick is circular, 1.5 foot in diameter. The southern opening is 1.8 foot square. This cistern held 6,751 gallons of water.

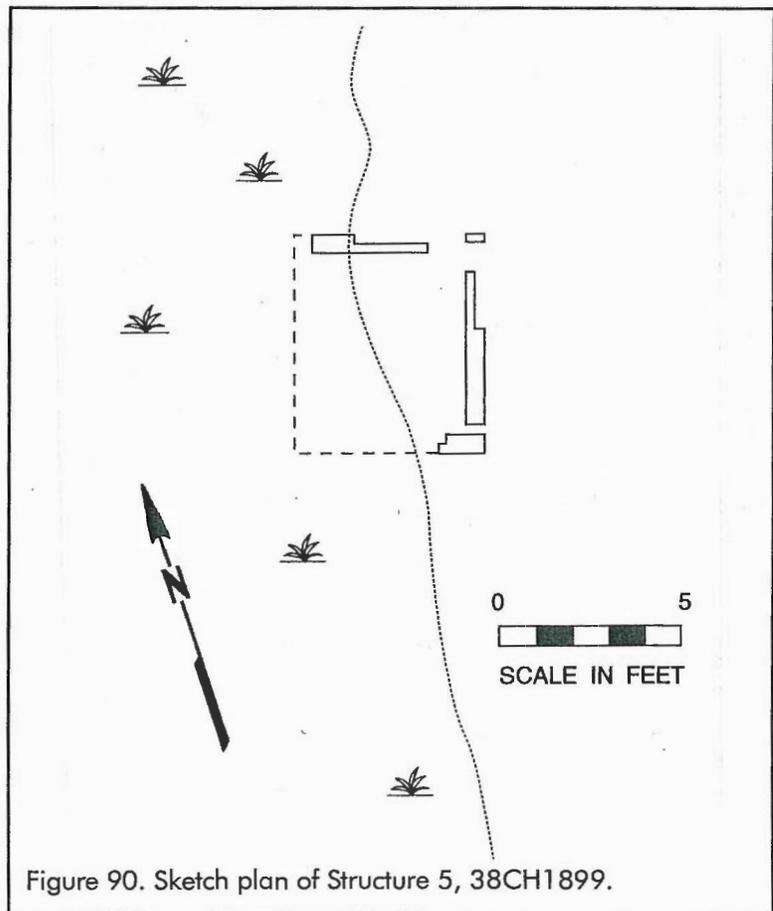


Figure 90. Sketch plan of Structure 5, 38CH1899.

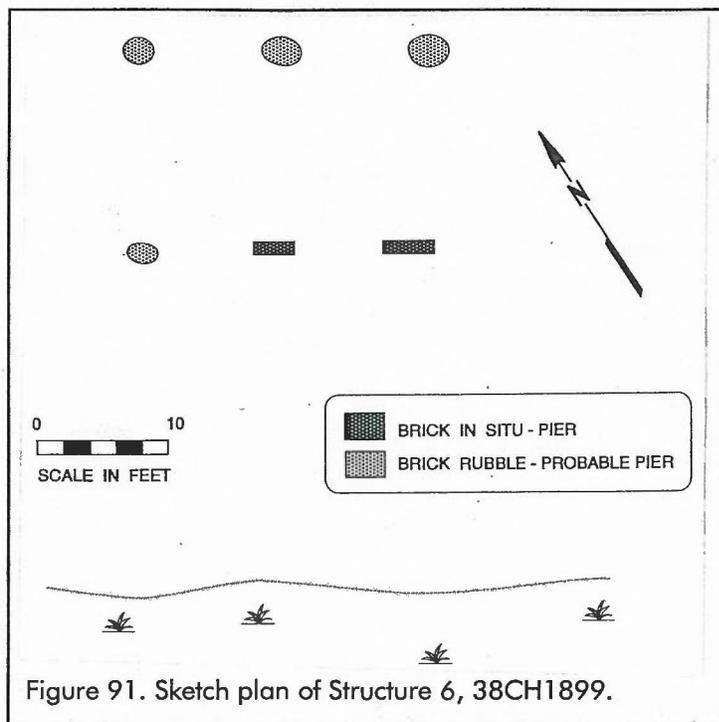


Figure 91. Sketch plan of Structure 6, 38CH1899.

the original soil on the building site. One brick was found in the southwest corner of the unit that may be a part of the base of the structure or a portion of a walkway.

Several interpretations are possible for this site. The structure dimensions of 34 by 21 feet are slightly shorter and a little wider than the double houses for Jehossee's field hands (which at 38CH1895 averaged about 37 by 19 feet). The chimney base, however, is about the same size, 5.8 by 8 feet compared to about 6 by 7 feet. In other words, the size of this structure is consistent with that of other double pen structures on Jehossee. It is reasonable, we believe to attribute this structure to house servants for the main settlement.

Structure 5 (Figures 76 and 90) is about 100 feet west of Structure 3, or the kitchen area. It is at the edge of high ground, partially within the marsh. The vegetation is scrub hardwood with a light understory of palmetto. Much of the structure has been eroded away, so that only portions of the north, east, and southeastern corner remain intact. In these areas there is a more-or-less continuous

brick wall 9-inches in width. The overall size of the structure (or at least this portion found) is estimated to be only 10 by 12 feet. Absent additional research its function is uncertain, although the distance from the rest of the settlement and proximity to a fenced area (see Figure 69), suggests it was utilitarian.

Structure 6 (Figures 76 and 91) is the final building found within the complex. This structure was relatively small, 16 by 22 feet, and consisted of two intact brick piers and four piles of bricks that were probably also piers. No chimney was found in connection with this structure, and like the previous structure, we suspect that it has a utilitarian function. The environmental

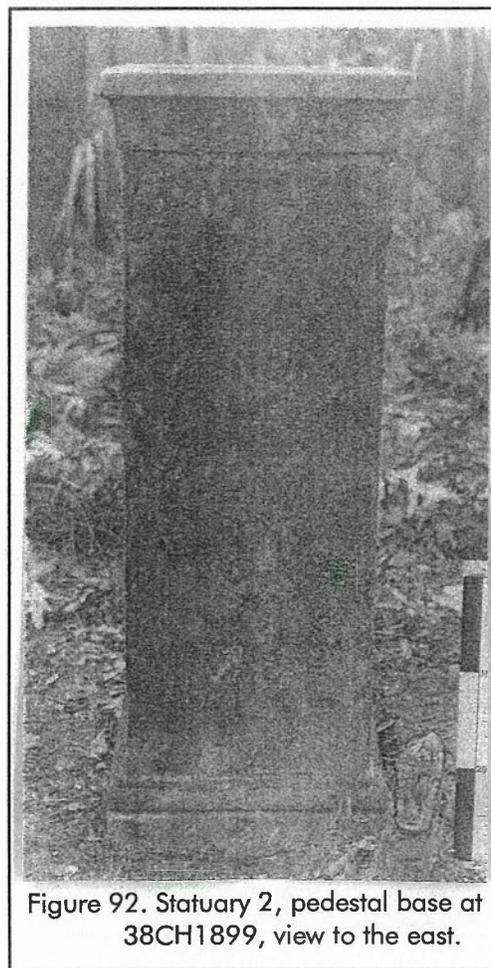


Figure 92. Statuary 2, pedestal base at 38CH1899, view to the east.

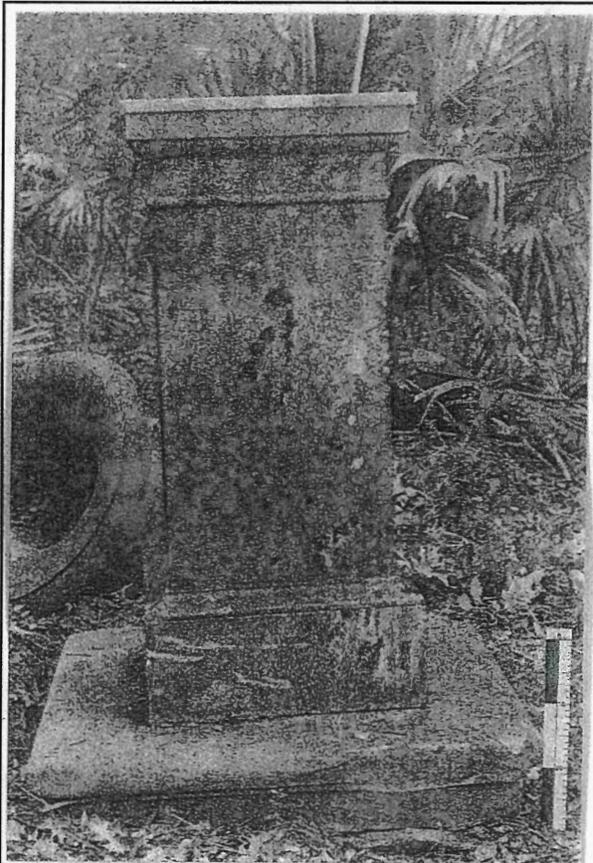


Figure 93. Statuary 7, pedestal on sandstone base at 38CH1899, view to the north. Urn in the background.

setting is also similar, although it is entirely on dry land.

Also present at 38CH1899 are a variety of marble bases or pedestals, vases, vase supports, and two statues. The location of these items is shown in Figure 76 and there seems to be only a vague sense of order, perhaps because the layout was informal or perhaps because we have lost other critical details which would help make sense of the landscape.

Statuary 1 and 2 were both identical pedestals with top platforms measuring 1-foot square. The column measures 10-inches square and the overall height of the one-piece pedestals is

2-feet 10½-inches (Figure 92). Statuary 2 has ghosting measuring 8½-inches square on the top platform and it has also been drilled for the placement of two ferrous dowels, 8¼-inches apart on the diagonal. These two items are found as though they may have flanked some sort of entrance to the plantation complex off the two converging oak avenues.

Statuary 3, 4, and 7 are nearly identical bases or pedestals (Figure 93). The top platforms measure between 1-foot 5-inches and 1-foot 5¼-inches square, with the columns measuring between 1-foot 1½-inches and 1-foot 2-inches square. The overall height is 3-feet 2-inches for each. Statuary 3 is toppled with no indication of a base. Statuary 4 is upright and set on a brick foundation. Statuary 7 is set on a one-piece sandstone base measuring 2-feet 6½-inches square. Statuary 3 is near the billiard room. Statuary 4 is centered 100 feet north of the main house, about 30 feet from the marsh edge. Statuary 7 is center about 50 south of the main house.

Each of these bases was, at one time, mounted by an urn and urn support. Urns, while toppled, are still associated with the pedestals

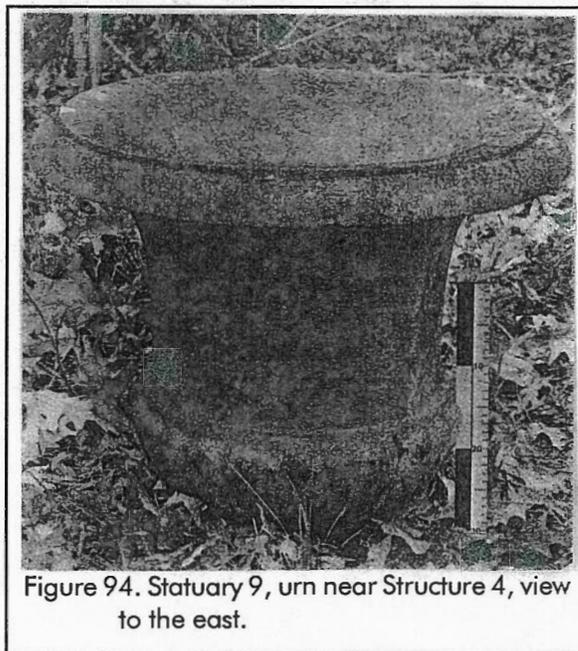


Figure 94. Statuary 9, urn near Structure 4, view to the east.



Figure 95. Statuary 6, base of urn support, 38CH1899, view to the SW.

north and south of the main house (Statuary 5 and 8), while the urn (Statuary 9) from pedestal 3 at the billiard room (Structure 1) was recovered near Structure 4.

These urns are all very uniform, having a height of 1-foot 6-inches and a diameter at the widest point of 2-feet ½-inch (Figure 94). The marble used for the urns is also a somewhat lower grade than that used for the pedestals.

The urns were mounted on the pedestals using a support, of which only one partial example (the base) was recovered at the site (Figure 95). A partial top was found at the overseer's house. The other supports, being among the least heavy of the statuary items, have probably been carried off the island as souvenirs.

The final two statuary objects from Jehossee are marble statues which were apparently "rescued" from the main house and placed at overseer's house a number of years ago. By matching the ghosting and ferrous dowels, it is possible to determine that these statues were originally set on the bases flanking the main house entrance

(Statuary 1 and 2). Both have had their heads and some portions of arms, hands and feet removed — all apparently trophies, portions which could be easily removed and transported off island. Nevertheless, enough remains to provide important information.

The carving appears rather unspectacular, with the surviving feet and hands out of proportion and poorly executed. Without faces, however, it is hard to tell more about the artisan. Both figures are likely females and both are leaning on tree trunks with right leg crossed in front of the left.

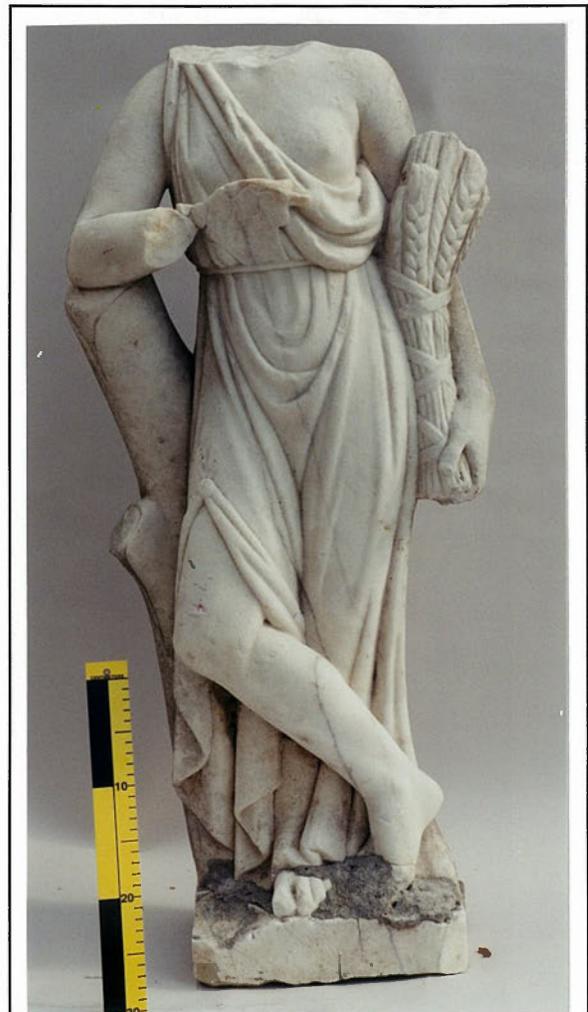


Figure 96. Statue from the main house, moved to the overseer's house.

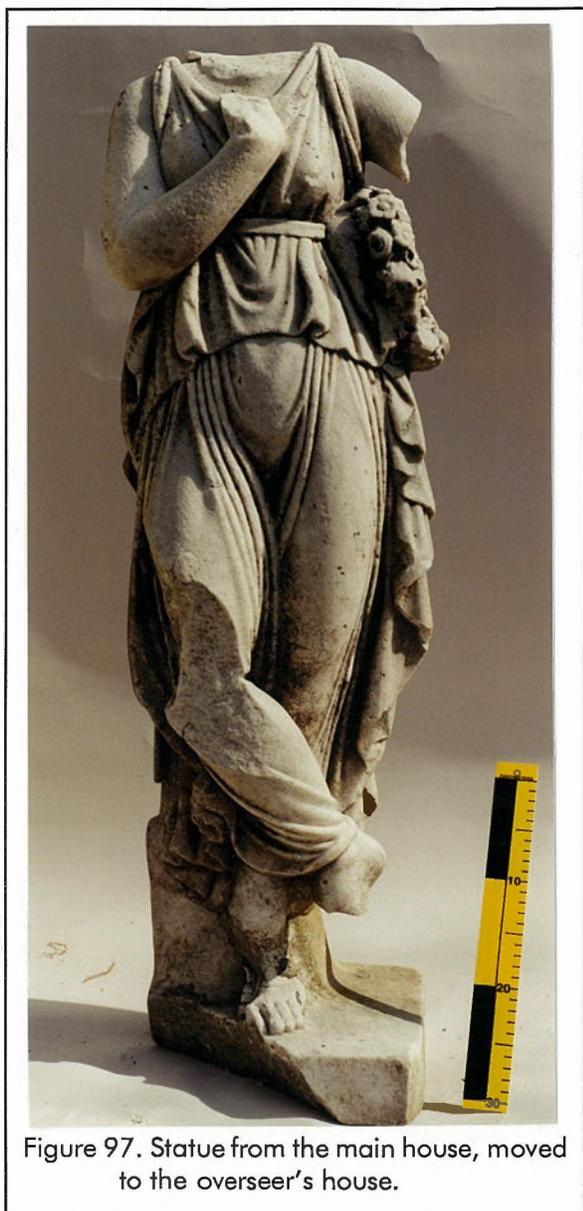


Figure 97. Statue from the main house, moved to the overseer's house.

They wear flowing, Grecian or Roman robes, with the shoulder of one dropped to expose a female breast. This figure is holding a sheaf of wheat. In Greek mythology the display of an ear of wheat was part of the annual ritual to Demeter, the earth goddess and represented a promise of new life. The other figure holds a wreath of flowers. Identifiable are only roses, which in Roman mythology were a symbol of victory, pride, and triumphant love. Of course the wreath or garland of

flowers was a common motif, sometimes with no particular meaning. Regardless, these may have been selected by Aiken to convey certain a meaning, simply because he liked them, or simply as a conspicuous display of his wealth. They are, however, an unusual find on plantation as rural as Jehossee.

Table 27 provides a listing of artifacts recovered from the transects and close-interval shovel tests, as well as the various test units at 38CH1899. An impressive 2,231 specimens have been recovered from this work at 38CH1899.

In general we see that the porcelain, creamware, and Black Basalt, are suggestive of a late eighteenth century occupation — which would predate the Aiken ownership of the plantation. Likewise, the Colono ware pottery also suggests an eighteenth century occupation, the pottery probably used in the kitchen in preparing meals rather than on the planter's table. These different wares are scattered throughout the plantation settlement without any apparent concentration; suggesting that early occupation on the site was not limited to the initial, small tabby-foundation main house.

By the nineteenth century there are abundant pearlwares and whitewares, suggesting that while Aiken may spent most of his time in Charleston, he sought to keep abreast of fashions on Jehossee. In general the decoration on these wares becomes more expensive (and hence we assume they are used by individuals of greater wealth) as the amount of hand work increases. Consequently, plain (after its initial introduction), annular/cable, and edged are the least expensive of the wares.

In the pearlware collection the less expensive wares account for only 34% of the collection. Even if the plain ceramics are removed, the more expensive wares are still dominant and, in fact, the proportion increases to 77% of the assemblage. In other words, the pearlwares certainly seem to suggest Aiken's wealth was being displayed in his table settings.

Table 28.
Mean Ceramic Date for 38CH1899

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Canton porcelain	1800-1830	1815	22	39930
Overglaze enam porcelain	1660-1800	1730	1	1730
Black Basalt	1750-1820	1785	4	7140
CW, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	2	3582
PW, poly hand painted	1795-1815	1805	4	7220
blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	2	3600
blue transfer printed	1795-1840	1818	32	58176
annular/cable	1790-1820	1805	13	23465
undecorated	1780-1830	1805	10	18050
WW, blue edged	1826-1880	1853	1	1853
poly hand paint	1826-1870	1848	1	1848
blue transfer printed	1831-1865	1848	5	9240
non-blue tp	1826-1875	1851	9	16659
annular	1831-1900	1866	9	16794
undecorated	1813-1900	1860	33	61380
Yellowware	1826-1880	1853	1	1853
$272,520 \div 149 = 1828.9$				

a somewhat different approach in their urban Charleston studies, looking at the transfer printed wares as a proportion of the total ceramic assemblage. At the Aiken-Rhett House (William Aiken, Jr. acquired this house from his father in 1831 and resided there until his death in 1887), for example, they suggest that the high status is documented by the transfer printed wares accounting for 12.34%, comparing that with far lower percentages from clearly lower status sites (Zierden et al. 1986:66). If this same approach is used at the Aiken plantation on Jehossee, the transfer printed wares account for nearly a third of the assemblage — 32.2%. This suggests that, at least early, Aiken may well have spent lavishly on his Jehossee table.

The whitewares, however, tell a different story. The undecorated whitewares are a significant proportion of the collection, so that expensive wares account for only 26% of the assemblage, with the less expensive whitewares accounting for 74%. If the undecorated whitewares are taken out of consideration then the expensive wares account for 58% and the inexpensive whitewares for only 42%. Yet even with this scenario we can see that the proportion of expensive decorations declined from 66-77% to only 58% (and perhaps as low as 26%).

However you consider the data, we believe that it documents either Aiken's declining economic fortunes or his reduced interest or ability for conspicuous display on Jehossee. This interpretation, however, must be tempered by the realization that master and slave lived in close proximity, even on the rural landscape, and we have taken no effort to segregate the two assemblages.

Zierden, Calhoun, and Hacker (1986) took

While the interpretation is open to criticism on a variety of levels, not the least of which is the very small sample size, it still points out a fertile ground for research. We are in the unique position of having not only a plantation, but also an urban dwelling owned by the same individual, preserved, and well studied.

Turning to the artifact pattern, the collection from 38CH1899 reveals that kitchen and architecture items occur in the different site areas in amount equal proportions (45.9% and 52.0% respectively). Tobacco artifacts account for 0.6% of the assemblage; clothing remains represent 0.3%; furniture accounts for 0.2%; person items for only 0.1%; and Activity Group artifacts account for 0.9%. This bears little resemblance to any pattern, probably because the different assemblages represent extremes and the units were very judgmentally placed, resulting in high architecture deposits. If, for example, we consider only Test Unit 2, 184.5R235, which was situated somewhat further away from a source of building rubble than the other units, we find that

architectural items account for only 34.6% of the collection, while kitchen remains account for 64.2% — placing this unit much closer to the anticipated Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern typical of plantation settlements.

The point is, of course, that we are looking at small samples selected for particular reasons and it shouldn't be surprising that on large, complex sites we get distorted — and disorienting — artifact patterns. Rather than seek out some explanation, we would do better to ignore these data for the moment, seeking to obtain larger and more representative samples.

