WILLTOWN

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS 27
THE CHARLESTON MUSEUM
1999

Note: Pagination for the online version of *Willtown* (Archaeological Contribution 27) varies from print version

Willtown:
An Archaeological and Historical Perspective

by
Martha Zierden
Suzanne Linder
Ronald Anthony

with Contributions by:

Andrew Agha
Jennifer Webber
Elizabeth Reitz
Jean Porter
Genevieve Brown
James Catto
Elizabeth Garrett
Hayden Smith
Matthew Tankersley
Marta Thacker

The Charleston Museum
Archaeological Contributions 27
May 1999

Prepared for
Mr. Hugh C. Lane, Sr.
Willtown Bluff Plantation

Table of Contents

I Introduction
- Site Description 2
- Previous Research 7
- Comparative Data Base 8
- Theoretical Basis 9
- Interpretive Issues 13

II The Willtown Community
- Exploration and Settlement of Carolina 16
- Protection of the Colony 22
- The Founding of Willtown 25
- The Willtown Community 36
- Native American Residents and European Traders 37
- The Religious Dissenters 52
- African Bondsmen 54
- Willtown and the Planter Community 58

III Archaeological Sites at Willtown Bluff
- Site Recording in 1996 69
- Sites Surveyed 72

IV Site 38Ch482a: the Willtown Lots
- Site Description 84
- Site History 84
- Background 85
- Field Methods 89
- Dating Techniques 91
- Description of Encountered Proveniences 91
- Description of Recovered Artifacts 101
- Interpretations 106

V The New Willtown Church: 38Ch1661
- Introduction 109
- Fieldwork 110
- The Artifact Assemblage 113
- The Cemetery 114
- The Documentary Evidence 116

VI 38Ch482d: Test Excavations at the Vats
- Introduction 120
- Historical Survey 120
- Site Description 122

Field and Lab Procedures 123
Analysis of Shovel Tests 127
Analysis of Excavated Units 129
Description of Excavated Features 134
Conclusions 136

VII Site 38Ch1659: the Rice Plantation
Site Description 140
The Process of Site Discovery 140
Site History 145
The Site Revealed 161
Field and Laboratory Methods 166
Description of Excavated Proveniences 167
Dating the Proveniences 199

VIII Artifacts from 38Ch1659
Kitchen-related Artifacts 217
Architecture 225
Arms 226
Clothing 226
Personal 228
Furniture 229
Other Activities 230
Horizontal and Vertical Patterning 232
Horizontal Distribution 260

IX Colono Wares 282

X African Americans and Rice Dike Construction
Introduction 297
Archaeological Testing 300
Interpretations 301

XI Animal Use on the Eighteenth Century Frontier
Introduction 306
Methods 308
Results, 1720-1740 314
Results, 1740-1770 315
Results, Outside Units 316
Results, Demolition 317
Discussion 318
Conclusion 322

XII Interpretations of Life in the Willtown Community
Site Formation Processes 324
Architectural Evidence 327
Refinement and Consumerism among Lowcountry Planters 338
Pluralism and Cultural Interaction on the Carolina Frontier 344
Evolution of the Willtown Community 349
Afterword 352

References Cited 354

Appendix I: Pollen analysis from the Stobo Plantation 381
by Jean Porter

Appendix II: Calculated OCR Dates for Willtown 384
by Douglas Frink

Appendix III: Additional tables, Faunal Analysis 390
by Jennifer Webber

List of Figures

1. The Carolina Coast 3
2. Aerial View of the Willtown area 4
3. The Rice Mill Chimney, The Church Column at Willtown 5
4. The Morris House, the Bluff at Willtown 6

5. The contested colonies 17
6. Map of Charles Town and the Coast, 1711 19
7. 17th Century Missions of La Florida 21
8. The Inland Townships 24
9. Thornton-Morden map of 1695 26
10. Map of 1721 27
11. Map of 1718 28
12. Sayer-Bennett map of 1775 30
13. Stuart-Faden map of 1780 31
14. Boss and Brailsford map of 1775 32
15. Plat of Willtown 34
16. Willtown, showing granted lots 35
17. Location of Indian groups, 1690 38
18. Indian groups in 1715 39
19. Indian groups in 1730 40
20. Location of Yemassee Towns 42
21. Indian Trade Routes 46
22. Example of Inland Swamp Rice Plantation 60
23. Example of Indigo Plantation 61
24. Example of Tide-Swamp plantation: Charles Freer's 1794 land. 63
25. Plat of Oak Lodge 68

26. Location of sites recorded 70
27. Area tested, 38Ch482b and 482c 73
28. Site map, 38Ch482d 75
29. Site map, 38ch1658 77
30. Shovel tests, 38Ch1659 79
31. The Rock Springs settlement 83
32. Plat of Rock Springs settlement 83

33. Location of Surface Collected Artifacts 86
34. Results of Ground Penetrating Radar 87
35. Results of Electromagnetic Induction 88
36. Site map, 38Ch482a 90
37. Excavations in Progress 93
38. Features encountered at 38Ch482a 94

39. View of Feature 7 96
40. View of Feature 44 96
41. Excavated samples of features 42 and 44 97
42. Possible paling fence 98

43. Views of 38Ch1661 111
44. Map of shovel tests and artifact distribution 112
45. Site map, 38Ch 1661 118
46. 1815 Plat showing Willtown Church 119

47. 1925 plat showing 'vats' 121
48. Views of areas tested in 1996 and 1999 124
49. Site map, 38Ch482d 125
50. Map of shovel tests and features 126
51. Relative artifact density 128
52. Map of feature 2 131
53. Map of eastern units 132
54. Map of western units 133
55. Photographs of feature 2 139

56. Views of 38Ch1659 141
57. 1791 plat of Stobo's site 142
58. Relative density of brick and ceramics 144
59. Willtown tracts, 1710 146
60. Willtown tracts, c. 1717 147
61. Willtown tracts, c. 1718 148
62. Willtown tracts, 1719 149
63. Willtown tracts, 1720-1725 150
64. Willtown tracts, 1728 151
65. Willtown tracts, 1731 152
66. Willtown tracts, 1734 153
67. Willtown tracts, 1741 154
68. Willtown tracts, 1759-1760 155
69. Willtown tracts, c. 1793 156
70. Willtown tracts, 1793-1799 157
71. Willtown tracts, 1799-1826 158
72. Features discovered, spring 1997 159
73. Soil profiles, bay 1 164
74. Guest lecture; excavation in progress 165
75. Soil profiles, units in yard area 169
76. Soil profiles, inside dwelling 170
77. Views of feature 1, robbed wall trench 172
78. Site map, units over dwelling house 173

79. Aerial view of excavation, spring 1998; closeup, feature 2 174
80. Soil profiles; feature 43, robbed wall 176
81. Mapping feature 55 177
82. Views of feature 55, zone 3, and feature 2 179
83. Discovery of early bottles in zone 4 180
84. Soil profiles, inside of bay 2, south room 181
85. View of southern wall, bay 2; chimney foundation 183
86. Foundation remains, bay 3 184
87. Soil profiles, courtyard area 187
88. Foundations of earlier house 190
89. Early artifacts *in situ* 193
90. Examples of early posts 195
91. Drawings of early posts 196
92. Overall site map 197
93. Features 40 and 88 199

94. Blue on white porcelain vessels 233
95. Blue on white porcelain cups and saucers 234
96. Overglazed porcelain 235
97. Delftware 236
98. Whieldon ware, miscellaneous teawares 237
99. Brown saltglazed stoneware; Westerwald stoneware 238
100. *Langerwehe* butter churn 239
101. *Blumenkubel* flower urns 240
102. Lead glazed earthenwares 241
103. Beverage bottles 242
104. Pharmaceutical bottle; table glass 243
105. Cutlery 244
106. Keys; scratched window glass 245
107. Architectural hardware; kitchen hardware 246
108. Pike, small-sword, gun parts 247
109. Scissors and clothing items 248
110. Buckles; cane tip 249
111. Personal items 250
112. Furniture hardware 251
113. Furniture locks; toys 252
114. Equestrian artifacts 253
115. Religious artifacts 254
116. Tools 255
117. Rice barrel brand 256
118. Relative density of brick rubble 267
119. Distibution of architectural hardware 268
120. Distribution of window glass, demolition rubble 269

121. Distribution of window glass, feature 3 270
122. Distribution of tools 271
123. Distribution of hoes 272
124. Distribution of lead shot and other arms. 273
125. Distribution of furniture items 274
126. Distribution of toys 275
127. Distribution of African American spiritual items 276
128. Distribution of curtain rings 277
129. Distribution of fragments of overglazed porcelain plate 278
130. Distribution of Langerwehe and Blumenkubel stoneware 279
131. Distribution of blue on white porcelain vessels 280
132. Distribution of faunal remains, by weight 281

133. Colono ware Rimsherds and Appendages 292
134. Colono ware bowls 293
135. Colono ware Rimsherd profiles 294
136. Historic Aboriginal Comp. Stamp Motifs 295
137. Samples of Complicated Stamp Motifs 296

138. Map of the Stobo complex, showing mapped rice dikes 303
139. Shovel tests in the rice dikes 304

140. Photograph of Domestic Cat 323

List of Tables

1. List of Artifacts in shovel tests, 38Ch482a 81
2. List of Artifacts from shovel tests, 38Ch1658 82
3. List of Features, 38Ch482a 100
4. Summary of Collected Artifacts, 38Ch482a 105
5. Artifacts by function 106
6. Artifacts from features, 38Ch482a 107
7. Distribution of artifacts, 38Ch1661 114
8. List of artifacts from shovel tests, 38Ch482d 137
9. List of artifacts from features, 38Ch482d 138
10. Provenience Guide, 38Ch1659 202
11. Quantification of the Assemblage 262
12. Relative frequencies of artifact groups 266
13. Quantification of Colono wares 286
14. Artifacts from Rice Dikes 305
15. Inventory of James Stobo 338

Acknowledgments

The Willtown project has been exceptional in many ways. The history of the site has long held a fascination for those interested in South Carolina history, and the current archaeological and historical research has built upon this long-standing interest, and on the work of others, whether they preceeded us in researching Willtown, or guided our study through knowledge and research on other relevant sites and topics. As the archaeological sites revealed their mysteries, and the exceptional nature of the Stobo site became clear, our quest to understand these sites led us to discuss the project with many, many individuals; so many people took time to visit the site, to go over our interpretations, to provide us with additional details, to look up bits of information. In many ways this has been a very large 'group project', and this comraderie has made the project all the more enjoyable.

Dr. Elaine Herold's initial archaeological study provided the framework for our investigation and guided this project in many ways. In particular, her painstaking reconstruction of early grants provided the outline of occupational history at Willtown. Mr. Robert Cuthbert and Mrs. Agnes Baldwin generously shared their own research and guided us to new sources. Mr. Jack Boineau visited us throughout the project, and was an endless source of information on the Edisto area James Dolittle and Jim Errante of the Natural Resource Conservation Service spent a few days with us conducting the remote sensing at the site free of charge.

Several colleagues in archaeology and other disciplines took the time to find us in the woods, visit the site, and help us interpret our findings. We especially thank those who agreed to serve as Guest Lecturers for our advanced field methods class: Suzanne Linder of the Institute of Southern Studies, Carter Hudgins of Historic Charleston Foundation, Willie Graham of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Chris Judge of Heritage Trust, Department of Natural Resources, Carl Steen of Diachronic Research Foundation, Linda Carnes-McNaughton of North Carolina Dept of Archives and History, Ted Rosengarten of McClellanville, Monica Beck of Old Dorchester State Park, Elizabeth Reitz of the University of Georgia, and Jonathan Poston and Katherine Saunders of Historic Charleston Foundation.

Other scholars visited the site, looked at artifacts, read papers and sections of this report, and kept us from making grevious errors. Linda Carnes-McNaughton identified the Blumenkubel and Langerwehe stonewares. Ritchie Garrison of Wintherthur Museum helped with nail and furniture identification and dating. Beverly Straube of Jamestown Rediscovery and Jack Meyers of Columbia identified the small sword and pike. Thomas Savage of Sotheby's identified the Chinese porcelain. Charles Poe and Bonnie McEwan of San Luis Archaeological and Historic site and Kathleen Deagan of the University of Florida helped identify the crucifix ring. Chester DePratter of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology and Bill Green of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History examined the historic Native American pottery and provided general guidance on our study of Native peoples of the 18th century. Nicholas Honerkamp of the University of Tennesse-Chattanooga spent a day examining the collection and providing guidance from his experience at Frederica, Georgia.

We also benefitted from conversations with colleagues working on comparable sites; their range of knowledge significantly broadened our study of Willtown. David Crass of the Georgia Department of Natural Resources was a constant source of comparative data on frontier studies, based principally on his work at New Windsor. Ken Lewis provided guidance, as well, based on his work at Camden. Al Luckenbach and Jim Gibb of Maryland provided information on their sites of Providence and London. Julia King of Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum shared her expertise on colonial settlements in Maryland. Ann Smart Martin of the University of Wisconsin provided perspective on material culture studies. Dan Bell provided historical information on Dorchester. Kathryn Braund and Gregory Waselkov shared their knowledge of Creek sites and artifacts. Audrey Horning's research on Jamestown and frontier settlements was particularly valuable in outlining research goals.

Much of the comparative perspective grew out of conversations with, and collaborative papers, with special colleagues. Our research coincided with study of two other late 17th century towns of lowcountry South Carolina, and we have enjoyed working with Christopher Clement of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology and Monica Beck of Old Dorchester State Park, whose work on Wappetaw and Dorchester, respectively, greatly expanded our understanding of early settlement in Carolina. The work of Dave Crass and his colleagues at New Windsor served as a model for our own study. And we would like to give special thanks to historical architects and American Studies scholars Bernard Herman of University of Delaware and Willie Graham of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Time and time again they looked at maps and artifacts, listened patiently to descriptions of features and stratigraphy, and carefully analyzed the results of our excavations to provide guidance on the architecture of the Stobo site and the chain of events leading to the site stratigraphy. We owe our understanding of the site to them.

Lynn Harris and Drew Ruddy helped us understand the underwater resources. Keith Derting of the SC Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology helped straighten out the state site numbers. Dan Weinand of the University of Georgia conducted the initial faunal analysis. Emily Garner and Marta Thacker served as interns under Dr. Linder, and helped significantly with the historical research. We especially thank Marta Thacker for the land transaction maps. Rick Rhodes took all of the fine artifact photographs. Robbie Ratcliff prepared the drawings of the Native American pottery. Jennifer Webber and Elizabeth Reitz thank Dan Weinand for his identifications, Deborah Rose for help with the tables, measuring and weighing, Amanda McDaniel for checking the tables, Katie Kempke for help in weighing, and Barnet Pavao for help in writing. N. Bauer Coslick photographed the cat, and Dr. P. Tom Purinton provided information on cat epiphyseal fusion.

As always, staff members of The Charleston Museum helped in many ways. Jo Fetzer developed the photographs, as did volunteer Hal Burrows. Carl Borick and Edie Pinckney kept the books straight. Peter Coleman, Dana MacBean, Jan Hiester, and Jo Fetzer turned the artifacts into an exhibition. Don Nuzum, Scott Graham and Gueorgui Kovatchev kept equipment running and helped in the field. Without Avery Rembowski, this report would not be on computer. Archivists Sharon Bennett and Mary Giles directed our search for books on interlibrary loan. Director John

Brumgardt, Assistant Director Brien Varnado, and Board of Trustees President Hugh C. Lane Jr. supported us along the way.

The best part of the project was working with exceptionally fine crews of students, volunteers, and young professionals. The survey was conducted by Martha Zierden and Ronald Anthony, with assistance from Larry Cadigan and College of Charleston intern Mary Jane Hickson-Jones. The first field season, June 1997, was staffed by students enrolled in the Archaeological Field School offered by the College of Charleston and The Charleston Museum. Anthropology professor Barbara Borg taught this course with Zierden and Anthony, and Chris Hope, Chair of the Anthropology Department provided academic guidance. The enrolled students proved to be an excellent group. Andrew Agha, Jackie Bagley, Genevieve Brown, James Catto, Laura Edmonds, Elizabeth Garrett, Kelly Jones Richard Lahan, Torie Roberts, Hayden Smith and Matt Tankersley worked on 38Ch482a in the heat and at 38Ch1659 in the shade. Our return to 38Ch1659 the following spring was as a special course, Advanced Field Methods, open only to successful graduates of the Field School. Returning students included Andrew, Genevieve, James, Elizabeth, Kelly, and Matt; they were joined by graduate student Christa Stabler, intern Richard 'Chris' Christiansen, field school graduate Beverly Baker. The third season in October 1998 and the work at the vats in January 1999 was staffed by paid professionals: Andrew Agha, Genevieve Brown, James Catto, Elizabeth Garrett, Kelly Jones, Mary Jane Hickson-Jones, Hayden Smith, Matt Tankersley, and Martha Middleton Wallace. Faithful volunteer Larry Cadigan was present for all of it.

Volunteers were largely responsible for all of the laboratory work. Long-time volunteers Larry Cadigan and Lee Stevens catalogued most of the artifacts. The washing, sorting, counting, and identifying and conserving was also done by a host of student interns from the College of Charleston. Many of these were veterans of the fieldwork: Genevieve Brown, Elizabeth Garrett, Andrew Agha, Kelly Jones, James Catto. Other interns included Robbie Ratcliff, Meta Pike, Kathy Straube, Chris Christiansen, Richard Hill, Shelly Lawer, and Megan Siudzinski. Myrna Rowland reconstructed all of the ceramic and glass vessels.

Portions of this research have been presented in a variety of papers and publications prior to this report. Suzanne Linder has presented her research in a lecture to the Society of First Settlers. The search for Willtown was reported at the Society for Historical Archaeology conference by Martha Zierden and Ron Anthony. Subsequent papers on the Stobo site were presented at the Society for Historical Archaeology, the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, the Conference on South Carolina Archaeology and the Conference on Eighteenth Century Frontiers in North America. Andrew Agha presented his research at the Conference on South Carolina Archaeology.

Funding for the work at 38Ch1661 was provided by the property owner, the late Mr. Northrup Knox of Buffalo, New York. Property manager Dickie Godley gave us access to the site, and made our work there most pleasant. At Willtown, the entire Lane family has been gracious hosts; we thank them for their interest and their hospitality. We especially thank Hugh Lane Jr. for his site tour, and Lilla Lane for her help in the field and in the laboratory. But no one can top the efforts of Allan Parks, who simply did everything.

But our gratitude to Mr. Hugh C. Lane Sr.is matched only by our admiration. The project was his idea, and was made possible by his vision and his generousity. He has shared Willtown with us in every way, welcoming us and our colleagues at all times, simplifying the logistics of the excavation project, and thanking us with wonderful parties. Indeed, the entire Lane family has made us feel welcome, and has shown great interest in the project. To work here has been a privilege; to work with Mr. Lane has been a pleasure.

Dr. Jon Morter joined the faculty of the Anthropology Department at the College of Charleston just as we began the Willtown project. He visited the site during our remote sensing survey, and joined us in the field as we began our Field School in 1997. We lost him to a fatal automobile accident in late May, as he returned from a professional conference in Washington, DC. Jon held great promise, and both faculty and students miss him greatly. Site 38Ch1659 was named the Jon Morter site in his honor, and he has been with us in spirit as we worked there. We thank his family for their support and interest, and particularly his father, Ronald Morter, for his architectural advice.

Chapter I
Introduction

The present research at Willtown, South Carolina began in March 1996, when Mr. Hugh Lane renewed his long-standing interest in the site with a telephone call to The Charleston Museum. Mr. Lane had commissioned previous work and it was well known that his plantation at Willtown Bluff is the site of the 1690s town of New London or Willtown. The importance of the site is well established; it is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and as one of 100 most significant sites in South Carolina by the Heritage Trust Program, S.C. Department of Natural Resources (Judge and Smith 1991). Mr. Lane has protected his property and its cultural and natural resources by an easement to The Nature Conservancy, and his land is part of the ACE Basin National Wildlife Refuge.

Archaeological investigation of Willtown and the surrounding plantation community presents an exciting but challenging opportunity. Very little work has been done on the earliest colonial towns in lowcountry South Carolina, and only a few have been studied archaeologically. Willtown is relatively well documented, and the subject of excellent preliminary studies. The first phase of the archaeological project was designed to "find Willtown." Mr. Lane greeted us with a seemingly simple, yet profoundly challenging question, "why did Willtown fail?" To answer such a question, both historically and archaeologically, requires an understanding of the panorama of Willtown's existence, and that of the surrounding region (figure 1). The present project was then organized around this, and other, broad questions. Our exploration of this issue ultimately involved archaeological excavation and documentary research on both the town lots of Willtown and adjacent, contemporary plantations. Our seredipitous discovery of James Stobo's rice plantation a mile from Willtown revealed a site remarkable in its pristine preservation, the clarity of its stratigraphic record, the number and types of artifacts recovered, and in the complexity of its architectural detail. Detailed study of this site over three field seasons has ultimately informed on the history of the town, as well as the panorama of plantation development.

This document reports on testing and large-scale excavation on two sites in 1997 and 1998 by staff of The Charleston Museum and anthropology students from the College of Charleston. 38Ch482a is a documented portion of Willtown, specifically lots 41, 42, and 45. Elaine Herold's research indicates these sites were not only owned, but occupied, during the early 18th century, and collected artifacts support that evidence. 38Ch1659 is located inland on a high knoll adjacent to abandoned rice fields. Documentary evidence and artifacts suggest that this inland rice plantation was contemporaneous with Willtown, occupied from the second decade of the 18th century through the 1820s, and used most intensively during the middle of the 18th century. It is also remarkably well preserved, suffering very little post-occupational disturbance. More limited work was also conducted on the site of Charles Freer's antebellum plantation, whose boundaries incorporated the Willotwn lots of 38Ch482a, and were later absorbed into the Mt. Hope tract. Limited testing was also conducted on the site of the 1750s Willtown Church, located on the plantation tract now owned by the Northrup Knox family, a few miles up the road. All of these sites are part of the Willtown story.

Site Description

Willtown is located on the south Edisto river, about 30 miles from Charleston (figure 1). The site is accessible by road from Highway 17south, and then by paved road at Parker's Ferry; this paved road ends at a dirt road which is remnant of the old Willtown road (figure 2). Willtown Bluff plantation currently consists of 1,000 acres, and is composed of several historic (19th century) plantation tracts, Mt. Hope, Wilson and Rock Spring. The dominant feature is a section of bluff, rising almost vertically from a curve in the Edisto river to a height of 40 feet. Positioned on this bluff is the Lewis Morris house built in 1809. Three additional, smaller houses belonging to the Lane family are positioned along this ridge of high land (figure 3). A dirt road marks the southern edge of this bluff; this still-public thoroughfare is remant of St. James Street in Willtown and ends in a boat ramp at the water's edge. To the south of this is a broad expanse of diked tidal marsh that served as rice fields in the late 18-19th centuries. Mr. Lane's rice fields continue to the Seaboard rail line, and includes a deep central canal, site of a 19th century steam-powered rice mill. Only the chimney remains from this structure (figure 4). The adjacent high land next to the marsh is much lower and loamier than the sandy bluff, and is kept in pasture for the family's horses. Inland from these fields, the old Rock Springs tract is a series of wooded knolls and inland swamps, all converted to rice fields in the 18th century and now laced with remnant dikes. Evidence of human occupation can be found all along the knolls of high land. The wooded tracts are used for hunting and are mixed pine/hardwoods. More detailed descriptions of each site follow in the appropriate sections.

Willtown was founded for three principal reasons: defense of the colony, development of a community of religious dissenters, and pursuit of the Indian trade. The earliest grants for town lots date to 1697. The Yemassee War devastated the area in 1715, but a hastily constructed fort at Willtown successfully protected the area for white settlers. The period from 1715 to 1730 was evidently the apex of Willtown's economic success. In the 1720s a church, court, and school were in operation, and it is likely that stores were active as well. The church was established by Rev. Archibald Stobo in 1704, and he guided the Presbyterian community until his death in 1741. Willtown continued to flourish in the 1730s, and Charleston newspaper advertisements give evidence of trade and activity.

The revenues generated from rice and indigo production in the early 18th century enabled the planters of Willtown to establish successful plantations, probably to the detriment of the urban community. In 1760 William Elliot was granted 24 lots in the center of town. This property was inherited by his daughter and her husband, and the Morris family and their neighbors dominate the history of Willtown for the next century (see Linder 1995). By this time most of the surrounding freshwater swamps, high knoll, and riverfront property had been developed into efficient rice and indigo plantations. The Willtown church was abandoned in the 1750s, and rebuilt among these plantations a few miles away, in "a location more centrical."

Figure 1: Portion of the Carolina Coast, showing the location of Willtown and other contemporary towns, roadways, and waterways. (Based on the Stuart map of 1780.)

Figure 2

The Rice Mill Chimney
(Photo by Suzanne Linder)

The Willtown Church

Lots 41-45 from the Morris House

Figure 3

Figure 4

The 1809 Lewis Morris House
(Photo by Suzanne Linder)
The Edisto River from Willtown Bluff
(Photo by Suzanne Linder)

Previous Research

The site of Willtown has long been of interest to scholars of the Lowcountry, and several studies have been published. The present project builds on these efforts. Historian Henry A.M. Smith first reported on Willtown in his series, "Cities and Towns of Early South Carolina" first published in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* in 1909 (Smith 1988). Slann L.C. Simmons published "The Records of Willtown Presbyterian Church" in the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* in 1960.

Archaeological investigation began with the underwater diving and collecting activites of Drew Ruddy and Jim Batey in the 1960s. A portion of the collection, which included bottles from the 17th through 19th centuries, was donated to the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology in 1969. In 1997 Mr. Ruddy began to re-evaluate this collection, and has recently worked with Lynn Harris of the Underwater Archaeology office to update this study. Research was initiated with a survey of 17th century settlements by Stanley South and Michael Hartley in 1977. In this study, South and Hartley compared the Maurice Matthews map of 1685 and the Thorton-Morden map of 1695 against modern maps to predict the location of 17th century sites between the Stono and Edisto rivers. The site of Willtown or New London was one of several sites successfully located. No artifacts were collected during their survey (South and Hartley 1977).

The most comprehensive research to date was conducted by Elaine Herold, formerly of The Charleston Museum (Herold 1980). Dr. Herold conducted extensive documentary research on the property history of Willtown and minimal survey and subsurface archaeological research. Dr. Herold was able to identify a number of the town lots that had been granted and improved. Through walkover survey and some shovel testing, Herold identified nine areas of artifact concentration. Most of these were around the main house and Hugh Lane Jr.'s house, and in the fields south of the Lane house. Except for the area around Hugh Lane Jr.'s house (Herold's Area B) and the field south of Willtown Road (Area E), the sites examined produced more 19th century artifacts than 18th century materials. Only areas B and E produced collections exclusive to the early 18th century, and each collection was small.

The present research and excavation of Willtown began in April 1996 with preliminary survey. We began the project with a walking/driving tour of the entire Willtown tract, led by Hugh Lane Jr. During this tour, the sites examined by Herold were located and several new areas of artifact concentration were identified. Based on this tour, it was determined that the first year of the project would focus on four tasks: additional documentary research, consultation with scholars studying comparable sites, remote sensing by the Natural Resource Conservation Service, and limited survey and testing of six selected sites. These tasks were planned to prepare us for phase II testing in 1997. Details of this survey may be found in Zierden 1997. Details relevant for the exploration of 38Ch482a and 38Ch 1659 will be revisited where appropriate.

Also in 1996 Dr. Suzanne Linder was engaged to conduct additional documentary research

on Willtown. Dr. Linder is a noted colonial South Carolina scholar, and author of *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the Ace River Basin* (1995). Her report was published separately (Linder 1996), and has guided the archaeological work. Dr. Linder and her assistants continued research on the surrounding plantations in 1997 and 1998. Her various reports and documents are incorporated into this study as parts of chapters 2, 7, and 12. Dr. Linder is responsible for all of the site-specific information.

Comparative Data Base

The founding of new towns on the westward frontier was a common occurrence in the settlement of South Carolina, and other colonies. Some of these urban communities evolved and continue to the present as towns, while others were abandoned for a variety of reasons. Scholars in a host of disciplines have examined a number of these towns, and their work will be used to place the study of Willtown in larger perspective.

Willtown was part of the first wave of frontier settlement from Charleston, the point of initial English settlement in 1670. This initial wave of settlement followed the rivers and tidal inlets, as these watercourses offered the easiest means of trade, communication, and protection (Lewis 1984:46). Lewis notes that this initial thrust of inland movement followed the deerskin and Indian slave trade, an enterprise of strategic and economic significance. Two contemporary communities have been excavated recently, and the three have been examined in comparative fashion. Dorchester was a community of dissenters founded on the Ashley River in 1695, and its history and settlement are directly comparable to Willtown. Archaeologist Monica Beck and historian Dan Bell have developed a significant body of data on this site. Chris Clement has recently investigated Wappetaw, a community of dissenters from Massachusetts who settled on the Wando River in dispersed farms. (Bell 1995; Beck, Clement and Zierden 1999; Clement and Grunden 1998; Beck 1998; see figure 1).

The early trade route quickly penetrated the interior of the southeastern United States, reaching the Mississippi River by the early 18th century. One result of this long distance trade was the creation of a network of trade routes, both waterways and roadways, stretching into the interior. This transportation network soon bypassed Willtown (see figures 12, 13, 21). The next great wave of expansion followed the creation of inland townships in 1731. Nine townships were established along major river drainages, providing for fairly even distribtion of population across the frontier. These were on average 100 miles from Charleston, a distance considerably greater than Willtown. (Lewis 1984:50-52). Kenneth Lewis has renewed his research at Camden, founded in 1750s near the earlier township of Fredericksburg (Lewis 1984; 1998). David Colin Crass has been working at New Windsor township, founded in 1731 on the Svannah River (Crass et al. 1997; Crass, Penner and Forehand 1998; see figure 8).

Detailed, multidisciplinary research has been conducted on 17th and 18th century towns in other English colonies. Al Luckenbach and Jim Gibb have been researching the lost towns of Ann

Arundel county, Maryland, namely London and Providence (Shomette 1978; Gibb, Luckenbach, and Lindaur 1998). Their research has included cartography, remote sensing, archaeological testing, and documentary research. Audrey Horning of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation has been studying the development of Jamestown, from its founding to its abandonment (Horning 1995). She in turn has placed Jamestown in the perspective of contemporary British towns. Nicholas Honeramp has studied the town and fort of Frederica, Georgia in great detail (Honerkamp 1980). These broad studies likewise provide perspective for the Willtown project.

Other scholars consulted for this project are experts in various aspects of colonial material culture. Their expertise has allowed for a more thorough identification and interpretation of the materials recovered. Ann Smart Martin is a material culture scholar specializing in documentary evidence for archaeological artifacts. She has researched 18th century material culture, including the inventory of backcountry stores (Martin 1987, 1994). Elizabeth Reitz of the University of Georgia analyzed the vertebrate faunal remains recovered from the site. She has studied faunal remains and subsistence strategies of both the prehistoric and historic populations of the southeast for two decades, and has been part of every Charleston Museum research project since 1982 (Reitz 1986; Reitz and Ruff 1994; Reitz and Zierden 1991).

Historical architects have been essential to understanding the components of the Stobo plantation site. Willie Graham of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation is an architectural historian with extensive experience in vernacular and frontier architecture. He has worked with Al Luckenbach at New London and Providence, with the National Park Service at Jamestown, and with Historic Charleston Foundation on a host of Lowcountry projects (Graham 1997). Bernard Herman of the University of Delaware is an American Studies scholar specializing in material culture and vernacular architecture. He has researched architectural styles and trends in numerous English cities and British colonial towns (Herman 1992, 1993; Zierden and Herman 1996).

The material culture of Native Americans of the 16th through 18th centuries is not well known. However, several South Carolina archaeologists have been researching relevant sites and documents in the past decade. Chester DePratter of the SC Insitute of Archaeology and Anthropology is a nationally recognized scholar of historic Native Americans in the southeast. He has researched documents on Native Americans from the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, and searched for Apalachee and Yamasee Indian towns of the early 18th century in Colleton county (DePratter 1990, 1994). Bill Green is also engaged in ongoing research on this topic (Green 1991, 1998). Chris Judge of the Heritage Trust Program, SC Dept of Natural Resources and Carl Steen of Diachronic Research Foundation, Inc. have researched and surveyed an early 18th century PeeDee Indian town (Judge and Smith 1991; Steen, Judge and Ghaffar 1998). Bobby Southerlin (1999) is currently excavating the Yemasee town of Chechesee.

Theoretical Basis

The issues explored in this study have their roots in anthropology, but also draw heavily from other disciplines. Charles Orser (1984:3) notes that current historical archaeology has been the result

of "those who view their work as history...and those who view their work as anthropology." Pointedly, Fairbanks (1984:1) states that "we must guard against the idea that either discipline has the magic key to complete understanding of ...our historic heritage." Sharing several of the same goals, both archaeology and history have been used increasingly in concert to investigate the past. Although the research efforts have been rewarding, the results of such combined studies have been more complete because of basic differences in research objectives as well as similarities.

Historians whose fundamental efforts focus on documenting the past are often able to flesh out reconstructions of past events or activities discovered by archaeology through the careful analysis of the documentary record. Quite often, as is the case with daily life activities, evidence of past behavior is not documented to an appreciable degree and thus virtually inaccessible, except through archaeology's unique recovery and interpretive methods. Deagan (1988:9) states that "neither the historical record nor the archaeological record alone can serve to reconstruct..." However, anthropologically oriented archaeology encompasses more than simply documenting and reconstructing past activities and events. Its primary objective is to understand and explain the past by placing individual events in a broader cultural context. Our interpretations are based on the following anthropological assumptions:

1. Archaeological patterns reflect behavioral patterns of people in a cultural system. The isolation of pattern in the material remains is a crucial step toward reconstructing past human behaviors and activities, and is vital for the understanding of various cultural processes.

2. Human behavior, perpetuated according to a composite of shared patterns and perceptions, is not random. Thus it is possible to delineate and study the structure of various subsystems in a cultural system.

3. Cultural systems are examples of 'open systems' in which the degree of influence exerted by environmental, social, and economic events is closely related to external as well as internal limiters.

4. Culture change results from ongoing interaction among various environmental, social, and economic elements, none of which is solely or continuously responsible for culture change.

5. Culture change is not unidirectional, but multidirectional.

Archaeological research follows a materialist approach which accepts the premise that meaningful correlations exist between the way a given society functioned and the material products it generates (Kolh 1981). Cultual materialism adheres to economic as well as environmental deteminism. Cultural ecology, a form of materialism, is also concerned with producing generalizations about the nature of cultural processes. Unlike cultural materialism, however, cultural ecology generally accepts the active causal role of a culture's value and belief systems (Steward 1955).

According to William Marquardt (1985), both historical and ecological determination are key concepts for the study of cultural processes. Marquardt urges a materialist approach and states,

> "Humans respond not only to environmental determinants but also to sociohistorical structures. - values, myths, class relations. Therefore, cultural change is not only a function of adaptation to physical environmental challenges, but is a function of the resolution of

conflicting and contradictory interpretations of the meaning of sociohistorical structures" (Marquardt 1985:67-68).

Marquardt's notions allow a view of culture change through environmental and social variables. The approach incorporates a systemic view of culture while recognizing the important contributory role of external factors in culture change.

Culture is conceived by most archaeologists to consist of two components: the individual's own version of his or her own culture (or individual behavior) and elements of culture that are shared by everyone. Shared culture is the system of beliefs in which every individual participates (Fagan 1992:14). Culture is a complex system of beliefs and material items in which components interact and shift through time. This constant shifting of various components is critical to our understanding the past.

Our research also follows the theories of material culture and landscape investigation which, by their very definition, are multidisciplinary. Distinguished historical archaeologist Kathleen Deagan has recently suggested that much of historical archaeology is concerned with the impact of colonialism and capitalism in local settings, and this has allowed for "a two-sided version of cultural contact" (Deagan 1998). Research contributions from archaeology have challenged the idea of America as a 'melting pot.' Much of this interpretation has arisen from the artifacts retrieved from domestic sites; this sometimes means individual object, but more often the product of quantification and cross-site comparison of hundreds and thousands of bits of data.

The artifacts retrieved from archaeological excavation are part of a larger body of material culture. They can provide the same type of informaiton on self and community as other material items. In her seminal work (1996, 1997) Ann Smart Martin has described the central role of material culture in the study of America's settlers of the 18th century. She emphasizes the "connectedness of people to material things; people live their lives through, by, around, in spite of, in pursuit of, in denial of, and because of the material world." This is, in turn, based on the notion that artifacts are integral to cultural behavior and the mediation of social interactions and relations. "Far from mere products or byproducts of culture, material things are embedded in culture, are symbolic and communicative." The newest and most dramatic material culture studies, Martin suggests, are about how relations are formed through commodities and boundaries are negotiated through lifestyle, through strategies of consumption. Material analyses, then, apply to both the elite consumer using objects as power and those under pressure from these forces.

Citing theorist Ian Hodder (1986), Martin (1997) further explains that material culture does not simply mirror culture; it is instead recursive. Martin states that material culture is "symbolic, active, and communicative." Material culture serves an active role in mediating and constraining cultural behavior (1997:15). But if archaeology is about objects, it is also about place, a specific locale in a changing landscape, and so brings the strength of landscape studies to bear on archaeological research. For the objects we study become available for that purpose when they are

recovered from the dwelling site of the people being studied. The immediacy of material object also applies to place.

Interdisciplinary resarch on past landscapes, led by geographers, focuses on the relationship of people and land. Landscape studies explore how people shaped, and were shaped by, the land they occupied. As defined by John Stilgoe and others, landscape is not natural but is modified for permanent human occupation in all forms; this modification is by design, and the landscape embodies natural, material, social and ideological elements. Although these elements may not be shared equitably, J.B. Jackson suggests that the evolving, collective character of the landscape is agreed on by all generations and all points of view. Landscape creation and use, then, fulfills multiple needs simultaneously, from food production to formal design, to explicit statements of dominant social position (Jackson 1984; Stilgoe 1982).

Ann Smart Martin notes that current scholars not only describe whole landscapes, but explain the symbols, rituals, and myths that surround them. This type of study demands attention to detail and careful examination of multiple forms of evidence. James Deetz, one of the first archaeologists to call for the landscape approach, was also the first to broaden our definition of artifact to include documents, and even the spoken word and body movements (Deetz 1977). Likewise, Dell Upton (1990) has challenged Stilgoe's definition of landscape, suggesting that the colonial gentry's landscape in particular was meant to be experienced dynamically; the visitor passed from one contrived setting to another; its meaning could not be comprehended in a single view. The viewer was meant to piece together information from myriad, multiple symbols.

Thus archaeologists now include the landscape itself in the category of artifact. Paul Shackel and Barbara Little suggest that as an artifact, landscapes are more than ornament; they are expressions of ideals, of emulation, and assertions of power. They were vehicles used to display control and reinforce hierarchy (Shackel and Little 1994; Kryder-Reid 1994). The landscape as artifact consists of an overlapping and interrelated series of elements, subject to study in a variety of ways. The same landscape was viewed and used in different ways by the various groups who inhabited it. The archaeology of landscape, then, is a study of linkages (Deetz 1990).

In its simplest forms, for example, the colonial landscape consisted of a work environment shaped by the needs of a functioning household, but also deeply influenced by tradition, the social setting, and the cultural perspective of the residents. Prominent elements include:

1. Houses and other structures, the center of most human activity.
2. Fences and other barriers that physically structured open spaces.
3. Specialized activity areas.
4. Doors, gateways, paths, and roads, the access routes that linked each element.

These elements leave varying archaeological signatures. Finally, Dell Upton has suggested that various groups shared the same physical structures but constructed very different mental landscapes from them. To the gentry, the landscape was a complete, articulated network. To their bonded laborers, the same landscape was a "ragged patchwork of free and controlled spaces" a series of spots where social relations were in effect. Thus the landscape is, as Bernard Herman has noted, "a vast

text subject to the contributions of many authors, the interpretation of many readers, and the discourses of many critics." (Herman 1989; Zierden and Herman 1996)

Interpretive Issues

Archaeological exploration of the greater Willtown area is broad-based and multi-faceted. Generally, we have organized this research under four broad topics. These have guided our choice of field methodology, laboratory analysis, reading and documentary research, and consultation with colleagues.

Site Formation Processes: A basic question guiding archaeological excavation and analysis, though one rarely articulated, is "how did these artifacts get here?" When working with students and volunteers, or in front of the public, this question is asked repeatedly, engaging the archaeologist in a constant struggle to answer this question clearly, and without hesitation. An often unarticulated assumption prefacing most archaeological studies is that the artifacts were discarded, or otherwise deposited, by the previous site residents, principally as trash.

Cultural materials enter the archaeological record by four basic methods: discard, loss, destruction, and abandonment (Schiffer 1977). Discard, the throwing away of refuse, is the most common form of archaeological site formation, with residents depositing their trash on the ground surface or in pits at what was culturally defined as a convenient distance from the place of habitation. Artifacts and other debris are either broadcast on the ground surface, gradually forming zone deposits, or placed in newly dug or previously existing holes, creating features. Items deposited due to loss are usually small, such as buttons, coins, toys, etc. Archaeologists discover lost items in wells, or in soil lenses that collect beneath wooden floors. Abandonment includes destruction of buildings and their contents from fire or storm, or the artifacts left behind or thrown out when tenants vacate a property. In some cases it is possible to distinguish proveniences (the defined archaeological boundaries of single behavioral events) resulting from specific depositional processes. As we shall see, this was certainly the case at Stobo's plantation.

Once in the ground, artifacts 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. Redistribution or removal can be done by the same site occupants who created the deposit, or these events can happen much later, by subsequent users. Under these conditions, the archaeological deposits are said to be disturbed. The most common form of site disturbance is plowing for agricultural purposes, following abandonment of a domestic site. Plowing compromises an archaeological site by displacing deposits vertically and removing any distinct soil layering or stratigraphy; this means that archaeological materials in a plowed deposit may not be used to date site occupation and use. But other forms of redistribution can occur, when site occupants dig a hole through previously deposited trash, or demolish their old house and recycle the bricks.

Stobo's rice plantation is a unique coastal site in that it was occupied only during the 18th century and was subject to very little post-depositional activity. Unlike almost all lowcountry sites, including Willtown lots 41-45, the wooded site has never been plowed during the last two centuries. Testing in 1996 revealed that the site was clearly stratified, the artifacts relatively large and intact, and distinct horizontal patterning was evident. The only extensive post-occupational event appears to have been the robbing of bricks from foundations a few decades after abandonment and construction of the causeway in the early 20th century. These events are clearly visible and can be isolated stratigraphically. Methodological problems, then, are an important part of research at this site. From the careful recording of exceptionally well-preserved data, we can investigate the site within a variety of broader contexts. Building on this foundation, we will turn to a detailed analysis of the architecture at James Stobo's plantation. The archaeological and architectural evidence, when considered together with the site formation evidence, wil be used to propose a chain of events in the lifecycle of the site.

Cultural Interaction on the Carolina Frontier: A frontier is usually defined from the perspective of the arrival of peoples of European ancestry. A major characteristic of a frontier society, however, was its multiracial and multiethnic character and the ways relations and identities of its component groups shifted. Willtown was planned with the overlapping and seemingly conflicting goals of promoting Indian trade and protecting Charleston from Indian invasion. In such a setting it is likely that native and newly arrived often met face to face. The presence of Indians and the emphasis on Indian trade likely created a different political and social order to Willtown than that of Charleston. Until the advent of ethnohistory, Native Americans were often underrepresented in studies of the Carolina frontier (Crane 1981; Braund 1992; Merrell 1992), and the archaeological signature of 17th and 18th century native Carolinians is ephemeral and poorly understood. The artifacts at the two sites include pottery made by native peoples. The archaeological signature of people from Africa is a bit stronger; colono ware is a major component of the Willtown sites. African bondsmen played an increasingly important role as the Edisto swamps were transformed into rice plantations, first inland and then tidal. The Willtown sites present an opportunity to explore the interactions of Native, African, and European peoples in the Carolina wilderness. Particular attention is paid to the colono wares, studied by Ron Anthony, and the reorganization of the landscape, studied by Andrew Agha.

Refinement and Consumerism on the Carolina Frontier: The 18th century was an era of rapid change in technology, economics and ideology; the century ushered in an era which emphasized refinement and a rise in consumerism among the economic elite and a rising middle class. In the 18th century, gentility was the visible expression of gentry status, the most sharply defined social class. Gentility gave expression to social divisions universally acknowledged among people of European heritage. By the end of the century, many middle class folks had acquired some of the aspects of gentility. Basic to the present discussion is the contention that the genteel life depended on the creation of proper environments. As refinement spread to more and more folks, the need for appropriate objects created an unprecedented mass market for individual items. Early and late 18th century archaeological assemblages have been used to investigate the refinement, in quantifiable material terms, of Charleston society (Zierden 1996, 1998). Other scholars have explored this issue

in frontier settings of the same period (Faulkner 1998; Crass et al. 1999). The Willtown sites, particularly Stobo's plantation with its abundant material record, is well suited to expanding this study in comparative fashion.

Urbanism and Evolution of the Willtown Community: Like many other communities in Carolina and elsewhere, Willtown began, on paper and in the ground, as an ambitious and well-planned town. Designed for protection, trade, and religious toleration, the community seemed poised for economic success. Changes in external threats, in trade and transportation networks, and in political and social mores affected many colonial towns. Further, the development of wildly successful staple crops, supported by the growth of African slave labor, discouraged the settlement of urban communities when fortunes could be made on plantations. Archaeological and documetary data from Willtown and Stobo's plantation, as well as from other colonial sites, will be utilized in this study.

Chapter II
The Willtown Community

Exploration and Settlement of Carolina

In the 16th century, European competition for perceived wealth in the Americas focused on a battle for naval supremacy. Spain had grown rich by her early exploitation in Central and South America, but was increasingly threatened by English sea power. In 1588 the Spanish Armada was destroyed off the coast of England. The subsequent English domination of the Atlantic facilitated the establishment of colonies in what had been considered Spanish territory (Calhoun 1986; Durant and Durant 1962; Quattlebaum 1956).

The 17th century was a period of intense competition for American colonies. The province of Carolina was alternately, and often simultaneously, claimed by the French, Spanish and English. Spain considered the vast tract of wilderness an expansion of La Florida, and indeed founded a second, though short-lived, settlement of Santa Elena on Parris Island in 1566, a year after the founding of St. Augustine. The French settlements in Carolina and in Florida were equally ephemeral, cut short by Spanish retaliation (figure 5).

The English, with a similar perspective, viewed Carolina as the southern expanse of Virginia. Though relative latecomers, their Carolina settlement of 1670 was nonetheless the one to persevere, and the English thereafter verified their claim to the area through possession. Each of the European powers came with its own economic and political agenda, but it was ultimately the English mercantile system that dominated the New World.

Land was not the target of colonial aquisition; rather a lust for riches drove the 16th and 17th century exploration and settlement efforts. The early explorers sought the obvious bounty of gold, silver, and jewels, and the Spanish shipped home quantities of these from their Central and South American colonies. But for the English nation, silk, wine, hemp, and naval stores were attractive. The English government developed an economic policy of mercantilism in order to ensure that it alone benefitted from their colonies. Under this system, colonies were encouraged to raise or harvest staple products, which were sold exclusively to Britain. In return, the British enforced a monopolistic trade in their own maufactured goods. The basic principles, the importance of commerce to the British empire and the necessity to secure a favorable balance of trade, were enforced in a series of acts which culminated in the rebellion of the North American colonies in 1775.

The Carolina colony was developed by a group of English noblemen, who found themselves on the winning side of a battle for the monarchy. Through the machinations of Sir John Colleton, King Charles II granted a large tract to eight men in 1663: George Monk, Duke of Albemarle; Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Shaftesbury; William, Earl of Craven; Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon; John, Lord Berkeley of Stratton; Sir George Carteret; Sir William Berkeley; and Sir John Colleton. The grant gave these men sweeping powers to govern the province. The Lords Proprietors

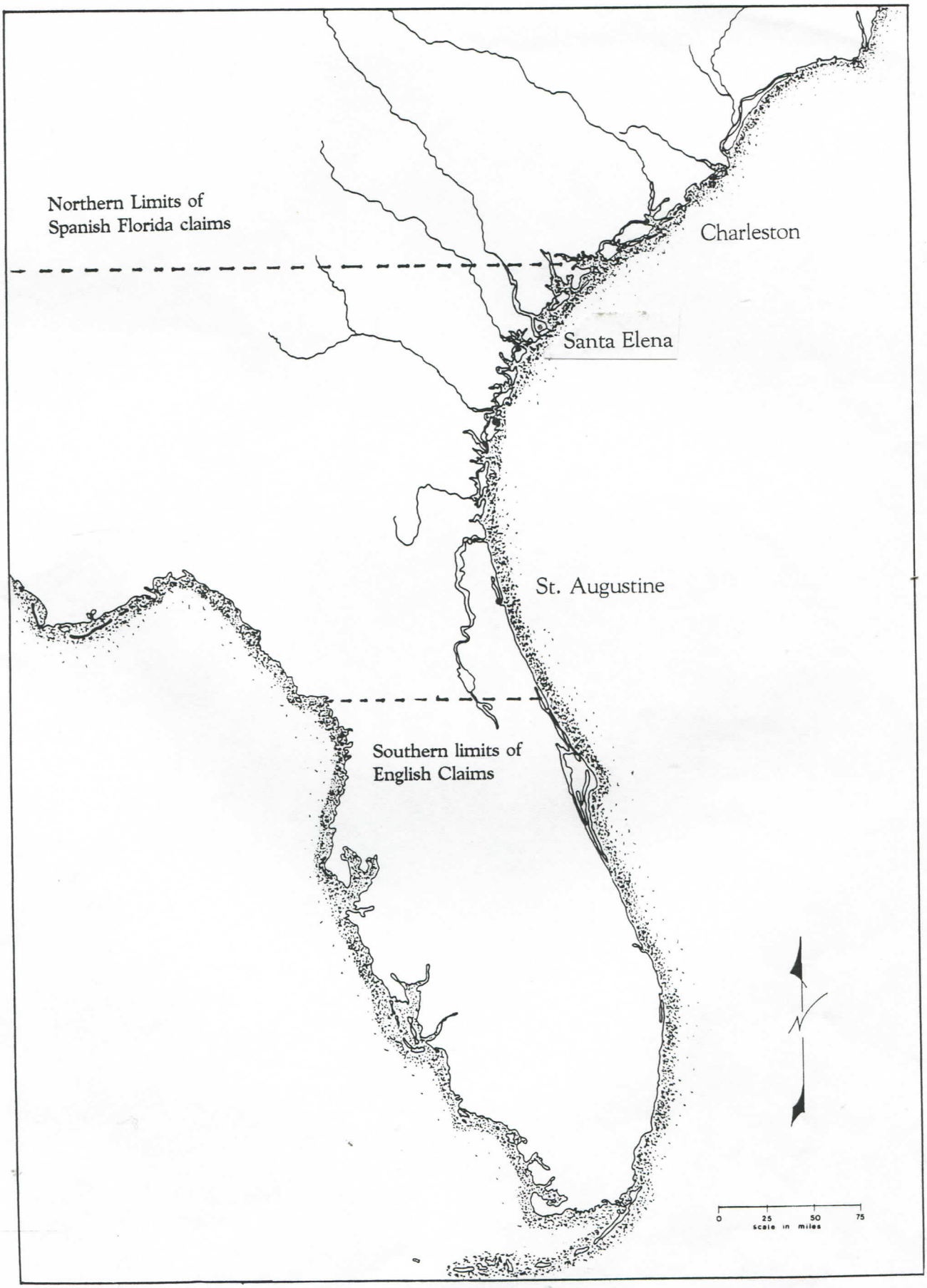


Figure 5

Anglo–Spanish Rivalry along the Southeastern Coast

hoped to attract as many settlers as possible, not necessarily from England; New England and the West Indies were seen as likely sources of people. While the Proprietors were particularly impressed with the Puritans' success in establishing towns, efforts to transplant these people to Cape Fear proved unsuccessful. A number of Barbadians, led by Colleton's oldest son Peter and later Sir John Yeamans, were more determined, and they ultimately had a more lasting effect on the settlement. Following their unsuccessful landing at Hilton Head Island in 1663, several British events galvanized the project into action: the Great Fire of London of 1666 and the Great Plague in 1667, as well as the 1667 war between the Dutch and the French kept attention close to home, but Anthony Ashley Cooper's brush with mortality in 1668 seems to have led him to renew his interest in colonial affairs (Weir 1983:49-54; Lesser 1995).

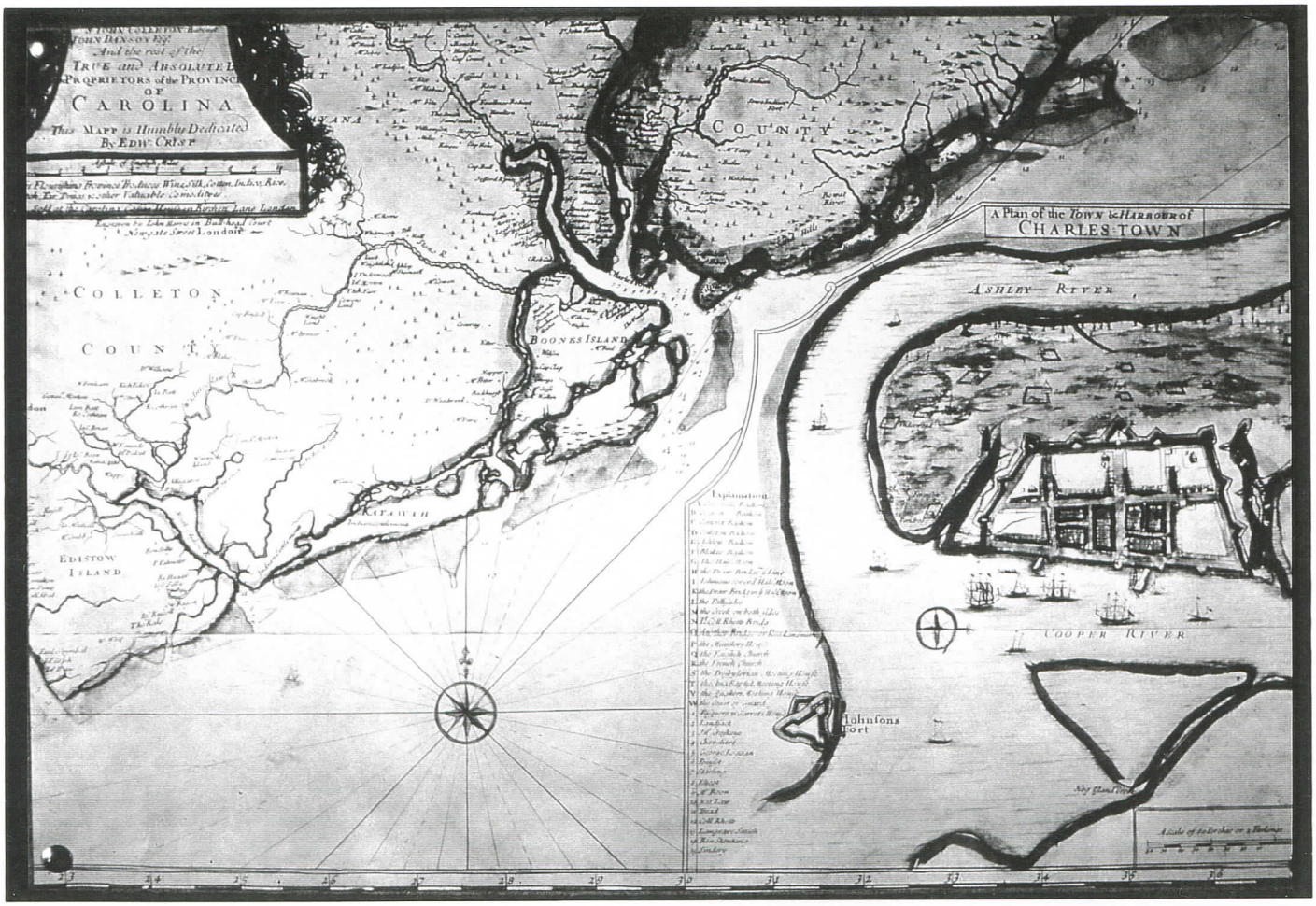
The expedition that would become the first of the permanent settlement left Gravesend, near London, shortly after August 17, 1669 on three vessels, the Carolina, Port Royal, and Albemarle. They stopped in Ireland for additional settlers, but recruiting proved disappointing. The vessels arrived in Barbados in late October; here the Albemarle was lost to high winds. The expedition replaced this vessel with a similar ship, the Three Brothers. From here, they set sail for Bermuda by a variety of courses. All three were battered by a sudden storm, and the Carolina struggled into port on January 12. The Port Royal floundered in the Bahamas; the passengers eventually reached Bermuda by rented boat, and the expedition then purchased another, known only as the Bermuda sloop. The Three Brothers, meanwhile, was driven to the shores of Virginia, eventually to St. Catherine's Sound in present-day Georgia, and finally to Carolina where it eventually met the two others in Bull's Bay. The settlers then explored the coast, arguing over three suitable locations - Port Royal, St. Helena, or Charles Town. The latter was finally selected, and the three ships sailed into Charleston Harbor in April 1670 (Ripley 1970).

Only too aware of their precarious position, the settlers chose what seemed to be a suitable location,

> "A point (Albemarle) defended by the main river (the Ashley) with a brooke on one side and inaccessible marsh on the other wch at all high tides is ever overflown: joyning itself to the mainland in a small neck not exceeding fiftie yards" (Cheves 1897:156-157)(figure 6).

Indeed, the settlement was threatened by a combined Indian and Spanish assault in August of that first year. But the Spanish found the Albemarle defenses intimidating. The settlement was protected by a palisade and four pieces of artillery which were directed toward the river. Indians reported to their Spanish allies in 1672 that there were thirty small houses on the west bank of the Ashley river and four on the east bank of Oyster Point, the peninsula formed by the confluence of the Ashley and Cooper rivers (Andrews 1938:203n). By this time the colony had grown to 268 men, 69 women and 59 children, and black slaves were already part of the population (Fraser 1989:4).

Following a series of clashes and alliances with the local Indians, the colonists were already benefitting from an expanding trade in deerskins, furs, and Indian slaves by the mid-1670s. Prosperity,



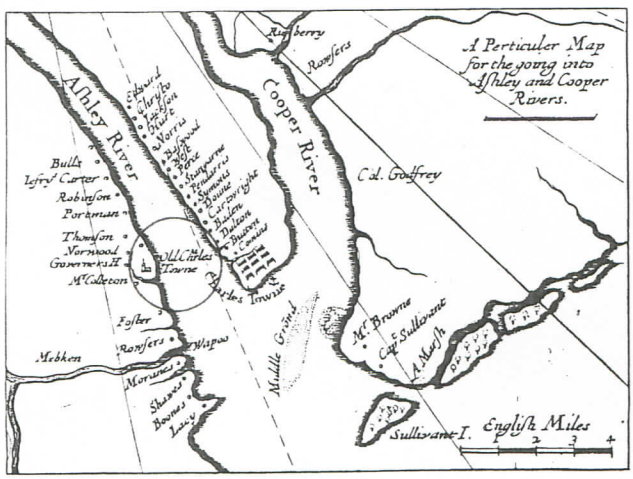


Figure 6

Map of Charles Town by Edward Crisp, drawn 1704 and published 1711. (from the collections of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, copy courtesy Historic Charleston Foundation). (Inset) **A New Map of Carolina** by Thornton and Morden, c 1685 (From Weir 1983, Courtesy Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery)

both agricultural and commercial, though, demanded security. This proved to be the chief concern of those settling the contested Carolina landscape. The 17th century settlement was, after all, "in the very chaps of the Spaniards." The early colonists lived under constant fear of attack. Occupied Spanish territory was immediately south of Charleston: a chain of missions, each protected by a presidio, extended from St. Helena (Port Royal) to St. Augustine and westward through northern Florida to the Apalachicola River (Worth 1995; figure 7). A treaty concluded in 1670 between Spain and England had stated that effective occupation bestowed the right of possession to the occupying power. Despite this agreement, the coastal area from St. Augustine to St. Helena was the scene of persistent warfare between the two countries until the missionaries abandoned their northern outposts in 1702 (Andrews 1938:203; Hann 1988; Wright 1971).

