

**The Front Yard and the Work Yard:
Archaeology and Interpretation at
the Joseph Manigault House**

The Charleston Museum

Archaeological Contributions 22

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by

Martha Zierden

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Acknowledgments

Archaeological research is both a collaborative and cumulative effort. Each project may be defined as a single unit, described in technical reports such as this one. Few projects are conducted in isolation, however, and the Manigault project has added to the Charleston data base in several ways. Archaeological research in Charleston has been interdisciplinary in nature, and most of the interpretations presented here have resulted from collaboration with colleagues: historian Jeanne Calhoun, ethnobotanist Michael Trinkley, palynologist Karl Rinehard, and especially zooarchaeologist Elizabeth Reitz and folklorist Bernard Herman. Historical research for the Manigault property was conducted by Christine White, Robert Stockton, and Brien Varnado.

The archaeological project grew out of the interest in and support of archaeological research by the administration of The Charleston Museum. Dr. John Brumgardt, Director, and Mr. Brien Varnado, Assistant Director, made sure that archaeological research was part of the restoration and interpretation efforts, and that these resources were protected during the construction process. Mr. Glenn Keyes, architect, worked with us throughout the project, implementing all interpretive and protective suggestions made by us. It is indeed a pleasure to work with someone who has this level of interest and dedication. The same can be said of Curtis Houston and Richard Marks, the contractors who worked carefully to consider and avoid damage to the archaeological record of the site.

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The photographs in this manuscript were computer-enhanced by Terry Richardson of Rich-Steele Pro Labs of Charleston. The historic photographs of the Manigault house are from the collections of The Charleston Museum.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The grand house at the corner of Meeting and John streets in Charleston Neck, built in 1803, is operated as an historic house museum by The Charleston Museum. Joseph Manigault, a wealthy planter and merchant, built the house designed by his brother Gabriel in the prevailing Adam style. Joseph, his family, and his domestic slaves resided at the property until 1852; after that time the house and lot suffered from neglect and subdivision. In 1933 the house was saved from certain destruction by the Society for the Preservation of Old Dwellings and given to The Charleston Museum. The house and gardens have gradually been restored. The long-range plan of restoring the north facade was finally realized in 1991.

Archaeological excavations were conducted at the site by The Charleston Museum in the spring of 1990. The front yard of the property was being restored, and questions remained about a number of features of the house and yard. A research project was designed which would attempt to answer these specific questions, provide data for ongoing research on the Charleston landscape, and contribute information to a revised interpretation of the property for the general public.

Purpose of Project

At the time that the Museum acquired the Joseph Manigault house, the property was in a state of advanced disrepair. Extant structures included the main house, without its piazzas, and the garden house or gate temple. A filling station had occupied the garden area, and the gate temple had served as a rest room. The curbing on Meeting Street still reflects the entrance to the station lot. A one story commercial building filled the northern portion of the lot, leaving a ten to fifteen foot strip of soil between the house and building. It is this portion of the yard that was the focus of the present project.

The gardens were restored by the Museum and the Charleston Garden Club in 1951, as were the piazzas. At this time, the property had an Ashmead Place address, and the round structure was considered a gate temple. An 1852 plat is the only antebellum documentation for the total layout of the property, and here the round structure is listed as a "summer house." Rumors persisted that the northern facade was the original front of the house, and that the gate temple was a garden pavillion.

Since 1979, when the new Charleston Museum was constructed on the north side of John Street, the plan has been to provide a visual and physical link between the Manigault house and the Museum. This project took on additional urgency with the planned construction of the Visitor's Reception and Transportation Center across from the Museum. In order to accomplish this goal, the empty Cleaners building was demolished in 1986. The firm of Griffith and Keyes, Architects were commissioned to plan restoration of the north facade. Research focused on the staircase to the northern door, described as "a handsome flight of stone steps." No photographs or drawings could be located, and archaeological excavations were conducted to provide additional information (Zierden and Hacker 1986b).

In 1987, historian Robert Stockton was commissioned to investigate documentary evidence for the north facade. Through clever study, he was able to determine that the north entrance had been the front of the property during the first half of the 19th century. In the late 1850s, the kitchen building was converted into a separate residence and the south door of the main house, facing Wragg Square, became the primary entry. Armed with this evidence, detailed planning commenced for restoration of the north facade.

The 1852 plat reveals an unusual and somewhat inefficient arrangement of outbuildings (see Figure 4). The main house fronted on John Street, but had a small front yard area. The kitchen building fronted directly on John, on the east side of the lot. Behind this, along the eastern property line, was a privy, carriage house, stable, and second privy, all in close proximity to the dining room windows. Previous research on other Charleston townhouses suggests that the formal entrance was usually segregated in some way from the work yard (Zierden and Herman 1991).

The restoration plans included, in addition to rebuilding the steps to the main door, reconstruction of the fence surrounding the property and delineation of the long-gone outbuildings and work yard. This coincided with drastic revision of the public interpretation of the house, which featured a diminished discussion of family members and furnishings and an increased emphasis on social history: the role of the family and house in the general history of Charleston, the role of African-American slaves in the household, and broader interpretation of the entire property, including the garden, work yard, and outbuildings. Many questions remained, however, and archaeological excavations were conducted in an attempt to answer these.

When the Museum restored the gardens, no outbuildings were extant. An 1820s watercolor by Charlotte Drayton Manigault was used to guide the restoration; this shows the house and garden from the south (see Figure 5). A picket fence is shown running diagonally from the southeast corner of the house, separating the work yard from the garden. This feature had no modern counterpart, and the garden planting continued into the former work yard. The fence was to be restored, as was the work yard. It was suggested that, in a similar manner, the work yard would have been fenced in the front yard. Excavations were designed to locate any evidence of this fence, or any other work yard features. Also, there was great disparity between the elevation of soils in the ten foot strip in front of the door and the street (over three feet). It was hoped that excavations would shed light on the original grade and slope of the front yard.

The 1990 archaeological project, then, had three concurrent goals:

- 1) to provide direct evidence to answer specific questions about site features and their evolution.
- 2) to contribute information to public interpretation of the house and grounds as relevant to the social history of Charleston.
- 3) to contribute data to the ongoing study of the urban landscape and the social meanings encoded in its features and layout.

Goals 1 and 2 have been met in a graphic manner with the physical restoration of the property. Goal 3 is the subject of this report, as well as other papers (Zierden 1992a, 1992b; Zierden and Herman 1991).

Urban Archaeology and the Manigault Research

The Joseph Manigault house is the sixth large townhouse and the eighteenth Charleston site to be investigated in the past decade. Ten years of archaeological research in Charleston has produced a controlled data base from 18 sites and supporting information from many others (Figure 1). The individual projects have been united under a long-term research design, which presented a number of avenues for extended study. These separate research questions have been recently combined in a larger endeavor to understand evolution of the Charleston landscape, and creation of an urban terrain and urban society.

At the same time, the operation of the urban archaeology program under the auspices of The Charleston Museum has provided direct opportunities for public dissemination of archaeological data; these range from exhibits of archaeological interpretations and material to direct integration of interpretation at the museum's three historic houses. Archaeological research in Charleston has been interdisciplinary in nature, and archaeologists have worked closely with a zooarchaeologist, palynologist, ethnobotanist, historian, and architects. The contributions of these scholars have been integral to ongoing interpretations.

The development of archaeology in Charleston parallels the development of the field in many of the nation's cities. Investigations began with a few isolated projects, essentially descriptive in nature. A number of research efforts initiated in Charleston in 1981 served to bring the city into the mainstream of urban archaeology. This included large scale, federally funded work at the Charleston Place site (Honerkamp et al. 1982), the expansion of artifact studies (Herold 1981; Singleton 1982, 1984), and the initiation of focused archival research sponsored by the City (Calhoun and Zierden 1984; Calhoun et al. 1982; Zierden and Calhoun 1982, 1984).

Sites excavated in Charleston

Dual function sites

1. Charleston Place
2. McCrady's Longroom
3. Lodge Alley/38 State St.
4. First Trident
5. Atlantic Wharf
6. Exchange building
7. Beef Market
8. Visitor's Center

Townhouse sites

9. Aiken—Rhett
10. William Gibbes
11. John Rutledge
12. Miles Brewton
13. Joseph Manigault
14. Heyward—Washington

Single house sites

15. 66 Society St.
16. 40 Society St.
17. 70 Nassau St.
18. President St.



The archival research served as an archaeological survey of the city, leading to predictions of site location, type of activity, and length of occupation throughout the city. The two year project was funded by Community Development grants from the City and matching Historic Preservation grants, administered by the South Carolina Department of Archives and History. Based on the length and density of human occupation of the urban center, the entire peninsular city below the cross-town is considered a vast, contiguous archaeological site with many components.

An outgrowth of this research was the formulation of long-term research goals for The Charleston Museum's Urban Archaeology Program (Zierden and Calhoun 1984). In subsequent years, the approach has proved successful. Most of the archaeological projects in the city, including the present one, are small in scale. By addressing broad issues on a continuing basis, the projects are united in a comparative framework. The result has been pioneering research in the field of urban archaeology (Honerkamp and Fairbanks 1984; Reitz 1986, 1992; Reitz and Zierden 1991; Singleton 1984; Zierden 1992a, 1992b; Zierden and Calhoun 1986, 1990; Zierden and Herman 1991). In order to expand research into Charleston Neck, a second archival study was conducted. The project concentrated on 19th century suburban areas, and on Charleston's industrial growth. Many of the original research questions were refined and new ones proposed (Rosengarten et al. 1987).

Following initiation of the research design, excavations focused on sites located in the colonial commercial core. Occupied since at least the early 18th century, all of the sites served a dual function as businesses and residences, and were built upon several times. Many had served as rental property, and the function and configuration of the properties changed constantly. The limited time available for study of such complex sites resulted in incomplete documentary data on site owners, occupants, and activities. Therefore, equation of specific excavated proveniences with site occupants, the traditional approach in historical archaeology, was not possible (Brown 1987; Honerkamp 1987).

The dual commercial sites include retail, craft, and residential areas such as Charleston Place, First Trident, Lodge Alley, 38 State Street, and the Visitors Center (Honerkamp et al. 1982; Zierden and Hacker 1987; Zierden et al. 1983a, 1983b; Grimes and Zierden 1988), the Beef Market (Calhoun et al. 1984), two waterfront dumps at the Exchange Building and Atlantic Wharf (Herold 1981; Zierden and Hacker 1986a; Zierden n.d.) and a tavern at McCrady's Longroom (Zierden et al. 1982).

The nine residential sites are, with two exceptions, located in what were suburban areas of the late 18th or early 19th century and contain original standing structures dating to those periods. Their continuous use as residential property to the present facilitates study of domestic evolution in Charleston. Those double houses (homes of the gentry) that were built in the suburbs include those of William Gibbes (1772), Miles Brewton (1769), John Rutledge (1763), Thomas Heyward (1772), and William Aiken (1817), as well as the Joseph Manigault house (Zierden et al. 1987; Zierden 1991b; Zierden and Grimes 1989; Herold 1978; Zierden 1991a;

Zierden et al. 1986). The Rutledge and Heyward lots were occupied in the early 18th century, prior to construction of the present houses. The remainder of the houses were among the first in their respective neighborhoods. The three middle class sites include 66 and 40 Society streets, rebuilt on Ansonborough lots after the 1838 fire (Zierden et al. 1988; Zierden 1990b) and 70 Nassau Street, built in the Charleston Neck in the 1840s (Zierden 1990a). All properties retain their residential landscape characteristics. More extensive and more recent archaeological work has been conducted at the residential sites, and these data have formed the core of information on the Charleston landscape; however the commercial sites have also informed the interpretations presented here.

Specific questions to be addressed in the present study include site formation processes and the urban landscape.

1) Site Formation Processes – In order to properly interpret an archaeological site, it is first necessary to understand the processes responsible for the formation of that record (Schiffer 1977). An archaeological site consists of a natural setting altered by the humans who occupied that sites. Specifically of interest are those activities which introduce materials into the ground and reorganize them after deposition. The urban site is often a complex combination of such events. Site formation processes on suburban sites are expected to be somewhat different than those in the densely occupied commercial core.

2) The Urban Landscape – The landscape approach to investigation of urban sites encompasses many of the issues previously discussed separately, such as subsistence strategy, health and sanitation, lot layout, and socioeconomic status. This approach in Charleston embraces the idea of a cultural landscape, the modification of land according to a set of cultural plans, embodying often inseparable technomic, social, and ideological dimensions. People used these created landscapes in a planned and orderly manner for everything from food production to formal design to explicit statements about their position in the world.

CHAPTER II

DOCUMENTARY BACKGROUND

[Note: The following is summarized from four sources: "Between the Tracks", a study of the East Side neighborhood conducted in 1987 (Rosengarten et al. 1987), a title search and architectural study by Robert Stockton (Stockton 1987), a Charleston Museum Newsletter article detailing the restoration process by Brien Varnado (Varnado 1991), and notes on primary research by Museum historian Christine White (White 1991).]

Settlement of the City and Suburb

A group of patriotic and profit seeking English noblemen founded the Carolina colony in 1670. In 1680, the Lords Proprietors, eager to establish a port city in Carolina, relocated their first town from a marshy area on Albemarle Point to the more defensible and commercially suitable peninsula formed by the confluence of the Ashley and Cooper rivers (Earle and Hoffman 1977). Here the English settled the area along the Cooper River bounded by present-day Water, East Bay, Cumberland, and Meeting streets. The planned city, known as the Grand Model, encompassed the high land from Oyster Point to Beaufain Street. The town was laid out around a central square and divided by wide streets into deep, narrow lots, a plan characteristic of 17th century Irish towns colonized by the English (Reps 1965). While the new Charles Towne was a renaissance city in many ways, the surrounding wall and steep roofs gave it a decidedly medieval atmosphere (Coclanis 1985).

As colonists searched for profitable staple crops, the settlement developed gradually as a port and market. An initially successful Indian trade in deer skins provided the impetus for Charles Towne's commercial growth. The decade of the 1730s witnessed the town's transformation from a small frontier community to an important mercantile center. When royal rule replaced an inefficient proprietary government in 1729, following a revolt by the settlers, Carolina entered the mainstream of the colonial economy. The development of outlying settlements, following the Township Plan of 1730, brought an influx of products from the backcountry. Meanwhile, as rice became more profitable, lowcountry plantations rapidly expanded. Thousands of Africans were imported as a labor force, and merchants grew rich dealing in staples and slaves. Merchants and planters formed the elite of Charleston society; indeed, the two groups often overlapped, for planters engaged in mercantile endeavors, and merchants invested their earnings in land, becoming

planters themselves. This strong tie to the country is an important theme in the city's history (Goldfield 1982).

As the 18th century advanced, Charles Towne expanded in size, economic importance, and the relative affluence of its citizens. White per capita income was among the highest in the colonies (Weir 1983). Still, the city limit remained at Beaufain Street until 1783, the year the city was incorporated and renamed Charleston. The limit then moved four blocks north to Boundary Street. Within these confines, a growing population was accommodated by subdividing lots and expanding into the center of blocks. The city was oriented on an east-west axis. Charleston's merchants and craftsmen lined the waterfront and three streets, Broad, Tradd, and Elliott, which carried traffic west across the peninsula (Calhoun et al. 1982). Like other 18th century cities, Charleston was a pedestrian town. Merchants needed to be near the waterfront for the sake of convenience as well as for economy of transportation. Hence, the area known as Charleston Neck, north of the city proper, was slow to develop.

Throughout the colonial era, the peninsula above Beaufain Street was countryside, occupied by plantations and small farms. Many large landholdings were subsequently divided among heirs. As the city spread northward, these tracts were subdivided and developed along the lines of English "villages." Many planters and some merchants chose to construct grand townhouses in this unincorporated area, preferring the large lots and "healthy breezes" to be found in the suburbs. These large estates were the first improvements to the Neck, but they were soon followed by the modest and middling homes of a variety of city dwellers.

After two major fires in the 1830s, the City outlawed building in wood within the city limits. Those who could not afford brick homes flocked to the Neck and built single houses of wood. Around and between planter's large houses and spacious lots, a heterogeneous population took up residence. Charleston merchants, manufacturers, attorneys, and physicians built or rented substantial homes. White artisans, tradesmen, and mechanics lived in more modest houses, above shops, or in "workers cottages" built by their employers. German and especially Irish immigrants in increasing numbers crowded into tenements and competed for jobs with black people, slave and free.

The Neck had special advantages for city dwellers of African descent, especially for free blacks and for slaves granted the privilege to work and live on their own. Rents were lower, real estate was more available and less expensive, and new houses could be built of wood. The suburb also offered some respite from police surveillance and control; hence the Neck appealed to runaways, slaves "passing as free", and other people eager to expand their personal liberty.

The land above Beaufain Street was originally granted in parallel parcels, each extending from the Ashley to the Cooper Rivers. In the 1730s, Joseph Wragg acquired 79 acres of this land from the "Broad Path" (King Street) to the marsh of the Cooper River. When the estates of Joseph and his wife Judith were divided in 1758, their eldest son John inherited the 79 acres. As the colonial period came to a end, landowners turned an investor's eye toward the Neck. John Wragg created the neighborhood of Wraggsborough. He set aside a park and a mall for public

use, and named six streets for his children: Ann, Charlotte, Elizabeth, Henrietta, John and Judith. John Wragg died intestate in 1796, however, leaving his heirs to settle his estate among themselves; Joseph Purcell surveyed the tract in 1801. John Wragg may have intended, when he created Wraggsborough, to attract well-to-do planters and merchants seeking spacious and quiet dwelling sites (Childs 1980:2), but the subdivision drawn by Purcell clearly indicates that his heirs were hoping to turn a quick profit (Figure 2).

Speculation was not new to Charleston; in fact, land speculation was the most common money-making venture for the planter class (Calhoun et al. 1982; Oakes 1982:12). What was unusual about Wraggsborough was its varied lot size and the dispersed nature of individual holdings, indicating that the suburb was planned for mixed use. Commercial locations along King Street were at a premium. In 1807, a Wragg heir by marriage, Joseph Manigault, commented:

Joseph Smith's lot, on the corner of King and Ann Streets, which is 201 feet square, was sold lately for L 3300, which I think, you will allow to be a good price for it, but the difference between the value of land on King Street and other parts of Wraggsborough is very great (Gilreath 1981:57).