Turning to the issue of dating, Table 2 provides the mean ceramic date of 1828.9 for the assemblage, slightly earlier than Aiken's acquisition of the plantation. This suggests that at least a portion of the assemblage, as mentioned earlier, documents the presence of earlier owners on the island.

This brief discussion has outlined a broad range of data sets found at 38CH1899, including ceramics, glass, architectural items, clothing remains, personal objects, and materials associated with plantation activities. We have also documented a rich faunal collection from the posited kitchen and charcoal remains are found in the assemblage. The excavations have documented the presence of subsurface architectural features and have also revealed that the site does not appear to have been subjected to significant impacts, such as demolition, cleaning, looting, logging, or agriculture. There remain a broad range of above ground architectural ruins, including foundations and chimneys, associated with the main house, posited billiard room, kitchen, servants' quarters, and several smaller utilitarian structures. We must also include in the data sets the remnant evidence of the plantation landscape, including the live oak avenues and range of sculpture found on the site.

While we have lost extraordinary oral history with the death of both whites and blacks associated with the site, we do have a few photographs, a few documentary records, and an excellent 1856-1857 chart of the plantation layout.

These remains are in generally good condition, although some are in a state of advanced decay or failure and require immediate intervention before the above ground remains cease to exist. Overall, site integrity is high and the remains are well preserved and in a condition to be able to address a broad range of research questions.

We have previously alluded to some of those research opportunities. For example, we are in a position to compare and contrast the plantation setting of William Aiken, Jr. with his urban settlement — a rare situation. In particular we can explore whether Aiken avoided displays of his wealth or whether documentary comments to this effect were charitable misstatements. We can explore how one of the wealthiest men in South Carolina lived on perhaps the largest rice plantation in the state. How did that wealth permeate into the archaeological record? We are also presented with good evidence that this settlement was used before Aiken and that provides an opportunity to compare and contrast the eighteenth and nineteenth century assemblages and plantation developments. With the chart of the main settlement, the excellent integrity of the remains, and the presence of landscape features, there is the opportunity to explore the plantation landscape in a fashion never before attempted.

These and additional questions are presented at 38CH1899. As a result, we recommend the site eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion D, information potential.

38CH1900

Site 38CH1900 is the remains of a historic rice gate once used on Jehossee Island, the location of the most prominent rice plantation in South Carolina. The site, visible only at low tide, is situated on the bank of the South Edisto River (Figure 35). The elevation is approximately 1 foot AMSL. The site was reported to us by several local individuals, as well as the USFWS staff, indicating that the remains are well known.



Figure 98. Rice trunk at 38CH1900, view to the northeast.

Relatively little remains of the original trunk and gate system. Even the surrounding dike system has been lost to storms and erosion. The remains therefore lack integrity and their context is compromised. In addition, we do not believe that the remains offer the potential to obtain significant research information. There are better preserved dikes, with better contexts, elsewhere in South Carolina. Consequently, we do not believe that this site is eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

Because of the submerged nature of the remains and the nature of the surrounding muck soil, no shovel tests were excavated. The soil is identified as Capers silty clay loam which has a surface layer of dark gray (5Y4/1) silty clay loam to a depth of 0.4 foot over a dark grayish brown (2.5Y4/2) silty clay.

At the time of the visit the tides did not allow a close inspection, so no precise dimensions were gathered. However, the portion preserved appears to be the floor of a trunk with the gates no longer preserved. It is approximately 6 feet in width and the exposed portion was about 20 feet in length (Figure 98). A fuller description of trunks is provided by Doar (1936:9-11).

The location suggests that the associated dike has been completely eroded away, which is consistent with field observations. The bank in the rear of Figure 98 represents the old rice field. The western (water) end of the trunk has been undermined by the tides and is therefore lower than the end, which is somewhat supported by the rice field. The associated gates, being exposed to the weather have disappeared, although the photograph does show one support member, probably put in place to stabilize the trunk while it was being backfilled.

Nevertheless, the USFWS may desire to incorporate some portions of this trunk into their interpretative plan for Jehossee. It does provide one of the few opportunities at this plantation to see at least a portion of this very important water control device in something approaching its original setting. It might be worthwhile, for example, to clean the trunk off using high pressure water and obtain better photographs at a time when there are very low tides. This would also allow the opportunity to obtain more precise measurements and that additional information would be a valuable contribution to our understanding of rice cultivation.

38CH1901

Site 38CH1901 is situated on the South Edisto River about 1000 feet north of 38CH1900 (Figure 35). The elevation is about -1 to 0 feet AMSL. The site consists of the remnants of two parallel rows of puncheons or timbers set upright. All of the timber above mean sea level has eroded and weathered away, leaving only that portion preserved by near constant wetting (Figure 99).

The site was found during a reconnaissance of the areas around the island and no shovel tests were completed due to the very

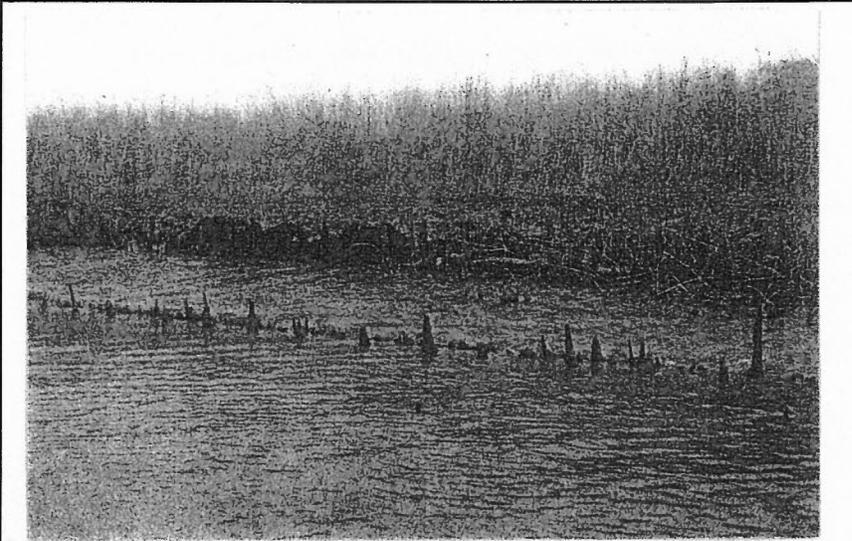


Figure 99. Timber supports for the dike system at 38CH1901, view to the southeast.

construction which is not available in historic accounts. Nevertheless, the site's integrity has been significantly compromised by erosion and only a very small portion of the original system is still preserved. As a result, we do not believe that the site meets the minimal requirements for eligibility for inclusion on the National Register. In fact, we believe that the information which this site can contribute has been recovered during this reconnaissance study and that no further investigations are warranted.

38CH1902

muddy conditions. The soil in the area is Capers silty clay loam which has a surface layer of dark gray (5Y4/1) silty clay loam to a depth of 0.4 foot over a dark grayish brown (2.5Y4/2) silty clay.

This appears to be a bulkhead or dike support system for the rice fields on Jehossee. While the recorded section covers an area no greater than 50 by 900 feet, it may be that additional portions will be found elsewhere with further survey effort.

The various accounts of dike construction fail to mention the use of wood bulkheads, reflecting instead that the marsh soil was simply "thrown up" to form the dike systems. These descriptions, however, do not seem to be describing banks along active rivers, such as the South Edisto. It seems likely, given the tidal flow and power of the river that bulkheads might be necessary to stabilize and hold the soils against the river. Leach and Wood (1994) provide documentation for the use of bulkheads during rice dike construction and as a means to control shoreline erosion along the Back River in Chatham County, Georgia and Jasper County, South Carolina.

As a result, this site does contain important information — providing documentation of rice dike

38CH1902 consists of the ruins of a tidal water mill which is located at the north edge of Jehossee Island on the South Edisto River (Figures 35 and 100). The elevation ranges from 1 to -3 feet AMSL. A large assemblage of pilings, bulkheads, ruins of brick foundations, and wood structures are present, primarily below high tide (and much below even low tide) at the water's edge. Further to the south or inland, there is a diked area surrounding what today is high marsh. On the interior of the dike there is a remnant ditch. The dike system is approximately square, although it has been blown out in the southeast corner.

Figure 101 shows the major pilings and features that could be plotted during the relatively short period of exposure. The bulkhead observed along the canal entrance is similar to that found at 38CH1901 except that it represents only one row of wood timbers, suggesting that it was erected to line the canal and prevent erosion. Today only lower portions of the timbers, which are constantly wet, have been preserved.

Moving eastward along the marsh edge the next feature observed was a brick wall or foundation, covered by about a foot of marsh peat (Figure 101).



Figure 100. Site 38CH1902 on the edge of the South Edisto River, view to the southeast.

soils (Figure 103). This, in turn, may have lead to a dock.

Nearby, to the east, we encountered a lens of debris buried by about 1 foot of marsh peat. These remains seemed to include wood, metal, and organic material of indeterminate origin. This zone was approximately 0.5 to 0.7 foot in thickness and extended along the river edge about 10 feet before disappearing in peat slump.

About 50 feet further east we found what appear to be timber cills or foundation

About 50 feet to the northeast the next feature is a similarly buried wood structure (or fragmentary remains). The portion observed included a complex mortise prepared for pegging.

We found the remains of what appears to be a small causeway, about 8 feet in width and extending into the South Edisto for an unknown distance. The remains consist of two parallel rows of timbers embedded in the mud, with longitudinal timbers which may have served as cribbing, holding the causeway



Figure 101. Brick wall buried below about 1.0 foot of marsh peat at 38CH1902, view to the southeast.

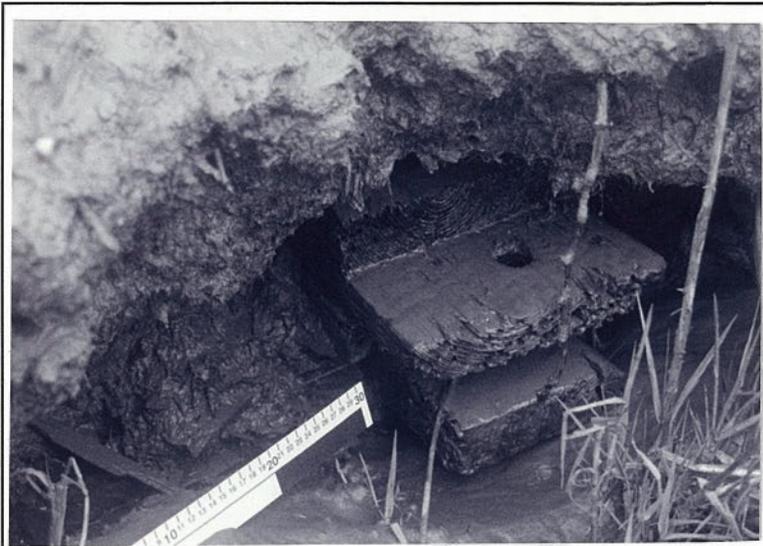


Figure 102. Mortised timber buried under the marsh at 38CH1902, view to the south.

remains consisting of a 90° corner of pegged 10x10 inch timbers (Figure 104). These were found in the middle of a large mass of brick rubble covering an area measuring about 50 feet east-west by 30 feet north-south. At the east edge of this brick scatter were the remains of a 1.1-foot wide brick wall, also forming a corner (Figure 105).

All of these remains were found among a large number of pilings, only a few of which are shown on Figure 106. These were generally about 0.8 to 1.5 feet in diameter, although much has been eroded.

Reference to the 1856-1857 chart of Jehossee (Figure 107) shows a large complex at this location, although regrettably little can be associated with the identified archaeological remains. There is a clearly defined diked area for the mill operations, a portion of which extends into the river, possibly on made land. Besides the mill itself, situated at the northwest corner of the diked area, there are two additional structures, one at the southeast corner (in the vicinity of the blowout in the remnant dike system today) and another along the south wall, near the southwest corner.

The canal is well defined, suggesting that it was lined for its entire length. There is some sort of roadway along its western side, leading to a dock, and to a bridge across the canal, leading into the rice mill yard.



Figure 103. Wood supports for a possible causeway at 38CH1902, view to the southwest.

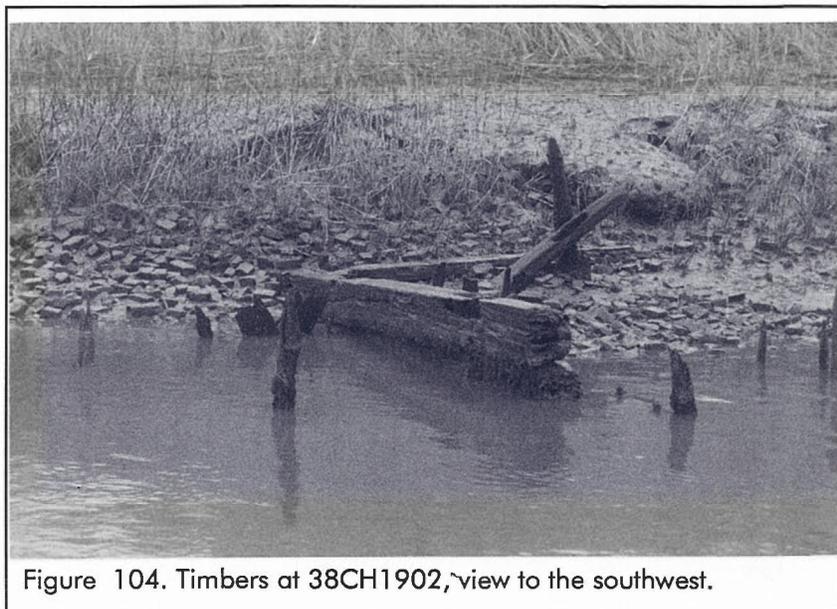


Figure 104. Timbers at 38CH1902, view to the southwest.

1987). At that canal a detailed underwater survey was conducted using both visual techniques and a proton precession magnetometer.

That canal was also lined by a "bulkhead constructed of vertical cypress poles or stakes" as well as a floodgate to close the canal. Also identified was a trunk and gate to one of the rice fields at the side of the canal. The study documented a number of construction features, noting that they "represent early canal engineering techniques" and provided documentation to justify the site's eligibility for inclusion on the National Register.

The data sets at this site include a broad range of architectural remains, including large timbers, brick walls, piers, a dike system, dike supports, and scattered rubble. While at first glance the site seems chaotic and heavily damaged by erosion and inundation. Yet, many components are buried by marsh mud and peat. The current investigations did not examine the western bank of the canal, where a roadway was located.

And this study has also not included any underwater investigations, especially of the canal itself. The best parallel to this feature is the canal at the Allston Turkey Hill Plantation on the Waccamaw Neck in Georgetown County (Trinkley

We have no doubt that similar features are preserved at Jehossee, given the remains quickly and easily identified at low tide. Moreover, these features occur in a section of South Carolina

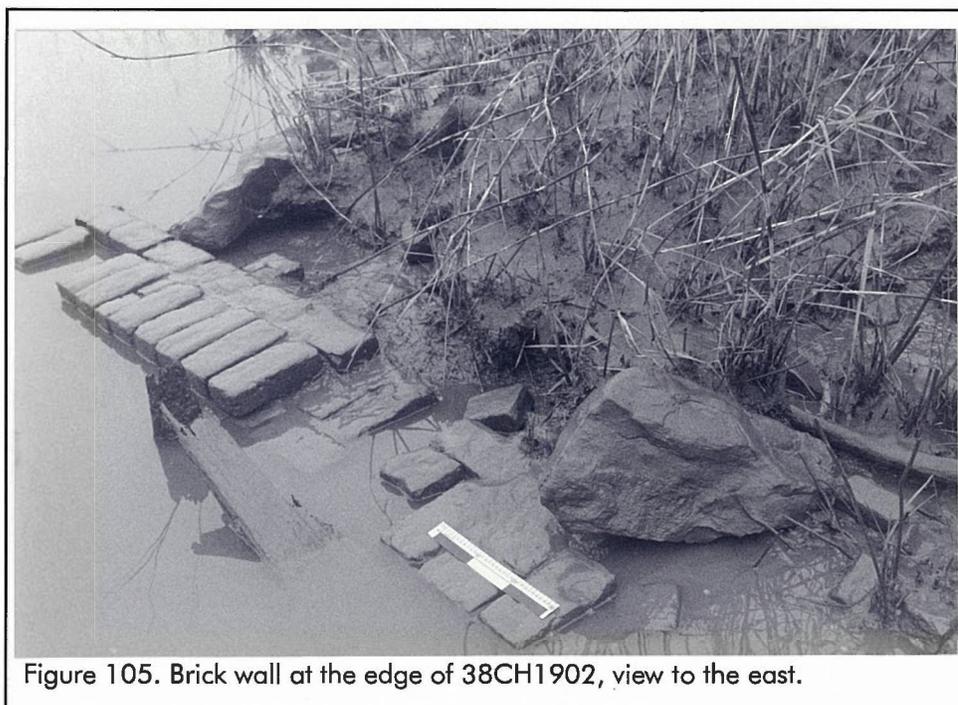
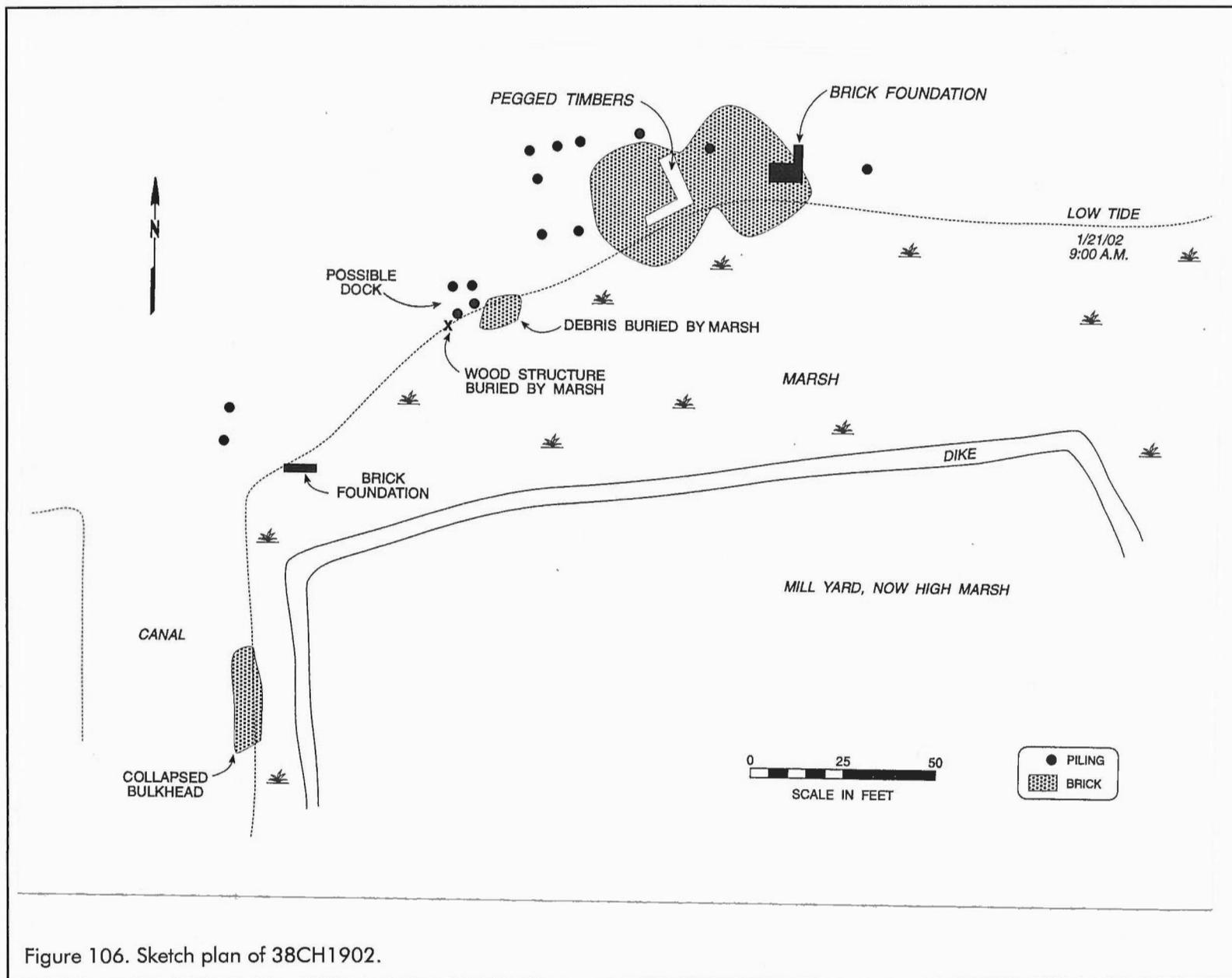


Figure 105. Brick wall at the edge of 38CH1902, view to the east.



SURVEY RESULTS

Figure 106. Sketch plan of 38CH1902.

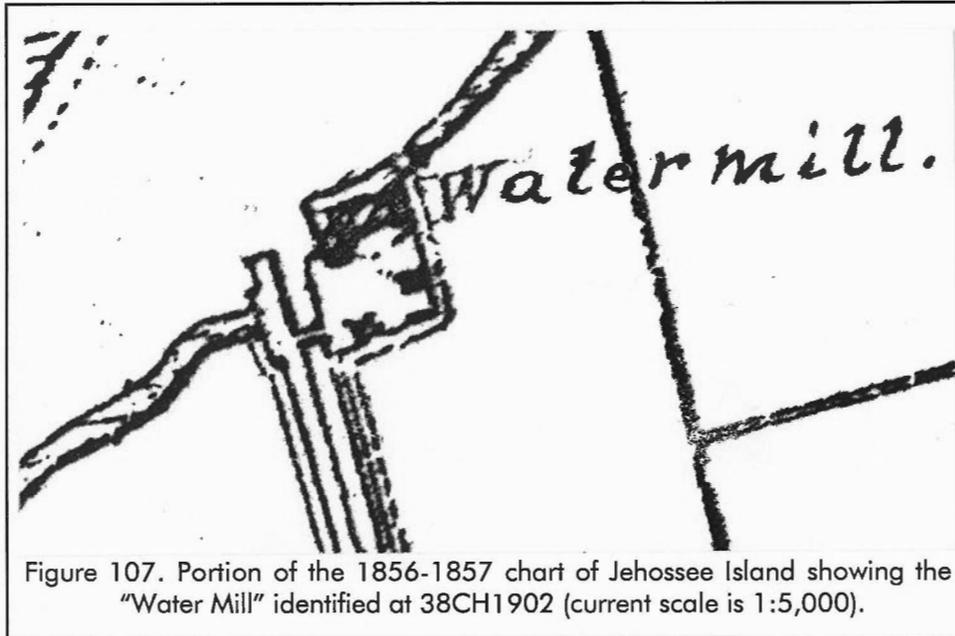


Figure 107. Portion of the 1856-1857 chart of Jehossee Island showing the "Water Mill" identified at 38CH1902 (current scale is 1:5,000).

where rice cultivation has not been nearly as well documented — historically or through modern research — as it has in Georgetown County. Consequently, these remains assume even greater significance.