The French, spreading along the Mississippi River, constituted another threat to Britain's southernmost settlement. While the colonists depended on the coastal Indians for trade in deerskins, the neighboring tribes of the Kiawah, Etiwan, Wando, Sampa, and Sewee added to the colonists' anxiety; these fears were realized in the Yemassee War of 1715. Fear of Indians was later supplanted by unease over the Lowcountry's rapidly growing population of African slaves. Pirates, the scourge of the Caribbean and Atlantic Oceans, were merely another hazard added to an already formidable list.

The growing colony never lacked settlers. Dissenters, Englishmen, Scots, New Englanders, Jews, and African and West Indian slaves formed the core of this diverse group. The West Indies remained a source for early settlers, and these planters, merchants, artisans, servants and slaves influenced development of Carolina's social and political ways. Walter Fraser cites the West Indian slave code, loyalty to the Anglican church, old-world elegance and frontier boisterousness as defining characteristics. He further describes these men as "experienced, aggressive, ambitious, sometimes unscrupulous...and not really interested in the Proprietors' plans for the colony. Independent and enterprising, they sought the quickest route to riches." (Fraser 1989:5).

The Carolina policy of religious toleration also attracted a variety of settlers. French Huguenots, suffering persecution in their native land, were another group which immigrated to the province. The Lords Proprietors and the British government were swayed by thoughts of potential income from labor and skills of the Huguenots, and eased their immigration to Carolina. Huguenots assimilated into the prevailing English society relatively rapidly: the 1697 Naturalization Act calmed fears of future oppression, exogamous marriages created familial links to other colonists, and rapid adoption of English farming methods soon made Huguenots indistinguishable from dominant English settlers.

A large number of Carolina's settlers came unwillingly. The increasing cultivation of rice throughout South Carolina created a voracious demand for slave labor. Although the Carolina colonists were unfamiliar with this crop, many Africans brought to the Lowcountry came from rice-producing areas of Africa. Rice itself was introduced to South Carolina from Madagascar, and many African slaves possessed skills in rice cultivation and other tasks essential to the plantation economy (Littlefield 1981; Wood 1975). Significant continuities between African and Carolinian methods of

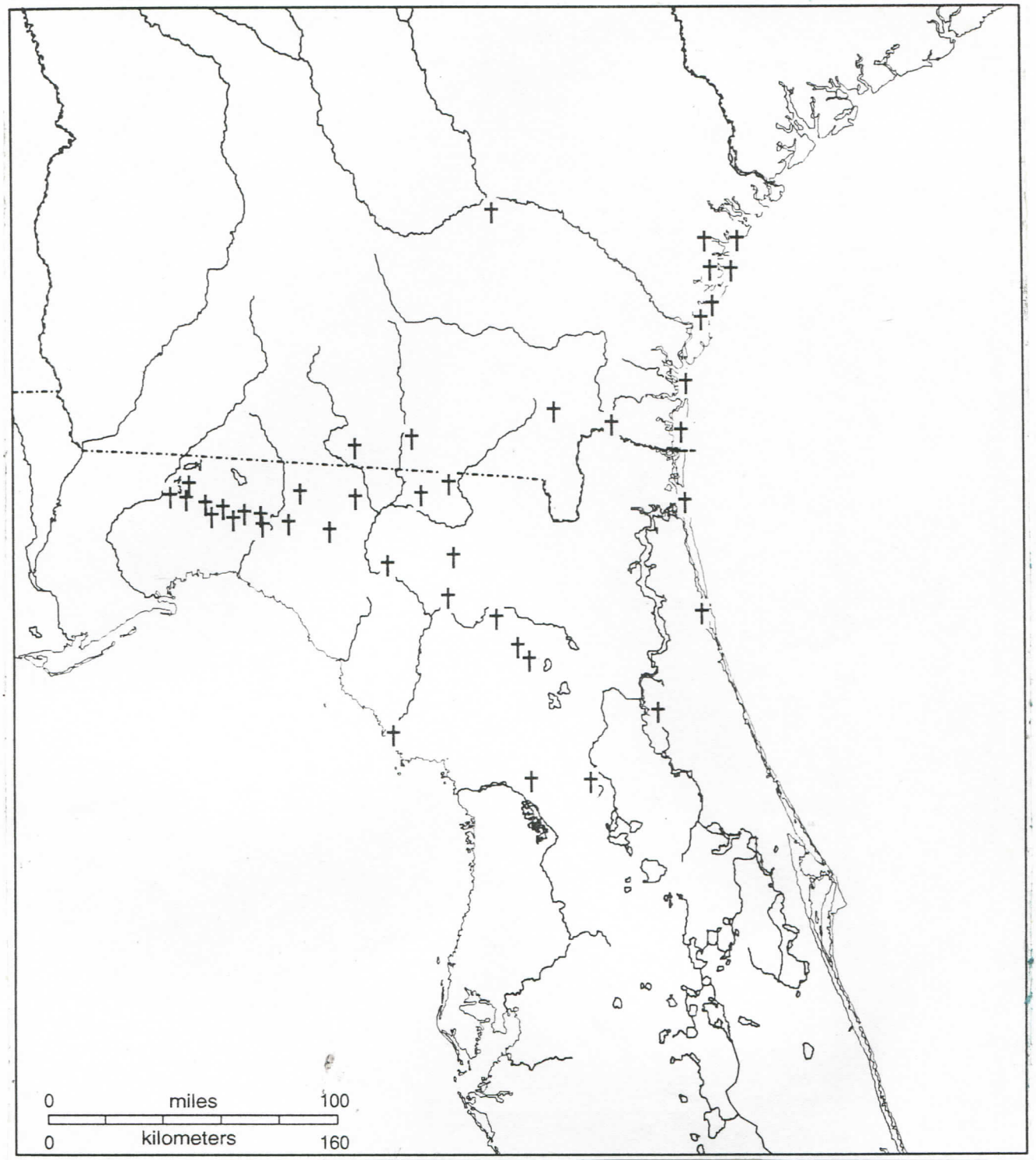


Figure 7

The missions of La Florida, mid-17th Century
(From *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord* by Jerald Milanich)

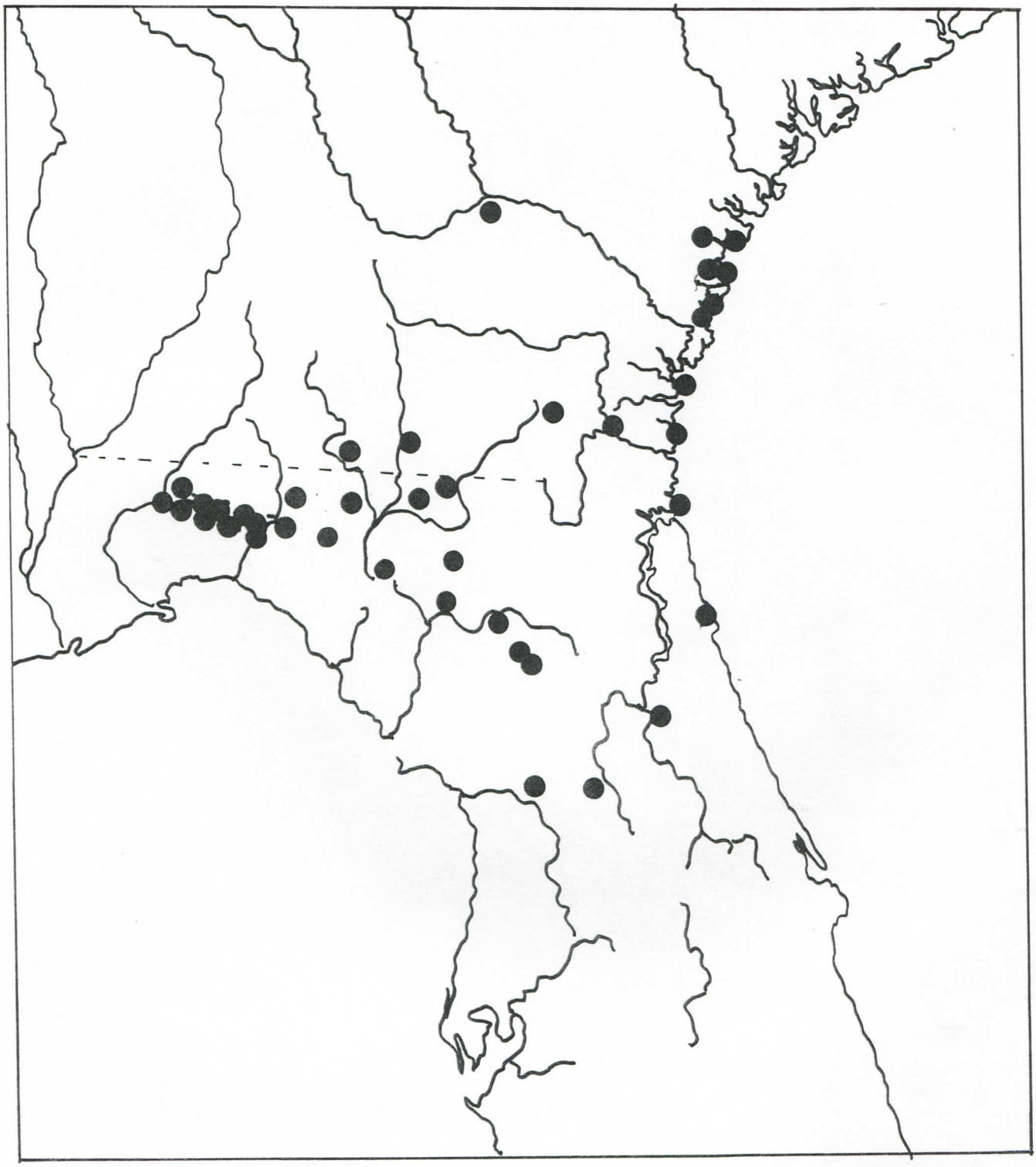


Figure 7

The missions of La Florida, mid-17th Century
(data from *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord* by Jerald Milanich
and *The Apalachee Indians and Mission San Luis* by
John H. Hann and Bonnie G. McEwan)

planting, hoeing, winnowing, and pounding rice persisted until these techniques were no longer economically feasible (Joyner 1984:13-14). By 1708 the majority of Lowcountry residents were black. African bondsmen and women worked the crops in the country and provided labor for building and maintaining the city.

Protection of the Colony

The threat of Spanish invasion plagued Carolina until the mid-18th century. Spanish-led Indian raiders first appeared in the Charleston Harbor (on Morris Island) in 1670, and returned a few years later. Though both times the enemy was sent scurrying back to Florida, the brief raids fueled the colonists' fears. The 1686 raid was more serious, and a precursor to the Yemassee War twenty years later. Three "gallies" of "Spanish, Indians, and Negroes" overran plantations along the North Edisto and burned a small settlement of Scots in the Port Royal area; there followed a retreat of settlers back toward the immediate Charleston environs. Further, the Assembly mandated an immediate invasion of Spanish territory. Though some 400 men made ready for the invasion, the newly arrived governor cancelled the planned raid, afraid of provoking a larger war.

The English settlers got another chance with the outbreak of Queen Anne's War in 1702. Unrest began when the Spanish and Apalachee Indians headed for Carolina, but were defeated in Georgia by a Creek force loyal to the English. An invasion force, under Governor James Moore, then set seige to St. Augustine, by sea and by land. The Spanish were forewarned, however, and barricaded in the Castillo de San Marcos. Though Moore and his men occupied the town, he was unable to capture the fort, and when ships appeared on the horizon he abandoned the seige and his ships, returning to Carolina by land. Highly criticized for this endeavor, he redeemed his reputation two years later with a victorious raid on the Apalachee Indians in the north Florida mission settlements (Hann 1988; Hann and McEwan 1998).

The Spanish retaliated in 1706, invading Charleston harbor as the city languished under a yellow fever epidemic. The English were the prepared ones this time,and skirmishes at James Island and Shem Creek kept the Spanish at bay. The Spanish mounted another unsuccessful raid in 1719. This pattern of minor skirmishes continued another twenty years, and if they gained little territory for either side, they served to keep Anglo-Spanish rivalry at a heated level (Wright 1971). Southeastern Indians capitalized on this rivalry by constantly swapping alliance for favorable trade relations; a series of annoying and frightening Indian raids were seen as Spanish-instigated. English and Spanish trade competition was complicated by privateers and pirates who patroled the seas. The last large raids began with the War of Jenkins Ear in 1739. An English raid on Florida, this time led by James Oglethorpe of Georgia, was spectacularly unsuccessful, and was retaliated by the Spanish expedition at St. Simons, Georgia, repulsed by the Battle of Bloody Marsh (Ripley 1970:21-22). Though this was the last major skirmish among the colonists, the feelings of mutual enmity continued, until the stroke of a pen in Paris gave Florida to the British in 1763.

Intimately linked to rivalry with the Spanish was control of the Native American population, principally through trade relations. Although the defeat of the Indians in the Yemasee War resulted in increased safety for all colonists, it also radically altered the fur trading network of some, as the defeated tribes retreated inland. Charleston's access to inland waterways facilitated trade with the Indians, as did the forts and posts established in the backcountry after 1730 (Crane 1981). These outposts promoted trade with the Indians, protected the frontier inhabitants, and guarded against French and Spanish encroachments (Calhoun 1986; Sellers 1970:12; Sirmans 1966)(figure 8).

Control of the Indians was pursued relentlessly by the English, French and Spanish as a result of the Europeans' desire for animal skins and Indian slaves. South Carolina was the most heavily involved of any of the colonies in the Indian slave trade (Snell 1973). Although this trade was condemned by the Lords Proprietors, it was profitable for the colonists, and a large number of enslaved people were shipped to the Caribbean and to northern colonies.

The principal item of trade, though, was not slaves but animal skins. The main animal pursued by Native people, and desired by European merchants, was the white tailed deer. The Indians depended on these animals for a significant portion of their food, and they artificially increased deer herds in the wild by firing the woods (Cronon 1983; Lefler 1967; Silver 1990). This use of fire decreased the amount of underbrush and promoted the growth of grass; in the early colonial period deer roamed these man-made savannahs in large herds.

Deerskins soon became the colonists' most profitable export. The earliest trade was a secondary, small-scale pursuit of individual planters. Some of these entrepreneurs hired an Indian hunter to supply them with skins; others traded in more haphazard fashion (Crane 1981:118);. By the mid-18th century dressed deer skins accounted for 16% of the colony's exports, and tanning was the city's most important industry (Bridenbaugh 1955:76). The defeat of the Indian alliance in the Yemassee war changed the mechanics of this trade as the defeated tribes moved inland. Those involved in the fur trade now required storage facilities to support their long-distance enterprise.

Soon the trade was transformed from one operated on a small scale by individuals to a capital-intensive industry controlled and dominated by Charleston's mercantile community. These merchants established credit relations with British businessmen, enabling them to procure and finance the trading goods necessary for the (primarily) barter exchange conducted with Indian suppliers. The wealth and standing acquired by these merchants led to diversification, into commodities such as naval stores, provisions, rice, and African slaves (Calhoun 1986; Calhoun et al. 1982; Earl and Hoffman 1977:37).

Native Americans were not the only group attempting to play the Anglo-Spanish rivalry to their advantage. A large number of newly-arrived African slaves also saw alliance with the Spanish as their salvation; for their part, the Spanish capitalized on this issue to further erode British control of their new colony. Lured by the promise that escaped slaves would be given religious sanctuary in Spanish Florida, Africans in the English colonies, aided by Indian allies, escaped and made their way to Florida. The first recorded group of fugitives arrived in St. Augustine in 1687, and included eight men, two women and a nursing child. By 1738, more than 100 had settled in Spanish Florida,

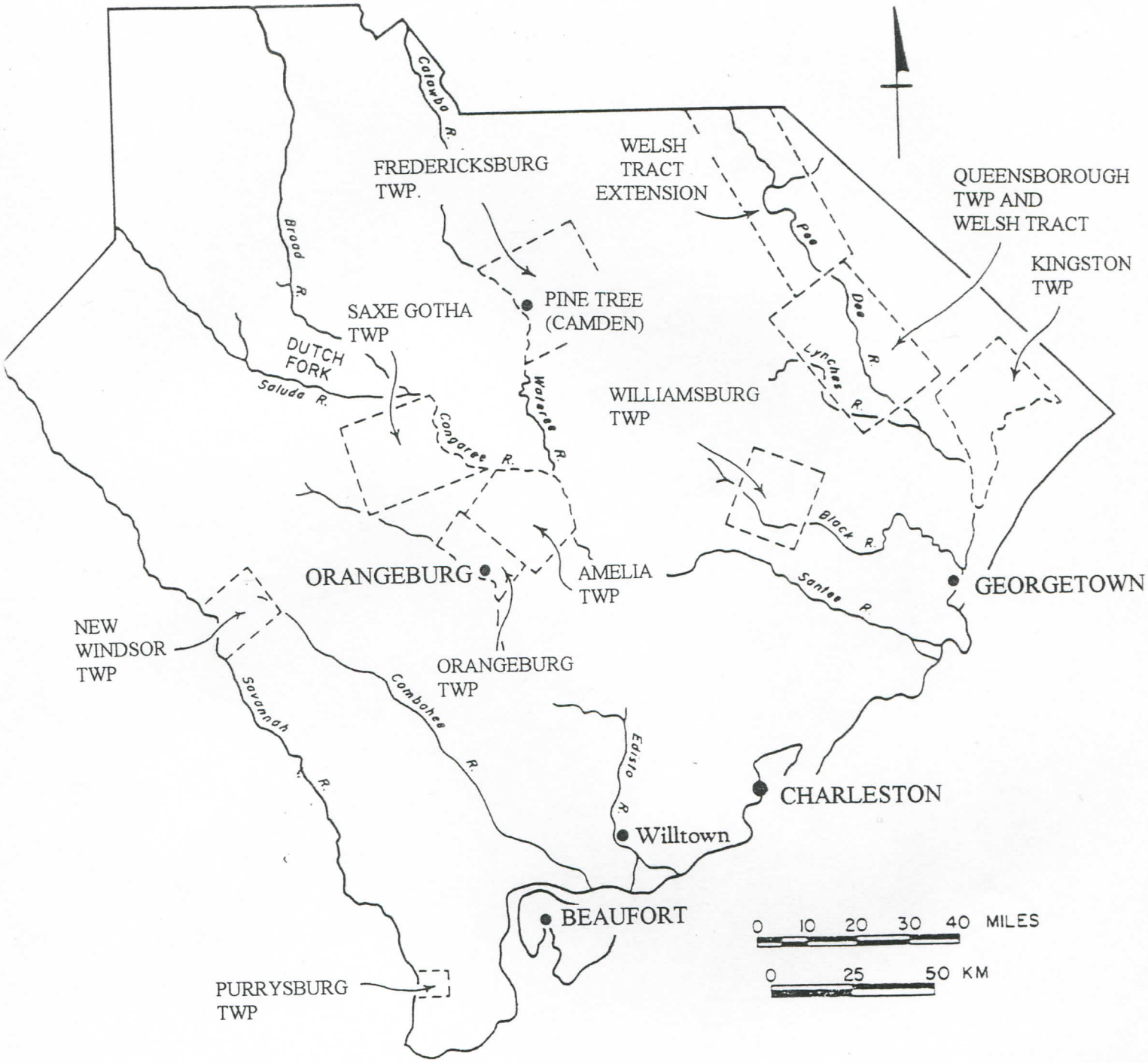


Figure 8

Layout of the inland townships established in 1731
(from Lewis 1984:50)

and that year they established a fort and community just north of town, Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose. Many of the male fugitives were made members of the Spanish slave militia, and in 1738 they formed a free black company under the command of Francisco Menendez. Fort Mose quickly came to represent freedom to Carolina slaves, and helped incite the 1739 Stono Rebellion. Destroyed during Oglethorpe's raid and briefly abandoned, Mose was resettled in 1752, and remained the northernmost defensive line of the Spanish until 1763, when the residents of Mose departed with their St. Augustine compatriots for Havana (Deagan and MacMahon 1995; Landers 1984). Opportunistic alliance between southeastern Indians and Africans would continue through the 18th century, despite attempts by white colonists to promote mutual distrust and dislike.

Charleston sought to protect its rapidly expanding economic base by fortifying the city and the surrounding hinterland. The new Charles town on Oyster Point was heavily fortified with a surrounding wall, as represented on Edward Crisp's map of the city (see figure 6). Settlement of outlying areas was encouraged, and these posts were built on crossroads of transportation, trade, and encounter (figure 9 and 10; see figure 1). These outlying communities, such as Willtown, were often fortified, as well.

The Founding of Willtown

The growing number of settlers lost no time in spreading out across the Carolina landscape. While many sought plantation tracts, others gathered in communities. The first mention of a contemplated town on the Edisto River is found in instructions from the Lords Proprietors to Surveyor General Maurice Matthews in 1682,

"We understand that there is on Edistoh River about 20 miles above the head of Ashley River a convenient fertill peece of land fitt to build a Towne on five hundred akers of wch We would have reserved for that Use & 11,500 more about it for a colony & it being above the salts and tides." (Smith 1988:101).

Both the date and the location of this town remain unclear. The town that would be known as Willtown was also known as New London, implying a second town or location for a town. Early maps (the 1695 Thornton map;figures 9-11) show both New London and the likely original settlement of London on the Edisto River. Smith was unable to decipher the references for the period 1682 to 1686, whether they refer to London or New London. The name of Willtown, or Wilton, first appears in 1697 in grants to Landgrave Joseph Morton. Based on reexamination of these scanty documents, Suzanne Linder has suggested that the original settlement of London, also called Pon Pon, was located in the vicinity of the intersection of Penny Creek and the Edisto River. The area east of Jacksonborough was known as Pon Pon into the 20th century, and the Penny Creek landing would be accessible by boat and by an old Indian path in the vicinity of Highway 17. Why the town was moved to a new location is not mentioned in any known documents. The only evidence is a letter to Governor Blake dated December 20, 1697, approving the establishment of a new town and the selection of a new name, but without specification to its predecessor (Smith 1988; Herold 1980).

The John Thornton-Robert Morden Map of 1695 [Detail]
South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia

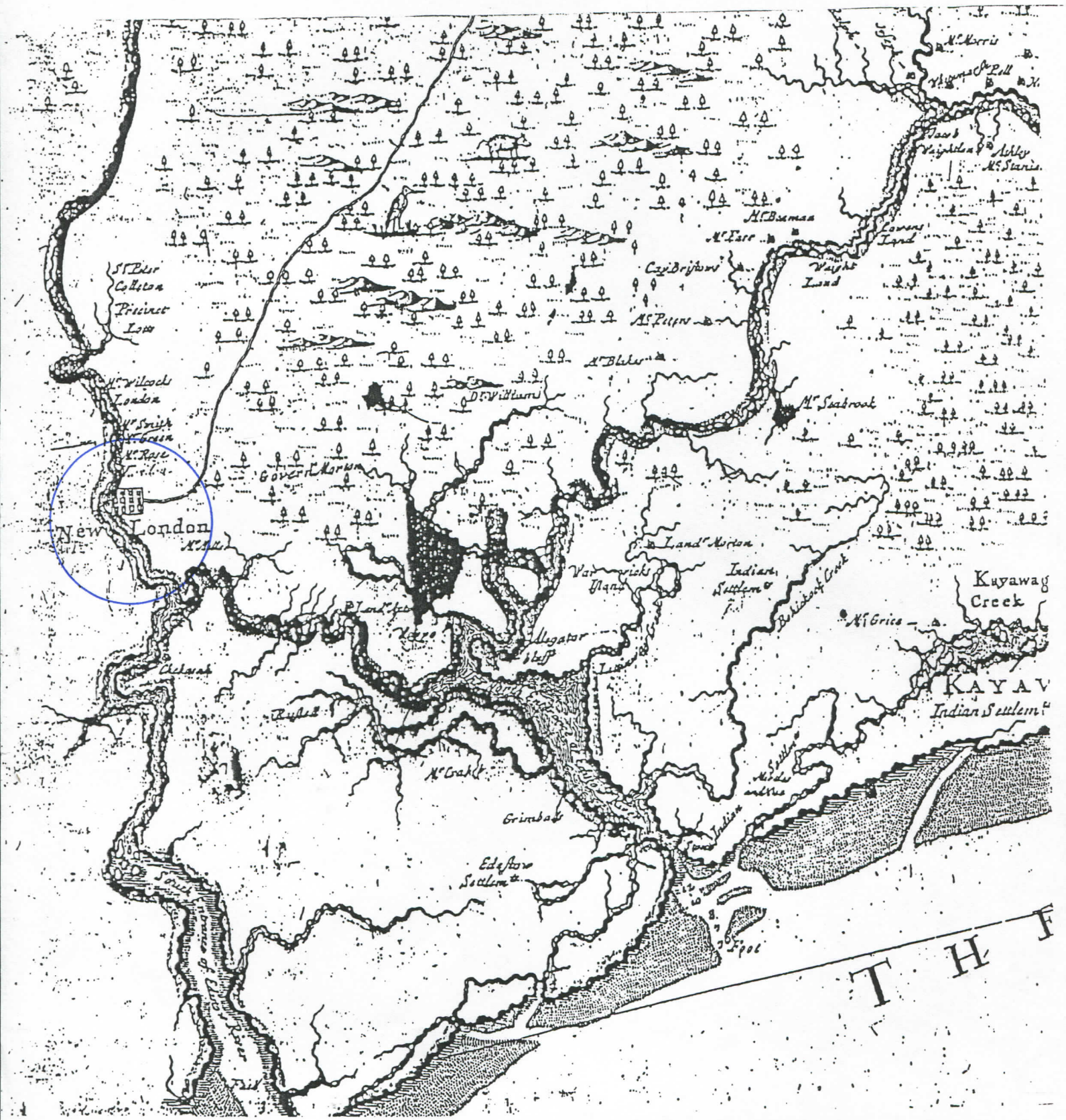
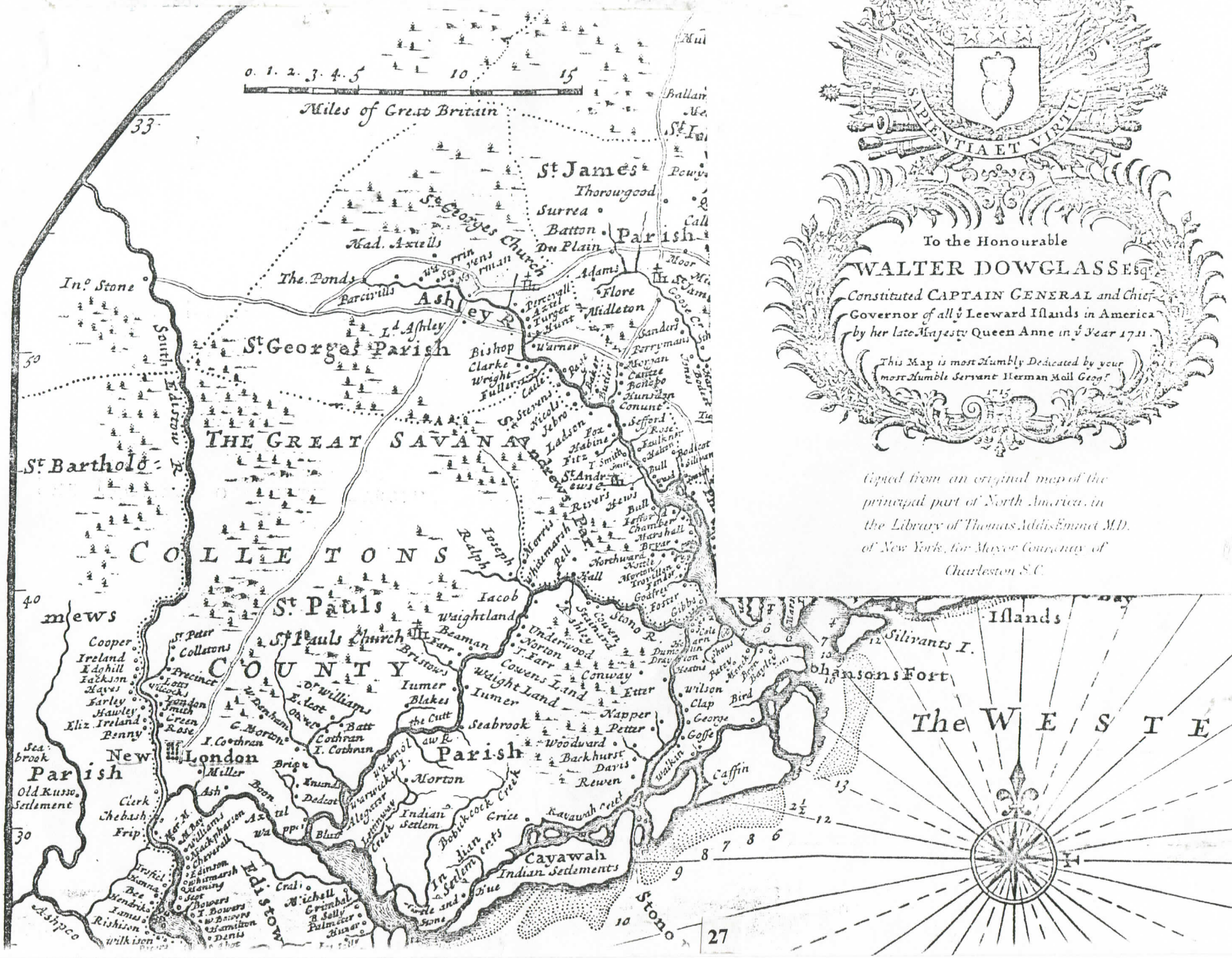


Figure 9

Figure 10: A portion of a map dated 1721, based on a survey of 1715, showing London and New London. (Published in the 1886 Yearbook of the City of Charleston, p. 280



Copied from an original map of the principal part of North America, in the Library of Thomas Addis Emmet M.D. of New York, for Mayor Courtenay of Charleston S.C.

Figure 11

Carte de la Louisiane et du Cours du Mississipi, 1718, showing Nouv Londre just south of Charles Town (Reproduced from an engraving, Cornell University)

From the 1690s through the 1730s Willtown, or New London, was an important landmark on the Carolina frontier (see figure 10 and 11). It is a prominent feature on the 1695 Thornton-Morden map (figure 9). Various late 17th century documents refer to two centers of settlement; Charles Town and "London in Colleton". In 1695 a group of dissenters in Dorchester, Massachusetts organized themselves and sailed for South Carolina. When they arrived and sought a place to settle, Governor Joseph Blake suggested that they investigate New London. They spent a few days on the Edisto River and were entertained by Landgrave Joseph Morton. For reasons that are not made clear, the group rejected the New London site and chose instead a site on the Ashley River near the property of William Normon (Bell 1995:2) which would become Dorchester. Elder William Pratt described their decision in the following manner (Salley 1967:196):

> "Our minister was at this time up at landgrave morttons and som of the church, and others of the chu^{ch} at Charlstoun. Our minister and church war strongly perswaded by the lieut^{t} generall blak and many others to go to new london to settel, and upon that acount wer perswaded to go to landgrave mortons w^{c} was neer this place.
>
> about a week after we went by land to Charlstoun and war caryed by water up to land grave mortons, we, many of us together, went to vew the land at newlundon. after two days we returned to land grave morttons.
>
> m^{r} lord cald me aside and I had much discors with him and when he heard what I had to say consarning ashly rever and conserning new lundon, m^{r} lord was wholy of my mind and willing to tak up, upon thos condishons that we discorsed about, at ashly rever, which condishons war keept privet, betwen to or 3 of us."

In his 1708 History of the British Empire in America, John Oldmixon describes Willtown in rather lavish terms,

> "Two miles higher is Wilton, by some called New London, a little town, consisting of about 80 houses. Landgrave Moreton, Mr. Blake, Mr. Boon, Landgrave Axtell, and other considerable planters have settlements in this neighborhood, which is Sir John Colleton's precinct."(Salley 1967:366).

Most scholars of Willtown have rejected the description of 80 houses, as there is little evidence to support a community of this size. Only a single land grant, of two lots to Joseph Morton, has been discovered for this period. Regardless of its actual size on the ground, Willtown functioned as an important landmark throughout the first half of the 18th century. Though the number of actual residents and structures remains unknown, it was clearly considered a center of transportation, government, commerce, religion, protection and communication. It remained a prominent landmark on maps throughout this period (Thornton-Morden 1695; Crisp 1711; Stuart-Faden 1780; figures 9-11; see figures 9-14).

Oldmixon's description, evidently second-hand, may have been emboldened by the ambitious plan for the town. The proprietors instructed that "if any one Will build a house in said town you may by order of the Governour measure out unto him a towne Lott according to the proportions

Figure 12
1775 Sayer and Bennett map of South Carolina
(Note the location of New Windsor relative to Willtown)

Boon's Port
Ninety Six
Court House
Chapel
Saluda River
Broad River
Little R.
Reedy River
Enoree River
Tyger River
Head of Black River
St. Davids
High Hills
Santee
Meeting
NEW BOURDEAUX
PRECINCT
SAXE GOTHA
TOWNSHIP
ORANGEBURG
St Matthew
AMELIA TOWNSHIP
St Marks
Pine Land the Lowest in the Province
Orangeburg
Court House
Santee River
Chapel
Church
NEW WINDSOR
TOWNSHIP
Fort Moore
Augusta
Rich Land
Land
Pine Land Hills of Congarees
Orangeburg Road
Rottingbury
Williams
Fairchild
Williamson
Bayneford
Buckhatters Cr.
Franklins
Carpenters
Mabbant
Bamfield
Mill Creek
Brandon
Hugheches or Hogeloes
Town deserted in 1715
Rums of Burkes Fort
Head of Salt Pitchers
Silver Bluff
Gulphin
Hall Bluff
Butlers Cr.
Rocky Cr.
Hollow Cr.
Beaver Cr.
Twelve Mile Cr.
Big Cr.
Red Branch
Mine Cr.
Rocky Cr.
Little Saluda
Long Cane
Dutchmans Cr.
Turkey Cr.
Stevens Cr.
Horse Cr.
Lange Cr.
Indian Cr.
Cuffeytown Cr.
Reedy Cr.
Hillhouse Cr.
Dyches Cr.
Dunns Cr.
Wards Cr.
Cedar Cr.
Coal Cr.
Raglin Cr.
Swimming Run Cr.
Town Cr.
Salt Cr.
Buck Cr.
McCormack
Howard
Weathers
Brunston
Nighton
Sparkmans
Kitty
Mannins
Young
Smith
Johnston's
Gantins
Normans
Right
Frickel
Hoppers
Simpkins
Nevils
Pinckneys
Sarsinnah
Ballards Island
Langford
Canter
Yardine
Whitten
Oliver
Harris
Hamilton
Gregory
Mount Pleasant
St. Stephens
St. Johns
Pine Land
Fine Land
Swamp
Pines
Fields
Forests
Cannon
Findol
McDaniel
Smither
Priestly
Morrisons
Jones
Lenor
Riddlespurger
Darrapert
Four Holes
Four Holes Swamp
Cap. Barker
Pyrated in 1718
Cooper River
South Fork
North Fork
Four Holes Creek
Rafting Pond
Rafting Creek
Nelsons
Black River or Water
Scape
Ratcliffe
Andrews
Holdbirds
Swinies
Varner
Carter
Commanders
Lowers
Debruhks
Barbers
Godson
Raburn
Flowers
Wilds
Armstrong
Gantlet
Bradley
Anderson
Jamison
Dickerson
Mowry
Dease
Theler
Mitchell
Kinney
Mamis
Bonny
Baker
Dickerson
Sparkmans
Kitty
Brunston
Nighton
Brunston
Brunston
Sparkmans
Kitty
Mannins
Young
Smith
Johnston's
Gantins
Normans
Right
Frickel
Hoppers
Simpkins
Nevils
Pinckneys
Sarsinnah
Ballards Island
Langford
Canter
Yardine
Whitten
Oliver
Harris
Hamilton
Gregory
Mount Pleasant
St. Stephens
St. Johns
Pine Land
Fine Land
Swamp
Pines
Fields
Forests
Cannon
Findol
McDaniel
Smither
Priestly
Morrisons
Jones
Lenor
Riddlespurger
Darrapert
Four Holes
Four Holes Swamp
Cap. Barker
Pyrated in 1718
Cooper River
South Fork
North Fork
Four Holes Creek
Rafting Pond
Rafting Creek
Nelsons
Black River or Water
Scape
Ratcliffe
Andrews
Holdbirds
Swinies
Varner
Carter
Commanders
Lowers
Debruhks
Barbers
Godson
Raburn
Flowers
Wilds
Armstrong
Gantlet
Bradley
Anderson
Jamison
Dickerson
Mowry
Dease
Theler
Mitchell
Kinney
Mamis
Bonny
Baker
Dickerson

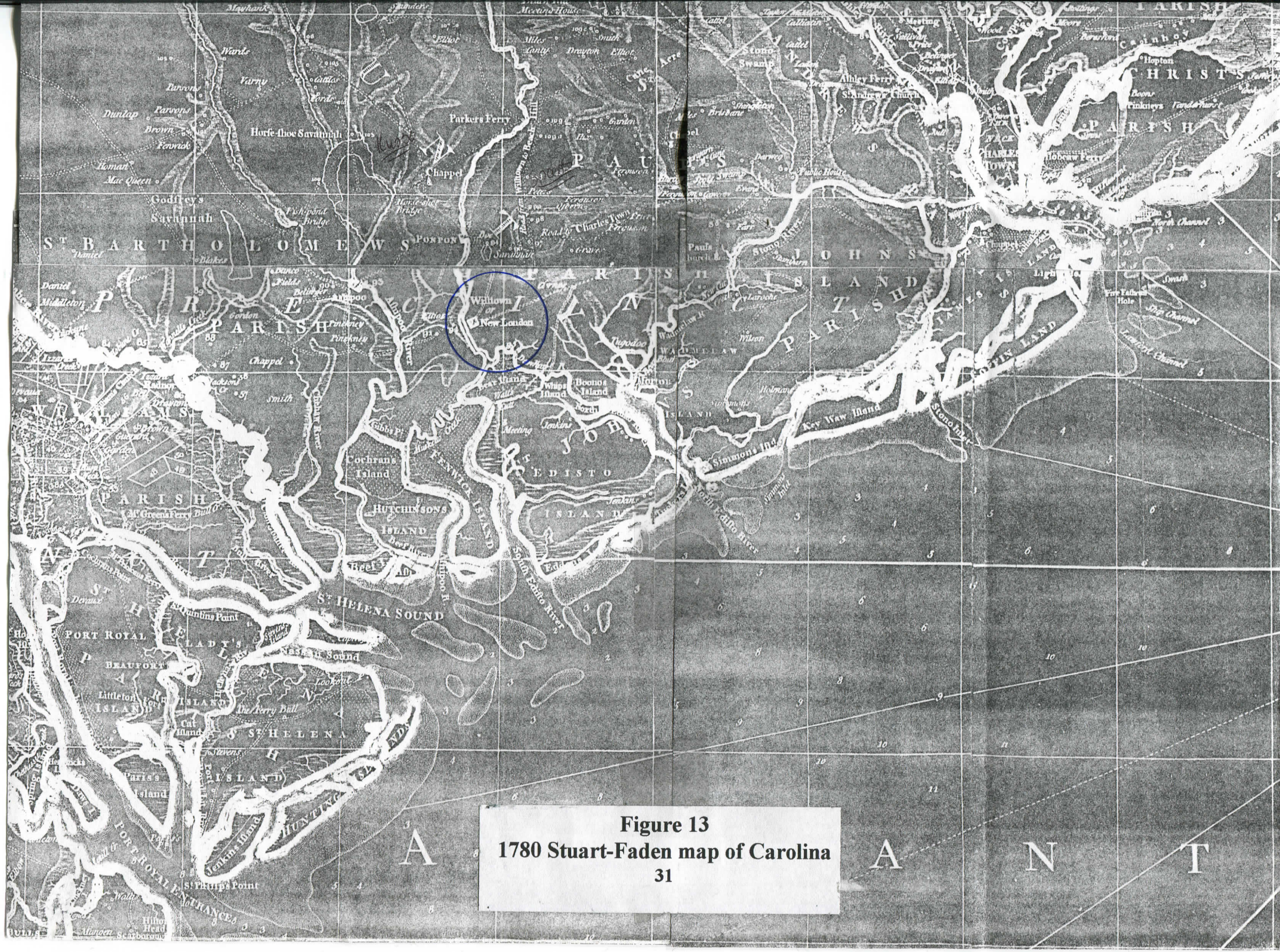
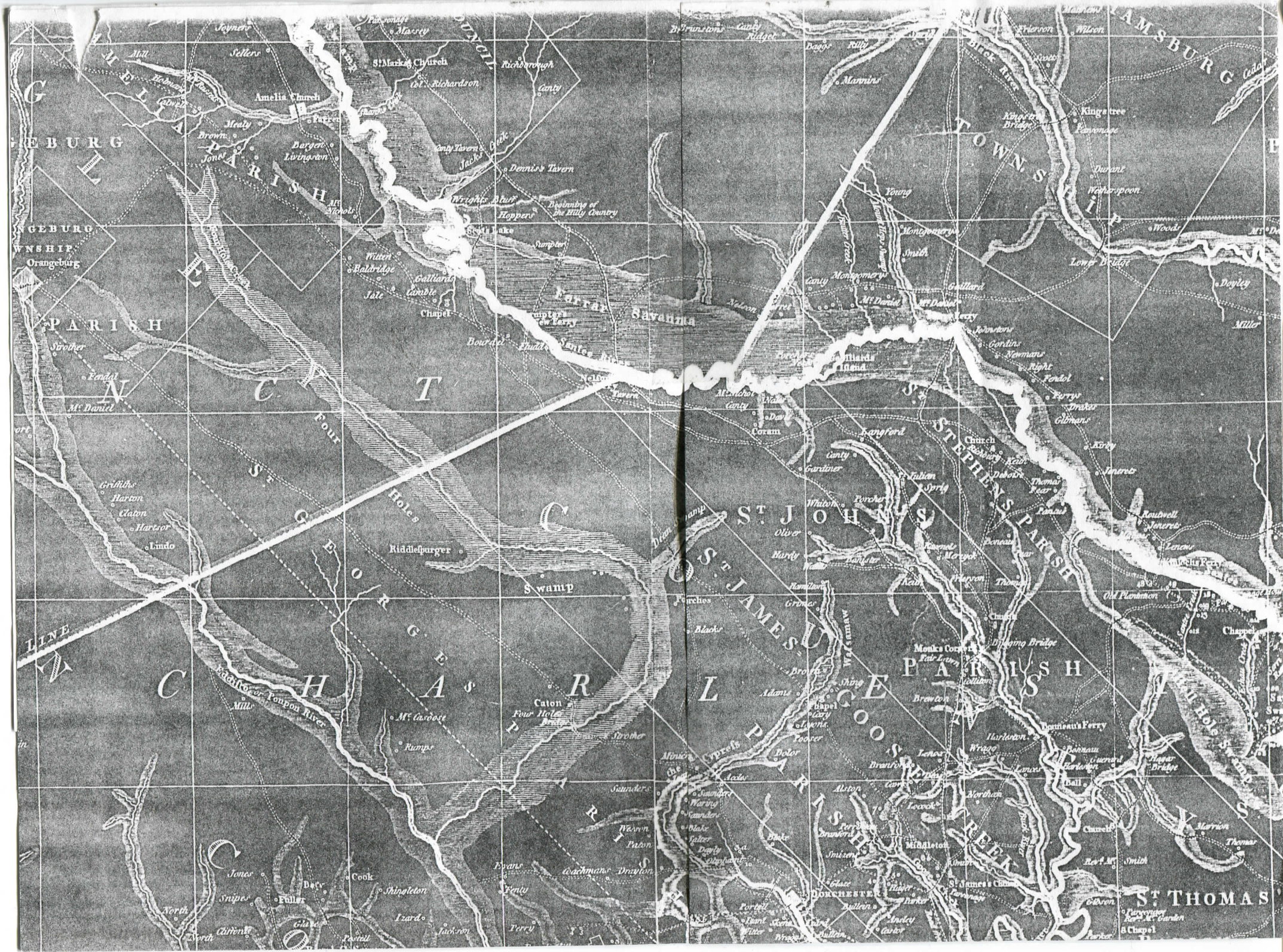


Figure 13
1780 Stuart-Faden map of Carolina


Joyner
Massey
Mill
Sellers
St Marks Church
Richborough
Amelia Church
Col. Richardson
Canty
Mealy
Brown
Jones
Barger
Livingston
Canty Tavern
Jacks Creek
Dennis's Tavern
Wrights Bluff
Hoppers
Beginning of the Hilly Country
Mt Nebo
Witten
Baldridge
Gallards
Jale
Gamble
Chapel
Sumpter
Ferry
Savannah
Bourdet
Strother
Tarver
Nelson
Mc Daniel
Four Holes Swamp
Griffiths
Harton
Claton
Harlson
Lindo
Riddlesburger
Swamp
Forches
Blacks
Caton
Four Hole Bridge
Mt Carmel
Rumps
Pompon River
Mill
Jones
Snipes
Fuller
Bass
Cook
Shingleton
North
Izard
Jackson
Terry
Evans
Goodmans
Drayton
Saunders
Waring
Saunder
Blake
Yates
Darby
Shepherd
Patton
Brunstons
Canty
Ridge
Bangs
Billy
Mannins
Brick River
Kingstree Bridge
Kingstree
Pennonage
Young
Montgomery
Smith
Canty
Mt Daniel
Gaillard
Johnstons
Gantlins
Newmans
Right
Fendol
Ferry
Drakes
Gilmans
Miller
Doyley
Lower Bridge
Woods
Laurent
Wephrapoon
Coram
Langford
Church
Canty
Gardiner
Tatlen
Sprig
Whitton
Porcher
Oliver
Hardy
Ranger
Keith
Dehoit
Thomas Fear
Abby
Innerst
Routwell
Generett
Zenone
Old Plantation
Monks Corner
Fair Lawn
Dragging Bridge
Brewton
Adams
Shing
Chapel
Lory
Lyons
Foster
Doctor
Harleston
Bonneau's Ferry
Wrong
Lenos
Branford
Bonneau
Guerard
Ball
Mayer Bridge
Alston
Lewock
Northen
Middleton
Smiser
Rev.d Mr
Smith
Marrion
Thomas
St James Church
Dorchester
Parker
Bullen
Hunt
Wilder
Wrights
Anstey
Castor
Fortell
Glaze
Glover
Parsonage
Rev.d Mr Garden
Chapel
St Thomas
Line
Canal
Creek
Ferry
Bridge
Parish
Township
Orangeburg
Four Holes Swamp

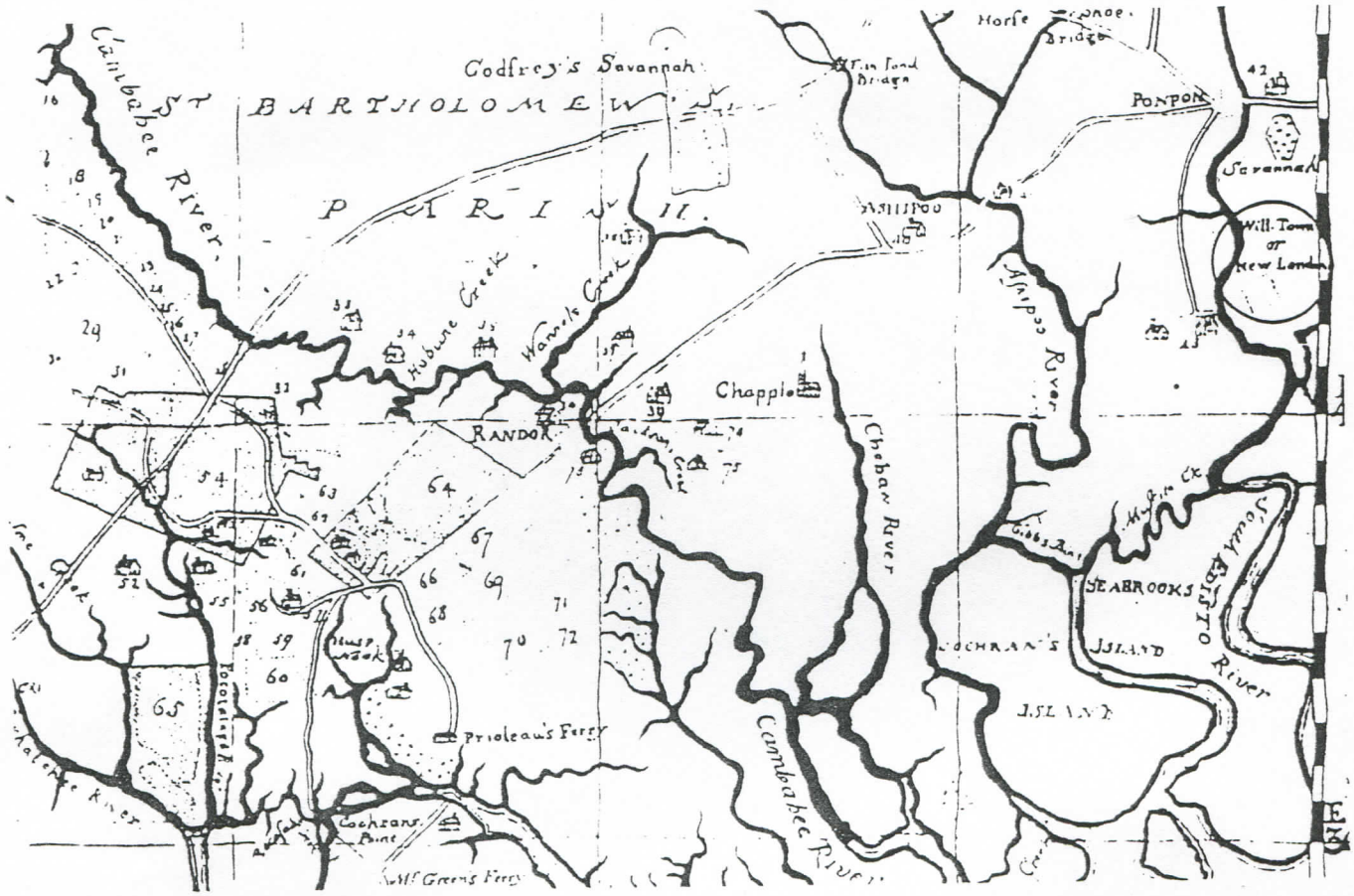


Figure 14

Portion of the 1775 Boss and Brailsford map of Lowcountry South Carolina
(from Lipscomb 1993)

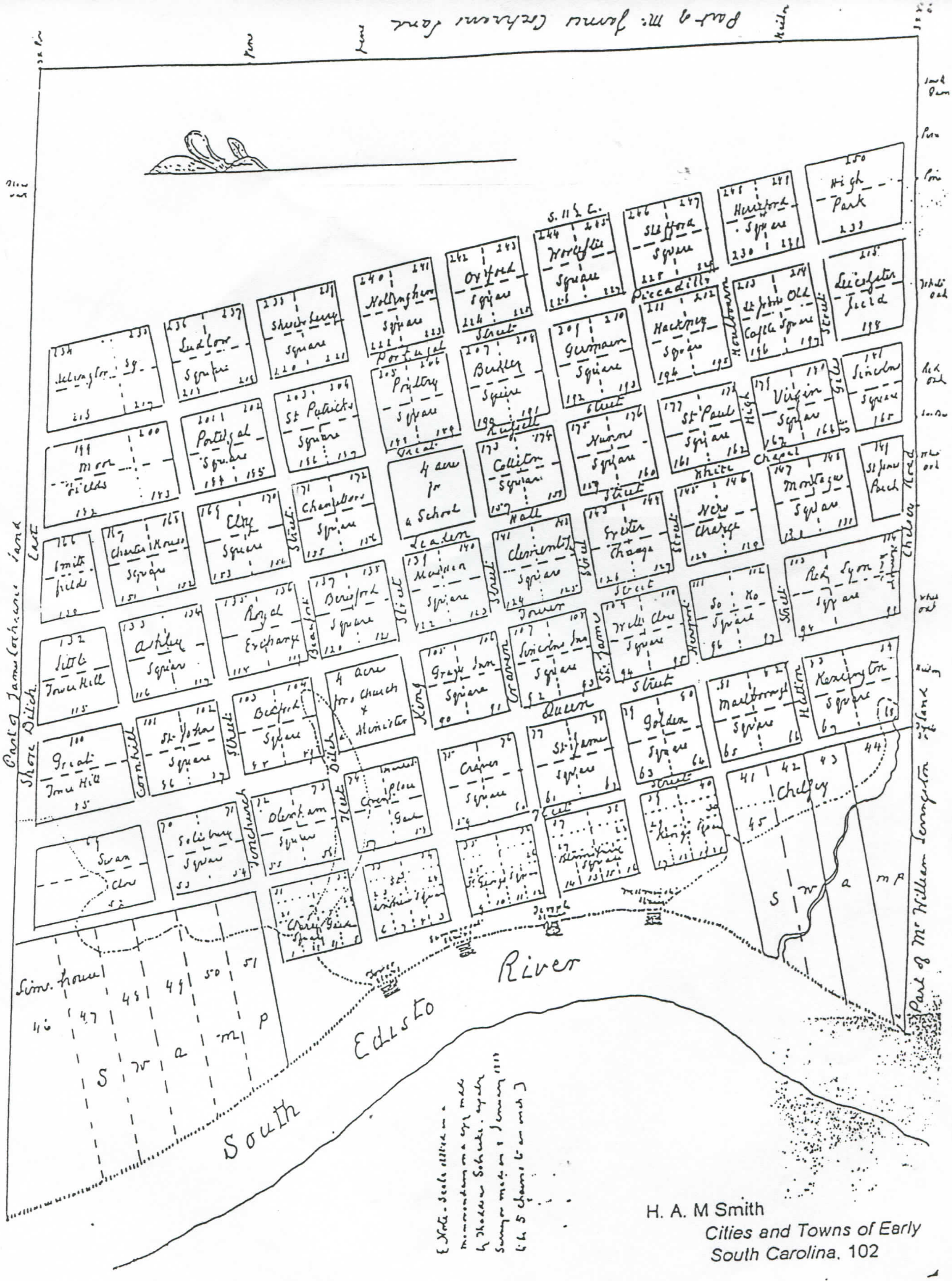
appointed at Charles towne and 100 akers of Land in the collony as a plantation" Five hundred acres on the river was to be set aside for the town. The five hundred acres both above and below the town as well as the three five-hundred acre sections next in from the river would be set aside for the precinct. The plat shows the 500 acre tract centered on the bluff (and agreeing remarkably with current landmarks), neatly divided into streets, blocks, and lots, each street and block named, and each lot numbered ordinally. Four named stairs lead from the top of the bluff to the riverfront (figure 15).

But research into land grants hint at a different story than that told by this planning document. The studies by Elaine Herold (1980) and Suzanne Linder (1996) suggest that less than a third of those were ever granted, and fewer still were occupied or improved. The granted and occupied lots cluster along the waterfront; nearly all are in the first two blocks adjacent to the river and marshes, and in the southern two thirds of the town area. None of the lots in the inner four rows of blocks were granted (figure 16).

Four principal reasons for the founding of Willtown were the pursuit of the Indian trade, the development of rice culture, and the desire for a community of religious dissenters, and, a paramount concern in the late 17th to early 18th century, though one that diminished through time: protection of the colony. Each of these driving forces contributed people to the Willtown community and steered community development. Though the dissenters from Massachusetts ultimately chose Dorchester for a tightly-knit settlement, Willtown attracted a number of settlers who were not Anglican. A Presbyterian church was centered at Willtown some time prior to 1728, and likely around 1704.

Rice as a profitable staple was introduced by 1695, and the lands around Willtown were well suited to this crop. Several grants in the vicinity of Willtown around the turn of the century may indicate interest in acquiring lands capable of producing rice. A port town close to the coast which would provide deep water and high ground (South and Hartley 1977; Linder 1996) would facilitate the marketing of this new crop. But the first significant staple was not grown by settlers, but acquired from Indians through trade. Deerskins were the first profitable export, and remained economically significant until the Revolution. Even as late as 1750, the value of deerskin exports exceeded the combined revenues from indigo, cattle, beef, pork, lumber, and naval stores (Linder 1996:20). Willtown appears to have played a significant, though changing, role in Carolina's Indian trade.