The Joseph Manigault House, 1803

In the subdivision of Wraggsborough, Joseph Manigault, a nephew of John Wragg, was assigned a large lot fronting west on Meeting Street and south on Wragg Square, while his sister, Anne Manigault, received the adjacent lot to the north on John Street. Joseph acquired his sister's lot in 1802. Joseph then commissioned his brother, Gabriel, to design his house. A gentleman planter, Gabriel was also a renown amateur architect. In addition to his brother's house, he also planned his own dwelling, the chapel of the Charleston Orphan House, the South Carolina Society Hall, and City Hall. Joseph's house is considered one of America's best examples of architecture in the style of Scottish architect Robert Adam.

The house embodies the Adamesque principals of rhythm, delicacy, intimacy, and variety of shape. The three story house was well suited to Charleston's climate with high ceilings, numerous windows, and two-story piazzas. Also on the lot, but arranged in a less suitable manner, were a variety of outbuildings: kitchen, servant's quarters, stable, carriage house, privies, and formal gardens (Figure 3).

Joseph Manigault, born in 1763, was educated in Charleston, Geneva, and London. He left for Europe in 1781, but poor health led to his return in 1785, his study of law incomplete. In 1788 he inherited his share of his grandfather's (Gabriel Manigault) estate, consisting of approximately 20,000 acres and 250 slaves. That same year he married Maria Henrietta Middleton, daughter of Arthur Middleton, signer of the Declaration of Independence; she died in 1791. Nine years later, Manigault married Charlotte Drayton. They had eight surviving children. The children were born over a 23 year period and included: Joseph (1801), Anne (1803), Charles

*From a plat of Wraggsborough
By Joseph [unclear]*



- A. 1. [unclear] tract of Saml. Wragg
- 2. [unclear] Wragg - 2. Martha Rothman
- 3. [unclear] Wragg - 4. Ann Ferguson - 3. Saml. Wragg
- 6. Joseph Wragg - 7. Mary Capers
- B. [unclear] Wragg (yellow)
- C. Queen Children of [unclear] Mary Smith
- 1. Joseph or his son [unclear] Allen Smith
- 2. Judith wife of James Tiddens
- 3. Mary wife of John Gibbs
- D. Christopher Gadsden (blue)
- E. [unclear] Children of [unclear] Mary Mangault
- 1. [unclear] Mangault - 2. Faith Hayward
- 3. Gabriel Mangault - 4. Ann Middleton

Figure 2
Plat of Wraggsborough, 1801

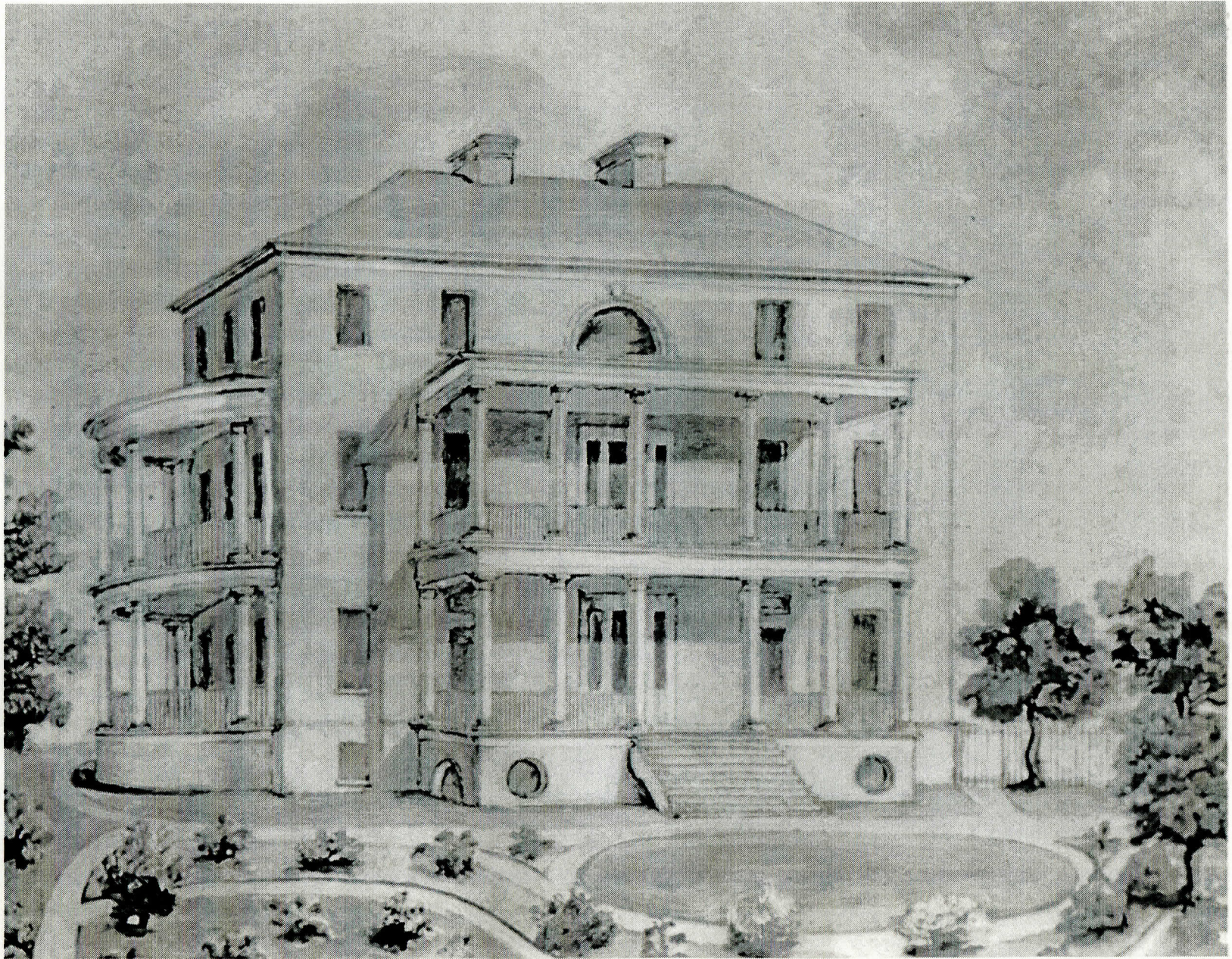


Figure 3
Watercolor of the Manigault House
by Charlotte Drayton Manigault

Drayton (1805), Peter (1805), Gabriel (1809), Henry Middleton (1811), Edward (1817), and Arthur Middleton (1824).

Manigault was active in public life in Charleston. He served several terms in the state legislature and was a member of the state convention to ratify the Constitution. After 1800, though, he appears to have retired from public life. The family that occupied the house and lot was a large one. In addition to Joseph and Charlotte and their eight children, the household over the years included neices, nephews, in-laws, etc. The population of Manigault's family fluctuated, as did the number of resident slaves. Census records indicate that the total number in residence varied from 25 to 40 people.

This large number of residents included a variety of domestic slaves, many of whom were listed with specific skills. In 1800, before the house was built, Joseph Manigault had 16 slaves in Charleston. Only one slave was listed in 1810, but in 1820 the census lists 21 slaves. Fourteen were listed in 1830, and in 1840 there were 27 slaves. At his death in 1843, Joseph left his wife Charlotte the following house servants: Prince, Ben, Exeter, Peggy, Clare, William, Abram, Lizzy, Hannah, Anthony, Minda and Nancy.

The slaves enumerated in the Charleston census were most likely involved in the management of the household. Females, who were more often associated with household duties, outnumbered the males. The older women were most likely nurses and cooks, while the younger women may have been maids, laundresses, and seamstresses. The boys were perhaps waiters or kitchen helpers, while the men looked after the livestock and garden; some may have been artisans.

Manigault's townhouse was his principal residence, but the family moved to various sites over the course of a year, in a pattern followed consistently year after year. In a letter written from Charleston in August 1832, Joseph writes to his son Gabriel,

"Peter and Henry long to be about their business in the country, and consequently find the Summer rather tedious for we are obliged to confine ourselves to the town for about five months in the year." (White 1991).

The family was in town in January and February for the social season. In March they traveled to the plantations, Saltponds in Mt. Pleasant, the Awendaw tract, and White Oak on the North Santee, to check on crop production. They remained at White Oak through April and returned to Charleston in May before the hot weather set in. Occasionally they vacationed on Sullivans Island in August and September. They remained in town until October, when they returned to plantations to inspect the harvests. They were in town in November and part of December, but spent the Christmas holidays at various plantations, occasionally Drayton Hall (White 1991).

Though Manigault built an opulent house in 1803, by the time of his death in 1843 he was in difficult financial circumstances. These difficulties appeared in the 1830s. It is unclear if Manigault was a victim of the general economic conditions during these years, or his own

mismanagement. His plantation journal suggests that some type of disaster often befell his crops, and certainly production suffered from his prolonged absences from the plantations. During this time his principal source of income was plantation crops, principally rice, and lightwood, which was sold to the steamers that transported these crops. In 1835 he made reference to the heavy debts of the Santee Rice planters, and in 1837 fifty-four of his slaves were sold in Charleston. In 1843, one of his plantations was sold to satisfy creditors. After Charlotte Manigault's death in 1855, the entire estate was liquidated for \$138,000. After debts were paid, only \$12,456 was left.

Charleston's Economy during the 19th Century

Charleston's commercial bonanza years began in 1795, but fell victim to the national depression which began in 1819 (Greb 1978:18). The depression brought a halt to the commercial expansion of the city. Although the economy of Charleston stabilized thereafter, the city had begun a steady decline. These forces were not yet visible to antebellum residents, however. During this period, the city launched many improvement efforts, embodied in its public architecture (Severens 1988:267).

Though Charleston's economy was irrevocably linked to cash crops and the plantation system, progressive citizens encouraged diversification and industrialization. Many of these enterprises were located in Charleston's burgeoning suburbs on the Neck. The two antebellum railroads, the South Carolina Railroad and the Northeast Railroad, were built between King and Meeting streets and along East Bay Street, respectively. Open spaces, lower real estate values, relaxed building restrictions, access to deep water harbors, as well as proximity to these railways, attracted large-scale manufacturing enterprises. Iron foundries, car manufacturers, and a new gas works were strategically placed between the tracks of these two railroads (Rosengarten et al. 1987:116). In less than half a century, the Neck was transformed from the "country", a sparsely settled suburban haven for planters, to the center of Charleston's industrial future, home to both new industries and their workers. These efforts were ultimately unsuccessful, however, as Charleston failed to live up to its proclaimed dedication to modernization. An increasing fear of the black population and perceived threats from northern states drove Charlestonians to embrace the past and, ultimately, be bypassed by the expanding rail network (Pease and Pease 1985:223-224). Personal, rather than institutional, ties remained the fabric of Charleston's commerce.

By the middle of the antebellum period, most American cities were showing the effects of industrialization. Urban environments underwent radical changes between 1820 and 1860, as a national economy replaced local and regional economies (Goldfield 1977:52). Industrialized cities began to replace chaos with order; they featured a central business district, functional differentiation in the use of space (separate areas for industries, businesses, and residences), innovations in intra-city transportation (the appearance of horse-cars), rapid in-migration (Charleston became the terminus of Irish and German immigrants), increased specialization among mercantilists (merchants began selling single types of items), and centralized improvements (street paving, sidewalks, lighting, drainage). Some cities moved faster in these directions than others. During the early years of the industrial movement, Charleston kept pace with the rest of the

country; by the end of the 19th century, however, the city lagged behind other commercial centers in many areas of development.

As cities grew, more attention was paid to municipal services, planning, and promotion. Cities competed fiercely with one another for commerce, and urban promotion "developed into a fine art" (Goldfield 1977:52, 1979:235). Civic leaders emerged as a key social group, working to make their cities the best. The ideal city would be efficient, attractive, orderly, modern, clean, and above all, healthy. The goals ushered in an era of internal improvement, which required increasingly strong municipal governments; centralized, public projects replaced private, individual facilities. Basic services such as fire fighting, police protection, water, lighting, and disease prevention were necessary if a city were to grow and prosper. Few visitors and customers would be attracted to a fire-prone, crime-ridden, unhealthy city (Goldfield 1977:67).

Many of the technological advances of the second half of the 19th century were slow to reach Charleston, and even slower to reach the suburbs of the Neck, such as Wraggsborough. Lighting was an exception. The safe and efficient movement of people and goods depended on road improvement and street lighting; these were recognized as important for personal safety early in the 18th century, when the City began to appoint Commissioners of Streets and Lamps. Lighting of major thoroughfares by oil and later gas was a top priority. Electric lights were installed in the Neck wards in 1884, while the lower city was still lit by gas.

The Wraggsborough area was not so fortunate with other facilities. While pavement of dirt roads with belgian block began in the downtown area in the 1850s, the side streets of Wraggsborough remained planked with wood into the 1880s. Public transportation began with horse-drawn street cars in 1866; by 1875 the Enterprise Railway was servicing the East Side.

Health and sanitation was a major concern, and once again the Neck lagged behind the lower city. As late as 1872, whole blocks were cited as "generally filthy, low, and poorly drained." The city did not receive a water-bourne sewerage system until 1905, and as late as 1912 these facilities were rare in the East Side. A less well-known health hazard was the maintenance of livestock on city lots. When the practice of keeping cows was outlawed in 1912, a disproportionate number of the houses maintaining dairy cows were in the East Side.

Though the fires which gutted major sections of the city in the colonial and antebellum periods indirectly offered opportunities for urban planning and improvement, these plans were rarely realized. Fear of fire and attempts to prevent it are a major theme in Charleston's history. Major fires devastated the city in 1740, 1778, 1796, 1835, 1838, and 1861. Crowded streets filled with wooden buildings were seen as a major source of trouble, and legislative attempts to end building with wood appeared after each disaster. Within five years or so, enforcement of these restrictions lapsed. Fires struck the city year after year, and produced in the citizenry a paranoia concerning arson. This fear was inevitably focused on the slave population (Pease and Pease 1978).

Though the 1861 fire dealt a much harsher physical blow to the city, the Civil War delivered the final economic blow. The city's economy had become dependent on the cotton market, and the local economy became vulnerable to international fluctuations. The prosperity of Charleston was irrevocably linked to that of the agrarian system it served. Although antebellum Charleston remained the most important port in the South Atlantic, the success of railroads and steam exacerbated the economic recession and encouraged the growth of rivals. Charleston slowly withdrew into itself and became a "closed city" (Rogers 1980). By the 1850s, Charleston's dreams of civic destiny were waning (Severens 1988:265). The cotton economy was a credit economy (Rosengarten 1986: *passim*), and this, coupled with the loss of the labor force following emancipation, forced a new order of things.

For several months following the firing on Fort Sumter, soldiers freshly mustered into Confederate camps around the city found it "hard to realize were engaged in warfare" (Tennent family papers, Rosengarten et al. 1987). The light-hearted mood did not last; after the fall of Port Royal and Beaufort in November 1861, refugees from coastal islands crowded into Charleston. The city was blockaded and placed under siege, and repeated bombardments threatened the southern end of the peninsula. Charlestonians continued to move into the Neck suburbs until the city was finally evacuated in February 1865. By the time of the final assault, shells were falling as far north as John Street. Although the damage caused by these shells was limited, the impact of the War on the lives of Charleston residents was nonetheless profound.

Charleston's economy, debilitated by the Civil War, remained stagnant during the postbellum period. This was embodied in a lack of construction and expansion. While the lower city, particularly the "burnt district" of 1861, remained stagnant, the Neck experienced a building boom during and after the War. Numerous small houses were evidently built to shelter people who had been burned out of their homes by the 1861 fire. Overall, the number of buildings on the East Side rose by almost 30 percent during the war years; most of these were relatively small, inexpensive structures.

While the lower wards had been debilitated, the Neck emerged from the War with a new sense of importance; the area was a bustle of activity in the postwar years. Several of the East Side industries survived the 1860s, only to flounder in later decades. The African-American population of the East Side grew by leaps and bounds after the War, as a tremendous number of rural freedmen flocked to the city in search of economic opportunity. This mobility resulted in a serious housing shortage. Real estate prices fluctuated wildly between 1866 and 1873. A brisk trade in houses and vacant lots, some for use and some for speculation, marked the early postwar years. The trend was short-lived, however, and property values fell throughout the remainder of the century, at an almost universal depreciation rate of 30 percent.

Charleston had entered the 19th century at the forefront of civic competition, but ended the century far behind its rivals. This lack of progress was not without good reason; a fixation on cotton and rice in the antebellum period was followed by economic collapse after the War. The phosphate boom of the 1870s provided only temporary relief to the city's economic stagnation (Shick and Doyle 1985). Natural disasters in the postbellum period, notably the earthquake of

1886 and a series of hurricanes around the turn of the century, struck devastating blows. Antebellum cities needed to centralize in order to modernize, and Charleston had dutifully expanded the municipal government. By the early 20th century, the Board of Health was demanding improvements. This time, it was lack of funds, rather than lack of interest, that kept Charleston's civic improvements from moving ahead.

Many of the grand townhouses of the 18th and early 19th centuries, including the Manigault house, suffered from neglect, if not abuse, during this period. Ironically, many old dwellings avoided razing because of Charleston's lack of progress. Nonetheless, it was misuse and neglect of such structures as the Manigault house that resulted in the birth of the preservation movement in Charleston in the 1930s (Cohen 1987). Charleston continues to be at the forefront of the evolving preservation movement.

Postbellum Decline

Joseph Manigault died June 5, 1843, at the age of 80. His will bequeathed to his wife, Charlotte, the use of "my town residence in Wraggsborough," and its household goods and furnishings (Wills 43:624). The city directory of 1849 lists his sons Edward and Arthur Middleton (his two youngest) as living on John Street. Manigault's estate was heavily encumbered by debt, and his heirs wrestled with its settlement for several years. In 1852 his son Gabriel, executor, conveyed the John Street property to George N. Reynolds, Jr. The accompanying plat is the only recording of the total property during the Manigault era (Figure 4).