We recommend the mill site, along with the entire length of the associated canal and canal banks, as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

38CH1903

Site 38CH1903 (Figures 35 and 108) consists of a small brick pile and subsurface scatter of historic nails. The site elevation is about 5 feet AMSL.

This is the only site recorded on the island east of the main Jehossee complex. The two are connected by a historic road which runs eastward from the rice mill area and then southward to the edge of the rice fields. The vegetation in the area is a mixture of pines and hardwoods that was cultivated in more recent times.

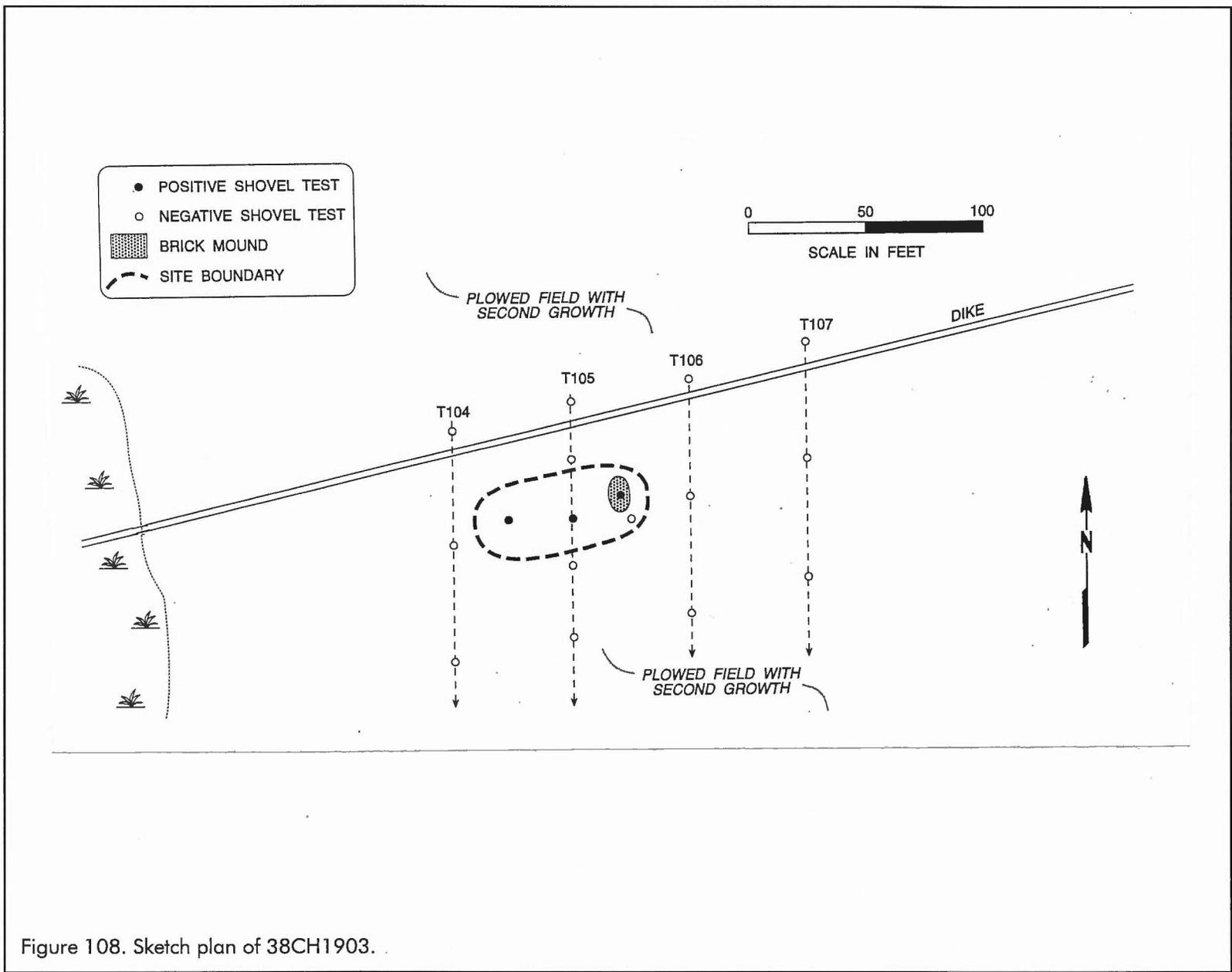
The site was identified through the excavation of shovel tests at 50 foot intervals on

transects (Transects 101 through 113) running southward from a dike at 50 foot intervals. This feature extends an unknown distance east-northeast from a low marshy area and measures about 5 feet in width and 2 feet in height. The closer interval transects and shovel tests were used since we recognized that the site being sought would likely yield a very low density of remains and would not likely be found at 100-foot

intervals. A total of 98 shovel tests were excavated, with only one positive (Transect 105, ST2) producing two unidentifiable nail fragments. Nearby pedestrian survey identified a small brick mound, measuring about 15 by 10 feet and only about 1 foot above the surrounding forest floor. This mound was situated about 30 feet south of the dike.

A series of four additional shovel tests were excavated at 50-foot intervals around the original positive test. The test to the west was also positive, yielding a single unidentifiable nail, the others were negative. A single shovel test in the brick mound produced a fragment of "black" wine bottle and mortar fragments. The entire site area is about 80 feet by 35 feet. The typical soil found in the area is Wadmalaw fine sandy loam which has a surface layer of black (10YR2/1) fine sandy loam to a depth of 0.4 foot over a very dark gray (10YR3/1) fine sandy loam to a depth of 0.8 foot.

The 1856-1857 chart of Jehossee (Figure 109) shows two structures in a pasture area running parallel to the dike and surrounded by a fence. We have found the remains of one of these two structures (or they have blurred together



SURVEY RESULTS

Figure 108. Sketch plan of 38CH1903.

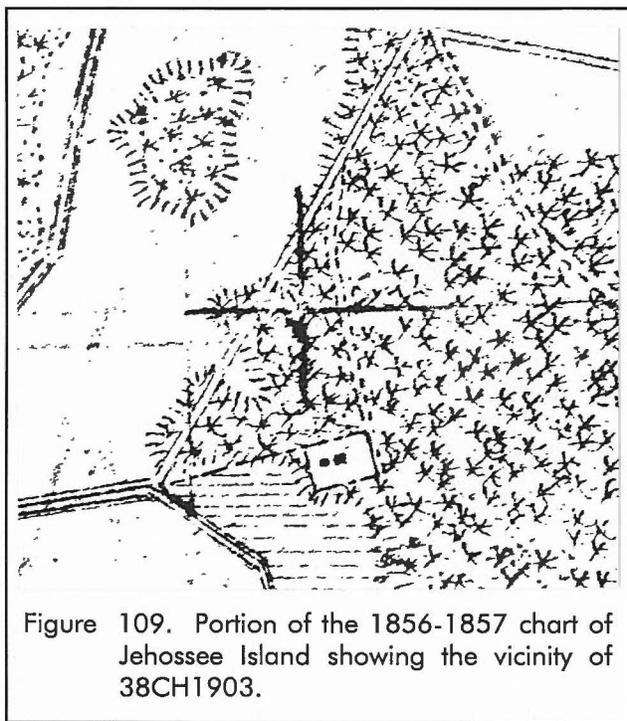


Figure 109. Portion of the 1856-1857 chart of Jehossee Island showing the vicinity of 38CH1903.

through subsequent cultivation and can no longer be distinguished at the survey level we used).

The presence of brick and nails indicates frame structures on brick piers. The absence of domestic artifacts (excepting the one wine bottle fragment) suggests utilitarian structures, perhaps an animal pen.

The data sets at this site are sparse, to say the least — consisting of a single kitchen item and only three fragmentary architectural items. On the other hand, if our interpretation of an animal pen (or similar non-domestic, utilitarian site) is correct, how large and varied a data set might be expected? Unfortunately, such sites are typically not found, much less explored, by archaeologists. Consequently, it may be inappropriate to determine the variety of data sets based on domestic experience.

It is easier to observe that the site appears to remain its integrity. While the area has been subjected to some degree of cultivation, probably in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, the

brick pile suggests that plowing has been minimal on the site and the shovel tests do not indicate any extensive soil disturbance.

If this site is utilitarian, perhaps a pen for swine, what questions might it address? How important are animal pens? We can envision an argument that they would serve to tell us little about the lifeways of either master or slave. Yet they were certainly a significant feature on the landscape of every plantation. Vlach (1993), for example, devotes 30 pages to outbuildings and 16 pages to barns and stables.

In spite of this, we have virtually no information concerning their architecture, the archaeological footprint they have left behind, or whether or not they might also contain some element of domestic trash associated with the slave caretakers. Can the animal kept be identified? Did butchering take place on site? Is there evidence of other utilitarian activities? Is there any information which might suggest why this site is so isolated?

We believe that this site should receive additional testing, not only to determine if the second structure can be identified, but also to obtain a larger collection from the site. Secondary goals might reasonably include larger test units to determine if features, such as foundation remains, can be identified, as well as an effort to locate the fenced area and take soil tests to determine if there are any remaining chemical signatures suggesting this was a paddock area or stable.

Consequently, the site is recommended as potentially eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places, pending additional investigations.

38CH1904

Site 38CH1904 (Figure 35) is a historic footbridge located on Fishing Creek at an elevation of about 1 feet AMSL. The bridge, which is evidenced a series of pilings, is only visible at low tide (Figure 110) and served to connect Jehossee with the Brisbane Plantation to the north. At both ends of the bridge pilings are substantial

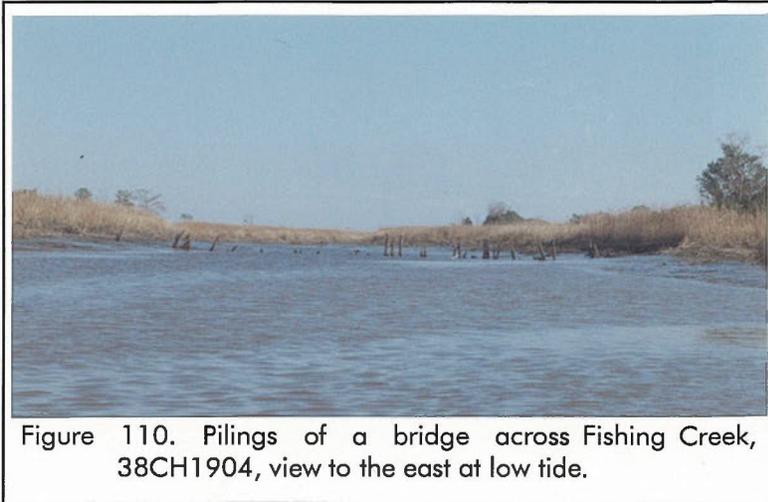


Figure 110. Pilings of a bridge across Fishing Creek, 38CH1904, view to the east at low tide.

causeways, indicating that the bridge was intended to accept heavy traffic.

The site was found during a reconnaissance survey of the island by boat. The bridge is entirely within the creek which made shovel testing impossible. The estimated site dimension is 25 feet by 175 feet.

The identification of this site provides important clues to help us better understand the plantation landscape and the work regimen. It helps support the historic documents which rather vaguely mention different paths across the plantations and modes of access which are today difficult to understand. And it serves to help interpret the interactions on the two tracts once they were acquired by Aiken. Nevertheless, this feature does not seem able to address significant research questions. In fact, we believe that what information the site is able to contribute has been gathered during the process of recordation.

Consequently, we recommend the site not eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places and recommend no additional management activities take place, pending the concurrence of the State Historic Preservation Office.

Area	Size (in feet)
A	200 x 25
B	200 x 25
C	200 x 25

38CH1905

Site 38CH1905 consists of a series of three dike supports or bulkheads similar to those identified at 38CH1901 and which are associated with the historic Brisbane Plantation, north of Aiken's Jehossee Plantation. The pilings are at an elevation of about 2 feet AMSL and are situated along the South Edisto River and the Dawho River. Table 29 gives the sizes for each of the three sections or loci identified during a boat reconnaissance of the island.

While this site, like 38CH1901, helps to document construction techniques, and demonstrates that similar techniques were used at different plantations, it does not seem able to address significant research questions. In addition, inundation and erosion have significantly compromised the integrity of the site. We believe that the information the site contains has been documented with this process of recordation.

This site is therefore recommended not eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. No additional management activities are recommended, pending the review and concurrence of the State Historic Preservation Office.

38CH1906

38CH1906 consists of the area which once held Brisbane Plantation, located on Fishing Creek, northeast of the main settlement on Jehossee Island. It is located on what is now marsh at an elevation of 5 feet AMSL.

This proved to be the most difficult site to access. The first effort, at low tide, found about 50 feet of very soft mud between the water's edge and high marsh. Repeated efforts to gain access through this mud were unsuccessful. There was, however, no evidence of any pilings or similar

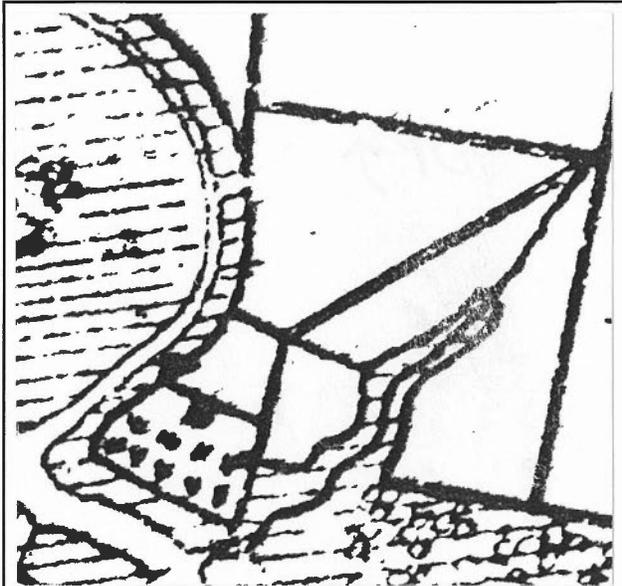


Figure 111. Portion of the 1856-1857 chart of Jehossee showing the Brisbane settlement on Fishing Creek (scale is 1:10,000).

features exposed at low tide. Access at high tide was found easier. There were only about 5 feet of relatively firm mud to pass over. However, at high tide much of the main settlement area was found to be flooded.

We discovered that the settlement area was entirely surrounded by a dike, today about 3 to 5 feet in height and up to 20 feet in width at the base, typically with a ditch on the exterior side. The interior of this diked area, while wet, was firm and much of the area appeared to be something like a savannah, with low grass. This area measured approximately 400 by 300 feet. The dikes, on the other hand, were heavily overgrown with hardwoods and the area outside the dikes was covered in tall marsh vegetation.

The 1856-1857 chart of Jehossee (Figure 111) gives us a glimpse of this plantation. We see that the settlement consisted of two rows of probable slave houses, with nine in all, and centered at the north side, a large structure which was likely the main house. In contrast to Jehossee, this plantation seems very modest, even spartan. Not only that, but the settlement appears to be

situated in the midst of the rice fields. There are similarities between this settlement and those studied by Singleton (1980) at Butler Island in Georgia — most particularly the low, wet elevations. All of the settlements on Butler Island, however, were for slaves. Yet historic accounts reveal that the settlement at 38CH1906 was lived in by the Brisbanes and that they entertained there neighbors there. Leach and Wood (1994) report similar diked settlements along the Savannah and Back rivers.

One conclusion is that with a lower sea level and better functioning dikes and drains, the settlement was not as inhospitable in 1850 as it is today, 150 years later. Another possible conclusion is that our expectation of rice plantation settlements should be broadened to include places that aren't considered worthy of occupation today.

It also seems likely that the structure on this site have been heavily impacted by hurricanes and less severe storms, so that today no above ground evidence remains. Considering the burial of site components at 38CH1902 by upwards of a foot of marsh peat, it may be that remains of the Brisbane Plantation lie just below the surface.

Unfortunately, we did not have the resources to conduct shovel tests at this site. Such work will require arriving early in the day, at a high tide, and waiting until low tide arrives before shovel testing is feasible. Even then the rate of the testing will be very slow, given the waterlogged nature of the soils. Covering the 2.8 acres within the dike will require several days of effort by a relatively large crew.

While we did not recover any physical remains and the only feature present is the dike, we believe that the historic documentation, coupled with the savannah-like condition of the grounds are sufficient to attribute this site to the Brisbane Plantation. We have provided the posited site with a SCIAA site number in order to facilitate long-term site management activities.

We recommend this site potentially eligible, recognizing that additional investigation

is critical to providing a complete site assessment.

Architectural Resources

As previously discussed, a single standing structure was identified on Jehossee, that attributed to the island's nineteenth century overseer. The archaeological components of this site have been designated 38CH1898. The standing component, however, has been recorded with the S.C. Department of Archives and History as U/19/2111 (Figure 112). Unlike the system in South Carolina which splits the archaeological and architectural resources into different databases, the USFWS considers the house and associated archaeological deposits as different manifestations of one site.

Some information concerning the history of the site has been provided in previous discussions. We have not, however, been able to determine a date for the structure, either through the documentary sources (which are scattered and sparse) or archaeological investigations (which have been very limited). While the house is often cited as having been constructed in 1830 (the year Aiken acquired the plantation), the architecture is generally ambiguous (at least in part because so little is known about overseer structures).

There were a variety of surrounding structures which no longer exist. Figure 22 shows one such structure, while the main house is shown with 6/6 windows with shutters on both the first and second floor windows. The shed porch is also shown supported by square wood posts. There is a very simple balustrade with central stairs. The roof is clad in shingles. The structure appears well maintained, suggesting that there had few, perhaps no, changes by 1910.

There is also oral history of a rear porch, which

had been removed by 1959 (see Figure 19). A vent pipe running up the rear wall reveals that the interior kitchen and plumbing had already been added. It also shows that the window arrangement and two rear doors we see today were present by this time and may be original.

By the late 1960s or early 1970s a rear shed addition off the centered doorway housed a bathroom (Figure 113). The north, east, and west elevations had been covered in roll asphalt, although the south elevation was not altered. This was covered over with synthetic siding by the late 1980s and a small rear porch was added about the same time. Some replastering work has been done on the interior of the house and there has been some renovations in the upstairs bedrooms, although no one recalls any modifications to the chimneys, roof (other than placing metal over the wood shingle roof) or substantial alterations to the floor plan of the house.

The USFWS retained Merrick & Company, an architectural and engineering firm, to conduct an assessment survey of the overseer's house in late 2001 (Bouza and Blackwell 2002). USFWS graciously made this document available for the

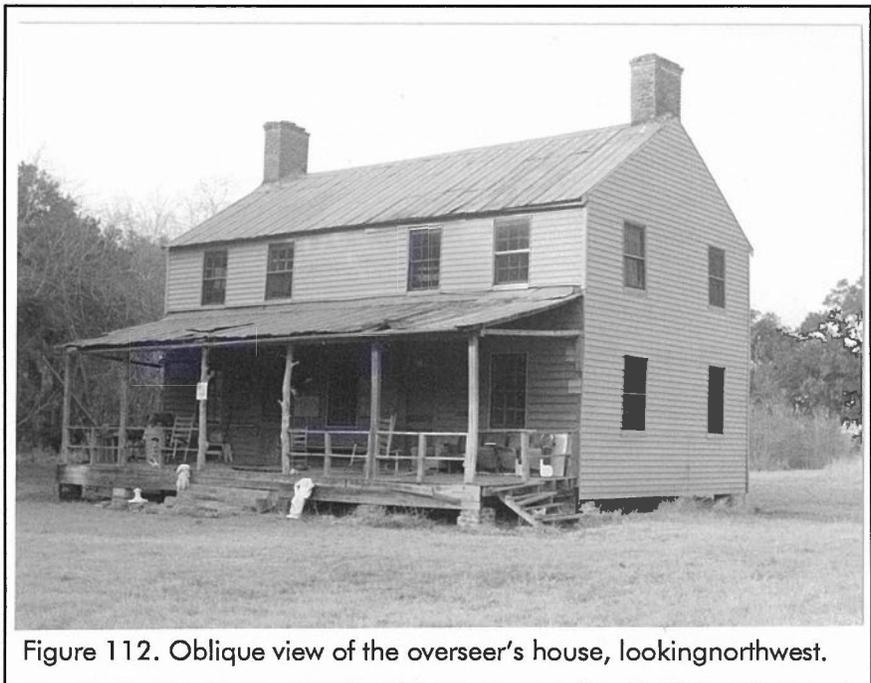


Figure 112. Oblique view of the overseer's house, looking northwest.



Figure 113. View of the north (back) and west elevations of the overseer's house, ca. 1970 (photograph courtesy of Lindsay Oswald).

ascertain the historic and cultural value of this site" (Bouza and Blackwell 2002:4.7). This current study provides a more comprehensive historic assessment.

The overseer's structure was visited during the survey by Ms. Sarah Fick, a historic preservation consultant in Charleston with exceptional experience in historic survey and evaluation of the historic architecture of the region, and Ms. Katherine Saunders, representing The Historic Charleston Found-

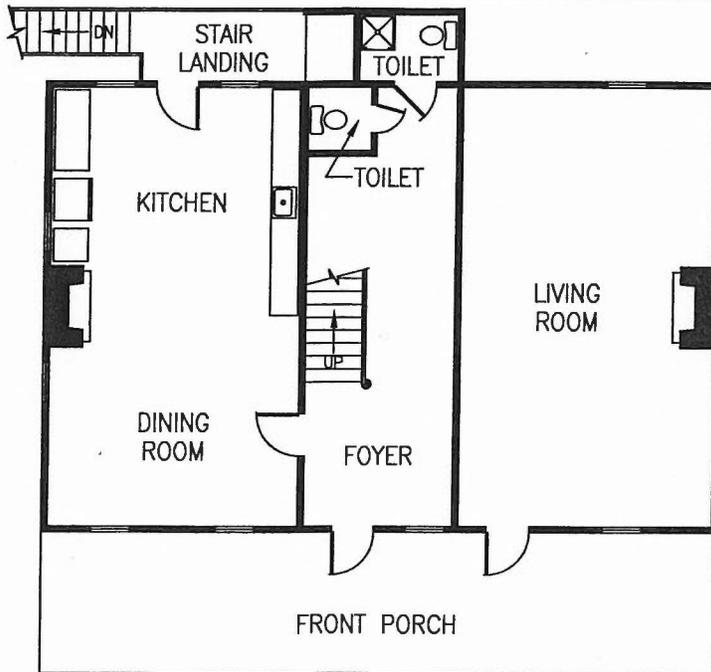
current study and their floorplans are reproduced here as Figure 114. The Merrick study provides a very basic description of the structure and provides information on the author's assessment of its condition.