By 1700, Carolina traders had pushed westward in order to reach the large tribes of the Mississippi Valley, the Creeks and Chickasaws. The trade brought the Carolina traders and colonists into increased competition with the French and Spanish. Queen Anne's war, in which the Spanish and French were allied against the English, began in 1702 and ended with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. In America, the conflict focused on control of the Indian trade. This ultimately ended with the colony's most significant colonial war, the Yemassee War. A fort was constructed at Willtown (presumably on the bluff in the same location as the existing Civil War earthworks), manned by a military garrison (Ivers 1970:75). A large party of Apalachee Indians and their allies attacked the fort in July 1715. About twenty plantations were destroyed in St. Paul's parish, including Lady Blake's



H. A. M Smith
Cities and Towns of Early South Carolina, 102

Figure 15

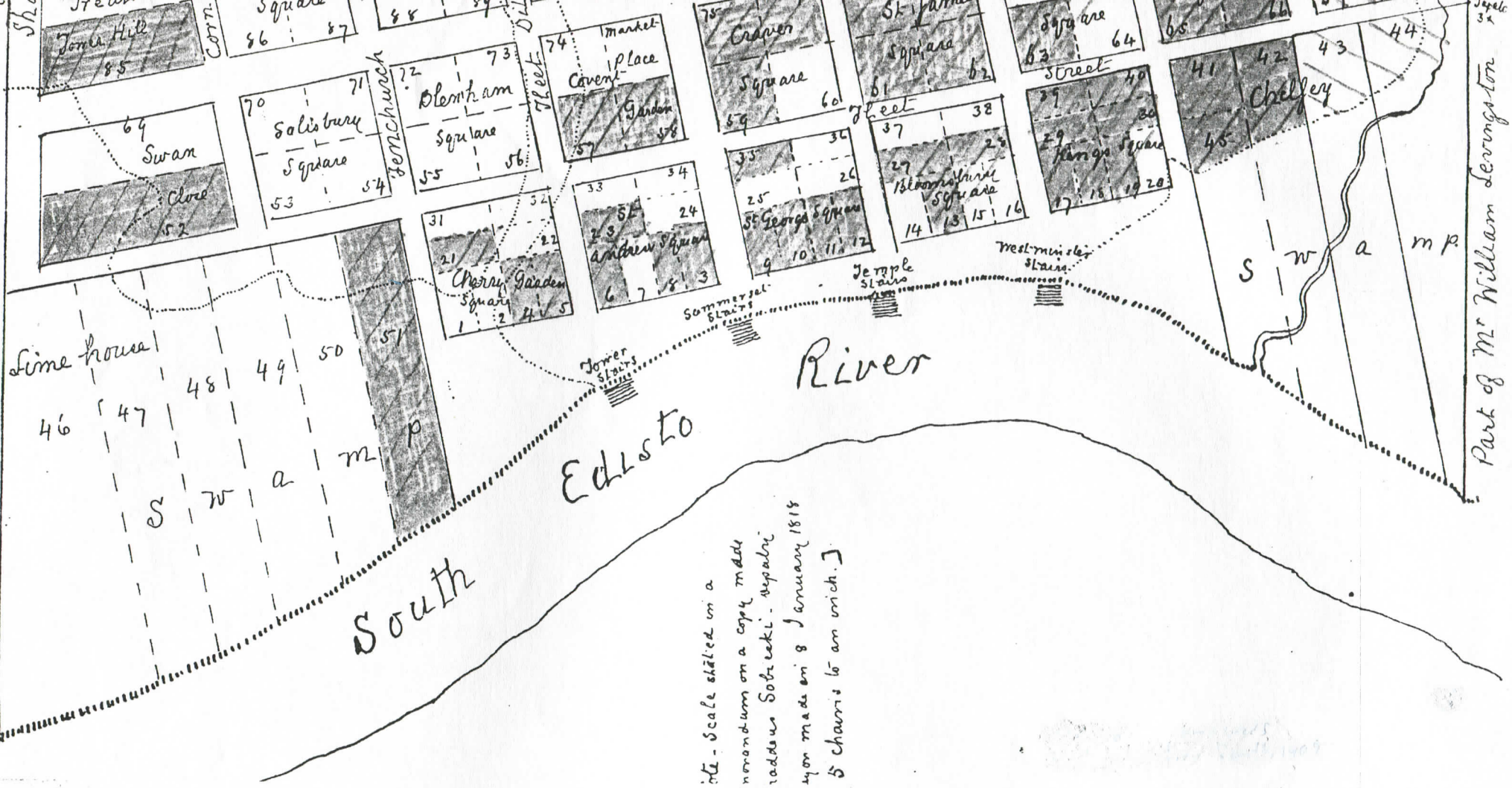
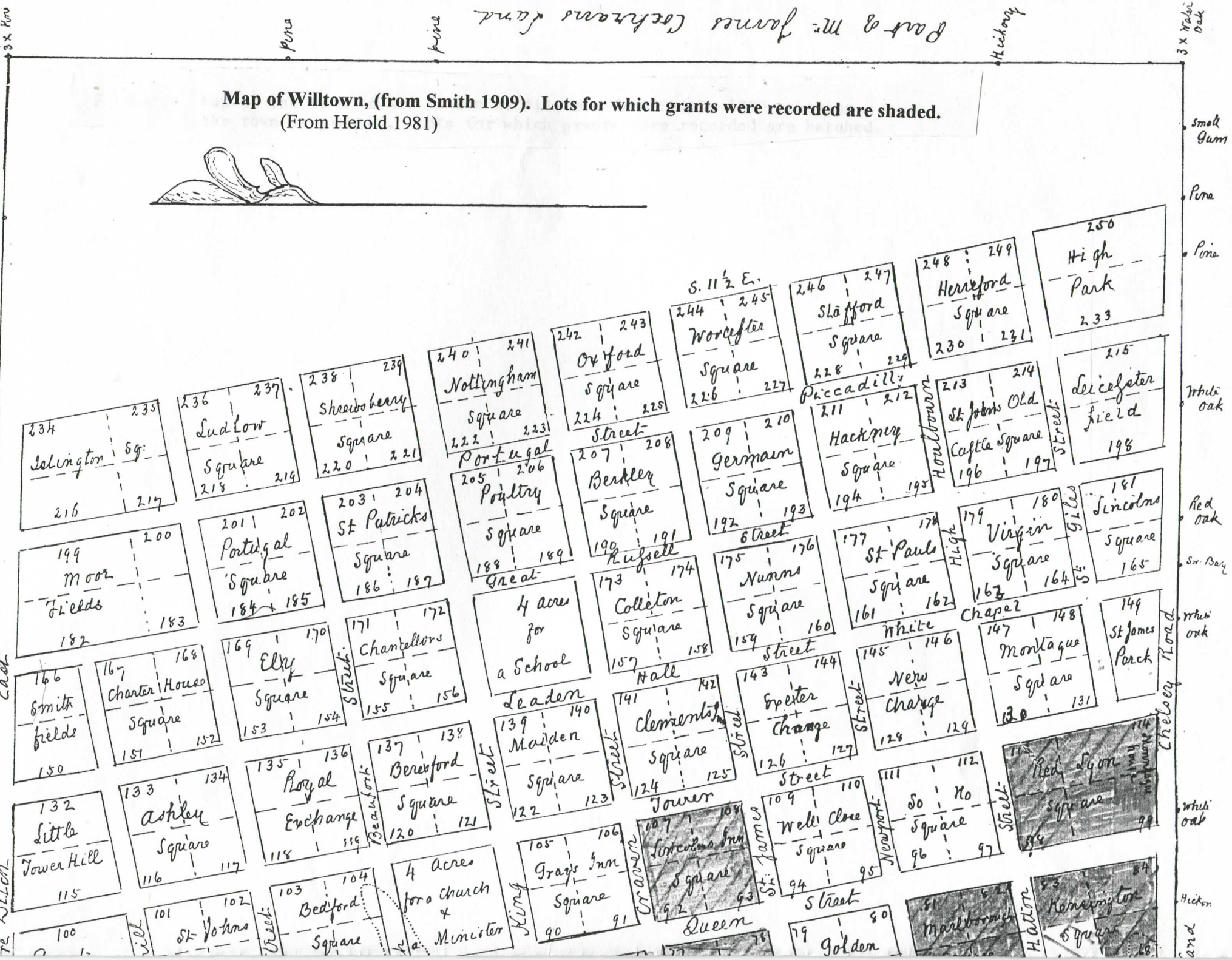

Tower Hill
Corn
Square
Swan
Close
Salisbury
Square
Fenchurch
Blenham
Square
Fleet
Market
Place
Covent
Garden
Craven
Square
St James
Square
Fleet
Square
Street
Kings Square
Chelsey
Cherry Garden
Square
St Andrew Square
St George Square
Bloomsbury
Square
Lime house
Swamp
Tower Stairs
Sommerset Stairs
Temple Stairs
Westminster Stairs
South Edisto River
Swamp
Part of Mr William Levingston

Figure 16

Map of Willtown, (from Smith 1909). Lots for which grants were recorded are shaded.
(From Herold 1981)



and Joseph Boone's. Only Landgrave Morton's escaped destruction (Crane 1981:173). About 50 residents took refuge in the Willtown fort, and the attack was repulsed. The period after the Yemassee War appears to be one of growth for Willtown, but the community and surrounding environs were changing.

The Willtown Community

Though only 28 miles from Charleston, Willtown was, at its founding, on the edge of the Carolina frontier. In recent years, the definition of frontiers in eastern North America has shifted from linear to spatial, human, and relational terms (Dowd 1998:117). This research considers Willtown in these terms. Frontiers are "zones of interpenetration among previously distinct societies" (Lamar and Thompson 1981). Central to our analysis of the Willtown community in the 18th century is the basic notion that frontiers are zones, not lines; "they are not a stage in European progression, but contested spaces, the sites of negotions of power" (Cayton and Teute 1998:1-15).

Frontier societies are by definition a place of initial occupation and settlement by Europeans. Scholars of the frontier such as Robert Mitchell have noted that frontiers were transitory, in a gradual and general westward flow across the continent. Despite its fluid boundaries and changing levels of economic development, the frontier retained social and economic distinctions from previously-settled regions (Crass et al. 1998). Another characteristic of frontier society was its multiracial and multiethnic echaracter, and the changing relation and identities of these groups. In its earliest days, Willtown was indeed a multiethnic community, with Dissenters, Anglicans, traders, merchants, planters, enslaved Africans and Indians, and likely neighboring Native Americans meeting face to face, with different and often conflicting views of their world.

The emphasis on Indian trade, and likely the presence of Indians, in Willtown created a different political and social order. Until the advent of enthohistory, Indians were often underrepresented in studies of the Carolina frontier, and the archaeological signature of 18th century native peoples is ephemeral and poorly understood. Yet Willtown was influenced by native peoples, whether they walked the streets of the town, lived in temporary villages across the Edisto, or in large towns hundreds of miles to the west.

If Carolina in 1670 was settled in "the very chaps of the Spaniards"(Andrews 1938) then the same could be said of Willtown and Indians in the 1690s. Seventeenth century Charleston was surrounded by a variety of aboriginal groups, including Siouans, Cherokee, Creeks, Choctaw, and a number of smaller coastal tribes. The arrival of Europeans in 1492 set in motion a complex of changes to southeastern aboriginal societies which, after 1670, accelerated in a rapid series of movement, decimation, and realignment. Native American presence in the lowcountry was reduced to a few hundred by 1750, and after 1830 remaining southeastern Indians were physically removed to the Indian Territory (Oklahoma) in the forced march known as the Trail of Tears. Their virtual absence after the Revolution results in their relative absence from the colonial story. But Indians

were very much players in the Willtown story. More difficult to discern is the extent of their physical presence. A combination of primary and secondary documents, ethnohistorical accounts, and archaeological studies will be used to reconstruct their role here.

Native American Residents and European Indian Traders

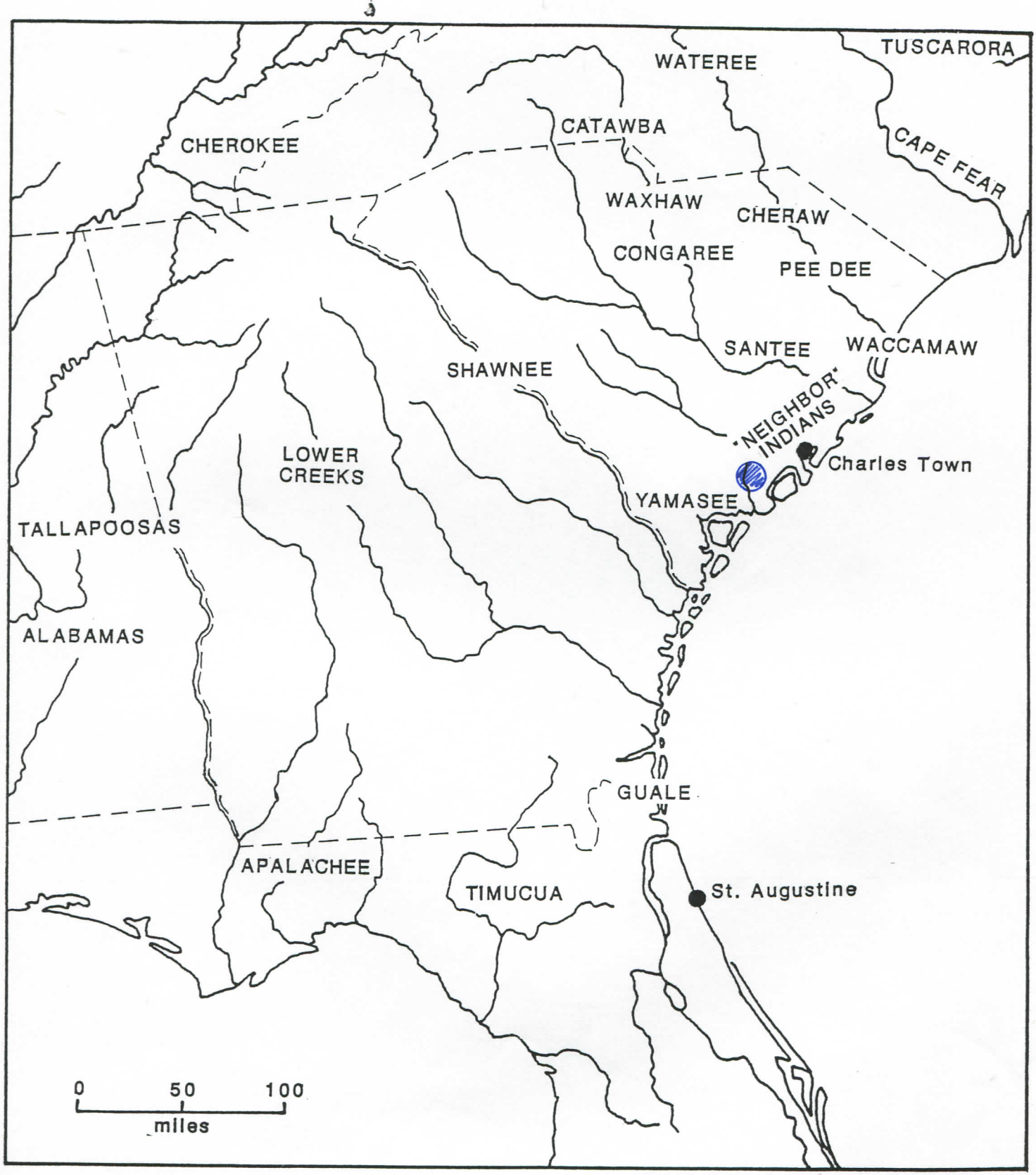
The best source on Native residents of the 16th and 17th centuries is Gene Waddell's *Indians of the South Carolina Lowcountry* (1980). Working with Spanish records, Waddell names those tribes living between the Savannah and Santee rivers, and charts their movement and demise. He notes little movement of these tribes between 1562 and 1576, the period of French and Spanish occupation. The Kusso were centered near Charleston harbor, and the Seewee were near the mouth of the Santee river. No tribes were recorded for the lands between Port Royal and Charleston Harbor before 1579.

Waddell suggests that many of these earliest known villages were destroyed during the Escamacu War (1576-1579), in which the Spanish attacked this tribe and the Kussoe. The war probably left the area between the Broad and Savannah deserted, and the Edisto moved north to Edisto Island. This was the first of a series of northern movements by the coastal tribes to avoid contact with the Europeans.

There was relatively little change in the coastal tribes until 1670, when demographics changed at an accelerating pace (figures 17-19). At this time, the Wimbee, Combahee, and Ashepoo lived south of the Edisto, and the Wando and Sampa lived north of the Kiawah. English claim of Indian lands was already widespread by 1675: after a "war" the English forced the Kussoe, located up the Ashley River, to "fore ever quitt" their lands, and other tribes were requesting that lands be "reserved" for them. By 1682 the Kiawah had moved from the Ashley river to Kiawah Island. The earliest documented trade is with the Kussoe, in 1671; at that time they were northwest of the Combahee River (Snell 1973:8-10).

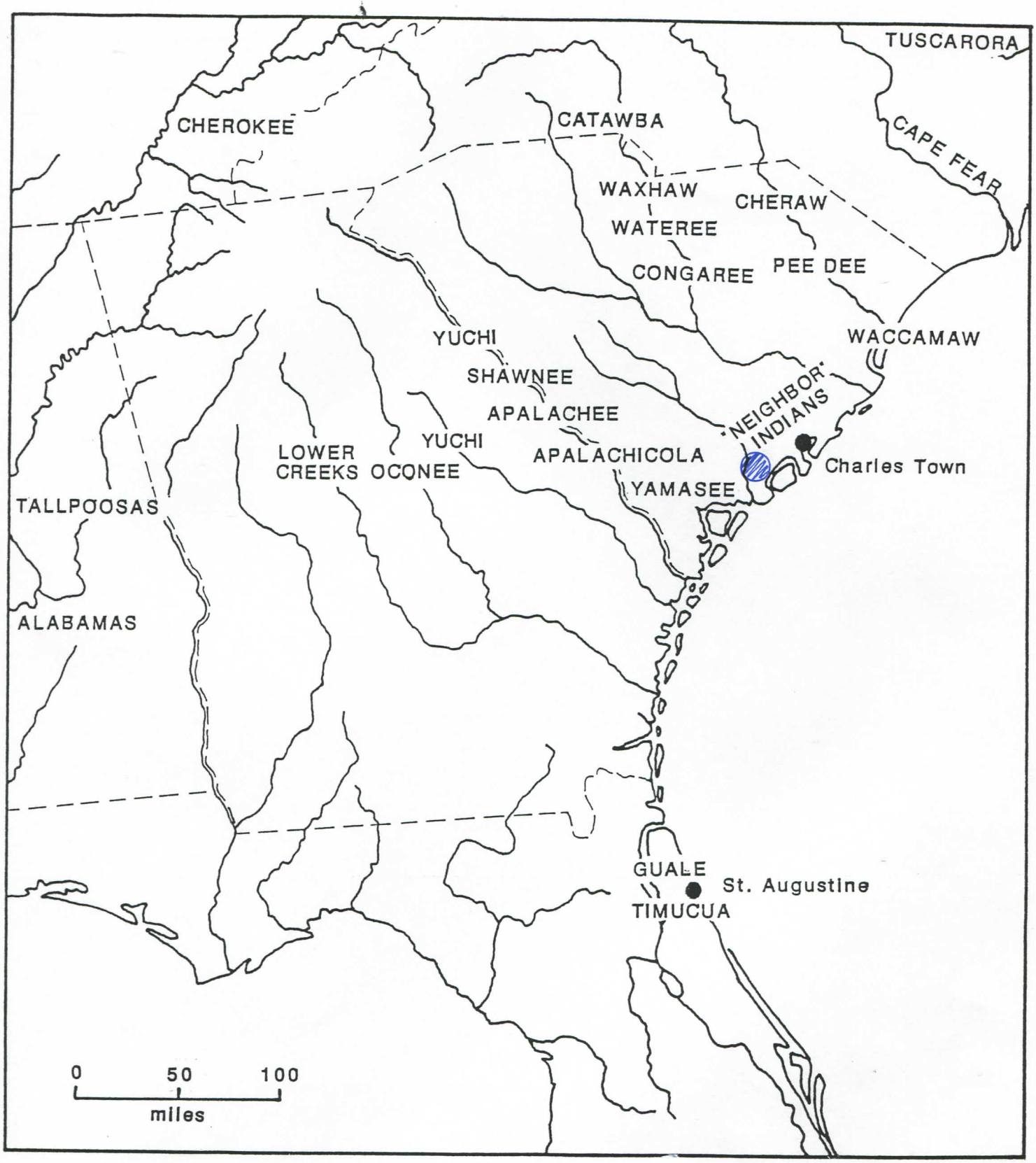
Another wave of displacement began with the emigration of the Scots into Port Royal. The Yemasee, along with the Guale of coastal Georgia, moved into the area and Waddell suggests that the coastal tribes may have moved away from these traditional enemies. In 1684 the Proprietors moved to clear their title to the coastal areas between the Savannah and Stono rivers; in separate accessions the Witcheaugh, St. Helena (Escamacu), Wimbee, Combahee, Kussah, Ashepoo, Edisto, and Stono surrendered their claims. Although they were not immediately forced from the area, Waddell's examination of maps from the next three decades show Europeans continually claiming the best land, and the Indians increasingly confined to smaller and less desirable land.

The Anglo-Spanish skirmishes that resulted in the burning of the Scots' Port Royal settlement in 1686 also decimated the surrounding Indian towns. Every indigenous tribe moved north, and the Port Royal area was again deserted. The English took advantage of this situation and began to acquire these recently vacated areas. Only the Kussoe had the presence to protest and receive a



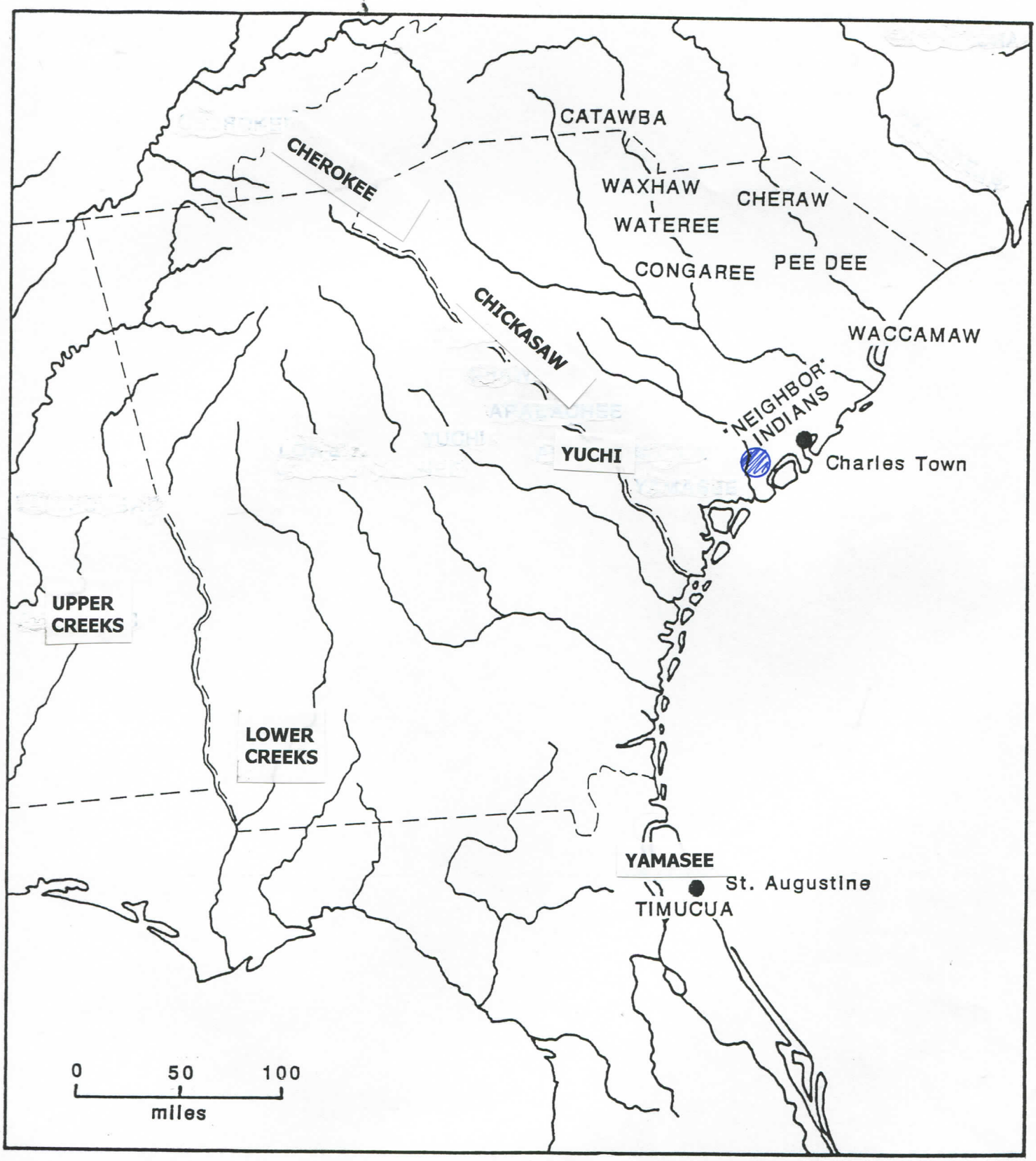
Location of major Indian groups in 1690
(from DePratter 1990)

Figure 17



Location of major Indian groups in 1715 just prior to the Yamassee War (from DePratter 1990)

Figure 18



Location of major Indian groups in 1730
(from DePratter 1990)

Figure 19

reservation. The 1695 Thornton-Morden map reflects this short-lived intermingling of Indian and European (figure 9). Scattered among the planters' names are "Indian Settlement" on Kiawah Island, Edisto Island, and on Bohicket Creek near Landgrave Morton's. Simultaneous to this displacement, the coastal tribes fell victim to smallpox and other European diseases. Oldmixon in 1708 describes "colliton County, which Stono River waters, and is join;'d by a cut to Wadmoolaw River. The NorthEast Parts of this Division of the Province is full of Indian Settlements... the two chief rivers in this county are North Edistow and South Edistow, and for two our three miles up the [south Edisto] river, the Plantations are thick on both sides...two miles higher is Wilton, by some call'd New London.

In the late 17th century, the area around Willtown was Indian territory. By 1686 white settlers had pushed south of Charleston, but the strip of territory between the Edisto and Savannah rivers, afterward known as "indian land"(this referring to areas south of the Combahee) was now inhabited by the Yemassee alone, except for a few white traders (Milling 1940:186; figures 9 and 20). Actually, the Yemassee nation was composed of several Guale tribes (from coastal Georgia), including the Sapelo, Yoa, and others (DePratter 1990; Worth 1995; see figure 5). There were ten Yemassee towns, five lower of which the chief town was Altamaha (located in Beaufort county; see Judge and Smith 1991; Green 1991; Green and McKivergan 1991; Southerlin 1999), and five upper, centering around Pocotaligo. During the years 1687 to 1715 the Yemassee occupied an important position in the Indian system. Remants of the coastal tribes, by now known as "settlement indians" or "neighbor indians" lived in small groups on plantations, or around white settlements. In 1718 the Commission on Indian Trade passed Notice to Indians residing in the settlements,

"That they may be furnished with such goods as they want in barter for skins, furs, etc. By the several undermentioned persons at their respective plantations, vis:

Col. George Logan at Wandoe
Col. John Barnwell at Port Royal
Col. George Chicken at Goose Creek
Capt. Jonathan Drake at James Island and Court Bar
Mr. Sam[ll] Deane at Ashely Ferry
Col. John Fenwick at Stonoe
Capt. William Scott at New London
Capt. John Whitmarsh at Edistoe
Capt. Thomas Dynes at Dorchester"

They further note at this meeting that they "Received the Honourable the Governor's order to Col. Michael Brewton, Powder Receiver, for 10 barrells of the Publick's Powder, to be delivered to this board, for the Indian trade" (McDowell, Journal of Commissioner of Indian Trade, 1710-1718: 270).

The population and tribal areas again declined during the Yemassee war. The Wimbee, Combahee, Kusso, and Ashepoo disappear from the records, and were likely destroyed or absorbed by the Yemassee. After the war, only the St. Helena, Edisto, Kiawah, and Etiwan are mentioned as separate tribes; they were 'allowed' to live among the settlements, and the previously mentioned

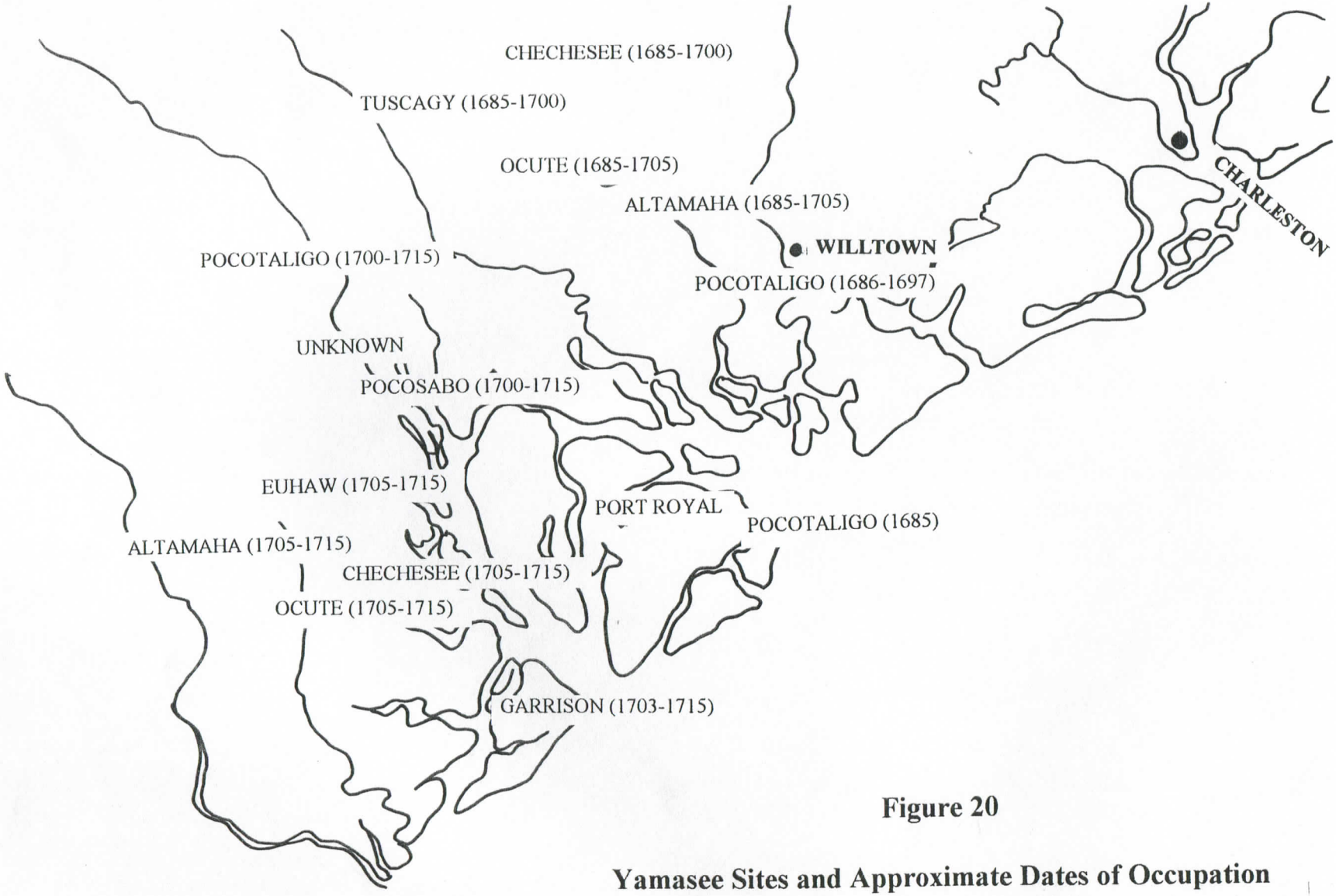


Figure 20

Yamasee Sites and Approximate Dates of Occupation
(from McKivergan 1991)

trading posts, including William Scott's at New London, were established to trade with them. The Etiwan alone are mentioned in 1751 (Waddell 1980:2-6).

One group for whom more complete documentation exists are the Kusso, who later united with a group of Natchez, and are presently incorporated as the Edisto Tribal Council. Tribal historian Herb McAmis and Wes Taukchiray have completed a study of this group. Originally recorded as occupying the upper reaches of the Ashley River, they later sold a large tract of land on the Ashley River to the English (across from Dorchester, bordering on Middleton Plantation). In 1747 the Kusso combined with a group of Natchez, driven from the Mississippi River to the four hole swamp region of South Carolina. The Kusso were living on Spoons plantation, land reserved for them northeast of Willtown (see figure 13). Throughout the 19th century remnants of this group lived on plantation in the vicinity of Round O Savannah and Horseshoe Savannah, across the Edisto in Colleton County (McAmis 1988)

If English domination of lowcountry Indian lands seemed swift, then even more remarkable was the rapid penetration of the interior, alliance with the large, distant tribes, and the frequency of Indian journeys to the lowcountry, even downtown Charleston. The Barbadian settlers who settled the Goose Creek area in the late 17th century forged a strong and direct trade with the interior groups. They directed a large caravan of goods to Creek country as early as 1685, and guided native burdeners carrying deerskins back to Charleston. By 1690 Carolina planters virtually monopolized the southeastern deerskin trade. In a few more years, Charleston merchants used their command of the credit system to gain control over the trade, and they transformed the trade into a great mercantile interest.

The Charleston Indian trade passed through several fairly distinct stages of organization. Verner Crane (1981:117) suggest that these generally correspond to broader periods of development of colonial commerce. During the first decades the Lords Proprietors attempted to turn the traffic with Indians into a source of dividends upon their investment. The early trade, both proprietary and private, was a plantation trade. Thomas Ashe wrote in 1682 that he had "often heard Capt. Matthews, and ingenious gentleman, and Agent to Sir Peter Colleton for his Affairs in Carolina, declare that one hunting Indian has yearly kill'd and brought to his Plantation more than an 100, sometimes 200 head of Deer" (quoted in Crane 1981:118). After Woodward established relations with the Westo, the trade along the coast as far as Port Royal and inland for 100 miles was left open to the planters, and nearby Indians resorted to plantation houses with their pelts.

By the time that the Proprietary monopoly was broken, the trade had fallen largely into the hands of a few enterprising planters, who sent factors into the Indian country, to "travel and abide amonst the Indians for a long space of time" (Lefler 1967) . The hey-day of these men was the three decades after the Westo war. Col. Stephen Bull traded as far north as Cape Fear, Landgrave Thomas Smith did so as well. Col. Thomas Broughton used his Mulberry Plantation on the Cooper River as a center of trade, as did Peter St. Julien take advantage of his location near Dorchester, convenient to both the Cherokee path to Congaree and the Savannah town route. An important rival of Moore in the southern trade was James Stanyarne of Colleton county, who traded with the Yemassee (Crane

1981:119). In his insightful article, Joel Martin notes that the deerskin trade provided Carolina with a badly needed export commodity. He further notes that "by involving thousands of native consumers in Carolina's commerce, the trade enabled Charleston merchants to import far more goods than English subjects alone could have consumed, thus strengthening mercantile and shipping interests" (J. Martin 1994).

Dominating the early trade explorations and negotiations was Henry Woodward. In 1670 Woodward traveled to the southeastern ceremonial and political center of Cofitachequi (visited previously by Hernando De Soto in 1540), located on the Wateree river near present-day Camden. The emperor of Cofitachequi in turn visited Charleston in 1672 (DePratter 1994). In 1674 Lord Shaftesbury decided to develop a trade with inland ties. He recruited Woodward and Andrew Percival to initiate this enterprise. Woodward met with the fierce and feared Westo Indians at Shaftesbury's St. Giles plantation, near the head of the Ashley River. Well armed and well supplied with goods from Virginia traders, the Westos killed several colonists, which caused much apprehension in the colony. The Lords Proprietors then attempted to monopolize the Indian trade to the interior, through exclusive trade with the Westos, but the colonists were unhappy with this monopoly. With apparent ease, the colonists, led by the famous "Goose Creek men" sabotaged this monopoly.

More long-lived than trade with the nearby Westo and Yemassee was contact with the large interior tribes, the Catawba, Cherokee, and particularly the Creek. Soon after settlers arrived in Charleston, Creek diplomats from the interior (present-day Georgia and Alabama; see figures 18-20) appeared in Charleston asking for a trade and help against the well-armed Westos. Carolina-Creek prosperity was cemented in 1685 when Henry Woodward and 250 men arrived at Coweta, the preminent Muscogulge town, on the Chattahoochee. After the turn of the 18th century, the powerful Creek nation would be the principal player in the southeastern Indian trade, and Charleston the center of this enterprise, which rapidly spread as far as the Mississippi River (figure 21). Creek scholar Kathryn Braund (1992) notes that Woodward's packtrain was the beginning of the most powerful factor in Muscogulge life for the remainder of the colonial period: the trade of flintlock muskets, metal tools, and European textiles for Indian deerskins and other produce, including captive enemies. Many of the Willtown property owners and storekeepers were active players in this enterprise.

One of the major causes of the Yemassee war was the failure of colonial Indian trade regulation. The traders continued to take advantage of the Indians, and the Yemassee were determined to seek a solution. William Snell (1973:90) describes the war as "erupting with such a suddenness and viciousness that the existence of South Carolina was threatened." Instigated by the Creeks, the war stemmed from the frustration of Indians against the long-standing abuses by the colony's traders. A 1707 law designed to regulate the trade had not been effective, and the actions of many traders were viewed by even the colonists as criminal, rather than boorish (Merrell 1989:207). Thomas Nairne and John Wright, Indian commissioners, were among the first killed. This war involved almost every Indian nation that traded with South Carolina: Creek, Choctaw, Catawba, and Yemassee. Also involved were a number of smaller tribes, including the Coweta, Tallapoosa, Abihka, Alabamas, Yuchi, Apalachee, Shawnee, Saraw, Waccamaw, Santee, and Cape

Fear. As their names imply, this list includes native peoples from Florida to North Carolina, from the east coast to the Mississippi.

If the players in the Yemassee war were spread over the southeast, then one first-hand description of the outbreak of the conflict reflects the proximity of events to Willtown. In a letter of 28 May 1715, the Anglican rector of St. Bartholomew's parish, located on the opposite side of the Edisto River, describes the outbreak of the conflict as below:

> "...My Circumstances here are vastly altered, by the breaking out of a warr between us, and almost all of the Nations of Indians round about us...Mr. Nairne and the others traders being in the Pocataligat Town, one of the chiefest of the Yamassee's Nation, on Thursday night went to Sleep in the Round house with the King of Warr Captains in seeming perfect friendship, but the next morn at break of Day were all of them killed by a Volley of Shott excepting one Man and a boy...the man much wounded made his escape to Port Royall, and gave Notice to the Inhabitants of the Parish of St. Hellena...the Boy that Escaped at the same time from the Indian town, hid himself in the woods and bushes, and after Nine days wandering without any Sustenance, but with roots and herbs he could find in the woods, made his Escape Unhurt to a small garrison Erected in this parish upon this sad occasion."

> "A the same time that the Massacre began, an Indian man (that was born among the Yamasse's but had lived chiefly among the English, having a Wife and Children in the Settlement) being upon some Occasion among the Yamessee's hearing the Volley of Guns so Early in the Morn, asked the Huyspah King, whith whom he was, the Meaning of it...I escaped very narrowly with the Lostt of almost all that I had, the Indians being within three miles of my house, when I left it was forced to run away with nothing by the very Cloaths upon my back."

> "The same day the Massacree began those Indians divided themselves into two partyes to Kill and to destroy all they could...Since which we have news from time to time of Several other Nations joyning in the Conspiracy and destroying all they can, so that we find ourselves surrounded with a very formidable and Cruel Enemy and what will be the Issue of it God only knows." (Quoted in Geiger 1949:176).

After the war there was a significant effort to fix the trade through new legislation. Trade was restricted to specified factories or trading posts at Savannah town, Winyah, Congaree, and Santee. Plantation owners southwest of Charleston, such as William Scott, were authorized in order to reduce illegal trade in the area (Snell 1973:93). The Yemasee War officially ended in late 1717, when Lower Creek headmen journeyed to Charleston and negotiated a new trade treaty for all Creek towns. Braund describes the changes in the following manner,

> "With the Yamassee middlemen dispersed and many Creeks unwilling to travel to Carolina to barter skins, the trade moved in new directions. The huge capital required to obtain trade goods from Europe and to collect, store, and ship large numbers of skins and furs

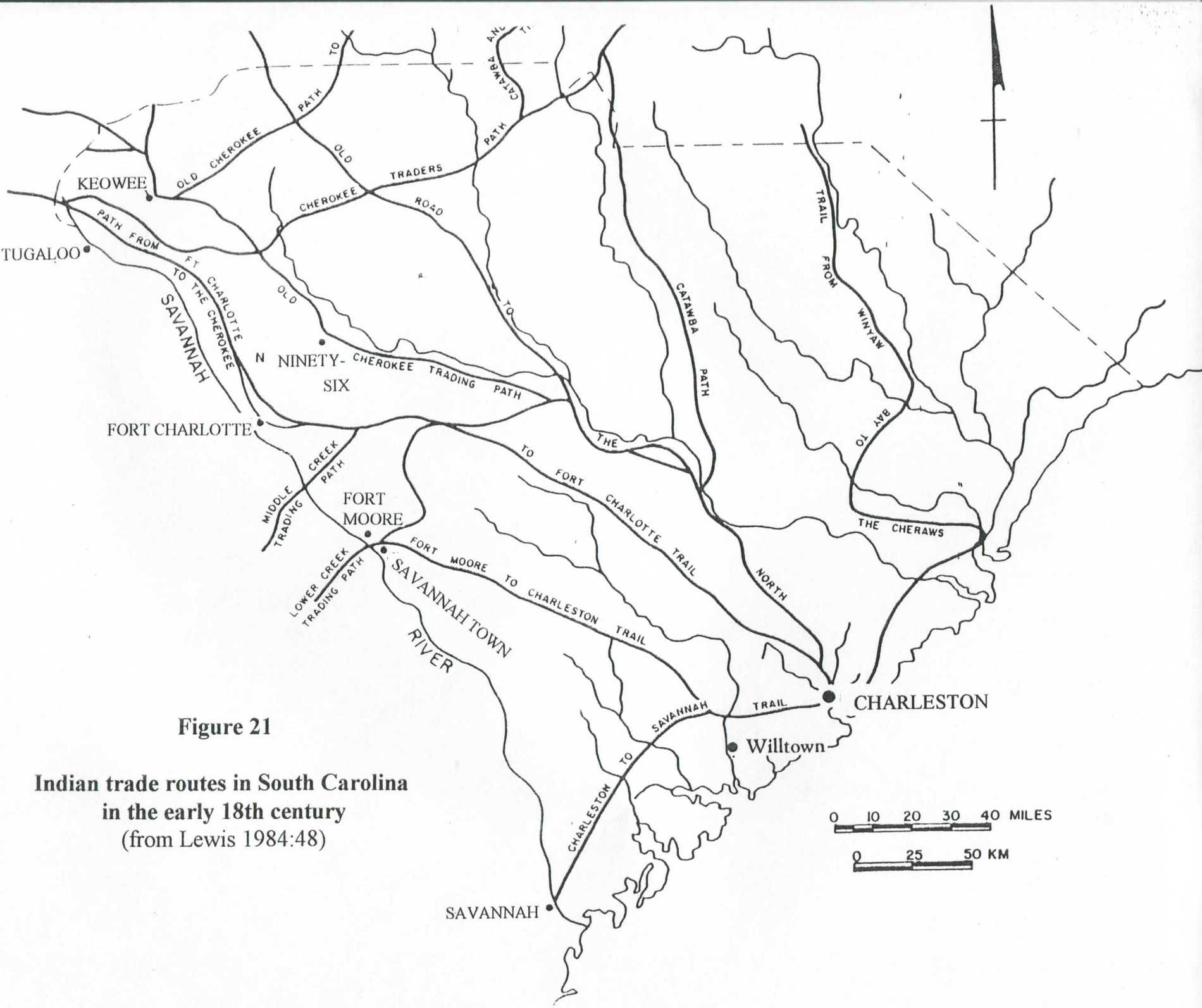


Figure 21

Indian trade routes in South Carolina in the early 18th century
(from Lewis 1984:48)

meant that professional merchants now assumed the direction of the trade. A new kind of commerce emerged from the chaos, and professional traders, backed by seaboard merchants, took control away from the planters and part timers. Savannah town, located on the fall line on the Carolina side of the Savannah River, became the frontier entrepot. Fort Moore, erected after the close of the Yamassee War, was established."

Braund describes the players in the Indian trade in the following manner: wholesale merchant, retail storekeeper, resident trader, packhorsemen, boatmen, and wage and slave labor. In the 18th century, the term "merchant" implied an importer-exporter who sold goods at wholesale prices, and this definition applied to the Charleston merchants. The foreign export portion of the trade was handled largely by Charleston merchants who conducted business for themselves and also acted as factors for British firms. A number of Charleston merchants owned their own frontier retail stores during the late 17th century, but the shortage of honest and competent employees and the near impossibility of collecting debts drove them out of the frontier outlet business. Instead, the retail portion of the trade was soon taken over by traders or "victuallers" who established credit with coastal merchants and in turn acquired employees who could act as their storekeepers in Indian towns.

The traders lived in the Creek villages for a large portion of the year. Their dwellings, often located on the edge of Indian towns, differed little from those of their Creek neighbors, except that they were larger and were kept bolted. James Merrell has further suggested that the interior Natives shaped the contours of trade for many decades, "allowing" outsiders into their domain only if they behaved in an "acceptable" manner. Traders had to work tirelessly to match English goods with Indian preferences. He states that "upcountry peoples were active participants in the development of exchange across cultural boundaries, and for many years the pattern of trade looked more Indian than European. If with time the balance of economic and cultural power did indeed tip toward the colonists, the trade's effect on piedmont societies remained evolutionary rather than rvolutionary" (Merrell 1989:198).

But change did occur, and European wares went from luxuries to necessities, eventually making the traders the leading players (Merrell 1989:205) The third phase of trade was dominated by the Charleston merchants, and their direct links to the deepest recesses of the Indian country. The two decades after 1730 were a golden era for the Charles Town merchants, as they drew most of the skins from Georgia as well as South Carolina. In 1748 the province shipped over 700 hogsheads, containing approximately 160,000 deerskins. There was a decline in the early 1750s, but another peak was reached in 1763. Long before that date, however, the "infinite herds" of the late 17th century were seriously diminished. This is reflected in many events, including passage of laws regulating hunting seasons of deer for white settlers, and in the increasing imbalance of power between white traders and Indian hunters (Silver 1990:94; Braund 1992; Waselkov 1989).

With the movement of the Indian trade to the interior, followed by the establishment of the backcountry towns, Willtown was soon off the beaten path (figure 21; see roadways on figure 13). The more common footpath to the Creek interior was the Savannah Path, which crossed the Edisto

farther inland, near present Givhan's Ferry State Park in Dorchester County. Edisto Fort was built here (on James Rawling's plantation) during the Yemassee War. From here the path ran to Fort Moore near Augusta, Georgia, and then hundreds of miles inland to the Creek Nation (figures 11-12). The fort served as the strategic entrance to the South Carolina settlements, which passed through Dorchester rather than Willtown (Ivers 1970:45). From Charles Town to the upcountry to the north and west the traders followed the water route or well-beaten roads. The great inland trading paths really began at the fall line of the rivers. Congaree, at the head of the Santee swamp, distant 145 miles by road from Charles Town, was a focus for paths to the Catawba and Cherokee (Crane 1981:129).

In the Savannah region, deerskins and trade goods were carried in packs weighing 150 to 180 pounds. Once the skins had reached Augusta, they were unpacked and stored until transported to Charleston. At the storekeeper's warehouse, the skins received little additional processing other than trimming. Slaves might occasionally "beat the skins" to ward of worm damage, particularly during warm weather. The skins were then packed for the journey down the Savannah River and on to Charleston. A stop at Willtown would be only a few miles upriver from the coastal creek route to the port city. The boats used in trade, known as piraguas, were large, flat-bottomed boats. By the early 1740s there were five boats operating out of Augusta. The trip to Charleston took only four or five days (Braund 1992;96).

At Charleston, the deerskins were turned over to export merchants who examined the pelts and repacked them for shipment overseas. Among the better-known merchants who handled deer hides were Samuel Eveleigh, Benjamin Stead, James Crockatt, John Gordon, and Henry Laurens. Though other ports such as Augusta and Savannah rose to handle the deerskin trade at its height, none possessed the combination of resources that Charleston did. Charleston's merchant community was well established via capital, credit liens, and foreign trade connections. It alone had adequate storage and shipping facilities, and other cargo suitable for ballast. Not to be underestimated was personal contacts between Charleston merchants and Augusta traders (Braund 1992:43).

Verner Crane summarized the trade thus: Charles Town sent off to London each year quantities of heavy deerskins; skins of lighter weight were consumed at home or shipped to the other colonies. For the Charles Town traders from an early day penetrated far into the wilderness, and operated among tribes close to the rival colonies of France and Spain. "Charles Town, boasted Archdale in 1707, Trades near 1000 miles into the Continent'. Thus, the Carolinians became notable explorers, whose feats had no parallel among the English in the North (Crane 1981:109). From Christmas 1706 to 1707, Carolina merchants shipped 121,355 skins abroad. The average number shipped to England from 1699 to 1715 was nearly 54,000 per year.

The Willtown population had its share of Indian traders. Suzanne Linder has researched the Indian trade connections of several Willtown property owners. James Cochran, who purchased 5 lots in New London and also owned adjoining plantation lands, was a Commissioner of the Indian Trade in 1707. He also served as an agent for South Carolina, sent to St. Augustine to negotiate with the Yemassee. He may also have been the referenced 'Capt. Cochran' who provided a home for a

captured Yemassee prince, in order to give him religious instruction. Thomas Bruce and William Scott were business partners, and owners of the site on lots 41-45. Bruce oversaw the Scouts, and William Scott was authorized to serve as an outlying Indian trader. George Logan, William Gibbon, Matthew Porter, and Michael Brewton all had extensive business ties to the Indian trade as well as property in New London (Linder 1996:21-25). It is likely that the stores erected in Willtown, particularly that of William Scott, supplied goods to the Indian trade as much as to the neighboring plantations.

Not all of the interest in the Native residents of the southeast was commercial. A few were concerned with religious conversion of the Indians. In 1695, the Proprietors instructed Governor Archdale, ":you are desired in a particular manner to take great care that ye Indians be not abused and that all means be used to civilize them" (Snell 1973:51). Led by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, there were efforts to christianize the Indians, occasionally manifest through schools for Indian children. In 1714, St. Bartholomew's rector Nathaniel Osborn reported , "since my setling here, I have baptized above Seventy Persons, Six Adult the rest children. Five of the Molatto Children being those of Indian Traders, by Indian Women during their abode amonst them." (Geiger 1949) A schoolmaster named Ross Reynolds kept a school and taught 'Young Indians" in St. Bartholomew Parish (Pon Pon, Colleton county; Klingberg 1960: 5-6). Sometimes, efforts were more ambitious. In 1713 S.P.G. Commissary Gideon Johnston appeared in London with a Yemassee prince, known as Prince George, to be trained in Christianity, with the idea that he would return to mission work among his people. He made little progress the first year, and was evidently homesick. Under a new tutor, he made 'better progress'; he was baptized and presented to the King.

The Yemassee War broke out before Commissary Johnston returned to South Carolina with Prince George in the summer of 1715. The war thus delayed Johnston's plans for prostletyzing among the Indians. From his own pen, we learn that Prince George remained "at Commissary Johnston's house, where he 'read every day', He "heard noos that my Father as gone in Santaugustena [St. Augustine] and all my friends. I hope he will come to Charles Town." (Letter from Prince George, quoted in Klingberg 1962:27).

In April 1716, Johnston reported that "the Indian Youth's Father and all his family have been taken and Sold Slaves." Johnston's plans for conversion of the Indians were further thwarted when he drowned later that month. Prince George then disappears from the records, and his fate is unknown (Klingberg 1962).

The level to which native and newcomer society could become intertwined on a daily level is further reflected in the extraordinary story of Coosaponeesa, or Mary Musgrove. Born in Coweta, the primary town of the Creek on the Ocmulgee River, she was the daughter of the sister of the head *mico* of the Creek, variously listed as Cingelly or Brims. Her father was a white trader, whose identity is unkown. Various scholars have credited Henry Woodward with this, but her later birth date makes this unlikely (Coulter 1927; see Baine 1992). Doris Fisher (1990) and Rodney Baine (1992) list Edward Griffith, but Alexia Helsley (1997), citing work by Robert Rector, suggests Edisto resident John Bee. When Mary was seven, her father took her to "Pon Pon, where she was

baptised, educated, and bred up in the principles of Christianity" (Helsley 1997; Fisher 1990; Memorial of Mary Bosomworth, Jones 1883). It is presently unclear if the reference to Pon Pon means Willtown, or perhaps an outlying school in the Edisto area. Perhaps it is the above-mentioned school of Ross Reynolds. Doris Fields notes that it was highly unusual for a half-breed child to be brought up by the white father's family, and it is conceivable that Mary's mother died when the girl was young (Fields 1990:51).

After the Yemassee war, Mary returned to the Creek nation, where she married Johnny Musgrove, the son of Indian trader and government agent Col. John Musgrove and an unknown Creek woman. The Musgroves then lived in South Carolina an additional seven years, and owned lands "in Pon Pon" In 1731 John Musgrove received a grant for 239 acres in Colleton county (Colonial Plats 1:61), and the following year May signed a renunciation of dower for and additional 180 acres there. They followed the path of their parents, and the couple were soon active in the Indian trade. In 1732 they moved to an area called Yamacraw, near Savannah in Georgia, and established a trading post. By Mary's account, they processed 12,000 pounds of deerskins annually.

From this point Mary's story becomes part of Georgia's history, not South Carolina's, but the remainder of it is worth noting. Mary befriended Georgia's founder James Oglethorpe, and he seized on her bilingual heritage and employed her as negotiator and interpreter. Under his guidance, she established a new trading post on the Altamaha river. She later successfully negotiated peace between the Creeks and Cherokee in 1753, to the detriment of her personal financial stability.

Johnny Musgrove died in 1734, and Mary married Jacob Matthew and, upon his death in 1742, married Thomas Bosomworth, an adventurer and former clergyman. Mary Bosomworth and her husband became famous in Georgia for their persistent claims for land due them in repayment for governmental favors to Oglethorpe and the Georgia government. While much reviled at the time for her persistence and outspoken role, the Bosomworths were eventually awarded title to St. Catherine's Island, where they resided until Mary's death.

Mary's dual role reflects the stability of Creek society as much as it does the ever-encroaching domination of white society. Mary's continuing influence in the Creek world was due to her matrilineal descent. In the rapidly-changing Muscogulge world of the 18th century, the relative stability of the female role helped offset the ill effects of the trade and white contact on Creek men, and bolstered traditional social institutions (Saunt 1998). The stability and traditionalism among Creek women was of tremendous importance in light of the many marriages and cross-cultural relationships between Creek women and the deerskin traders who came among them. Traders who married Creeks introduced a number of new notions into Creek family life, including ideas of patrilineal descent. But Creek mothers sought to maintain family values and raised their children in the traditional method (Braund 1992:132).

For the most part, efforts to christianize the Indians of Carolina and Georgia, particularly the Yemassee and the Creek, were unsuccessful. Both journalists of the time and modern scholars report that the Indians simply weren't interested in the Christian life. Oldmixon reported in 1708,

"Mr. Thomas was sent to instruct the Yammosees in the Christian Religion, and had an Allowance of 50L a year from the Society but finding it an improper Season, his Mission is respited; ' he labored most usefully among the whites." (Oldmixon 1708 reported in Salley 1967)

An unsavory branch of the business was the Indian slave trade. Though the early Indian wars had led to the enslaving of Indians in other English colonies, only in South Carolina did the traffic reach commercial proportions. It was especially among the more distant tribes, upon the frontiers of Florida and Louisiana, that the Carolinians pushed their trade in Indian captives. The Indian slave trade began as an offshoot of punitive wars and raids. The first recorded incident was in 1674, when Indians complained of their cornfields being ruined by the colonists' livestock, which grazed freely in the countryside. The colonists in turn complained that some of their livestock were killed by the Cusabo indians (neighbor indians), northwest of the Combahee River. The next incident of this type involved the Stono Indians; a punitive raid was made, and the captives were sold into slavery in the West Indies. William Snell notes that though Proprietary law forbad such actions, the colonists loosely interpreted the law to fit (Snell 1973:13). The next incident was in 1675, when the Seewee, who were friendly to the English, brought in some captives who were not. This was the next step in the trade, because the captives were not enemies of the English, but of the Seewee.

The situation escalated from here: In 1680 certain settlers were accused of purchasing Indian captives from the Westo. The first domestic Indian slave on record is in the 1683 inventory of John Smith. In the next few years, as the colonists wrested control of the Indian trade from the Proprietors, the trade for skins included a trade for slaves. The situation escalated after the Yemassee relocated along the Savannah River, following the 1684 settlement of Port Royal. The Yemassee attacked the Timucua Indians around St. Augustine, and 22 slaves were taken and sold. From here came the pattern of raids against Indians not allied with the English. James Moore's raid on the Apalachee in north Florida in 1703 netted a large number of Indian captives, most of whom remained in the colony.

While many scholars have suggested that the Indian slave trade ended with the Yemassee war, William Snell maintains that quite the opposite was true. Increasing numbers are recorded in legal records from 1716 to 1724. While many were shipped to colonies in the north or in the West Indies, a number remained as laborers on Carolina plantations. While they were not considered nearly as valuable as African slaves, they did perform a number of domestic and plantation tasks. Indians were used for hunting and fishing during the early years, and later as guides and interpreters. But women and children often worked as domestics, and the men worked in the fields along side the African slaves (Snell 1973).

Several of the landowners in and around Willtown are listed as owning Indian slaves in the early 18th century. Joseph Boone owned one Indian male, as did Col. William Bull. George Logan owned a man and a woman, and William Scott's 1712 will lists "1 indian boy". It is interesting to note that many of the Yemassee War veterans, who remained as part of the Scouts, acquired Indian slaves along the way: Capt. Story, Major Hall, and Col. Mackey were all owners of Indian slaves.

The Religious Dissenters

A second component of the early settlers of Willtown were religious dissenters, principally member of the Presbyterian church. By a 1736 definition, dissenters were those in England who felt the Elizabethan settlement did not rid the church of all "papish practices". They objected to the use of the Book of Common Prayer and the liturgy of the Church of England. They also desired to maintain the independence of their congregations (Gardner 1969). Dissenter groups who moved to Carolina included the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists and Quakers. Dissenter groups, directly from England or via the northern colonies, were attracted to South Carolina for religious toleration and readily available land. The presence of other religious dissenters drew later groups to join them (Bell 1995). Religious differences soon developed political overtones in the Carolina colony, and these differences and divisions would guide the political course of the colony through its first half-century.

Walter Fraser (1989:17) has summarized the situation in the following manner: Both religious antagonisms and a struggle for control of the colony's affairs characterized Charles Town's politics in the early 18th century. The settlers from Barbados were Anglican; they became the "Goose Creek men" and were anti-proprietor. Dissenters were a major faction of the other political alliance, which supported the Proprietors. The dissenters and the Barbadian Anglicans remained political enemies throughout the late 17th century, and the political offices changed allegiance and direction on a regular basis.

The Anglicans, who wanted the Church of England to be supported by public taxes but were not known for their piety, were at one end of the political spectrum. They felt profound loyalty to the English monarchy, and had little respect for the proprietors. They were eager to profit from the Indian trade, particularly the trade in Indian slaves, and they also preferred African slaves to European indentured servants for their own labor needs. They felt aggressive toward the Spanish and French.

The Dissenters, "independents" or Congregationalists thought that churches should be voluntary associations, took their religious life seriously, avoided provoking hostilities with French, Spanish, and Indians, and found the large number of west African slaves disquieting. Though it diminished through the decades, they felt respect and loyalty to the Proprietors. Fraser notes, though, that these profile the extremist views, and that there were all sorts of moderates in between.

Through a combination of close cooperation, determination, and political chicanery, the Anglicans eventually won the political, if not the religious battle. Late in 1706 the Assembly passed the Establishment Act, prescribing the boundaries of ten Church of England parishes in South Carolina, and specifying modest public taxation for the maintenance of church buildings and clergy salary. The act 'established' the Church of England in terms that no English official could disapprove of, and the Dissenters were defeated. They knew, also, due to the weakening of their own power, that they could no longer count on the Proprietors to protect their interests. The Proprietary government was eventually replaced with direct royal rule: in 1719 the Carolina Assembly declared itself "the government until His Majesty's pleasure be known" (Fraser 1989:37; Lesser 1995:455).

Proprietary governor Nathaniel Johnson attempted to regain control, but was unsuccessful. The colony remained in legal limbo for the next ten years, during which the proprietors attempted to sell their interests. In 1729 the crown bought out seven of the eight shares, and the colony entered the mainstream of royal rule (Weir 1983; Fraser 1989; Lesser 1995).