The plat shows a flight of stairs leading to the door at the north facade, as well as a set of steps leading to the south piazza. The domed structure on the south wall is designated as a "summer house." The plat also depicts a substantial brick outbuilding directly on John Street, which housed the kitchen, offices, and probably slave quarters on a second floor. While the placement of the kitchen was unusual, the building was typical in its use as a servants' quarter. The building measured 40 by 20 feet, and the second floor was probably divided into separate rooms which opened onto a corridor (in a manner similar to that at Aiken—Rhett). The plat indicates five windows in the south wall, facing the work yard. These windows, plus single windows in the east and west walls, provided light and ventilation; the northern, or street, frontage was windowless. Four less substantial structures, probably of wood, are also indicated; a carriage house, stable, and two privies ranged along the east side of the lot, and a pump, or well, was located in the center of the work yard.

George Reynolds was a carriage manufacturer whose business was on Meeting Street opposite the South Carolina Institute Hall. His resident address is the "corner of Meeting and John." In 1859, however, his address is listed as Wragg Square and Meeting, indicating a shift in orientation of the property. This is accompanied by an 1861 census entry which indicates that Reynolds was renting the brick kitchen building to James Price (Stockton 1987). A few years later, in 1863, Reynolds subdivided the southeast portion of the garden and sold this lot to George A. Trenholm.

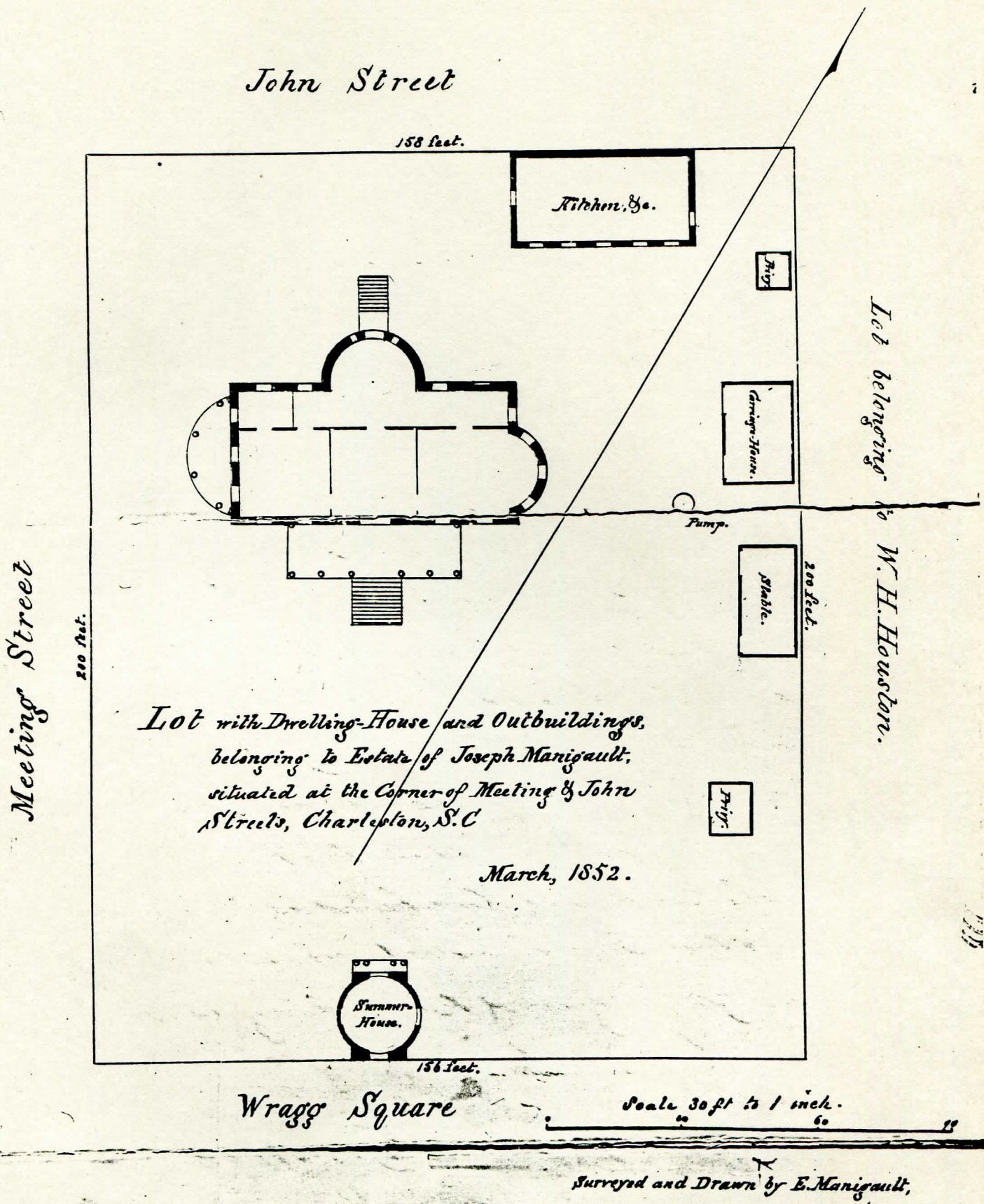


Figure 4
 1852 plat of Joseph Manigault's property

In 1864 Reynolds sold the main property to John S. Riggs; this sale included the main house and the rental house, as well as the remainder of the garden. In 1870, Riggs repurchased the southeastern garden lot from Frank H. Trenholm.

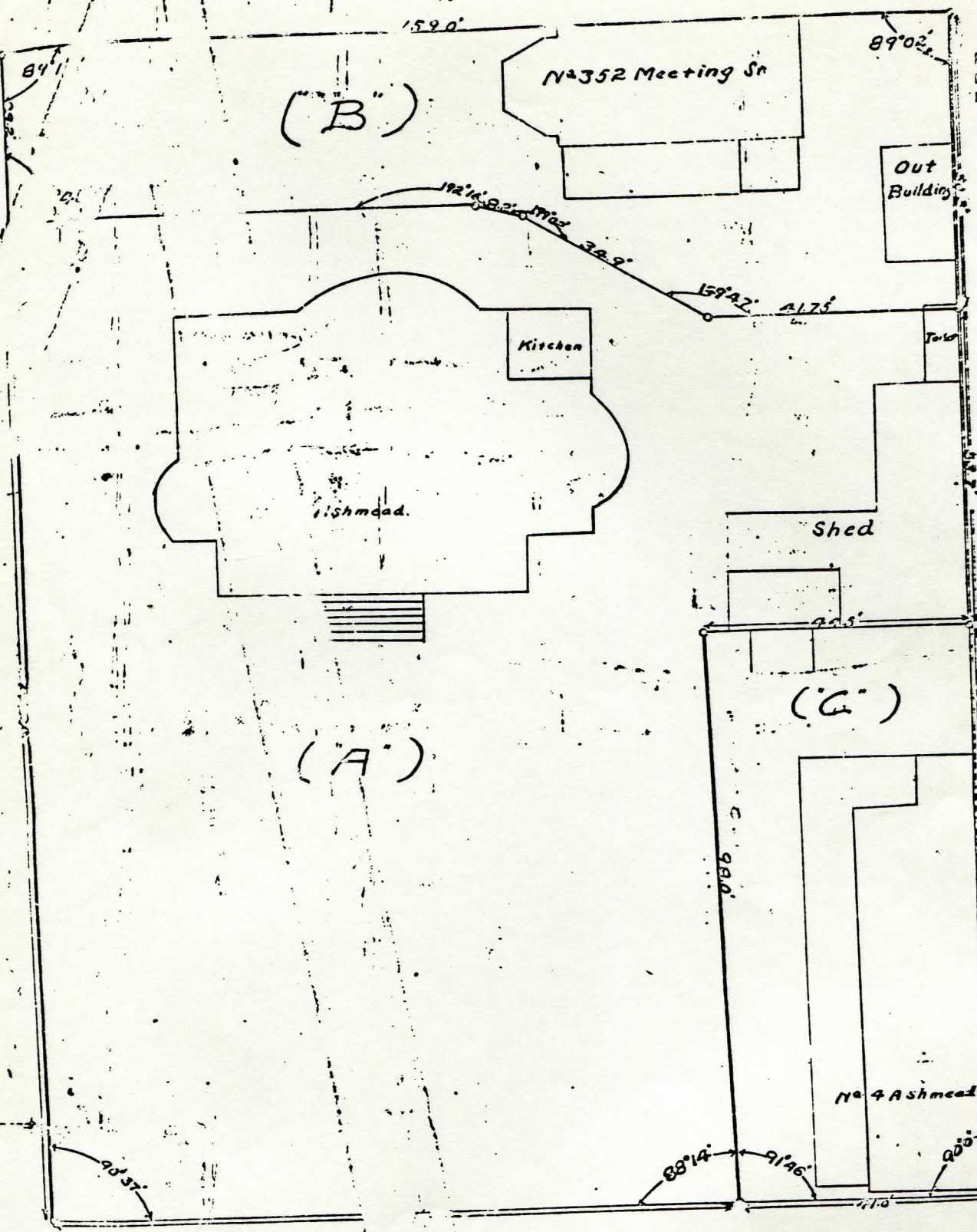
Riggs was president of the Charleston Street Railway, the city's trolley system. His wife, Mattie Reynolds Leitch Marshall, was a niece of George Reynolds. John S. Riggs died in 1899 and his wife and descendants owned both the Manigault house and the former kitchen/rental property until 1922. During this time, the rental property was altered. In 1886 it was described as a 2 1/2 story dwelling with a single story piazza on the south side. A 1917 plat shows a bay window on the west end as well (Figure 5). The only known tenants, besides James Price in 1861, are John Burnett and James Chapman, employees of the Charleston Bagging Manufacturing Company, across Meeting Street. Plats of this era show an irregular boundary between the two houses; it is unclear if this boundary was fenced. During this period, the gate temple served as a porter's lodge, in which guests were received by a porter. The "kitchen areas" were in the basement of the main house, and early 20th century plats show a one-story frame addition on the northeast corner of the main house (Figures 5 and 6).

Sidney S. Riggs and his brother, Robert L. Riggs, each owned half-interest in the two properties until 1917, when they sold these to each other, leaving Sidney sole owner of the rental property at 352 Meeting Street. The rental house became legally detached from the Manigault house in 1922, when Sidney sold the house and lot to W.A. O'Hagen. A commercial building was then constructed on the west end of the lot. It first housed a branch of the Puckhaber Brothers Candy Company, then a branch of the Quality Bake Shop, and about 1932 became Cooks's Cleaners. At some point before 1942, the Cleaners building was expanded eastward, incorporating and replacing the old kitchen building. The expansion brought the south wall of the cleaners to within ten feet of the north wall of the Manigault house. At the same time, Robert Riggs sold the Manigault property. By this time, the house was in serious need of renovation (see Figure 7a).

In 1920 Susan Pringle Frost founded the Society for the Preservation of Old Dwellings to purchase the Manigault house. Miss Frost purchased the house for the Society in 1920. In 1922 lack of money forced the Society to sell the property to Nell McColl Pringle, who later described the Society as the "Child of Necessity for preservation of the Manigault house." In order to raise funds to preserve the house Mrs. Pringle sold the garden portion of the old Manigault lot to the Standard Oil Company in December 1922. The company built a gas station here and remodeled the Gate House as a restroom.

Susan Pringle Frost and Nell McColl Pringle were courageous and tireless in their determination to preserve the house. A series of complicated title transactions and legal entanglements ensued during this period as a result. Miss Frost's far-sighted efforts foreshadowed now-common preservation practices:

John St.



PLAN FILE 1
 DRAWER 76
 FOLDER 16
 DRAWING NO.

East

Wyong Square

Figure 5
 Plat of John Rigg's
 estate

AIP

Shed
 Ashmead
 Lots
 Rigg
 & Meet
 Meeting St.

WATER PIPE
N. PIPE
70'

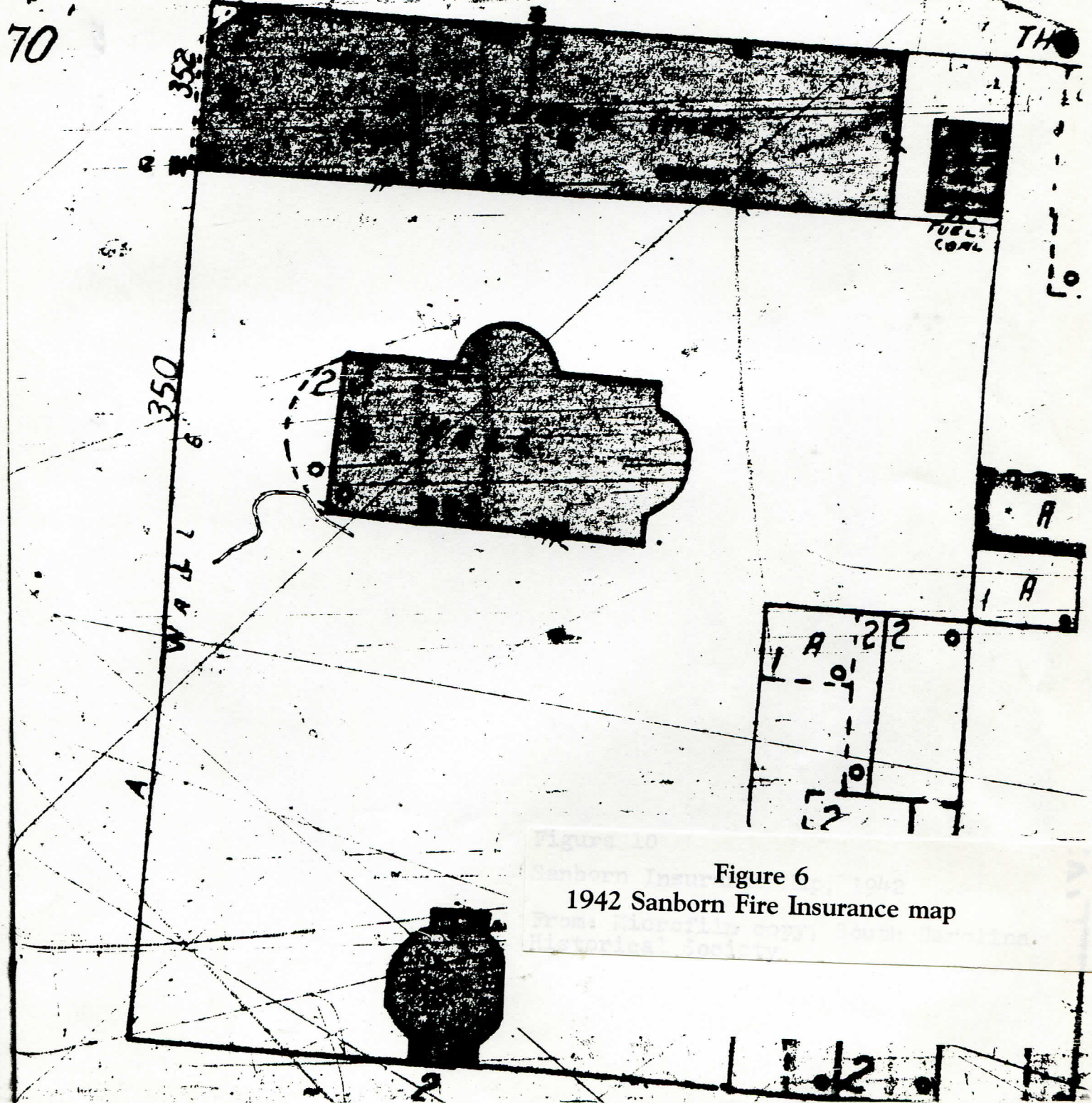
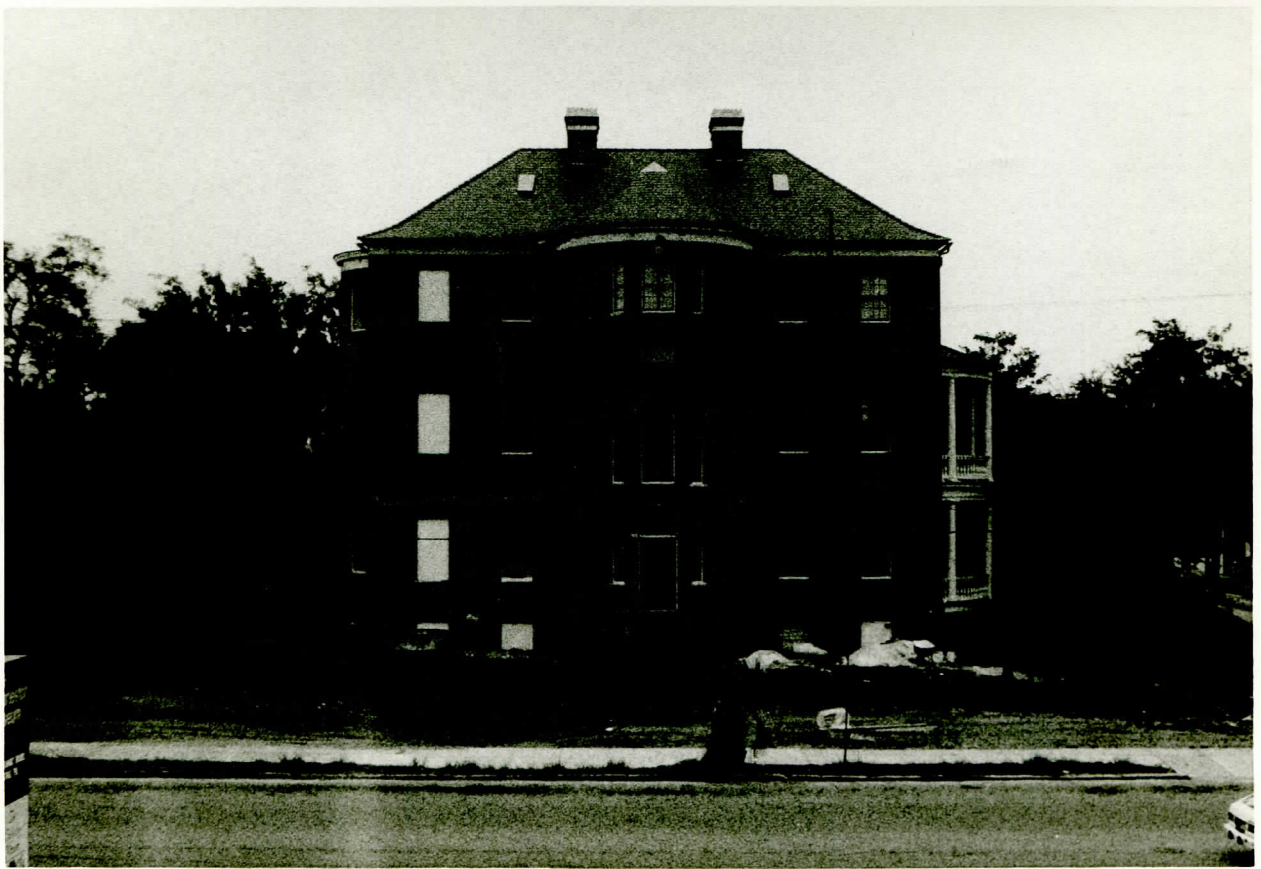