Bouza and Blackwell (2002:4.3) note, as briefly described above, the various "random attempts at building maintenance and renovation." They conclude that these modifications have "reduced the historical value of the building," "detract from the cultural value of this home," have "severely defaced original finishes," and have "adversely impacted the historical value of the structure." (Bouza and Blackwell 2002:4.3-4.5). They also note that "the accessory buildings, which accompanied the overseer's house in the mid 19th century, have all been demolished, further impacting historical significance and accuracy" (Bouza and Blackwell 2002:4.5). In spite of these opinions, they also acknowledge that "a historic assessment must be accomplished to correctly

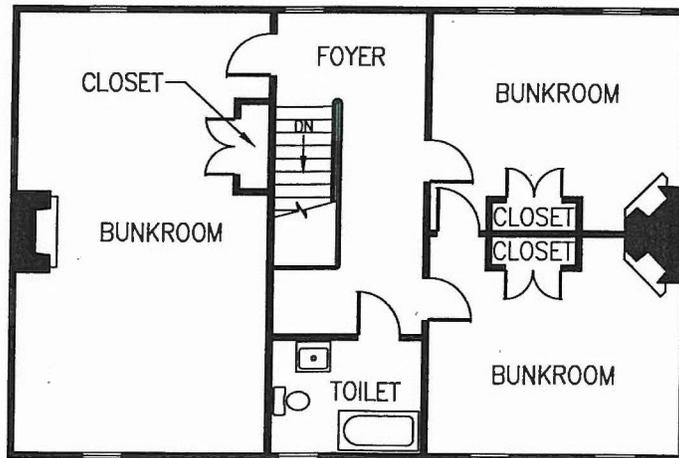
ascertain the historic and cultural value of this site" (Bouza and Blackwell 2002:4.7). Both were kind enough to provide their expertise in the interpretation of this structure. Mr. Moby Marks, of Richard Marks Restoration, a well-known Charleston historic preservation contractor, has also briefly examined the structure and offered his assessment of its current condition.

The architecture of the structure itself is worthy of note. The paired front doors and interior layout are unusual. Double front doors are not unknown and are seen at several antebellum plantation houses, such as Springfield (now gone), in Upper St. John's, Berkeley and also at Cassina Point on Edisto Island. But at those examples, twin entries were placed close together, opening into parlors of equal size, with the stair hall set separately in the rear half of the building. At the Jehossee Island structure, the two doors are separated by a window bay, with the east entry opening into a large parlor and the west into a stairhall.

SURVEY RESULTS



First Floor Plan



Second Floor Plan

Figure 114. Floor plans of the Overseer's House on Jehossee Island (courtesy Merrick and Company; Bouza and Blackwell 2002).

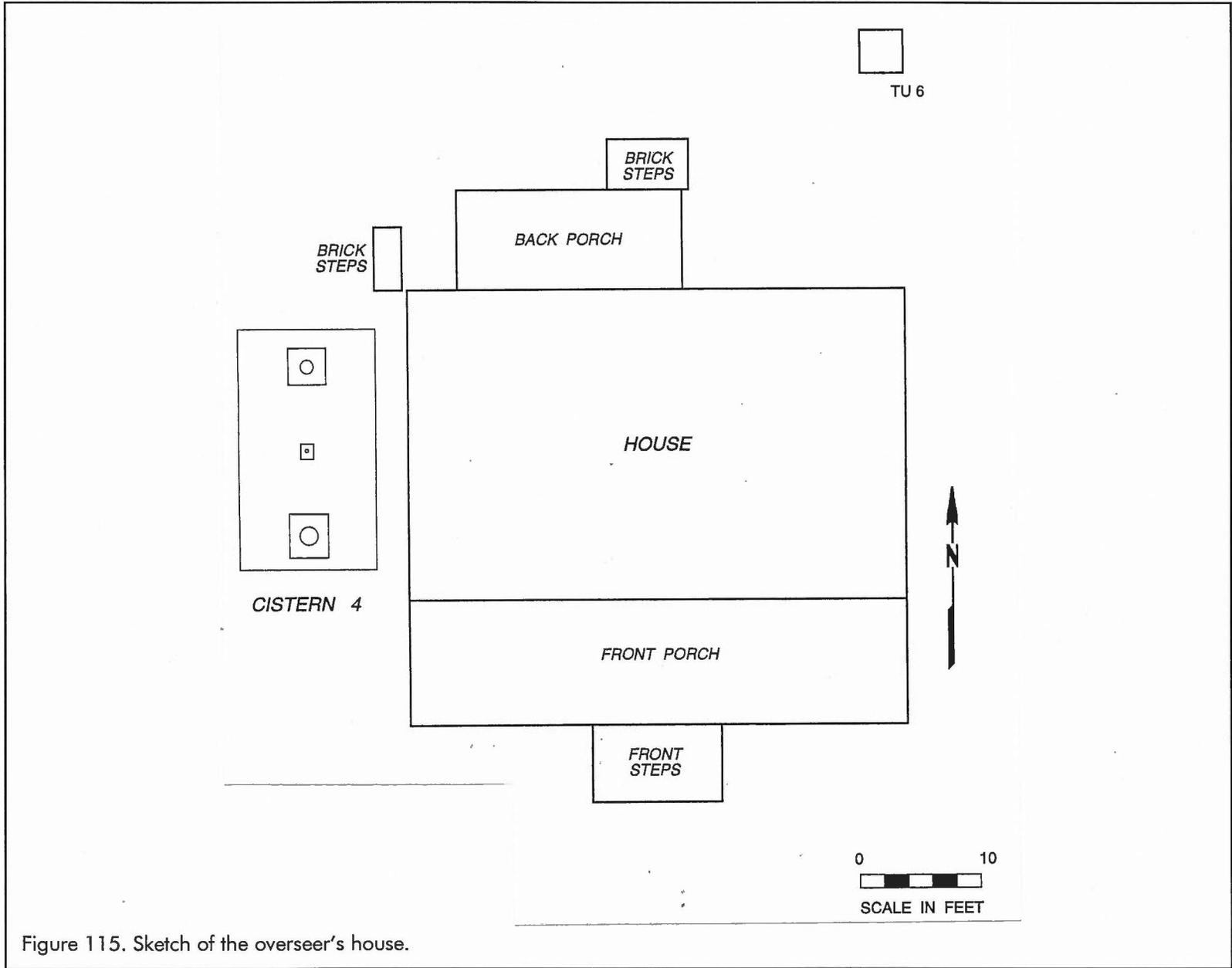


Figure 115. Sketch of the overseer's house.



Figure 116. Roof system, showing wood shingles and a collar tie with a pegged mortise and tenon connection.

The off-center stair rises from a short vestibule along an interior partition wall that creates a small west parlor (now converted into a kitchen). At the rear of his parlor was a doorway to the rear porch. The hall runs through to a centered rear entry (now converted into a bathroom).

While the upper level of the south facade seems awkward with its blank center bay, this investigation found no evidence that there had been a centered window — and certainly none is shown as early as 1910.

The larger east room on the second floor is divided by an east-west partition wall. The thresholds match and the angled fireboxes reflect the division into two chambers. The twentieth century wall finishes confirm oral history accounts of modifications of this space, although nothing substantive appears to have changed. The flooring may have been replaced, or relaid at some point.

While the metal roof is modern,

investigation of the attic space reveals that there is an earlier wood shake roof still intact. There is no evidence, based on a brief inspection, of dormers and the attic roof all appears original with pegged construction (Figure 116). The angle of the gable ends is compatible with other two- or two-and-a-half story houses of the first half of the nineteenth century, suggesting that an 1830 construction date may not be inappropriate.

This assessment found much of the historic fabric remains unaltered. The original brick foundation piers, measuring about 3 feet square and 2 feet in height, are present. There are narrow three-light transoms at front and rear entries, the first floor wood fireplace surrounds with mantel shelves are intact, as is a chair rail in the east parlor (Figure 117). Perhaps most notable is the stair, pegged in place, with a columnar newel, square pickets, and half-round handrails cut to fit into each other where they abut at the upper stair hall (Figure 118).

Ms. Fick also provides important comparative data, observing:

I know of few extant antebellum overseers' houses. None are identified as such in the survey reports or site inventories for the Beaufort, Colleton, or Jasper county surveys sponsored by the SHPO. I know of one in Berkeley County, the Kensington Plantation



Figure 117. Wood fireplace surround with mantel shelf in the east parlor

in St. Paul's Parish. Rockland is said to have been built ca. 1870. I think it was constructed during the effort to rebuild the antebellum cotton plantation system. I recall the house as very altered. Fairview, also known as the Allston House, is near Toogoodoo Creek. . . . The house was found not eligible in large part because it had been moved to a setting without integrity to the period of significance. . . . In light of the understanding we now have of how rare this property type is, it may be that Fairview could be found eligible

despite its relocation [a historic photograph of the Fairview structure is available in the Johnson Scrapbooks, South Carolina Historical Society] (Sarah Fick, personal communication 2002).

Overseer's House. This is a very modest ca. 1830 one-story frame house with a lateral gable roof, a large center chimney with corbeling and a stuccoed band, and a full-width front porch recessed under the overhang of the gable roof.

Georgetown County, the other great rice-producing area, has not been comprehensively surveyed. The overseer's house at Arundel Plantation is listed as a non-contributing element to the Pee Dee Rice Planters' Historic District and cited as "substantially altered."

In the early 1990s I surveyed two overseer's houses in Charleston County, at Rockland Plantation on Wadmalaw Island and at Fairview

As a result of this investigation, we believe that the Jehossee Overseer's House is eligible for inclusion on the National Register under Criterion A, association with historic events or activities (for the role played at Jehossee, the largest and wealthiest rice plantation in South Carolina) and Criterion C, distinctive design or physical characteristics (which have been previously described). We recommend the structure as eligible at the state level of significance, especially given the very poor representation of the particular structure type in the survey records of the state. This is a view which has been echoed by both The Historic Charleston Foundation and Ms. Fick; in fact, the latter comments,



Figure 118. Upper stair hall stair showing square pickets, and half-round handrails cut to fit into each other were they abut. Note also the columnar newel and pegged construction.

It is my opinion that the Jehossee Overseer's House retains the ability to convey its historic significance and association, with sufficient integrity of setting, size, scale, mass and material to be found eligible for the National Register of Historic Places (Sarah Fick, personal communication 2002).

The house has few alterations that are inconsistent with its historic character. The synthetic siding was installed over much of the exterior, but beaded weatherboarding remains exposed at the south elevation and the west gable end. Elsewhere our investigation reveals that the original siding is intact and has not suffered significant decay. Double hung 6/6 wood sash have been installed at original window openings, but 6/6 sashes were present on the structure at least by 1910.

Some of the interior plaster finish is covered by paneling and other has been replaced, but much remains intact with the original lath underneath. Fireboxes are obscured by plywood, but are intact behind the covers. The south porch has been reworked with replacement materials, but its historic configuration remains. The bath and porch on the north facade are all modern and can be easily removed, leaving that facade as it was by the late 1950s. Moreover, the original steps are still in place, helping to document the scale and dimensions of that original north facade porch.

We believe that the cause of the fundamental differences in the opinion concerning the structure's condition is perspective. Merrick and Company is a well respected architectural and engineering company and they see the structure from the perspective of engineering details. That perspective leads them to observe and focus on the problems.

On the other hand we, along with Ms. Fick, Historic Charleston Foundation, and Moby Marks, all see the structure from the perspective of hundreds of historic structures in the low country and the uniqueness of this structure. That perspective leads us to observe that the condition is not that bad when compared to other buildings of this age and that the structure's significance makes preservation a major consideration.

JEHOSSEE ISLAND

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

Goals

The primary goals of the Jehossee survey were to identify, record, and assess the significance of archaeological and architectural sites within the approximately 4,000 acre tract. We believe these goals have not only been met, but have been surpassed.

We recognized that shovel testing the entire high ground area was beyond the funding level available. Instead we sought to examine about 102 acres. We were ultimately able to examine 160 acres. The increase is the result of expanding the survey testing boundaries — covering more area than we initially thought possible. As a result we have identified 16 archaeological sites where previously the entire island was given one site number. Of these 16 sites 13 are on Jehossee proper, one in the waters between Jehossee and the island to the north, and two on the northern island where the Brisbane Plantation was situated (Figure 119).

All 16 sites have been recorded with the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. Mapping grade GPS coordinates were obtained for future relocation and five permanent datums have been established at four of the sites. Many have been photographed and most have been shovel tested at a level of at least 100-foot intervals, with one explored at 50-foot intervals, and four sites examined using five distinct close-interval shovel test grids. A series of 10 3.5-foot units have been excavated at six of the sites.

We believe that six of these sites are not eligible, primarily because they lack both the context and integrity to help address significant research questions. Two sites have been recommended potentially eligible since we were

not able to collect data sufficient to assess their eligibility. We feel there is a very strong likelihood that further research will provide strong eligibility support. The remaining eight sites have been recommended eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion D: Information Potential. These sites exhibit a wide range of data sets, including an excellent assemblage of eighteenth through early twentieth century artifacts (for examples, see Figures 120-122).

We found one standing architectural site on the island and that site was recorded with the S.C. Department of Archives and History. We conducted a thorough assessment of the structure and, in addition, sought the advice of several colleagues, Ms. Sarah Fick, who has 20 years of experience dealing with low country architecture and Ms. Katherine Saunders, who is with Historic Charleston Foundation, an organization which is currently spearheading extensive architectural and documentary study of the Aiken-Rhett House in Charleston.

This site has also been recommended eligible for inclusion on the National Register under Criteria A and C.

Secondary goals included developing a historical overview, attempting to identify untapped sources of documentary information; comparing the identified archaeological resources with the historical documentation to better understand the island and its plantation activities; and developing guidance for the USFWS to more effectively manage the resources present on the island.

While much of the historic overview consisted of compiling documents which are well known and others have repeatedly cited, we believe that our search has resulted in at least a



Figure 119. Location of identified cultural resources on Jehossee (basemap is a false color infra-red image of Jehossee Island).



Figure 120. Kitchen Group Artifacts from Jehossee. A, Colono ware rim sherd (38CH1893); B, blue transfer printed pearlware (38CH1899); C, brown transfer printed pearlware (38CH1899); D, brown transfer printed whiteware (38CH1899); E, blue transfer printed whiteware (38CH1895); F, brown stoneware (38CH1895).



Figure 121. Kitchen Group Artifacts from Jehossee. A, bone utensil handle (38CH1899); B, S.C. Dispensary bottle (38CH1899); C, aqua panel bottle embossed, "R.V. PIERCE, M.D." (38CH1895); D, clear bottle (38CH1895).



Figure 122. Kitchen, Tobacco, Personal, and Clothing Group Artifacts from Jehossee. A, clear glass jar lid with ground stopper (38CH1894); B, brown glass kerosene lamp base (38CH1898); C, kaolin pipe bowl (38CH1893); D, kaolin pipe stem (38CH1899); E, brass padlock cover (38CH1893); F, 5-hole bone button (38CH1894).

few new sources of information — some of which we have been able to tap and other which still remain to be explored.

For the first time the history of Jehossee is available in something approaching a comprehensive fashion, better allowing the USFWS to begin interpretation of this extraordinary resource. Our study also offers a launching point for future study, itemizing what has been examined, helping other researchers move on to new territory and not be required to again search through the same literature. Where appropriate we have also itemized those resources, such as the Phillips Papers, that we were not able to explore, but which may provide further documentary information.

We have also contacted a number of individuals associated with the island, trying to pull together information that they might possess, filling in the blanks and creating a more coherent twentieth century history. We have found that most of the twentieth century occupants of the island focused on the eighteenth and nineteenth century apex of the island's rice cultivation and relatively little attention was paid to "modern" happenings on the island. This has certainly made a complete history more difficult, but it suggests to us that other lines of research may need to be explored. For example, while our research suggests that I'on Rhett played a relatively minor role in the ownership of Jehossee, we have found that he was, in 1935, a member of the Carolina Plantation Society, listing his address as Jehossee Plantation (Doar 1936:70). Might there be additional information concerning Jehossee in either the papers of the Carolina Plantation Society or do any I'on Rhett papers still exist? Having seemingly exhausted the obvious lines of research, it is time to move onto those lines which are less obvious or which may seem to be less fertile at first glance.

We have spent some effort in these discussions to fulfil our next secondary goal, that of comparing the archaeological observations to the historic documents. Periodically we have referenced historic accounts or, in particular, we

have closely examined the available historic maps of the island to see what information they can contribute. The most valuable, of course, is the 1856-1857 chart of the island, which has proven throughout this study to be highly reliable and very accurate.

The final secondary goal, that of developing management guidance for the USFWS is a major topic of the following recommendation section, although with each site description we have tried to provide a hint of what management actions are considered appropriate.

Historic Overview and Context

Jehossee had a rich and varied ownership, being divided into two tracts for its eighteenth and early nineteenth century history. The core of the island, described as Tract A in this study, was acquired by the executors of Paul Jenys from a Royal Grant in 1742. After 10 years it passed as a moiety to Henry Middleton and John Izard. They sold it in 1764 and 1767 respectively to William Maxwell.

Maxwell held both tracts only nine years before selling them to Charles Drayton, Sr. in 1776. Drayton transferred the island to his son, Charles Drayton, Jr., in 1814. The younger Drayton owned the island until 1823. The Drayton tenure on Jehossee lasted 47 years. The family managed the island as a rice and cotton plantation using slave labor longer than any other owner. It seems reasonable that much of the initial development took place during this period.

We know, for example, that the plantation was developed by at least 1784 based on diary entries for the plantation. We know also that activities were sufficient on the plantation for Drayton to hire overseers for Jehossee. It appears that the island was a source of considerable wealth for the Drayton family and also served to provide some produce and other resources for use at the Drayton's country seat on the Ashley River. We also know that in 1819 Charles Drayton, Sr. has at least 83 African Americans on Jehossee.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

By 1823 the island's glamor seems to have worn off and Drayton sold it to Thomas Milliken, apparently a small, but successful, planter in 1820. Not much else is known about his activities on the island, except that in 1830 he sold the island to William Aiken.

Parcel B has an equally complex, and convoluted, history. This portion covers much of the eastern marsh associated with Jehossee, as well the small island to the north, which itself is largely marsh. It was initially a state grant to Samuel Ash in 1786, being held by that family until the death of Ash's son in 1824, when it was divided into two parcels. One portion went to Charles E. Miller, who in 1835 sold it to Samuel G. Barker. The other portion went directly to Samuel G. Barker, who in 1835 sold it to Charles E. Miller. In 1840 William Brisbane, a small planter (who was characterized by his neighbors at The Grove as aspiring to greatness that was never achieved) acquired the first portion, purchasing the second in 1842.

Brisbane created, if it was not already present, a small rice plantation on this low, swampy island. He built a small number of slave dwellings and a main house. He and his wife settled into the lifestyle befitting a rice planter, holding the tract until 1857, when it was sold to Augustus L. Taveau, who held the property for only two years, selling it to William Aiken in 1859. At this point Jehossee reached its largest extent, some 4,000 acres.

Much of the island's publicized history has focused on the ownership of William Aiken, who held the plantation for only about 30 years prior to the Civil War — far less than the 47 year tenure of the Drayton family. There are some valid reasons for this.

First, while the Drayton records are actually more complete, the island was visited by several outsiders during the Aiken ownership, so his name became associated with Jehossee. Second, Aiken was an extraordinarily powerful and wealthy individual and attention is naturally directed toward the rich and powerful. Third, the

island continued to be owned by Aiken's relatives until its eventual sale to the USFWS, providing 100 years of continuity after the Civil War. Another factor is that Jehossee Island was but one of the score of plantation managed by the Drayton's (Kanaski, personal communication 2002).

Aiken's 700 slaves ranks him the second largest holder of enslaved African Americans in South Carolina, just behind the Estate of Lt. Governor J.J. Ward in Georgetown with 1,131 slaves (these, however, were divided between six different plantations). Just behind him was Governor Robert Allston, also of Georgetown, with 631 slaves (Clifton 1985:59; Dusinger 1996:391). Moreover, Aiken's 1,500 acres of rice land was almost twice the acreage of the South's next largest rice plantation, James Hamilton Couper's Hopeton in Glynn County, Georgia. Aiken paid the highest wage, \$2,000 a year, to any overseer documented, when most ranged from a few hundred to perhaps a thousand for the most prized. Aiken was certainly an extraordinary planter whose wealth, for the time, might appropriately be considered astronomical (the 1850 value of \$380,000 is \$7,238,000 in 2002 dollars). By 1860 the value was closer to \$418,000 or nearly \$8 million in 2002 dollars. The rate of return on the investment was nearly 10% (far better than most planters examined by Dusinger; see Clifton 1985:61). The 1,500,000 pounds of rice raised in 1859 made Aiken the second largest producer of rice in Charleston County.

Clifton spends some considerable effort outlining the physical features of the Jehossee plantation, pointing out that the "facilities . . . were excellent" (Clifton 1985:61). Moreover, Aiken is reported, from several sources, to be a kind and indulgent master. He provided abundant housing (the 1856-1857 map suggests at least 88 double pen structures, providing 176 units, with an occupancy of only 3.98 per unit). Each house was allotted a garden plot. Clothing and food allowances were above average. There were several hospitals. Animals were used to break the soil.

It is appropriate to briefly look at one physical aspect of the plantation landscape — the cisterns used to collect water. While necessary for potable water in polluted urban settings such as Charleston or Savannah, cisterns seem to be rare on rural plantations. In fact, we know of only the cistern at the Vanderhorst Plantation house on Kiawah. Yet on Jehossee they are found not only at the main house, but also at the overseer's, at the house servant's quarters, and at three locations on the slave settlement for a total (approximate) collection of 39,298 gallons. If only the three directly associated with slave settlements are considered, there was a capacity of 12,598 gallons. Assuming 700 individuals and 1 gallon per person per day, the cistern supply would last about 18 days, or just over two weeks, assuming no use for laundry, cooking, or animals.