Political victory for the Anglicans did not mean the end of religious freedom in Carolina. After 1706, dissenters could apply for exemption. In his study of dissenting sects, Harold Gardner (1969) notes that the dissenters did not have an easy road in any of the colonies, though persecution was rare. Rather a lessening of political freedom was the most common manifestation of inequality. And dissenter groups continued to migrate to South Carolina throughout the 18th century, often forming frontier communities in the backcountry. This was particularly true after the establishment of the backcountry townships in 1731.

Willtown began its existence as a center of dissenters. Though there does not seem to have been a formal church established by this early date, the preponderance of dissenters must have been one factor that compelled Elder Pratt and his group from Massachusetts to consider Governor Blake's suggestion to "go to new lundon to settel', before ultimately founding Dorchester on the Ashley river. But the Dorchester settlers were Congregationalists, and Willtown was a community of Presbyterians. A third group of dissenters, also from New England, settled in the Bulls Bay area in 1696. Unlike the Dorchester settlers, however, the Wappetaw immigrants chose a dispersed settlement pattern. Their community was centered on the Wappetaw Independent Congregational Church, located on the Wando River (Clement and Grunden 1998; see figure 1).

An organized Presbyterian church was an early feature of the Willtown community, and its physical removal to a new site a few miles away was an ominous symbol of Willtown's last years in the 1750s. By all accounts the Willtown church was founded by the Reverend Archibald Stobo, a powerful early colonial figure, and one who has been described in a variety of terms. Stobo was left behind in Charleston in a 1699 hurricane and became minister of the Circular Church. In 1704 he evidently established a church there. Though physically removed from the city, he nevertheless remained a prominent figure in the colony's religious disputes. (Anglican) Commissary Gideon Johnston, who considered his campaign to establish the Church of England in South Carolina 'dangerous and difficult warfare', found Stobo to be "a fierce and violent man." Walter Fraser describes him as "a fiery preacher whose contempt for the Church of England was as savage as his hatred of Roman Catholicism." (Fraser 1989:17).

Archibald Stobo continued as minister of the Willtown church until his death in 1741, and the church was served by a number of short-term ministers throughout its move to the new location in 1767 (Simmons 1960:148-150). The Stobo family evidently remained a significant presence in the Willtown church; there is reference to Archibald Stobo's son, James Stobo, as a dissenting voice in the selection of a new minister in 1754. James Stobo owned a large amount of property around Willtown, including the tract of land containing the plantation site under investigation. His sister, Jean, married James Bullock, a Scots clergyman who became a merchant in Charleston and later moved to Willtown (Linder 1996:39). Bullock entertained General James Oglethorpe, founder of the

Georgia colony, at Willtown in 1733. The next year Bullock advertised his Willtown property for sale, including 150 acres of good swamp rice land, plus three lots in town; these are presumably lots 13, and those under archaeological investigation, lots 41 and 45.

As it did in every corner of the colony, the Anglican Church soon became a part of the Willtown community. With the Establishment Act of 1706, the area around Willtown became part of St. Paul's Parish; St. Bartholomew's parish began on the opposite shore of the Edisto. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, committed to missionary work, supplied the ministers to these churches (Geiger 1949; Fraser 1989;) The parishes soon became political, as well as religious, divisions. St. Paul's church was located on the Stono River a short distance from Willtown. Only in 1834 was an Anglican church built at Willtown, when the congregation of Christ Church, Willtown was organized in 1834 and a church erected on the site of the old Presbyterian Meeting House (Smith 1988:110).

African Bondsmen

The third component of the Willtown population, and the one of equal anonymity to the Native group, was the recently imported African slaves. While the Native population was declining, the black population was growing; by 1708 the lowcountry contained more African slaves than English settlers. By 1730, the population was about twice that of whites. Importations were large in the 1730s, and by 1739 most black slaves were African-born, and more than half had been in the colony for less than ten years. While the relationships between black and white residents are a dominant theme in the post-Revolutionary Lowcountry, newly arrived Africans were key contributors to the dynamics of the 18th century frontier; their experiences and their contributions to the struggle are more profound and more varied that traditional scholarship has presented. Three major studies highlight the complexities of this story; Ira Berlin's *Many Thousands Gone: the first Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (1998) and Phillip Morgan's *Slave Counterpoint:Black Culture in 18th Century Chesaopeake and Lowcountry* (1997) are new studies, while Peter Wood's *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* was published 25 years ago and remains a guiding force.

The use of African slaves for labor arrived with the settlers from Barbados; African slavery was already well established on the island plantations. But the predominance of African slavery as the labor source was a gradual development. In the early period, the labor force was much more diverse, in ethnicity and in the form of servitude. In 17th century Carolina, slaveholders generally labored alongside a mixed workforce that might include Native American and African slaves, Native American and European American servants, and occasionally European American wage workers (Berlin 1998:66). Berlin notes that such direct, relatively egalitarian relations did not dissolve status and color differences, but it did mitigate them, providing peoples of color "the leverage to fend off the harshest features of racial domination". This was further reinforced by the ominous threats from Spanish and Indians, so that 'Negro Slaves' were enrolled in the militia.

Berlin further notes that these unsettled conditions worked in their favor in other ways. Disgruntled slaves could flee to the woods, either temporarily or for longer periods, and maroon colonies existed throughout the lowcountry swamps and backwoods. These settlements were tolerated, as long as the maroons maintained their distance. Throughout the 18th century, maroon camps could be found in the swamps of the Ashepoo and Combahee rivers, near Jacksonboro and Pineville, in Christ Church and St. James parishes. A large group was located in the Congaree swamp in the 1730s. Other slaves on isolated farms and cow pens were supervised in only the most perfunctory manner. These isolated and unsupervised slaves generally set their own schedule and slaveowners responded by demanding that slaves provision themselves.

These conditions laid the foundation for a significant role in the market economy later in the colonial period. Though some viewed this relative independence with alarm, the growing African slave population was able to maintain these rights through sheer force of numbers and calculated negotiation. Their market role began with personal gardens and provision grounds and extended to hunting and fishing by slave men and keeping of fowl by slave women. Berlin suggests that "time allowed for gardening, hunting, and fishing both affirmed the slaves' independence and supplemented their diet" (Berlin 1998:69).

Success soon led to surpluses, and bondsmen were quick to sell to whomever would pay the price. They also occasionally sold their own labor. The slaveholder class complained about this, and about slaves traveling unsupervised through the countryside and to Charleston, but individual slaveowners did little to curb it (Berlin 1998:69-70). Eventually, changes in the economics of the Lowcountry, the development of staples, and the tremendous import of new Africans conspired to change this relatively fluid, egalitarian arrangement, but the change did not come without struggle, negotiation, and even violence.

The successful experimentation with staple crops in the late 17th century, first naval stores and then rice and indigo, changed the demographics the Lowcountry. Ira Berlin describes the changes in the following manner:

> "Spurred by the riches that rice produced, planters consolidated their place atop lowcountry society, banished the white yeomanry to the upcountry, expanded farms into plantations, and carved even larger plantations out of the inland swamps and coastal marshes. Before long, African slaves began pouring into the region, and sometime during the first decade of the 18th century, white numerical superiority gave way to the Lowcountry's distinguishing demographic: the black majority." (Berlin 1998:142).

Fear of armed uprising by the large slave population constantly haunted Lowcountry whites. Periodic uprisings only fueled these fears. The first major attempt at insurrection occurred in 1720 when a group of rebels attempted to escape to Florida. Increasingly harsh restrictions followed in the 1730s and the situation became more tense in 1738 when Florida established the town and fort of Mose just north of St. Augustine and announced a royal edict granting liberty to slaves fleeing English settlement.

Recent research by John Thornton (1991), Jane Landers (1984), and Ira Berlin (1998) has placed new emphasis on the role of Catholicism in this push-pull between Carolina and Florida in the early 18th century. The profits from rice caused Carolina planters to purchase Africans by the boatload. Generally labeled 'Angolans', most came from the interior of central Africa; many spoke Portugese and some were practicing Catholics. John Thornton has explored the role of Kongolese slaves and Catholicism in the 1739 Stono Rebellion. In the 15th century, the royal house of Kongo converted to Catholicism. Spread by Catholic missionaries and later Kongolese priests, this syncretic brand of catholicism was nonetheless endorsed by the Vatican. If the Kongolese incorporated their own deities into the faith, they also knew their catecism, the pantheon of saints, and the symbols of the cross (Berlin 1998).

If planters paid little attention to this religious preference, the presence of a Catholic sanctuary gained the slaves' notice. Berlin contends that "The Church's presence in Florida made St. Augustine even more attractive to enslaved catholics than it might have been if only freedom was offered" (Berlin 1998:82). Those who made it to Florida quickly integrated into the black community of Mose, and became members of the militia under Francisco Menendez, a former slave of a sea captain. Under Menendez, Mose became the center of black life, as well as a base from which former slaves, sometimes joined by Indians, raided South Carolina.

Although the slave trade network reached far into the African continent, slave traders and American planters alike recognized vast differences among the tribal groups and preferred certain peoples. These preferences were based on physical, emotional, and cultural characteristics, as well as the possession of certain skills and knowledge. A most serious consideration was propensity for insurrection. In their knowledge of and preference for certain ethnic backgrounds, South Carolinians were atypical of English settlers in colonies to the north. By the mid-18th century, it appears that Africans from the Gambia region were desired for their knowledge of rice cultivation and processing. It is clear that various African groups - Malinke, Soninke, Serer, Joola, Bakute, Kisi, Mende, and others - were conversant with the numerous varieties of rice, both African and Asian, and with various methods of cultivation (Littlefield 1981; Wood 1974) West African slaves brought with them the skills necessary for planting, cultivating, threshing, and winnowing rice. The made fanner baskets for winnowing, mortar and pestle for hulling, and baskets for storing.

Suzanne Linder suggests that the generation of Willtown residents who experienced the Yemassee war were dying or moving on, but that the new residents of the now-prosperous town experienced their own life-changing invasion, the Stono Rebellion of 1739. Willtown was at the heart of this short-lived, but profound experience. Linder describes the local events in the following manner: On Sunday, September 9, 1739 about twenty Angolan slaves under the leadership of Jemmy attacked a store at Stono, where they decapitated the storekeeper and his clerk. Word reached the church at Willtown where Archibald Stobo was preaching to an assembled congregation. John Bee, Jr., an official of the Willtown church, led the men of the congregation in pursuit of the rebels who had encamped in a field and were beating drums to invite others to join them. By afternoon their numbers were estimated at between 60 and 100. The militia had the advantage of training and firepower, and the battle was short. In all, about 75 black and white Carolinians perished. The

soldiers pursued the stragglers and placed a number of heads on mileposts to deter further trouble. The Stono Rebellion was the largest slave revolt to occur anywhere on the American mainland during the colonial period.

Peter Wood (1975) has also suggested that the Rebellion did not end as suddenly as described in secondary accounts; unrest continued in the Lowcountry, and rebels remained at large for some time. Two months later, several planters around Stono had moved their wives and children with other families, "at particular Places, for their better security and Defence against those Negroes which were concerned in that Insurrection who were not yet taken" (Wood 1975:319). The following year the Negro Act was passed by the Assembly; this would serve as the core of South Carolina's slave code for more than a century (Wood 1975:324).

John Thornton maintains that the 'twenty Angolans' who led the 1739 rebellion were actually from the kingdom of Kongo. He cites extensive documentation of the events of the Kongo, its military history, and its religious conversion to note similarites among the Stono revolutionaries, in use of weaponry, flags, and banners, and in dancing. The Angolans handled firearms in a manner suggesting military training; the use of banners and drums is a further match. Far from being disorderly, as traditionally described, Thornton finds their tactics consistent with a central African model.

Peter Wood (1975) maintains that the Rebellion was the climax of two decades of changes and adjustments in Lowcountry slave society. The tremendous acceleration of rice agriculture and the escalating importation of new people resulted in major changes in Lowcountry slave life. More productive labor required a more organized labor force. This resulted in less independence and more supervision.

This massive importation and galvanization of the European-American planter society resulted in the degradation of black life (Berlin 1998:142-143). As rice cultivation expanded, the polyglot labor force disappeared. Africans became the dominant element in the slave population. Indians, if they remained, were no longer enumerated as such. By the late 18th century, planters simply categorized their Indian slaves as Africans, as part of the general trend to equate slavery with African ancestry (Berlin 1998:145). This "Africanization of slavery" was accompanied by a tightening of the work regime. No longer semi-independent Jacks-of-all-trades, slaves were amassed on sprawling plantations and labored in a regular cycle. These changes brought unrest to the by-now majority slave population, and a resulting increase in fear of, and regulation of, the slaves by the planters. This tense exchange culminated in the 1739 Stono Rebellion, further fueling the planters' concerns.

Linder further suggests that the psychological effects of the rebellion on the white Edisto residents must have been profound. The need for additional labor for the lucrative cash crops must have been tempered with the fear of importing additional Africans. This dilemma would mark the lowcountry psyche for the next century. As the 18th century progressed and the wealth poured in, the planter elite distanced themselves further and further from their slaves. Long gone were the days when European owner and African slave could be found at either end of the saw, or at the same

dinner table. Despite the harsh conditions of the rice plantation, though, natural increase took hold, and family life dominated slave society. Berlin notes that the heart of African American life was the slave quarter (Berlin 1998:162). Family life became a possibility and was recognized, to varying degrees, by the planter. James Stobo's inventory of 1780 lists his 124 slaves in family groups.

Just how many African American slaves resided in Willtown is unclear; that many hundreds eventually resided on the surrounding plantations is abundantly clear. Linder has recorded several advertisements for slaves running away from the Willtown area. An ad from Fort Moore in 1734 notes, "Taken up a young Negro man of a middle size, and speaks very good English, he says his name is Topham, and belongs to Mr. John Petey near Willtown, and has chiefly been brought up ~~by~~ to sawing, and been in this Country three years. He wears a common colour'd jacket, a white pair of breeches, and a blue cap edged round with li[illegible]e 22, 1734).

Sentence omitted

The emergence of the slave family created a powerful source of opposition within the plantation. If massive revolt did not reappear until 1822, then Lowcountry slaves gained some begrudged concessions and independence in other ways. The task system became the rule of labor in the Lowcountry, allowing slaves 'free time'. Planters reagularly reaffirmed the slaves right to 'free Sundays' and allowed slaves their own gardens. Their resulting inroads into the market economy, begun in the 17th century, continued unabated. Slave-produced goods reached markets beyond the plantations; some plantation slaves attended town-based markets, while others sold their wares through slave watermen who traversed the rivers (Berlin 1998:165). Planters also traded directly with their own slaves.

But the precise definition of slaves' tasks was always negotiated. Moreover, the plantation regime soon resulted in hierarchial relations among slaves. By mid-century, the slave driver, a mediator between planter and labor force, had become a fixture. So too did skilled and mobile plantation hands increase in number and in significance. These 'leaders' were often the first to run away or rebel, often to the bewilderment of their owners. Maroonage remained a lively tradition, and planters walked a fine line in punishing runaways.

Berlin suggests the Africanization of the Lowcountry was a continuous process, as wave after wave of new arrivals constantly remade Lowcountry society. He concludes that "the continued influx of Africans, not merely their towering majority, gave black life its distinctive shape in the Lowcountry" (Berlin 1998:171).

Willtown's Economic Heyday and the Planter Community

In accordance with British mercantilistic policies, colonists immediately and continually experimented with profitable staples, those commodities not available in Britain. Crops were first planted for subsistence, and livestock was raised for the same purpose. Cattle soon proved profitable, and quantities of beef and provision crops were exported to the West Indies (Wood 1975:32). These,

and deerskins, were the colony's earliest successful exports. But experimentation was endless, and Englishmen planted oranges, grapes, olives, flax, hemp, cotton, indigo, and ginger (Calhoun et al. 1982). This rather chaotic trading system was regulated by a series of Navigation Acts, which included bounties for desired crops. Under this system, indigo and naval stores were also profitable colonial crops. Naval stores included pitch and tar produced from the longleaf pine which covered the lowcountry. Eliza Lucas Pinckney first experimented with indigo on her father's plantation in 1739 (Edgar 1998:146; Rogers 1980).

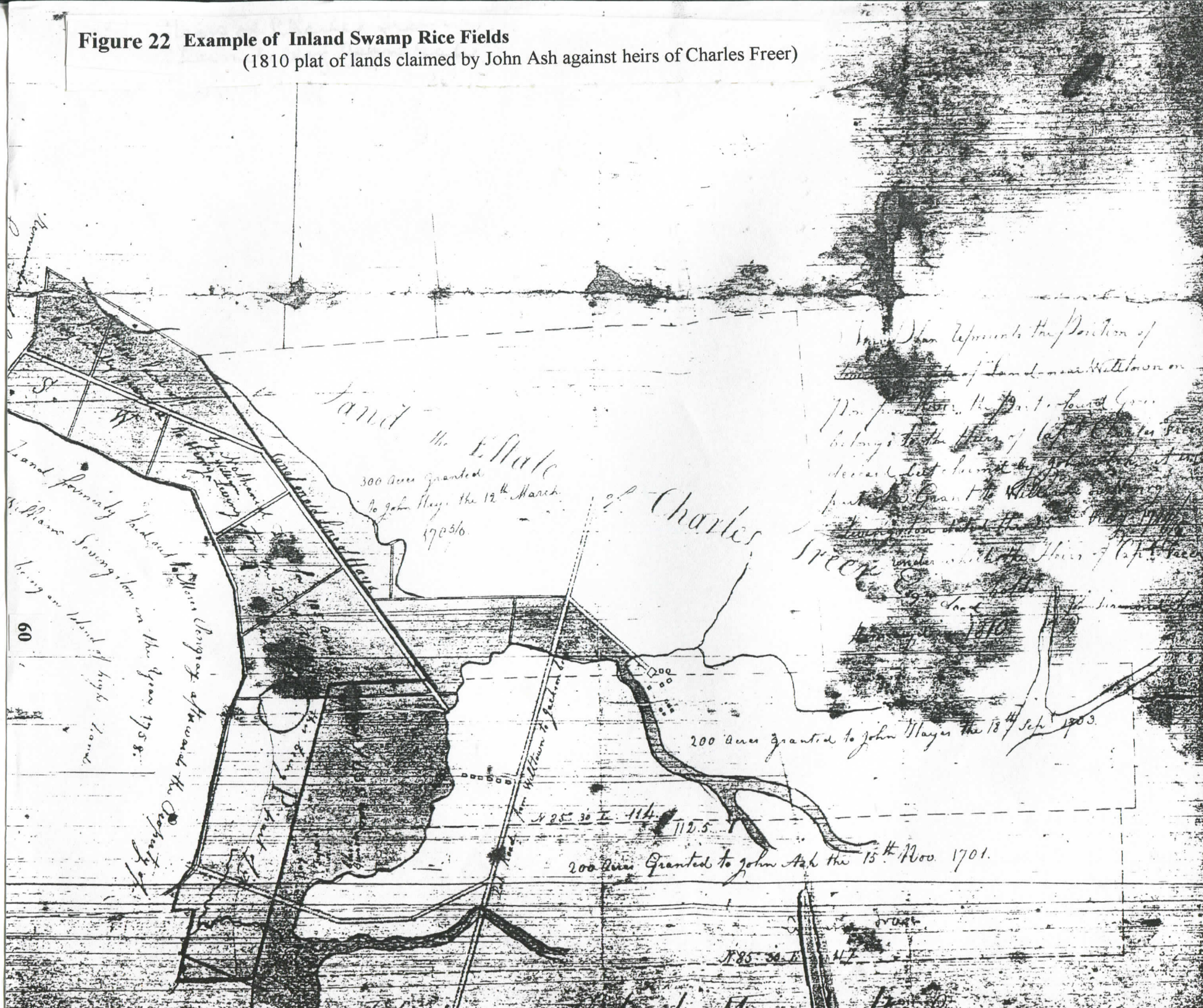
It was rice, however, introduced in 1695 from Madagascar, that made Carolinians wealthy. It would require many years of experimenting, and many shiploads of enslaved Africans from that continent's rice growing region, before rice proved profitable. By the 1730s, the techniques of inland rice production had developed to a point where rice became the most popular staple; the plantation economy expanded, bringing with it a financial stability and enough capital to entice merchants and factors to remain in Charleston and reinvest their earnings rather than returning to England (Rogers 1980, chapt 3; Calhoun et al. 1982).

Between the 1690s and 1720 lowcountry planters experimented with different strains of rice and different cultivation methods. Much like other crops, rice was first planted in open upland fields and without irrigation. Kovacik and Winberry (1987) report that it was later discovered that growing it under flood conditions improved yields considerably, and planters then reclaimed inland swamps such as those around site 38Ch1659. African bondsmen cleared them of trees and stumps and built systems of dams, gates, ditches and canals to flood and drain fields at different times in the plant's growth cycle. Remnants of these banks and ditches still transect many lowcountry swamps. Production of rice jumped from 8000 barrels in 1715 to more than 40,000 by the 1730s. Inland swamp cultivation remained the major production technique through the colonial period, contributing to expanded settlement along the coast and the increased importation of slaves (figure 22). The latter years of the 18th century were marked by the development of tidal rice cultivation, rapidly adopted by lowcountry planters, and shifting production from inland swamps to the marshes along riverfronts. Tidal rice was practiced from the Savannah to the PeeDee rivers. The swamps adjacent to Willtown bluff became significant rice-producing real estate by the end of the colonial period, and a rice mill was constructed on the south end of the property.

Indigo flourished on the high land where rice did not. But like rice it was a demanding crop, and fetid water was a characteristic. The plant needed little tending in the field. But processing indigo was more arduous than processing rice. When the leaves were harvested, slaves carried them to a series of great vats or tubs, where they fermented while laborers kept up a continuous pumping, stirring, and beating. The rotting indigo "emitted a putrid odor and attracted clouds of flies that only slaves could be forced to tolerate" (Berlin 1998).

The leaves were later removed and the bluish liquid drained into a series of vats, where slaves beat the liquid with paddles. This was repeated several times before the liquid was 'set' with lime at just the right moment, this evidently requiring great skill. After the sediment precipitated, the liquid was filtered and drawn off, leaving a blue mud. This was strained, dried, cut into blocks, and dried

Figure 22 Example of Inland Swamp Rice Fields
(1810 plat of lands claimed by John Ash against heirs of Charles Freer)



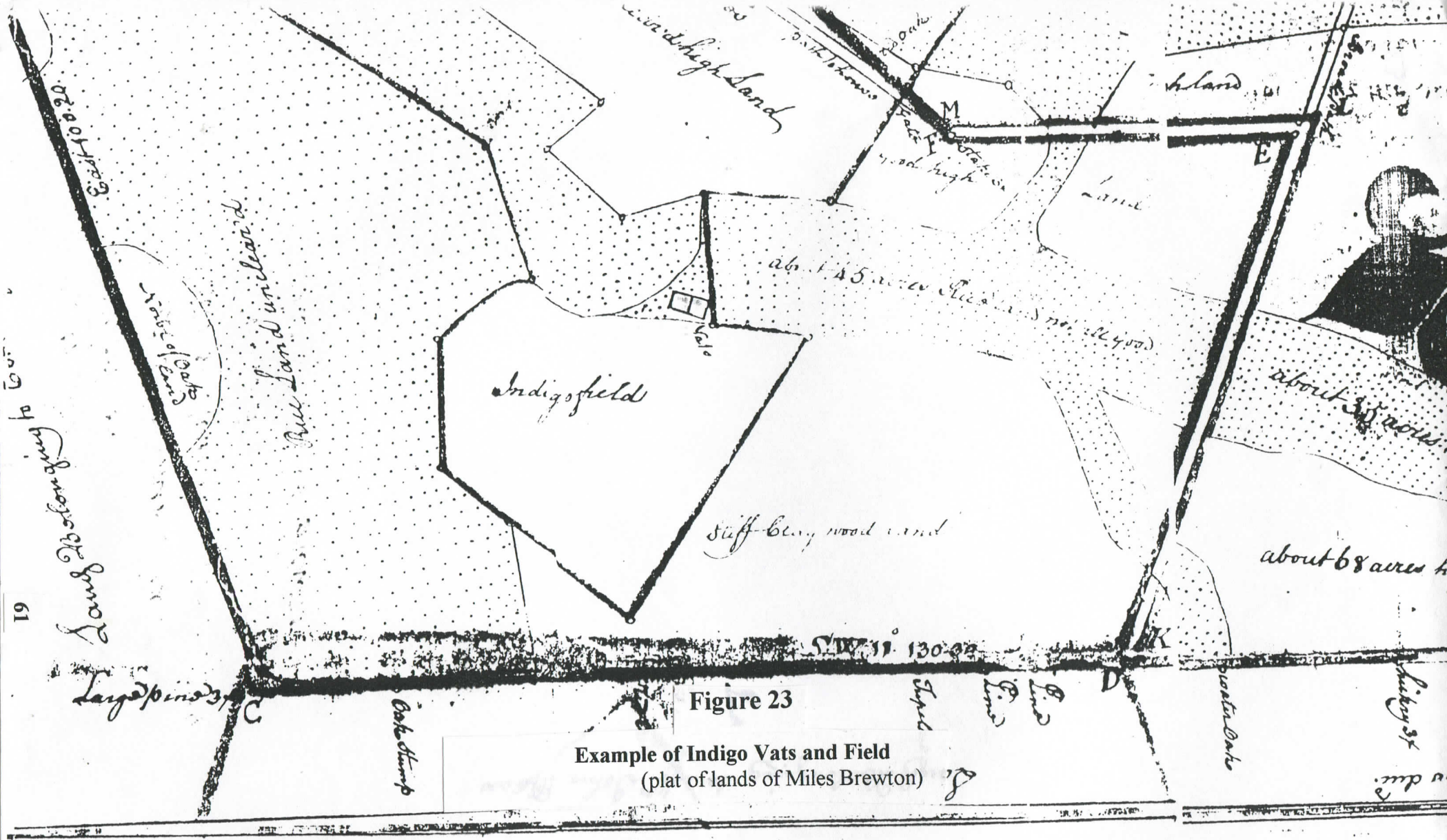


Figure 23

Example of Indigo Vats and Field
(plat of lands of Miles Brewton)

again for shipping. Berlin notes that the process was both "demanding and delicate, requiring brute strength, but also a fine hand, to create just the right texture, density, and brilliance of color."

Suzanne Linder further notes that the putrid waters of indigo processing also attracted mosquitos. Malaria was a frequent and often fatal illness in South Carolina, and though the connection of this disease to the mosquito was unknown, indigo vats were always placed far from homes. Linder further notes that a substantial investment was necessary for indigo production because of the vats. Thse were either of brick or stone, and well cemented. The technique of lining in-ground indigo vats with sand and pitch has been attributed to African slaves, and "they jealously guarded the secret so that their masters never discovered it. A slave who possessed this special skill was greatly valued" (Linder 1996: 44; see figure 23 as an example).

The third major agricultural development of the 18th century was the development of tidal rice cultivation. Richard Porcher (1985) has noted that the earliest mention of tidal cultivation is 1738, but it was another half century before the shift was complete. Tidal rice culture utilizes the tidal changes on rivers to irrigate and drain fields in floodplain swamps, though this technique can only be utilized in those parts of the river above the incursion of salt water. The swamps were diked and ditched, and the flow of water regulated by simple, yet ingenious, trunks. Although the shift to tidal culture demanded a considerable amount of labor, particularly in the reclamation of tidal swamplands, planters reaped large returns on their investments (see figure 24). From the mid-1760s to 1780 the population of enslaved African Americans doubled, from 52,000 to 100,000 (Kovacik and Winberry 1989:72-74). Planters utilized their older inland rice fields as well as the new tidal areas.

Linder reports that the period from 1715 to 1730 was apparently an era of rapid growth in Willtown, though the face of the community was changing. The presence of a successfully defended fort may have contributed to the town's post-war growth, and a group of scouts and scout boats were stationed there to protect the area from continuing raids. There was a flurry of new land grants, and in the 1720s a church, a school, and a court were in operation. Documents of Willtown property owners suggest one or more stores were active, as well. Using the spotty documentary information available, particularly the tantalizing inventory of William Sheriffe, Suzanne Linder has provided a tentative profile of the Willtown community at this time. She suggests, based on Willtown's post-war role as a base for scout boats, that "the population was probably fluid, with people moving in and out." (Linder 1996:32). She further notes that the planter class was growing, and the importance of Willtown as a port for transporting goods to and from Charleston was significant. Linder proposes that the fort may have remained in existence for some decades, as isolated Indian raids continued until 1727.

Documentary information on Willtown is more plentiful for the 1730s. There are descriptions of visits to the homes of area residents, and detailed descriptions of improved properties offered for sale. James Bullock advertised about "50 acres of extraordinary good Swamp Rice Land" and several town properties. One of the lots fronted the river and featured a well-finished dwelling "lately built" and 36 feet long by 16 feet wide with a Dutch roof and paneled door and window shutters, divided into four rooms, two below and two above, with a chimney and closet to each. There were two

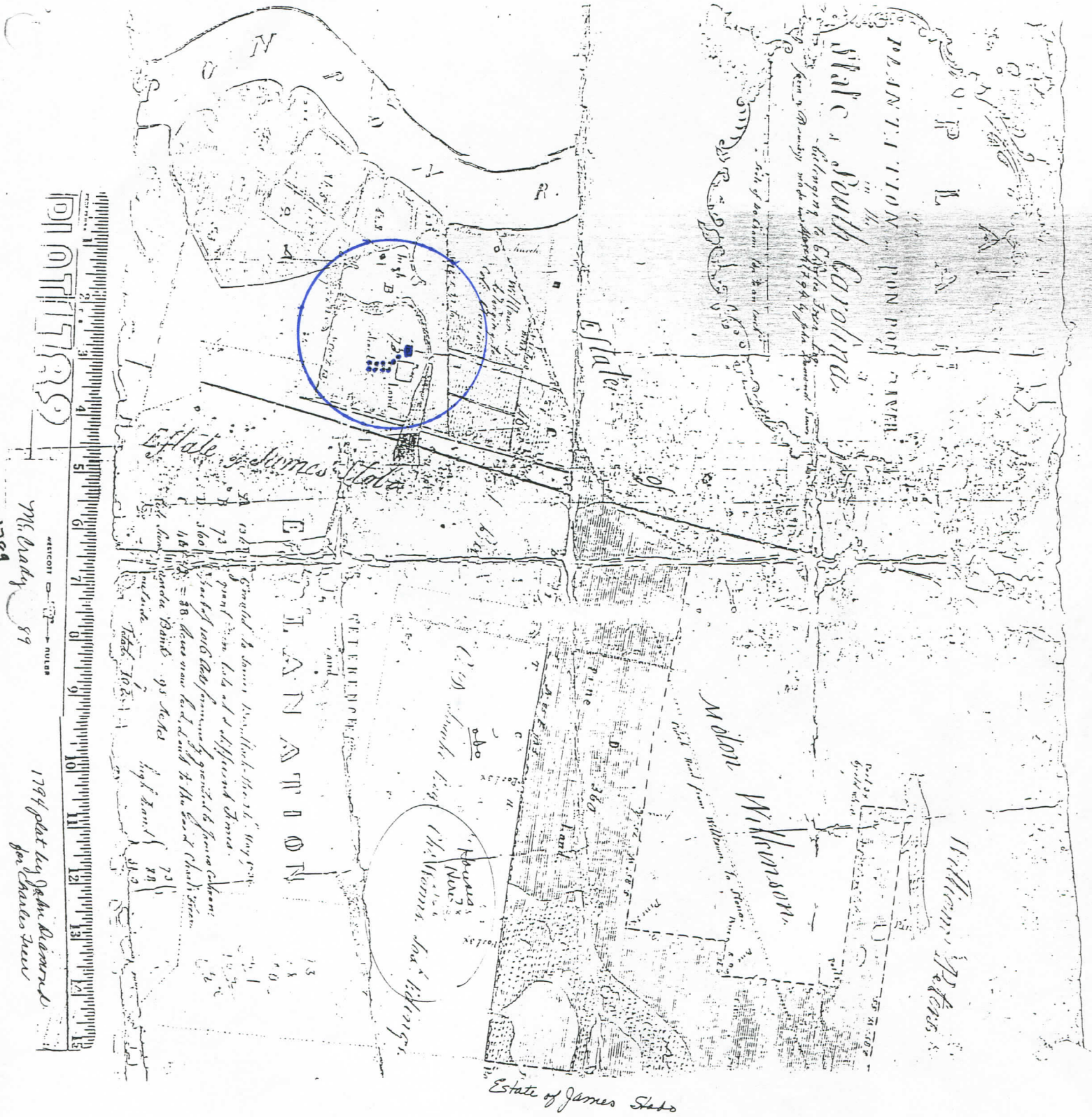


Figure 24

Example of Tide Swamp Rice Fields
(1794 plat of Charles Freer's plantation at Willtown)

outbuildings on either side of the yard, 20 by 12 each, suitable for a kitchen, store room or offices. A pretty little fenced garden of 100 feet square decorated the property. The other two lots also had buildings one 28 by 18 and one 24 by 12, "both lately built, and extreamly fit and well situated for a Barn to the above Land, which lying along the River and adjoining the Town Line makes such a commodious and pleasant, as well as a profitable Settlement that nothing but a very great Want of Money could make the Owner part with it."

There are several records of stores in the village in the 1730s. Linder notes a notice upon the death of William Welsh in 1736, advertising the contents of his store for sale. The goods include farm tools, cloth, ivory fans, and "Scarlet whitney westcoats." This inventory contains goods desired by white settlers, rather than the assemblage typical of Indian traders, reflecting the changing role of the community. Robert Gray's store was the site of a slave auction in 1737.

Linder has recorded several newspaper advertisements from the 1730s involving Willtown. Some list Willtown property for sale; others involve runaway slaves. Many list a Willtown merchant such as William Livingston as responsible for the advertised transaction. Others list Willtown properties for sale. Simultaneously, there are a number of advertisements for plantation tracts, many of them touting "good swamp land" or "good rice land". Mr. Henry Yonge at Willtown advertises in 1737, "a tract of River Swamp land, containing 250 acres, on the Combahee river, along with a lot of land "on the bay of Willtown containing half an acre, with two small houses on the same." (SCG 2.5.1737).

But the majority of references to the Willtown area after this decade are to planters and plantations. Linder was unable to locate any references to Willtown in the *South Carolina Gazette* from 1749 to 1753. Instead, plantations in the area were flourishing, planting indigo on the high land and rice on the inland swampy areas. Eliza Lucas Pinckney is credited with developing a profitable means of raising indigo in the Lowcountry; as a result, Parliament offered a bounty in 1749 to encourage the industry. Several of the Willtown area planters were later known for the quality of their indigo product: John Bee, James Stobo, George Mitchell and Isaac Hayne. Inventories and plantation records of these men note the construction of indigo vats and ownership of seeds and tools. James Stobo's inventory lists surveying equipment, likely for laying out rice fields, as well as a host of other plantation equipment: chains, saws, axes, wagon box. Farming equipment includes old and new barrels of rice and a "rice skreen" as well as 4 bushel indigo seed. Other sundries include a boat, oars, a pair of grindstones, an old whip saw, cooper's axe, and a lot of carpenters tools and axes. Miscellaneous crops include corn, potatoes, peas.

The ascendancy of the plantation economy seems to be directly, or at least indirectly, responsible for the demise of Willtown as an urban community. The movement of the Willtown Church in the 1760s to another location, "so that it is very convenient and centrical" (Simmons 1960:151) seems very telling. The Indian trade routes that bypassed Willtown after the Yemassee war continued to carry traffic past the river bluff village. The road from Charleston, which crossed the Edisto not at Willtown but a few miles upriver at "Pon Pon", was established in 1711. Pon Pon had become Jacksonborough by 1740 (Smith 1988). William Bartram stayed at "jacksonburg" across

the PonPon river in 1776. When President Washington took this same route in his 1791 tour of the South, he journeyed not to Willtown but to Thomas Bee's plantation at PonPon (see figure 14). At that time Jacksonboro contained about sixty wooden or frame houses, some rice warehouses, a respectable tavern and a Masonic Lodge. Jacksonboro's chief function was as a terminus for the state's growing lumber industry. Sawmills operated on its banks and the timber harvests of backwoods Carolina floated 100 miles downstream to be sold in Charleston (Lipscomb 1993:48-49).

The plantation economy literally encompassed Willtown in 1759 when James Stobo was re-granted the entire 500 acres and in 1760 when William Elliott, planter of Charleston and Colleton county was granted 24 lots between King Street and St. James Street in Willtown (figure 25). He owned extensive lands in Colleton, and his family would control and develop the Willtown area for the next century. Elliott's daughter Ann Barnet married Colonel Lewis Morris IV of New York, who came to South Carolina as an officer in the Revolutionary War. Lewis and Ann Morris built a home at the bluff (located on lots 61, 62, 77 and 78) known as Oak Lodge. Their daughter Mary Walton Morris, who married General William Clifford Wayne owned Oak Lodge after her mother's death. Lewis Morris V built a house at the bluff in 1809, which still stands. Linder surmises that after 1760, though there are scattered references to the village as a landmark, the history of Willtown is dominated by the Morris family. The property to the south of this tract was platted in 1794 as the property of Charles Freer (figure 20). A 73 acre tract, which included the lots 41-45, was noted as "granted in lots as various times". The adjoining marsh land, by now divided into tidal rice fields, was originally granted to James Bullock, while a tract of 88 acres, just east of the Morris property and within the original bounds of Willtown, are shown as granted to Charles Freer (McCrady plat 1789).

The 19th century owners of these plantation lands were cosmopolitan, well educated and wealthy. The landscape altered by the 18th century residents had become extremely valuable land which contained both inland swamp and tide swamp ricefields, indigo production sufficient to require two sets of vats, and for a time, a lumber yard was in operation on Block Island, later The Grove plantation.

Ralph Izard writes of gatherings of gentlemen and visits from house to house. In the early 19th century this land attracted some wealthy and prominent Carolinians, including Lewis Morris and William Washington who had come South during the Revolutionary War, married local women, and stayed to become planters. Washington was a relative of the President, and Morris was a relative of the former Governor of New Jersey. Ralph Izard, son of U.S. Senator Ralph Izard and Alice DeLancey, established a plantation sometime between 1810 and 1820. William Drayton planted on Jehossee Island and on what later became Rock Spring (later owned by Ralph Izard's son, Ralph DeLancey Izard). The Grimball family, long prominent in South Carolina, was represented at The Grove, and John Berkeley Grimball married Margaret Ann (Meta) Morris, granddaughter of Lewis Morris above. Her mother Elizabeth Manigault was the daughter of Margaret Izard and Gabriel Manigault, and Gabriel Manigault owned land just north of the former Stobo property. Samuel Wilcox, son of Sir Thomas Wilcox of Middlesex County, England, married Ann Stobo, daughter of Richard Park Stobo, and developed a friendship with Ralph Izard at Willtown (see figure 71).

Rice remained profitable until the aftermath of the Civil War, when the loss of an enslaved labor force made it too expensive. This was exacerbated by competition from other parts of the world, and the development of mechanized rice production, which was successful in the Mississippi states, but not usable in the lowcountry. A series of hurricanes between 1883 and 1917 damaged or destroyed many of the rice banks. The last commercial crop of rice was grown in the lowcountry in 1927 (Doar 1970) The banks of the Edisto are still dominated by former rice plantations, with small communities of African-Americans, descendants of the rice plantation laborers. The area today is a leader in the environmental and historic preservation movements marking time against uncontrolled development.

Map made by Charles Parker, Surveyor, in 1849, copied in 1887, showing six blocks of Willtown. From RMCO McCrady Plat No. 2502.

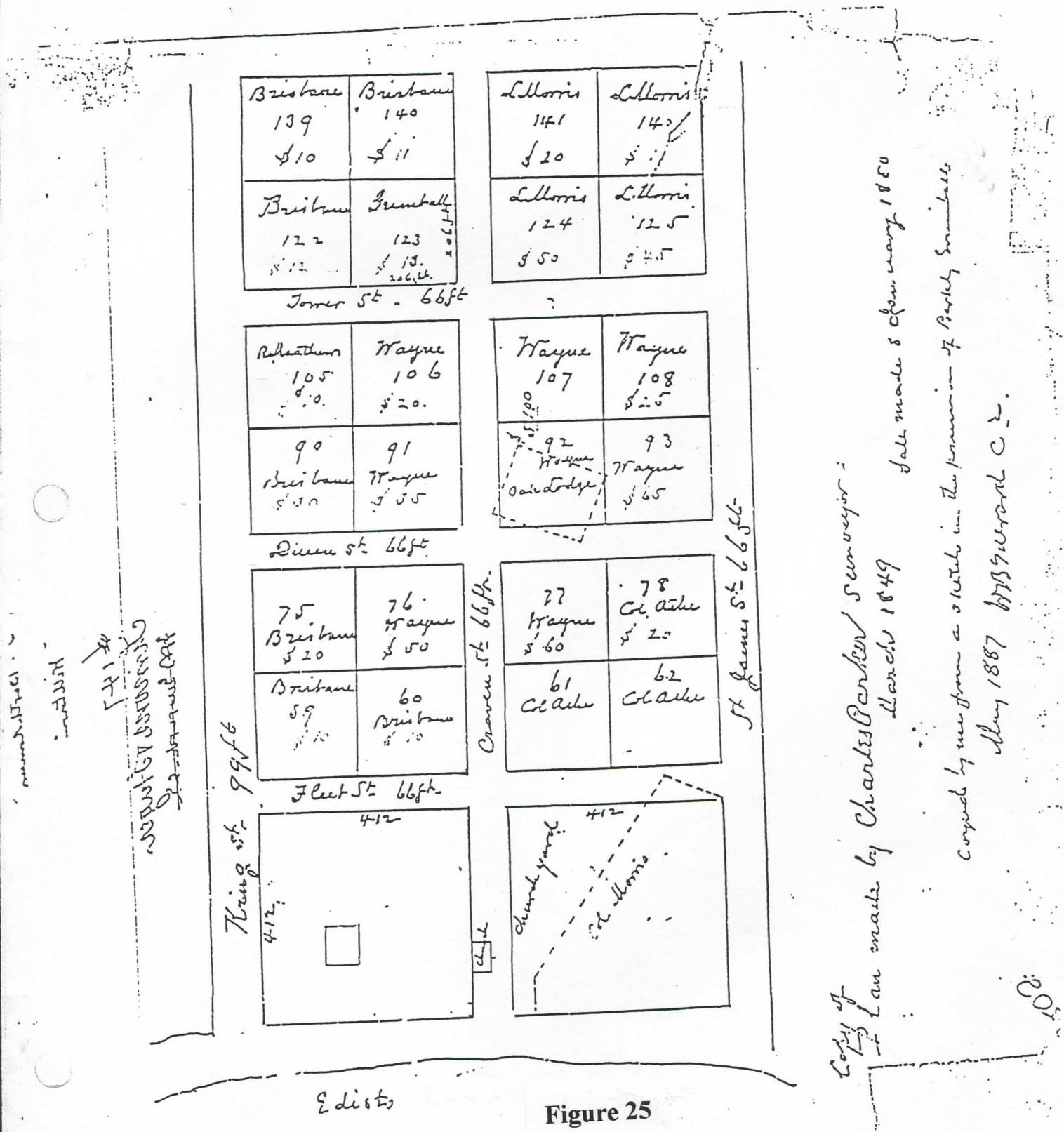


Figure 25

Chapter III
Archaeological Sites at Willtown Bluff

Site Recording in 1996

Initial archaeological testing of selected sites at Willtown Bluff was conducted for two weeks in September 1996. Field crew consisted of Museum archaeologists, volunteers, and College interns. Based on previous research, six sites were selected for testing, and conveniently designated sites 1 through 6. Based on this research, updated site forms were filed with the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Proper placement of our research in the State site files proved challenging. According to a national system, each archaeological site recorded receives a designation by state and county. Thus it is that South Carolina is state number 38, and each site number for Charleston County begins with "38Ch..." From this point, numbers are assigned by the Site File manager in sequential order as sites are reported. Part of that reporting and recording includes designating boundaries for the sites in question.

When we began our research, Keith Derting noted that there were already two site numbers in place for Willtown. The site was assigned the number 38Ch58 in 1974. This recording followed from extensive underwater recovery by Palmetto Divers, Inc. While this site record applied principally to the underwater resources, the site form made reference to terrestrial components and included a great deal of documentary information on Willtown.

In 1980 a second number, 38Ch482, was assigned to the terrestrial site, following the survey work of Elaine Herold. This site form drew a boundary around the entire Mt. Hope/Wilson tracts owned by Mr. Lane, as well as the plantation tracts to the north of his property which encompass the original footprint of Willtown (see figure 2). Herold used letters A-G to designate various areas where she tested or recovered artifacts, but did not refer to the 482 designation in her report, or use it in combination with the letter designations.

Thus it is that some of the individual sites and components of Willtown recorded and tested in the present project fall within the boundaries assigned to 38Ch482, while others do not. For the purposes of this study, those within the boundary retained the 482 designation, with the addition our own distinguishing letter. Each of these were recorded individually in a new site form in 1997. Those outside of the boundary received new, individual site numbers. It is for this reason that lots 41-45 are designated 38Ch482a, for example; they correspond to Herold's 'area E.'Each of the sites surveyed and recorded during the present project, and their initial fieldwork, will be briefly described here (figure 26).

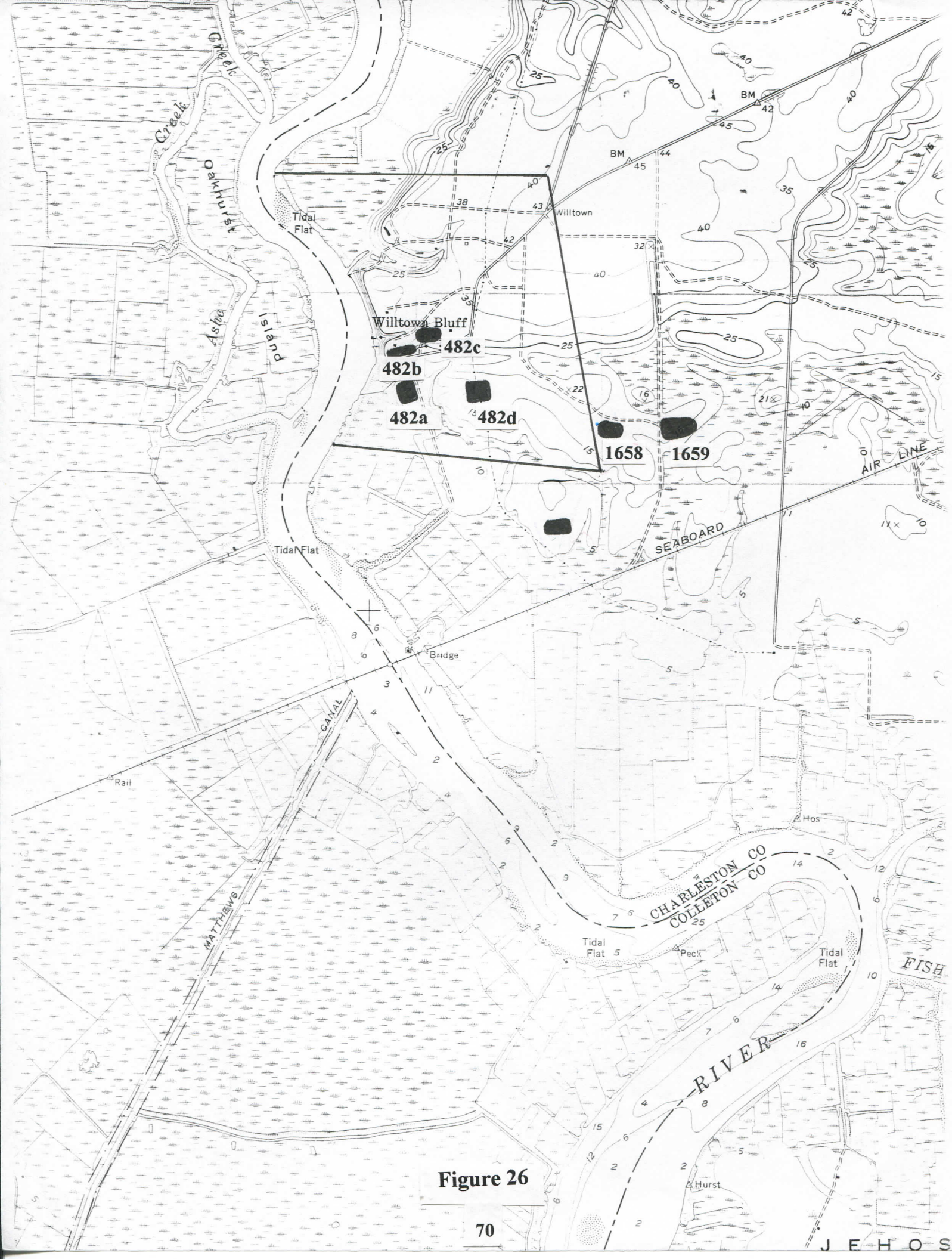

Creek
Creek
Oakhurst
Island
Ashe
Tidal Flat
Willtown
Willtown Bluff
482c
482b
482a
482d
1658
1659
BM
BM
SEABOARD
AIR LINE
Tidal Flat
Bridge
CANAL
Rail
MATTHEWS
Hos
CHARLESTON CO
COLLETON CO
Tidal Flat
Peck
Tidal Flat
FISH
RIVER
Hurst
J E H O S

Figure 26

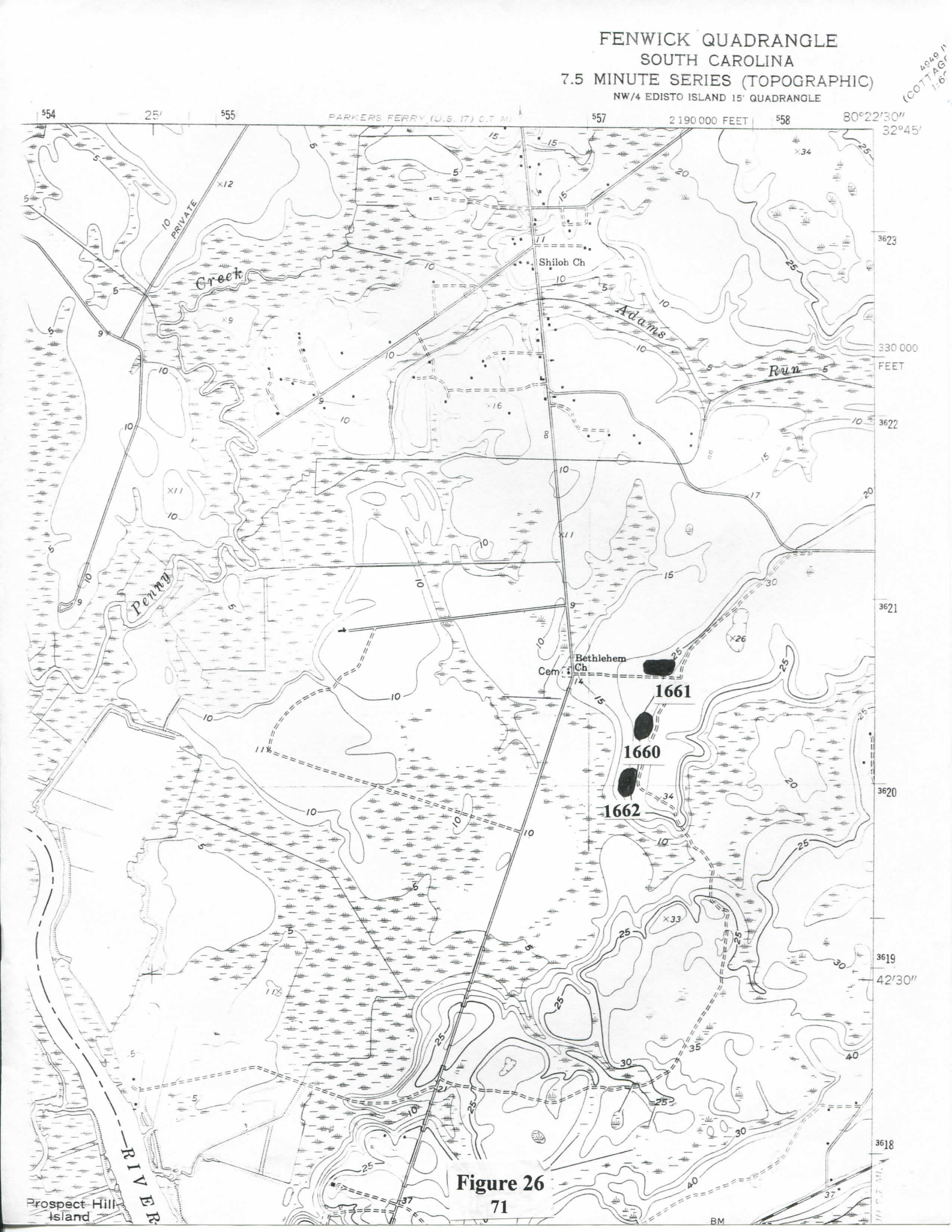

FENWICK QUADRANGLE
SOUTH CAROLINA
7.5 MINUTE SERIES (TOPOGRAPHIC)
NW/4 EDISTO ISLAND 15' QUADRANGLE
554
555
557
558
2 190 000 FEET
80°22'30"
32°45'
PARKERS FERRY (U.S. 17) 0.7 MI
PRIVATE
Creek
Shiloh Ch
Adams
Run
330 000
FEET
3623
3622
3621
3620
3619
3618
42'30"
Penny
Bethlehem
Cem
Ch
1661
1660
1662
Prospect Hill
Island
RIVER
BM

Figure 26

Sites Surveyed

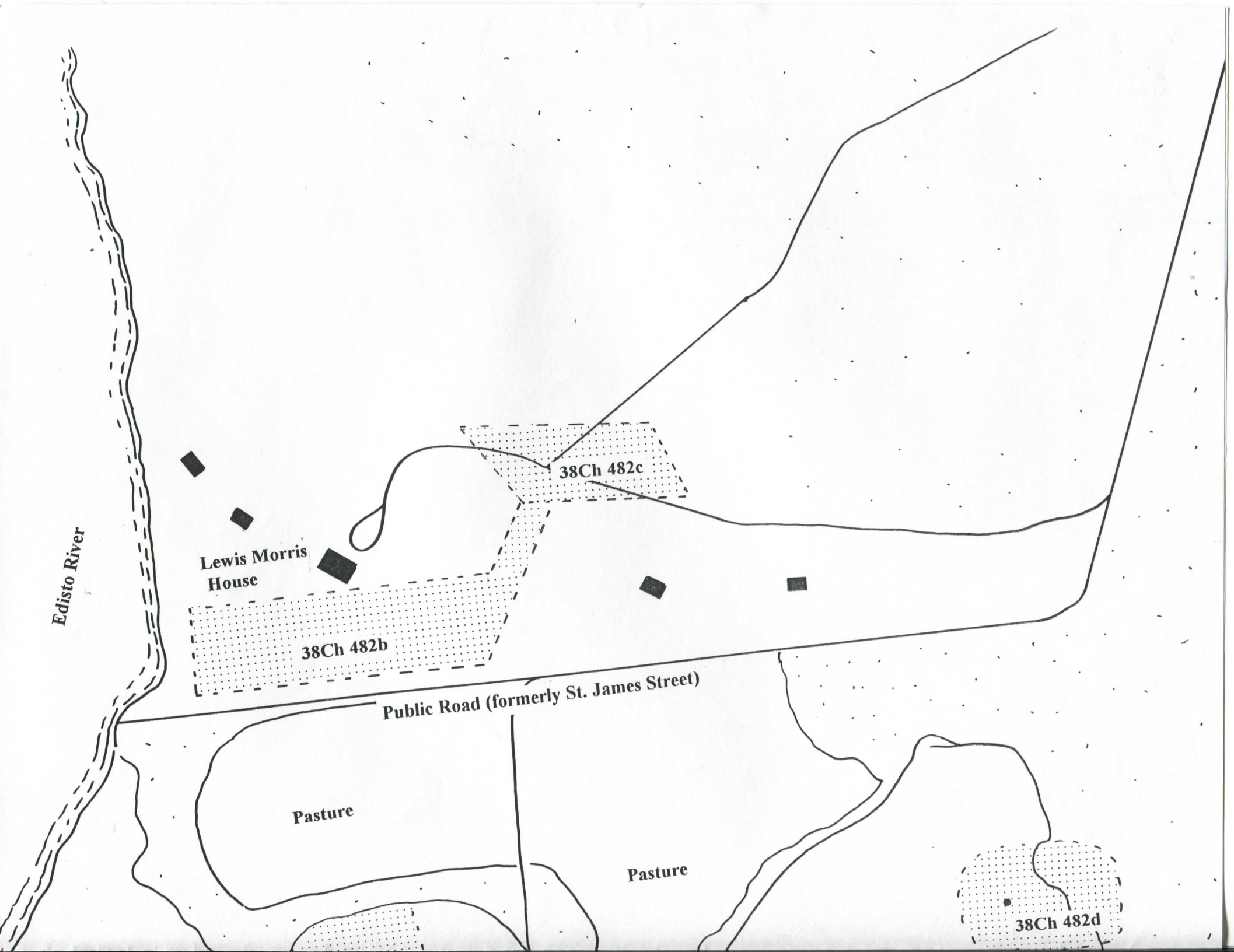
38Ch482a: As described in detail in the next chapter, site 4 was located in the pasture south of Willtown Bluff, across a small slough. During her 1979 survey, Elaine Herold collected a few artifacts from this pasture; all dated to the 18th century, and the property corresponded with Willtown lots both granted and occupied. The site seemed worthy of reexamination.

An expanse of rice fields separates this land from the river. At the time of our survey, the site was a grassed pasture with no surface visibility. It was re-plowed by Allan Parks, and the loamy soil was left open to heavy rains. When we returned to the site on October 10, a quick walkover revealed a sparse, but distinct, concentration of early 18th century materials in the northwest corner of the field. Rather than lay out a grid system, a key stake was placed underneath a large live oak tree at the north side of the field. The transit was set up over this point, and each surface artifact was piece-plotted by angle and distance from this point. This initial survey revealed 63 artifacts, all from the first half of the 18th century. Creamware, developed in the 1760s, was the latest artifact recovered. (Early 19th century ceramics and glass were noted in the southern portion of the site; they are associated with an outbuilding from Charles Freer's plantation, site 38Ch482d).

The early 18th century artifacts were clustered in the northwest quadrant of the plowed field, and this concentration included bright red brick. The materials yielded a Mean Ceramic Date of 1755, and was 96% kitchen materials. Other artifacts included English flint and tobacco pipe fragments. Colono ware was 13% of the ceramic assemblage. A second collection of exposed artifacts was recovered in December during a remote sensing survey; this yielded 36 additional artifacts. Both the artifact assemblage and the documentary evidence suggested that this was an excellent beginning point for the study of Willtown.

38Ch482b: This was the designation given to the bluff and lawn area south of the Lane house. This was the 'center' of the platted town, and included lots 15, 16, 28, and 38. These lots are adjacent to the bluff and the still-extant St. James Street. Because this area is maintained as lawn, a 6" power auger was used to test the site. A key stake, designated N100E100, was located in the southwest corner of the lawn, adjacent to Willtown Road. From here, grid points were placed north and east at twenty foot intervals, staggered from the original base line. Auger points were placed from N100E100 to N180 and E620. Soils in this vicinity were uniform brown sand, and the auger tests yielded a variety of Middle Woodland pottery. They did not, however, yield any Willtown-era artifacts (see figure 27).