Figure 6
1942 Sanborn Fire Insurance map



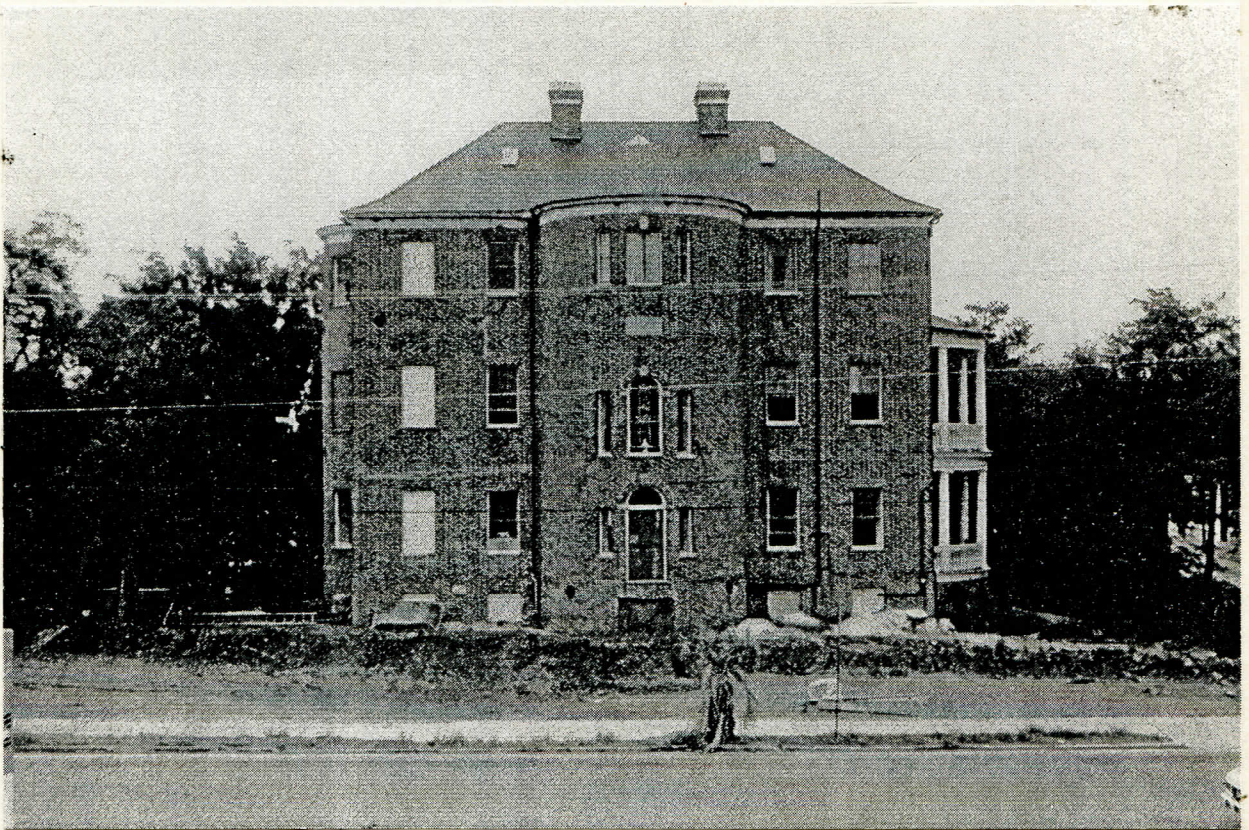
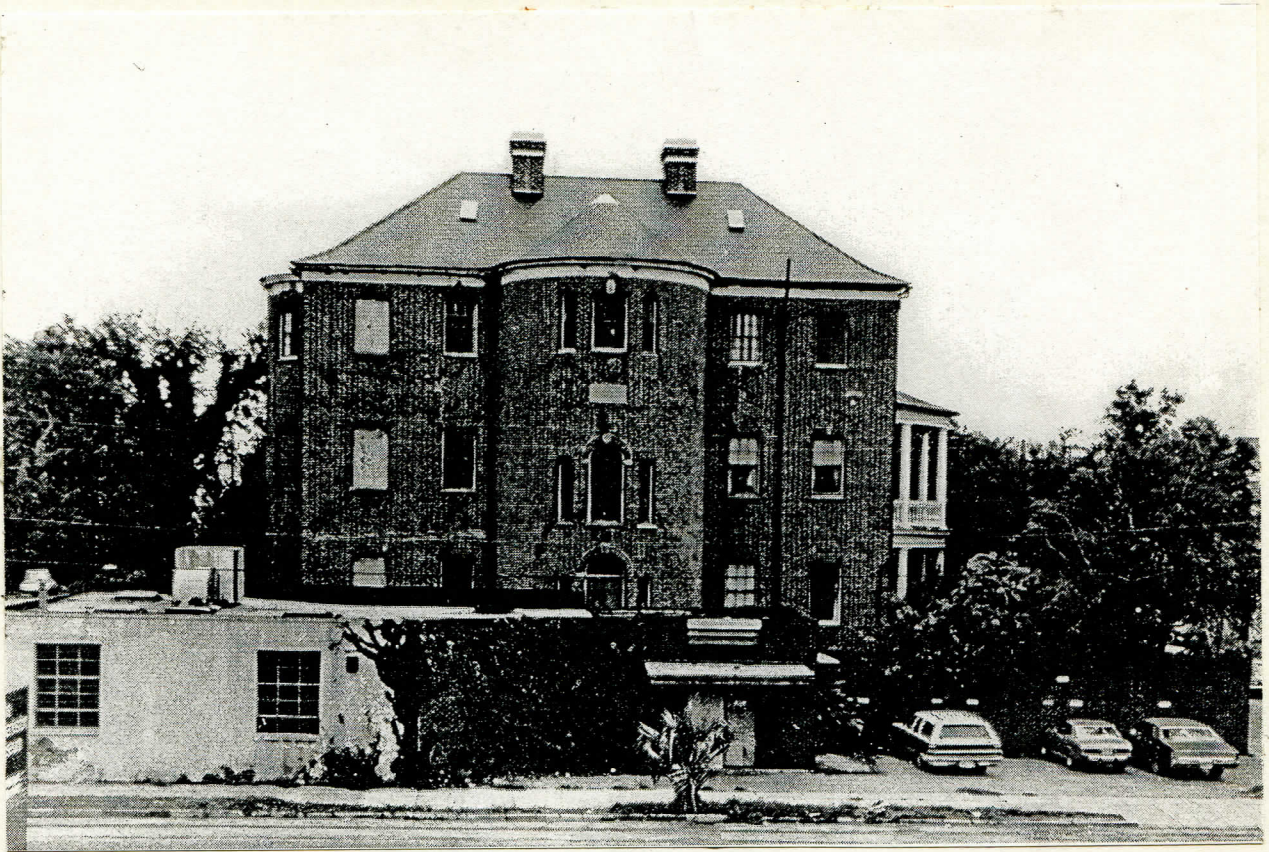


Figure 7
North facade of the Manigault house
before and after demolition of Cook's Cleaners

"It (the Manigault House) will probably never be a home again, but some use for it will surely arise. In time people will learn to adapt them, without injuring their beauty, to new uses." (Varnado 1991).

During the 1920s, the house was occupied by a series of tenants, first white and then black. The house was crowded with renters until 1927. In the summer of 1928, the house was emptied and renovations begun:

"The house empty, dirty, plaster falling, the piazzas sagging, each room begrimed with the smoke of kerosene and cooking where whole families had lived, driving nails to hold the drying clothes in the column of a mantelpiece or a door panel, was opened to the sunlight and the slow process of reclamation begun." (Charleston Museum files).

The house was opened to the public in 1928, with members of the Preservation Society volunteering as hostesses. During the depression Mrs. Pringle was unable to make the mortgage payments and the property was auctioned for nonpayment of taxes in 1933. The Charleston Museum purchased the house with funds donated by the Princess Pignatelli. The indomitable E. Milby Burton, Director, prevailed upon Standard Oil to donate the garden property in 1936, reuniting most of the southern half of the original lot (Figure 8).

The house then sat idle due to lack of funds. During World War II, the U.S.O. occupied the house. The first floor was used to serve coffee and donuts, the second floor for recreation, and the third as a dormitory. The house was reopened to the public in 1948, and furnishings were added slowly over the next thirty years. The gardens were restored by the Charleston Garden Club in 1951.

Efforts to restore the northern portion of the yard began when Cook's Cleaners closed its doors. In 1980, when the new Museum was built on the north side of John Street, plans were made in earnest to restore this entrance and provide a visual link with the main Museum. This plan took on added urgency with the planned development of the Visitors Center across the street from the Museum. Demolition of Cook's occurred in 1986 and complete restoration, delayed by a lack of funds and damage from Hurricane Hugo in 1989, occurred in 1991 (Figure 7).



Figure 8
Museum Director Milby Burton in the Manigault garden
after donation of the Standard Oil tract

CHAPTER III

FIELDWORK

Site Setting

The Joseph Manigault site is located in downtown Charleston, in the portion of the city known as the Neck. The (originally) 158 by 200 foot site is bounded to the north by John Street, to the west by Meeting Street, to the south by Ashmead Place, and to the east by residential lots. The property contains two standing structures: the main house in the northern portion of the lot and the garden pavillion on the southern property line (see Figure 4). Other features included the garden and the brick enclosing walls, restored in 1951. The current property measures 150 feet along John and 110 feet along Ashmead; the lot is 198 feet deep.

At the time of the excavations, the northern yard featured a low area of exposed subsoil where Cook's Cleaners had been razed. This left a truncated "strip" of ground adjacent to the front of the house, extending 10 feet in front of the door, and 15–20 feet in front of the rest of the house (Figure 7b). Additional fill and a bulkhead of railroad timbers had been added to the front entrance area for stabilization. The side yard adjacent to the dining room featured an extension of the formal garden, with brick outlined beds and crushed shell walks. Subsequent changes to the property, based on archaeological and historical evidence, are discussed in Chapter V.

Historical research and the 1986 excavations suggest that much of the 19th century archaeological record of the Manigault site has been compromised by 20th century activity. The construction and demolition of Cook's Cleaners effectively removed much of the archaeological soils from the front yard. The remaining strip between this building and the front door became the place for water and gas service in the 20th century, resulting in a number of pipes and associated trenching. The south yard was seriously compromised by construction of the gas station.

Previous Research

Archaeological consideration of the property began in the summer of 1986 with the razing of Cook's Cleaners. The site was monitored for artifacts and intact features. When the building was removed, it was apparent that the cleaners had effectively removed, not just destroyed, any

archeological remains within its perimeter. The building was removed to subsoil, and virtually no artifacts were recovered.

Two archaeological features were encountered, however. These appear to be the northernmost privy pit and a portion of the brick foundation for the kitchen. The privy pit appeared as a rectangular black stain. Such features are usually deep, meaning that construction of Cook's may have left the lower portion undisturbed. The northwest corner of this feature was 27.5 feet south of the inside of the John Street sidewalk and 144.6 feet east of the Meeting Street sidewalk. The pit measured 5.0 feet east/west and 6.5 feet north/south. The portion of the kitchen foundation was located parallel to the sidewalk, 17.2 feet south of the outside of the John Street curb. The intact portion was approximately 5 feet long; portions to the east had been previously destroyed by the placement of fuel tanks in the 20th century. The recorded portion of kitchen wall was subsequently removed. The privy was covered with topsoil and left intact for future study.

Controlled archaeological excavations were first conducted in October 1986. These excavations, funded by a grant from the Barker Welfare Foundation, were designed to locate evidence of the steps to the north door. Two adjacent five foot squares were dug in front of the entrance. These units contained a series of features and zones dating to the 20th century, including sewer and water pipes. These likely post-date subdivision of the property, when this would have been the only location for such services. No evidence for the steps were located in these units. This work is described in Zierden and Hacker 1986b.

Subsequent erosion of the truncated soil profile in front of the door revealed a brick foundation likely associated with the steps (Figure 9). On March 2, 1987, this feature was photographed and mapped, and reburied as part of site stabilization.

Excavation Methodology

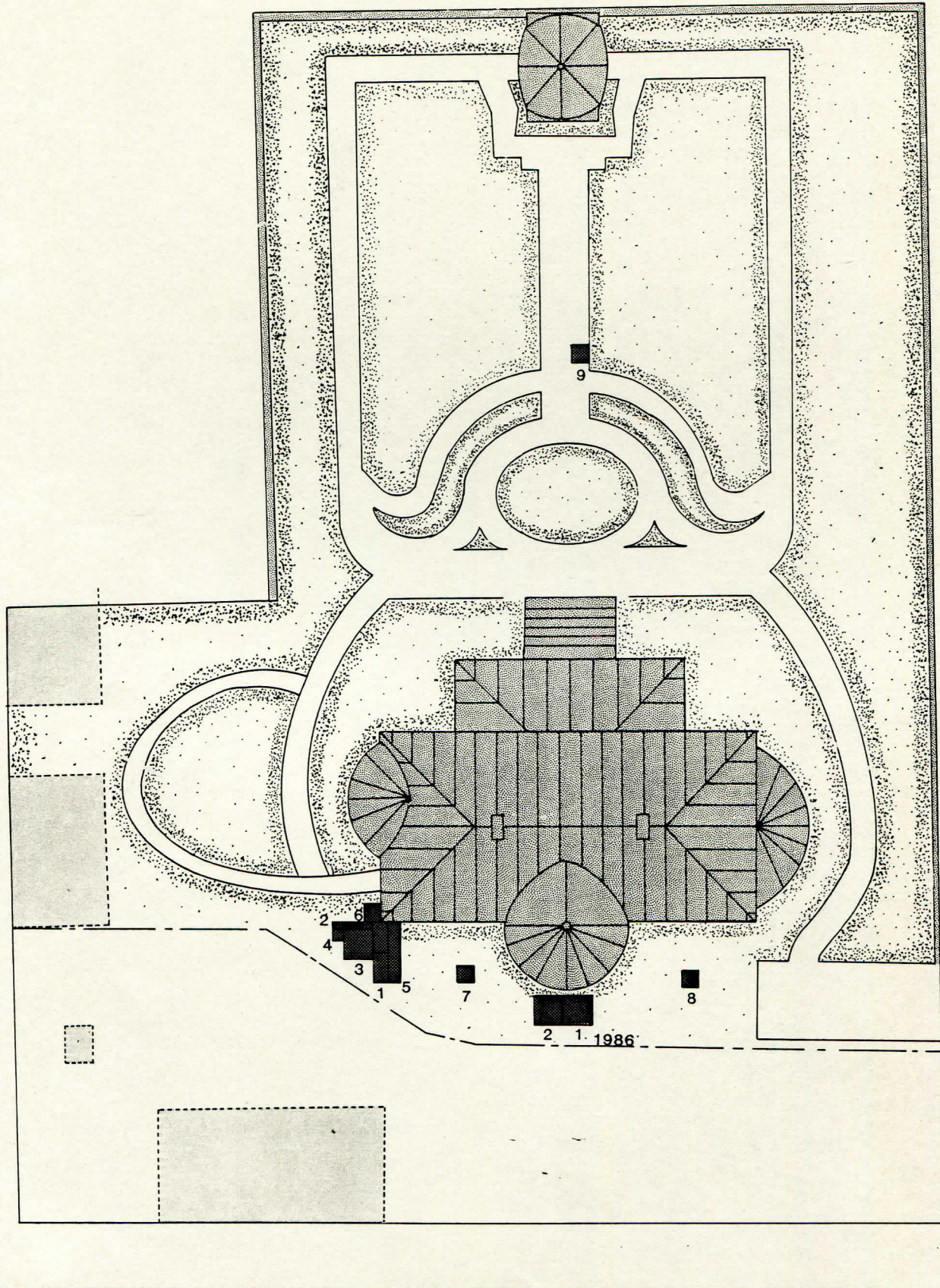
Excavations were conducted from February 12 to 16 and again from February 28 to March 8, for a total of 12 field days. Excavations were originally planned for one week, but additional work was deemed necessary to fully expose features encountered in the original work. These two periods of controlled excavation were followed by monitoring during the restoration work.

Excavations focused on the northeast corner of the main house, and on remaining portions of the front yard. A total of nine units were excavated. These were designated Trenches 1 and 2 and Units 3 through 9, to distinguish them from Units 1 and 2, excavated in 1986.

Units were located in appropriate locations to answer specific landscape questions for site restoration (Figure 10). The first issue concerned the level of original grade and dates of subsequent soil accumulation in the front yard. There was a three foot elevation difference between John Street and the main house; construction and subsequent demolition of Cook's



Figure 9
Photograph of the foundation steps, 1987



Meeting Street

John Street

0 10 20 30 ft.

Figure 10
Site map, 1990 excavations

Cleaners left an unnatural truncation, and removed all evidence of original treatment. The second question concerned separation and demarcation of the work yard. It was suggested that some type of fence separated the work yard from the front entrance, in a manner similar to the picket fence separating the work yard from the formal garden.