In most respects the cisterns in urban and rural settings are very similar. While varying in shape and size, they are often rectangular and barrel vaulted. They are consistently parged and well maintained. The only obvious difference between the cisterns in urban and rural settings seems to be that in the urban setting, where land was at a premium, they were often constructed under structures. On Jehossee they were never built within or under structures, but always beside them. In this sense the Kiawah example is an anomaly, since it was incorporated into the porch of the structure.

The point is that Jehossee was not a "typical" rice plantation, in terms of size, wealth, number of slaves, operation, or presumably the treatment of the enslaved African Americans. It might, in fact, be best to describe Jehossee as an anomaly — especially in light of the more realistic view of rice plantations as being charnel houses for the enslaved.

This presumed context must be understood by researchers. But, just as Jehossee may be different, that difference is still a point worthy of investigation and examination. Was it *really* different, or did Aiken simply have good press?

From a practical standpoint, this means

that archaeological patterns and interpretations on Jehossee must be compared and contrasted with those from other rice plantations. Are there differences and, if so, how might those differences be interpreted?

Research Questions

If we can't call Jehossee typical, how then might we frame research questions appropriate for the plantation?

Beginning with the historical documentation, we have tried to point out areas where there may still be important information available — areas such as the Phillips papers (the largest collection is at Yale University's Sterling Memorial Library, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Manuscript Group Number 397), or perhaps looking for other Rhet family documents relating to Jehossee. There are a large quantity of Drayton records and we are not certain that all of those materials have been thoroughly examined for information pertinent to Jehossee Island.

Are there, for example, documents which might help us to better understand his operation of the island? How many slaves were present? What construction took place during this period? Where were the different activity areas of the plantation? What was the importance of cotton and rice? Can detailed examination of the Drayton accounts provide information on social questions, perhaps relating to the isolation of the island and whether there is any documentary evidence that the perceived isolation affected the lifeways of African Americans?

There are several "missing" plats which might be found with more concentrated efforts and there is the Gunby newspaper article concerning the burning of the main house that might provide other critical details concerning the main settlement. There is also the set of note cards, now misplaced, on which were drawn the layout of the main house (William R. Judd, personal communication 2002).

Critical research, beyond explorative

questions concerning the plantation layout and landscape, might focus on issues relating to the economic activities of the various owners. In particular, we have virtually no information on the activities of the small planters and their short-term ownership of Jehossee. What additional can be said concerning plantation activities and the growth of rice cultivation? This investigation would require the careful examination of other documents associated with the various owners, such as bills of sales, wills and inventories, and newspaper accounts, in an effort to better reconstruct their financial lives.

There are also a variety of research questions which may be approached using the archaeological resources on the island.

There are at least three African American settlements on the island (38CH1893, 1895, and 1897). These appear to span the period from the eighteenth century Drayton tenure through the late nineteenth century Aiken efforts to revitalize rice.

Investigations at what appears to be the earliest settlement, 38CH1897, may be able to address a broad range of significant research issues, including the importance of Colono ware ceramics (which seem to decline in importance to the south of a Charleston core) and nature of the structures (in general ephemeral and poorly constructed during the eighteenth century). This settlement also provides an opportunity to look for evidence of power and resistance — which may be reflected in artifacts reflecting African magic, religion, and spiritual beliefs (see, for example, Wilkie 1997 or Trinkley and Hacker 1999a). Moreover, there are relatively few eighteenth century slave settlements documented and even fewer associated with rice cultivation.

Site 38CH1893 and much of 38CH1895 represents the development of slavery on Jehossee Island under Aiken. Investigation of these settlements has the potential to address a range of significant research questions. The sites offer an exceptional opportunity to document a very large number of structures on a single plantation under

a single owner. By comparing and contrasting the archaeological footprints it should be possible to determine the acceptable variability in size and construction features. By comparing and contrasting the collections (examining artifact patterns and perhaps even ceramic indices), it may be possible to address the distribution of material goods, such as ceramics. It may be possible to explore the slaves' access to various markets and how this affected their possessions. Given the number of structures, it may be possible to dramatically refine our understanding of the material or wealth variability present in a single slave community, perhaps even identifying structures occupied by "special" slaves (such as drivers).

The ability to examine a very large sample of African Americans living under one very wealthy owner also allows us to better contrast their lifestyle with slaves owned by planters of more modest means. This should help address the question of how slaves were affected by their masters' economic well-being.

Site 38CH1895 also appears to contain several slave hospitals — a site type for which there is little architectural or archaeological comparative information. Excavations in the hospital area may result in the development of an artifact pattern which helps to identify similar features at other plantations. Excavations might also provide valuable clues to how effectively Aiken dealt with disease on Jehossee Island, helping to compare and contrast the island to other rice plantations along the Savannah River.

While much is known of African American lifeways on postbellum cotton plantations, relatively little is known about life on rice plantations. Investigation of individual house sites at 38CH1895, combined with oral history, has the potential to dramatically expand our understanding. Topics of access, participation in a market economy, refuse disposal, health, and diet may all be addressed, given what we have seen thus far in the archaeological record.

There are also at least three industrial sites

on the island (38CH1891, 1897, and 1904). While 38CH1891 has been heavily damaged by erosion, there is the potential for a fourth site which might compare directly to 38CH1897. Research at these sites has the potential to help clarify the historical accounts, develop a site plan for the structures present, and begin to unravel some of the questions concerning how the rice processing mechanisms actually operated.

Site 38CH1904, found on waterlogged soils, may also retain well-preserved plant and organic materials which might be of assistance in reconstructing the activities that took place.

The main settlement, 38CH1898, reveals expansion of a relatively modest structure into a much larger mansion. Archaeological excavation focusing on construction features may be able to provide more realistic dates for the building episodes.

Excavations at 38CH1898 also have the potential to reveal much more about the lifestyle of Aiken on the island. If trash deposits associated with the main house and kitchen can be identified and explored, it may be possible to address the issue of whether Aiken resided "modestly" or if he displayed his wealth as many planter's did. Examination of temporal changes can also help resolve questions raised previously about whether the main house assemblage can address changes in Aiken's display of wealth on Jehossee Island.

One interesting avenue of research is to combine additional documentary research with more careful analysis of the main settlement landscape, perhaps incorporating pollen studies in an effort to identify plantings such as box and roses. This might provide us with a better understanding of how Aiken arranged the settlement to reflect his power, world view, and concept of self-worth. While there are numerous historic accounts of plantation gardens (see, for example, Lockwood 1934), there are relatively few archaeological studies (notable are Byra 1996, Kelso and Most 1990, and Trinkley et al. 1992).

The burial grounds, 38CH1896, were

almost certainly used by African Americans during the antebellum. Even without excavations, the cemetery can provide important information. For example, non-destructive study using a penetrometer can determine the number of graves present. This, using our current population estimates, can help refine information on the morbidity of the plantation. More sophisticated research, perhaps using ground penetrating radar, may provide clues on the various episodes of use in the cemetery and perhaps even the presence of unusual or unexpected features pointing to Africanisms.

Eligibility

We have previously made recommendations concerning the eligibility of individual sites, based on the data sets present at each site, the integrity of those data sets, and their ability to address a broad range of the significant research questions, many of which have been posed here.

After completing this study and carefully reviewing the historic research, archaeological findings, and architectural data, as well as comparing this plantation with other resources in the South Carolina low country, we are convinced that the **entire island is eligible for the National Register of Historic Places as a historic district.**

Two similarly large rice plantations in Georgetown County, Hobcaw Barony (15,680 acres) and Friendfield (3,305 acres), have been accepted to the National Register as districts. Little, if any, archaeology had been conducted on either, and they were not listed under Criterion D (information potential) in spite of the acknowledged presence of below ground historic resources. Both were nominated under Criteria A (association with historic events) and C (distinctive design features), with Hobcaw additionally under Criterion B (association with important persons). Like the Georgetown County Rice Planters Multiple Resource Nomination, these include ricefields with their banks, dikes, and canal systems as above ground resources significant in the Area of Agriculture and Engineering. It is also important to

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

note that where the overall construction retains integrity, individual trunks and gates that have been replaced over time are also considered altered elements — not incompatible intrusions.

Because clear boundaries had been maintained during and after the period of significance, these Georgetown properties are listed as entire tracts. There are no intrusive or incompatible elements and the contributing resources, some of which were individually eligible, made up a cohesive whole. We should explain that multiple property nominations are used when the contributing resources are separated by incompatible properties.

In the case of Jehossee we have consistent boundaries that have remained unaltered since the antebellum and that were formulated during the early colonial period. The island suffers no significant intrusive elements and even the “modern” gates and trunks used for water control in wildlife areas are consistent in scale and placement with those used in rice cultivation. The canals and dikes have been maintained and are all in their original locations. When current aerial photographs of the property (for example, Figure 119) are compared to historic maps, charts, and plats (for example, Figure 17) one of the most striking features is that individual canals, fields, and even road systems have remained virtually changed for the past 150 years. Hence, while the island’s dike/canal/trunk system has been altered and in some cases has degraded over time, it has not been radically changed and is still a compatible feature which helps retain the feel of the property.

The island contains both standing architectural ruins (such as the various chimneys at 38CH1895, the industrial complex at 38CH1897, and the various main house complex features at 38CH1899) and the standing overseer’s house as contributing architectural properties. The archaeological sites, many associated with standing ruins, offer another significant component to the district.

We also believe that Jehossee should be

considered potentially eligible as a rural historic landscape. Defined as a “geographical area that historically has been used by people, or shaped or modified by human activity, occupancy, or intervention, and that possesses a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of areas of land use, vegetation, buildings and structures, roads and waterways, and natural features,” (McClelland et al. n.d.: 1-2) rural historic landscapes typically reflect the daily activities of groups that were significant in history. Rice cultivation — and the landscape which it created — is among the most significant in South Carolina. And it is likely to be nowhere better preserved than on an isolated, rural island such as Jehossee.

While landscapes are naturally evolving and never stagnant, Jehossee contains substantial areas of vegetation, open space, and natural features that embody the distinctive characteristics of low country rice cultivation. These characteristics may be better understood through a brief review of the 11 landscape characteristics discussed by McClelland et al. (n.d.:4-6).

The first four are processes may best reflect the rice plantation theme. *Land Use and Activities* include the conversion of the Jehossee Island swamp to diked fields capable of supporting rice cultivation, along with the particular pattern of settlement in close proximity to these fields. It also includes the geographic isolation of Jehossee Island, as well as features such as the absence of fresh water (which necessitated the development of cisterns). All of the features are based on the economic base of rice cultivation. Even the changing land use on Jehossee Island, from rice cultivation to waterfowl hunting to wildlife management, is part of the natural evolution that reveals innovative, yet compatible, adaptations of historic practices (McClelland et al. n.d.:4).

The island reveals a clear *Pattern of Spatial Organization*, with a focus on the rice fields, their size, the interconnecting canals which allowed movement of slaves and crop, and the location of island settlements. While vegetation changed over time, the location and nature of

these features has remained constant and is intimately associated with the economic needs of rice cultivation.

A third process is the *Response to the Natural Environment*. Rice depended on the swamp environment as well as the ability of the owner's slaves to dike the boundaries and convert them from forests to fields. Rice was also closely tied to another aspect of the environment — the dramatically unpredictable tropical storms. On Jehossee Island another environmental feature affecting development was the shortage of wood to power the island's steam threshing mills.

The final process is identified by McClelland et al. as *Cultural Traditions*. There can be no doubt that rice cultivation is inexorably tied to slavery. Knowledge of rice cultivation has been attributed to African slaves and the prevailing view at the time was that only blacks could withstand the rigors of the rice fields. Cultural traditions also include the structure of the slave community, the arrangement of structures, the focus on water transport, and even the ways the land was worked using the task system (for a broad overview of the uniqueness of the rice plantation's cultural traditions, see Morgan 1998).

The remaining seven features are characterized as "components" by McClelland et al. (n.d.) and are physical features that may characterize a particular landscape. The *circulation networks* characteristic of rice plantations and their landscape include the canals, the roads on dikes, causeways, landings, and even the reliance on water transport. The *boundary demarcations*, at least for Jehossee Island, are the physical limits of the island, frequently defined by the remnants of dikes and various water control features. *Vegetation related to land use* includes the still well defined fields on Jehossee Island, as well as the oak avenue to the main house. Clearly vegetation is not static and change with time. There has also been managed change on Jehossee, revealing efforts to make the island profitable for waterfowl hunting and, more recently, to help the island serve as a unique wildlife refuge. *Buildings, structures, and objects* include a wide range of

ruins, as well as the Overseer's House. It also includes features such as wells and cisterns, the cemetery, and even the roads and dikes on the island. McClelland et al. (n.d.:6) also note that *clusters* are an important aspect of the landscape. These are the groupings of buildings, such as the several slave settlements, the industrial complexes, or the main settlement. At Jehossee many of these components are intimately associated with the presence of *archaeological sites* — which have been previously documented. Finally, there are the *small-scale elements* that add to the feel of the historic setting. Examples of these features identified during this study include the bridge remains linking Jehossee with the Brisbane plantation (38CH1904) or the eroded water control device (38CH1900). Collectively they form dike remnants (such as 38CH1901).

The landscape on Jehossee maintains a high level of integrity in terms of location, design, setting, materials, feeling, and association. There even remains evidence of workmanship through the presence of standing structures and ruins, as well as roads and oak avenues. There is no new construction or incompatible land use, such as new roads, residential construction, refuse dumps, or bridge access. And the boundaries for the rural landscape are as easily defined as they are for the historic district — they comprise the entire island.

We believe that Jehossee Island is eligible under Criteria A, B, C, and D at a State level of significance.

Criterion A, or historic event, incorporates the importance of Jehossee as the South's largest rice plantation and the home of the largest number of slaves on one plantation in South Carolina. It also includes recognition of Jehossee as the second wealthiest rice plantation in Charleston County. In all respects Jehossee was the pinnacle of South Carolina's rice production and the island represents the pattern of events and activities which made rice important to the planter elite and the economy of South Carolina. It also represents South Carolina inexorable ties to the enslavement of African Americans.

Criterion B, or association with a person, is based on the plantation's antebellum and postbellum ownership by William Aiken. Aiken achieved a variety of political offices during his lifetime and was recognized as one of the wealthiest South Carolinians of the day. He is also recognized as a voice of moderation in the rush to dissolve the Union. His power, wealth, and prestige are documented by his Charleston residence, the Aiken-Rhett House, which is currently listed on the National Register. Jehossee, however, represents Aiken's agricultural contributions and his prominence among the region's rice producers. It represents how Aiken perceived his role as planter and how he organized his landscape to reflect his world view.

Criterion C, or design and construction, reflects the significance of Jehossee in the context of the standing architecture of the overseer's house, the landscape of the plantation, and the engineering features associated with rice cultivation. It is also reflected even in some of the standing ruins, such as the rice mill, which was sufficiently unusual to attract the attention of period observers. Not only are individual sites eligible under Criterion C, but in the context of a district, resources which lack individual distinction may be eligible under this criterion as a comprehensive entity.

Finally, Criterion D, or information potential, is based on the broad range of significant research questions regarding antebellum and postbellum rice plantations that Jehossee's below ground resources may address.

The recognition of Jehossee, as an island, being eligible for inclusion on the National Register clearly leads to questions concerning how such a resource is appropriately managed within the framework of the USFWS's defined mandates for the preservation, protection, and enhancement of a nationally significant wildlife ecosystem. We hope to offer some suggestions in the following sections

Recommendations for Historic Architecture

All work on the Overseer's House should adhere to *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Illustrated Guidelines for Rehabilitation*, available from the Superintendent of Documents (stock number 0240-005-01091-2). In addition, Building Conservation International offers excellent preservation advice, including:

- There are few panaceas in building. Nothing lasts forever, especially if laced with cement.
- The easy answer is often neither the right one nor the cheapest one.
- A quality job will be economical and save time and hassle in the long run.
- There are no hard-and-fast rules. A situation must be judged on its merits.

Another survey of preservation quality work is provided by Gersil Newmark Kay (1991) in *Mechanical and Electrical Systems for Historic Buildings*. While no electrical or mechanical systems are being proposed for the structure, the authors offer good preservation guidance that may be useful at a variety of levels.

The Merrick and Company study of the Overseer's House recommend "a historic assessment . . . to correctly ascertain the historic and cultural value of his site" (Bouza and Blackwell 2002:4.7). The current investigation begins to fulfill this recommendation and three leading local authorities concur with us that the structure is eligible for inclusion and the National Register and worthy of preservation (Ms. Sarah Fick, Historic Charleston Foundation, and Moby Marks of Richard Marks Restoration).

Based on this the most prudent, and cost effective approach is the implementation of

Merrick and Company option 1: stabilize and mothball the structure per Secretary of Interior Standards. This option would help ensure the long-term preservation of the structure by "making the building dry inside and slow[ing] further deterioration" (Bouza and Blackwell 2002:4.6). The projected cost would be nearly \$272,000 (Bouza and Blackwell 2002:10.1).

To accomplish this goal, Bouza and Blackwell recommend:

1. Repair or reconstruct collapsed foundation brick piers (essential in order to appropriately support the structure),
2. Re-level the structure (which is part of the foundation repairs and may require jacking and temporary supports)
3. Re-align girders and exterior walls to remedy displacement and bowing of structural elements (again, this is often part of foundation repairs),
4. Repair and or replace deteriorated structural framing members (incorporated in this may be structural pest control practices designed to minimize future damage),
5. Re-mount on the refurbished foundation piers,
6. More detailed examination of the exterior bearing walls with whatever repair is necessary,
7. Replace the existing metal roof because of corrosion,
8. Remove the vinyl siding and repair, replace, refinish, and repaint the lap siding,
9. Replace inoperable windows and doors with "period accurate replacements,"
10. Remove the unstable front porch,

11. Remove all interior finishes that are currently falling.

Emergency repairs are generally considered to be those that, if action is not taken, the building might continue to deteriorate until repair would no longer be feasible on either practical or financial grounds. Michell (1988:17) observes that, "the danger of specifying temporary repairs or minimum standards is that by default they may gradually be thought of as permanent repairs and become acceptable." Park, however, notes that "mothballing" is not only an effective means to temporarily protect a building from the weather and secure it from vandalism, but also protects the structure "while raising money for a preservation, rehabilitation or restoration project" and may even serve to protect the structure from demolition (Park 1993:1). It is often critical — as in the case of the Jehossee structure — that decay be arrested when nothing better is immediately possible.

Recommendations 1-5 are likely to be generally agreed upon as necessary emergency repairs, ensuring the structural stability of the overseer's house. Likewise, Recommendation 6 is prudent, in order to determine more precisely what is causing the outward buckling of the walls. It may be necessary to do this before any effort is made to repair the foundations and level the structure. Or it may be adequate to monitor the extent of bulging. In a question of this nature it would be best to consult with a structural engineer who specializes in historic structures (see also Park 1993:4).

An issue not directly addressed by Bouza and Blackwell (2002) is pest control. It would be helpful to have the structure inspected by a pest control firm specializing in historic structures to determine if the termite and wood boring pest damage is on-going or old. If ongoing a significant component of the stabilization program should include looking at treatment options. Today these include not only conventional termiticides, but also termite baits and use of borates. Park notes that, in addition, chimney flues should be

closed off and other access points should be "screened with bug mesh or heavy duty wire, depending on the type of pest being controlled" (Park 1993:4).

Replacement of the roof is likewise a reasonable approach in order to ensure that the building stays dry (Sweetser 1978:1). On the other hand, given the \$13,545 cost of reroofing, the USFWS may wish to explore other options, such as refurbishing the existing roof. If a new roof is deemed appropriate, it may not be necessary to insulate it.

While removing the vinyl siding might well be a sound decision, it may not be immediately necessary. Myers and Hume (1984:5) observe that the real risk of synthetic siding is not that it causes decay, but that it hides problems, allowing damage to go unchecked. The most significant source of damage is hidden sources of water entry, which may be largely corrected by roofing repairs. This isn't to say that removal of the synthetic siding is a bad idea, but rather that given tight budgets, this may be the highest priority, with other mothballing tasks being more immediately important (deferring the siding removal would reduce the mothballing budget by over \$30,000).

Replacing deteriorated siding may cause other concerns. Myers and Hume comment that, "replacing historic wood siding with new wood . . . could severely diminish the unique aspects of historic materials" (Myers and Hume 1984:3). Such replacements must be very sensitive to the width of the clapboards, shadow reveals, and the details around doors and windows (Myers and Hume 1984:4).

Likely to be most controversial is the recommendation to replace windows and doors as part of a mothballing project. In general preservationists recommend against replacing building components at this particular stage. Park notes, for example, "to the greatest extent possible, these weatherization efforts should not harm historic materials" (Park 1993:4). Of course, some of the windows present are likely twentieth century replacements. On the other hand, Park also

cautions that, "the project budget may not allow deteriorated features to be fully repaired or replaced in-kind" (Park 1993:4) — which is likely the situation facing the USFWS. An alternative is simply to cover these openings. Park notes that this approach is not only cost-effective, but also serves the added benefit of providing additional security:

Mothballed buildings are usually boarded up, particularly on the first floor and basement, to protect fragile glass windows from breaking and to reinforce entry points. Infill materials for closing doors and window openings include plywood, corrugated panels, metal grates, chain fencing, metals grills, and cinder or cement blocks. The method of installation should not result in the destruction of the opening and all associated sash, doors, and frames should be protected or stored for future reuse. Generally exterior doors are reinforced and provided with strong locks, but if weak historic doors would be damaged or disfigured by adding reinforcement or new locks, they may be removed temporarily and replaced with secure modern doors. . . . If plywood panels are installed over door [or window] openings, they should be screwed in place, as opposed to nailed, to avoid crowbar damage each time the panel is removed. This also reduces pounding vibrations from hammers and eliminates new nail holes each time the panel is replaced (Park 1993:6).

Park also explains how, once the exterior is secured from weather, to ensure that the building continues to have adequate ventilation, noting that without such ventilation, "humidity may rise to unsafe levels, and mold, rot, and insect infestation are likely to thrive (Park 1993:8). Use of

passive louvering amounting to 30% of the openings is reported to be sufficient (Park 1993:9). It seems likely that this approach would save much of the \$10,540 proposed for door and window work by Bouza and Blackwell (2002:10.1).

A final issue likely to cause concern among preservationists is the recommendation to remove interior finishes. McDonald comments that, original lime and gypsum plaster is part of the building's historic fabric . . . [and] evoke the presence of American's earlier craftsmen. . . . plaster walls and ceilings contribute to the historic character of the interior and should be left in place and repaired if at all possible" (McDonald 1989:2). While repair is likely beyond the means of any mothballing program, plaster removal is perhaps premature — and would remove the proposed budget by about \$2,000 (Bouza and Blackwell 2002:10.1).