Because this lack of materials was so puzzling, the grid and auger testing was extended from the N100E620 point north to join the tested area of site 2. A few artifacts from the Willtown era (brick, green glass, slipware) were recovered in the vicinity of N380E700. These negative results were quite surprising, given that this is the platted center of town.


Edisto River
Lewis Morris
House
38Ch 482c
38Ch 482b
Public Road (formerly St. James Street)
Pasture
Pasture
38Ch 482d

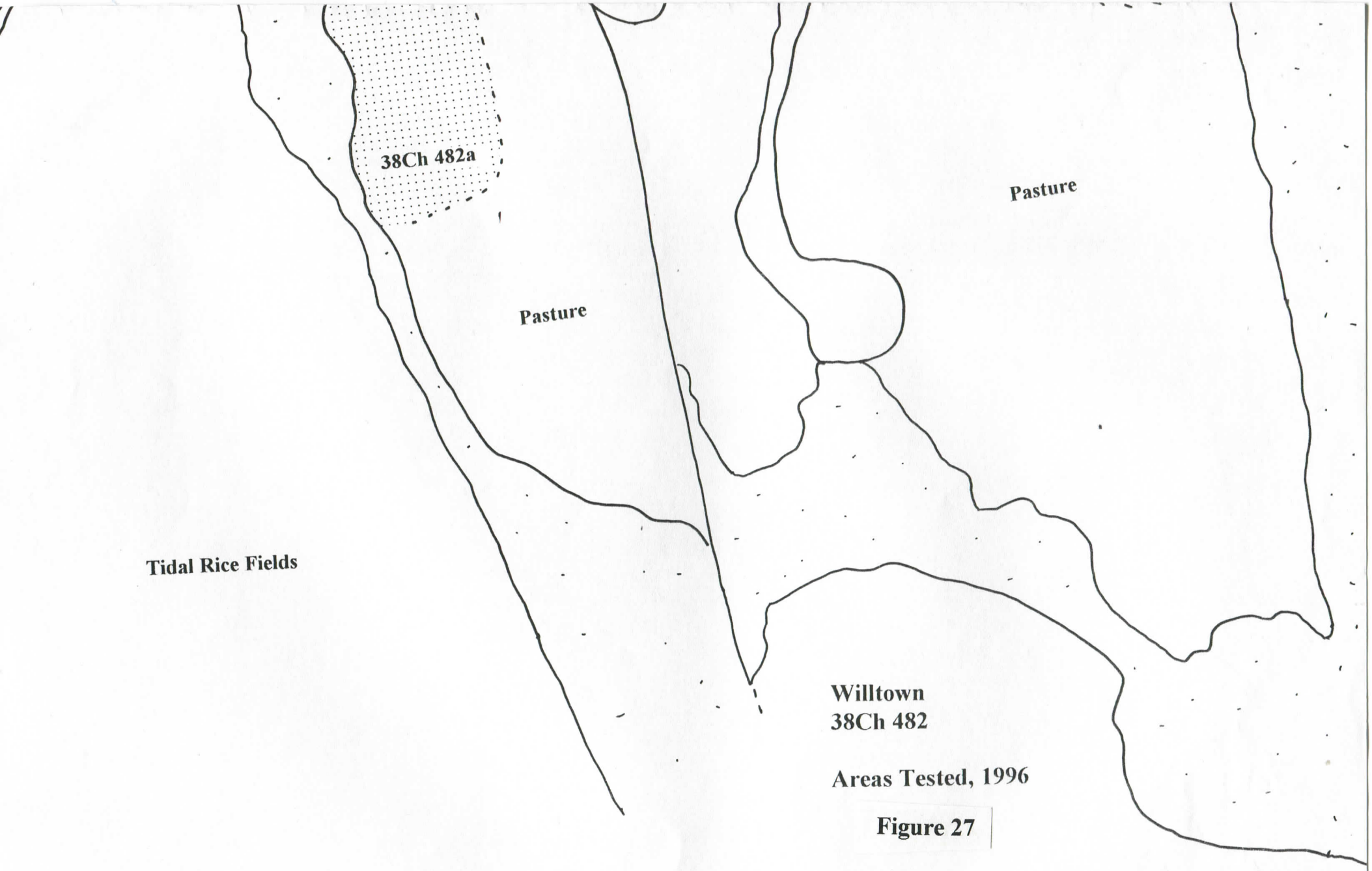
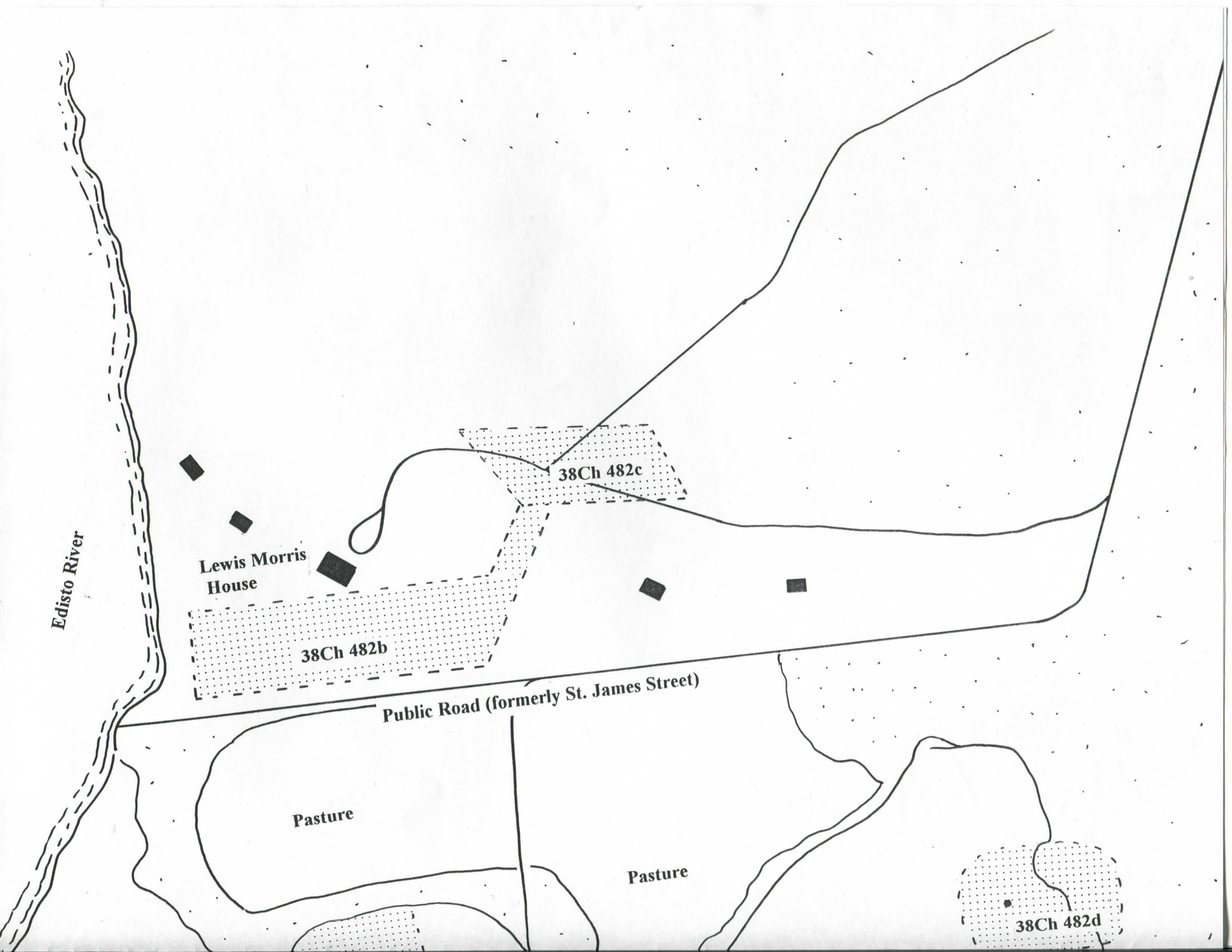

38Ch 482a
Pasture
Pasture
Tidal Rice Fields
Willtown
38Ch 482
Areas Tested, 1996

Figure 27


Edisto River
Lewis Morris
House
38Ch 482c
38Ch 482b
Public Road (formerly St. James Street)
Pasture
Pasture
38Ch 482d

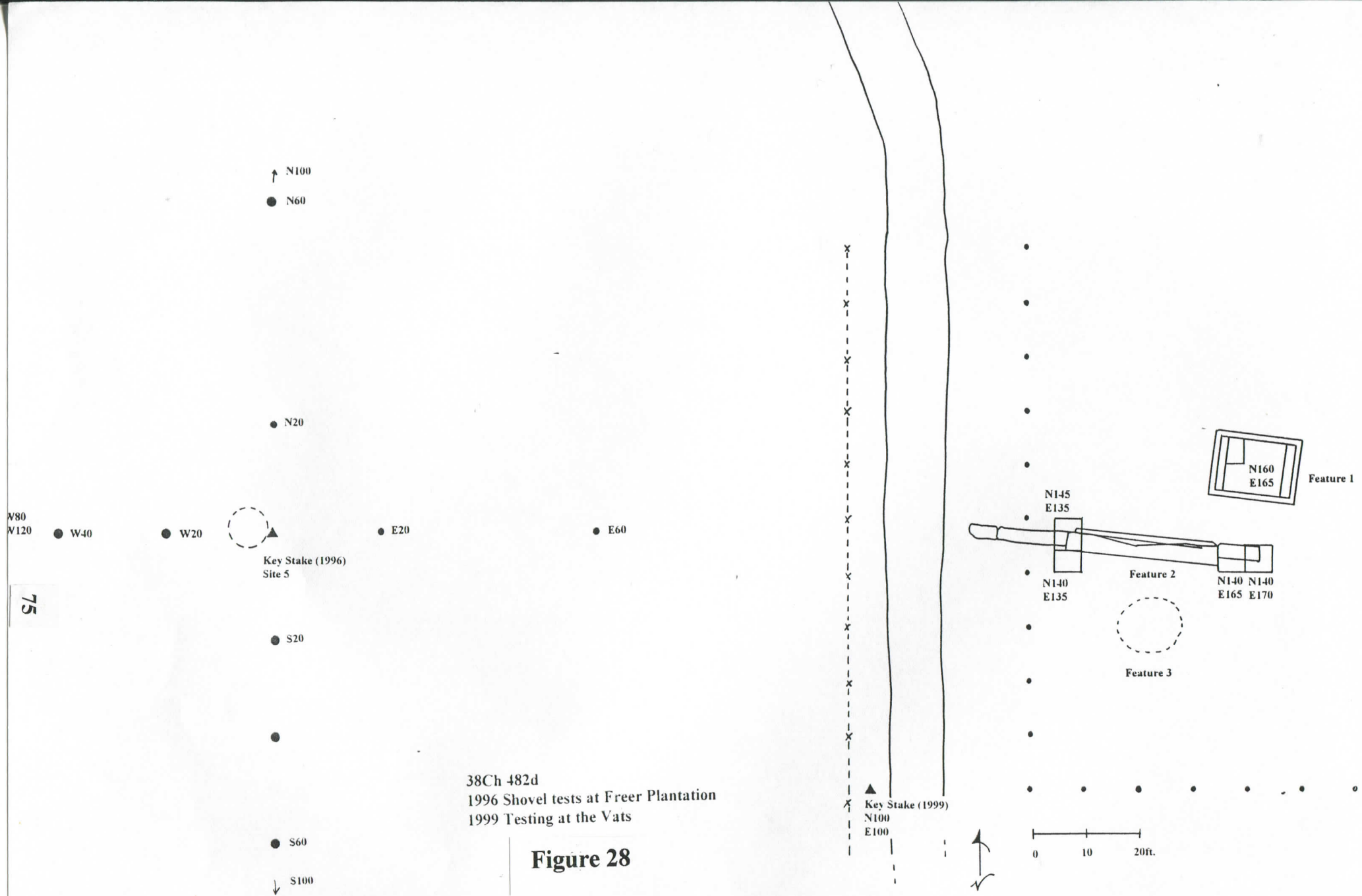
38Ch482c: The approximate location of site 2 centered in the intersection are of the sand drives on Mr. Lane's property, near the tennis court. This area was suggested by Mr. Lane as the possible location of Oak Lodge, built by Lewis Morris IV and Ann Barnet Elliot. Oak Lodge was constructed on four of 24 Willtown lots granted to Anne's father, William Elliot, in 1760. The earliest plat suggests that Oak Lodge was constructed on lots 61, 62, 77 and 78, corresponding with our site 2 location. A later plat, however, (McCrady Plat 2502, dated 1849), places the footprint of Oak Lodge on lot 92, south and east of this location.

Our first visit to 38Ch482c was promising: a blue raspberry bead (an 18th century type) was recovered from the sandy road. Further efforts, however, proved disappointing. A key stake was placed near a large tree in the triangular intersection and designated N200E200. Grid points were placed in four cardinal directions, wth a large section of gridded area to the north. As this stake was located in well-maintained lawn, the site was tested with the power auger. All soils removed with the auger were screened through 1/4 inch mesh. Thirty one tests in this vicinity produced only five ceramics, all colono wares. A piece of construction hardware and a clothing hook were the only other artifacs recovered (figure 27).

At the end of the day, Allan Parks showed us an area behind the work shed where hand-made brick fragments and ceramics were evident in the sandy ground surface. A quick walkover survey yielded 18th century artifacts (slipware, scratch blue stoneware), as well as 19th century materials, possibly associated with a former slave settlement further south. This location is approximately lots 92/93, suggested on the plat as an alternate location for Oak lodge. This area warrants further study.

38Ch482d: This site is contained within the recorded boundaries of the Willtown site, and so received a '482' designation; however, this site is not associated with the colonial Willtown settlement, but is a later plantation complex, shown on a 1794 plat of a plantation, belonging to Charles Freer (figure 24).

Our site 5 was located in the horse pasture, adjacent to a live oak tree, east of 482a. This area has exhibited some whole bricks, and has been known to the the Lane family for some time. Herold designated this site Area G. She reported that 'scattered shovel tests revealed only one iron nail and a potsherd.' Our testing, however, provided a different picture. A datum point was placed four feet southeast of the oak tree, and shovel tests were placed at 40 foot intervals in four cardinal directions from this key stake, and were given a simple distance and direction designation (40 south, 20 west, etc.) The shovel tests immediately to the west yielded large amounts of brick and mortar rubble, while the remainder of the holes yielded a large sample of domestic artifacts from the first half of the 19th century. Forty-one ceramics were recovered, yielding a Mean Ceramic Date of 1810; pearlwares dominated the assemblage. Ceramics, olive green bottle glass, and clear bottle glass comprised 60% of the site assemblage; colono ware was 2.3% of the ceramics (figure 28).



38Ch 482d
1996 Shovel tests at Freer Plantation
1999 Testing at the Vats

Figure 28

Architectural materials comprised 37% of the assemblage, and included window glass and nails. The nails were in good condition, and readily identifiable. Six were hand-wrought, manufactured before 1780, and seven were machine-cut, dating between 1780 and 1850. Three tobacco pipe fragments were also recovered.

Subsequent to the fieldwork, it was discovered that a 1794 plat shows Charles Freer's plantation complex in this precise location. The building complex shown includes a main house and drive to the north from Willtown Road, eight slave cabins in two rows extending to the south, three dispersed outbuildings and what appears to be an enclosed formal garden to the east of the main house. A separate building on the edge of the rice fields falls within the pasture of 38Ch482a, and is probably the source of the 19th century artifacts found there. Superimposition of the 1794 plat onto the modern map suggests that much of this site is to the east of the pasture and road behind it. The brick rubble recovered in the shovel tests under the oak tree are likely from the main house; those in the South 100 line are from the outbuildings (Table 1). Artifacts likely continue beyond this test (figure 28).

The Freer plantation site was revisited in January 1999 during testing of the vats discovered on the 1925 plat and located just east of the pasture. Additional shovel testing in this small cleared area revealed additional artifacts from the plantation complex, further described in Chapter 6.

38Ch1658: Site 1 was discovered by archaeologists on the property tour provided by Hugh Lane Jr. in March 1996. The northern portions of the Rock Springs tract features a linear swamp ending in an impounded pond, and a woods road runs along the ridge of high land south of this swamp, in roughly a northwest/southeast direction. The area of site 1 had been logged some years prior, and the exposed sand of an abandoned logging deck yielded a small collections of ceramics and glass. All dated to the first half of the 18th century. As this was a previously unknown site, and one seemingly occupied during the Willtown era, it was deemed worthy of testing. Its location near the Stobo house compound and associated dates suggest that this may be part of James Stobo's plantation complex, as it is less that 1500 feet to the west.

The area of site 1 is high land, previously logged, with some areas of scrubby undergrowth in the cleared area. A shallow dike and ditch runs parallel to the the woods road about 100 feet south of it. Based on a walkover survey of the site, a key stake was established at the suspected southwest corner of the site, designated N100E100, and a grid was established on magnetic north and west. Transit and tapes were used to lay in a meridian line to the north; flags were placed at 20-foot intervals to N220E100. A base line was then established 200 feet to the west, to N100E300. The transit was then set up on this point, and a second meridian was established to the north. Allowing for curvature of the woods road, this line continued to N300W300. Pacing and compass were then used to excavate shovel tests at 40 foot intervals (figure 29).

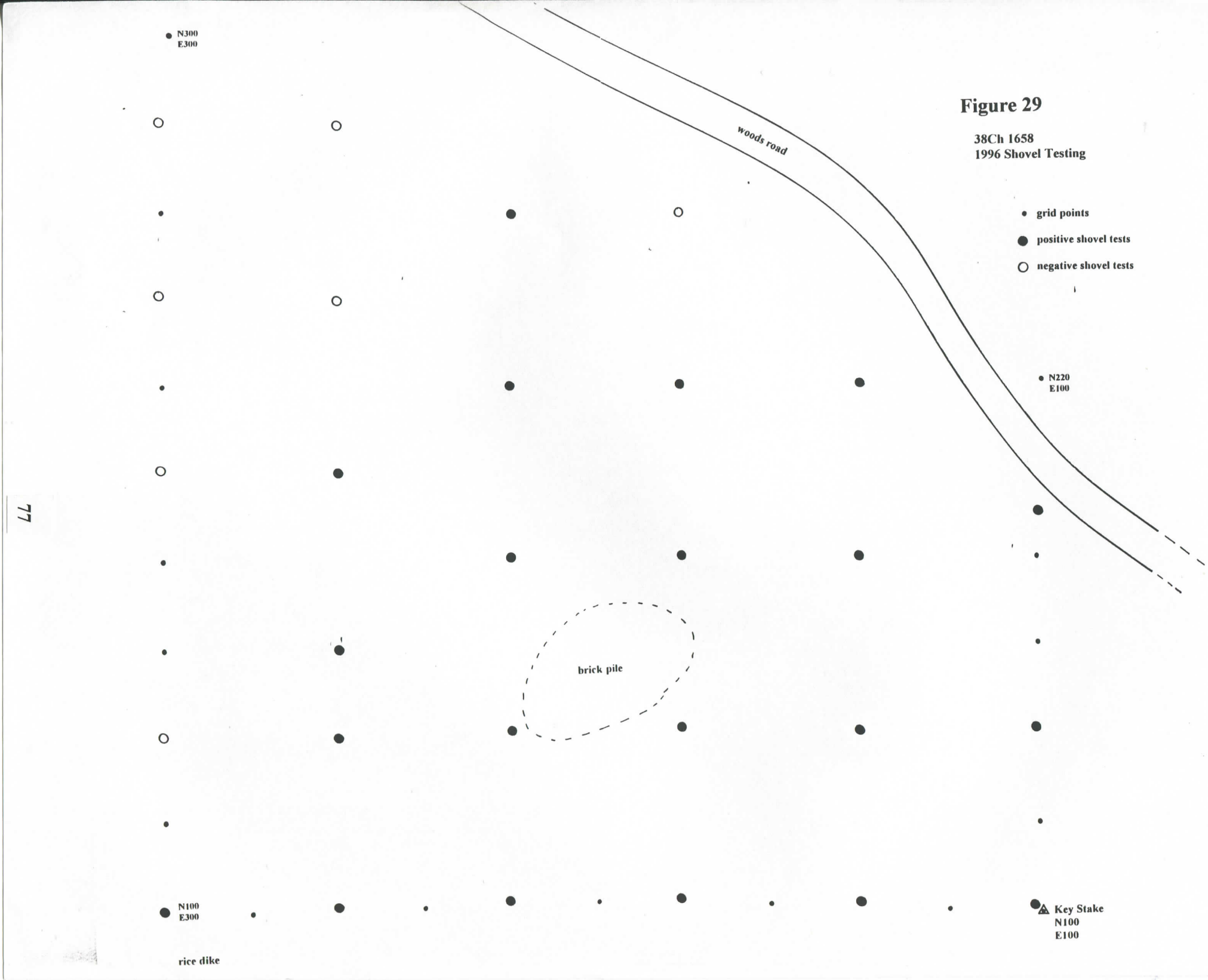


Figure 29

38Ch 1658
1996 Shovel Testing

- grid points
- positive shovel tests
- negative shovel tests

All of the excavated shovel tests in the gridded area contained some cultural material, with the exception of the west 300' line, which was uniformly sterile. Random shovel tests outside the grid to the north and east likewise produced no artifacts. This suggests that the entire site is contained within the boundaries of the grid, but this awaits further testing for verification.

An oval brick mound was discovered between N140W220 and N140W180. Excavations adjacent to this feature yielded quantities of brick and melted glass, as well as the site's latest artifact, a 1772 English halfpenny. In addition to this artifact, the twenty positive shovel tests yielded 36 ceramics, all of which were developed prior to 1750. The site contains delft, lead glazed slipware, white saltglazed stoneware, Westerwald stoneware, and Chinese porcelain. Nearly half of the ceramics were colono ware. The ceramics yielded a mean ceramic date of 1748. Other kitchen artifacts included dark green bottle glass and aqua container glass. These kitchen materials were 69% of the site assemblage. Architectural artifacts, 25% of the assemblage, contained window glass and nails. The nails were in excellent condition, and all were hand wrought, thus dating before 1780. Other artifacts recovered from the shovel tests include two tobacco pipe bowls, a lead shot, and the coin (Table 2).

38Ch1659: James Stobo's plantation, or Site 6, was by far the richest site encountered during the 1996 survey. Though this site is discussed in great detail in Chapter 7, a brief discussion of the survey results is presented here, to place the site in context.

The site is on a corner of a woods road, adjacent to an impounded pond, shown to us by Hugh Lane, Jr. It is a knoll, or peninsula, of high land in a climax hardwood forest, relatively free of understory. Soil pushed up in a tree fall contained dense brick and mortar rubble, and the basal portion of a brown saltglazed stoneware jug. Artifacts collected in the first visit included ceramics dating primarily to the first half of the 18th century (the era of Willtown's existence), plus some creamware and pearlwares, from the second half of the century. Based on this, the site was subjected to extensive shovel testing.

A key stake, designated N100E100, was placed arbitrarily near the road corner, and shovel tests were placed in four cardinal directions from this point, following Chicago grid designations. In all, 47 tests were excavated (figure 30), and these extended beyond the '0' limits of the grid in some places, to S20, to N220, to E240, and to E0. All of these tests contained artifacts, and the content suggested that the artifacts and the site continued beyond the limits of our shovel testing to the east, the south, and the west. (Because of the size of the site and grid designation problems, the same key stake was subsequently re-designated N200E185 the following season; see Chapter 7).

Artifacts were most dense east of the woods road; the 47 shovel tests yielded 352 ceramics. Brick and mortar rubble was concentrated in the N100 line to E160, and north to N140. The densest shovel test, at N100E120, yielded 11,600 grams of brick. The ceramic collection included large fragments of North Devon gravel tempered ware, delft, and saltglazed stoneware. More unusual

Figure 30

38Ch1659

ceramics included Mottled ware, Nottingham stoneware, and Jackfield. Underglazed and overglazed Chinese porcelain was also present in significant numbers. These yielded a Mean Ceramic Date of 1759. Other kitchen artifacts included green bottle glass and decorative table glass. Most remarkable was a fragment of an early colonial pewter spoon. Kitchen wares comprised 65% of the assemblage.

Architectural materials comprised 31% of the assemblage. Several identifiable nails were recovered, and only two appear to be machine cut (after 1780); nearly 20 were identified as hand-wrought. Window glass was recovered, along with a strap hinge. Other artifacts include lead shot, a gunflint, furniture tack, and 22 pipe fragments.

Rock Spring Settlement: The Rock Spring settlement was visited on our first tour of Willtown with Hugh Lane, Jr., but not revisited until January 1999. The March 1996 visit was during 'El Nino', and the site was nearly underwater due to heavy rains. On our initial visit we observed an intact brick basement to a small structure, as well as a number of artifacts on the surface. In the ensuing years our energies focused first on the exploration of Willtown; and we were then totally absorbed in the Stobo plantation site. Following the third season of fieldwork and completion of the complex chain of title by Suzanne Linder, we turned to examination the broader landscape. During this time we searched the woods around Stobo's site for evidence of his rice fields. Dr. Linder discovered a series of plats created in 1791, following subdivision of Stobo's lands among buyers and heirs (figure 31). A plat of Thomas William Price's tract shows the settlement clearly; Mr. Lane further confirmed that buildings remained extant at this site into the 20th century. Based on this, the site was revisited. A change in weather pattern (La Nina) gave us an opportunity to examine this site in dry weather. The site is generally in a low, flat area, adjacent to the river swamps of the Edisto. Unlike Stobo's site, the site is marked by loamy soil and a dense undergrowth of palmetto. Several large hardwoods mark the site. During our walkover we rediscovered the brick foundation (fitted at some later date with lead piping), a brick well, and several scatters of brick rubble beneath the ground vegetation. Several pieces of large hardware remain on the site, including an iron wagon wheel rim. Shovel tests by Matthew Tankersley and Andrew Agha revealed a shallow topsoil followed by clay subsoil, and artifacts dating to the 19th century (figure 32).

Continued study of the Willtown Bluff plantation tract and adjacent properties will doubtless add many new sites to the state inventory. All are part of the story of the Willtown community through three centuries, and serve as a reminder of the complexity of frontier studies and the preliminary nature of the interpretations that follow.

\

Table 1
Artifacts recovered from 38Ch482d

Kitchen
- 10 lead glazed earthenware
- 1 combed and trailed slipware
- 18 creamware
- 11 undecorated pearlware
- 17 decorated pearlware
- 4 19th century stoneware
- 2 Chinese porcelain
- 1 white porcelain
- 35 olive green glass
- 22 container glass

Architecture
- 35 window glass
- 89 nails
- 2 construction hardware

Other
- 1button
- 1 clothing hook

- 1 personal
- 2 furniture hardware
- 8 tobacco pipes

Table 2
Artifacts recovered from 38Ch1658

Kitchen
- 3 delft
- 4 combed and trailed slipware
- 3 white saltglazed stoneware
- 5 Westerwald stoneware
- 1 overglazed porcelain
- 5 blue on white porcelain
- 14 Yaughan colono ware
- 6 olive green glass
- 7 container glass
- 1 table glass

Architecture

10 window glass
12 nails
5 misc. hardware

Other

1 musket ball
1 English halfpenny
2 tobacco pipes

Plat of Rock Springs Settlement
Photograph of brick foundation at Rock Springs settlement

Figure 32

Figure 31

Chapter IV
Site 38Ch482-a: the Willtown Lots

Site Description

Site 38Ch482-a was located in the second pasture south of Willtown bluff, and is separated from the bluff by the public roadway, then a pasture sloping to a narrow slough. This area is relatively low, and soil is heavy and loamy. An expanse of rice fields separates this high land from the river. A large oak tree is located at the northern end of the field, on the slope to the slough; this tree served as a landmark for the site grid. Isolated large trees are also located along the eastern margin of the field, as is a causeway through the tidal marsh. The pasture is bounded to the west by a drainage ditch and dirt road leading to the rice mill. At the time of Mr. Lane's purchase of Willtown, the field was planted in young pine trees. Mr. Lane had these removed with heavy equipment. Prior to the pine tree planting, the agricultural field was transected by a series of drainage ditches. Soils in the field are listed as Hockley loamy fine sand, though soil scientist Mark Mann indicated that the soils were of the Yauhannah series. These are nearly level, moderately well-drained acid soils that have a loamy subsoil. They exhibit slow runoff and a high water table.

Site History

Based on an overlay of the Willtown plat upon a current aerial photograph, the field in question encompasses lots 41, 42 and 45; unlike most of Willtown, some specific site history is available for these properties. Lots 41 and 45 were granted to Thomas Bruce in 1717 (Smith 1988:31; Herold 1980:23); by 1734 the lots were in the possession of Henry Yonge,, who mortgages the lots plus plantation land to secure a debt of L2000 to his father-in-law James Bullock (CCRMCO Book P:108-111. James Bullock advertised three lots plus "150 acres of good swamp rice land" for sale in 1733; deeds indicate that they must be lots 13 (located on the bluff), 41 and 45. The newspaper advertisement describes a house and outbuildings on lot 13, plus "the other two lots are likewise improved with a house of 28 by 18 feet and one of 24 by 12 both lately built and extremely fit and well situated for a Barn to the above land, which lying along the river and adjoining the town line makes such a commodious and pleasant as well as profitible settlement that nothing but a great want of money could make the owner part with it." Bullock was married to Jean Stobo, and their daughter Christina married Henry Yonge, a storekeeper at Willtown. James Bullock's wife was Archibald Stobo's daughter, and Bullock was himself an educated clergyman. Though somewhat circumstantial, this evidence suggests that lots 41 and 45 may have been the location of a store operated by Henry Yonge, probably with multiple structures. It is also interesting to note that the other documented shopkeepers at Willtown, William Scott and Thomas Bruce, also owned lots in this southerly portion of the town, removed from the bluff area and adjacent to the slough which transects this area (see figure 24, 27). Seven lots, 65-67 and 81-84, were granted to William Scott in 1717; these are in the pasture across the dirt road, directly east of Yonge's property. The lots to the south, 43, 44, and 68 were granted to Thomas Bruce the same year; Bruce and Scott were business partners.

Bruce died before 1730 and Scott sold the lots to James Smyth of Colleton County. Smyth's widow Mary Cochran evidently then married William Livingston. By 1734 these lots were all in the possession of William Livingston, described as a "merchant of Willtown" Livingston's father, also William Livingston, had also been a Willtown property owner.

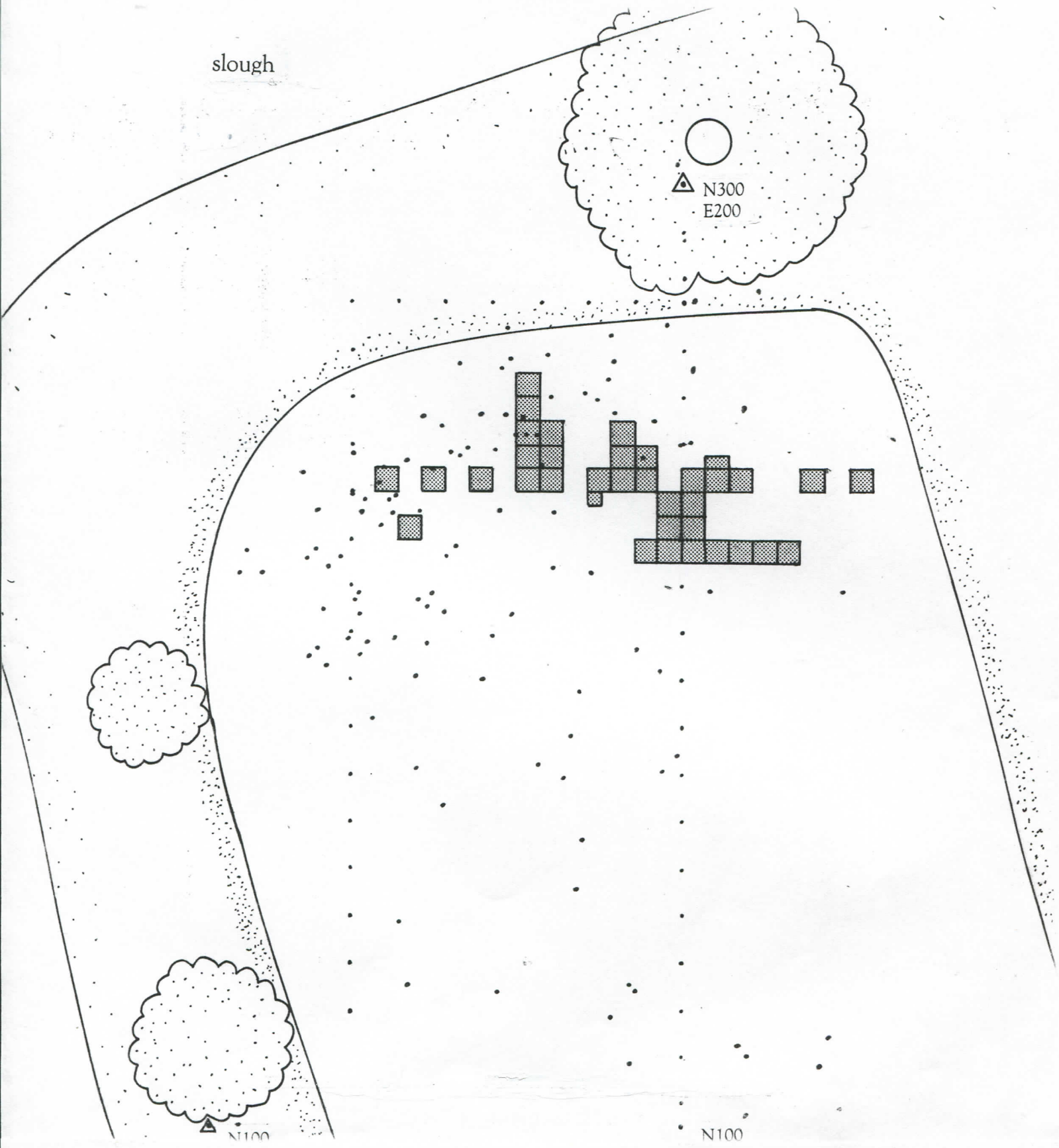
Background

Elaine Herold surveyed this area in 1980 and found fourteen early 18th century artifacts in the northern half of the field. At the time of our initial survey in 1996, the site was a grassed hay field with no surface visibility. The northern half was re-plowed by Allan Parks, and the loamy soil was then left open to heavy rains. On the return visit, a quick walkover revealed a sparse, but distinctive, concentration of early 18th century material in the northwest corner of the field. No grid system was established at this time; a key stake was placed under a large live oak tree at the north side of the field. The transit was set up over this point, and each surface artifact was piece-plotted by angle and distance from this point. This initial survey revealed 63 artifacts, all from the first half of the 18th century. Creamware, developed in the 1760s, was the latest artifact recovered. A single shovel test revealed that the plowzone was about .6 feet deep (figure 33).

The early 18th century artifacts were clustered in the northwest quadrant of the plowed field, and this concentration included very small amounts of bright red brick. The materials yielded a Mean Ceramic Date of 1755, and was 96% kitchen materials. Other artifacts included English flint and tobacco pipe fragments (South 1972). Colono ware was 13% of the ceramic assemblage. A second collection of exposed artifacts was recovered in December during remote sensing; this yielded 36 additional artifacts.

The northern half of this field was subject to remote sensing by Dr. Jim Dolittle of the Natural Resources Conservation Services in December 1996. Dr. Dolittle began his survey using ground penetrating radar, using a Subsurface Interface Radar System-2. A 75 by 185 foot grid was established at 10 foot intervals, and the radar survey was completed by pulling the 120 MHz antenna along 38 grid lines in east-west fashion. The survey revealed 142 anomaly points, none with strong readings. The anomalies were distributed throughout the site, but were more common in the north and northeast portions of the site, corresponding with the surface-collected artifacts. Some of the anomalies appeared aligned in two parallel rows. Dr. Dolittle interpreted these as drainage features (figure 34).

Because of the poor conductivity of the soil and the moderate level of radar reflection, the site was also tested with electromagnetic induction. This method measures vertical and lateral variations in the apparent electrical conductivity of earthen materials. The same grid system was used, and measurements were taken at 10 foot intervals. The EM survey detected anomalies in the northwest portion of the site that were similar to those obtained from the GPR survey. Results of this exercise were tantalizing, but inconclusive. Anomalies did, however, correspond to surface artifact concentrations (figure 35).



Location of surface finds relative to site grid and excavated units

Figure 33

SITE #4
WILLTOWN, SOUTH CAROLINA

LOCATIONS OF DETECTED SUBSURFACE ANOMALIES

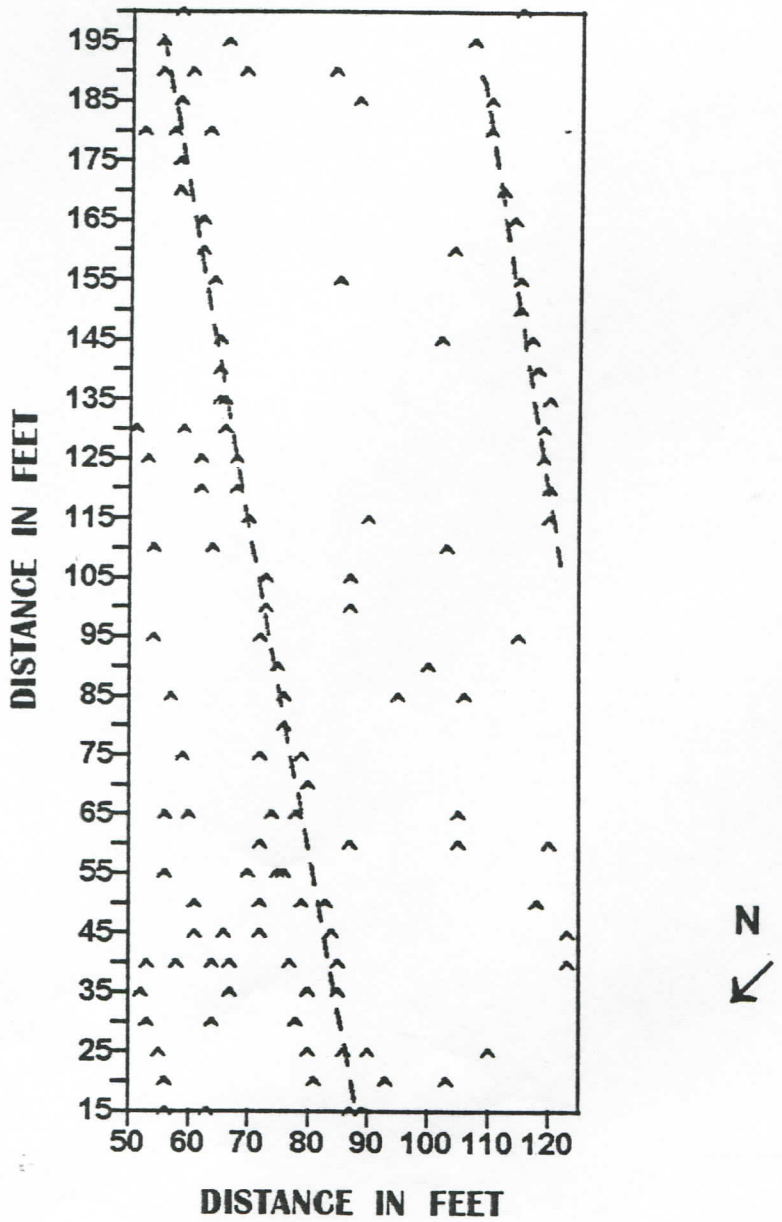


Figure 34

SITE #4
WILLTOWN, SOUTH CAROLINA

EM SURVEY
EM38 METER
VERTICAL DIPOLE ORIENTATION

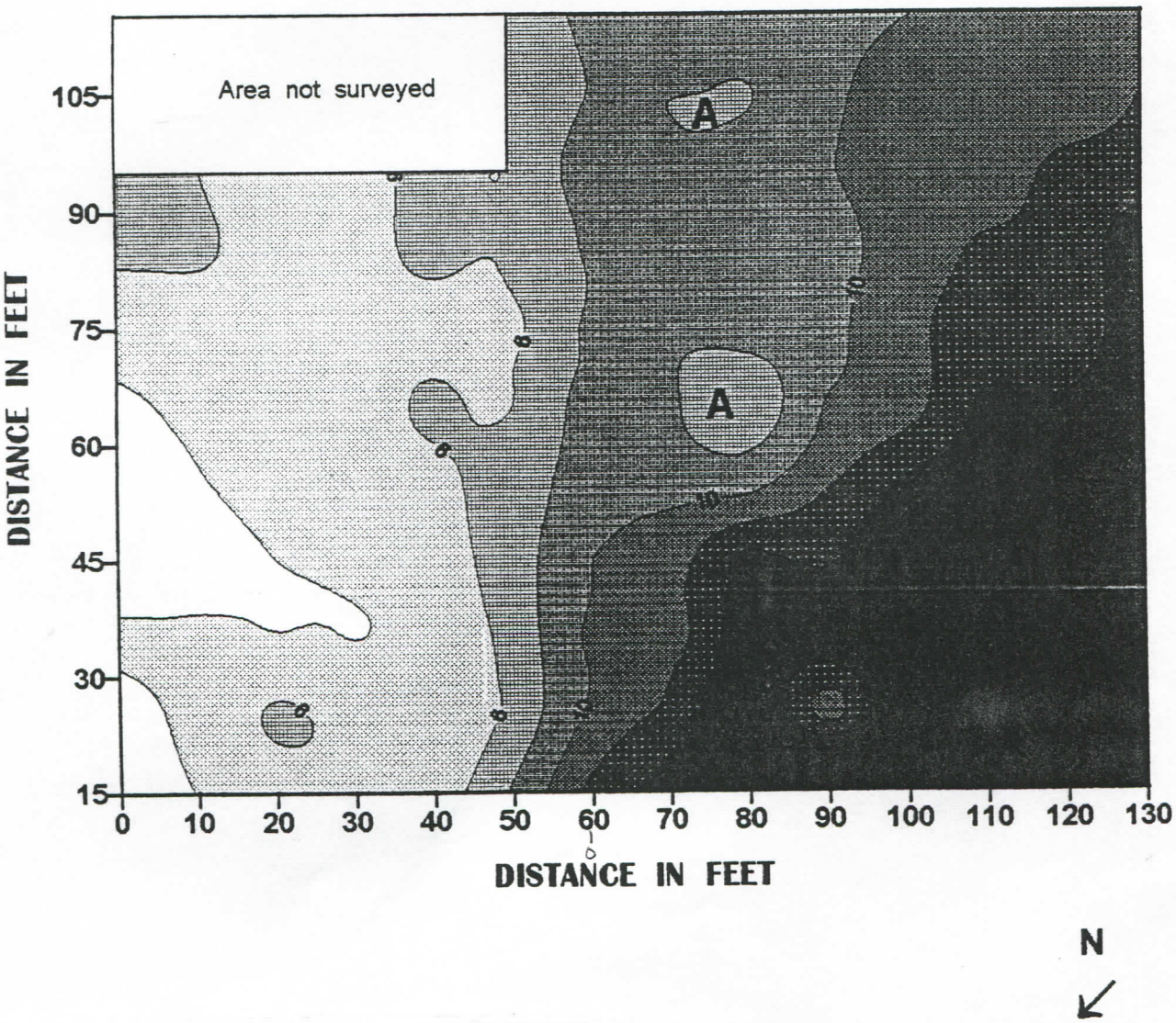


Figure 35

Field Methods

Test excavations were conducted for two weeks beginning June 9, 1997 using a crew of 11 college field school students, an experienced volunteer, and three professional archaeologists. The first day was spent establishing a site grid. Horizontal control was maintained with establishment of a Chicago grid. Placement of this grid began with the key stake established during survey, at the northern end of the field beneath the solitary live oak tree. The transit was replaced over this key stake, and the original wooden stake was replaced with rebar. Because of its location at the northern end of the site, the key stake received an arbitrary designation of N300E200. From here, a baseline was established to the south, aligned with magnetic north. Grid points began at the edge of the plowed field, at the top of the rise; this was N275E200. The transit was reestablished over this point, and grid points were placed at 10 foot intervals to the south to N100E200. The transit was then turned 90° and transit points placed at 10' intervals to N275E130. The transit was then reestablished over N275E130, and a grid line was set to the south at 10 foot intervals, to N125E130. A tape was then pulled between N235E200 and N235E130, and grid points placed at 5' intervals. Intitial 5 foot test units were then triangulated to the north from these points. The four initial test units included N235E180, N235E165, N235E135, and N235E190. Since each of these units revealed intact features intruding into subsoil, the remaining gridwork consisted of triangulating adjacent and nearby 5' units from this gridline (figure 36).

Vertical control was maintained relative to the original rebar datum point underneath the oak tree at the northern end of the field (N300E200). Elevations were taken on a daily basis relative to the top of this stake. Efforts to located a known elevation point at Willtown proved fruitless, so the top of the stake was given an arbitrary elevation of **5.0** feet, based on the suggested elevation on the U.S.G.S. topographic map. All elevations are presented as assumed absolute elvations, expressed as feet above mean seal (msl). Measurements at the site, both horizontal and vertical, were taken in feet and tenths of feet, to correspond with historic English measurements.

All excavations were conducted by hand using shovels and trowels, and dry-screening through 1/4-inch mesh was anticipated. The survey revealed that, though associated with Willtown, the artifacts at the site were very sparse; further, the soil was heavy and loamy, rock-hard when dry and cloying when wet. Based on this combination of elements, plus the heavily plowed and disturbed nature of the site, we determined to sample the site by excavating a series of 5' squares. A first day of screening revealed that this was a lengthy and tedious procedure, producing very few cultural materials. Instead, the plowzone was excavated with shovel and backdirt placed adjacent to the squares. During backfilling, the soil was replaced in the same unit, so that no data were lost. All soils excavated from features, in contrast, was screened completely through 1/4 inch mesh. Soil samples were recovered from all features, as well.

Record keeping entailed narrative notes and completion of a variety of forms on a daily basis. Students kept a duplicate set of narrative notes and helped maintain the field forms. Planview and

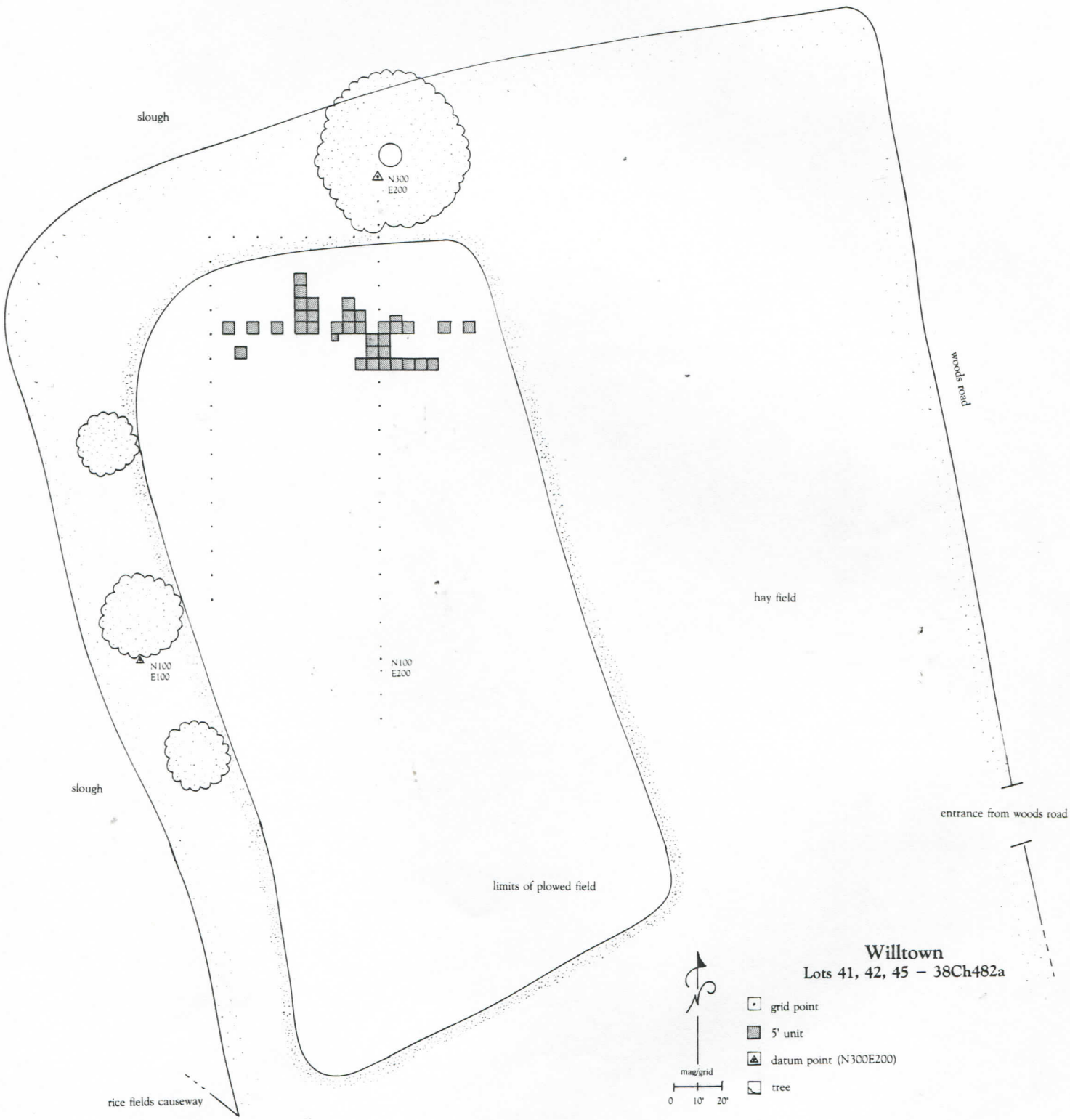

slough
N300
E200
woods road
hay field
N100
E100
N100
E200
slough
entrance from woods road
limits of plowed field
rice fields causeway
Willtown
Lots 41, 42, 45 – 38Ch482a
grid point
5' unit
datum point (N300E200)
tree
mag/grid
0
10'
20'

Figure 36

profile maps were made for each unit or block of units. Material from each designated provenience were bagged and tagged separately, and a field specimen number (FS#) was assigned to each in ordinal fashion. Photographs were taken in black and white (T-Max 100) and color slide (Kodachrome 200 professional film), and processed for archival stability.

Dating Techniques

All encountered archaeological deposits were dated on the basis of stratigraphic point of initiation and Terminus Post Quem. Terminus Post Quem, or TPQ, is the principal which states that no provenience can be deposited earlier than the invention date of the latest dating item in the provenience. A provenience can be deposited any time after that date; therefore, date of deposition is rarely the same as the TPQ date. An illustrative example of this principal is a trash pit containing 18th century ceramics and a spark plug. Though the majority of the artifacts are colonial, the pit was not filled prior to the invention of the spark plug; someone in the 20th century thus dug and filled a hole on a colonial site, and the pit itself is not the result of colonial activity. As we shall see, the drainage ditches encountered on this site illustrate this principal well.

Stratigraphic point of initiation is based on the Law of Superimposition, the geological principal that soils gradually accumulate on sites of human occupation. Therefore, the deepest deposit is the earliest, with deposits occurring later as one approaches the top of the ground. Relative dates are therefore assigned according to the level of the top, or point of initiation, of each deposit. Thus the date of deposition assigned to each archaeological provenience is based on both techniques and is determined by considering each provenience relative to those around it.

On sites that have been compromised by plowing, much of the stratigraphy has been lost. In addition to the mixing of any gradually deposited zones, the original tops, or points of initiation, of features have also been lost. Stratigraphic point of initiation for features is therefore determined by observing them horizontally, or from the top, and determining which have dug first and which last. This is usually obvious from the profile as well as from the planview.

In addition to these dating systems, a new absolute dating system was employed. Dr.Douglas Frink has developed a new dating procedure based on the biochemical degradation of organic carbon. This procedure, termed the Oxidizable Carbon Ratio, or OCR, produces age estimates comparable to those for Carbon 14, from carbon contained in the soil itself. Though this technique has met with some success on other lowcountry sites, the results at Willtown were inconclusive.

Description of Encountered Proveniences

Testing at the site began with four dispersed 5' units along the N235 line, as described above. In each of these, the plowzone was relatively shallow, .6 to .8 feet, and excavated in a single level to subsoil. When screening proved ineffective, the digging teams were subdivided and two additional dispersed units were excavated, N235E45 and N235E155. Each of these units exhibited intact

features intruding into subsoil. From this point, the excavation plan consisted of digging adjacent 5' square to further expose some of these features, and the digging of additional dispersed units to locate others related to those encountered initially (figure 36). A total of 34 five foot units were excavated, most of them contiguous, exposing 64 designated features (figure 37). A complete list of units by grid coordinates and the features they contain are described in Table 1. The remainder of this narrative will describe the major features, their method of exposure and excavation. This will be followed by a discussion of artifacts recovered and dates of deposition for the features. The final section contains preliminary interpretations of the features and site.

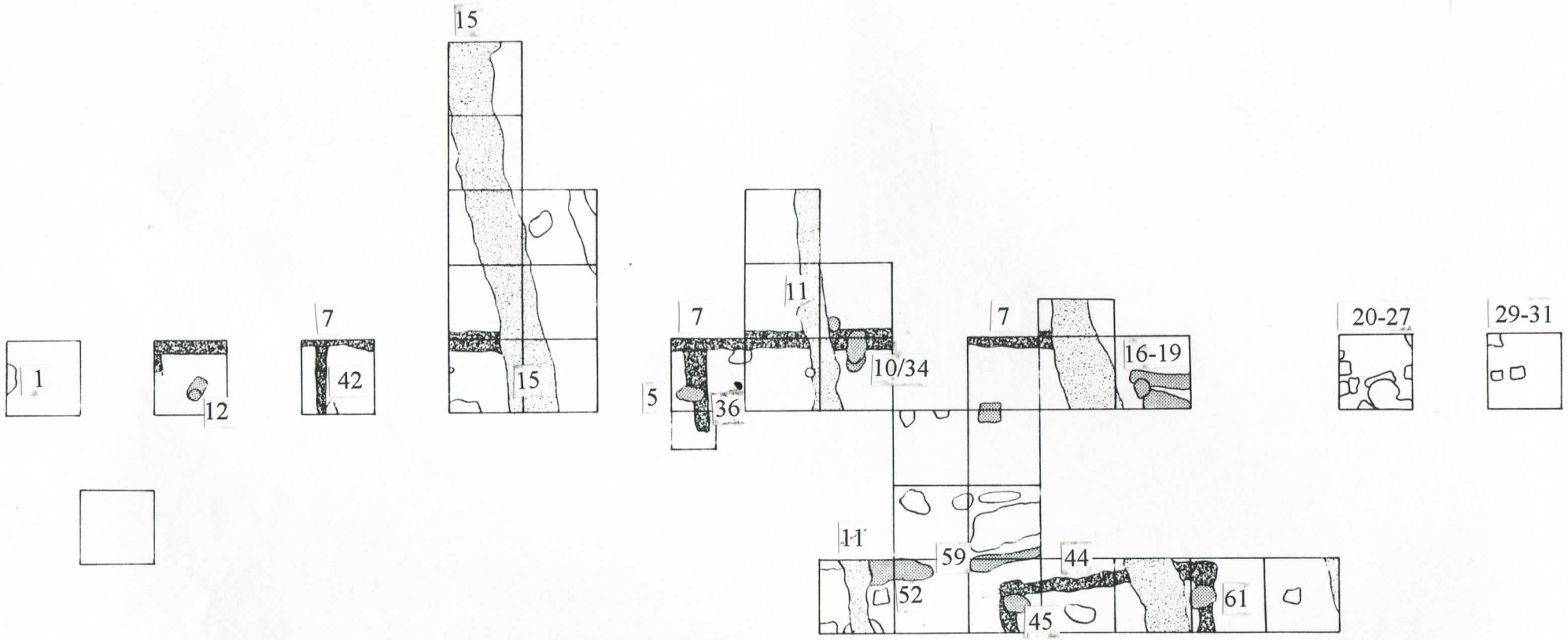
The initial six units exposed 15 features, ranging from small amorphous stains to well-defined ditches and linear deposits reflecting architectural activity. Most significant was a linear feature of dark brown, orange and yellow mottled sand with a distinct edge, running east-west along the northern wall of several units, from N235E145 to N235E200. Two large features, which appeared to be filled ditches, truncated this foundation feature, and proceeded in a southeast/northwest direction. The linear architectural remnant was desingnated Feature 7, and was deemed worthy of further investigation. The two ditches also merited further exposure, and were designated Features 11 and 15. Excavation then commenced on two block excavations, following these features.

A total of 35 units were excavated in two weeks, as shown in figure 37. Sixty four defined features were noted in these units. Due to time limitations, only 16 of these were sampled or completely excavated, and therefore description of many of them is limited. The 64 features fall into five groups: backfilled drainage ditches (features 11, 15, 43 and 56), structural foundations (features 7 and 44) and associated strains (features 50, 51, 52, 41 and 61 for feature 44; features 36 and 42 for feature 7) circular posthole/postmold stains (4, 16, 17, 24, 26, 27, 28, 35, 39, 40, 60, 63); square or rectangular posthole/postmold stains (features 12, 13, 21, 25, 29, 30, 31, 53, 54, 55, 57), small trash-filled pits (features 5, 10, 14, 34, 48, and 64); and irregular or poorly defined areas of unknown function.

The two well-defined structural features were of the highest interest. Feature 7 was the first encountered. It was defined as a linear stain with very well-defined edges, brown sand fill mottled with yellow sand and orange clay. First encountered in the north wall of N235E145, N235E165 and N235E190, the feature underlay two large drainage ditches (features 11 and 15) and a number of smaller pits and posts (particularly feature 10; figure 38). Adjacent units were excavated to fully expose this wall and determine its dimensions. Efforts to locate corners proved to be in vain, however, and the feature was ultimately determined to be 65 feet in length. Feature 7 ended in N235E205, where the east end of the feature was truncated by a third drainage ditch, (feature 43). No corner or perpendicular wall could be detected, either to the north or to the south. Excavation efforts then focused on the western end, encountered in N234E145. The feature was not encountered in N235E135, so it was determined that the wall must end in the E140 line; however, excavation of N225E140 failed to reveal any evidence of a perpendicular wall to the south. Thus excavation of feature 7 concluded for this season without encountering any firm evidence of a terminating point or a corner to the south. Two additional bits of structural evidence were encountered, however; these were interpreted as internal (room dividing) walls or external buttressing walls. Feature 42 was encountered in N235E155 and was of the same definition as feature 7. This was a brown sand highly

↑ Excavations in progress; mapping feature 7

Figure 37



(Numbers indicate feature designations)

Figure 38

mottled with yellow sand and orange clay. Feature 42 continue the length of the 5' unit, and so its complete dimensions were not determined. Excavation of a sample of feature 42 and of feature 7 in this unit revealed that the features were connected, had straight sides and flat bottoms, and were .4 feet deep (figure 39). The feature 7 sample contained window glass, nail fragments, colono ware and combed and trailed slipware. The soil was highly mottled throughout, and there was no evidence of individual posts in any of these excavated samples. Feature 36 in N235E180 was comparable in size and appearance to feature 42, but was not excavated. We did, however, quickly excavate a trench to the south to follow feature 36 and determine its size. The southern limit of feature 36 was encountered 6.3' south of its termination with feature 7.