Because of the limited nature of the project, no Chicago grid was established. Units were instead located relative to the true corner of Meeting and John, and to other property landmarks. Units were oriented parallel to the main house.

All excavations were accomplished by hand using shovels and trowels. Measurements were recorded in feet and tenths. All features and one profile from each unit were mapped and photographed with color slides (Kodachrome 64). Narrative notes as well as a variety of field forms were maintained on a daily basis; a field specimen number (FS#) was assigned to each provenience in ordinal fashion.

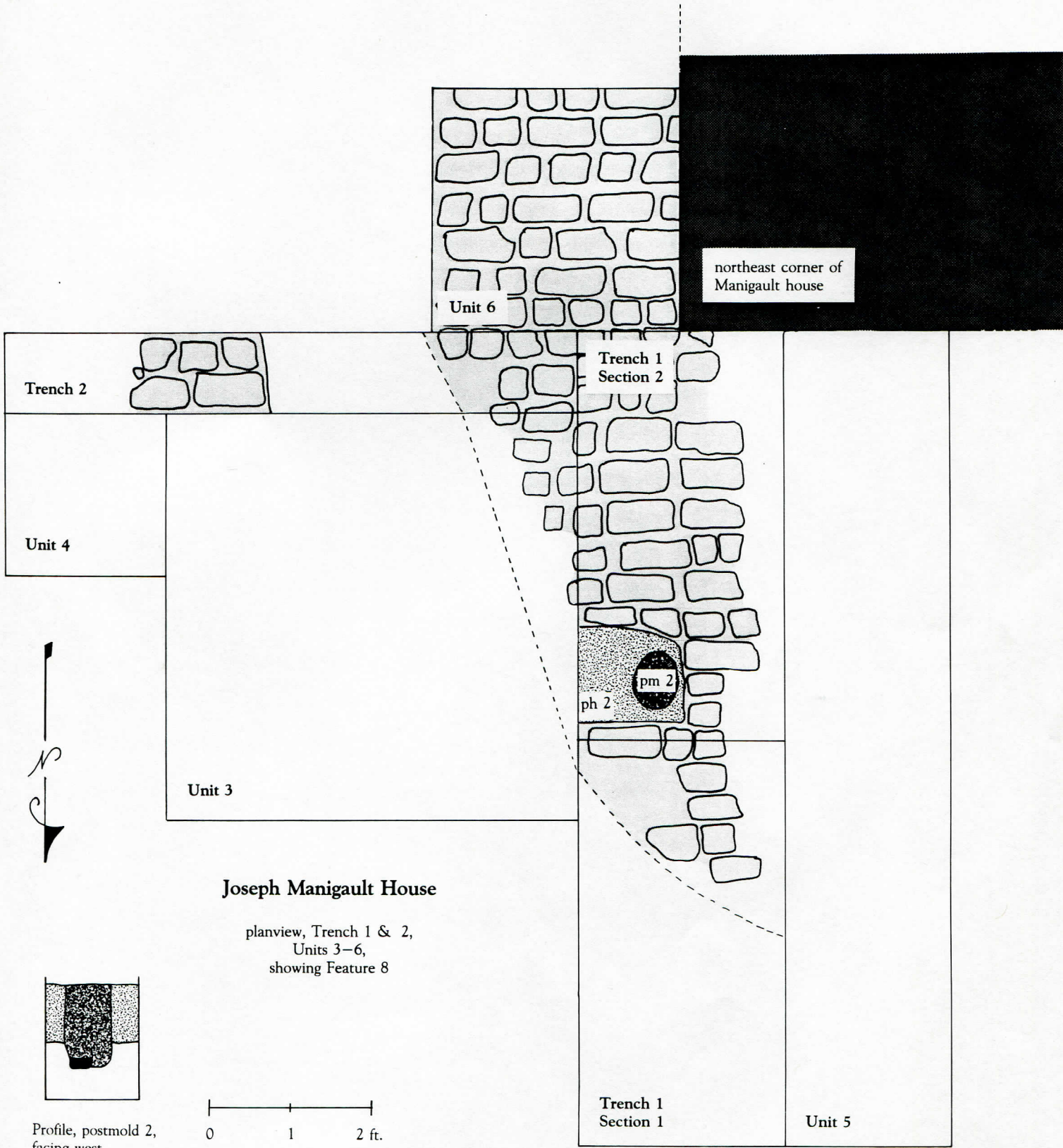
All excavated materials were dry-screened through 1/4 inch mesh, and materials were bagged and tagged separately. Cultural, faunal, charcoal, and metal materials were separated in the field, and conservation of the ferrous materials began immediately. Soil samples and architectural samples were retained from a variety of proveniences.

Description of Excavated Proveniences

The bulk of the excavations were located adjacent to the northeast corner of the main house. These were strategically placed in an attempt to locate any remnants of a fence or wall separating the main house from the work yard. The restoration architect and his team suggested two possible orientations: one leading due north, from the northwest corner of the main house to the southeast corner of the kitchen, enclosing the kitchen with the other structures into a common work yard. The other has the fence running from the northwest corner of the main house to the southwest corner of the kitchen, segregating the kitchen from the rest of the work yard.

A series of six adjoining units were excavated in this vicinity. They are Trenches 1 and 2, and Units 3 through 6. Each unit was of different dimensions, and was excavated to trace encountered features. The dimensions are listed below and shown in the following figure (Figure 11).

Trench 1	10.0'n/s	2.5'e/w
Trench 2	1.0'n/s	7.0'e/w
Unit 3	5.0'n/s	5.0'e/w
Unit 4	2.0'n/s	2.0'e/w
Unit 5	10.0'n/s	2.5'e/w
Unit 6	3.0'n/s	3.0'e/w



northeast corner of
Manigault house

Unit 6

Trench 2

Trench 1
Section 2

Unit 4

ph 2

pm 2

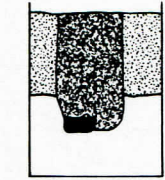
Unit 3

Joseph Manigault House

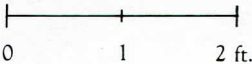
planview, Trench 1 & 2,
Units 3-6,
showing Feature 8

Trench 1
Section 1

Unit 5



Profile, postmold 2,
facing west



All units exhibited similar stratigraphy and contained numerous features. Some areas of the block exhibited stratigraphy spanning the entire period of site occupation and as many as eight zones; other areas were truncated by twentieth century features.

Excavations began with Trench 1 section 1. Trench 1 consisted of a unit 2.5 feet by 10.0 feet. The long axis ran north south, while the short axis was centered on the corner of the house. Zone 1 consisted of mixed lenses of dark grey-brown topsoil and coal fire residue (pink and black cinders). Three features were present at the base of zone 1. Feature 5 was a small brick foundation, consisting of three bricks mortared and stuccoed together, and only one brick deep. This rather insubstantial feature was interpreted as a pier which may have served as a foundation for the 20th century kitchen shed. Feature 6 was a construction trench for an iron water pipe, and consisted of very loose, mottled sand. This was located along the northern portion of the unit. Feature 9 was a circular area of dark grey-brown soil adjacent to the corner of the house, and filled with nails and other architectural artifacts.

Zone 2 consisted of a homogenous dark grey-brown soil. This relatively thin layer was followed by a mottled soil of medium tan sand and brown sand containing large chunks of coal and oyster shell. Several other features initiated at this level. A small round area was designated posthole 2. This round stain contained medium brown sand full of large coal cinders. Another area of highly mottled and rubble-filled soil was designated feature 7. This proved to be a second pipe trench.

The soil from feature 7 was very disperse, and within the initial limits of trench 1 appeared to be a zone. With subsequent excavation of adjoining units, it was possible to distinguish the pipe trench, zone 7, from the lower levels of zone 3, excavated as zone 3 level 2.

Excavation of Zone 3 revealed the most informative features of the project. Directly beneath this zone was a paved area of hand formed, quite worn bricks laid in running bond. This was designated Feature 8. The limited strip of undisturbed soil available for excavation was further compromised by the numerous pipe trenches which transected the feature. These included features 6 and 7, previously discussed, and Features 10 and 12, which curved around the house and were present in Trench 2 and Unit 3. The western edge of Feature 8 was clearly defined in Unit 5, but the northern and western sides were removed. It was therefore impossible to determine the original dimensions and destination of the feature (Figure 12a).

The exposed area in Unit 4 indicated that the walk was connected to the servants' entrance at the northeast corner of the house; excavations were not sufficient to indicate whether the feature ran further to the south, or went elsewhere in the work yard. The western edge was clearly defined; while it would suggest a walk that articulated the servant's entrance with the kitchen, the edge extended beyond the eastern wall of the main house. The northern edge was destroyed by Cook's Cleaners and further truncated by the pipe trenches, leaving only 7 feet of

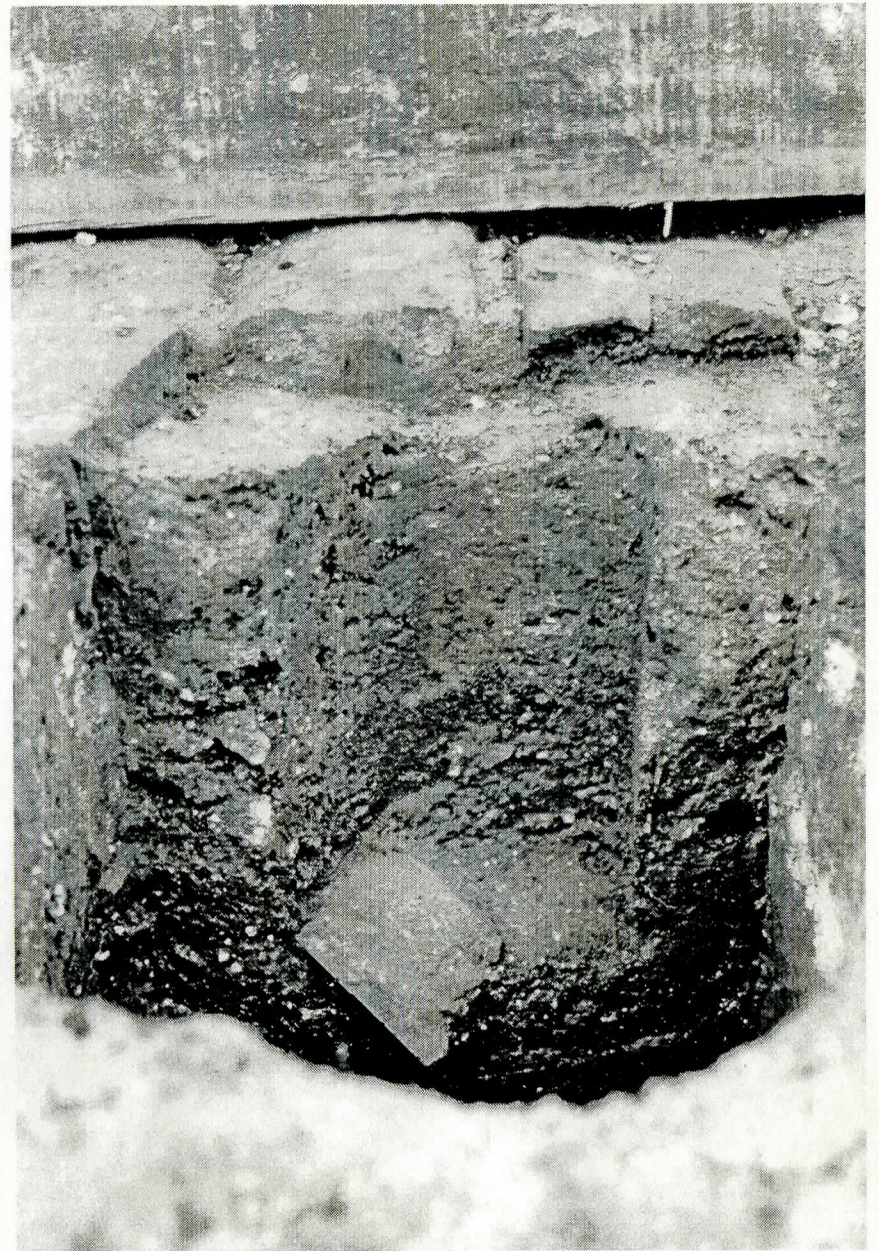
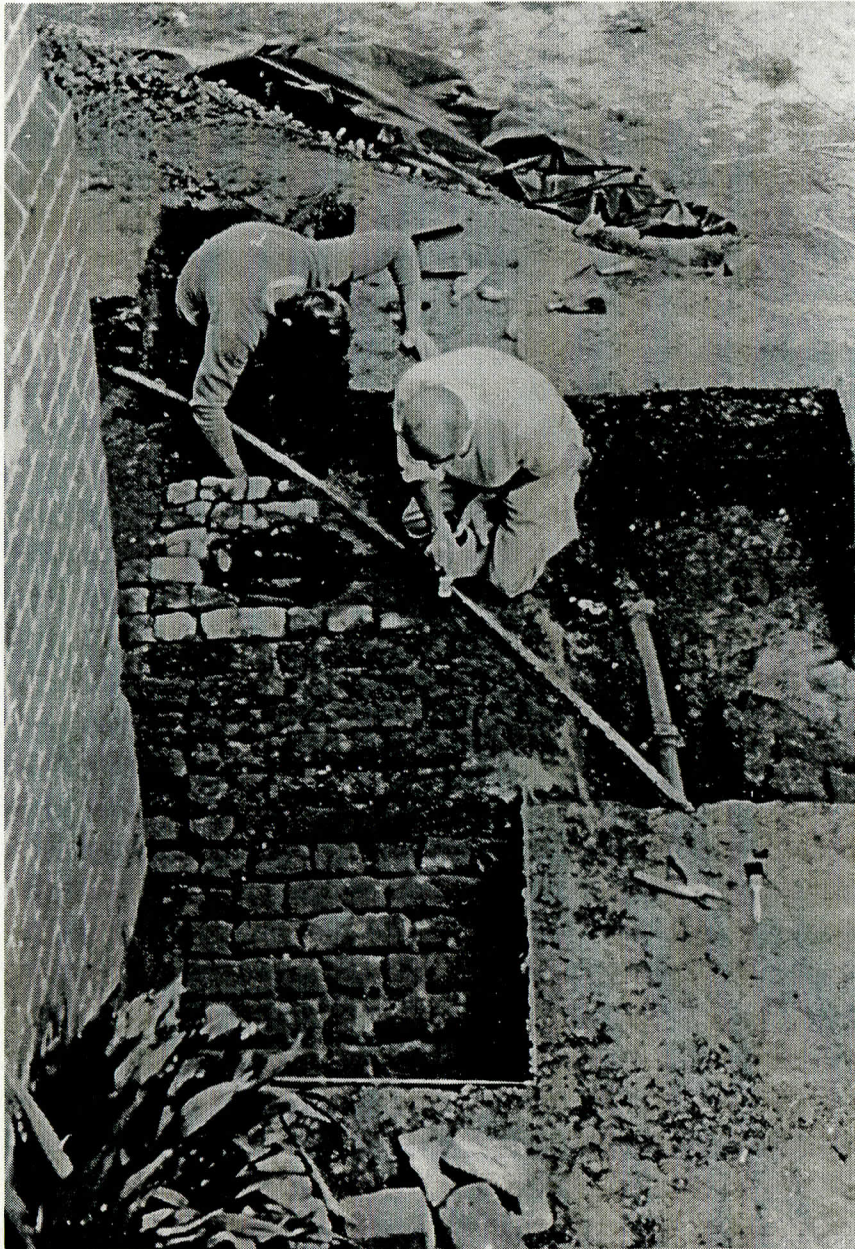


Figure 12
Photographs of Feature 8
and Posthole/postmold 2

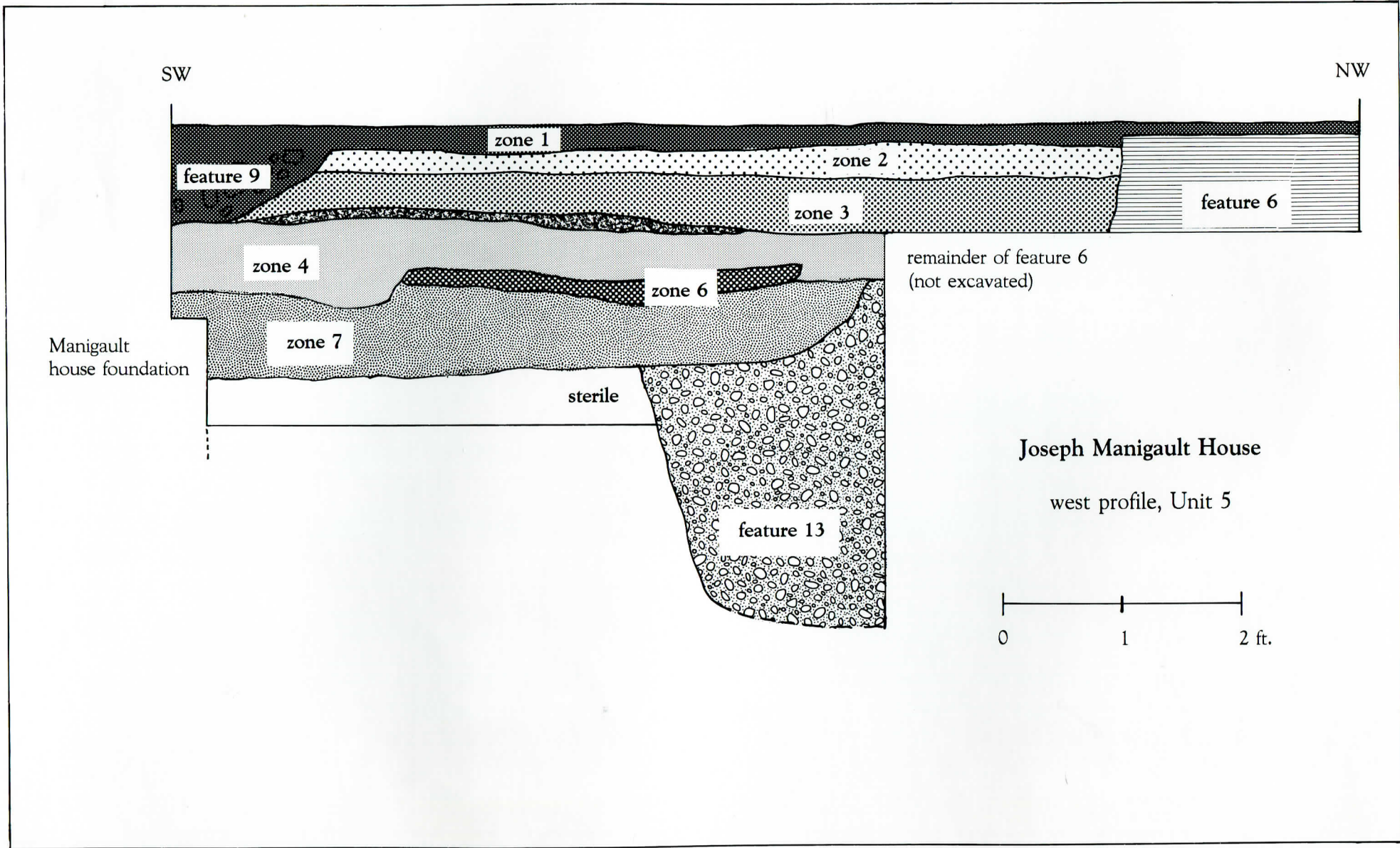
the walk. The eastern limits suggest a width of 8 feet for the feature, with no clearly defined eastern edge. This suggests that Feature 8 may be a general paved area of the work yard instead of a walkway. The extant archaeological record, and its high level of disturbance, indicates that we may never know.