An issue not addressed by Bouza and Blackwell (2002) is how to secure the mothballed structure. The USFWS has pointed out that any recommendations concerning security must be practical, given the isolation of the island. Park seems to be thinking of such situations:

Securing the building from catastrophic destruction from fire, lightning, or arson will require additional security devices [beyond door and window coverings previously discussed]. Lightning rods properly grounded should be a first consideration if the building is in an area susceptible to lightning storms. A high security fence should also be installed if the property cannot be monitored closely. These interventions do not require a power source for operation (Park 1993:8).

Maintenance

Park explains that while a mothballing program can be successful in stabilizing a property

and slowing the natural progression of deterioration, "natural disasters, storms, undetected leaks, and unwanted intrusion can still occur" (Park 1993:11). She recommends a regular schedule for surveillance, maintenance, and monitoring to ensure that the structure does not sustain damage.

Bouza and Blackwell (2002:15.1) also provide a preventative maintenance chart for the structure, although some components, such as those dealing with mechanical and electrical systems seem inappropriate for the overseer's house. We have adapted recommendations made by Park and believe that they may help the USFWS to cost-effectively protect this unique structure (Table 30). Another excellent source is J. Henry Chamber's *Cyclical Maintenance for Historic Buildings* which emphasizes daily, weekly, monthly, quarterly, semiannual, annual, and quinquennial activities.

Disaster Planning and Recovery

It is likely that the USFWS already has a program of risk evaluation, hazard mitigation, and emergency preparedness for Jehossee Island. It more than likely covers such concerns as wildfire and hurricanes — two threats which are certainly of concern to any environmental treasure such as the ACE Basin.

If the current plans do not include the Overseer's House, this structure should be incorporated. It is likely that the actions which can be taken to help ensure the protection of this resource are already being taken and this step would only help to formalize the process.

For example, the draft Jehossee Island Habitat Management Plan specifies that wildfires are of concern, especially since the island is so isolated and the USFWS recognizes the lack of fire suppression. It does indicate, however, that "a fire line will be maintained around the overseers house as a precaution against wildfire" (Anonymous 1998:10). This is a good protective measure and could be combined with regular mowing or bush hogging.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Table 30.
Recommended Maintenance for Mothballed Structures (adapted from Park 1993:11)

	periodic	monthly	quarterly	semi-annually	annually
regular surveillance	✓				
check attic after storms	✓				
check entrances		✓			
check windows		✓			
mow as required		✓			
check for vandalism		✓			
check interior for "musty" air			✓		
check interior for moisture			✓		
check for evidence of pest			✓		
site clean-up; prune and trim				✓	
gutter and downspout check				✓	
check crawlspace for pests				✓	
termite and pest				✓	
check roof for damage or leaks					✓
exterior materials spot repair					✓
remove bird nests, droppings					✓
check and update building file					✓

recommended approach is to salvage as much as possible and, if possible, to leave the materials in place. Nothing should be thrown away until its possible use is fully known. Woodwork and ornamental plaster is often heavily damaged by either water or fire. All intact woodwork should be retained and in cases of extensive damage samples of every type should be retained for replication. Flooring should be left in place for evaluation by an architectural conservator. The wall-floor edge is very important since it often provides a "footprint" for reproducing features such as wainscoting and built-in furnishings. Clean-up should consist only of non-chemical, non-abrasive methods. No detergents or proprietary cleaning products should be used on unpainted wood, plaster, or metal. But most

Likewise, mothballing the house (with the covering of doors and windows, disconnection of the propane tanks, and so forth) will reduce the opportunity for vandalism and perhaps even arson.

The USFWS may also be able, with little or no cost, to incorporate some additional guidance concerning historic properties in their recovery plans. For example, information could be included on local structural engineers and preservation contractors who could be quickly called upon should the need arise.

One very good emergency salvage procedure checklist has been developed by Caroline Alderson, General Service Administration, National Capital Region, Historic Preservation. For noncombustible, waterproof items the

important, the document stresses, is the need involve an architectural conservator immediately after a disaster to ensure that important architectural details are not lost in the recovery.

Recommendations for Landscape Features

Just as the standing structures require maintenance and disaster recovery plans, so too do landscape features.

Vegetation Issues

Since ca. 1910 the island's vegetation has gradually closed in on once open areas. While natural, as fields have converted to second growth and as open hardwoods have begun to develop dense understory vegetation, there has been a

palpable change in the feel of the landscape. This has been far more dramatic than the loss of ricefields and their replacement with marsh grass — at least in those cases the wetland nature has been maintained.

Significant archaeological resources are found primarily in two vegetative areas: early successional field/pasture and mixed hardwood and pine. It would be "ideal" to recommend that the vicinity of the sites be "opened up." This would help restore the historic feel, dramatically reduce maintenance issues associated with the sites, and would probably help reduce the potential for looting. The issue, however, is not that simple. As has been previously explained, Jehossee is part of a nationally, even internationally, significant ecosystem and the USFWS is mandated to manage the resource for a wide variety of wildlife.

As an example, portions of 38CH1894, 38CH1897, and 38CH1898 are found on Units J5 and J18, both identified as early successional field/pasture. These two units account for 40 of the 58 acres of this vegetation on the island and the sites probably account for about 35 of the 40 acres.

Currently management consists of vegetation setback every 3 to 5 years using prescribed burns and at times roller chopping to maintain the fields so they support priority species, such as the painted bunting.

The mixed hardwood and pine areas are far more common on Jehossee, accounting for 480 acres. Found in these areas are portions of sites 38CH1893 (Unit J6a), 38CH1895 (Unit J3), and 38CH1899 (Unit J4), which together account for probably less than 30 acres. From an ecological perspective, the conversion of these 30 acres to early successional field/pasture might be acceptable, or even beneficial.

But there is another issue which must be considered — the ability of the current staff and budget to accomplish such tasks. While funding and staffing packages have been submitted to alleviate these problems, at the present time there

is only one maintenance position for the entire refuge (Anonymous 1998:10).

Consequently, it seems unlikely that any major vegetative modifications will be immediately possible. Our recommendations, therefore, focus on how the USFWS can more realistically protect sensitive sites from vegetation damage.

Of greatest concern are the architectural features which are being adversely affected by vegetation in two primary ways. First, tree roots erode mortar joints and displace bricks. Second, trees on or adjacent to architectural features cause heavy damage when toppled by storm or disease. As a result, we offer two recommendations for those areas with standing architectural ruins, such as the rice mill chimney (38CH1897), cisterns (38CH1894, 38CH1895, and 38CH1899), or billiard room chimney (38CH1899):

- All vegetation should be removed from the features themselves. To accomplish this safely, the vegetation should be cut by hand and the stump painted with an appropriate herbicide meeting USFWS requirements.
- All vegetation capable of falling on the features should be hand cut, removed by hand, and mulched off-site. This would open small pockets, perhaps only 50 to 75 feet in diameter around these features and would reduce the likelihood of trees falling on the features during a hurricane or other storm. It may be that the open areas could be managed in a manner making them useful to the USFWS program for neo-tropical migrants.

Disaster planning and recovery practices recognize that often conventional "recovery" efforts cause as much or more damage than the disaster. A clear plan can guard against further damage during clean-up efforts (for a brief review of these issues see Morgan 1993). For example, after a hurricane the soils should be dry before downed vegetation is mechanically removed. Even on dry soils only rubber tracked vehicles should be used. If skid trails are necessary they should not be allowed to cross landscape features. All clearing should be done using the least intrusive methods

possible — with consideration given to hand removal and the avoidance of any mechanized equipment in sensitive areas. All of these are likely practices currently incorporated in USFWS practices and they may only need to be formalized in the draft habitat management plan.

Live Oaks

Jehossee Island contains two extraordinary live oak avenues leading to the main house (38CH1899). They were pointed by to us by Historic Charleston Foundation as potentially being in fragile condition. They are such an integral component of the historic landscape that the USFWS may wish to contract with a licensed arborist who specializes in historic trees. Such an individual can provide a thorough assessment of the oaks, and their long-term needs and care.

The Island Roads and Dikes

Other features which contribute to the “feel” of the island — as well as to the USFWS mission of wildlife preservation, protection, and enhancement — are the roads and dikes on Jehossee Island. Some of these roads, however, are in deteriorating condition because of the shortage of maintenance personnel and funds at the Refuge. Some roadside ditches are clogged and this may be affecting road drainage. These problems, coupled with a large feral pig population, are causing erosion, rutting, and damage.

It seems reasonable that the most critical problems, such as the one area where the road and dike are being undercut by erosion, should be addressed first. It may, however, be helpful to begin a periodic mile-by-mile assessment of the roads to help gauge those areas where repair is critical and those where maintenance can be deferred without significant additional damage.

The island’s pig population is threatening the landscape and control measures, already underway, need to be continued to reduce, if not totally eliminate, their presence on the island.

Management Actions for Archaeological Sites

General Recommendations

One of the most significant actions which the Refuge can take to help ensure the long-term preservation of the island’s unique cultural resources is to complete the current draft habitat management plan (Anonymous 1998), incorporating information made more readily available by this study. This will help provide a firm foundation for the consideration of cultural resources in the Comprehensive Conservation Plan (CCP). This report and the accompanying maps of site locations will provide critical information for integration into the CCP.

A second critical goal is the nomination of the island to the National Register as a historic district. The nomination of the island will help solidify the importance of the resource in the mind of the public and those responsible for funding the operations of the ACE Basin National Wildlife Refuge. It will also help guide future management decisions. The data necessary for the completion of such a nomination is available in this study and based on conversations with preservationists familiar with the district nomination process and the requirements of the SC State Historic Preservation Office, no additional research should be necessary.

A third goal should be further enhancement of USFWS efforts to protect the Jehossee Island resources from looters, metal detector enthusiasts, and other collectors (see Hicks 1997 for additional information). Relics have become valuable commodities with an active, and often very open, market. Some buttons will easily bring \$200 and items associated with the Civil War are always in demand. The looting of Jehossee’s cultural resources involves not only trespass, but also destruction of federal property.

Thus far the USFWS has done an admirable job protecting this isolated island with minimal staff. It is fortunate that many of the current USFWS staff have law enforcement powers.

If they have not yet received cultural resources law enforcement training, this opportunity should be scheduled. The Federal Law Enforcement Training Center (FLETC), in conjunction with the U.S. Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management, and the National Park Service, have developed a five day Archaeological Resources Protecting Training (ARPTP) class. The Department of Justice and the National Park Service also provide several other classes, including the "Overview of Heritage Resources Law." A review of additional classes available is provided by McAllister (2002).

A fourth goal is the interpretation of the unique history of Jehossee Island for both staff and visitors. We are sensitive to the fact that Jehossee is a nationally significant wildlife ecosystem and the USFWS has a variety of responsibilities for the protection and enhancement of those resources. In other words, the island is not a historical park. In addition, some consideration must be given to whether it is appropriate (especially at the current staffing levels) to allow public access to the island. Nevertheless, the significance of the island's historical resources cannot be ignored. Interpretation of these resources for the staff, the occasional visitor, and those specifically interested in its history will ensure that the public has access to that history and will also promote a greater awareness of its significance to South Carolina.

Even with limited funds, it may be possible to enhance the existing exhibits at The Grove to include more on the historic significance of Jehossee. It may even be possible to develop a public brochure and/or web page that provides this information. We understand that some may argue that acquainting the public with the resources will only result in a greater potential for looting. We acknowledge that balancing the public's right to know their history with the need to protect that history is difficult. We believe, however, that those inclined to loot archaeological resources are already well aware of Jehossee. Education may, in fact, help reduce looting by working to make its effect on the public's resources better understood.

Further Research

All of the sites recommended eligible for inclusion on the National Register present exceptional research opportunities. Yet we understand that the USFWS has a myriad of responsibilities and funding for such work is likely not immediately available. There are, however, several sites on the island which warrant additional attention to help ensure their long-term preservation.

The boundaries for the Jehossee Island African American cemetery (**38CH1896**) are not well documented. In particular, the western extent of the site is uncertain. This may cause problems for future land management activities. As a result, it may be prudent to better determine those boundaries as soon as practical.

There are a variety of geophysical techniques which could be used to help identify graves and determine the boundaries of the cemetery. Perhaps the simplest of all techniques is the visual inspection of the cemetery. Under oblique or raking light it is often possible to observe a number of depressions representing sunken grave shafts. As the coffin and human remains decompose the ground sinks. In older cemeteries, where there isn't a constant maintenance program to fill these depressions, they provide clear evidence of previous burials. These depressions can usually be confirmed as graves through an examination of the consistency of their magnetic orientation (with graves usually oriented roughly east-west). This visual inspection may be added by other grave yard features, such as seemingly insignificant rocks or plantings. This technique, however, is likely to be unsatisfactory at the Jehossee cemetery since many of the graves are likely very old (with the depressions having been filled in with leaves and humic soil). The dense forest also makes visual determinations more difficult.

Almost as simple as the visual inspection is the use of a tile probe to detect either buried stone markers or the grave shaft itself. Just as the depressions become filled with leaf litter which

gradually mulches into loam, so too can markers be covered over with soil, becoming buried through time. A probe (a metal or fiberglass rod with a handle) can be pushed into the soil to detect these buried markers. In addition, the probe can also be used to detect the different fill of grave shafts. Areas where the soil has been excavated, and then backfilled, will not be as compacted as areas where the soil has never been disturbed. Skillful use of a probe can allow you to detect those areas where there is less compact soil from those areas where there is subsoil. While very effective in areas of clay soil, it is less effective on the coast where the soils are sandy. To be effective, probing requires the use of a grid system and that probing is done perpendicular to the grave orientation. Typically, the interval is between 1 and 3 feet, depending on how large an area is to be covered.

More precise and more reliable is the use of a hand penetrometer, which measures soil compaction in pounds per square inch (psi). Areas of posited graves will have lower psi readings than those where there has been no digging. Like probing, the penetrometer is used at set intervals along grid lines established perpendicular to the suspected grave orientations. The readings are recorded and used to develop a map of probable grave locations.

We have found the penetrometer to be more accurate than a probe, and far less expensive than more complex techniques such as ground penetrating radar. At Colonial Cemetery in downtown Savannah, Georgia we located at least 8,678 unmarked graves using this technique (Trinkley and Hacker 1999a). We have found very consistent ranges in soil compaction at cemeteries on the coast in Georgia and South Carolina.

Site **38CH1897** includes the steam powered rice mill as well as other utilitarian buildings and what we believe to be an eighteenth century slave settlement. As funding becomes available we recommend two further actions for this site area. The first is close interval testing in order to better determine the locations and conditions of the other structures thought to be

present based on the period map. By having better site boundaries and knowledge concerning other structure locations, the USFWS will be better able to manage the site, ensuring that wildlife management activities do not harm the archaeological resources. With additional research it may also be possible to better understand the industrial activities which took place at the mill. Further historic research may be able to identify plans for similar mills. The second task is to conduct a more detailed assessment of the earlier slave settlement. Since this is the only eighteenth century settlement clearly identified, this step could not only help refine our understanding of the site, but can also help guide future management actions.

Site **38CH1898** represents the overseer's house, well, and the posited hospitals. Like 38CH1897, the historic chart of the island reveals a number of structures in this area which have not yet been found archaeologically. Close interval testing should be able to identify many of these structures and help determine their condition. There is the potential for structure-specific research. For example, at the flanker to the west of the overseer's house, dating the artifacts recovered should help determine if this is a nineteenth or early twentieth century structure. Examining the artifact patterns should help determine if the structure is a kitchen or a plantation store. Research in the vicinity of the two structures along the main Jehossee Road south of the overseer's house may help determine if they represent hospitals or house sites.

The tidal rice mill (**38CH1902**) is being lost to erosion. In many respects this site represents the very nature of the ACE Basin, as well as Jehossee Plantation. As such its loss would be unfortunate. The site is available for investigation only at low tide and only then for a short period. This makes any sort of comprehensive investigation very costly. It may, however, be possible to devise a strategy of coring to identify the nature of materials present, their extent, and their condition. This, in conjunction with more precise mapping of exposed features over a carefully selected period of low tides, might help us

better understand what remains of the site.

An adjunct to additional investigation is erosion control. *The Archaeological Sites Protection and Preservation Notebook*, published by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers' Waterways Experiment Station provides a broad range of solutions. Baker (1990) observes that establishing a "no wake" zone may provide benefits:

Although the percentage of damage that is a direct result of boat wakes cannot be accurately determined, the reduction of wake-related wave action can only have a beneficial effect in terms of site preservation (Baker 1990:8).

Examples are also provided of rock breasts, gabions, welded-wire walls, timber cribs, and concrete cribs with costs ranging from a low of \$14 per square foot to a high of \$28 per square foot (covering only materials and assembly, not excavation, foundation preparation, and backfilling)(Hester 1989). Since this site would require approximately 750 square feet of protection, the cost could range from \$10,500 to \$21,000, plus backfilling.

There is no question that erosion control would be a costly undertaking. We recommend additional investigations as a first step to ensure that such measures are, in fact, warranted.

A final site that deserves additional investigation is the Brisbane Plantation (38CH1906). The location has been determined by the historic chart, although the only physical evidence is the dike system and a somewhat drier interior plain. During this survey the soils were too wet for conventional shovel testing and no surface piles of bricks or other artifacts were encountered. We believe that much of the above grade evidence has been washed away by various storms. There may, however, be subsurface remains.

The relatively open topography may allow the use of geophysical prospecting, although the

water saturated soils may pose significant problems. For example, the combination of water saturation, high clay content, and suspected high conductivity may preclude the use of ground penetrating radar (Heimmer and DeVore 1995:42). Use of electromagnetic conductivity (EM) also may be affected by highly conductive soils. Small targets, such as piers or brick scatters, may also be difficult to detect (Heimmer and DeVore 1995:36). Nevertheless, these routes may offer some potential. Alternatively, it may be useful to design a program of shovel testing (or perhaps the use of a bucket auger) with water screening to explore for cultural remains.

We have previously identified the location of the suspected second steam powered rice mill on the island — about 850 feet to the west-northwest of 38CH1891 along a road in the rice fields. We recommend that this area, if it is well enough drained, be subjected to close interval shovel testing. Otherwise, recommend a combination of probing and augering. The goal should be to determine if structural remains are present at this location and, if so, how they compare to those identified at 38CH1897 (the other known steam powered rice mill on Jehossee Island).

Site Specific Management Recommendations

In addition to specific research recommendations, many of the identified sites have specific management needs. These are briefly discussed in this section.

No specific management recommendations are offered for **38CH1891** and **38CH1892** since both sites are recommended not eligible.

Site **38CH1893** is susceptible to damage from both looters and vandals, although the nature of artifacts at this site are perhaps not particularly attractive. Artifacts are found within the upper foot and a number of in situ brick piles were identified — these may be affected by land altering activities which might be undertaken by USFWS,

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

including logging or the creation of fire lines. There are also landscape features, such as the live oaks and old roadbed, which should be considered prior to any activities on the site.

Sites **38CH1894** and **38CH1895** include a wide range of artifacts, as well as both above and below grade features which may be affected by land altering activities. Again, care should be taken to avoid, if possible, logging activities or the plowing of fire lines through the site. Because these sites are more highly visible than 38CH1893, they are perhaps at a higher risk from vandalism or looting. There are also several standing architectural features — cisterns, chimneys, and pier systems — which may be affected by vegetation. As previously mentioned, an effort should be made to remove vegetation growing on these features or which may fall on them.

While we do not believe either the chimneys or piers warrant any significant effort at architectural preservation (their placement, size, and design has been adequately documented in this study), an effort should be made to stabilize the cistern ruins as funds allow. A significant first step will be to keep vegetation off the ruins since roots will cause further erosion of the mortar joints, leading to failure of the roof vaults. Another step that may be appropriate overtime is repointing some of the brickwork. This is the process of removing deteriorated mortar from the joints and replacing it with new mortar. When done properly it not only is attractive, but more importantly it restores the physical integrity of the masonry (Mack 1980).

Site **38CH1896**, the African American cemetery, is a sacred space demanding the highest level of protection and care. The site should not be used for storage of any materials and should be protected from land altering activities, such as logging or the creation of fire lines. This protection should be extended to the ditches and dikes which we believe are incorporated as boundary markers. The USFWS should evaluate the vegetation on the site to determine if there acceptable measures available

to prevent further infilling of the vegetation. Since fires may cause significant damage to the marble markers present at the site, efforts should be made to prevent fire on this site.

Sites **38CH1897** and **38CH1898** include a range of above and below grade archaeological remains, as well as above-grade architectural remains. Care of this site should follow the recommendations provided for 38CH1894 and 38CH1895. Because the sites are accessible and relatively visible, they are vulnerable to looting and vandalism. The below or at grade archaeological remains may also be affected by land altering activities, such as plowing of fire lines, logging, or the creation of food plots (none of which are currently being conducted). As previously mentioned, an effort should be made to remove vegetation growing on the architectural features or which may fall on them.

We have previously discussed in great detail the standing overseer's house and no further comments are offered here. It is, however, important to mention that steps need to be taken to help ensure the long-term stability of the rice chimney. One of the first, and least costly, steps should be to clear off all vegetation and ensure that there is a cleared zone around the feature to preclude any trees falling on the chimney during a storm. Once this has been accomplished, the USFWS should arrange for the cracks present on the chimney to be monitored. This can be accomplished inexpensively by placing crack gauges on the chimney, allowing the extend of movement (if any) to be recorded over the next 6 to 12 months. During this period an effort can be made to budget for repointing and other structural repairs (see Mack 1980 and Michell 1988:18-21).

Site **38CH1899**, the main house complex, is an extraordinary resource, requiring special care. Because of its high "status," association with a well-known historical figure, and documentation in Civil War literature, it is at particular risk of looting and vandalism, especially by individuals using metal detectors.

The USFWS should avoid land disturbing

activities, such as creation of fire lines, logging, or cultivation of wildlife food plots, on the site (none of these activities are being done at present). There are, in addition to the archaeological remains, a number of landscape features, such as the oak avenues and placement of statuary bases, which should be considered in any activity considered for the site vicinity. We have previously recommended additional study of the oak avenue by licensed arborist who specializes in historic trees.

There are a number of architectural features present on this site, including cisterns, standing chimneys, and other house ruins. The billiard room chimney, for example, represents a unique feature which provides a tangible link to the past. It is in poor condition and at the point of failure. As a result of this study the USFWS has already intervened, using bracing to prevent further collapse. This temporary measure will stabilize the arch until such time as it can be repaired using appropriate mortar and masonry techniques (see Mack 1980 and Michell 1988:18-21). Similar stabilization of the chimney at the main house may be impractical at this point, but if funds allow, an effort to save this feature is appropriate. As recommended for other architectural remains, vegetation on or nearby should be removed by hand.