Based on our assumption that feature 7 was the northern wall of a large structure and that features 36 and 42 were internal dividing walls, we began excavating units south of the N235 line in an attempt to locate a parallel wall. Units were excavated at N220E195 and N220E205; additional features were located, but none were parallel to and comparable to feature 7. Most interesting was feature 41, which on initial inspection appeared to be a narrow trench with small, closely set circular post stains. This resembled evidence for 17th century paling fences, as noted on Fair Bank plantation, Daniels Island and St. Mary's City, Maryland (Zierden et al. 1986); however, this feature became less clear as troweling and excavating of the unit continued (figure 37).

Excavation of units along the N220 line did not reveal a parallel wall for feature 7, but did reveal a second structure of similar construction. This was defined as feature 44, and the northwest corner of this structure was encountered in Unit N220E200. Unlike feature 7, the structure represented by feature 44 exhibited a continuous foundation trench, and ultimately portions of three walls were exposed in units along the N220 line. The structure was represented by a continuous foundation, and portions of the east and west walls were exposed in separate 5 foot units (figure 40). The northern wall was 15 feet long. Located at the interior of each corner, and intruding into the trench, were two large circular stains, interpreted as posts (Features 45 and 61). Neither of these were excavated. A 2-foot long sample of feature 44 was excavated to determine the nature and integrity of the foundation; this sample was excavated from the east wall, flush with the south profile. Excavation revealed that feature 44 had well-defined sides which sloped inward slightly, a flat bottom, and was 1.3 feet deep from the top of the defined feature. The feature fill contained only a few fragments of brick and some window glass (figure 41).

Based principally on orientation, three additional features may be associated with feature 44. All are ephemeral and extremely shallow. The aforementioned feature 41, the possible paling fence, was definitely aligned with the northwest corner of the structure, parallel to the north wall (figure 42). However, its extremely shallow nature makes its origin suspect. Slightly deeper are feature 59 and features 50 and 51, likely two surviving portions of the same deposit. Both of these are linear and parallel with the north wall of feature 44. Due to their ephemeral nature, its is not possible to determine their function. It appears that they are far less substantial than the wall trenches represented by the two buildings.

Elsewhere across the site were a large number of post stains, some circular and others rectangular or square. All seemed to reflect driven posts, and did not clearly exhibit

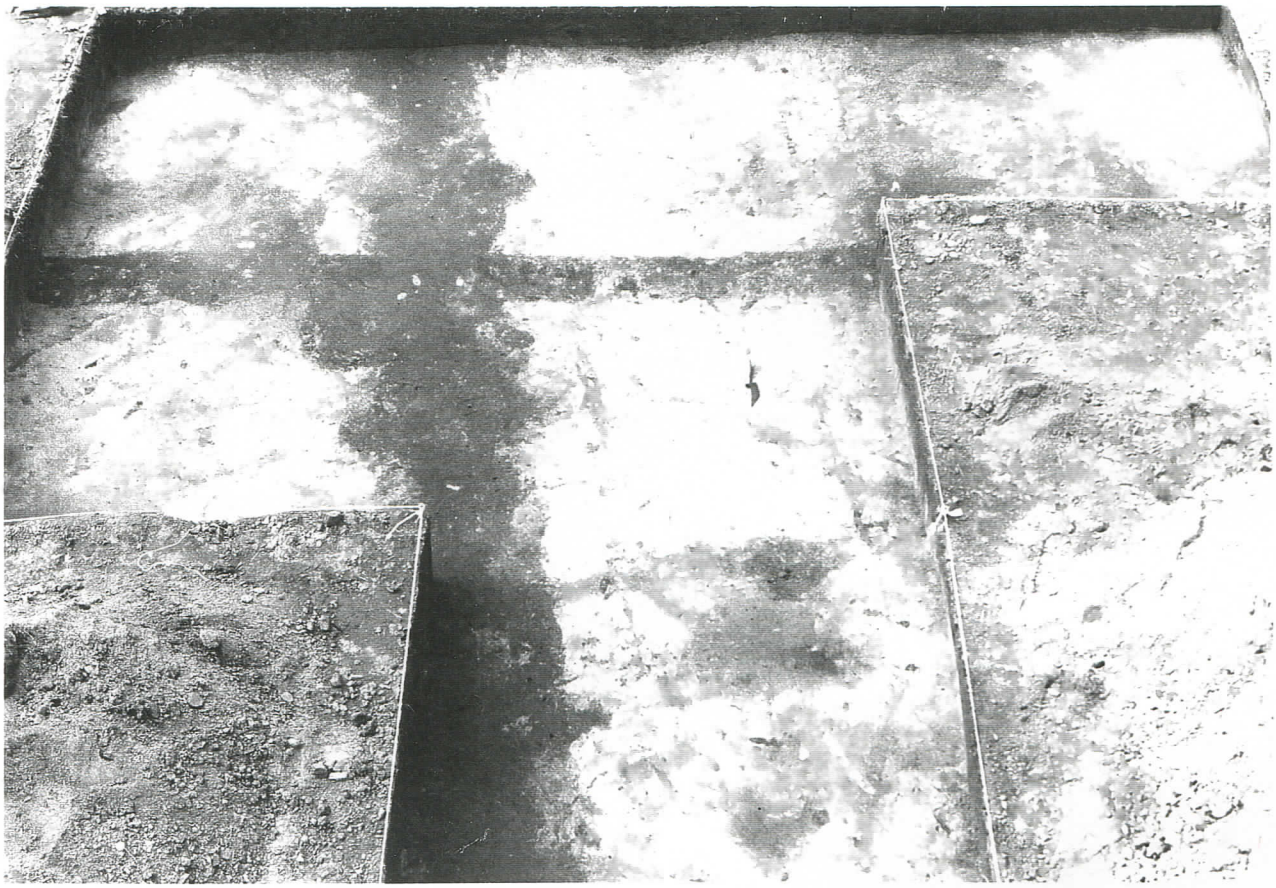


Figure 39 Feature 7 underlying feature 11

Figure 40 Feature 44 outline

Excavated sample of feature 44

Excavated sample of feature 42

Figure 41

Figure 42

Feature 41, possible paling fence

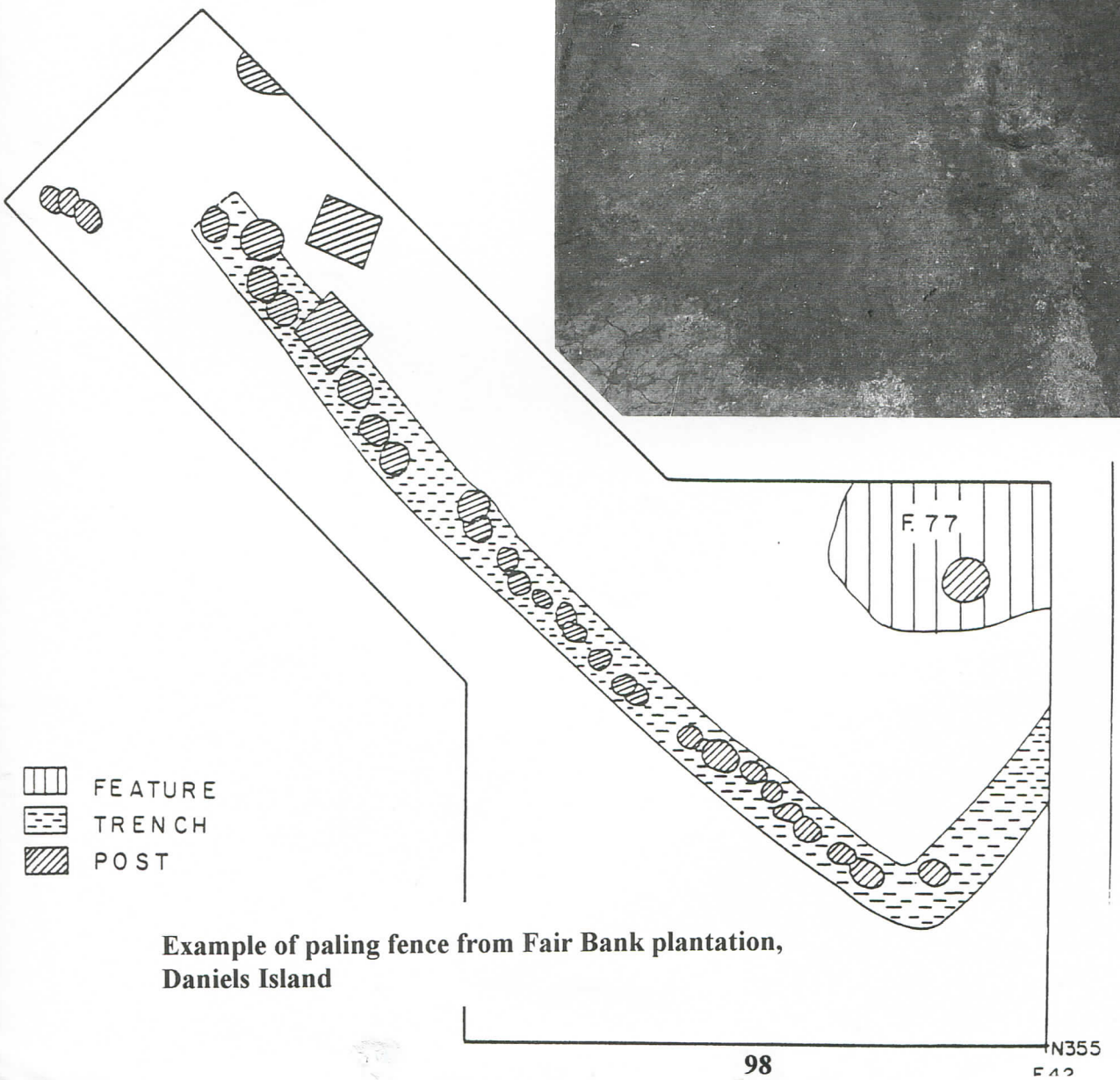


Figure 32

Example of paling fence from Fair Bank plantation, Daniels Island

posthole/postmold differentiation. None present a discernable pattern. Three possible posts were excavated. Feature 12 was a light stain that appeared rectangular in shape, with a darker circular stain in the southern portion. This was one of the first features encountered and excavated, in anticipation that it might represent a post-in-ground structure. The fill of the feature was virtually sterile, and no comparable posts were located. It is still possible that this feature reflects a structure, but this will require additional excavation. Feature 17 was located in the eastern portion of the site in N235E210, and appeared as a square post possibly intruding into features 18 and 19. It was extremely shallow and if reflecting a post than only the very base remained. The brown and gold mottled fill contained a brick fragment. Features 18 and 19 were likewise shallow and poorly defined upon excavation. They contained slipware and brick fragments, and so are related to the Willtown buildings, but they make no contribution to our understanding of architecture on these lots.

Feature 34 was defined as a possible square postmold, located beneath feature 10 and in turn intruding into feature 7. Because of this truncation, it was difficult to clearly define feature 34, but the fill contained a fragment of delft. Feature 39 was a circular stain that appeared to intrude into feature 11, and so was excavated prior to the sampling of feature 11. Feature 39 was .3' deep and contained iron and brick fragments. The best defined postmold was feature 55, a rectangular feature with sloping bottom and straight sides, .4 feet deep. No artifacts were recovered from this sample.

Two small pits were excavated. The most productive was feature 5, which was 1.4 feet in diameter and .4 feet deep. It contained a large fragment of bone and nail fragments. Feature 10 was a small pit intrusive into feature 7, and so was excavated to aid in dating feature 7. The small pit was shallow (.5 feet deep) with sloping sides and rounded bottom. It contained prehistoric pottery.

Table 3
List of Features

Fea#	Description	Function	Association	TPQ
1	rectangular area	possible posthole		
2	circular area	residual plowzone		
3	irregular area	possible structure	part of feature 7	
4	circular are	possible posthole		
5	circular area	small trash pit		
6	rectangular area	unknown	underlies fea 5	
7	linear mottled area	wall trench	fea 42, fea 7a	slipware
8	irregular area	unknown		
9	irregular area	unknown		
10	circular area	small pit	ovelies fea 7	prehistoric pottery
11	large linear area	drainage ditch	overlies fea 7	creamware
12	rectangular area	posthole/postmold		prehistoric pottery

13	rectangular area	possible postmold		
14	large mottled area	possible pit		
15	large linear area	drainage ditch	overlies fea 7	Edgefield pottery
16	circular area	possible post		
17	circular area	possible post		brick
18	irregular area	unknown; shallow		slipware
19	linear area	unknown; shallow		brick
20	linear area	possible drainage ditch		
21	rectangular area	posthole		
22	irregular area	unknown		
23	irregular area	unknown		
24	circular area	possible post		
25	square stain	postmold		
26	circular area	possible post		
27	circular area	possible post		
28	small circular area	possible post		
29	square stain	postmold		
30	square stain	postmold		
31	square stain	possible postmold/posthole		
32	circular area	unknown		
33	irregular area	unknown		
34	circular area	small pit	under fea 10	delft
35	circular area	possible post	intrudes into fea 11	
36	linear area	external wall to fea 7		
37	irregular area	unknown		
38	irregular area	part of feature 11		
39	circular stain	possible post		brick, iron
40	circular area	possible post		
41	linear trench w/ series of small circular stains;	possible paling fence	assoc. w. Feature 44	
42	linear trench	external wall to fea 7	assoc. w. Feature 7	creamware
43	large linear area	drainage ditch	assoc w. Feas 11 & 15	delft
44	linear trench	building fndn.	assoc.w. feas 45 & 61	window glass
45	circular pit	large posthole	assoc w. Fea 44	
46	irregular circular area	unknown		
47	irregular area	tree stain?		
48	circular area	trash pit?		
49	irregular area	residual midden?		no matl.
50	rectangular stain	possibly architectural?		
51	rectangular stain	possibly architectural?		
52	rectangular stain	possibly architectural?		
53	square stain	posthole		
54	square stain	posthole		
55	square stain	posthole		no matl.

56	linear area	drainage ditch	
57	rectangular stain	two posts	
58	oval area`	unknown	
59	linear area	possibly architectural; poorly defined	
60	circular area	possible post; poorly defined	
61	circular area	large post	assoc. w. feature 44
62	irregular area	possible post	
63	circular area	possible post	
64	round stain	possible trash pit	under feature 11

Description of Recovered Artifacts

Artifacts collected from 38Ch482a include those from two controlled surface collections, from the excavated plowzone, and from excavated features. Materials collected from the surface and from the plowzone are shown in table 4. They are grouped by functional categories (South 1977) in table 5. The assemblage from all three collections is quite sparse, and dominated by historic ceramics. The ceramics range from utilitarian to tablewares, and dominated by types popular in the early 18th century. Other artifacts include a few architectural items, tobacco pipe fragments, clothing and arms items. No luxury items, such as those usually classified as furniture or personal items, were recovered. The plowzone assemblage, the largest of the three, contained the greatest variety of materials and is perhaps best representative of the surviving site assemblage.

The most common ceramics were those traditionally associated with an early eighteenth century occupation: delft, combed and trailed slipware, blue on white oriental porcelain, and various utilitiarian stonewares. The earliest tableware was delft, a tin-enamelled coarse earthenware of English manufacture. Delft came in table and teawares, as well as chamber pots, ointment pots, and other larger forms. The ware was available in undecorated vessels, or featured hand painted designs in blue or a palette of colors, classified by archaeologists as polychrome. Popular throughout the 17th century, delft was not very durable, and rapidly declined in popularity in the second half of the 18th century (Austin 1994; Martin 1994). Delft comprised 15% of the surface ceramics and 11% of the plowzone ceramics.

Combed and trailed slipwares from the Staffordshire potteries were also common. Manufactured from the late 17th through the 18th centuries, these wares feature a clear to yellowed glaze over a variety of clay slips applied to a buff-colored paste. Vessel forms include hollow wares such as mugs or cups; these are often glazed on both the interior and exterior, and the exterior is decorated with brown dots and trailed designs. The large shallow bowls and plates have a thicker paste, are glazed only on the interior, and feature combed and trailed slips in a variety of brown and yellow hues. Slipwares were an additional 14% of the ceramic assemblage. A comparable coarse earthenware is manganese mottled ware, or Mottled ware, which exhibits the speckled, buff colored paste typical of Staffordshire earthenware. The vessel is glazed in a thick dark brown, and manganese inclusions give it a speckled appearance. The glaze is often thin near the lip and puddles in the

bottom of tankards or mugs. Mottled ware was maunfactured from 1680 to 1750; a single fragment was recovered from the plowzone. Southern European ware is the name given to a distinctive coarse earthenware with sandy salmon and grey paste and an apple-green lead glaze. Though no formal name or source is known for this type, it is found consistently across the Lowcountry, principally in 18th century contexts. Because it appears comparable to other circum-Mediterranean ceramics, the descriptive term "southern European ware" was given in 1984. The ware is principally large utilitarian forms such as cream pans and crocks. Four fragments of unnamed lead glazed utilitarian earthenwares were also recovered.

Utilitarian stonewares were also common. Westerwald stoneware is a grey-bodied ware decorated in blue. They were manufactured in the Germanic region and dominated the stoneware market in the 17th and 18th centuries, declining in popularity after 1760. The later Westerwald vessels were typically jugs or chamber pots; earlier assemblages were dominated by reed-necked cylindrical jars, featuring elaborate combed, scratched, or sprigged decorations painted in blue. The Willtown pieces are too fragmentary to clearly identify vessel type. Westerwald was between 7 and 8% of the ceramics. Brown saltglazed stoneware was also from the Germanic region, and such wares were in use throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. Brown saltglazed stoneware principally came in large jugs, and was manufactured until 1775 (Noel Hume 1969; Gaimester 1997). This ware was only 4% of the surface collection, but 11% of the plowzone ceramics.

Two examples of finer stonewares were recovered. The plowzone excavations yielded three fragments of Nottingham stoneware, manufactured from 1700 to 1810. This ceramic features a grey stoneware body and a lustrous brown glaze over a thin white slip. The vessels often feature distinctive incised and rouletted decorations. The most common form are small bowls and other hollow ware forms. Elers ware is an unglazed fine red-bodied stoneware, most often in teapots. A single fragment was recovered from the plowzone excavations. Elers ware was developed in 1763 and made until 1775.

One of the most distinctive ceramic products of the 18th century was white saltglazed stoneware. These molded wares were durable and attractive, but relatively expensive. Slip-dipped stonewares, first manufactured about 1720, are distinguished by a band of brown slip around the rim and a slightly off-white glaze. The elaborately molded white table and tea wares were first developed in 1740. These were manufactured into the 1770s, when they were rapidly replaced with refined earthenwares (Martin 1987). Five fragments of slip-dipped stoneware were recovered from the plowzone. White saltglazed stoneware was 8% of the surface ceramics and 5% of the plowzone wares.

The most common tableware, after delft, was Oriental porcelain. Chinese porcelain was the most expensive and most desired of all colonial ceramics. It was relatively scarce in the 17th century and thus indicative of wealth. By the second half of the 18th century, Chinese porcelain had become more readily available in the colonies, particularly in major ports such as Charleston. Twenty pieces of porcelain decorated in blue and white hand painting and two fragments of overglazed decorated porcelain were recovered from the three collections; porcelain was 8% of the plowzone ceramics.

The refined earthenware revolution began in 1740 when Josiah Wedgwood and other Staffordshire potters developed a cream-bodied earthenware molded in pleasing, but affordable table and tea wares. The earliest was Whieldon ware, developed in 1740 and popular until 1760; a single fragment was recovered from the plowzone. A revolution in ceramic manufacture followed, when Wedgwood developed a refined earthenware with a cream colored glaze which he called cream colored ware. Perfected in the 1760s, creamware rapidly became immensely popular due to its durability, affordability, and availability in a wide variety of vessel forms and matched sets. Wedgwood matched his potting abilities with marketing savvy; by the 1770s creamware was 'the rage' and could be found in every corner of the world (Martin 1994). Creamware is quite common at 38ch482a, comprising 28% of the surface ceramics and 16% of the plowzone ceramics.

It is presently uncertain if the creamware is part of, and indicative of, the Willtown occupation of lots 41, 42 and 45, or reflective of subsequent plantation activity. The 1794 plat of Charles Freer's plantation, which lists this area as "formerly various Willtown lots" shows a small outbuilding in the southern portion of this field (figure 24), and this is certainly the source of the few fragments of pearlware (1780-1820), whiteware (1830-1860) and 19th century stonewares. But given its presence in such numbers, it would appear that the mid-18th century creamware was part of the Willtown occupation, and thus suggests that the encountered buildings were utilized through the 1760s.

The final ceramics were those made by Native Americans during the Willtown era or by newly imported Africans. Colono wares comprised 10% of both the surface ceramics and plowzone vessels. These ceramics have long been of interest to South Carolina archaeologists, as they are found in great quantity on Lowcountry sites of the 18th century. Most scholars believe that the bulk of these wares were manufactured on plantations by enslaved African Americans (Anthony 1986; Ferguson 1992). Some later colono wares may be the product of itinerant Indian potters traveling the lowcountry; specific references in the early 19th century mention Catawba indians making and selling pottery. The manufacture and distribution network of these wares is poorly understood and is currently receiving attention (Crane 1993). Even less well identified are the ceramics of Indian groups in the 18th century. These types are not well defined, and very little work has been done on these sites. The current expert scholar Chester DePratter suggests that the types will be poorly defined due to the constant movement and realignment of Native groups during this volatile period (DePratter 1990; see also Ferguson 1999). Three fragments of pottery recovered from the plowzone appear to be of Native manufacture.

Table or bottle glass fragments were far less common than ceramics. Only four fragments of hand-blown olive green glass bottles were recovered from the surface; 34 fragments were recovered from the plowzone. The plowzone soils also yielded 9 fragments of clear bottle glass and a single fragment of a drinking glass. The site also yielded three gun flints and a flintlock mechanism (figure 108). Clothing items included a single brass button and a clothing hook, both from the plowzone. A single tobacco pipe fragment was recovered from the site surface.

Artifacts relating to architecture were equally sparse, comprising 14% of the plowzone assemblage and none of the surface materials. This group included 25 nails or nail fragments and three fragments of window glass.

Table 4
Summary of Collected Artifacts

	1st Surface coll.	2nd Surface coll	Excavated p.z.
Delft	15	1	17
Slipware, Combed & Trailed	10	5	19
Mottled ware	-	-	1
Brown Saltglaze Stoneware	-	4	17
Westerwald stoneware	4	1	11
Nottingham stoneware	-	-	3
Southern European ware	1	1	8
Lead glazed earthenware	1	-	3
Oriental porcelain, b/w	6	2	12.
Oriental porcelain, o.g.	1	-	1
Slip-dipped white saltglaze	-	-	5
White saltglazed stoneware	7	2	7
Whieldon ware	-	-	1
Elers ware	-	-	1
Creamware	18	12	25
Pearlware, var. types	2	1	6
Whiteware	-	1	1
Colono ware, yaughan	7	3	15
Colono ware, Lesesne lust.	1	-	2
Historic Native American	-	-	3
green bottle glass	2	2	34
clear bottle glass	-	-	9
table glass	-	-	1
nail	-	-	25
window glass	-	-	3
gun part	-	-	1
English flint	-	1	2
button	-	-	1
hook & eye	-	-	1

tobacco pipe	-	1	-
Mean Ceramic Date	**1755**	**1763.1**	**1756.8**

Table 5
Artifacts by Function

	1st Surface coll.		2nd Surface coll.		Excavated p.z.	
Kitchen, ceramics	73	97.3%	33	89.1%	158	78.2%
Kitchen, glass	2	2.6%	2	5.4%	44	21.7%
Architecture	0	--	0	--	28	13.8%
Arms	0	--	1	2.7%	3	1.4%
Clothing	0	--	0	--	2	1.0%
Personal	0	--	0	--	0	--
Furniture	0	--	0	--	0	--
Tobacco Pipes	0	--	1	2.7%	0	--
Activities	0	--	0	--	0	--

Artifacts excavated from the various features support the evidence from the plowzone. The fourteen features sampled all contained very sparse artifacts; one or two sherds, or perhaps just a few brick fragments. The pits and postholes that contained datable material include Feature 18 and Feature 34; these contained combed and trailed slipware and delft, respectively. The others, features 5, 10, 12, 17, 19, 39, and 49 contained only brick fragments.

The sampled architectural features, feature 7, feature 42, and feature 44 contained very few artifacts. Feature 7 contained one fragment of combed and trailed slipware, while feature 44 held a single fragment of window glass and one of historic Native American pottery. Feature 42, the foundation remnant of a buttressing or lean-to wall did contain a fragment of creamware.

The drainage ditch features, 11, 15, and 43 contained slightly larger artifact assemblages, though in proportion to amount of soil excavated the artifact density is probably comparable. The fill of these features is actually plowzone soils pushed into the ditches in the 20th century after the field was no longer used for agriculture. Though they vary from feature to feature, the artifact assemblages from these three filled ditches are basically similar to the artifact profile from the excavated plowzone. The recovery of two fragments of Edgefield stoneware (1800-1880) confirm the filling of the ditches as a post-Willtown event. Artifact content for the features are shown in table 6 below.

Table 6
Artifact Assemblage from Willtown features

Feature 5
brick and mortar

Feature 7
1 aqua pharmaceutical glass
1 combed and trailed slipware
1 colono ware
4 u.d. nails
4 aboriginal pottery
6 chert flakes
brick

Feature 10
1 Deptford pottery
1 flint flake
1 brick fragment

Feature 12
brick fragments

Feature 17
brick fragments

Feature 18
1 combed and trailed slipware
1 fragment shell

Feature 19
brick fragments

Feature 34
l delft fragment

Feature 39
brick fragments

Feature 44
1 historic aboriginal
1 window glass

Feature 49
no material

Feature 43
1 delft
1 aboriginal pottery
1 olive green glass
1 u.d. nail
brick fragments.

Interpretations

Limited testing at 38Ch482a revealed evidence of occupation of lots 41, 42, and 45 during the first half of the 18th century, the period of Willtown's flourescence. The very sparse artifact assemblage confirms the date of occupation, but provides little other data on the daily activities at the site. The assemblage, in fact, suggests very little full-time domestic use. While the discovery of two building foundations suggest permanent occupation, this does not appear to be domestic habitation.

The nature of the buildings uncovered remains enigmatic. The regular, linear outline of features 7 and 44 clearly indicate that they are architectural in nature. Further, their sharp definition and regular shape suggests that they are construction trenches rather than destruction trenches. Further, they are well defined below subsoil, with straight sides, flat bottom, and regular mottled fill. However, they are not characterized by features common to colonial construction. Most early 18th century structures in Carolina, and elsewhere on the eastern seaboard, were either wall trench or earthfast construction (Carson et al. 1988; Ferguson 1992). The former consisted of upright posts set in a contiguous trench; this is reflected archaeologically in a trench similar to those at Willtown, containing the dark stains of upright wooden posts at regular intervals. No post stains were visible in the tops of these features, and none were encountered in profile during excavation of feature samples. If the trench was not used for the placement of upright posts, then its exact function is unclear (Bernie Herman, personal communication; Willie Graham, personal communication). It is possible that the trenches were for mud sill construction, where a beam was laid in or on the ground horizontally, and the building rose from these; however, this style of architecture would not require a trench of the dimensions and depth encountered in feature 44.

The later, more common form of architecture, earthfast houses, were supported by upright posts set in the ground, with the building arising from them (Carson et al. 1988). These are reflected archaeologically by a series of square postmolds in individual postholes set at regular intervals. With the exception of feature 12, no such features were encountered at this site.

Two additional architectural features bear discussion. The first is the large round posts intrusive into feature 44, located inside the two corners. Though their position strongly suggests that they are architectural in nature, associated with the building reflected by feature 44, their purpose and and date remain obscure. If feature 44 represents a construction trench, and one for a mud-sill foundation, then the intrusive posts cannot also be foundation for such a building, as it would have sat directly on the ground. By their nature, the posts would have supported beams at some distance above the ground. It is possible that they represent a re-building episode, in a different style; since these features were not excavated it is not possible to determine this at this time. There is some precedent for rebuilding a trench structure with an earthfast structure at Lesesne plantation (Zierden et al. 1986). Here, a series of individual posts with large holes were intrusive into a contiguous trench foundation. Here, however, the intrusive postholes contained numerous artifacts which successfully dated the rebuilding to the late 18th century. The underlying trench was contiguous on four sides, like feature 44, but exhibited numerous vertical dark post stains at regular intervals in a mottled trench fill.

A second issue is the recovery of a single sherd of creamware in the fill of feature 42. This is a secondary wall on feature 42, interpreted as a buttressing wall or the wall of a lean-to addition. The addition of creamware in the fill would suggest that the feature was constructed after 1760, presumably when the site no longer functioned as part of Willtown. Alternatively, this could be supportive of the idea that these are demolition trenches rather than construction trenches. It is possible that the building trenches originally included upright posts, and that these were pulled out when the buildings were abandoned, but negative evidence is always less than satisfying.

Leaving these troubling questions aside, we move to interpretation of the function of the buildings and the site. Though the artifact assemblage is dominated by kitchen wares, the lack of variety in the artifact assemblage, and the very low density of artifacts and food remains, would suggest that this was not used as a domestic habitation site. Further, historical architect Bernard Herman has suggested that (to date) the uncovered buildings show no signs of a fireplace, for heating or cooking; this is further evidence for a non-domestic use. The large size of feature 7 suggests instead a barn or store house. It was originally believed that features 6 and 42 represented internal dividing walls, but Herman has suggested external buttressing walls instead. Alternately, historical architect Willie Graham has suggested a lean-to shed or addition. In any case, our efforts to locate a parallel wall to the south were apparently incorrect, and additional excavation to the north is needed. Both architects have suggested that feature 44 is also non-domestic, perhaps a store. This architectural interpretation is certainly supported by the sketchy property history. A possible scenario is that feature 7 was a storehouse for deerskins and other bartered goods, and that feature 44 was a store. The slough to the north was likely navigable for barge or periagua traffic, and these materials could have been easily loaded and transported to Charleston. Such interpretation is bolstered somewhat by the ownership of other lots adjacent to this slough by merchants.

Clearly the limited testing at this site has raised more questions than it has answered. The site was chosen for testing because surface finds suggested a Willtown-era occupation at the site. The discovery of intact, architectural features confirms this, and clearly indicates that a portion of Willtown has been found. The features uncovered to date tentatively suggests that we have located a commercial, rather than residential, portion of Willtown, possibly the store and warehouse of James Bulloch or Henry Yonge.

Certainly additional excavation will be necessary to confirm or amend these interpretations. Excavations to the north are necessary to locate the additional walls of Feature 7 and determine its final configuration. Completing the exposure of feature 44 is simpler in that the foundation is contiguous, and additional adjacent units could be excavated until the structure is fully exposed. There may be additional structures present as part of this complex.

The numerous postholes encountered may reflect additional structures or features, such as sheds or fences. Since the three lots seem to have been granted, leased, sold, and inherited as a unit, perhaps there were no such internal subdivisions; still, the possibility of fencelines exists. In addition to these known features, there may well be additional aspects of this property that remain undetected. Willtown has been located, but additional work will be necessary to define the nature of this site.

Chapter V
The New Willtown Church - 38Ch1661

Introduction

Archaeological research began on the site of the new (1750s) Presbyterian Church with a visit to a neighboring tract, led by Mr. Hugh Lane on May 1, 1997. This property, also known as Willtown plantation, is located about three miles from Willtown Bluff, on the east side of County Highway 55 (figure 26). The property is currently owned by the family of the late Northrup Knox of Buffalo, New York, who generously allowed access to the property and funded an initital testing project.

Research into the location of the the second church began with the research of Suzanne Linder. Dr. Linder located a plat indicating the church location, with the distinctive landmark being the bend in the highway, and a straight avenue leading from it. She consulted with local historical expert and Charleston Museum board member Jack Boineau, who responded that he was familiar with the location. Willtown Plantation manager Dickie Godley then showed us a small cemetery, surrounded by fields and pine stands. This quarter-acre plot contained three gravestones and numerous unmarked depressions. A plowed fireline on the south side of the cemetery revealed brick fragments, window glass and hand wrought lath nails (figure 43, 44).

A larger site south of this (38Ch1660) has been interpreted as the parsonage associated with the church. This site was visually impressive. Mr. Godley described it as the "Indian Mound" and indeed it was a mound, but one of Euro-American origin. The mound of soil conceals an intact brick foundation that is of respectable size and impressive construction. Intact walls along the north and south sides are visible in the mounded earth, and have been more fully exposed in the past by Mr. Godley. The brick and mortar suggest an 18th century date of construction and the mound of earth seems to have formed gradually, after the structure burned in an apparently hot fire; melted bottle glass and burned pottery was recovered from the mound. The area around the mound has been left wooded, and the ground in this half-acre area is littered with brick rubble. A substantial brick well was noted north of the mound.

Open ground around the mound revealed a quantity of colonial period artifacts. Those recovered from this site include early 18th century ceramics, such as Westerwald stoneware (1670-1770), delft (1670-1775), white saltglazed stoneware (1740-1760) and colono ware. Later refined earthenwares include creamwares (1760-1820) and pearlwares (1780-1830). Forty one ceramics were collected in the short time spent at the site. The proximity of this site to the church site, and the date of the artifacts (mid 18th to early 19th century) led to the interpretation of this site as the parsonage. The artifacts recovered are consistent with a house site, and the foundations suggest one of substance.

Fieldwork

Based on the positive results of the May 1 visit, we determined to return to the Church site with the 1997 field school for testing. Shovel testing was conducted on July 8, 1997 and test excavations on July 29 to 30. The site is accessed by a dirt road directly from highway 55, due east west. The site is located at the intersection of an ancillary road, and is thus located north and east of this intersection. The area south of the dirt road is woods, and the area west of the ancillary road, an on the east side of the cemetery was planted in corn at the time of fieldwork (figure 43, 44).

Site work began with establishment of a Chicago grid. A key stake was placed on the south side of the road, in the wooded area, and given an arbitrary designation of N200E200. Grid north was established parallel to the ancillary road, 25° east of magnetic north. Grid points were established 150 feet to the north and 100 feet to the east. Shovel tests were placed at 20 foot intervals along the west side of the cemetery and in the suspected footprint of the church, along the southern edge of the graveyard. This latter area measured approximately 40 feet north/south by 80 feet east/west. Fourteen shovel tests were excavated in this area (see figure 44), and they yielded brick fragments, window glass and hand-wrought nails. The glass and nails were distributed between the E240 and E300 lines, while brick rubble began at the E220 line. The only other artifact retrieved was a kaolin pipestem. Six shovel tests along the west side of the cemetery (The E200 line from N230 to N350) yielded a single fragment of window glass. Three of these tests contained charcoal.

Test excavations followed in the suspected footprint of the church. Two 5 by 5 units, a 2.5 by 5 unit, and a 2 by 10 foot trench were excavated in a two day project. These excavations revealed a dark grey-brown loamy soil (10yr4/1) averaging .7 feet in depth, with extensive plow scars visible in the subsoil. Unit N255E240 revealed two distinct features intruding into subsoil. Feature 1 was a round posthole of brown sand mottled with white and grey sand, with a concentration of brick rubble in the center. The central posthole featured the light grey sand (10yr 5/2) and areas of orange sand (10yr6/4), indicative of burning. Feature 2 was a rectangular post stain of mottled light brown-grey (10yr5/2) and white (10yr7/1) sand. Due to the limited nature of the project, these features were not excavated.

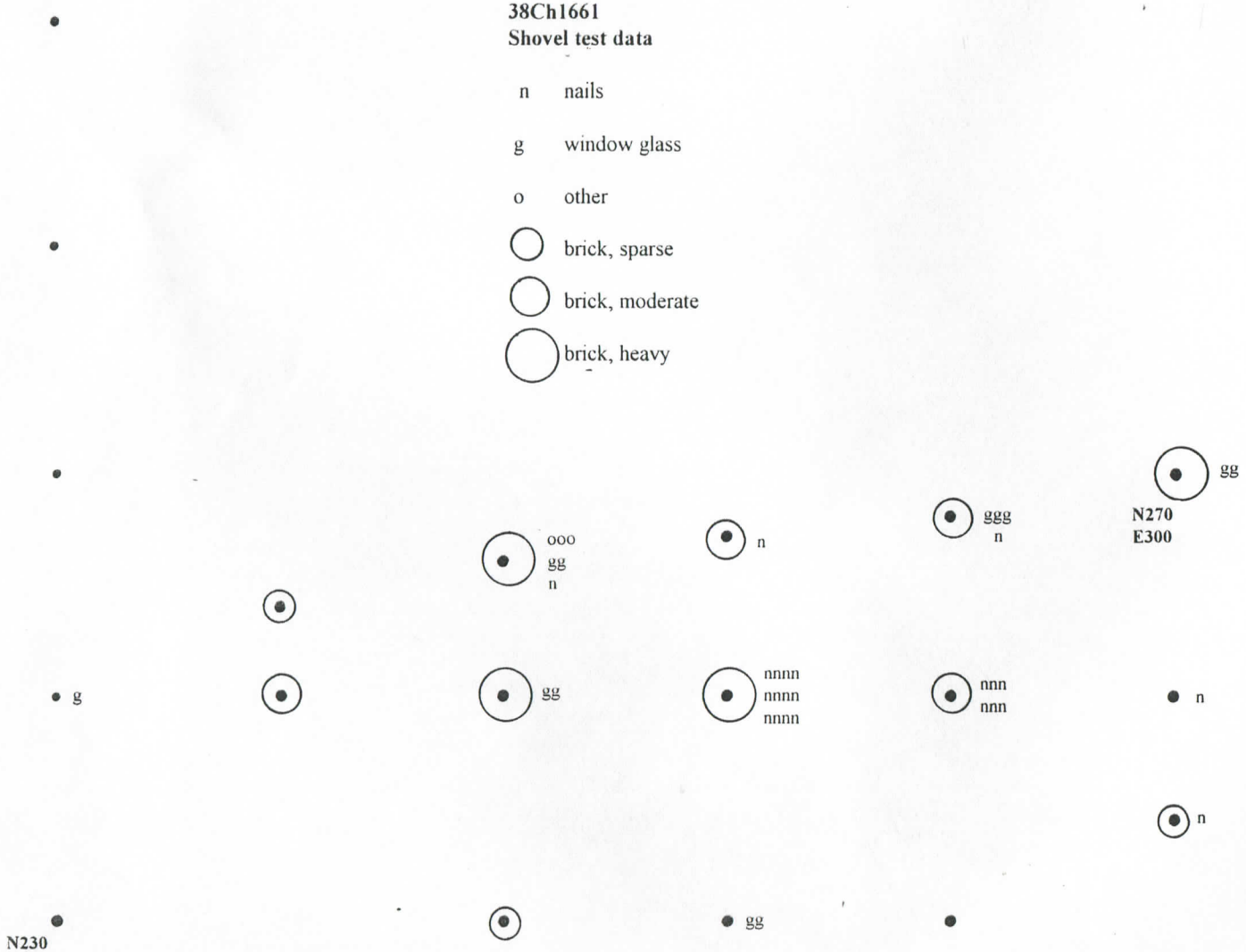
Unit N250E255 revealed similar stratigraphy. A dark area in the center of the unit, intruding into sterile subsoil, was tentatively interpreted as a post, but upon further inspection appeared ephemeral, and so was not designated. Like the previous unit, the subsoil here showed evidence of extensive damage and churning.

The third unit was excavated in the eastern area of architectural debris. Unit N255E282.5 was a 2.5 by 5 foot unit oriented north/south. This unit revealed a good bit of disturbance in the northern 2/3 of the trench, and a higher concentration of artifacts and dark soil in the southern third. The southern portion also fieatured an oval area of dark soil intruding into sterile; like features 1 and 2,

Figure 43

View of 38Ch1661, the Willtown Church

Figure 44


38Ch1661
Shovel test data
n nails
g window glass
o other
brick, sparse
brick, moderate
brick, heavy
ooo
gg
n
n
ggg
n
gg
N270
E300
g
gg
nnnn
nnnn
nnnn
nnn
nnn
n
n
gg
N230
E200

this deposit contained brick and mortar fragments. Feature 3 is in the same north/south location as features 1 and 2.

The final excavation was a 2.0 by 10.0 foot trench extending from the northeast corner of N2250E255. The goal of this unit was to intersect any posts or other structural members which might align with the previously discovered features. None were located in this trench, which exhibited heavy disturbance intruding into subsoil.

The results of the testing, then, were somewhat disappointing. They revealed an area which had received a great deal of post-occupational disturbance. The relatively shallow plowzone/topsoil layer here was not extensive enough to prevent subsurface disturbance as well. The few possible postholes were the only subsurface evidence of the structure itself. Despite these modest results, however, we remain fairly certain that this small area contains the footprint of the church. This is supported by the recovered artifacts (figure 44).

The Artifact Assemblage

The excavation units increased the relevant artifact assemblage significantly. The plowzone contained moderate amounts of brick rubble, handwrought nails, and window glass. The materials recovered conform to the suggested date of construction, as hand-wrought nails were the only type available until 1780; no post-1780 machine-cut nails were recovered. The hand-wrought nails were in excellent condition, as they had been hardened by a hot fire which delays oxidation. Those recovered include rose-head lath nails, between 20 and 30 mm in length, used for wall paneling or plaster lathing. The hand-wrought clasp nails, 50-80 mm in length, were likely from flooring.

The window glass also reflected the buring of the church, as much of it was melted or thermally altered to some degree. Unit N250E255 also yielded an iron item that may be a portion of a door lock. Distribution of these architectural materials is shown in the table below.

In addition to these, a very small number of domestic artifacts were recovered. Their principal signinficance lies in support of the date of occupation for this site. Recovered from the four excavation units were 3 fragments of colono ware, Yaughan variety and one of olive green bottle glass, and four tobacco pipe fragments, all typical of the 18th century. More specific were three fragments of Whieldon ware, manufactured between 1740 and 1760.

Table 7
Distribution of Excavated Artifacts

N255E240
47 hand-wrought rose head nails
11 hand-wrought clasp nails
11 unidentifiable nail fragments
88 aqua window glass
77 window glass, melted
2 Whieldon ware
3 colono ware
1 percussion cap
15 lbs brick rubble

N250E255
171 hand-wrought rose head nails
33 hand-wrought clasp nails
15 unidentifiable nail fragments
38 aqua window glass
19 window glass, melted
1 Whieldon ware
1 door lock part
34 lbs. brick rubble

N255E282.5
45 hand-wrought rose head nails
15 hand-wrought clasp nails
45 aqua window glass
101 window glass, melted
1 olive green bottle glass fragment
6.5 lbs brick rubble

N255E258
1 hand-wrought rose head nail

The Cemetery

No excavations were conducted in the cemetery. A map was produced with the transit, showing the extant limits of the cemetery, the extant markers, and the unmarked depressions (figure 45). Measurements were taken by angle and distance from two transit stations, and two measurements were taken of each linear feature. The cemetery contains two upright headstones, and a horizontal slab placed on a 3' high foundation. Sixteen unmarked depressions were located and mapped; these clustered in the center of the tract and in the southwestern corner. The extant cemetery measures 90 feet east/west by 85 feet north/south.

The three stones were mostly legible, and were recorded in their entirety. The largest, the horizontal crypt, measures 5 feet by 2.5 feet, and is a tribute to John Berkeley, dated 1806. The lengthy inscription provides key proof to the site's identity:

Raised by the hand
of
Filial Piety
This stone transmits to the posterity

The Memory
of
JOHN BERKLEY ESQ^{R}

Who died February 8th 1806
Berkley was the last male member
and Deacon
of the Church of Christ in this place
and lived to see it pass through successive changes
From its most flourishing state to its almost
intire extinction
In him to benevolence of heart politeness of manners
and the candor of a liberal mind
was united
the sincerity of the Christian
through a long life, his exemplary uniform undisembled
piety evinced the excellency and
the energy of the Religion he professed recommended
him to universal And secured to him the
friendship of the worthy and the good
He met the King of Terrors with the meekness and
tranquillity for which he was distinguished in life
and died in the joyful hope of a blissful immortality
in the 76th year of his age.

The two upright stones are less elaborate. The later of the two is the most difficult to decipher, and particularly difficult is the last name of the deceased:

In
Memory of
Henry Veitch
Who Died February
the 10 1811 Aged 23
plus 3 months and
15 days

The third stone is for a mother and daughter:

Here lies the Mortal Part ^{of}
M$^{rs.}$ SUSANNA MALTBY
Wife of
The Rev. John Maltby,

She was born in Bermuda
January 1st 1739.
And died August 9th 1770.
Aged 31 years 7 months
and 8 Days
Likewise of SUSANNA
their Daughter
born in Bermuda
July 9th 1769
and died July 17th 1770
Aged 1 year and
8 Days

The Documentary Evidence

The information contained on these stones collaborate the history of the church here, written by Slann Legare Clement Simmons in 1960. At that time Mrs. Simmons was Secretary of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, and she provides the following summary:

Following the death of Minister Archibald Stobo in 1741, the Presbyterian Meeting House "at Wilton" stood vacant. The Reverend Archibald Simpson noted in 1754 that a "chapel of ease had been built in the upper part of the congregation". Dissention between members in the 'south district' who preferred to remain at Willtown, and the 'north district' ensued during this time. Reverend Simpson noted continued contention during the subsequent decade, when he and Mr. John Alison served the church during a vacancy. Mr. James Stobo seemed to be a leader of the contentious group.

The new church, "now abuilding" in July 1767, was complete the following month when Mr. Simpson preached a sermon there. He mentions that the new Meeting house was "about four miles from the old one (at Willtown Bluff), and about three miles from the public path (Willtown Road), so that it is very convenient and centrical; it is a large handsome and very well built house - the pulpit and pews the same which used to be in the old brick meeting house." The contrasting remark about the "old brick" house suggests the new one was of wood. Mrs. Simmons notes incidentally that "Mr. Stobo had moved out of the parish, and all differences were made up" (Simmons 1960:151; figure 46).

The new minister was the Reverend John Maltby from Bermuda, installed in December 1769. Only a year later his daughter and wife died, and Simmons notes that they are buried in the churchyard of the "Burnt Church". She cites a manuscript of J.L. Girardeau, which states that "the remains of the ruins and a few grave stones which still stand in tolerable preservation. On one of

these is the name of John Berkeley, of honored memory, who was one of the deacons of the church, and on another that of mrs Maltby.... and nearby "signs of the place where the parsonage stood".

Rev. Maltby died one year after his wife and was buried in Dartmouth, New Hampshire. There followed a rapid succession of ministers, some deceased and others who moved on after a short tenure. On May 1, 1807, the congregation was asked to assemble at "the ruins of the church lately burnt." (Simmons 1960:152). A number of subscribers pledged money for the purpose "of rebuilding the Wilton Church, situate at Willtown Bluff". Those signing included Charles Freer, John Ashe, Paul Hamilton, and William Hayne. Simmons concludes that the abandoned church at Willtown was repaired for temporary use, before a new church was built in the Adams Run area. The above historical summary, then, agrees well with the archaeological evidence.

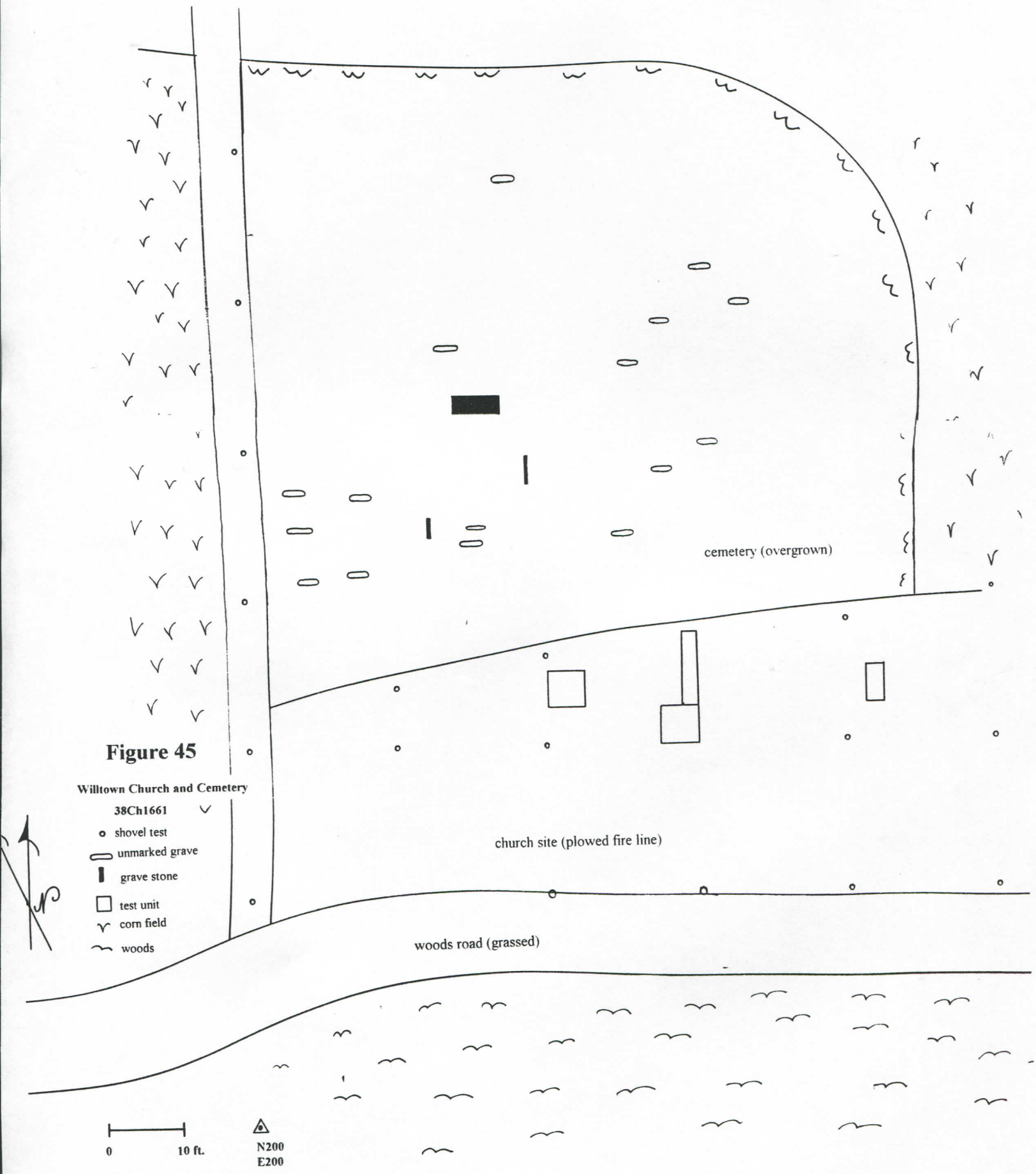

cemetery (overgrown)
church site (plowed fire line)
woods road (grassed)
Willtown Church and Cemetery
38Ch1661
shovel test
unmarked grave
grave stone
test unit
corn field
woods
0
10 ft.
N200
E200

Figure 45

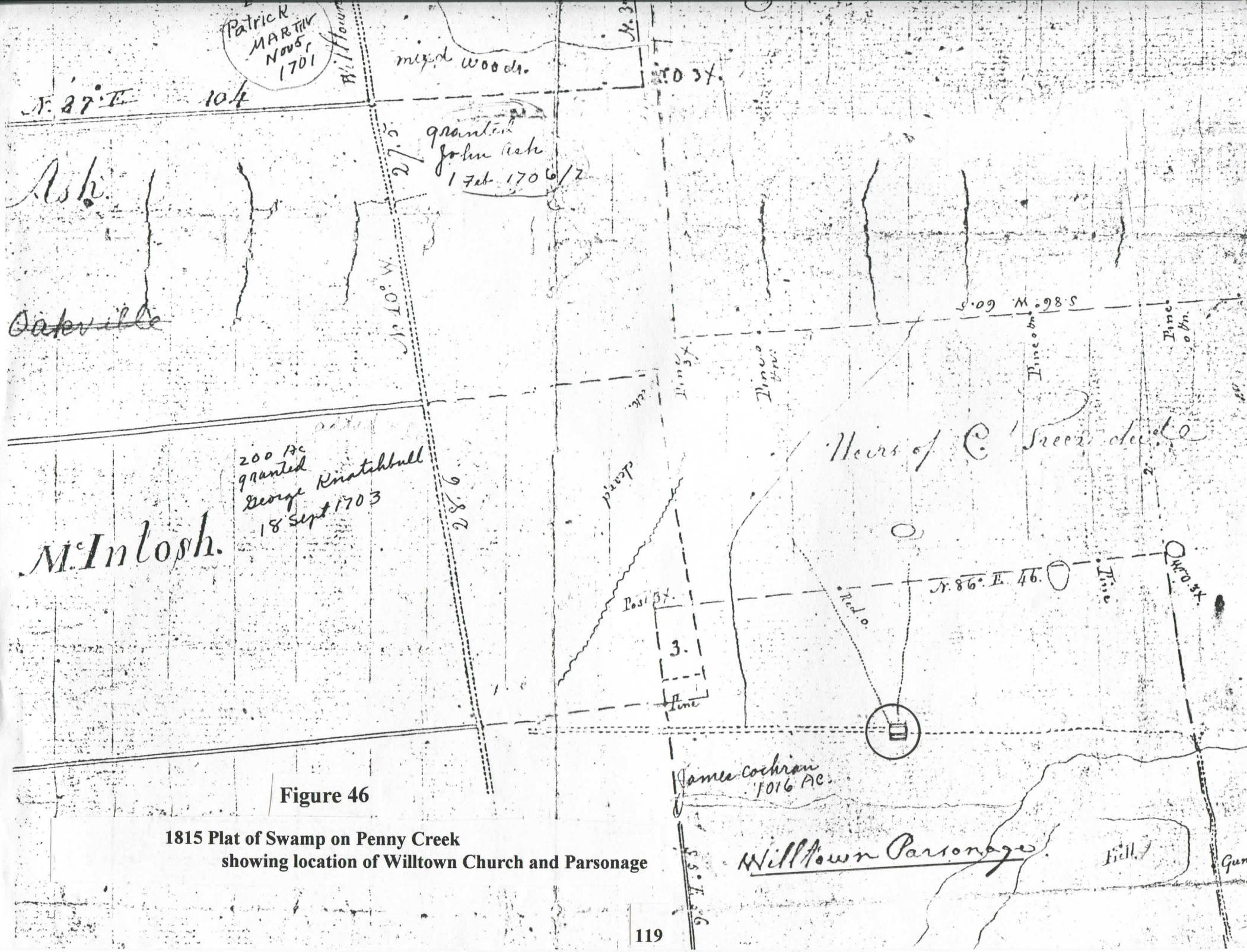


Figure 46

1815 Plat of Swamp on Penny Creek showing location of Willtown Church and Parsonage

Chapter VI
38Ch482D: Test Excavations at the Vats

Genevieve Brown, Andrew Agha, James Catto,
Elizabeth Garrett, Hayden Smith and Matthew Tankersley

Introduction

Field investigation of this site was prompted by Mr. Lane?s interest in the former function of 2 large concrete lined, rectangular structures. It has been suggested that these structures might be indigo vats; this is based on their clear delineation on a 1925 plat (figure 47). The site is located in proximity to 38Ch482d, or site 5, which was investigated and now believed to be the former location of the Freer plantation. Shovel tests within Site 5 recovered artifacts that postdate the Willtown settlement, yet would be contemporary with indigo production (1740 1778). Therefore, excavation of the site was conducted to document a connection to the Freer plantation and to determine that the structures in this area are indeed connected to indigo production.

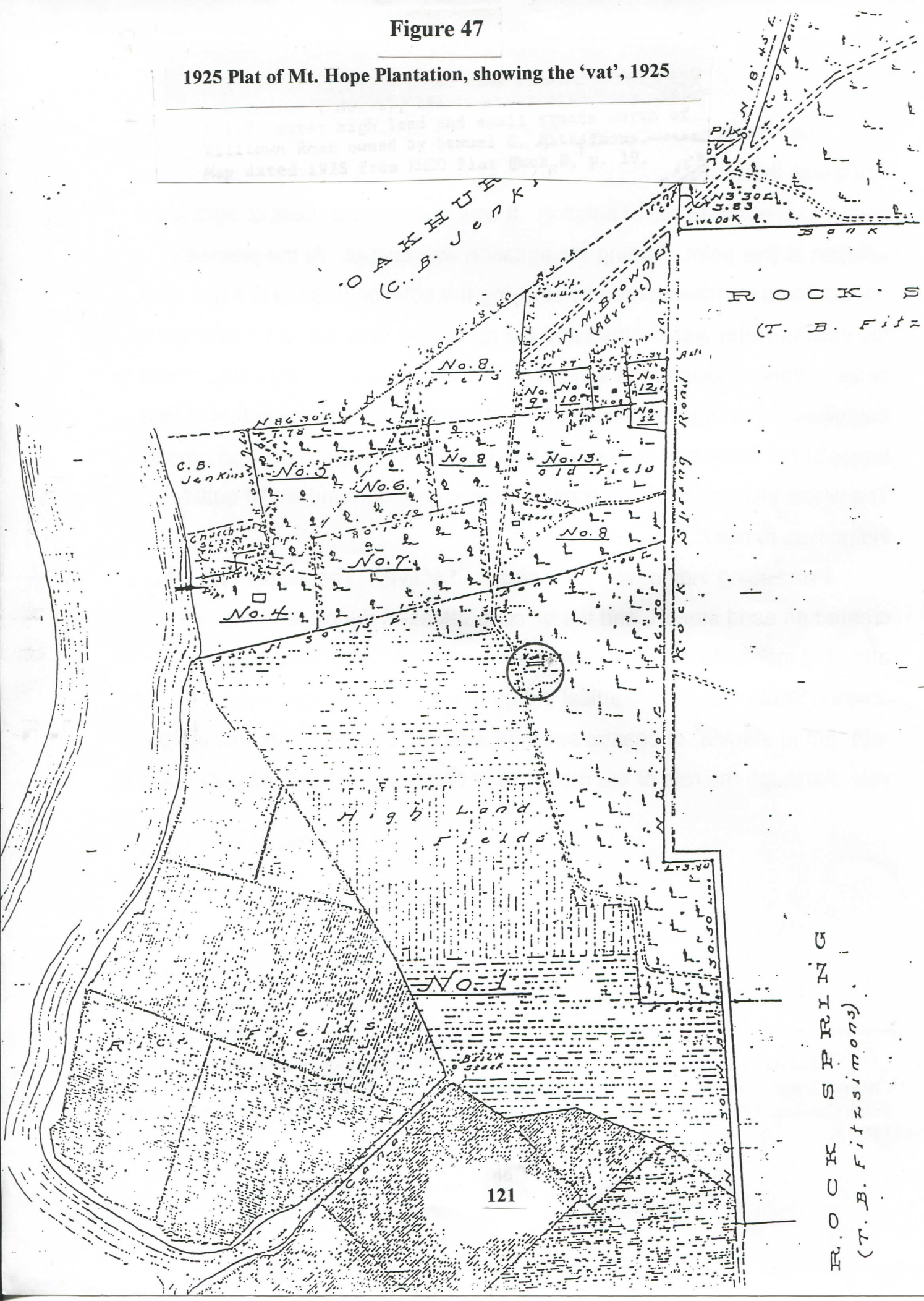
Historical Survey of 38CH482d

South east of Willtown Bluff, overlooking the Edisto River, lies the archaeological site 38CH482D. The site lies between hardwood forest and cleared pasture that extends from the bluff, and eventually slopes toward the Edisto flood plain on the southern end of the pasture. Willtown, like many Lowcountry plantations, has a direct connection with the natural environment. This connection includes a strategic location for living quarters and agricultural fields. Planters sought highlands on tidal rivers to prevent flood waters from reaching plantation structures, but as land sloped toward the river, several agricultural uses became available for the planter. In the case of Willtown, elevation determined the different utilities of land-use, such as grazing pastures and agricultural fields. On tidal rice plantations, slaves would convert land next to the river into a complex rice dike system. As rivers shaped the land over time, ecological variation occurred within the river basin. This variation made each plantation unique to the land by allowing planters to customize their efforts with the flow of the landscape; 38Ch482d is no exception to this connection.