An equally tantalizing clue was found in posthole 2. Within the center of Feature 8, and in line with the corner of the house, was a square area where at least three bricks were missing. This area of medium brown and mottled tan sand was a posthole which had been "cut" into the brick walk, and thus post-dated it. Within this square posthole was a clearly defined oval postmold of medium grey sand. The postmold had well defined straight sides to a depth of .9 feet. The bottom of the posthole was also well defined. Artifacts contained within the posthole and postmold suggest that this post was placed in the 1840s and removed some time after 1852 (Figure 12b).

The location, dimensions, and orientation of postmold 2 clearly suggests that it represents some type of wooden fence which separated the work yard from the front yard. The size of the postmold indicates a picket fence rather than a more rugged post-and-rail fence. The fact that it intrudes into the brick paving implies that segregation of the work yard occurred after articulation of the kitchen and main house via the walkway. Artifacts within the postmold, placed there after the post was removed or rotted in place, suggest that this boundary no longer served a purpose after Manigault's death at mid-century. Only one such post was present, frustrating any attempt to determine its orientation and destination.

Following thorough excavation and recording of these features, a portion of the bricks was removed to facilitate excavation of underlying deposits. Within this very limited area, four superimposed zones were recovered. Zone 4 was a lense of solid mortar chunks. A black transfer printed whiteware sherd contained within the deposit dates the construction of the walkway to the 1830s. Zone 5 was another lense of mortar; zone 6 was orange clayey sand with slate and mortar and a few pockets of dark sand. Zone 7 was another lense of fine mortar. Beneath this was sterile grey sand, which may be original topsoil. These three zones contained few artifacts, and their dates suggest that they are associated with construction of the house (Figure 13).

Similar zones were encountered in Unit 5, a 2 by 10 foot trench located on the western side of Feature 8. Here, zone 4 contained a grey sand with coal residue as well as mortar. Zone 5 was absent, zone 6 was quite thin. In contrast, zone 7 was .8 feet thick and contained a great deal of artifacts, including a number of whole bricks. This zone concluded on gold sterile sand, except in the northern one third of the unit. Here, there was a large, deep pit of mortar with a lense of slate. The few other cultural materials contained within the feature date to the early 19th century, suggesting that this was a construction rubble pit associated with the building of the house. Only a portion of the feature was present in unit 5, and its visible dimensions suggest that it may be quite large.



Three other units were excavated in the Manigault yard to determine the nature and date of archaeological deposits, the level of original grade, and the current condition of the archaeological record. Unit 7 was located in the front yard, between the excavation block and the front entrance. The northeast corner of this 3 by 3 foot unit was 10.0 feet north and 12.75 feet east of the northeast corner of the house. Zone 1 was sampled and discarded. Zones 2 and 3 covered the unit and were consistent with those deposits in the large block. Zone 3, especially, contained large pieces of coal and whole oyster shell.

Zones 4 and 5 were also present, and consistent with those deposits in the block. These zones were relatively thin. The zone 5 mortar was patchy, followed by several pieces of slate, lying flat on sterile subsoil. Feature 14 initiated at the top of zone 4 and intruded into sterile. This small pit of dark brown-grey sand was full of building rubble and had sloping sides and a rounded bottom, and was .9 feet deep (Figure 14).

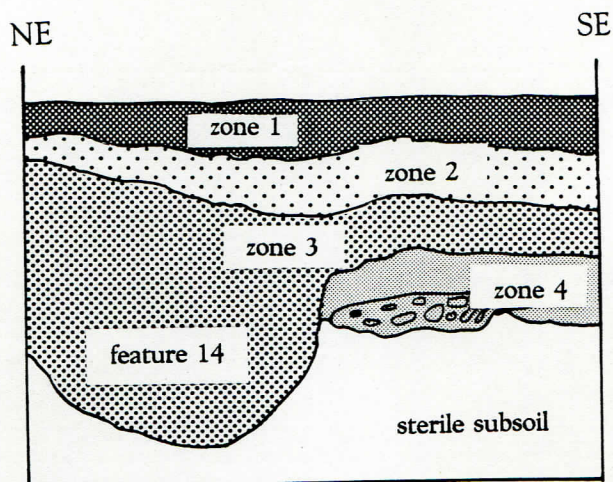
Unit 8 was located in the western portion of the front yard. The northwest corner of this 3 by 3 foot unit was 11.0 feet north and 10.0 feet east of the northwest corner of the house. Excavations began with zone 1; immediately below the surface and contained entirely within the unit was a large lump of concrete. Immediately below this was a deposit of highly mottled and churned dark, tan, and gold sand. This deposit contained two pipes. These soils were excavated as zone 1; this was followed by a lense of sterile orange sand fill. Beneath this was a second, deep layer of orange sterile sand mixed with dark sand. This zone contained a number of artifacts, including modern materials, and a copper pipe. Sterile subsoil was encountered beneath these disturbed soils.

The final excavation, unit 9, was located in the central path of the garden. The 3 by 3 foot unit was flush with the west side of the walk, and 1.5 feet south of the corner of the circular path. The excavation was conducted at the request of Mrs. Frankie Webb, curator of houses, to search for original path material. The excavations revealed, instead, a site disturbed to 1.5 feet in depth. The crushed oyster of the present walk was followed by compacted and mixed black and brown sand. This was followed by a loose, coarse medium and dark grey sand, which lay on top of a large water pipe. The soil above this pipe contained numerous large bricks. Soils were sampled below this to a dept of 2.0 feet and revealed highly mottled and disturbed dark soil to sterile subsoil.

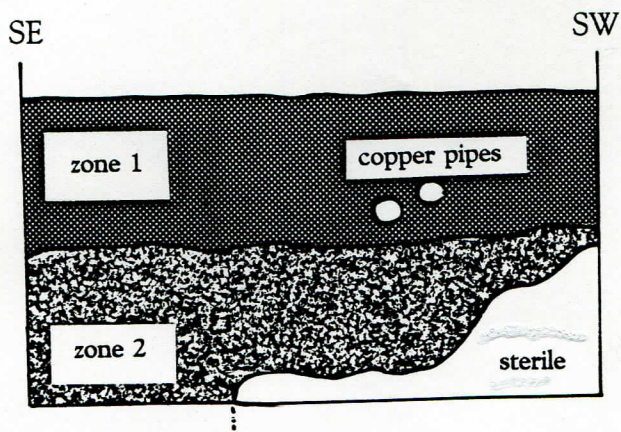
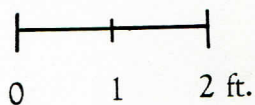
Dating the Proveniences

All encountered archaeological deposits were dated on the basis of stratigraphic point of initiation and Terminus Post Quem. In terms of stratigraphy, recognition of similar soils in discrete units strengthened interpretation of deposits as zones. Likewise, the brick walkway clearly segregated zones deposited before its construction and those that accumulated after its abandonment.

Joseph Manigault House



East profile, Unit 7



South profile, Unit 8

Decorative motifs on pearlware, whiteware, and white porcelain served as the main source for determining TPQ, although other more modern artifacts aided in this determination. Likewise, general composition of the artifact assemblages aided in determining association based on behavior and activity.

The walkway served as a visible stratigraphic marker for division of the proveniences into two temporal assemblages. The earliest group is associated with the Manigault family's occupation of the site (1803–1852). The second postdates the sale of the property and reuse of the kitchen, first as rental property and then as a separately owned tract. Dates of deposition for each provenience are shown in Table 1; these two subassemblages are discussed in the next chapter.

Table 1

Provenience Guide

<u>FS#</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Function</u>	<u>TPQ</u>	<u>Date of Dep.</u>
15	Trench 1, sect 1, zone 2	zone	1851, white porcelain	early 20th cent.
16	Trench 1, sect 1, fea 6	pipe trench	1870, milk glass	1930s or later
17	Trench 1, sect 1, zone 3	zone	1851, white porcelain	late 19th cent.
18	Trench 1, sect 1, fea 7	zone 3	1851, white porcelain	late 19th cent.
19	Trench 1, sect 1, trowel		1830, blue tr. pr. ww	late 19th cent.
20	Trench 1, sect 1, ph 1	post	--	late 19th cent.
21	Trench 1, sect 1, z3lev2	zone	1851, white porcelain	late 19th cent.
22	Trench 1, sect 2, zone 2	zone	lime green glass	20th cent.
23	Trench 1, sect 2, fea 9	pit	clear bottle glass	20th cent.
24	Trench 1, sect 2, zone 3	zone	1851, white porcelain	late 19th cent.
25	Trench 1, sect 2 above f.8	zone	1818, Rockingham	
26	Trench 1, sect 2, pm/ph 2	post	1820, whiteware	
27	Trench 1, sect 2, pm2	postmold	1851+, gilded white porc	1850s-60s
28	Trench 1, sect 2, ph2	posthole	green glass	1830s
29	Trench 1, sect 1, fea 8	brick paving	1830, annular whiteware	1830s
30	Trench 1, sect 1, zone 4	zone	1830, blk tr. pr. ww	1830s
31	Trench 1, sect 1, zone 5	zone	slate	early 19th cent.
32	Trench 1, sect 1, zone 6	zone	nail	early 19th cent.
33	Trench 1, sect 1, zone 7	zone	mortar	early 19th cent.
34	Trench 1, sect 1, zone 8	zone	brick	early 19th cent.
35	Trench 2, zone 2	zone	blue glass	early 20th cent.
36	Trench 2, zone 3	zone	1820, whiteware	1850s
37	Trench 2, zone 1 collected	zone	1915, decaled whiteware	20th cent.
38	Trench 2, zone 1	zone	1870, milk glass	mid-20th cent.
39	Trench 2, zone 2	zone	1850s, bisque porc.	mid-20th cent.
40	Trench 2, zone 3	zone	olive green glass	mid-19th cent.
41	Trench 2, fea 10	pipe trench	1851, white porc.	20th cent.
42	Trench 2, zone 4	zone	1820, hand paint ww	1830s
43	Trench 2, zone 4 lev 2	zone	brick	1830s
44	Trench 2, zone 4b	zone	green glass	1830s
45	Unit 3, fea 10	pipe trench	1851, white porcelain	20th cent.
46	Unit 3, zone 2	zone	1820, whiteware	20th cent.
47	Unit 3, fea 12	pipe trench	1820, whiteware	20th cent.
48	Unit 3, zone 3 lev 1	zone	window glass	late 19th cent.
49	Unit 3, zone 3 lev 2	zone	clear glass	1850s
50	Unit 3, ph 2, east half	posthole	window glass	1850s

51	Unit 3, zone 3, nw cor	zone	1820, whiteware	post-1850
52	Unit 3, zone 3, east por.	zone	1867, panel bottle	1870s
53	Unit 3, zone 3 lev 1	zone	bone	1870s
54	Unit 3, zone 3/fea 6	zone	1820, whiteware	post-1850
55	Unit 3, ph 2	posthole	1851, white porcelain	1850s
56	Trench 1 sect 2, pm 2	postmold	flower pot	post-1850
57	Unit 4, zone 2	zone	1851, gilded whiteware	early 20th cent.
58	Unit 4, zone 3 lev 1	zone	1820, whiteware	post-1850
59	Unit 4, zone 3 lev 2	zone	1820, whiteware	post-1850
60	Unit 5, zones 1-3	zone	1851, white porcelain	late 19th cent.
61	Unit 6, zone 2	zone	plastic cap	20th cent.
62	Unit 6, zone 3	zone	--	late 19th cent.
63	Units 3-6, troweling		1851, white porcelain	late 19th cent.
64	Unit 5, zone 4	zone	1851, white porcelain	1830s?
65	Unit 5, Area A	unknown	1820, annular whiteware	1830s
66	Unit 5, zone 6	zone	1867, panel bottle	1830s
67	Unit 5, zone 7	zone	1820, undec. whiteware	1820s
68	Unit 5, zone 7 lev 2	zone	1820, undec. whiteware	1820s
69	Unit 5, fea 13	construction	1780, poly h.p. pearlware	1800s
70	Unit 7, zone 2	zone	1820, tr.pr. whiteware	late 19th cent.
71	Unit 7, zone 3	zone	1870, milk glass	1870s
72	Unit 7, fea 14	pit	1851, white porcelain	1850s
73	Unit 7, zone 4	zone	1851, white porcelain	1850s
74	Unit 8, zone 1	zone	plastic	20th cent.
75	Unit 8, zone 2	zone	1930s, electric insulator	20th cent.
76	Unit 8, cleaning	zone	1820, whiteware	20th cent.
77	Unit 9, zone 1	zone	1850, pressed glass	20th cent.
78	Unit 9, zone 1 lev 2	zone	--	20th cent.
79	Unit 9, zone 2	zone	--	20th cent.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIALS

Laboratory Methods

Following excavation, all materials were removed to The Charleston Museum, where they were washed, sorted, and analyzed. Conservation procedures included reconstruction of ceramic and glass vessels and stabilization of metal artifacts. Ceramic and glass vessels were restored with B-72 and acetone. Ferrous materials were separated in the field and stabilized by placing them in successive baths of distilled water to remove chlorides, then were oven-dried and bagged. Several ferrous and all non-ferrous metal items were selected for further treatment through electrolytic reduction. The ferrous items were placed in electrolysis in a weak sodium carbonate solution with a current of six amperes. Upon completion of electrolysis, they were placed in successive baths of distilled water to remove chlorides and dried in ethanol. Finally, the materials were coated with a solution of tannic acid and phosphoric acid, and dipped in microcrystalline wax to protect the surfaces.

Non-ferrous artifacts were also placed in electrolytic reduction, in a more concentrated solution with a current of 12 amperes. They were placed in the distilled water baths to remove surface chlorides and dried in ethanol before being coated with Incralac to protect the surfaces.

All excavated materials are curated in The Charleston Museum's storage facility according to museum policy. Artifacts are packed by provenience in standard size low-acid boxes, labelled, and stored in a climate controlled environment. Field records and photographs are curated in the Museum's archive in acid-free containers in the high security section. Copies on 100% rag paper are available in the general research section of the library.

The first step in the analysis of the materials was the identification of the artifacts. The Museum's type collection, Noel Hume (1969), Stone (1974), Brown (1982), Ferguson (1992) and Deagan (1987) were the primary sources used, although other references were consulted for specific artifacts. Lorraine (1968), Huggins (1971), Kechum (1975), and Switzer (1974) were used to identify bottle glass. Epstein (1968) and Luscomb (1967) were used in button identification, and Fontana and Greenleaf (1962) were consulted concerning tin cans.

Following identification, the materials were grouped by functional categories, based on South's (1977) and Garrow's (1982) models for the Carolina Artifact Pattern. South's methodology has been widely adopted by historical archaeologists, allowing for direct comparison;

all of the data from Charleston have been organized in this manner. For descriptive purposes, artifacts will be discussed according to South's categories. The proveniences from the Manigault project have been divided into two temporal assemblages: those associated with the Manigault family era (1803–1852), and those postdating the sale of the property (1853–c. 1940) (Table 2).

Manigault Family Assemblage

The Manigault-era assemblage includes the brick walkway and posthole, as well as all deposits beneath this level, for a total of 21 proveniences and 809 artifacts.

Kitchen material comprised 38.4% of the assemblage, and 199 of the 311 kitchen items were ceramic fragments. The most common ceramics were white porcelain, which dates to 1851 (18% of ceramics) and undecorated whiteware, which dates to 1830 (47% of ceramics). These two ceramics are hallmarks of a mid-19th century assemblage, particularly in such large amounts. Whiteware is a refined earthenware which evolved from the earlier pearlwares and creamwares of the English Staffordshire potteries. Sherds classified as undecorated whiteware may come from completely white vessels, or they may be undecorated portions of hand painted or shell edged wares, for example. Undecorated whitewares increased in popularity as the 19th century progressed; relatively thick whitewares in an octagonal style were popular in the mid 19th century. Most of the Manigault sherds were too fragmentary to determine style. White porcelain appeared in 1851 and enjoyed great popularity in the second half of the century. Those with a gilded decoration were common in the Victorian era.

Other tablewares in the Manigault assemblage include whitewares that were hand painted, blue transfer printed, black transfer printed, and annular designs. These types date from the 1830s through the early 20th century. Earlier refined earthenwares included pearlwares (1780–1820) and creamwares (1760–1825). Pearlwares included transfer printed and hand painted designs. The creamware sherds all appeared to be from early 19th century vessels, which were thicker, heavier, and more utilitarian in nature than their 18th century counterparts.