Sites **38CH1900** and **38CH1901** are both recommended not eligible and while they appear to be suffering active erosion no further management actions are recommended.

Erosion control measures for site **38CH1902** have been previously discussed. A first step may be to establish a no wake zone to help minimize boating-related erosion. We have also recommended a program of additional research to ensure that costly erosion control measures are, in fact, warranted. Otherwise the USFWS is conducting no activities on or near the site which appear to cause any threat.

Site **38CH1903** is sufficiently isolated and sparse that looting or vandalism seems unlikely. Care, however, should be taken to ensure that the

site is not damaged by land altering activities, such as the creation of fire lines, logging, borrow activities (one small borrow pit is located nearby), or development of wildlife food plots.

Sites **38CH1904** and **38CH1905** are both recommended not eligible and while they appear to be suffering active erosion no further management actions are recommended.

A program of additional research has been discussed for **38CH1906**. While the site's eligibility cannot be resolved until that work is conducted, we have found no evidence that any USFWS management activities pose a threat to the site. The area is not being impounded and the site is sufficiently remote that looting is unlikely.

SOURCES CITED

- Abbott, Lawrence E., Jr., John S. Cable, Mary Beth Reed, and Erica E. Sanborn
 1995 *An Archaeological Survey and Testing of the McLean-Thompson Property Land Acquisition, and the Ambulatory Health Care Clinic Project, Fort Bragg, Cumberland County, North Carolina*. Technical Report 349. New South Associates, Stone Mountain, Georgia.
- Adams, Natalie and Michael Trinkley
 1993 *Archaeological Survey of the Seaside Farms Tract, Charleston County, South Carolina*. Research Series 21. Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.
- Allston, Robert Francis Withers
 1846 Rice. *DeBow's Review* 1:320-356.
 1854 *Essay on Sea Coast Crops*. A.E. Miller, Charleston.
- Anderson, David G.
 1975 The Distribution of Prehistoric Ceramics in the Coastal Plain of South Carolina. Unpublished manuscript with appendices and data sheets, on file at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
 1985 Middle Woodland Societies on the Lower South Atlantic Slope: A View from Georgia and South Carolina. *Early Georgia* 13:29-66.
 1992a A History of Paleoindian and Early Archaic Research in the South Carolina Area. In *Paleoindian and Early Archaic Period Research in the Lower Southeast: A South Carolina Perspective*, edited by David G. Anderson, Kenneth E. Sassaman, and Christopher Judge, pp. 7-18. Council of South Carolina Professional Archaeologists, Columbia.
 1992b Models of Paleoindian and Early Archaic Settlement in the Lower Southeast. In *Paleoindian and Early Archaic Period Research in the Lower Southeast: A South Carolina Perspective*, edited by David G. Anderson, Kenneth E. Sassaman, and Christopher Judge, pp. 28-47. Council of South Carolina Professional Archaeologists, Columbia.
 1994 *The Savannah River Chiefdoms: Political Change in the Late Prehistoric Southeast*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Anderson, David G., Charles E. Cantley, and A. Lee Novick
 1982 *The Mattassee Lake Sites: Archaeological Investigations Along the Lower Santee River in the Coastal Plain of South Carolina*. Commonwealth Associates, Inc., Jackson, Michigan.
- Anderson, David G. and Kenneth E. Sassaman (editors)
 1996 *The Paleoindian and Early Archaic Southeast*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

- Anderson, David G. and Joseph Schuldenrein (editors)
 1985 *Prehistoric Human Ecology Along the Upper Savannah River: Excavations at the Rucker's Bottom, Abbeville and Bullard Site Groups*. Commonwealth Associates, Inc., Jackson, Michigan. Submitted to National Park Service, Archaeological Services Branch, Atlanta.
- Anonymous
 1884 *South Carolina in 1884*. The News and Courier Book Presses, Charleston, South Carolina.
 1887 William Aiken. *Charleston News and Courier*, September 8, pg. 2.
 1947 Jehossee Island Deed Made Out in 1832 Recorded. *Charleston News & Courier*, June 5, pg. 3.
 1998 *Jehossee Island Habitat Management Plan ACE Basin National Wildlife Refuge*. Ms. on file, ACE Basin National Wildlife Refuge, Hollywood, South Carolina.
 2001a Research News: Learning from Jehossee. *Drayton Hall Interiors* 20(2), Summer.
 2001b Research News: Learning from Jehossee. *Drayton Hall Interiors* 20(3), Autumn.
- Bailey, N. Louise and Elizabeth Ivey Cooper
 1981 *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, vol. II, 1775-1790. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.
- Bailey, N. Louise, Mary L. Morgan, and Carolyn R. Taylor
 1986 *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina Senate, 1776-1985*, vol. 1. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.
- Baker, H.A.
 1990 Erosion at the Shell Bluff Landing Site (8SJ32). In *Archaeological Sites Protection and Preservation Notebook*, edited by Paul Nickens, no pp. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Waterways Experiment Station, Vicksburg, Mississippi.
- Barry, John M.
 1980 *Natural Vegetation of South Carolina*. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.
- Bense, Judith A.
 1994 *Archaeology of the Southeastern United States: Paleoindian to World War I*. Academic Press, New York.
- Birnbaum, Charles A.
 1994 *Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning, Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes*. Preservation Briefs 36. National Park Service, Washington, D.C.
- Bishop, N.H.
 1878 *Voyage of the Paper Canoe*. Lee and Shepard, New York.
- Bohn, Henry G. (editor)
 1851 *Bohn's New Hand-Book of Games*. Henry F. Anners, Philadelphia.
- Bouza, Ralph J. and Ira Blackwell
 2002 *Facility Assessment Survey Ace Basin National Wildlife Refuge*. Merrick & Company, Duluth, Georgia.

SOURCES CITED

- Braley, Chad O.
 1990 *Fort Bragg Historic Preservation Plan*, vol. I. Gulf Engineers and Consultants, Inc., Baton Rouge, Louisiana and Southeastern Archaeological Services, Inc., Athens, Georgia.
- Brockington, Paul, Michael Scardaville, Patrick H. Garrow, David Singer, Linda France, and Cheryl Holt
 1985 *Rural Settlement in the Charleston Bay Area: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Sites in the Mark Clark Expressway Corridor*. Garrow and Associates, Inc., Atlanta.
- Brooks, Mark, D.J. Colquhoun, J.G. Brown, and P.A. Stone
 1989 Sea Level Change, Estuarine Development and Temporal Variability in Woodland Period Subsistence-Settlement Patterning on the Lower Coastal Plain of South Carolina. In *Studies in South Carolina Archaeology*, edited by Albert C. Goodyear and Glen T. Hanson, pp. 91-100. Anthropological Studies 9. South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Bullen, Ripley P. and H. Bruce Greene
 1970 Stratigraphic Tests at Stalling's Island, Georgia. *Florida Anthropologist* 23:8-23.
- Burton, E. Milby
 1970 *The Siege of Charleston, 1861-1865*. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.
- Byra, Patti L.
 1996 *The Contextual Meaning of the 1830s Landscape at Middleburg Plantation, Berkeley County, South Carolina*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Cable, John S.
 1982 Differences in Lithic Assemblages of Forager and Collector Strategies. In *Archaeological Survey and Reconnaissance Within the Ten-Year Floodpool Harry S. Truman Dam and Reservoir*, edited by Richard Taylor. Report submitted to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Kansas City District.
- 1993 *Cultural Resources Survey and Archaeological Site Evaluation of the Edisto Beach State Park, Colleton County, South Carolina*. New South Associates, Irmo, South Carolina. Ms. on file, S.C. Department of Parks, Recreation, and Tourism, Columbia.
- Caldwell, Joseph R. and Catherine McCann
 1941 *Irene Mound Site, Chatham County, Georgia*. University of Georgia Press, Athens.
- Calhoun, Jeanne A.
 1983 *The Scourging Wrath of God: Early Hurricanes in Charleston, 1700-1804*. Charleston Museum Leaflet No. 29. The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina.
- Carman, Harry J. (editor)
 1939 *American Husbandry*. Columbia University Press, New York.
- Carpenter, James G.
 1973 *The Rice Plantation Lands of Georgetown County, South Carolina: A Historical Geographic Study*. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Geography,

- University of South Carolina,
Columbia.
- Chambers, J. Henry
1976 *Cyclical Maintenance for Historic Buildings*. Interagency Historic Architectural Services Program, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.
- Chapman, Jefferson
1977 *Archaic Period Research in the Lower Little Tennessee River Valley, 1975: Icehouse Bottom, Harrison Branch, Thirty Acre Island, Calloway Island*. Report of Investigations 18. University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- 1985a *Archaeology and the Archaic Period in the Southern Ridge-and-Valley Province*. In *Structure and Process in Southeastern Archaeology*, edited by Roy S. Dickens and H. Trawick Ward, pp. 137-179. The University of Alabama Press, University.
- 1985b *Tellico Archaeology: 12,000 Years of Native American History*. Reports of Investigations 43, Occasional Paper 5, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- Charles, Tommy, Mark Brooks, Richard D. Brooks, and Andee Steen
1986 *An Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey of Jehossee Island (38CH848), Charleston County, South Carolina*. Ms. on file, S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia,
- Chazal, Philip E.
1904 *The Century in Phosphates and Fertilizers*. Lucas-Richardson, Charleston, South Carolina.
- Clafin, William H.
1931 *The Stallings Island Mound, Columbia County, Georgia*. *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology* 14(1), Harvard University, Cambridge.
- Clifton, James D.
1985 *Jehossee Island: The Antebellum South's Largest Rice Plantation*. *Agricultural History* 59:56-65.
- Clowse, Converse D.
1971 *Economic Beginnings in Colonial South Carolina: 1670-1730*. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.
- Coclanis, Peter A.
1989 *The Shadow of a Dream: Economic Life and Death in the South Carolina Low Country, 1670-1920*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Coe, Joffre L.
1964 *The Formative Cultures of the Carolina Piedmont*. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 54(5).
- Coe, Joffre L. (editor)
1995 *Town Creek Indian Mound: A Native American Legacy*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Cooke, C. Wythe
1936 *Geology of the Coastal Plain of South Carolina*. Bulletin 867. U.S. Geological Survey, Washington, D.C.
- Creel, Margaret Washington
1988 "A Peculiar People" — *Slave Religion and Community-Culture Among the Gullahs*. New York University Press, New York.

SOURCES CITED

- Cromwell, O.
1828 *Directory of the City of Charleston for 1829*. James S. Burgess, Charleston, South Carolina.
- Cummings, William P.
1998 *The Southeast in Early Maps*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Cushion, John P.
1976 *Pottery and Porcelain Tablewares*. Studio Vista, London.
- Daniel, I. Randolph, Jr.
1992 Early Archaic Settlement in the Southeast: A North Carolina Perspective. In *Paleoindian and Early Archaic Period Research in the Lower Southeast: A South Carolina Perspective*, edited by David G. Anderson, Kenneth E. Sassaman, and Christopher Judge, pp. 68-77. Council of South Carolina Professional Archaeologists, Columbia.
- Davis, William C. (editor)
1985 *Touched by Fire*, vol. 1. Black Dog and Leventhal, New York.
- DeBow, J.D.B.
1952 *The Industrial Resources, etc. of the Southern and Western States*, vol. 3. DeBow's Review, New Orleans.
- DePratter, Chester
1976 The Refuge Phase on the Coastal Plain of Georgia. *Early Georgia* 4:1-13.
1979 Ceramics. In *The Anthropology of St. Catherines Island 2. The Refuge-Deptford Mortuary Complex*, edited by David Hurst Thomas and Clark Spencer Larsen, pp. 109-132. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 56(1). New York.
- 1991 W.P.A. *Archaeological Excavations in Chatham County, Georgia: 193-1942*. Laboratory of Archaeology Series Report 29. University of Georgia, Athens.
- DePratter, Chester and J.D. Howard
1980 Indian Occupation and Geologic History of the Georgia Coast: A 5,000 Year Summary. In *Excursions in Southeastern Geology*, edited by James D. Howard and Chester B. DePratter, and Robert W. Frey, pp. 1-65. Guidebook 20. Geological Society of America, Atlanta.
- DePratter, Chester and Christopher Judge
1986 A Provisional Late Prehistoric and Early Historic Ceramic Sequence for the Wateree River Valley, South Carolina. Paper presented at the LAMAR Institute Conference on South Appalachian Mississippian, Macon, Georgia.
1990 Wateree River. In *Lamar Archaeology: Mississippian Chiefdoms in the Deep South*, edited by Mark Williams and Gary Shapiro, pp. 56-58. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- DeVorse, Louis, Jr.
1971 *DeBrahm's Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America*. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.
- Doar, David
1936 *Rice and Rice Planting in the South Carolina Low Country*. Contributions 8. The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South

- Carolina.
- Donnan, Elizabeth
 1928 *The Slave Trade into South Carolina Before the Revolution. American Historical Review* 33:804-828.
- Drayton, John
 1802 *A View of South Carolina, as Respects her Natural and Civil Concerns.* W.P. Young, Charleston, South Carolina.
- Drucker, Lesley, Ronald Anthony, Susan Jackson, Susan Krantz, and Carl Steen
 1984 *An Archaeological Study of the Little River-Buffalo Creek Special Land Disposal Tract.* Carolina Archaeological Services, Columbia. Submitted to U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Savannah District, Savannah, Georgia.
- Du Bois, W.E.B.
 1903 *The Souls of Black Folk.* A.C. McClung, Chicago.
- Duffy, John
 1952 *Eighteenth-Century Carolina Health Conditions. Journal of Southern History* 18:289-302.
- Dusinberre, William
 1996 *Them Dark Days: Slavery in the American Rice Swamps.* Oxford University Press, New York.
- Dye, David
 1976 *The Bilbo Site Revisited: Archaeological Investigations from Chatham County, Georgia.* Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Geography and Anthropology, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.
- Eaddy, Mary Ann, editor
 1998 *The Conservation and Preservation of Tabby: A Symposium on Historic Building Material in the Coastal Southeast.* Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Division, Atlanta.
- Easterby, J.H.
 1928 William Aiken. In *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 1, edited by Allen Johnson, pp. 128-129. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
- Edgar, Walter
 1998 *South Carolina: A History.* University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.
- Edgar, Walter and N. Louise Bailey
 1977 *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, vol. 2: The Commons House of Assembly, 1692-1775. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.
- Ferguson, Leland G.
 1971 *South Appalachian Mississippian.* Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- Fetters, Thomas
 1990 *Logging Railroads of South Carolina.* Heimburger House, Forest Park, Illinois.
- Fick, Sarah
 1992 *Historical and Architectural Survey, Charleston County, South Carolina.* Preservation Consultants, Inc., Charleston, South Carolina.

SOURCES CITED

- Fike, Richard E.
 1987 *The Bottle Book: A Comprehensive Guide to Historic, Embossed Medicine Bottles*. Gibbs M. Smith, Inc., Salt Lake City.
- Foner, Eric and Olivia Mahoney
 1995 *America's Reconstruction: People and Politics After the Civil War*. Harper Perennial, New York.
- Garrow, Patrick H.
 1975 The Woodland Period North of the Fall Line. *Early Georgia* 3(1):17-26.
 1982 *Archaeological Investigations on the Washington, D.C. Civic Center Site*. Soil Systems, Inc., n.p. Submitted to Historic Preservation Office, Department of Housing and Community Development, Government of the District of Columbia.
- Glen, James
 1761 *A Description of South Carolina*. n.p., London.
- Godden, Geoffrey A.
 1964 *Encyclopaedia of British Pottery and Porcelain Marks*. Schiffer Publishing, Exton, Pennsylvania.
 1985 *English China*. Barrie and Jenkins, London.
- Goldenweiser, E.A. and Leon E. Truesdell
 1924 *Farm Tenancy in the United States*. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington D.C.
- Goodyear, Albert C., III and Glen T. Hanson (editors)
 1989 *Studies in South Carolina Archaeology: Papers in Honor of Robert L. Stephenson*. Anthropological Studies No. 9, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Goodyear, Albert C., III, John H. House, and Neal W. Ackerly
 1979 *Laurens-Anderson: An Archaeological Study of the Inter-Riverine Piedmont*. Anthropological Studies 4, Occasional Papers of the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Gray, Lewis
 1933 *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*. 2 vol. Carnegie Institution Publication 430. Gloucester, Massachusetts.
- Greene, Jack P. (editor)
 1989 *Selling a New World: Two Colonial South Carolina Promotional Pamphlets*. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.
- Griffin, James B.
 1943 An Analysis and Interpretation of the Ceramic Remains from Two Sites Near Beaufort, S.C. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 133:155-168.
 1945 Ceramic Collections from Two South Carolina Sites. *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters* 30:465-476.
 1985 Changing Concepts of the Prehistoric Mississippian Cultures of the Eastern United States. In *Alabama and the Borderlands: From Prehistory to Statehood*, edited by R.R. Badger and L.A.

- Clayton, pp. 40-63. University of Alabama Press, University, Alabama.
- Griffin, Katherine I.
 1997 *An Investigation into Tabby Stucco and It's Role in the Preservation of Tabby Structures*. Unpublished MS Thesis, University of Texas, Architectural Studies, Austin.
- Gunn, Joel D. and Kathy Wilson
 1993 *Archaeological Data Recovery Investigations at Sites 38CT54 and 38CT58 Along the S.C. 151 Jefferson Bypass, Chesterfield County, South Carolina*. Garrow and Associates, Raleigh. Submitted to the S.C. Department of Highways and Public Transportation, Columbia.
- Hammond, Henry
 1884 *Report on Cotton Production of the State of South Carolina*. In *Report on the Cotton Production in the United States*, edited by Eugene W. Hilgard, pp. 451-526. Census Office, Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.
- Hanson, Glen T., Jr.
 1982 *The Analysis of Late Archaic-Early Woodland Adaptive Change Along the Middle Savannah River: A Proposed Study*. *South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology Notebook* 14:1-38.
- Heimmer, Don H. and Steven L. DeVore
 1995 *Near-Surface, High Resolution Geophysical Methods for Cultural Resource Management and Archaeological Investigations*. Revised Edition. National Park Service, Interagency Archaeological Services, Denver.
- Herman, Bernard
 1997 *The Charleston Single House*. In *The Buildings of Charleston: A Guide to the City's Architecture*, edited by Jonathan H. Poston, pp. 37-41. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.
- Hester, James J.
 1989 *Estimating Costs of Archaeological Site Protection*. In *Archaeological Sites Protection and Preservation Notebook*, edited by Paul Nickens, no pp. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Waterways Experiment Station, Vicksburg, Mississippi.
- Hicks, Robert D.
 1997 *Time Crimes: Protecting the Past for Future Generations*. *Federal Bureau of Investigation Law Enforcement Bulletin*, July.
- Hilliard, Sam B.
 1984 *Atlas of Antebellum Southern Agriculture*. Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.
- Hrabowski, Richard
 1809 *Directory for the District of Charleston*. John Hoff, Charleston, South Carolina.
- Huggins, Phillip Kenneth
 1971 *The South Carolina Dispensary: A Bottle Collector's Atlas and History of the System*. Sandlapper Press, Orangeburg, South Carolina.
- Hume, Gary L.
 1984 *Aluminum and Vinyl Siding on Historic Buildings*. Preservation Briefs 8. National Park Service, Washington, D.C.
- Huneycutt, Philip K.
 1949 *The Economics of the Indigo*

SOURCES CITED

- Industry in South Carolina*. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Economics, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Jones, Kenneth
 1977 Aiken-Rhett House: Tour Guide. Ms. on file, The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina.
- Jones, Olive R.
 1986 *Cylindrical English Wine and Beer Bottles, 1735-1850*. National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Quebec.
- Jones, Olive R. and Catherine Sullivan
 1985 *The Parks Canada Glass Glossary for the Description of Containers, Tableware, Flat Glass, and Closures*. National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Quebec.
- Kanaski, Richard
 2000 "The Grove" Recent Investigations of a 19th Century Low Country Rice Plantation, ACE Basin National Wildlife Refuge, Charleston County, South Carolina. U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Savannah, Georgia.
- Kay, Gersil Newmark
 1991 *Mechanical and Electrical Systems for Historic Buildings*. McGraw-Hill, New York.
- Kellar, Herbert An. (editor)
 1936 *Solon Robinson: Pioneer and Agriculturalist, Selected Writings*, vol. 2. Indiana Historical Bureau, Indianapolis.
- Keller, J. Timothy and Genevieve P. Keller
 1989 *How to Evaluate and Nominate Designated Historic Landscapes*. National Register Bulletin 18. National Park Service, Washington, D.C.
- Kelso, William M. and Rachel Most (editors)
 1990 *Earth Patterns: Essays in Landscape Archaeology*. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.
- Klingberg, Frank J.
 1941 *An Appraisal of the Negro in Colonial South Carolina*. Associated Publishers, Washington, D.C.
- Kowalsky, Arnold A. and Dorothy E. Kowalsky
 1999 *Encyclopedia of Marks on American, English, and European Earthenware, Ironstone, and Stoneware (1780-1980)*. Schiffer Publishing, Atglen, Pennsylvania.
- Kovacik, Charles F. and John J. Winberry
 1987 *South Carolina Geography*. Westview Press, Boulder.
- Kurtz, Herman and Kenneth Wagner
 1957 *Tidal Marshes of the Gulf and Atlantic Coasts of Northern Florida and Charleston, South Carolina*. Studies 24. Florida State University, Tallahassee.
- Land, Aubrey C.
 1969 *Bases of the Plantation Society*. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.
- Leach, Richard W., Jr. and Judy L. Wood
 1994 *Archival Research, Archaeological Survey, and Site Monitoring, Back River, Chatham County, Georgia and Jasper County, South Carolina*. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, South Atlantic Division, Savannah District, Savannah, Georgia.