This site existed on the Willtown community's south boundary during the seventeenth century. Although not included in the township's survey grid, the high land would have provided lumber for structures, fences, and boats. Domesticated animals foraged in these wooded areas during the early colonial era, only to become enclosed in "cowpens" by 1775 (Otto 1987:123-124). The level topography of 38Ch482d would encourage settlers to utilize this land for that purpose, but the failure of the Willtown community in the mid-eighteenth century led to aggressive land acquisitions by prosperous individuals. By 1759, this land was acquired by the James Stobo, son of the affluent Reverend Archibald Stobo (Linder 1997). This portion of the former Willtown settlement stayed in the Stobo family, passing between James Stobo and his son, James Stobo, Jr. and ~~eventually~~ probably to Morton Wilkinson Stobo.

Figure 47

1925 Plat of Mt. Hope Plantation, showing the 'vat', 1925



By acquiring a diverse topography, planters utilized higher ground for subsistence and commercial purposes while using the lowlands for the emerging tidal rice cultivation. This type of cultivation became common by 1783, allowing Stobo to capitalize on the transformation of Pon Pon Swamp into an agricultural machine (Porcher 1985: 15).

Due to the fact that many Colleton County deeds were destroyed during the Civil War, a gap in the chain of title exists from Stobo's ownership in the late 18th century until the Izard occupation in 1814. Ralph Izard came from an aristocratic family that occupied several successful rice plantations in Charleston County. He planted cotton and corn on higher lands and focused on rice cultivation closer to the Edisto. The Izards owned this tract, named Mt. Hope, for six years, but large amounts of rain in 1815 and a state-wide crop failure in 1816 caused poor rice harvests, making Izard's bond payments difficult. Eventually the declining property values, including slaves, from the Panic of 1819 and poor rice harvests influenced the family to sell Mt. Hope (Ralph Izard Papers).

Lewis Morris V, son of Ann Barnett Elliott and Lewis Morris IV, purchased Mt. Hope in January 1820 that consisted of 170 acres of "swamp" low land and 50 acres of "provision" high ground. By 1824, Morris V incorporated this tract with Willtown Bluff to form a successful working plantation (Linder 1995: 631; "Abstract of Title"). Morris consolidated 1400 acres by 1850 to produce 1,720,000 pounds of rice, 1,900 bushels of corn, and 1,000 bushels of sweet potatoes (Linder 1996: 632); and the family continued to cultivate the Mt. Hope property until 1871, when Edward Manigault Barnwell purchased Willtown Bluff plantation, Mt. Hope, Clarkes plantation, and Bonny Hall (Linder 1995: 634, "Abstract of Title"). After the Morris transaction, Mt. Hope remained in the Willtown Bluff tract.

Barnwell, a Charleston cotton factor, leased the land to sharecroppers and by 1885 had thirty-one people cultivating 241 acres of rice land (John Grimball Documents). The Barnwell heirs sold the tract to attorney John Grimball in 1885, who leased Mt. Hope to approximately twenty-four sharecroppers in return for five bushels of rice for each acre cultivated. Acreage varied among the farmers, between 102 acres to one and three-quarter acres, and reflected the amount of rice they produced. Grimball, for instance, made an agreement with A.R. Deas to plant "no less than 100 acres of rice land with rice" and care for the plantation in return for 10% of the rice sales revenue (John Grimball Documents). Many of the other sharecroppers, due to the limited amount of harvested land, lived a more subsistent lifestyle compared to Mr. Deas.

Grimball sold the plantation to Christopher FitzSimmons in 1893, who transferred the tract to Samuel G. FitzSimmons in 1911. William E. Harmon purchased the property in 1925; and in 1930, the Harmon family sold Willtown Bluff to Arthur Whitney. Hugh Lane purchased the plantation in 1945 and currently lives on the site (Hugh C. Lane file).

Site Description

Site 482d is located southeast of Willtown bluff. The site lies between a hardwood forest and cleared pasture. A woods road turning off south from Willtown road runs along the east side of the

fenced pasture, which contains the portion of the site tested in 1996. The current area of interest is to the east of this road. Allen Parks cleared the area dead trees that posed some danger before excavations commenced (figure 48). The area is approximately 120 feet by 120 feet; centered around the structures in question. The northern most structure is in the shape of a large rectangle, and is named Feature 1. Just south west of feature 1 is a long, narrow rectangular structure, which was designated as feature 2. Feature 3 is the southern most feature. It is a large circular depression in the ground, suggesting that it is a collapsed well (figure 49).

Field and Lab Procedures

Horizontal control was maintained by setting up a Chicago style grid. The keystake, designated as N100 E100, was established along the east side of the road just north of the pasture gate. This is the arbitrary Southwest corner of the site. Base lines for the grid were laid in using magnetic north, which is roughly parallel with the woods road. An eastwest base line was set in at N100. From this base line, two north south grid lines were set in with the transit, one at E130 and a second at E210. Tape was pulled between the two north south grid lines, and grid points were placed at ten foot intervals. Shovel tests were staggered at 20-foot intervals along these grid lines (figure 50).

Vertical control was maintained by using datum stakes placed at ground surface for each excavated unit. Depth was measured by using a line level and rulers. The unit datum points were then measured with the transit and a stadia rod. The permanent datum for the site is the southwest iron rod extending from feature 2.

Excavations were conducted by hand using shovel and trowel. All excavated dirt was screened through 1/4 inch mesh. Discrete Field Specimen (FS) numbers were assigned to artifacts collected from each specific provenience. Soil samples were taken from comparable proveniences. Site notes and photographic records where taken daily. Notes and maps were also taken for each excavated unit and shovel test.

Fieldwork began with excavation of one foot by one-foot shovel tests that were staggered at twenty-foot intervals along the east west grid lines. This plan involved a projection of fifty-shovel test. Several of these were not possible to excavate because of obstacles. During excavation, zones were not separated, thus each shovel test was considered a single provenience and assigned FS numbers accordingly. At least one profile was mapped for each shovel test, with labeled zones and features. The artifact assemblage derived from these shovel tests was applied to a map that then defines the depositional density of the cultural remains found.

fifty shovel tests ?

Five 5ft by 5ft units were excavated. These were installed in order to better understand the structures on the site. One unit was placed inside of feature 1 and the other four were placed around the east and west sides of feature 2. Due to time constraints, it was not possible to place units along the exterior walls of feature 1 to search for possible structural posts.

Figure 48 View of 38Ch482d, showing the location of the vats; View from the vats toward area tested in 1996

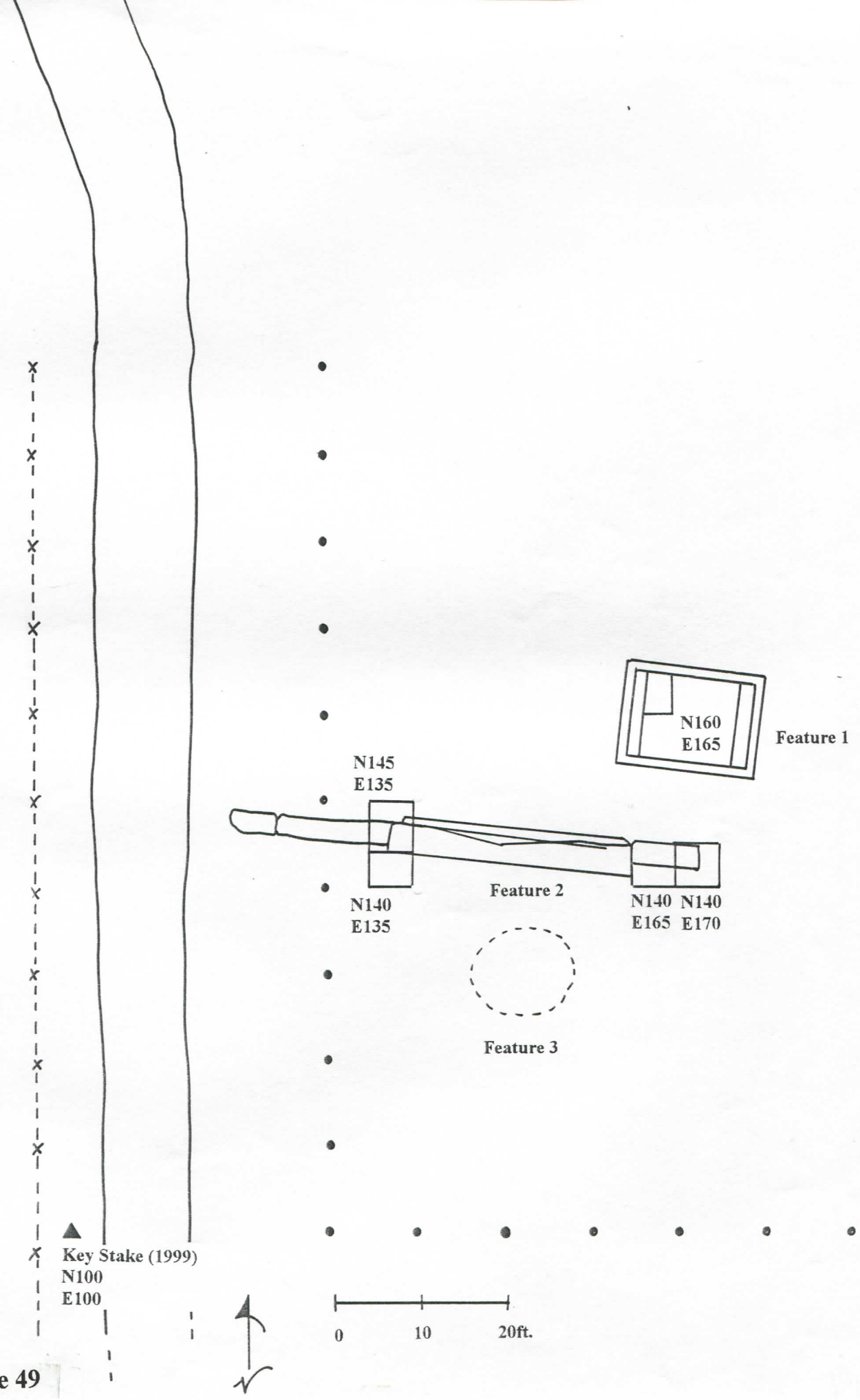

N160
E165
Feature 1
N145
E135
N140
E135
Feature 2
N140
E165
N140
E170
Feature 3
Key Stake (1999)
N100
E100
0
10
20ft.

Figure 49

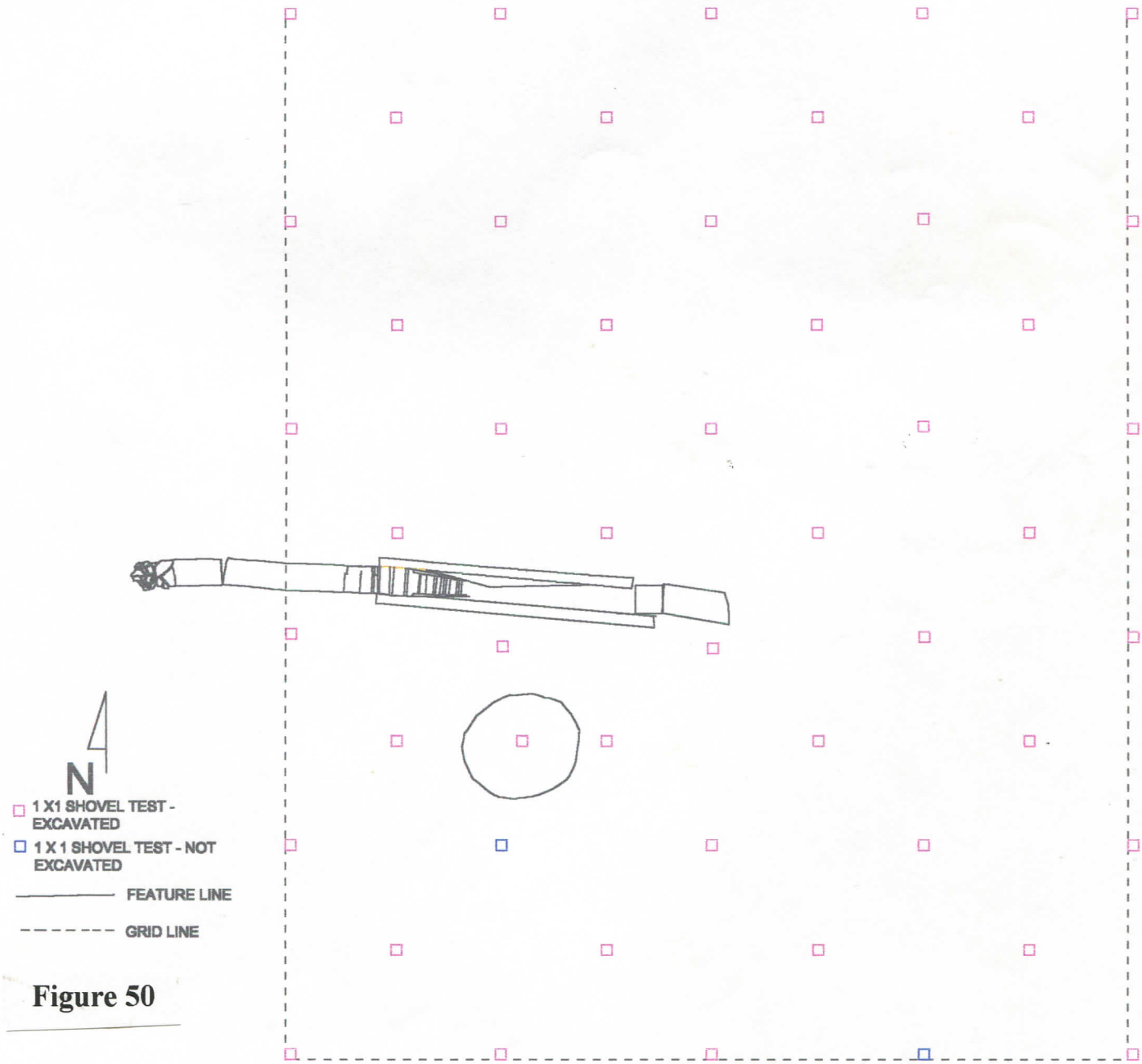

N
1 X1 SHOVEL TEST - EXCAVATED
1 X 1 SHOVEL TEST - NOT EXCAVATED
FEATURE LINE
GRID LINE

Figure 50

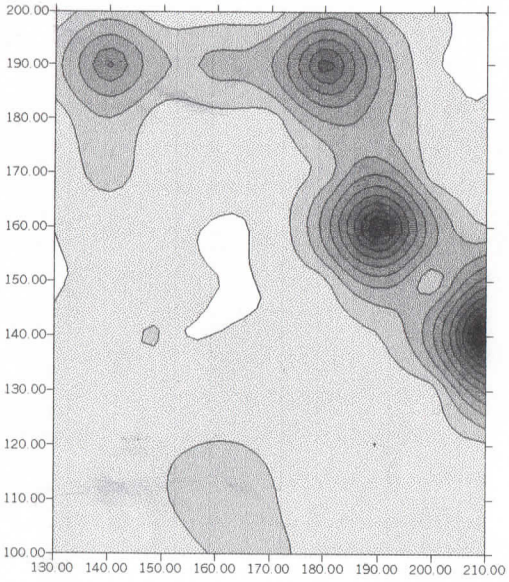
The interiors of features 1, 2 and 3 were cleared of brush and leaves to better expose their interior surfaces. An interior fill of leaves and organic debris was uncovered in Feature 2, which was also removed. After the clearing of Feature 3, a shovel test was excavated in its center. When fieldwork concluded, artifacts were washed, sorted, and analyzed by crewmembers. Identification of materials was done using archaeological and historical references. The artifact assemblage will be dated and quantified for a more detailed analysis and interpretation. In combination with stratigraphic information, Terminus Post Quem was used to identify temporally discrete proveniences. Field maps were converted onto a layered drafting program called AutoCAD Lite. Density maps were produced from shovel test data to plot cultural deposition. These findings were written by a committee of crewmembers.

Analysis of Shovel Tests

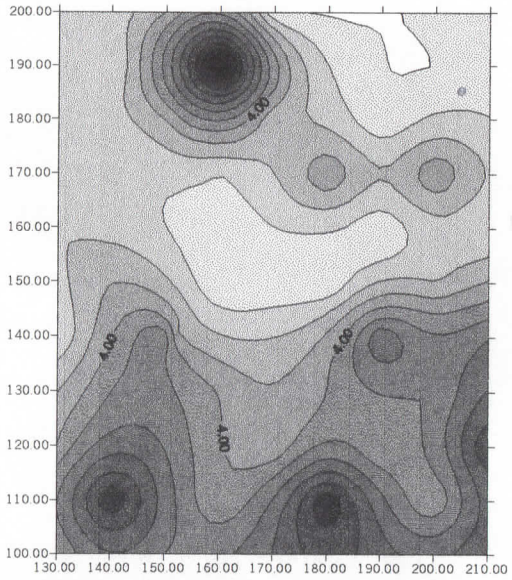
As was previously noted in the introduction the shovel tests were dug on the established grid at ten-foot intervals in a staggered pattern. A total of 48 tests were dug out of the fifty projected by the grid. Two of the originally projected tests were not completed (at N100 E190 and N120 E150) due to obstructions. Also the shovel tests at N140 E150 and N140 E170 were actually dug on the N139 grid line. In addition, one new unprojected test was dug at N130 E152, in the center of Feature 3. All materials recovered from the 48 tests were then washed and catalogued. The assemblage was made up of primarily brick and mortar rubble, historic ceramics, nails, and glass fragments (both modern and historic). A very small percentage of the assemblage was made up of prehistoric sherds scattered throughout the site. One prehistoric artifact of note was recovered from N140 E165; a hand flaked chert spear point. An even smaller percentage of the assemblage was made up of animal remains. All of the data was then correlated using the Auto-Cad and Surfer computer programs.

These programs revealed several interesting patterns regarding the deposition of the site. The Auto-Cad program results (figure 51) appear on an overall plan view of the site that includes Feature 1-3 as well as all the completed and the uncompleted shovel tests. The program was set so as to highlight, on the plan view, all those shovel tests that yielded four or more ceramic sherds. The results clearly show that the majority of cultural deposition occurred in the southern half of the site and begins to taper off around Feature 2. This undoubtedly reflects the sites earlier history.

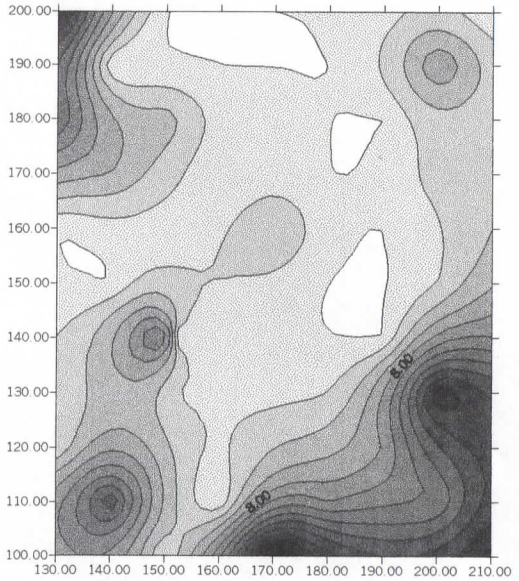
Lending weight to that interpretation is the results that the Surfer program yielded. This program correlates and then maps the distribution of certain artifacts according to density. Due to the amount of materials recovered it was deemed that only brick, nail, and ceramic distribution would yield sufficient information. This data, displayed in Fig. 5, shows that the ceramics and nails are primarily concentrated in the southern half of the site. This, like the Auto-Cad map, points to the south as being the primary area of cultural activity. Again this probably reflects the sites earlier history. The brick distribution was different, concentrating more in the northeast part of the site. This is probably due to the construction of Features 1 and 2, with the remaining brick being discarded. Alternately, it could be associated with the Freer occupation, and indicate the presence of a former structure. Additional testing in the future should thus be directed accordingly.



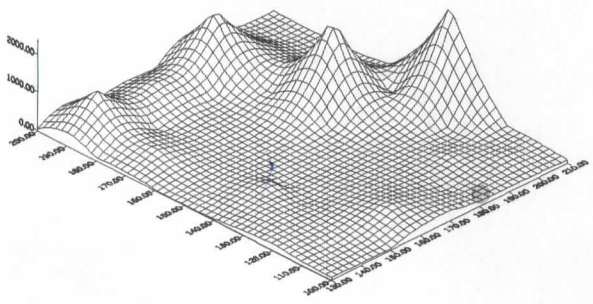
Distribution of Brick (Wt. in grams)

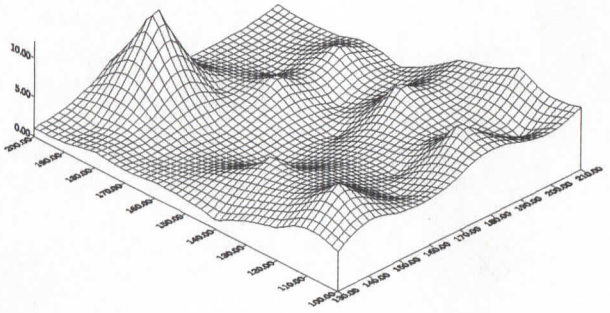


Distribution of Ceramics (Ct.)



Distribution of Nails (Ct.)





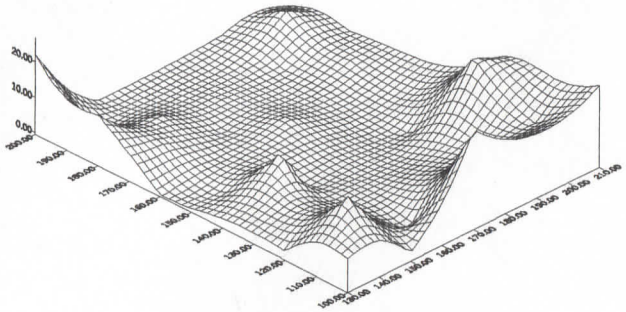


Figure 51

Distribution of brick, ceramics, and nails from shovel tests

Analysis of all of the shovel tests also revealed a consistent pattern of zone deposition throughout the site, interrupted in only a few instances. In light of this, a general analysis will be presented here rather than an individual test by test analysis. This analysis may be considered accurate and applicable to all of the tests, barring a few interesting exceptions that will be examined separately after the general analysis has been presented. Testing revealed that deposition occurred in three primary zones. Zone 1, which averaged between 1 to 1.5 feet in depth, is a homogenous zone of dark brown A, or organic rich, horizon. This zone is classified as a loamy sand. The next zone, or zone 2, had a depth averaging between 2 and 2.5 feet Zone 2 is a yellow brown or light brown zone of sand with a lighter organic element than as found in zone 1. This zone was in an equal number of tests a homogenous zone or was spotted with light to medium mottling of zone 1. In some instances a transition zone was designated between zones 1 and 2. This transition zone was characterized by a base of zone 2 or with medium to heavy mottling of zone 1. As this transition zone was distinct in only a small percentage of the tests it will not be labeled a formal zone. The third zone, or zone 3, is not actually the result of cultural activity but instead delineates when the cultural activity of this site began. This zone extended from the beginning of zone 2 and down. This is a zone of sterile subsoil, a very light brown or yellow zone of sand fading to white as depth increases. This three zone stratigraphic pattern is consistent with almost all of the tests, however this analysis does not include the features that were found in individual tests.

Four features of note were discovered in the shovel test phase of the excavation. Two of those feature were labeled posts, but the other two require a more detailed description. Feature 4 is a grayish white mottled feature. The portion exposed was too small to determine function. The other, Feature 5, is a very dark brown/black zone of soil, similar to zone 1, but darker and with less organic content. Feature 5 was uncovered from N130 to N160 and it has been determined that it was deposited at the same time as Feature 2. Feature 5 also yielded the most artifacts of any feature in the site.

All of the data discussed points to this being a historic site, associated with the Morris and Stobo periods. Most of the features encountered during the testing are associated with features 1-3 and thus are undoubtedly modern in origin. Most of the historic activity seems to have taken place to the south of Feature. 2 and this will be an interesting direction to consider should further testing ever be deemed necessary.

Analysis of Excavated Units

Five units were excavated at 38Ch482d. Four of the 5 foot by 5-foot units: N140E170, N140E165, N145E135, and N140E135 were placed at the western and eastern ends of feature 2. N160E165 was placed on the interior of feature 1. These locations were excavated to show the stratigraphy of features 1 and 2, if any, and give a time range for the construction of these features. From the material evidence we wanted to establish a function for the features in question.

N140E170 was the eastern most unit placed around feature 2. Zone 1 consisted of the root mat of the forest floor. The soil consisted of a dark gray loamy sand. In this zone many wire nails were recovered. The pottery consisted mainly of creamware and whiteware, which places the TPQ of Zone 1 at 1830. The glass recovered from this zone was made up of dark green bottle glass and blue tinted table glass. The majority of the glass was manganese, characterized by its purplish appearance. One piece of riveted copper was also recovered in this zone. The TPQ and modern nail and glass content show a recent date of deposition for zone 1.

Zone 2 saw an increase in artifact content. It was designated a new zone by its transitional color. This zone had dark loamy sand mottled with lighter, deeper sands. The nails recovered from zone 2 were very similar to that of zone 1, but they nearly double in number. Glass in zone 2 followed a similar with manganese glass being the most prevalent. Saltglaze stoneware and pearlware made up most of the ceramic content of zone 2. Feature 5 was designated just below this zone. Its soil, 10YR3/1 in color, differed from zone 2 above and zone 3 below. Feature 5 covered the entire floor of this unit and it presence extended into the next unit N140E165. Three post features were excavated with feature 5: features 9, 10A, 10B, and 11.

A transitional zone was designated between the feature 5 layer and the underlying zone 3. Very light brown sand characterizes this zone. Only one artifact came from zone 3: annular whiteware. Feature 12 was also found in this zone. It had the appearance of a burnt tree even though some prehistoric material was uncovered.

N140E165 was excavated directly west of the previous unit. A balk was placed between the two units and both were excavated simultaneously. Zone 1 of this unit was similar to N140E170 in color but not in content. This dark, loamy sand layer yielded only one nail and some concrete debris. Zone 2 brought more interesting findings. Feature 9 was a square post feature in the east wall of this unit that extended to the east into the western portion of N140E170. Feature 8 was found to be in the northwestern corner of the unit. Feature 8 was a post that was placed against the concrete ramp of feature 2. The fill zone surrounding feature 8 and the remaining zone 2 were excavated separately even though there was little difference in artifact content. Ceramics like whiteware and pearlware put this zone TPQ at 1830. The glass content of this zone differed from the previous in that the majority of glass was of the dark green variety. One artifact that seemed out-of place was a finely crafted chert projectile point was found the fill zone of feature 8. This mixture of cultural materials shows some disturbance in the stratigraphy. Even though feature 8 continued very deep the rest of the unit ended with zone 3. This unit ended as it started with only one nail, brick fragments, and bottle glass in its last zone (figure 52 and 53).

N145E135 was placed at the western end of feature 2. The southern half of the unit was taken up by the various tiers of the concrete ramp of feature 2. The northern half was excavated in three zones. Zone 1 was like the zone1 in the previous units. The artifact content was unaltered also; ceramics like pearlware and whiteware put the TPQ at 1830. Zone 2 saw greater challenges. A ferrous metal pipe ran from the concrete ramp north across zone 2. Zone 2 is characterized by a extremely mottled soil. A series of overlapping features (15,16,17) filled the entire unit floor. Due to time constraints the overlapping feature could not be pursued (figure 54).

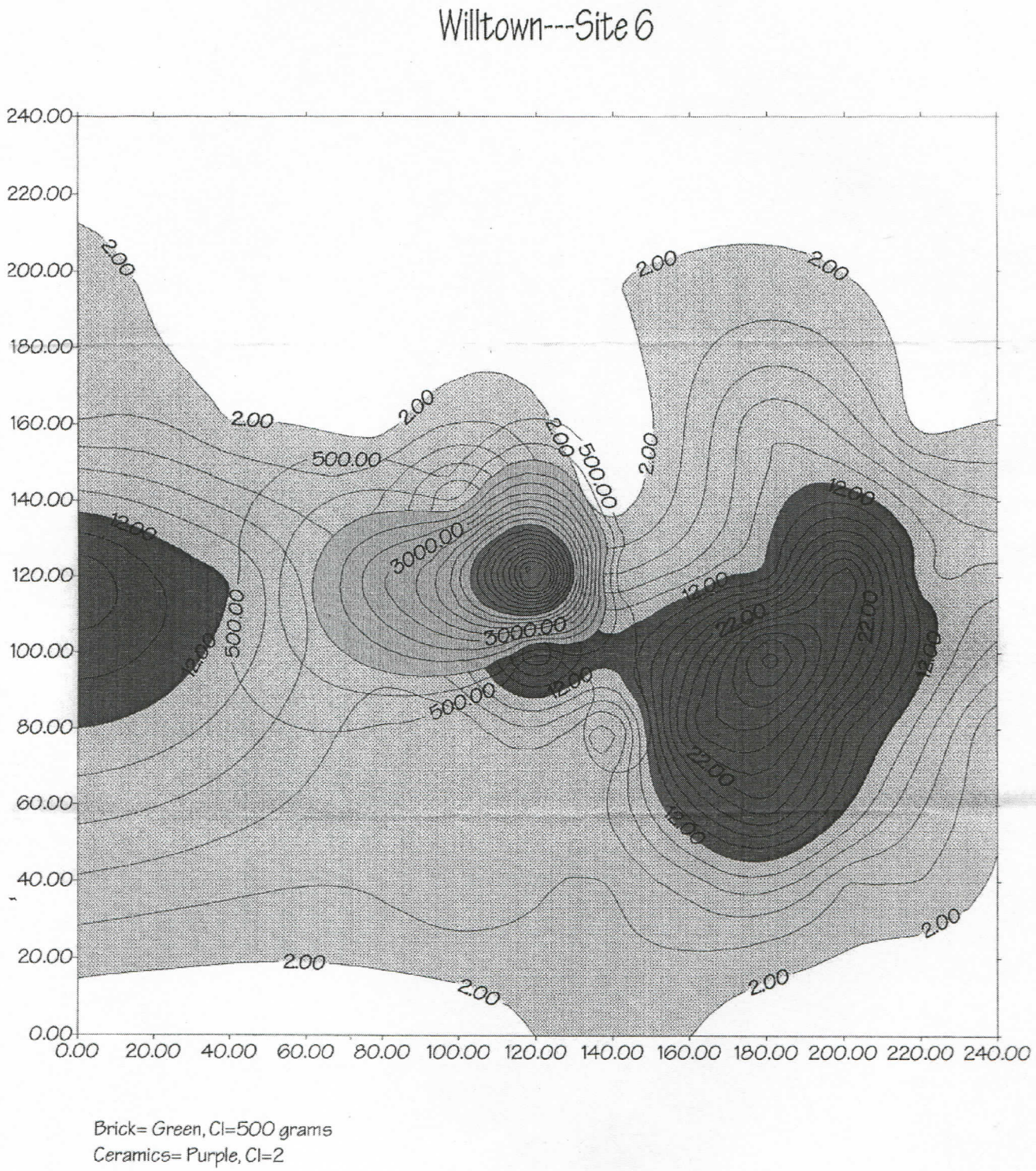


FIGURE 58. 38CH 1659, DISTRIBUTION OF CERAMICS AND BRICK FROM SHOVEL TESTS, 1996.

Figure 52

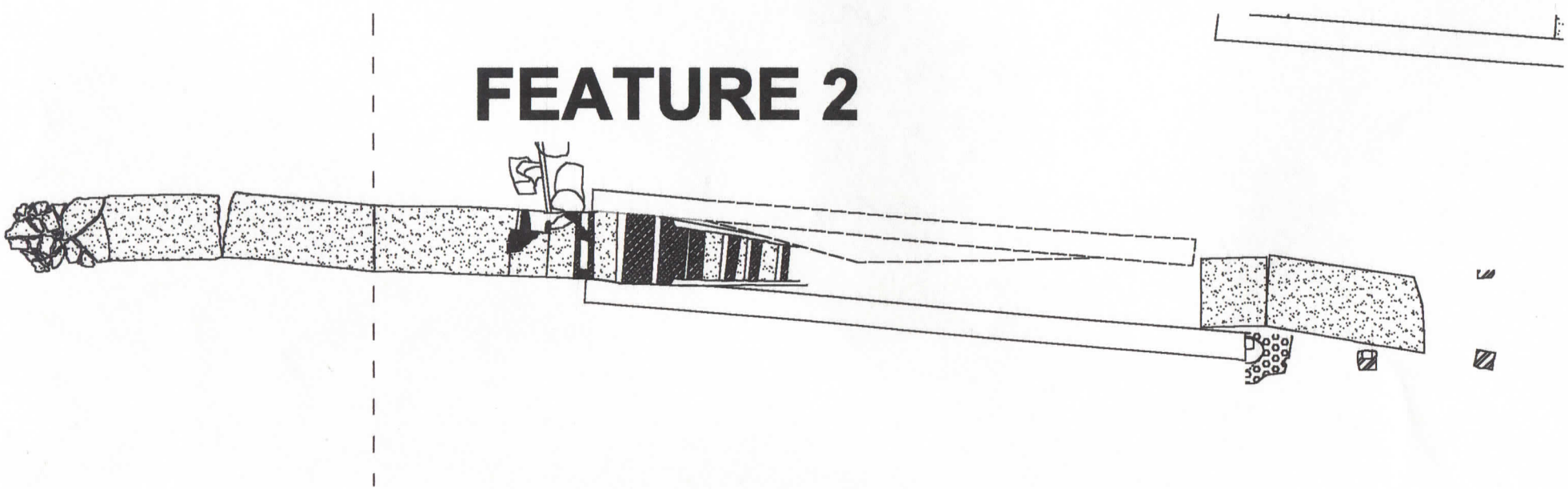
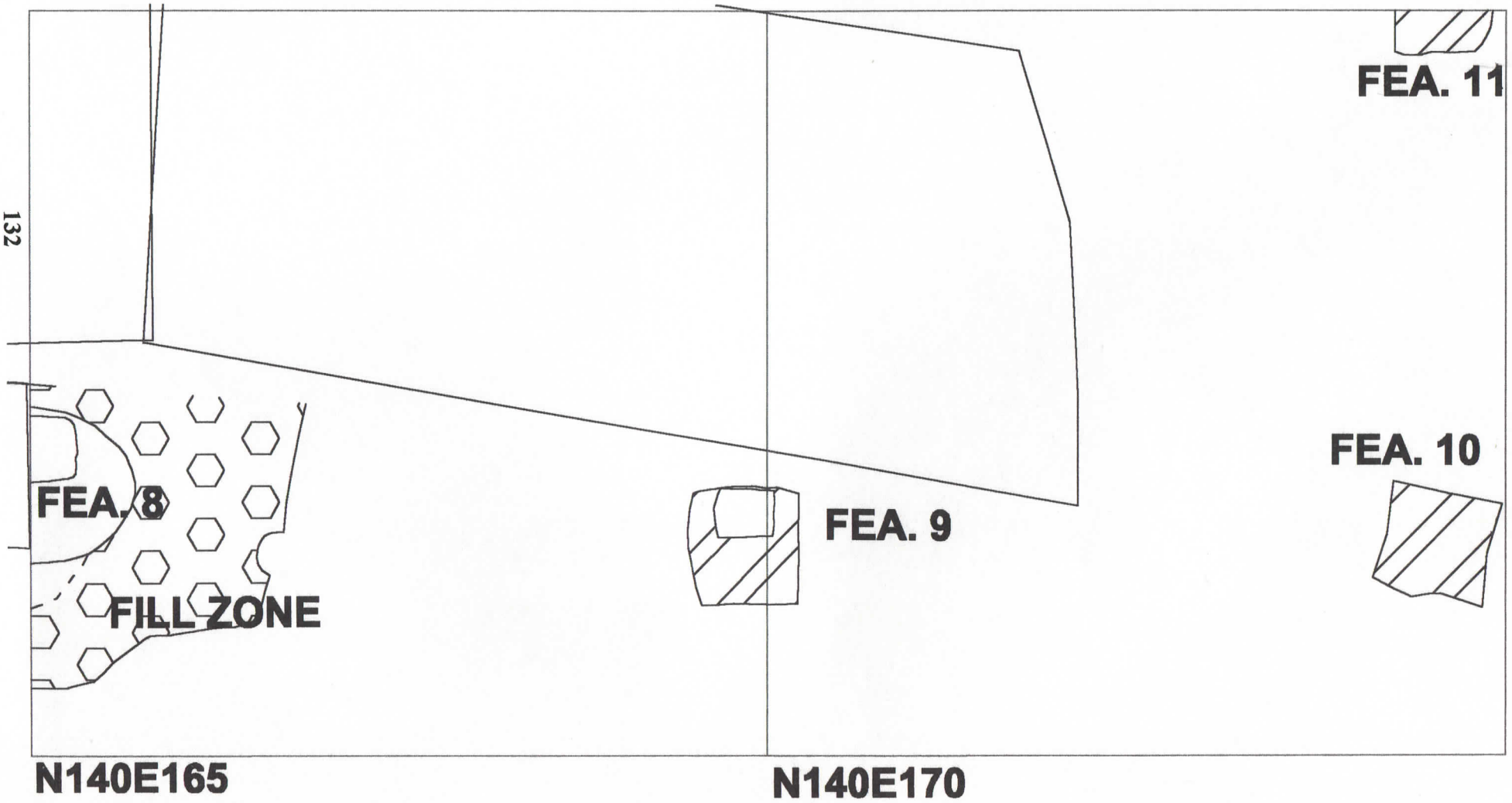


Figure 53



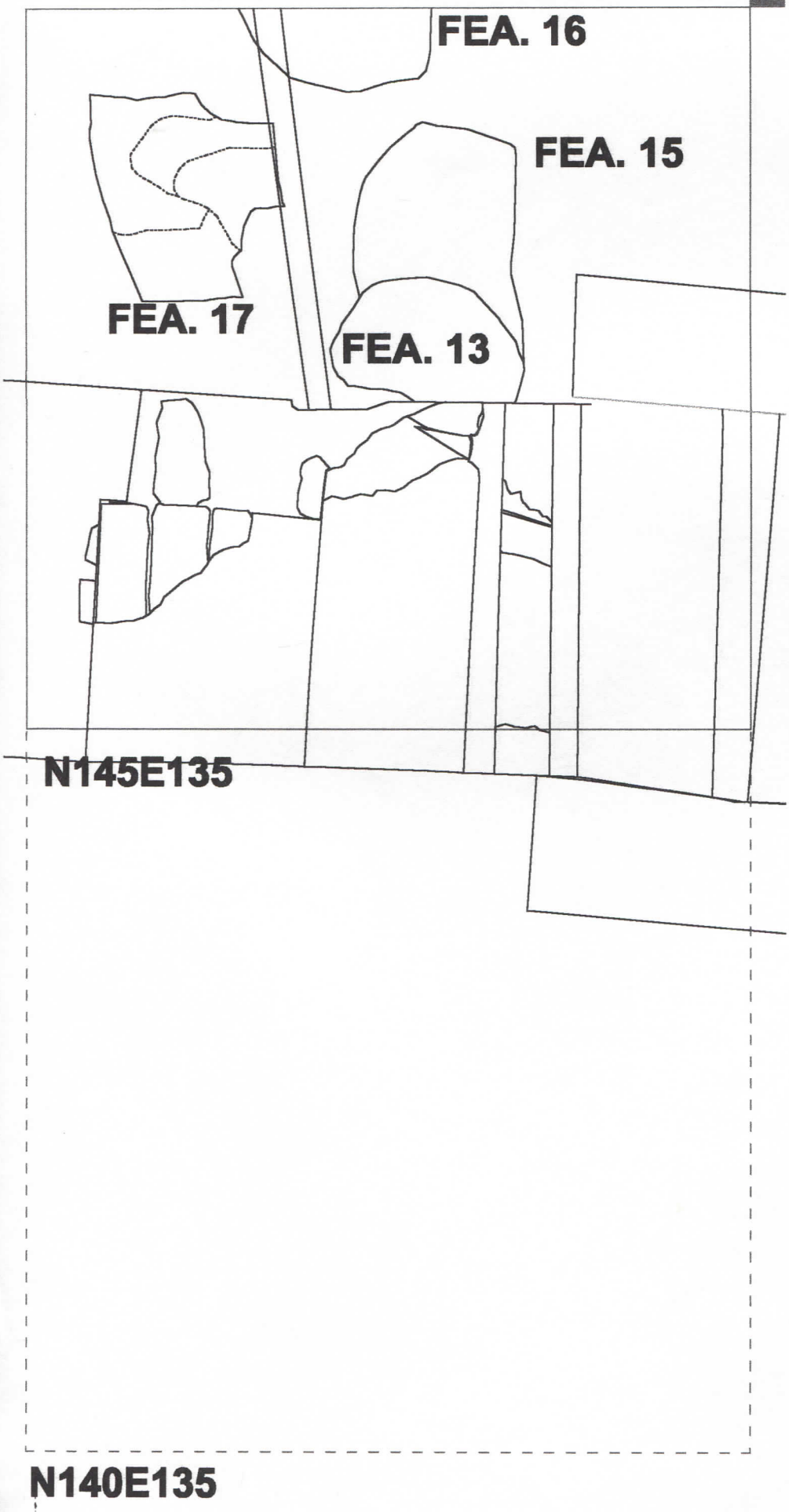


Figure 54

One last unit was placed directly south of N145E135. It consisted only one zone that uncovered the remaining south half of the concrete ramp. There was a high amount of the artifact types found in zone 1 throughout the site. As zone 1 was in the other units its TPQ is at 1900.

Description of Excavated Features

Excavation of site 482D began with the excavation of 43 shovel tests and three entire units. Eighteen features were described and all features except for those appearing in shovel tests were removed and the dirt was screened through inch mesh.

Features 1, 2, and 3 are all large and easily discernable and were thus numbered immediately on the first day of fieldwork. Feature 1 is a large, square pit enclosed by a concrete wall on all sides. This feature has no base and its cultural definition is not known. Mr. Eddie Newton suggested a greenhouse, or enclosure for 'forcing' plants in the early spring. Unit N160 E165 was laid into the northwest corner of the feature and the 5 by 5 unit proved to be very shallow. Sterile subsoil was reached after .5 feet and only one zone was produced. The NW corner of the base of the concrete wall was exposed and three pour lines revealed. The first and second pour lines were composed of rock-filled concrete and the third pour line brick-filled concrete. Due to severe time constraints no external units were laid thus limiting the evidence of the structural function of Feature 1.

Feature 2 is a narrow, rectangular feature that runs on an east/west axis across the center of the site. It was first hypothesized to be a cattle dip from the early 20th century and a longtime resident of the area indicated this to be correct. Feature 2 begins as a concrete slab just below ground surface and runs rectangularly west across the site. The entire feature consists of a seven-foot long concrete slab which drops off to a deep and narrow concrete pit about three feet wide which leads to a series of 7 ramp/steps. The water table was reached before the bottom of the feature, but the bottom was probed and a concrete bottom was detected (figure 55).

Feature 3 is a large, round pit about 10 feet in diameter which lies about 10 feet to the south of Feature 2. A shovel test was laid into Feature 3 and the water table was reached after two feet. Several artifacts were recovered from Feature 3 and a TPQ of 1830 was determined. The circular shape of the feature and a shallow water table both lend to the conclusion that this feature is indeed a well.

Feature 4 appears in the south wall and western half of the floor in shovel test N170 E160. It was first noted as a grayish mottled stain in the western portion of zone 2. However, the feature was not very clear or distinguishable and it is possible that it is only the edge of the feature caught in the shovel test. As this feature was not removed separately there are no artifacts associated with it. However, it can be determine that the feature was deposited sometime after 1830, as this is the TPQ for zone 2.

Feature 5 is a large dark black soil zone that is present in the center area of the site, but it has been so numbered due to its appearance in units N140 E170 and N140 E165. Feature 5 covers the entire floor in N140 E170 and extends into the western half of N140 E165. It produced the highest artifact content of all the features. The TPQ of this feature is 1830 due to the presence of polychrome whiteware. Several features were also removed in the Feature 5 level of N140 E170 including 9, 10, and 11.

Feature 6 is a post that was noted in shovel test N110 E140. It is located in the south and west profiles of the shovel test and the soil was of a gray and brown mottling. It was not excavated during the field season and thus produced no artifacts or conclusive evidence.

Feature 7 is another small post that is located in the north and west profiles of shovel test N110 E160. The post is relatively narrow and has a Munsell soil color of 10yr3/1. Notes indicate that the feature underlies Feature 5 and intrudes into zone 3 and the subsoil. No artifacts were recovered.

Feature 8 is a large posthole and mold, which appears in the western portion of N140 E165 at N141.8 and E165.7. The post mold and hole appear together just below the topsoil and the hole extends 3.5 feet into zone B, while the mold extends 3.2 feet into the posthole and zone B. The only artifacts recovered from Feature 8 were brick and mortar rubble. This is clearly a sturdy post was sunk deep into the ground in order to support the funnel erected at the mouth of the cattle dip. Because the post activity begins above Feature 5 (which can be seen in the profile) it is possible to assume that it was erected sometime around or shortly after 1900.

Feature 9 is a nice square post that was discovered in the baulk between N140 E170 and N140 E165. Two profile shots were taken from either side of the baulk as well as the plan view. It was discovered in and excavated from a matrix of Feature 5, but no artifacts were recovered.

Feature 10 is a square post hole (10B) with a round post (10 A), which was still intact, located in the southeast corner of N140 E170. This feature was also located and excavated in the matrix of Feature 5 and very few artifacts were recovered.

Feature 11 is a square post that was discovered in the northeast corner of N140 E170. Only half of the feature is visible in this unit while the other half protrudes into N145 E170. This feature was also located in and excavated from the Feature 5 matrix and produced several artifacts. This feature also has a TPQ of 1830 due to the presence of whiteware.

Features 8, 9, 10, and 11 are all very significant because they line up to form a wooden funnel fence that was used to herd cattle into the dip. They all also appear to have been laid around the same time as they all appear just above the matrix of Feature 5. This indicates that they were all erected sometime after 1830.

Feature 12 appears as a dark sooty stain located in between Feature 9 and 10 in the southern portion of N140 E170. It appears in the matrix of the top portion of zone 3 and intrudes into the subsoil. It underlies Feature 5. This feature has a burnt look to it and could possibly to be a tree, but

it did produce one aboriginal sherd. If Feature 12 is indeed a post, then it lines up very nicely with Features 8, 9, and 10. Feature 14 has been voided due to the fact that it was a false post.

Conclusions

One of the goals for this research was to determine the validity of the theory that feature 2 is a byproduct of indigo production. Based upon the vertical patterning and structural analysis it is clear that this feature is not related to indigo production, but in fact is a cow dip. This conclusion is based upon several factors taken into consideration. The posts found surrounding this feature are aligned with it and clearly related to the structure. The posts as well as the underlying zones that they are deposited in hold a Terminus Post Quem of 1830. Indigo production in the lowcountry occurred between 1740 and 1778, therefore feature 2 and its associated proviences post date this agricultural period, ruling out the possibility of this structure being related to indigo production.

Due to their close proximity and alignment with feature 2 it is possible to imagine these posts supported a fence or rail that served the purpose of herding the animals in to and out of this structure. The large size of several of the posts (features 8, 13, 15, 16, and possibly 17) suggest that they were strong structural components meant to with stand great amounts of pressure, such as cows being bumping and jostling the sides of this fencing mechanism. This movement also would explain the high degree of disturbance found related to the posts. The cow dip would have worked like this: Cows would be herded through the fencing mechanism at the East End. The concrete slap at this end is flat and even, as opposed to the stepped concave slabs at the west end of this feature. The slab makes a short high angled slope into the cow dip before it drops off (see figure 55). The cows following this path would at this point be forced to plunge into the water or debugging mixture held within the pit of the structure. The interior pit is approximately 4.5 feet deep, deep enough for a cow to be submerged. At the base of this pit there are concrete footing that run along the inside of the north and south walls. There appears to be wood planks placed across these footing to form a wood floor. Unfortunately the water encountered at this level would not allow for a clear view of this portion of the cow dip so the purpose and function of the wood planks and footings is unclear. At the west end of the feature a stepped slope. The stepped slope begins approximately in the middle of the structure and leads up and out of it. The design of the steps along the slope suggest that they helped provide footing for the cows as they walked out of the dip. At ground surface the west of the structure is characterized by a series of wide descending concave steps that lead to a long concave concrete slab. The concavity of the concrete slabs at this end would have served the purpose of collecting dripping water from the wet cows. At the east end the cows would be dry, therefore no water collecting apparatus is necessary, thus explaining the different designs of the east and west end concrete slabs.

The presence of rebar with in the concrete walls of feature two further discourages any association of feature 2 to any period prior to the 20th century. Reinforced concrete was not a

to build and occupy a home at this site. The house that the Morris family built still stands on the bluff and is within walking distance and visibility to the present position of the cow dip. This proximity value strongly suggests the possibility of related period site use.

A second factor to take into consideration is the reported comments of a local planter, Mr. Eddie Newton, who is regarded as local expert upon the anomalies of the Willtown property. Mr. Newton commented that he believed that this was indeed a cow dip but that the construction was that done by people of well means. (Personal correspondence with Mr. Allen Parks).

Assuming that the cow dip represents post 1900 episode of site use, the high frequency of 19th century ceramics (comparatively) must be taken into consideration. Does this suggest an earlier period of site use or occupation? This question is directly related to the second goal of our research: to use this opportunity to determine if this site is related to Charles Freer's plantation. Unfortunately this goal is undeterminable at this stage but a strong argument can be made for previous site use at 38CH482D.

The frequency of 1830 artifacts in this area is most likely due a previous episode of site use. This earlier occupation is suggested by feature 5 which is a thick zone of compact dark loamy soil, the posts and the fill zone are deposited from the top of this deposit on through it, suggesting that this deposit was in place before the cow dip was constructed. Feature 5 also has the richest artifact deposit made up of ceramics and other artifacts suggesting household related occupation. The rich dark color of the soil is also typical of deposits related to an intense use period. This deposit also has a confined area of occurrence; it is present only in the eastern units dug and possibly within several shovel tests nearby.

Further research should include an in depth analysis of the artifacts from this site, as well as a comparative analysis between the artifacts of this site and the 1996 assemblage, to look for any parallels. Further fieldwork is improbable but if attempted in the future should be concentrated along the southern margin of the site, for this is where the artifact assemblage from the shovel tests were the greatest. The increase of ceramics and glass here along with the presence of several features in the southern shovel tests are sufficient reasons to focus future work in that direction.

Table 8
Artifacts recovered from Shovel Tests

1 white porcelain	1 brown lead glazed earthenware
7 blue on white Oriental porcelain	1 unglazed earthenware
2 brown saltglazed stoneware	3 Colono ware
4 grey saltglazed stoneware	
4 19th century stoneware	80 olive green glass
2 Nottingham earthenware	57 clear container glass
11 Creamware	6 aqua contaner glass
10 Pearlware, undecorated	2 table glass

2 pearlware, hand painted
3 pearlware, polychrome hand painted
14 pearlware, transfer printed
2 annular pearlware
30 undecorated whiteware
3 whiteware, hand painted
10 whiteware, transfer printed
10 whiteware, annular
2 whiteware, shell edged
3 yellow ware
2 black lead glazed coarse earthenware
33 window glass
4 wrought nail
18 cut nail
171 nail fragments
3 barrel strap fragments
1 gunflint fragment
1 bead
5 tobacco pipe fragments
1 lead weight

Table 9
Artifacts Recovered by Excavated Feature

Feature 2
2 porcelain button frags
8 nail frags
1 iron wedge
1 spike

Feature 5
2 white porcelain
1b/w Oriental porcelain
5 b/w transfer print whiteware
1 undecorated whiteware
1 shell edge whiteware
1 polychrome whiteware
1 dark brown sg stoneware
1 19th century stoneware
7 dispensary bottle
5 aqua bottle glass
3 window glass
30 olive green bottle glass
3 clear bottle glass
1 oil lamp frag
7 cut nails
6 nail fragments

Feature 8
3 brick fragments

Feature 10
1 nail fragment
brick fragments

Feature 11
1 blue transfer print whiteware
1 undecorated whiteware
1 olive green bottle glass

Feature 12
1 prehistoric pottery

Feature 13
1 creamware
1 blue transfer print whiteware
3 olive green glass
1 aqua bottle glass
2 nail fragments

Feature 14
brick rubble

Figure 55

Views of feature 2 during excavation

Chapter VII
Site 38Ch1659: the Rice Plantation

Site Description

Site 38Ch1659 is located inland from the Willtown bluff, adjacent to a woods road (figure 26). The site is located due east and slightly south of the former St. James Street, one mile from the riverfront. It is on a knoll of high land, 15 feet above sea level, adjacent to inland swamps. A woods road approaches the site from the west, and terminates at a north/south road that traverses a causeway over an impounded swamp before passing the site and continuing south to the railroad line and ultimately the Block Island tract of the Grove plantation and the Edisto river. The site is on the east side of the woods roads intersection, and the knoll drops to freshwater swamp to the north, east and south (figure 56). The knoll is characterized by climax hardwood forest, with very little understory. Large oak and hickory trees are festooned with wild grapevine. Moderate amounts of Yaupon and clumps of grasses comprise the groundcover. The swampy area to the north has been diked, and a causeway continues due north; the water is impounded to the west, creating a freshwater pond. Oral history and artifacts recovered during shovel testing indicate that the causeway was built in the early 20th century, but the recent discovery of a 1791 plat of the site, and re-examination of the 1794 plat of Charles Freer's tract suggest that the causeway is of greater antiquity (figure 57; see figure 24). Old rice dikes are visible running east west, approximately 250 feet south of the center of the site, and the entire perimeter of the peninsula of high land has been diked (see Agha, this volume). The area has been used for deer hunting, and a stand is located adjacent to an oak tree in the center of the site.

Soils at the site are listed as Rutledge loamy fine sand, a poorly drained soil; however the map does not differentiate the high knoll from surrounding lowlands; therefore this is an inaccurate description for this single acre spot (Soil Survey of Charleston County). At the time of our initial visit, a slight amount of damage had evidently occurred due to tree falls and subsequent clearing. Portions of large trees remained on the ground, and a few areas of soil had been pushed up into mounds. A large soil pile in the center of the site exhibited a concentration of brick and mortar fragments on the surface. Also present on this pile was a large fragment of brown saltglaze stoneware crock.

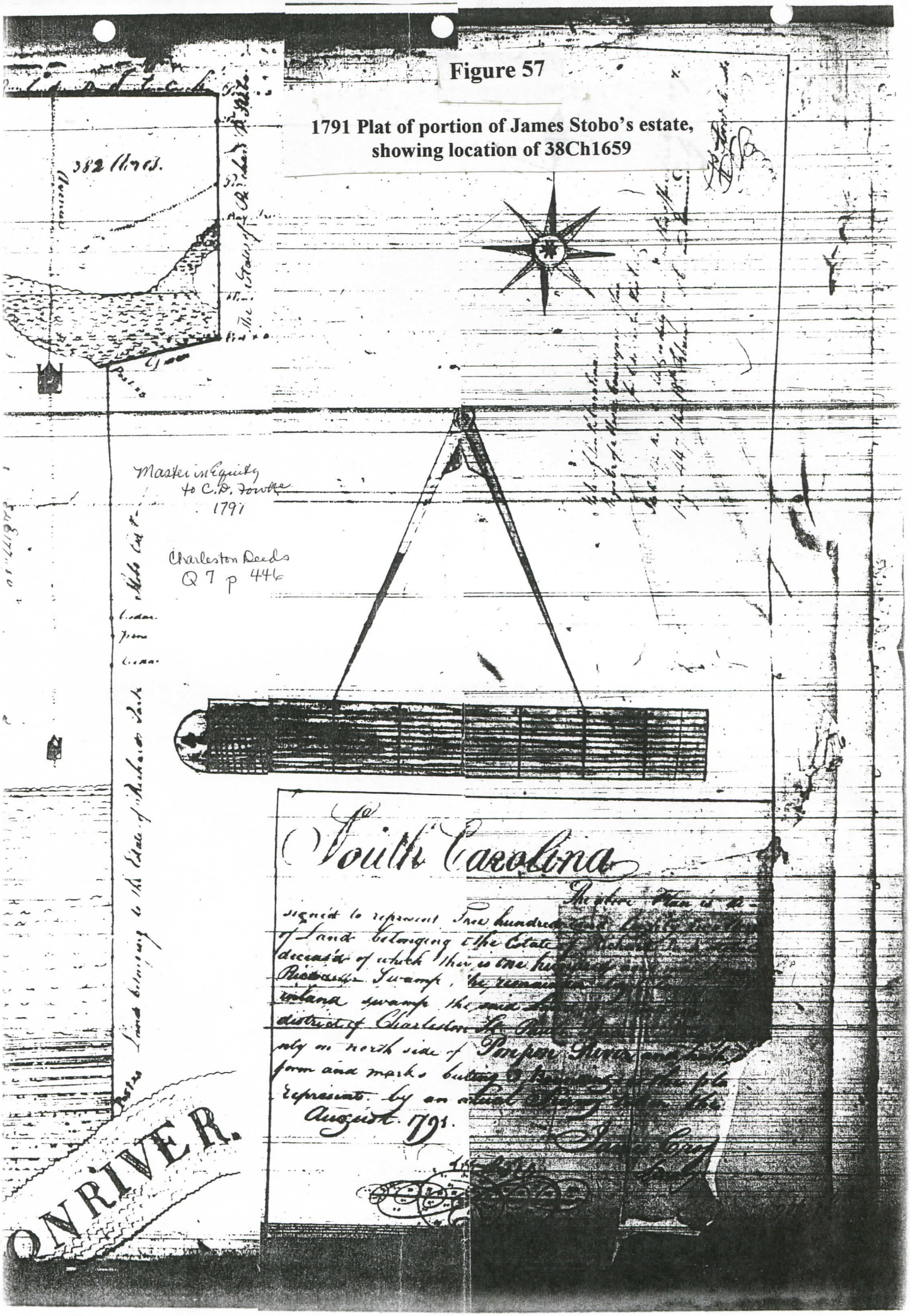
The Process of Site Discovery

The first recording of this site by professional archaeologists occurred after our April 1996 visit to Willtown. We were shown this site by Mr. Hugh Lane Jr. during our initial walkover survey. He had noted a few artifacts on the surface during deer hunts. Soil pushed up in a tree fall contained dense brick and mortar rubble, and the basal portion of a brown saltglazed stoneware jug. The soil and artifact density appreared unusually rich. Artifacts collected during this first visit included some

Figure 56 Views of 38ch1659: the impounded swamp to the north, Rice dikes to the south

Figure 57

1791 Plat of portion of James Stobo's estate, showing location of 38Ch1659



creamware and pearlware, but the majority of the finds dated to the early 18th century. Based on this, we determined to test the site.