Utilitarian ceramics included stonewares and earthenwares. Three sherds of 19th century saltglazed stoneware were recovered, and the remainder of the utilitarian ceramics were coarse earthenwares. This included Rockingham (1841–1920), black lead glazed redware (c. 1820–1860), lead glazed earthenwares of unspecified types, and a single sherd of Colono ware.

The remainder of the kitchen artifacts were fragments of bottle glass. The most common were olive green, clear, or light blue. The green bottles held a variety of alcoholic beverages. The light blue bottles held soda or mineral water, a beverage which increased in popularity as the 19th century progressed. The clear glass bottles may have held a variety of products. Other glass artifacts included two fragments of wine glass and a single fragment each of milk glass and pressed table glass. The final kitchen item was a fragment of tin can.

Architectural material comprised 59% of the assemblage. This group consisted primarily of window glass and cut nails. Other artifacts included fragments of roof slate and a brass roofing nail.

The material assemblage aside from kitchen and architectural items was notable for its paucity. No arms materials were recovered. Clothing items comprised .61% and included two brass buttons, one one-hole bone button, and two brass straight pins. A single artifact was recovered in the personal category, accounting for .12% of the assemblage; this was a slate pencil. An upholstery tack and a brass drawer pull comprised the furniture category for .24% of the assemblage.

Ten kaolin pipes, bowl and stem fragments, comprised 1.23% of the assemblage. The activities group comprised .74% of the assemblage and included two flower pot fragments, two fragments of brass wire, a fragment of iron barrel strap, and a horse shoe.

Postbellum Assemblage

The late 19th century assemblage was similar in all respects to the Manigault era group. Kitchen artifacts comprised 38% of the assemblage; in this group, however, ceramics comprised only 39% of the kitchen group. Once again, white porcelain and undecorated whiteware dominated the ceramic assemblage. White porcelain, particularly with gilt trim, was more numerous in these proveniences. Oriental porcelains were also present in both underglazed and overglazed designs. All of these were too fragmentary to determine patterns.

Whitewares dominated the ceramic group at 43%. Undecorated whiteware was the most common, followed by transfer printed, hand painted, annular, and flow blue designs. Pearlwares and creamwares were also present, but in reduced percentages. The pearlwares were undecorated, hand painted, and shell edged. Most of the creamware sherds were too small for further identification.

Other tablewares included a single sherd of decaled whiteware (1901-1950), portobello-like earthenware (c. 1810-1840), blue-bodied porcelain (date unknown), luster ware (1811-1850), and a sherd of jackfield ware, typical of the mid-18th century.

Utilitarian wares comprised 11% of the ceramics. They included 19th century stonewares, black lead glazed redware, and lead glazed coarse earthenware. Refined earthenwares included Rockingham (1841-1920) and common yellow ware (1826-1880). Finally, two sherds of staffordshire slipware were recovered. This 18th century ceramic continued in popularity into the early 19th century.

Bottle glass comprised the remaining 60% of the kitchen assemblage. Olive green, clear, and light blue bottle glass were the most common artifacts. Other bottle glass present in smaller

amounts included amber, bright green, and brown. Four fragments clearly identifiable as medicinal glass were recovered. Table glass included pressed glass and milk glass.

Architectural materials comprised 58.8% of the assemblage. Dominant among these were window glass and nails, both wire and machine cut. Other artifacts included fragments of roofing slate, a brass nail for slate roofs, a hinge, a screw, a porcelain electric insulator, and a fragment of sewer pipe.

Arms items included two .22 calibre shell casings, comprising .13% of the assemblage. Clothing comprised 1.1% of the assemblage, and included two snaps, a glass button, a porcelain collar stud, two brass buttons, and a grommet. Other clothing items included eight straight pins and a blue glass bead, semicircular in shape.

Personal items comprised .27% of the assemblage and included an 1837 penny, a fragment of umbrella strut, a clay marble, a portion of porcelain doll face, and a fragment of a fan slat.

Furniture items comprised .41% of the assemblage and included four upholstery tacks and two fragments of lamp shade glass. This glass was layered milk glass and translucent pink glass. Seven stem fragments completed the pipe group for .48% of the assemblage. Activities items comprised .68% of the assemblage and included two flower pot fragments, three fragments of iron barrel strap, and five fragments of brass wire.

Summary of Artifact Dates and Patterning

To date, all of the Charleston assemblages have been quantified by grouping the artifacts into functional categories according to South's (1977) methodology. Under this technique, artifacts are grouped by their presumed function in the daily affairs of the site occupants. By utilizing data from a number of British colonial sites, South proposed a range of variability that can be expected for the frequency percentages of artifact classes and groups. He named this range of variability the Carolina Artifact Pattern; this pattern is presumed to represent an averaging of domestic behavior. By establishing the range of variation, it should be possible to recognize aberrant activities as variation from these ranges.

Comparison of the Manigault assemblages to Charleston mixed residential/commercial sites, to other Charleston townhouse sites, and to the Carolina Artifact pattern is shown in Table 3. Artifact profiles from the 1986 front step excavations are also shown. The mixed residential-commercial sites include the homes and businesses of merchants and craftspeople from the core of the old city. These sites reflect a general conformity to the Carolina pattern. The major difference is in the Activities group, which is higher than the Carolina pattern.

In contrast, data from the Gibbes, Aiken-Rhett, Rutledge, and Brewton houses were used to derive a pattern for domestic-only sites (the Townhouse profile). These sites, however, are not representative of all Charleston residential sites. Rather, they represent federal/antebellum

townhouses owned and occupied by wealthy and prominent planter/merchants. Artifact patterning is one tool used to address some archaeological issues discussed in Chapter I.

The principal reason for the temporal subdivision of the Manigault assemblage was the change in occupancy after Manigault's death, and the ensuing changes in use of the north yard. It was assumed that this change in function might be reflected as variation between the two subassemblages. Table 3 shows that this is not the case. Possible reasons for these patterns are discussed in the next section.

Table 2
Quantification of the Assemblage

	Manigault	Postbellum
Kitchen:		
white porcelain, undec	18	55
white porcelain, gilt	1	6
oriental porcelain, overglaze		6
oriental porcelain, b/w		9
whiteware, undec	94	69
poly hand painted	4	4
transfer print, blue	4	20
transfer print, other		4
flow blue		1
annular	21	5
blue porcelain		1
luster ware	1	1
pearlware, undecorated		3
hand painted	1	1
transfer printed		1
shell edged		1
annular	4	
creamware	7	7
misc. stoneware	3	15
black lead glazed earthenware	9	3
misc. lead glazed earthenware	3	1
yellow ware		3
rockingham	4	2
slipware		2
colono ware	1	
decaled whiteware		1
portobello-like ware		1
bottle glass, olive green	52	108
clear	36	136
blue	18	49
bright green	1	4
amber		15
brown	1	

milk glass	1	8
pressed glass	1	9
table glass	2	
pharmaceutical glass		4
tin can	1	
Architecture:		
window glass	139	607
nails	320	232
slate	14	4
sewer pipe		6
brass nail	1	1
screw		2
electric insulator		1
hinge		1
wire nail		1
Arms:		
shell casing		2
Clothing:		
snap		2
glass button		1
collar stud		1
brass button	2	2
bone button	1	
straight pin	2	8
grommet		1
bead		1
Personal:		
doll part		1
clay marble		1
coin		1
umbrella strut		1
slate pencil	1	
fan slat		1
Furniture:		
tack	1	4
window shade glass		2
drawer pull	1	

Pipes:
kaolin stem fragments 10 7

Activities:
flower pot 2 2
misc brass 2 5
iron strap 1 3
horse shoe 1

Table 3
Comparison of the Manigault Assemblages
to Composite Artifact Profiles

Artifact Category	Manigault		Postbellum		1986 work	*	**	Dual (%) Function
	#	%	#	%	%	CAP (%)	Townhouse Profile (%)	
Kitchen	311	38.44	552	38.01	32.13	63.0	58.38	63.10
Architecture	474	58.59	855	58.88	63.37	25.0	36.0	25.03
Arms	0	0.0	2	.13	0.0	.5	.32	.20
Clothing	5	.61	16	1.10	.17	3.0	.91	1.18
Personal	1	.12	4	.27	1.97	.2	.24	.14
Furniture	2	.24	6	.41	.17	.2	.21	.08
Pipes	10	1.23	7	.48	0.0	5.8	2.79	5.97
Activities	6	.74	10	.68	2.15	1.7	1.10	4.14

* Carolina Artifact Pattern (from South 1977)

** includes Aiken-Rhett, William Gibbes, Miles Brewton, John Rutledge houses.

CHAPTER V

INTERPRETATIONS

The Data Base

Since 1980, archaeological research in Charleston has been guided by a series of long-term research questions. These topics were formulated through archival research (Zierden and Calhoun 1984; Rosengarten et al. 1987). Documentary research focused on evidence for the formation of human adaptive patterns, and the ways in which these patterns are manifested in the community and reflected in the ground, as suggested by Kathleen Deagan (1983:13-14). These include:

1) information relevant to an understanding of social variability in the city, such as population demography, occupations, income ranges, social and ethnic classes.

2) information relevant to the material world and economy of Charleston. This includes studies of Charleston's economic system, its position in the world economy, the range of activities in the commercial sector of Charleston's population, descriptions of the range of imports available to the city's citizens, the local production of goods, and the mechanisms and manifestations of distribution and exchange in the city.

3) information relevant to the physical formation of the archaeological record. This includes information on the physical landscape of Charleston, such as patterns of growth and development, location of different activity areas, and the nature of the physical environment prior to intensive utilization. Physical contributions to the record such as architecture and building construction methods, cultural and natural disasters, disposal and sanitation practices, and public works are also important.

The proposed research topics address a number of issues, both descriptive and processual. Data from subsequently excavated sites have been utilized to examine these issues, whenever appropriate. Research topic selection is based on the scale of the project, as well as the temporal and functional affiliations of the site. The unified research approach gives weight to small projects such as Manigault, as each project, regardless of scale, enlarges the Charleston data base.

To date, eighteen sites comprise the Charleston data base. These are utilized in the present study for comparative purposes, both individually and in groups. The sites that form the data base are widely varied, but can be grouped into two categories; residential only and dual residential-commercial. The latter are located in that portion of the city that has been intensely utilized for commercial activity from at least the early 18th century through the present day.

The nine residential sites are the most relevant to the present study. With two exceptions, they are located in what were suburban areas of the late 18th or early 19th centuries, and contain the original standing structures dating to those periods. Their continuous use as residential property to the present facilitates study of the domestic evolution of the property. Those double houses (homes of the gentry) that were built in the 18th and 19th centuries include those of William Gibbes (1772), Miles Brewton (1769), John Rutledge (1763), Thomas Heyward (1772) and William Aiken (1817), as well as the Joseph Manigault house. The Rutledge and Heyward lots were occupied in the early 18th century, prior to construction of the present houses. The remainder of the houses were among the first in their respective neighborhoods. The three middle class sites include 66 and 40 Society Street, rebuilt on Ansonborough lots after the 1838 fire, and 70 Nassau Street, built in the Charleston Neck in the 1840s. Examples from individual sites, and patterns from groups of sites, are used for comparative purposes in the interpretation of the Manigault site (see Table 3).

Site Formation Processes

Investigations of site formation processes is a basic component of ongoing archaeological research in Charleston. In order to most fully interpret an archaeological site, it is first necessary to understand the processes responsible for the formation of that data base. In an urban situation, this can be a formidable task. Because of the often intensive use and reuse of most urban lots, the stratigraphic record is often a deep jumble of multiple deposits. Urban archaeologists have been chided for failing to consider all of the proveniences in these complex sites, instead searching in vain for "layer cake sites" (Honerkamp and Fairbanks 1984:65).

Cultural materials are introduced into the ground by three basic methods; discard, loss, and abandonment (Schiffer 1977). In some cases, it is possible to distinguish proveniences resulting from specific depositional processes. Once in the ground, they can be redistributed or they can be removed (Ascher 1968; Honerkamp and Fairbanks 1984; Schiffer 1983). Usually, the archaeological record is a combination of all three events. Archaeologists are particularly interested in the processes which introduce and redistribute materials. In the case of the Manigault site, however, removal of soils is also a factor.

The congestion and population density of the urban center required different strategies than did farms and plantation. The back yard, or designated portions of it, was the locus of refuse disposal. Although considerable refuse was scattered on the ground as sheet midden, much of it was deposited into recycled features such as wells and privies. Crowded conditions and health considerations also resulted in the deposition of refuse in any convenient space in the city, such as open lots, unpaved streets, and spaces between buildings. Quantities of refuse were also dumped into creeks and lowlying marshy areas, creating viable real estate (Rosengarten et al. 1987; Sapan 1985; Zierden and Calhoun 1986).

Urban archaeological deposits reflect abandonment and loss, as well as discard. Abandonment activities include loss of materials due to fire or storm and the resulting cleanup

activities (Zierden et al. 1983a) and the transfer of a domicile to a new tenant or owner. The single event filling of large features such as privies seems to reflect this activity (Lewis and Haskell 1981; Zierden and Hacker 1987). Artifact assemblages resulting from loss have been manifested as deposits beneath a present or former wood floor (small items swept through cracks between boards) and in the small artifacts accumulated in drains (Zierden 1991b). Loss and abandonment deposits can often be distinguished from discard deposits by the artifact profile (South 1977; Zierden and Hacker 1987:93), as well as the physical properties of the artifacts.

Another key aspect of the urban sites may be disorganization, the result of continuous occupation and the intrusion of later deposits into earlier ones. Additional factors unique to urban sites are: private or municipal collection of refuse, which resulted in the redeposition of trash in a central location far from its place of origin (Dickens and Bowen 1980), and the replacement of the private handling of basic needs – water procurement and storage, sanitary waste management, and trash disposal – by municipal or corporate firms (Honerkamp and Council 1984; Rosengarten et al. 1987; Zierden and Calhoun 1986).

Research in Charleston has suggested deliberate, non-random patterns of refuse disposal. This activity, along with butchering, food preparation, and a host of other domestic activities were concentrated near the outbuildings, while the "formal" portions of the yard were kept relatively clean.

It was expected that refuse disposal practices would be reflected in the formation of the archaeological record at Manigault, even though excavations were spatially limited. This was one reason for the temporal subdivision of the assemblage; it was assumed that the change in site orientation and use of the kitchen building would result in a change in refuse disposal patterns and activities in this particular portion of the site. For the early period, this area was adjacent to both the work yard and the formal entrance in a highly regimented landscape; in the second half of the century it was the back and later a kitchen area in a deteriorating yard.

The artifact pattern, however, reflects no change in use of this portion of the site. The early and late assemblages and the 1986 assemblage all have very similar artifact patterns (Table 3). These are characterized by a smaller amount of kitchen artifacts and an elevated amount of architectural debris, in comparison to the Carolina Artifact Pattern. The relative number of artifacts in other categories is also small.

This would suggest that this particular area of the site was never deliberately used for refuse disposal. This is supported by the relative absence of bone and charcoal, and the lack of variety within the artifact assemblage. The exception is Zone 7 in Unit 5, which was different from the rest of the site in terms of artifact quantity and quality. Artifacts were larger and more varied, there was a greater quantity of bone, and there was a much higher proportion of kitchen artifacts. Otherwise, the small size and highly fragmented nature of the artifact assemblage suggests that the area was subject to heavy foot traffic.

While the artifact patterns are presumed to reflect site activities, research in Charleston has shown that the architecture group varies widely, and may be more reflective of site formation processes. For example, buildings on a site may have been moved, razed, or burned; they may have decayed in place, or they may be still standing. Excavations around Archdale plantation, which slowly decayed after abandonment in 1886, recovered an artifact assemblage containing 60% architectural materials (Zierden et al. 1985). Charleston townhouses usually contain between 30% and 40% architectural materials, even though the original house is still standing. This has been interpreted as reflecting ongoing maintenance and alteration of these "showplaces." The high percentage of architectural materials at Manigault (58%) may reflect three processes though the 19th and 20th centuries: construction, improvement, and decline.

The Manigault site was also subject to a great deal of disorganization. This is seen in the artifacts contained in the numerous pipe trenches which transect the area. These later features truncated earlier deposits and mixed their contents with later items. For example, the large pipe trench (feature 10) contained jumbled bricks from feature 8, the brick walkway, as well as a number of 19th century materials in fragmentary condition. Such disorganization is characteristic of the 20th century archaeological component on urban sites; other characteristics include a general absence of artifacts, as municipal garbage pickup became the common practice. This "hidden" strip of ground between the house and Cook's Cleaners was used for casual disposal (known today as littering) and discard of other building debris, such as feature 9, the shallow pit of nails. While such features are less glamorous than an 18th century well, for example, they are important in understanding diachronic processes of urban development (See Honerkamp 1987; Honerkamp and Fairbanks 1984; Honerkamp et al. 1983).

Finally, unlike most Charleston sites, the Manigault site was characterized by removal. Although the artifact content of the excavated units (and similar units at the Miles Brewton house) would suggest that the front yard contained few artifacts, the bulk of the archaeological deposits were in fact removed with the construction and razing of Cook's Cleaners. Surface survey of the area after demolition was completed located no artifacts on top of exposed subsoil.

The Urban Landscape

Landscape is a space on the surface of the earth; intuitively it is a space with a degree of permanence, with its own distinct character, either topographical or cultural, and above all a space shared by people. A landscape is a concrete, three dimensional, shared reality (Jackson 1984:4). The natural terrain has been replaced by a synthetic space; a human-made system of spaces superimposed on the land, functioning and evolving not according to natural laws but to serve a community, "for the collective character of the landscape is one thing that all generations and all points of view have agreed upon" (Stilgoe 1982; Jackson 1984).

Landscape studies by their very nature demand a broader scale than most archaeological studies have encompassed. Archaeologists usually focus incrementally on the excavation unit, the house, or the community; landscape requires consideration of the spaces between these:

outbuildings, fences, gardens, pastures, streets, public spaces, stretches of woods and water. To embrace these varied landscape components, archaeologists must expand beyond their traditional methods (Deetz in Kelso and Most 1990).