- Lefler, Hugh Talmage, editor
 1972 *A New Voyage to Carolina by John Lawson*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Lehner, Lois
 1988 *Lehner's Encyclopedia of U.S. Marks on Pottery, Porcelain, and Clay*. Collector Books, Paducah, Kentucky.
- Lewis, Michael
 1999 The Aiken-Rhett House: Historic Charleston Foundation Looks at its Past and Sees its Future. CRM 9:28-30.
- Linder, Suzanne C.
 1995 *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin — 1860*. S.C. Department of Archives and History, Columbia.
- Lindsay, Nick and Julia Cart
 2000 *And I'm Glad: An Oral History of Edisto Island*. Tempus, Charleston, South Carolina.
- Lipscomb, Terry W.
 1991 *Battles, Skirmishes, and Actions of the American Revolution in South Carolina*. S.C. Department of Archives and History, Columbia.
- Lockwood, Alice B.
 1934 *Gardens of Colony and State: Gardens and Gardeners of the American Colonies and of the Republic Before 1840*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
- Lofffield, Thomas C.
 1979 *Cultural Resource Reconnaissance of Fort Bragg, Camp Mackall, and Simmons Army Airfield, North Carolina*. Coastal Zone Resources Division, Ocean Data Systems, Inc., Wilmington, North Carolina.
- Ludlum, David M.
 1963 *Early American Hurricanes 1492-1870*. American Meteorological Society, Boston.
- MacDonald, Marylee
 1989 *Repairing Historic Flat Plaster — Walls and Ceilings*. Preservation Briefs 21. National Park Service, Washington, D.C.
- Mack, Robert C.
 1980 *Repointing Mortar Joints in Historic Brick Buildings*. Preservation Briefs 2. National Park Service, Washington, D.C.
- Marsh, Kenneth Frederick and Blanche Marsh
 1961 *Historic Flat Rock: Where the Old South Lingers*. Biltmore Press, Asheville, North Carolina.
- Mason, Robert E.
 1976 *A Historical Geography of South Carolina's Sea Island Cotton Industry*. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Geography, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Mathew, William M. (editor)
 1992 *Agriculture, Geology, and Society in Antebellum South Carolina: The Private Diary of Edmund Ruffin, 1843*. University of Georgia Press, Athens.
- Mathews, Maurice
 1954 A Contemporary View of Carolina in 1680. *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 55:153-159.
- Mathews, Thomas, Frank Stapor, Jr., Charles Richter, John Miglarese, Michael McKenzie, and Lee Barclay
 1980 *Ecological Characterization of the Sea Island Region of South Carolina and Georgia*, volume 1. Office of Biological Services,

SOURCES CITED

- United States Fish and Wildlife Service, Washington, D.C. Carolina. *Journal of Southern History* 50:533-550.
- McAllister, Martin E.
2002 Archaeological Law Enforcement Training. *CRM* 2:15-16.
- McClelland, Linda Flint, J. Timothy Keller, Genevieve P. Keller, and Robert Z. Melnick
n.d. *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes. National Register Bulletin* 30. Interagency Resources Division, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.
- McGuire, Mary Jennie
1985 *Getting Their Hands on the Land: The Revolution in St. Helena Parish, 1861-1900*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of South Carolina. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
- McKearin, George L. and Helen McKearin
1972 *American Glass*. Crown Publishers, New York.
- McKee, Harley J.
1973 *Introduction of Early American Masonry*. National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, D.C.
- McNally, Paul
1982 *Table Glass in Canada, 1700-1850. Parks Canada History and Archaeology* 60.
- Merrens, H. Roy (editor)
1977 *The Colonial South Carolina Scene — Contemporary Views, 1697-1774*. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.
- Merrens, H. Roy and George D. Terry
1984 *Dying in Paradise: Malaria, Mortality, and the Perceptual Environment in Colonial South*
- Michell, Eleanor
1988 *Emergency Repairs for Historic Buildings*. Butterworth, London.
- Michie, James L.
1966 The Taylor Point. *The Chesopiean* 4(5-6): 123-124.
1977 *The Late Pleistocene Human Occupation of South Carolina*. Unpublished Honor's Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
1979 *The Bass Pond Dam Site: Intensive Archaeological Testing at a Formative Period Base Camp on Kiawah Island, South Carolina*. Research Manuscript Series 154. South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Milanich, Jerald T.
1971 *The Deptford Phase: An Archaeological Reconstruction*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
- Milanich, Jerald T. and Charles H. Fairbanks
1980 *Florida Archaeology*. Academic Press, New York.
- Miller, E.N.
1971 *Soil Survey of Charleston County*. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, Washington, D.C.
- Miller, George
1980 *Classification and Economic Scaling of 19th Century Ceramics. Historical Archaeology*

- 14:1-40. *Strangers Guide*. John Dixon Nelson, Charleston.
- 1991 A Revised Set of CC Values for Classification and Economic Scaling of English Ceramics from 1787 to 1880. *Historical Archaeology* 25(1):1-25.
- Mills, Robert
1972 [1826] *Statistics of South Carolina*. Hurlbut and Lloyd, Charleston, South Carolina. 1972 facsimile ed. The Reprint Company, Spartanburg, South Carolina.
- Moore, Alexander
1992 *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, vol. 5. South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.
- Morgan, Phillip D.
1977 *The Development of Slave Culture in Eighteenth Century Plantation America*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University College, London.
1998 *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Morgan, Robert T.
1993 The Effects of Hurricane Hugo on the Cultural Resources in the Francis Marion National Forest. In *Site Destruction in Georgia and the Carolinas*, edited by David G. Anderson and Virginia Horak, pp. 32 - 38. Interagency Archaeological Services Division, National Park Service, Atlanta.
- Nelson, John Dixon
1801 *Nelson's Charleston Directory and*
- Nelson, Robert E. (editor)
1999 *Directory of American Toolmakers: A Listing of Identified Makers of Tools Who Worked in Canada and the United States before 1900*. Early American Industries Association, n.p.
- Nixon, Eugene L.
1972 A Doctor and an Island. *Journal of the Florida Medical Association* 58(8):45-53.
- Noël Hume, Ivor
1978 *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.
- Norman-Wilcox, Gregor
1965 Pottery and Porcelain. In *The Concise Encyclopedia of American Antiques*, edited by Helen Comstock, p.132-161. Hawthorn, New York.
- Oliver, Billy L.
1981 *The Piedmont Tradition: Refinement of the Savannah River Stemmed Point Type*. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
1985 Tradition and Typology: Basic Elements of the Carolina Projectile Point Sequence. In *Structure and Process in Southeastern Archaeology*, edited by Roy S. Dickens and H. Trawick Ward, pp. 195-211. The University of Alabama Press, University.
- Otto, John S.
1984 *Cannon's Point Plantation, 1794-1860: Living Conditions and*

SOURCES CITED

- Status Patterns in the Old South.*
Academic Press, New York.
- Park, Sharon C.
1993 *Mothballing Historic Buildings.*
Preservation Briefs 31. National
Park Service, Washington, D.C.
- Peirce, Donald C.
1988 *English Ceramics: The Frances
and Emory Cocke Collection.* High
Museum of Art, Atlanta.
- Perkins, Edwin J.
1980 *The Economy of Colonial
America.* Columbia University
Press, New York.
- Peterson, Drexel
1971 *Time and Settlement in the
Archaeology of Groton
Plantation, South Carolina.*
Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation.
Department of Anthropology,
Harvard University, Cambridge.
- Phelps, David S.
1983 *Archaeology of the North
Carolina Coast and Coastal
Plain: Problems and Hypotheses.*
In *The Prehistory of North
Carolina: An Archaeological
Symposium*, edited by Mark A.
Mathis and Jeffrey J. Crow, pp.
1-52. North Carolina Division of
Archives and History, Department
of Cultural Resources, Raleigh.
- 1984 *Archaeology of the Tillett Site: The
First Fishing Community at
Wanchese, Roanoke Island.*
Archaeological Research Report
6. Archaeology Laboratory,
Department of Sociology,
Anthropology, and Economics,
East Carolina University,
Greenville, North Carolina.
- Phillips, Ulrich Bonnell
1918 *American Negro Slavery: A Survey
of the Supply, Employment and
Control of Negro Labor As
Determined by the Plantation
Regime.* D. Appleton and
Company, New York.
- 1929 *Life and Labor in the Old South.*
Little, Brown, and Company,
Boston.
- Poston, Jonathan H.
1997 *The Buildings of Charleston: A
Guide to the City's Architecture.*
University of South Carolina
Press, Columbia.
- Potter, Elisabeth Walton and Beth M. Boland
1992 *Guidelines for Evaluating and
Registering Cemeteries and Burial
Places.* National Register Bulletin
41. National Park Service,
Washington, D.C.
- Price, Cynthia
1979 *19th Century Ceramics in the
Eastern Ozark Boarder Region.*
Monograph Series 1. Center of
Archaeological Research,
Southwest Missouri University,
Springfield.
- Puckette, Clara Childs
1978 *Edisto: A Sea Island Principality.*
Seaforth Publications, Cleveland.
- Reese, D.M.
1847 *An Encyclopædia of Domestic
Economy.* Harper and Brothers,
New York.
- Reid, Jefferson
1967 *Pee Dee Pottery from the Mound
at Town Creek.* Unpublished
Master's thesis. Department of
Anthropology, University of North
Carolina, Chapel Hill.

- Robinson, Solon
 1850a Visit to Jehossee Island - Rice Plantation of Ex-Governor Aiken. *American Agriculturalist* 9:187-188.
 1850b Visit to Jehossee Island - Rice Plantation of Ex-Governor Aiken. *DeBow's Review* 9:201-203.
- Rose, Willie Lee
 1964 *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Rosen, Robert
 1994 *Confederate Charleston: An Illustrated History of the City and the People During the Civil War*. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.
- Salley, A.S., Jr. and R. Nicholas Olsberg
 1972 *Warrants for Land in South Carolina, 1672-1711*. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.
- Sassaman, Kenneth E.
 1983 *Middle and Late Archaic Settlement in the South Carolina Piedmont*. Unpublished master's thesis. Department of Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
 1993a *Early Pottery in the Southeast: Tradition and Innovation in Cooking Technology*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
 1993b *Early Woodland Settlement in the Aiken Plateau*. Savannah River Archaeological Research Papers 3. South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- 1995 The Cultural Diversity of Interactions Among Mid-Holocene Societies of the American Southeast. In *Native American Interactions: Multiscalar Analyses and Interpretations in the Eastern Woodlands*, edited by M.S. Nassanmey and K.E. Sassaman. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Sassaman, Kenneth E. and David G. Anderson
 1990 Typology and Chronology. In *Native-American Prehistory of the Middle Savannah River Valley*, edited by Kenneth E. Sassaman, Mark J. Brooks, Glen T. Hanson, and David G. Anderson, pp. 143-216. Savannah River Archaeological Research Publication 1. South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
 1992 Early Archaic Settlement in the South Carolina Coastal Plain. In *Paleoindian and Early Archaic Period Research in the Lower Southeast: A South Carolina Perspective*, edited by David G. Anderson, Kenneth E. Sassaman, and Christopher Judge, pp. 48-67. Council of South Carolina Professional Archaeologists, Columbia.
 1994 *Middle and Late Archaic Archaeological Records of South Carolina: A Synthesis for Research and Resource Management*. Council of South Carolina Professional Archaeologists, Columbia.
- Sassaman, Kenneth E., Mark J. Brooks, Glen T. Hanson, and David G. Anderson
 1990 *Native American Prehistory of the Middle Savannah River Valley*.

SOURCES CITED

- Savannah River Archaeological Research Papers 1. South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Scharf, R.
2000 Soils in the ACE Basin/Low Country Landscape in *Characterization of the Ashepoo-Combahee-Edisto (ACE) Basin, South Carolina*. SC Marine Resources Center Special Scientific Report No. 17. S.C. Department of Natural Resources and National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Charleston, South Carolina.
- Schenck, James R.
1822 *The Directory and Stranger's Guide for the City of Charleston*. Archibald E. Miller, Charleston, South Carolina.
- Schenck, James R. and [] Turner
1819 *The Directory and Stranger's Guide for the City of Charleston*. A.E. Miller, Charleston, South Carolina.
1822 *The Directory and Stranger's Guide for the City of Charleston*. A.E. Miller, Charleston, South Carolina.
- Schnell, Frank T. and Newell O. Wright, Jr.
1993 *Mississippian Period Archaeology of the Georgia Coastal Plain*. Laboratory of Archaeology Series Report 26. University of Georgia, Athens.
- Seabrook, Whitemarsh B.
1848 *An Essay on the Agricultural Capabilities of South Carolina*. John G. Bowman, Columbia.
- Service, Elman R.
1966 *The Hunters*. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.
- Severns, Ken
1988 *Charleston Antebellum Architecture and Civic Destiny*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Simpkins, Dan and D. Scoville
1986 Isolation and Identification of Spanish Moss Fiber from a Sample of Stallings and Orange Series Ceramics. *American Antiquity* 51:102-117.
- Singleton, Theresa
1980 *The Archaeology of Afro-American Slavery in Coastal Georgia: A Regional Perception of Slave Household and Community Patterns*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
- Sirmans, H. Eugene
1966 *Colonial South Carolina: A Political History, 1663-1763*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Smith, Betty A.
1972 *An Analysis of Regional Variations of Deptford Pottery*. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Georgia, Athens.
- Smith, Bruce
1986 The Archaeology of the Southeastern United States: From Dalton to DeSoto, 10,500 -500 B.P. *Advances in World Archaeology* 5:1-88.
- Smith, E. Ann
1981 Glassware from a Reputed 1745 Siege Debris Context at the

- Fortress of Louisbourg. *Parks Canada History and Archaeology* 55:75-255.
- the Peabody Museum 1. Harvard University, Cambridge.
- Stuart, George E.
1975 *The Post-Archaic Occupation of Central South Carolina*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
- Sugg, A.L. and R.L. Carrodus
1969 *Memorable Hurricanes of the United States Since 1873*. U.S. Department of Commerce, ESSA Technical Memo WBTM-SR-42, Rockville.
- Sutherland, Donald R.
1973 Preliminary Analysis of Ceramic Materials Recovered from the Spanish Mount site, Edisto Island, S.C. *South Carolina Antiquities* 5(2):46-50.
1974 Excavations at the Spanish Mount Shell Midden, Edisto Island, S.C. *South Carolina Antiquities* 6(1):25-36.
- Sweetser, Sarah M.
1978 *Roofing for Historic Buildings*. Preservation Briefs 4. National Park Service, Washington, D.C.
- Thomas, David H. and Clark S. Larsen
1979 *The Anthropology of St. Catherine's Island: The Refuge-Deptford Mortuary Complex*. Anthropological Papers 56(1). American Museum of Natural History, New York.
- Toulouse, Julian Harrison
1977 *Fruit Jars: A Collectors' Manual with Prices*. Everybodys Press, Hanover, Pennsylvania.
- Trinkley, Michael
1976 *A Typology of Thom's Creek*
- South, Stanley A.
1959 *A Study of the Prehistory of the Roanoke Rapids Basin*. Master's thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
1960 *An Archaeological Survey of Southeastern North Carolina*. Ms. on file, Research Laboratories of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
1971 *Archaeology at the Charles Towne Site (38CH1) on Albemarle Point in South Carolina*. Research Manuscript Series 10. South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
1973 *Indian Pottery Taxonomy for the South Carolina Coast*. *The Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology Notebook* 5:54-55.
1977 *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*. Academic Press, New York.
- Steen, Carl
1994 *Archaeological Investigations at The Grove Plantation, Charleston County, S.C.* Diachronic Research Foundation, Columbia.
- Stoltman, James B.
1966 *New Radiocarbon Dates for Southeastern Fiber-Tempered Pottery*. *American Antiquity* 31:872-874.
1974 *Groton Plantation: An Archaeological Study of a South Carolina Locality*. Monographs of

SOURCES CITED

- Pottery from the South Carolina Coast. Unpublished Master's thesis. Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- 1980a Additional Investigations at Site 38LX5. South Carolina Department of Highways and Public Transportation, Columbia.
- 1980b *Investigation of the Woodland Period Along the South Carolina Coast*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor,
- 1981a *Archaeological Testing of the Walnut Grove Shell Midden (38CH260), Charleston County*. U.S.D.A., Forest Service, Columbia.
- 1981b *Studies of Three Woodland Period Sites in Beaufort County, South Carolina*. South Carolina Department of Highways and Public Transportation, Columbia.
- 1983 *Ceramics of the Central South Carolina Coast*. *South Carolina Antiquities* 15:43-53.
- 1984 *The Archaeology of Sol Legare Island, Charleston County, South Carolina*. Research Series 1. Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.
- 1985 *The Form and Function of South Carolina's Early Woodland Shell Rings*. In *Structure and Process in Southeastern Archaeology*, edited by Roy S. Dickens and H. Trawick Ward, pp. 102-118. University of Alabama Press, University, Alabama.
- 1987a *An Archaeological Survey of Longpoint Development, Charleston County, South Carolina: Palmetto Grove Plantation*. Research Series 8. Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.
- 1987b *Archaeological Survey of Hilton Head Island, Beaufort County, South Carolina*. Research Series 9. Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.
- Trinkley, Michael (editor)
- 1986 *Indian and Freedmen Occupation at the Fish Haul Site (38BU805), Beaufort County, South Carolina*. Research Series 7. Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.
- 1987 *An Archaeological Study of Willbrook, Oatland, and Turkey Hill Plantations, Waccamaw Neck, Georgetown County, S.C.* Research Series 11. Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.
- 1991 *Further Investigations of Prehistoric and Historic Lifeways on Callawassie Island, Beaufort County, South Carolina*. Research Series 23, Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.
- 1993 *The History and Archaeology of Kiawah Island, Charleston County, South Carolina*. Research Series 30. Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.
- 1999 *Archaeology at the Western Portion of 38Ch1257 and at 38CH1259: A Glimpse of Woodland and Civil War Archaeology on Seabrook Island, Charleston County, South Carolina*. Research Series 56. Chicora Foundation, Inc.,

- Columbia.
- Trinkley, Michael and Debi Hacker
 1996 *Preliminary Archaeological and Historical Investigations at Old House Plantation, Jasper County, South Carolina*. Research Series 40. Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.
- 1999a *Identification and Mapping of Historic Graves at Colonial Cemetery, Savannah, Georgia*. Research Series 54. Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.
- 1999b *Roupelmond: An Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Interior St. Helena Parish Plantation, Beaufort County, South Carolina*. Research Series 53. Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.
- 2000 *Exploring Old House: Reconstructing the Lifeways of Daniel Heyward from the 1965 Charleston Museum Excavations*. Research Contribution 94. Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.
- Trinkley, Michael, Debi Hacker, and S. Homes Hogue
 2001 *Archaeological Investigations of Indian and Slave at the Moses Whitesides Plantation, Christ Church Parish, Charleston County, South Carolina*. Research Series 60. Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.
- Trinkley, Michael, Natalie Adams, and Debi Hacker
 1992 *Landscape and Garden Archaeology at Crowfield Plantation: A Preliminary Examination*. Research Series 32. Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.
- Trinkley, Michael, S. Homes Hogue, Martha Zierden, and Jack H. Wilson, Jr.
 1983 *Test Excavations at the Wachesaw Landing Site, Georgetown County, South Carolina*. North Carolina Archaeological Council Publication 20. Raleigh.
- Uhlendorf, Bernhard
 1938 *The Siege of Charleston*. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.
- Viator
 1844 *Jehossee Island: The Country Seat of the Hon. Wm. Aiken*. *Charleston Courier*, July 18, pg. 2.
- Vlach, John Michael
 1993 *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Vose, Ruth Hurst
 1975 *The Antique Collector's Guides: Glass*. Crescent Books, New York.
- Waddell, Gene
 1980 *Indians of the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1562-1751*. The Reprint Company, Spartanburg, South Carolina.
- Wallace, David Duncan
 1951 *South Carolina: A Short History, 1520-1948*. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.
- Walthall, John A.
 1980 *Prehistoric Indians of the Southeast: Archaeology of Alabama*. University of Alabama Press, University.
- Walton, Peter
 1976 *Creamware and Other English Pottery at Temple Newsam House*,

SOURCES CITED

- Leeds: A Catalogue of the Leeds Collection.* Manningham Press, Bradford.
- Ward, H. Trawick
 1983 *Whites Creek: The Second Time Around.* *South Carolina Antiquities* 15:63-65.
- Ward, H. Trawick and R.P. Stephen Davis, Jr.
 1999 *Time Before History: The Archaeology of North Carolina.* University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Waring, Antonio J., Jr.
 1968 The Refuge Site, Jasper County, South Carolina. In *The Waring Papers: The Collected Works of Antonio J. Waring, Jr.*, edited by Stephen B. Williams, pp. 198-208. *Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology* 58.
- Waring, George E.
 1869 *The Farmers' and Mechanics' Manual.* E.B. Treat, New York.
- Warren, Phelps
 1970 *Irish Glass: The Age of Exuberance.* Faber and Faber, London.
- Watson, E.J.
 1907 *Handbook of South Carolina.* The State Company, Columbia.
 1916 *Twelfth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture, Commerce and Industries of the State of South Carolina.* Gonzales & Bryan, Columbia.
- Wheaton, Thomas R., Amy Friedlander, and Patrick Garrow
 1983 *Yaughan and Curriboo Plantations: Studies in Afro-American Archaeology.* Soil Systems, Inc., Marietta, Georgia. Report submitted to the National Park Service, Archaeological Services Branch, Atlanta.
- Wilkie, Laurie A.
 1995 *Magic and Empowerment on the Plantation: An Archaeological Consideration of African-American World View.* *Southeastern Archaeology* 14:136-157.
- Willey, Gordon R.
 1966 *An Introduction to American Archaeology.* Vol. 1: North and Middle America. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.
- Williams, Stephen B.
 1965 The Paleoindian era: Proceedings of the 20th Southeastern Archaeological Conference. *Southeastern Archaeological Conference Bulletin* 2.
 1968 *The Waring Papers: The Collected Works of Antonio J. Waring, Jr.* *Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology* 58. Harvard University, Cambridge.
- Williamson, Joel
 1975 *After Slavery: The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction, 1861-1877.* W.W. Norton, New York.
- Woodhead, Henry (editor)
 1997 *Charleston.* Time-Life Books, Richmond.
- Wyatt, Francis
 1891 *The Phosphates of America.* Scientific Publishing Company, New York.

Zierden, Martha A. and Jeanne A. Calhoun

- 1983 *An Archaeological Assessment of the Greenfield Borrow Pit, Georgetown County.* The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina.

Zierden, Martha and Kimberly Grimes

- 1989 *Investigating Elite Lifeways Through Archaeology: The John Rutledge House.* Archaeological Contributions 21. The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina.

Zierden, Martha, Jeanne Calhoun, and Debi Hacker

- 1985 *Archdale Hall: Investigations of a Lowcountry Plantation.* Archaeological Contribution 10. The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina.

- 1986 *Outside of Town: Preliminary Investigation of the Aiken-Rhett House.* The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina.

Zuczek, Richard

- 1996 *State of Rebellion: Reconstruction in South Carolina.* University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.

ISBN 1-58317-056-1