Archaeological research in Charleston was expanded under the landscape approach to subsume a number of topics: spatial patterning, subsistence strategy, socioeconomic status, health and sanitation. "Landscape archaeology is big. On the one hand researchers maintain their commitment to recovering the specifics of individual phenomena in detail; on the other hand they struggle to push comprehension of singular phenomena into the apprehension of collective environmental action and reaction. The discovery of the singular leads to the broader search and interpretation of how and why people have shaped the physical environment in the ways they have" (Deetz 1990).

Creation of the landscape encompasses deliberate as well as accidental actions, where the deliberate were often guided by social aesthetics, and the accidental by the circumstances of daily life; landscape thus encodes complex expressions of historic processes from the reified to the explicitly ideological. A basic premise of these studies is that landscape helps generate social life as well as reflect it; the landscape shapes and reshapes these as social meanings and relationships are continually negotiated within the forms and spaces of the urban environment.

Archaeology, in combination with documentary and cartographic information, has provided details on lot layout and spatial patterning at the Manigault site. When compared with other townhouses in Charleston, the Manigault lot layout is quite unusual. The limited archaeological data, however, suggests some similarities with other urban properties.

Charleston lots were deep and narrow, to maximize the available street frontage. Houses fronted directly on the street, with the narrow end facing the road. By the mid-18th century, two architectural styles, the single house and the double house, dominated Charleston domestic architecture. Both were borrowed from England but reflect Caribbean and even African influences. The Charleston single house was one room wide and usually two deep; the narrow end fronted the street while the south or west side contained piazzas facing the yard. The single house has been viewed as a response to both the scarcity of urban space and humid subtropical climate. Severens (1988:7) suggests that the single houses were sensitive compromises between the public need for urban density and the private desire for domestic seclusion. More recently, Bernard Herman has suggested that single houses, unlike their rowhouse counterparts in other Atlantic port cities, actually squandered urban real estate, and reflect the dominance of planters and their view of socially acceptable landscape arrangement in Charleston (Herman 1989). Typically, the gable end fronted the street, and entrance was through a false front door onto the piazza. The true entrance was then located in the center of the long wall, and opened onto a central hall. A variation of this style featured an entrance on the northern side of the house, resulting in a suite of rooms along the south side (Rogers 1980:66).

The double house, as its name implies, contained four rooms to a floor, with a central hall, and was often more elaborate than the simpler single house (Coclanis 1985:612; Zierden and

Herman 1991). The larger Charleston houses, particularly the double houses, were often elevated with an above ground basement; the second floor was then the first living floor. This cooled the house, gave protection from flooding, and provided social distance from the public streets. This sense of distance was further enhanced by the presence of forbidding brick walls or wrought iron fences that often stood between the double houses and streets (Coclanis 1989:8; Zierden and Herman 1991).

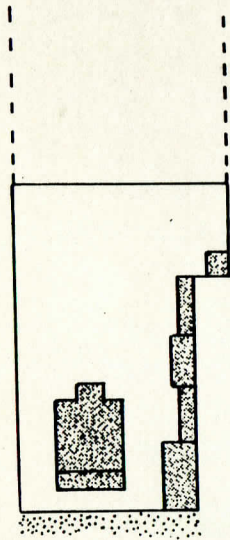
The Manigault house embodies many of these features. The imposing structure is a three story double house, set on an above-ground basement. "A handsome flight of stone stairs" leads from the sidewalk. A wrought iron fence separates the front entrance from the street. (Reconstruction of this feature was based on general period architectural research in Charleston.) Certainly, the front of the Manigault house reflects formality, elegance, and social position.

Behind the main house, auxiliary structures were arranged within a fenced compound, and often included slave quarters, kitchen, stables, well at mid-lot, and privy in the rear corner. Gardens, both ornamental and functional, might be planted and livestock might be kept. While there was some variation in the size, content, and arrangement of these structures, they were considered basic functional components of urban life and were present in some form. The urban compounds of the wealthy often contained substantial brick structures for all of these activities. The properties of less affluent residents might contain less substantial structures, or fewer outbuildings; such residents owned fewer horses and fewer, if any, slaves. More than one household might share privies, wells, and passageways (Zierden and Hacker 1987:99). The support structures were often aligned along one or both walls to the rear of the house. The Aiken-Rhett yard, which never contained a garden, suggests the deliberate location of livestock facilities and privies away from the main house, while the Gibbes and Miles Brewton yards, with support structures along one side, reflect attempts to segregate the working yard from the formal gardens.

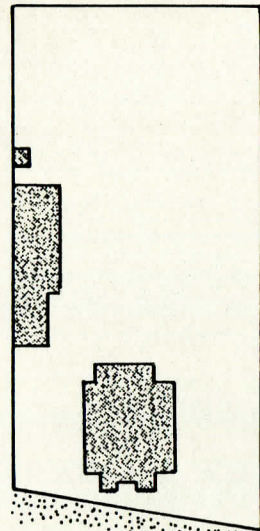
The Manigault layout diverges from this pattern, but maintains a similar repertoire of structures. The Manigault property features the house set in from the street; privy, carriage house, and stable along the east wall both in front of and behind the house, and the kitchen set perpendicular to these structures, directly on John Street. With the north facade as the main entrance, the kitchen and slave quarters were positioned on the front street, in front of the main house. The reasons for this configuration is unclear, as Manigault's lot was generously proportioned, giving him flexibility in lot use (Figure 15).

These seemingly spacious yards thus quickly became cramped, as an owner's family, as many as twenty slaves and a variety of livestock – horses, cows, and assorted fowl – lived and worked within a restricted area. As the 19th century progressed, Charlestonians became seriously concerned with the health and sanitation problems resulting from such population pressure, and worked to offset the dangers inherent in these conditions. Cisterns to collect rainwater and brick drains designed to remove waste water are tangible archaeological evidence of attempts to make the yard more liveable.

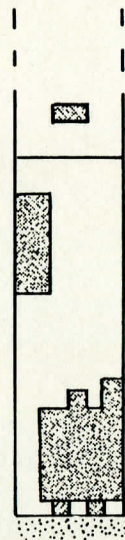
Relative Lot Size and Structure Distribution 1750 - 1850



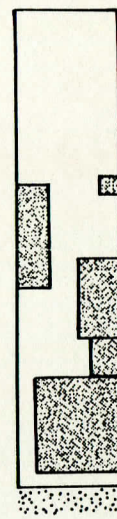
**Miles Brewton
House 1769**



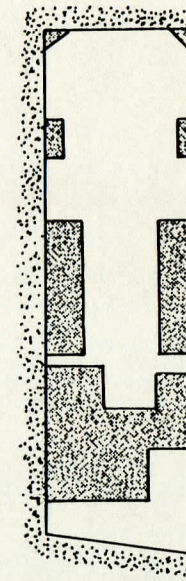
**William Gibbes
House 1772**



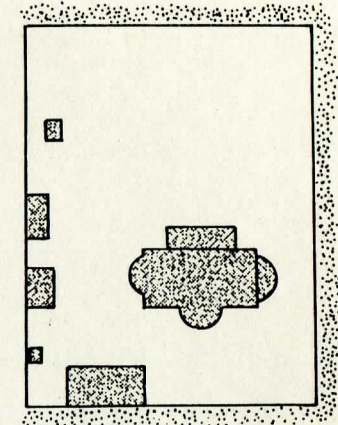
**John Rutledge
House 1763**



**Heyward-
Washington
House 1772**



**Aiken-Rhett
House 1817**

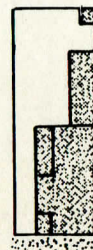


**Joseph Manigault
House 1803**

Upper class townhouses



**70 Nassau
1840s**



**66 Society
1839**



**40 Society
1839**

Middle class single houses

The Manigault work yard featured two privies and a well, or pump, in close proximity. Evidently, the Manigaults faced some problems with their water, for a cistern was constructed under the south piazza. The limited excavations to date have not encountered any drainage systems, but these results do not preclude their possible existence.

This fairly static pattern can serve as a basic outline of lot element patterning in Charleston, but continuing research on residential-only sites suggests that this pattern evolved through the 18th and 19th centuries. Architectural and archaeological investigation of the Miles Brewton house, for example, suggests fewer outbuildings and a less formal arrangement of structures in the 18th century. In particular, the existing brick walls which surround the urban compound and separate the formal garden from the working yard, as well as several outbuildings, appear to be 19th century additions. Refuse disposal was initially concentrated near the outbuildings, but these areas were later paved in an attempt to keep them clean.

Refuse disposal in the work yards, for example, reached a "breaking point" in the early 1800s. In the Miles Brewton courtyard, the complex zones of refuse were first covered with irregular lenses of tabby mortar and then finally paved with brick and slate. Datable artifacts indicate that the paving occurred around 1840. Refuse was then disposed elsewhere on the site or carted off-site. The total accumulation of soil in the work yard for the next 150 years amounted to less than one half foot. The post-paving soils contained primarily architectural debris with relatively little kitchen or organic refuse (Zierden 1991b).

The paving of the Miles Brewton work yard was far from an isolated event; paved workyards have been noted at the Heyward, Rutledge, and Aiken-Rhett yards, as well as the Manigault house. They all overlie midden deposits, and were laid in the 1830s-1850s. The tantalizing data from Manigault is too fragmentary to draw definite conclusions, but it would appear that Feature 8 represents an area of workyard paving. While the contents of the zones above feature 8 correspond to those on other sides, the brick walk did not seal earlier zones that were particularly organic (with the exception of zone 7). It is possible that this brick paving extended further into the workyard, sealing more organic deposits, but this will await further excavation. As mentioned before, the spatially limited excavations did not encounter areas of the site used for refuse disposal. The 1830s date for construction of the brick walk or paved area is consistent with other townhouse sites.

Internal segregation of the urban compound appears to be another gradual development during the 19th century. At the Miles Brewton house, it appears that the brick and picket fence that separates the work yard from the formal garden is an early 19th century evolution from a less formal and less restricting post-and-rail fence. In two excavation units, rounded features underneath the brick wall proved to be the remains of wooden posts placed in well-defined postholes. Such features are no longer extant, but their existence and the more open nature of the urban landscape is captured in Charles Fraser's watercolors of the 1800s.

The Manigault yard embodies similar characteristics; the 1820s Drayton painting clearly shows a simple picket fence separating the workyard from the formal garden along the south side. The posthole in the brick walkway suggests that a similar fence delineated the boundary between the work yard and the front entrance. The fact that it intrudes into the brick paving suggests that it is a change from a more open yardscape. These fragmentary remains clearly signal first connection, and later segmentation, of the main house and work yard.

Finally, the Manigault house is similar to other townhouses in the highly formalized nature of the front entrance. The imposing doorway, stairway, and front gate of the Manigault, and other townhouses, is echoed in an archaeological record that evidences deliberate filling, grading and leveling, and very little refuse disposal. The lack of artifacts in the zones at Manigault was mirrored in excavations across the front of the Miles Brewton house (Zierden 1991b).

Though the excavation efforts were limited, and the results sometimes disappointing, the Manigault project produced important new data for understanding the urban townhouse landscape. When combined with documentary and cartographic information, and compared to a substantial data base, even a highly compromised archaeological record can yield important data.

CHAPTER VI

ARCHAEOLOGY AND PUBLIC INTERPRETATION

The concept of landscape is a visual phenomenon; landscape has been defined as "the portion of the land that the eye can comprehend in a single view." What we comprehend in a single view today certainly clouds our vision of past landscapes in both a physical and academic sense.

Archaeology has become a vital tool for altering public interpretation, by providing a more complete picture of the past landscape. In many cases the outbuildings are gone, or in remodeling have become mere shells. Likewise, yard areas no longer necessary for the affairs of daily life have been given over to gardens; Charleston yards, especially the smaller ones, are now infinitely "nicer" than they once were. Archaeology can help redress some of these myths by increasing the emphasis on outbuildings in all their form and variety and on the difficulties of daily life as evidenced by features in the work yard, with a proportional deemphasis on main houses and gardens.

This is graphically demonstrated in the recent changes at Manigault. The restoration of the gardens in 1951 included the area beneath the windows of the formal dining room. Yet Manigault's guests actually looked down on, and shared breezes with, the stable building and the work yard in general. The plantings have now been removed and the outbuildings delineated. Based on a lack of firm architectural evidence, these have been outlined in brick and filled with shell; the remainder of the yard has been sodded. While this method reflects the most current preservation practices, it recreates only the physical parameters and not the ambience.

Archaeology at Manigault, and at other Charleston townhouses, has also provided other insights into life in 18th and 19th century Charleston (see Zierden 1992a; Zierden and Herman 1991). These can be summarized as follows:

1) The urban compound featured a number of structures that were essential to daily life. Where lots were large enough, the work yard was segregated from a formal garden. The work yard was the scene of many domestic activities; this is reflected in the complexity of the archaeological record in this portion of the site (Zierden 1991b; Zierden and Herman 1991).

2) Charleston in the 18th and 19th century was a very unhealthy place. During the 19th century in particular, urban citizens worked to offset some of these problems; such efforts are particularly evident at the elite townhouse sites. Contamination of groundwater was offset by the construction of cisterns and the regular cleaning of privies. Drain systems helped remove waste water and debris, as well as rainwater. When refuse disposal became a critical problem, the work

yards were paved and refuse was discarded elsewhere (Rosengarten et al. 1987; Zierden 1991b; Zierden and Herman 1991).

3) Some success in sanitizing these yards is reflected in analysis of the faunal materials. The percentage of commensal (non-food) species – dogs, cats, rats, toads, etc. – is higher in the city than on rural sites. The percentage of commensals, particularly rats, is lower at the townhouse sites, suggesting at least some success in keeping these yards more sanitary (Reitz 1986, 1990) (Table 4).

4) Though no faunal analysis was conducted at the Manigault site, due to small sample size, such studies at other townhouses have provided a wealth of information on daily life in Charleston. The diet of Charlestonians was dominated by domestic mammals, particularly cow. There was little difference in the diet of the various social classes, in terms of cuts of domestic meats. The wealthy enjoyed a more diverse diet, however, and the diversity was supplied by wild game, particularly fish, turtles, and birds. Archaeological evidence clearly and consistently shows that Charlestonians, particularly the elite, maintained and butchered cows on site. This was a major source of food for site residents, despite the presence of the urban meat market (Reitz 1992; Reitz and Zierden 1991) (Table 4).

5) Though the Manigault samples were not amenable to palynological or ethnobotanical analysis, such studies at other townhouse sites have demonstrated a dramatic deforestation of the Charleston peninsula between 1760 and 1800. The pollen spectrum reflects a decline in hardwood trees and an increase in the weeds that colonize a "disturbed" habitat. The pollen spectrum also shows a decrease in mesic (wet or marshy) plants, as areas of marsh were filled and leveled to reduce health hazards and create new real estate. The deforestation of the Charleston area is reflected in the dramatic rise in firewood prices as the 18th century progressed (Reinhard 1990; Weir 1983).

6) The high brick walls which surround the 18th century Charleston townhouses appear to be an antebellum alteration of the property. Excavations at the Miles Brewton house suggest that the internal and external walls of brick were originally wood – either post and rail or picket fences. Formal segregation of the work yard and formal garden may also be later changes to these town sites. The wooden fence which separates the Manigault house entrance from the work yard postdates 1830. Whether this fence was an addition or replacement remains unclear. This privatization and segmentation in many cases coincides with the remodeling of slave quarters to include closure of windows facing outside the property. The 19th century in Charleston is characterized by constriction and closing of vistas (Herman 1988, 1989; Zierden and Herman 1991).

The Manigault house serves as a good example of how changes made to a property only a generation ago become part of our view of the landscape and thus historically accurate. The Manigault house, as a preserved historic property, does not date only to 1803; it includes evidence of activities and alterations from 1796 through 1992. Archaeology can help give perspective to

Table 4
Summary of Faunal Data

Urban-Rural Contrasts:

	Urban (n=5)		Rural (n=11)	
	MNI	%	MNI	%
Domestic Mammals	167	28.9	172	17.2
Domestic Birds	114	19.7	41	4.1
Wild Mammals	47	8.1	192	19.2
Wild Birds	44	7.6	30	3.0
Aquatic Reptiles	31	5.4	137	13.7
Fishes	114	19.7	383	38.4
Commensal Taxa	61	10.6	43	4.3

(from Reitz 1986)

Charleston Summaries:

	Gen. Chas.		Upper Status	
	MNI	%	MNI	%
Domestic Mammals	238	29.7	71	30.7
Domestic Birds	123	15.3	27	11.6
Wild Mammals	69	8.6	20	8.6
Wild Birds	84	10.4	26	11.5
Aquatic Reptiles	39	4.8	13	5.6
Fishes	148	18.4	56	24.2
Commensal Taxa	100	12.5	18	7.7

(from Reitz 1990)

these diachronic changes in the property by pinpointing exactly where features were located and when they were built.

The Manigault study also demonstrates just how much interpretive data can be derived from a little archaeology, when placed within the context of long-term interdisciplinary study. Without the benefit of comparative data from other sites, the fragmentary features at Manigault would mean very little. The project also underscored how even a badly damaged archaeological sites can yield useful data. While a greater length of paving and fence would have been more informative, the small area remaining yielded valuable information.

Mention should be made of the grading of the front yard during restoration. Normally, such a procedure would be strongly discouraged. The archaeological component of a site is an extremely valuable resource, whether the deposits date to 1750 or 1950. Further, the archaeological record in Charleston is highly varied in terms of age, depth, complexity and clarity, and it is very difficult to accurately predict these conditions. At Manigault, the grade was so altered by the demolition of Cooks Cleaners as to be nonfunctional. The small remaining area was thoroughly tested prior to grading and closely monitored during renovation to record any additional features and deposits. During restoration, grade was deflated to the level of the brick walkway. In this one case, grading was justified.

The present project suggests that much of the Manigault property has lost its archaeological research value. The exception may be the work yard, outside the dining room. The lower levels of the northern privy appear to be intact, and levels below the top zone may remain intact in the vicinity of the carriage house. This area should be protected, and any changes to this area should consider archaeological resources.

The changes in the landscape and the interpretation at Manigault hold much promise. Archaeological data and interpretations can contribute to a more complete understanding of the role of the Manigault house in Charleston's history.

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