Testing was conducted in October 1996 by Martha Zierden, Ron Anthony, Larry Cadigan, and Mary Jane Hickson-Jones. A key stake, designated N100E100, was placed arbitrarily near the road corner, and shovel tests were placed in four cardinal directions from this point, following Chicago grid designations. In all, 47 shovel tests were excavated at 20 foot intervals; these together yielded 352 ceramics (figure 30).

Brick and mortar rubble was concentrated in the N100 line to E160, and north to N140. In fact, an intact brick foundation was noted in N120E100. This one-foot shovel test yielded six large bags of brick and mortar rubble. This was clearly a site of substance, and its owner a man of means.

The ceramic collection included large framgents of North Devon Gravel Tempered ware, delft, and saltglazed stoneware. A notable fragment of grey saltglazed stoneware was heavily molded and featured a sprigged decoration of two partridges. More unusual ceramics included mottled ware, Nottingham stoneware, and Jackfield. Underglazed and overglazed Chinese porcelain was also present in significant numbers. These yielded a mean ceramic date of 1759 (South 1972). Other kitchen artifacts included green bottle glass and decorative table glass. Most remarkable was a fragment of an early colonial pewter spoon. Kitchen wares comprised 65% of the assemblage.

Architectural materials comprised 31% of the assemblage. Several identifiable nails were recovered, and only two appear to be machine cut (after 1780); nearly twenty were identified as hand-wrought. Window glass was recovered, along with a strap hinge. Other artifacts include lead shot, a gunflint, furniture tack, and 22 pipe fragments. Most unusual was a small iron wedge.

The site also exhibited definite trends in horizontal patterning. Brick and mortar rubble was concentrated in an area about 40' by 40', and then dropped off significantly. Concentrations of ceramics were noted in N100E200, N100E220, and N80E180. A second concentration was noted in N60E160. Artifact density maps prepared by Mr. Carl Steen of Diachronic Research Foundation Inc., using the SURFER computer mapping program, showed distinct concentrations of ceramics and architectural remains (figure 58).

Historical data on the site was very vague at the time of survey. Physical location and configuration and archaeological remains suggest that this is a main house complex for an inland swamp rice plantation. The artifacts suggest the site is contemporary with the fluorescence of Willtown, possibly occupied as early as 1700. The site appears to have been occupied into the last quarter of the 18th century, but abandoned by 1800. Clearly, further work was warranted, and plans were made to test this site in the summer of 1997, following work on the Willtown lots.

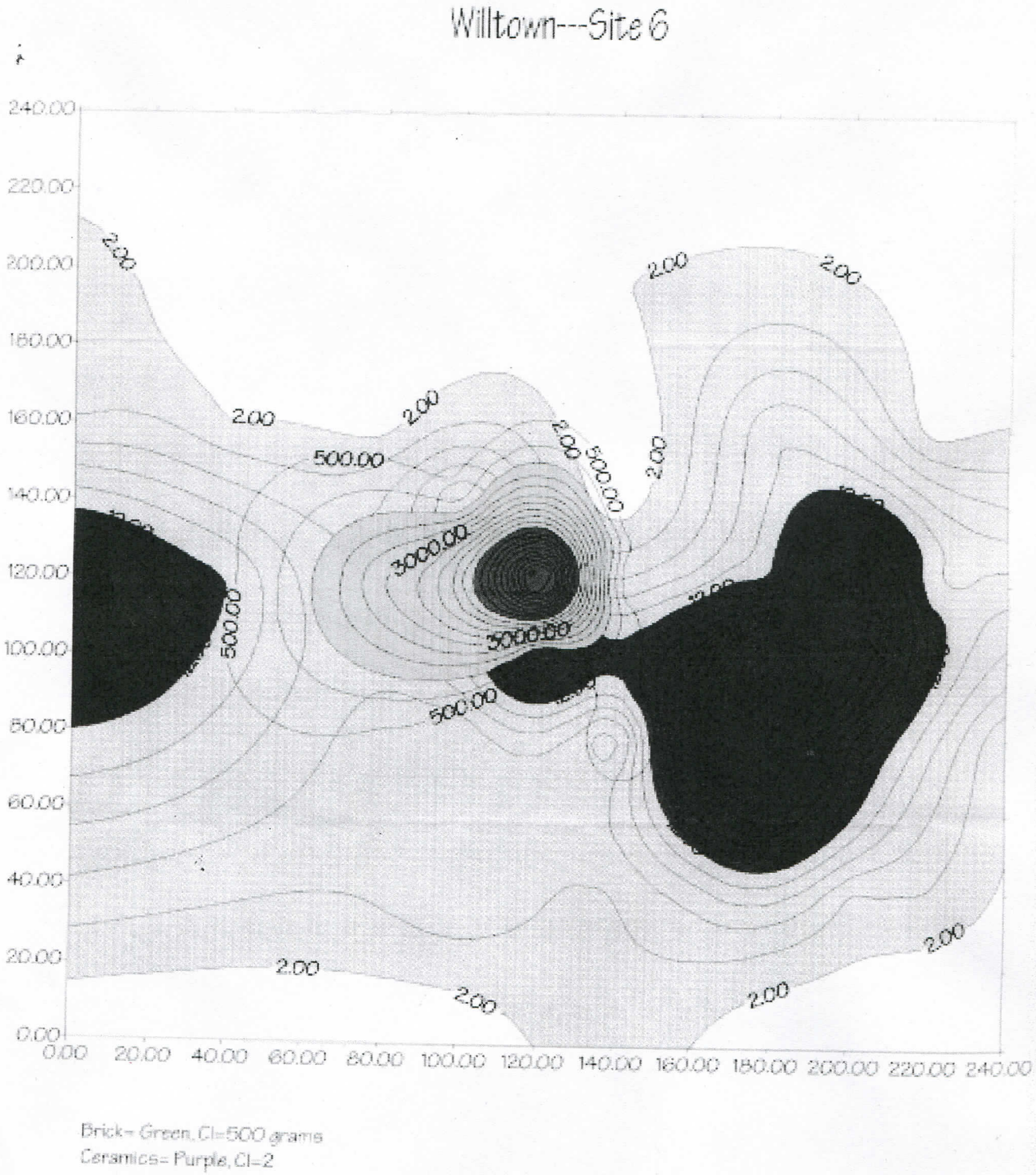


FIGURE 58. 38CH 1659, DISTRIBUTION OF CERAMICS AND BRICK FROM SHOVEL TESTS, 1996. SEE INSERT FOR COLOR SHOWING BRICK AND CERAMICS.

Site History

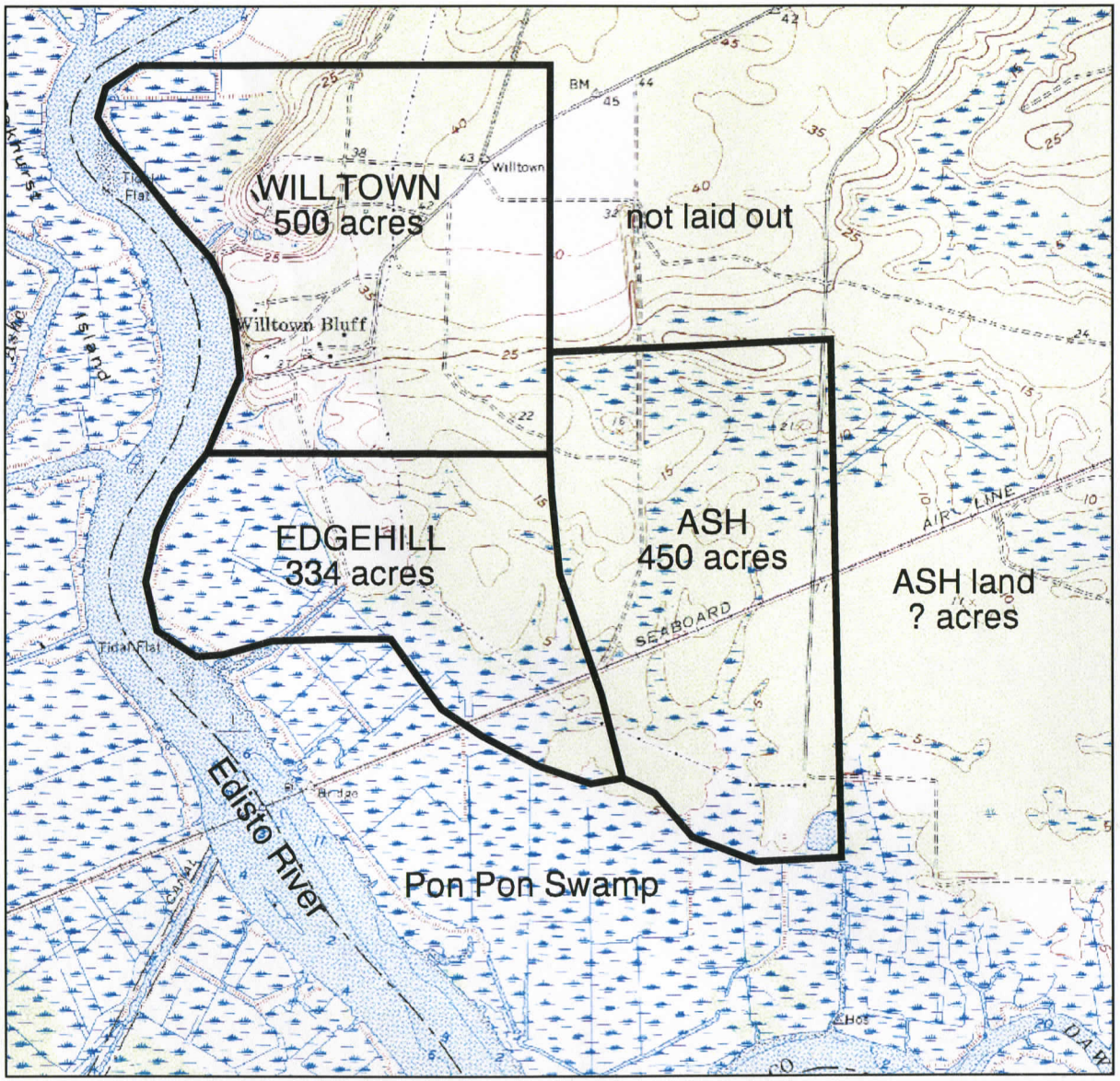
Determining the chain of ownership and use of the 38Ch1659 tract proved particularly challenging. The early grants for Edisto tracts are few, and those that do exist rarely contain plats. Further, the tracts were so vast, and the the landscape so vague, that unless they were located on major landmarks such as rivers, they are very difficult to place on the map. Suzanne Linder conducted research on the tract intermittently from 1996 to 1999, with a full chain of title realized late in 1998. This was done with the help of Marta Thacker and Emily Garner, and ultimately necessitated nearly complete title work on adjoining plantation tracts. By 1996, James Stobo was one of three possible late 18th century owners of the property. In an unusual reversal of academic roles, the recovery of the brand bearing Stobo's name redirected the historian's search. Suzanne Linder's research on the plantation tract is as follows (figures 59-71):

The first owner of the land for which there is a record was John Ash who received a grant for 450 acres in 1710 (Colonial Grants 39:79; Memorials, 5:165). His father came to South Carolina from England by way of New England. Leaders of the family were no strangers to controversy in England, and John Ash followed their example in South Carolina by becoming a leader of the dissenters. In 1703 this faction selected Ash to go to England and present their petition to the Lords Proprietors, though Governor Archdale felt that Ash "was not a Person suitably qualif'd to represent their State here, not that he wanted Wit, but Temper". (Edgar and Bailey 1977:39-40). The elder John Ash had a plantation at Dawho, and in 1704 his son received a warrant for 400 acres adjoining this tract. One John Ash received a warrant for land on Penny Creek in 1701, which later became the plantation Westfield (now part of Hermitage Plantation). Since the Ash family had plantations at Dawho and Westfield, it is doubtful if they built upon this site. But their ownership is significant because it illustrates the importance of Willtown as a focus of political leadership of the dissenters in the colony.

The next available record of the property comes from a recital of title in a deed of 1719. Sometime prior to that date, William Meggett became the owner. John Ashe II granted a power of attorney to Landgrave Joseph Morton in 1720, prior to leaving the province. He died in England in 1721. The question arises if Ash sold this property on his own in preparation for leaving. In that case, Meggett would have owned it only a short time. Since we do not have a record of the sale, we can only say it was sometime between 1710 and 1719.

The third owner of the land was William Livington (Deeds B1, 196-198). One William Livingston was a minister who succeeded Archibald Stobo at the church in Charleston in 1704 and remained until after 1720. He died in 1723. The Reverend had a son and a nephew named William, so it is difficult to be sure which one is mentioned in the deed. The Livingston family owned numerous properties in the Willtown area, and there is a note in the British records that "Leviston's" plantation near Willtown was burned in the Yemassee War. In his will (1723), Livingston leaves his

1710



1710

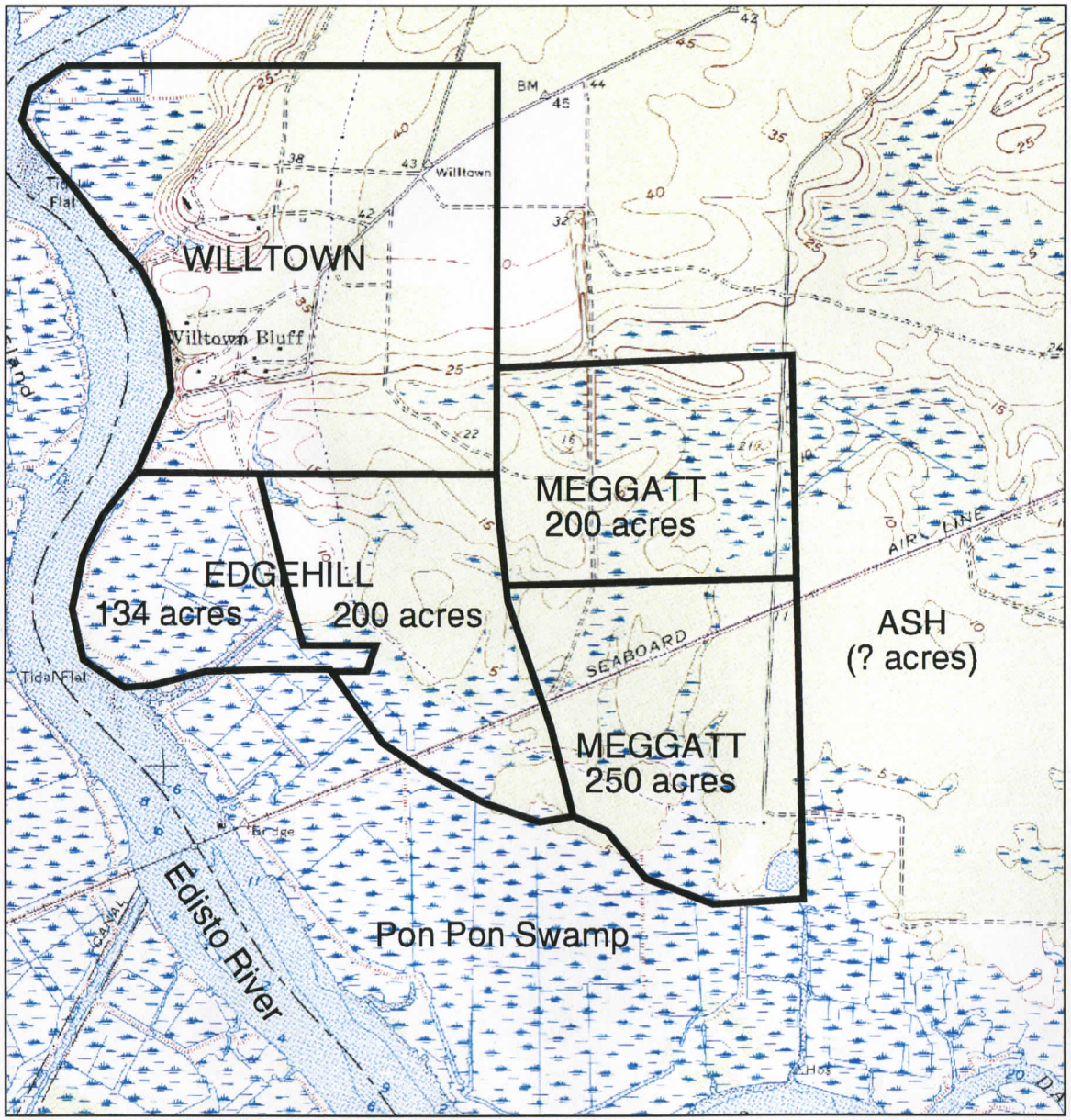
Willtown: 500 acres

Richard Edgehill: 334 acres
134 acres in swampland
200 acres adjacent
[Charleston Deeds, Recital of Title, v. B-1, pp. 196-7] (#4)
Wm. Livingston sells land to John Smelie purchased from Richard Edgehill.

John Ash: 450 acres
N: Lands not laid out
E: Said Ash property
S: Swamp
W: Edgehill, Willtown
[Colonial Grants, v.39, p. 79] (#1)
[Memorial, v.5, p.165] (#2)

Figure 59

ca. 1717



Circa 1717

Willtown: 500 acres

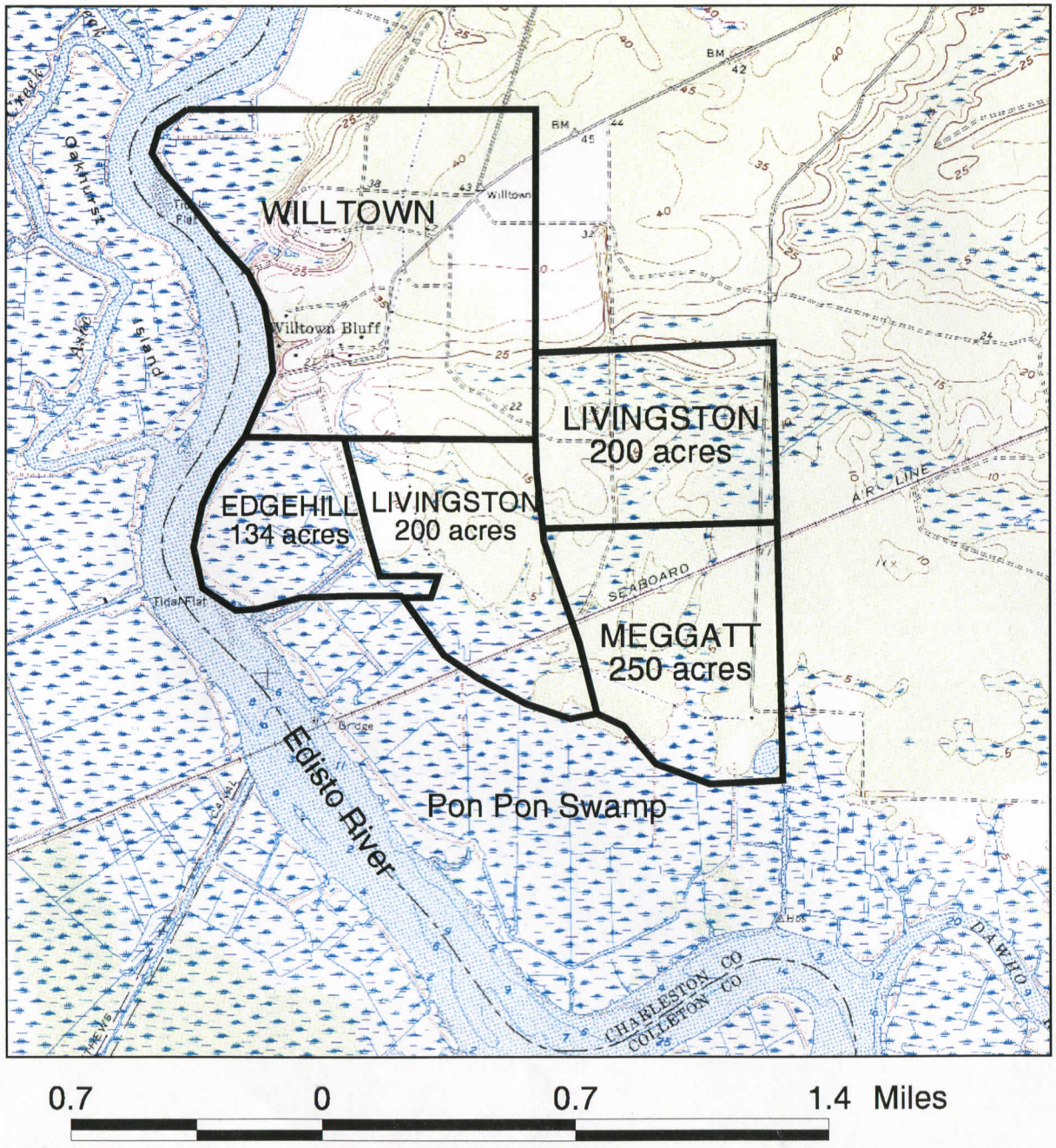
Richard Edgehill: 334 acres

William Meggatt: 450 acres
Formerly belonging to John Ash, later split into two adjacent tracts [Charleston Deeds, v. H, pp. 286-288] (#3)

Pon Pon Swamp

Figure 60

ca. 1718



Circa 1718

Willtown: 500 acres

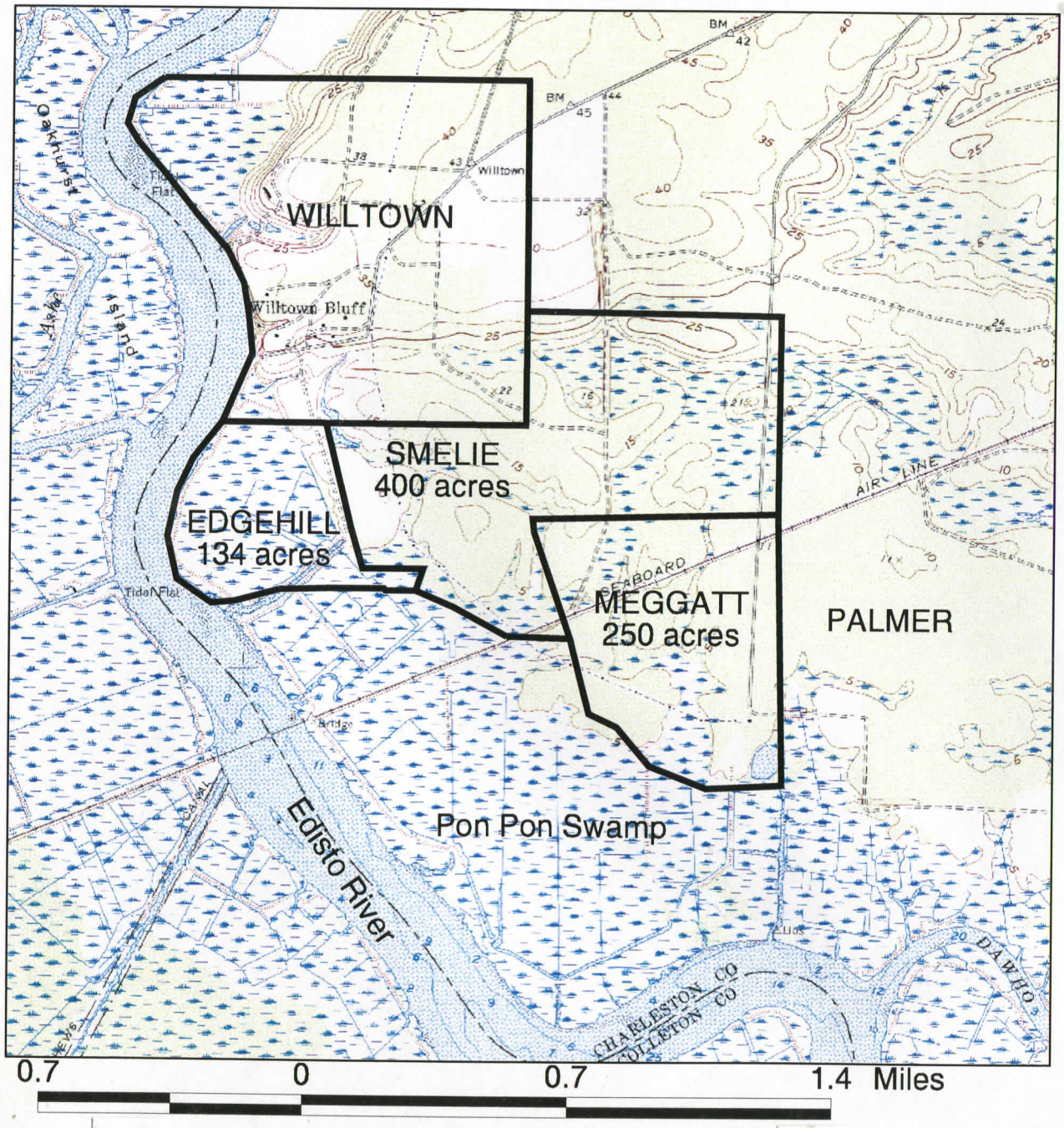
William Livingston: 400 acres
200 formerly of Richard Edgehill
200 formerly of William Meggatt
[Charleston Deeds, Recital of Title, v. B1, pp. 196-198] (#4)

William Meggatt: 250 acres

Pon Pon Swamp

Figure 61

1719



1719

Willtown: 500 acres

Richard Edgehill: 134 acres

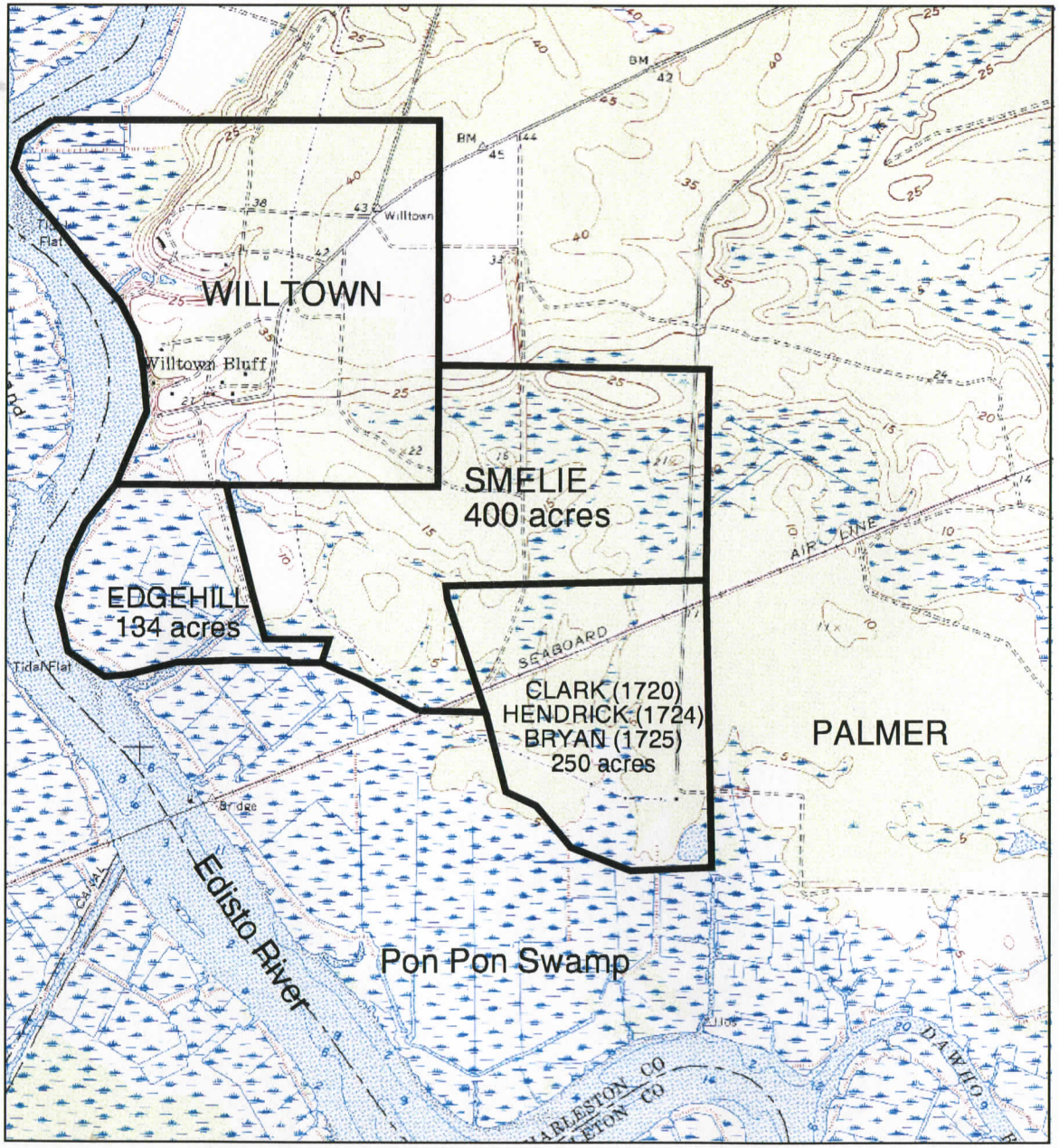
John Smelie: 400 acres
formerly of William Livingston
Boundaries:
New London, William Meggatt
[Charleston Deeds, v. B1,
pp. 196-198] (#4)

William Meggatt: 250 acres
N: John Smelie
E: John Palmer
S, W: Swamp
[Charleston Deeds, v. H,
pp. 286-288] (#3)

Pon Pon Swamp

Figure 62

1720-1725



1720-1725

Willtown: 500 acres

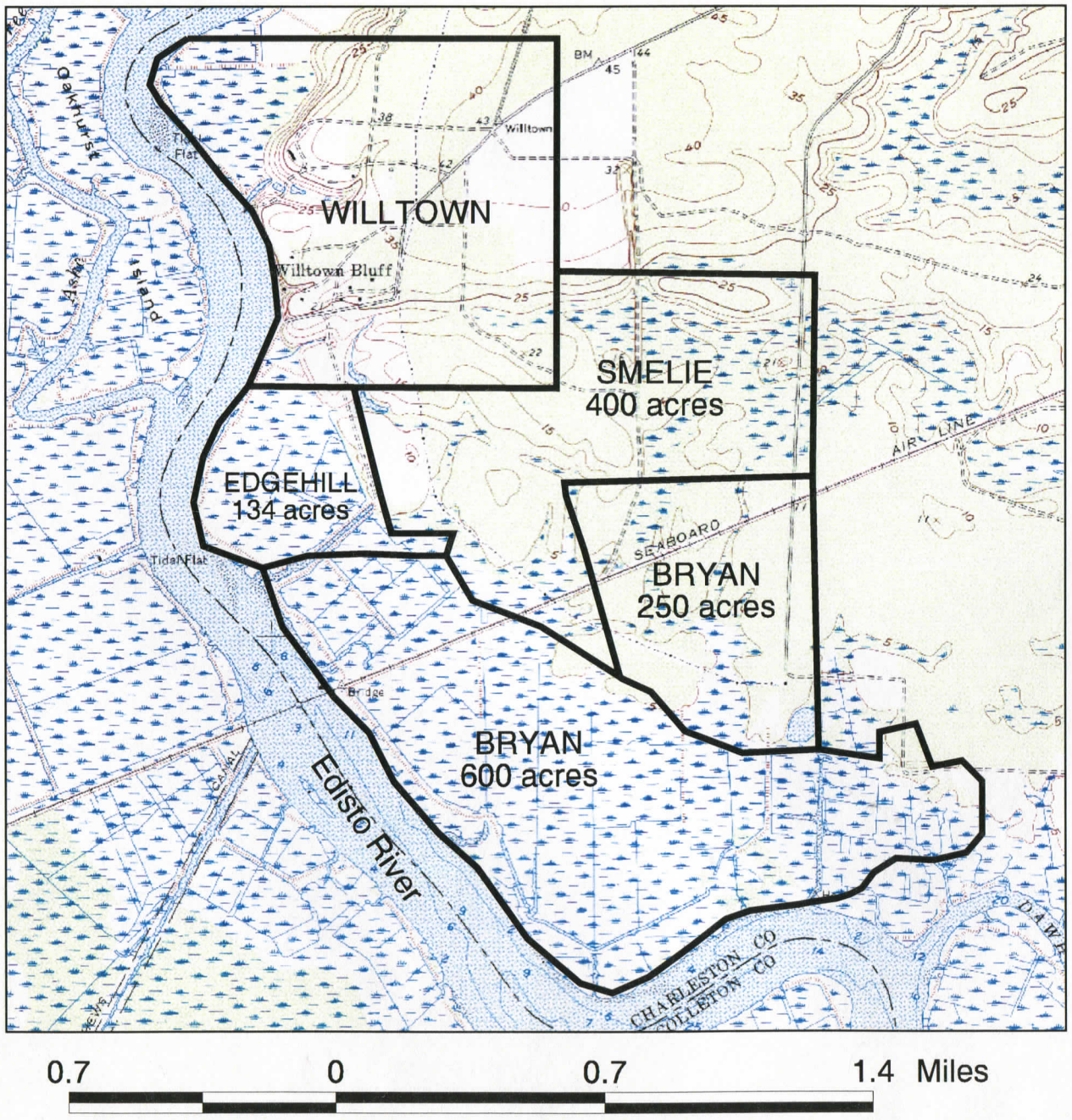
Richard Edgehill: 134 acres

John Smelie: 400 acres

250 acres
William Meggatt to Jeremiah Clark (1720)
Jeremiah Clark to Timothy Hendrick (1724)
Timothy Hendrick to Hugh Bryan (1725)
[Charleston Deeds, v. H, pp. 2[illegible]288] (#3)

Figure 63

1728



1728

Willtown: 500 acres

Richard Edgehill: 134 acres

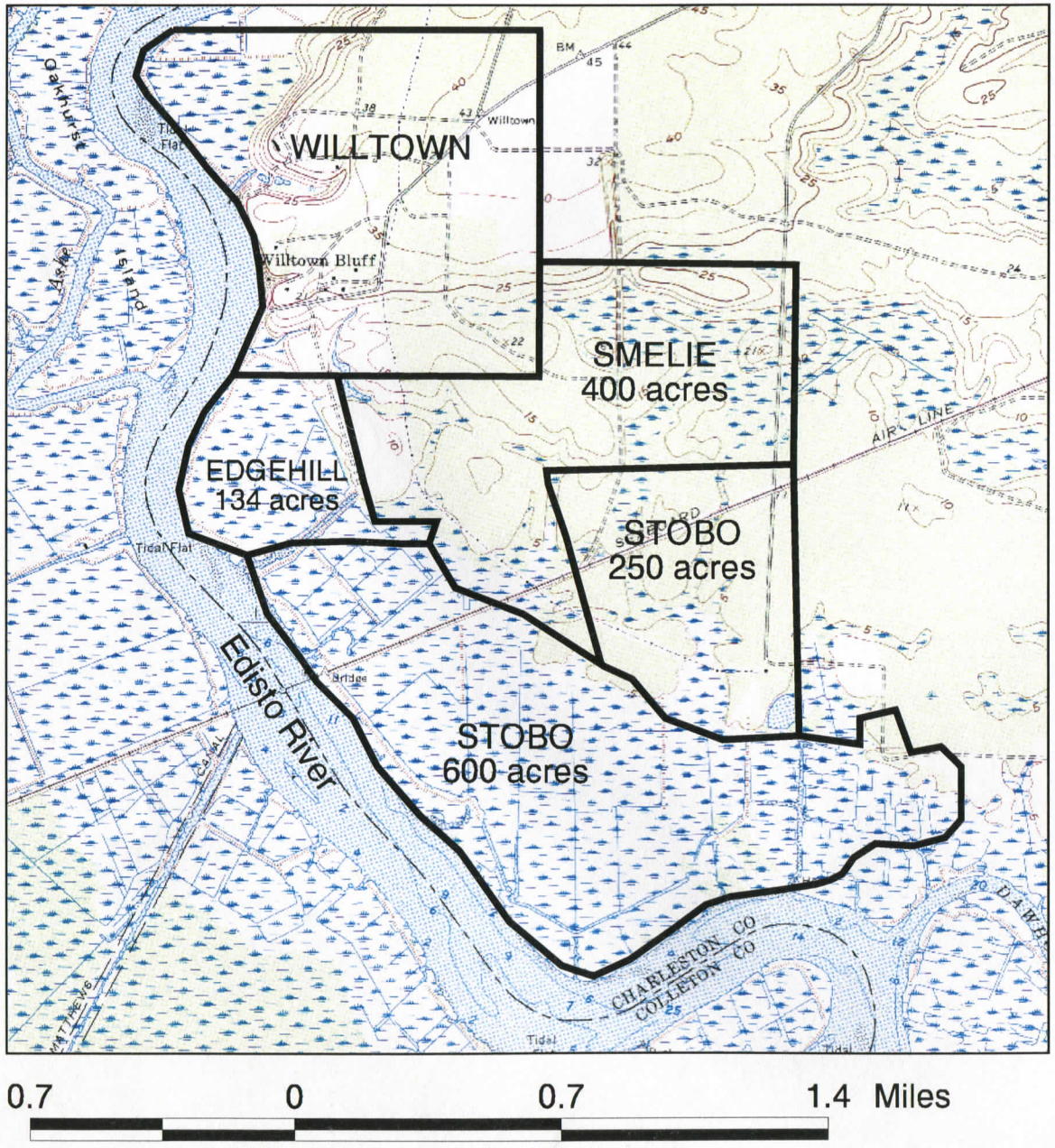
John Smelie: 400 acres

Hugh Bryan:
250 acres
[Charleston Deeds, v. H, pp. 286-288] (#3)

600 acres (Pon Pon Swamp)
[Colonial Plats, v.12, p. 23] (#5)

Figure 64

1731



1731

Willtown: 500 acres

Richard Edgehill: 134 acres

John Smelie: 400 acres

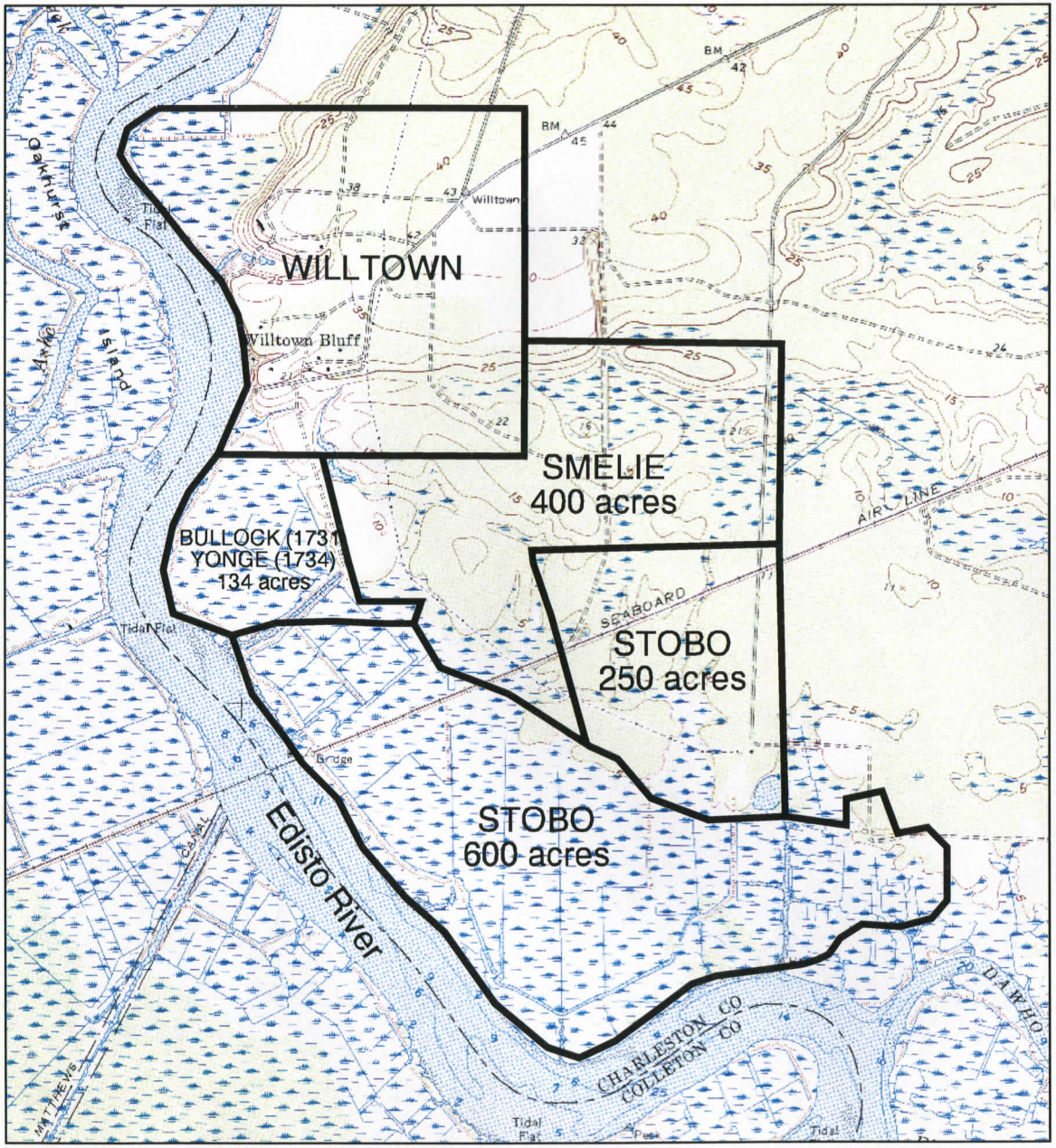
James Stobo: 850 acres
formerly 2 tracts of land
belonging to Hugh Bryan.

250 acres: from John Ash
land grant

600 acres: from John Bayley
land grant
[Memorial, v.5, p. 165] (#2)

Figure 65

1734



1734

Willtown: 500 acres

James Bullock: 134 acres
formerly belonging to
Richard Edgehill (d. 1731)
Bounds
N; Willtown
E: John Smelie
S: James Stobo
W: Pon Pon River
[Colonial Plats, v.1, p. 111; 1733] (#6)

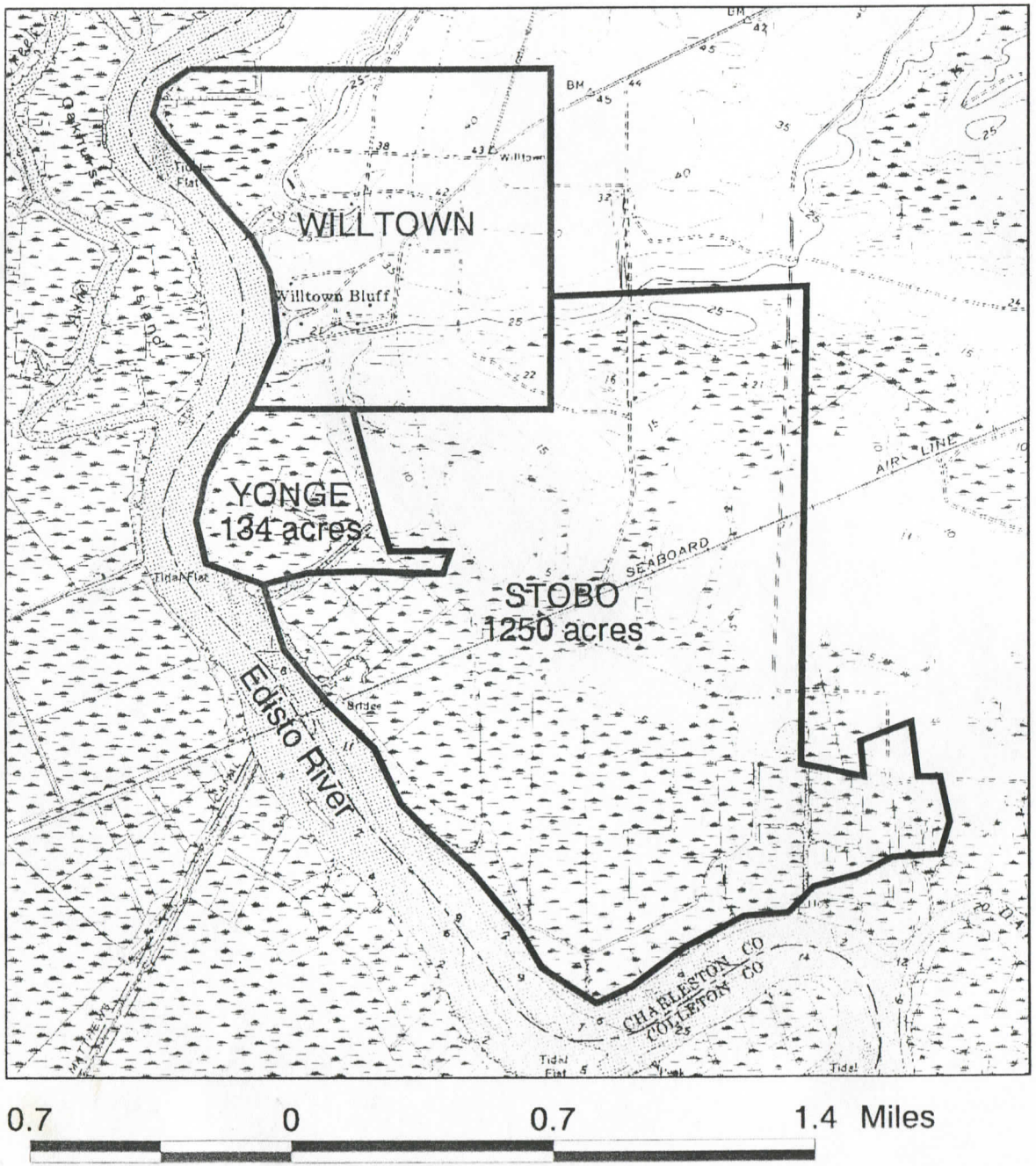
Henry Yonge: 134 acres
formerly belonging to
James Bullock
Bounds
N: Lots of Willtown/New London
E: John Smelie
S: James Stobo
W: Ediston River
[Colonial Deeds, Book P, p. 107] (#11)
[Memorials, v. 7, pp. 149-50] (#10)

John Smelie: 400 acres

James Stobo: 850 acres

Figure 66

1741



1741

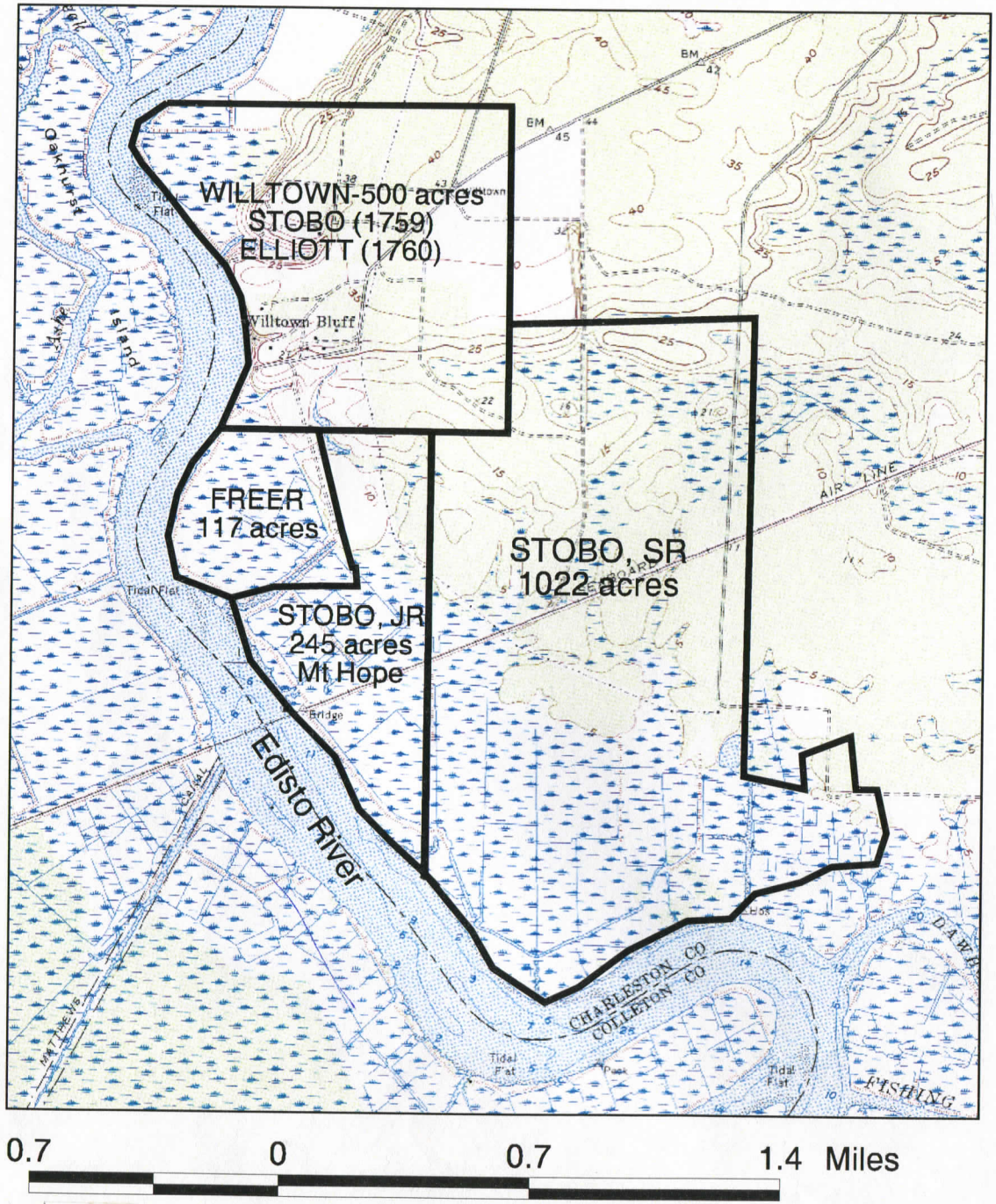
Willtown: 500 acres

Henry Yonge: 134 acres

James Stobo: 1250 acres,
400 acres formerly belonging
to John Smelie
[Charleston Deeds,v. 2W,
p. 236-7] (#7)

Figure 67

1759-1760



1759-60

Willtown: 500 acres
granted to James Stobo (1759)
[Memorial, v. 7, p. 254] (#9)
[Colonial Plats, v.7, p.21; 1759] (#8)

William Elliott: Willtown lots in 1760
[Colonial Plats, v.7, p. 106] (#13)

John Freer: 117 acres
[Memorial, v.7, p.149] (#10)

James Stobo, Jr: 245 acres-
Mt. Hope bounds:
N: John Freer
E: James Stobo, Sr
S: Archibald Stobo
W: Edisto River (#12)

[Charleston Deeds, Book I-5,
pp. 18-22]

James Stobo, Sr: 1022 acres of land

Figure 68

c. 1793

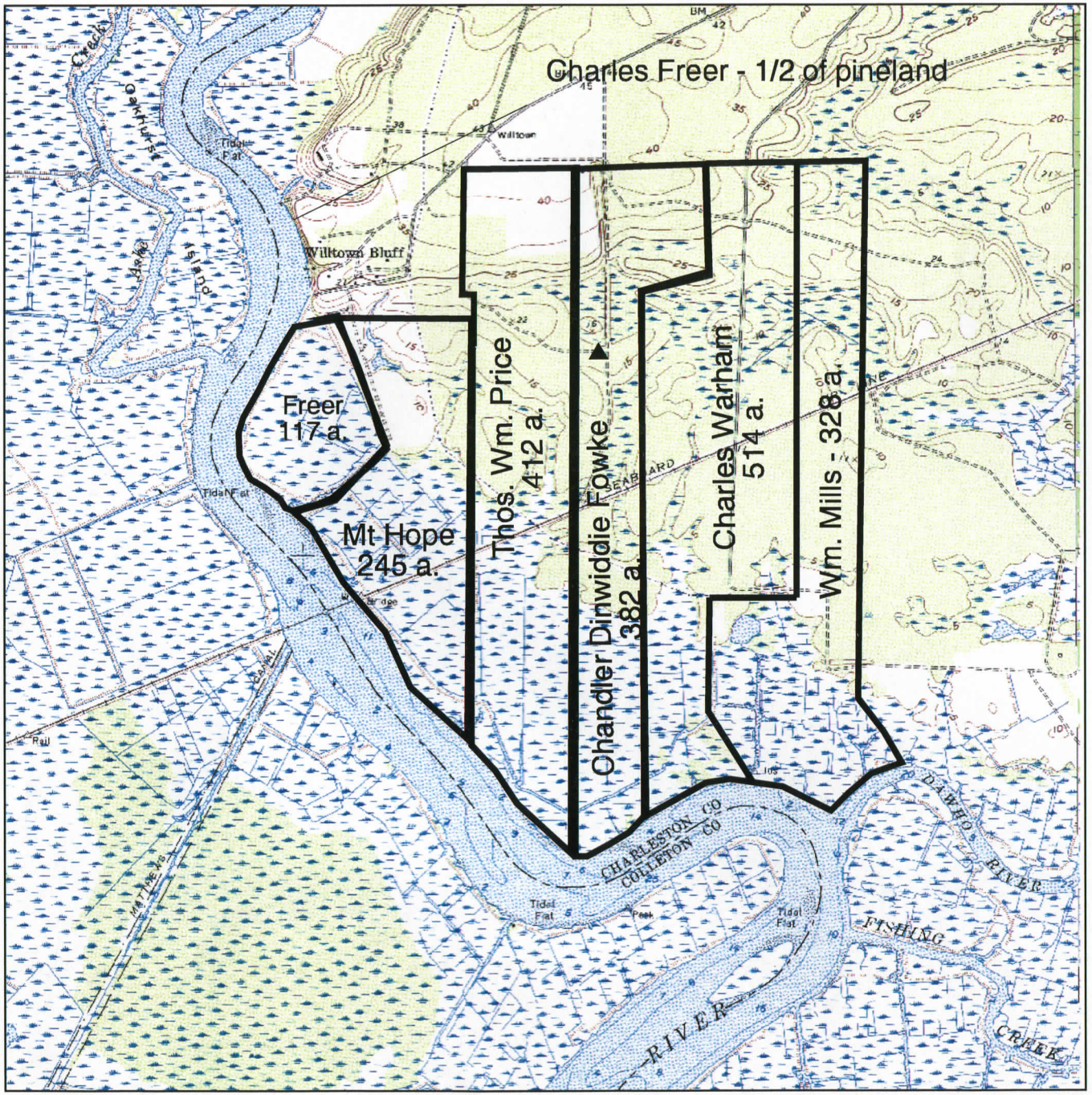


Figure 69

Charles Freer: approx 426 acres in various tracts
(McCready Plats #1736) (#15)

James Stobo: 245 acres-Mt Hope
(Charleston Deeds, Book I-5, pp 18-22) (#12)

Formerly Richard Park Stobo
[heir of James Stobo, Sr]
Thos. Wm. Price: 412 acres
N: Charles Freer
E: Land formerly of estate
S: PonPon River
W: James Stobo

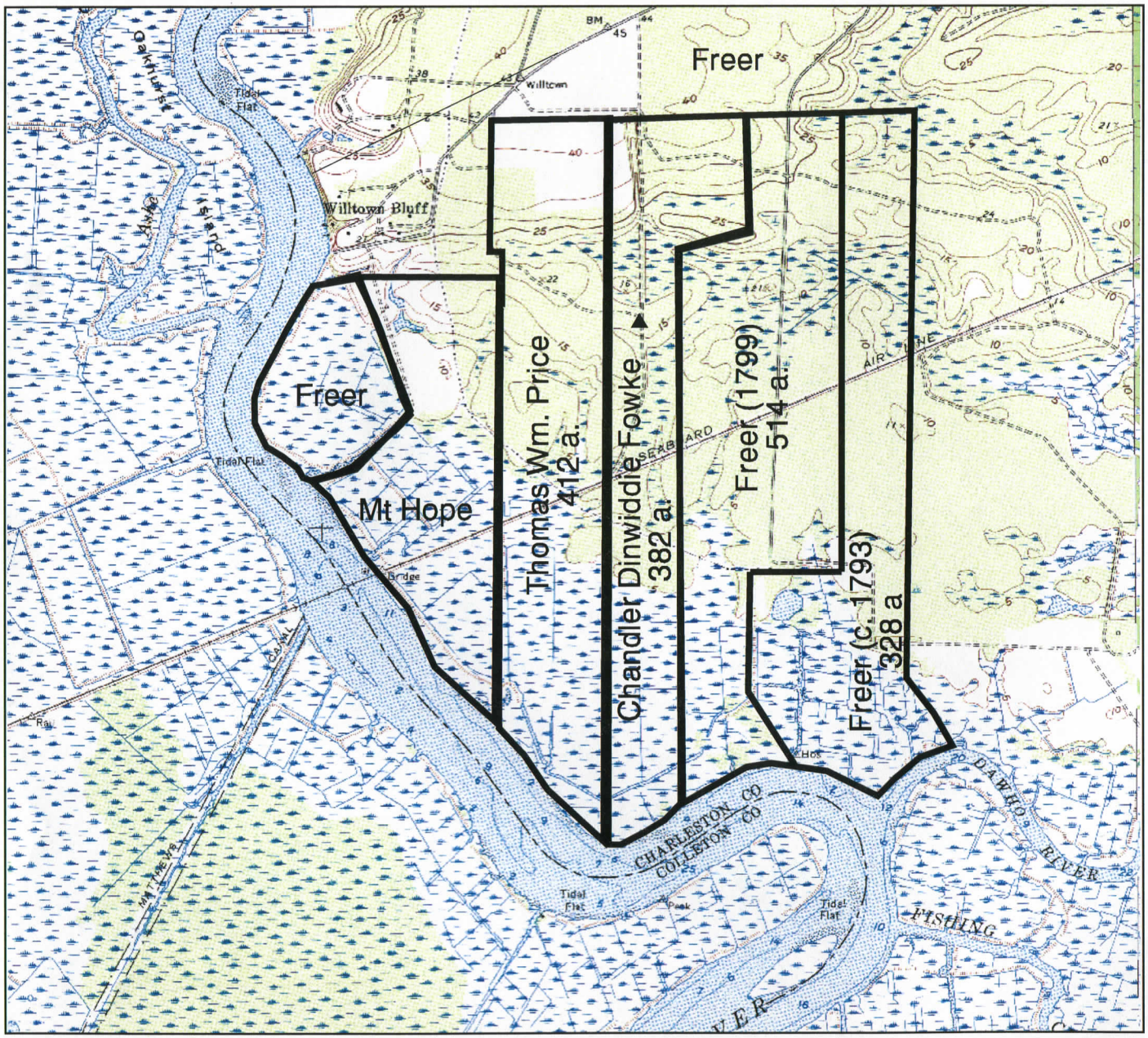
Chandler D. Fowke: 382 acres
N: Charles Freer
E: Land formerly of estate
S: PonPon River
W: Land formerly of estate

Charles Warham: 514 acres
N: Charles Freer
E: Land formerly of estate
S: PonPon River
W: Land formerly of estate

William Mills: 328 acres
N: Charles Freer
E: John Berkeley (Pinebury)
S: PonPon & Dawho Rivers
W: Land formerly of estate

Rawlins Lowndes: 1/2 of 630a of pineland
Charles Freer: 1/2 of pineland
(Charleston Equity Report Book, 1785-1794, pp 205-6) (#14)

1793-1799

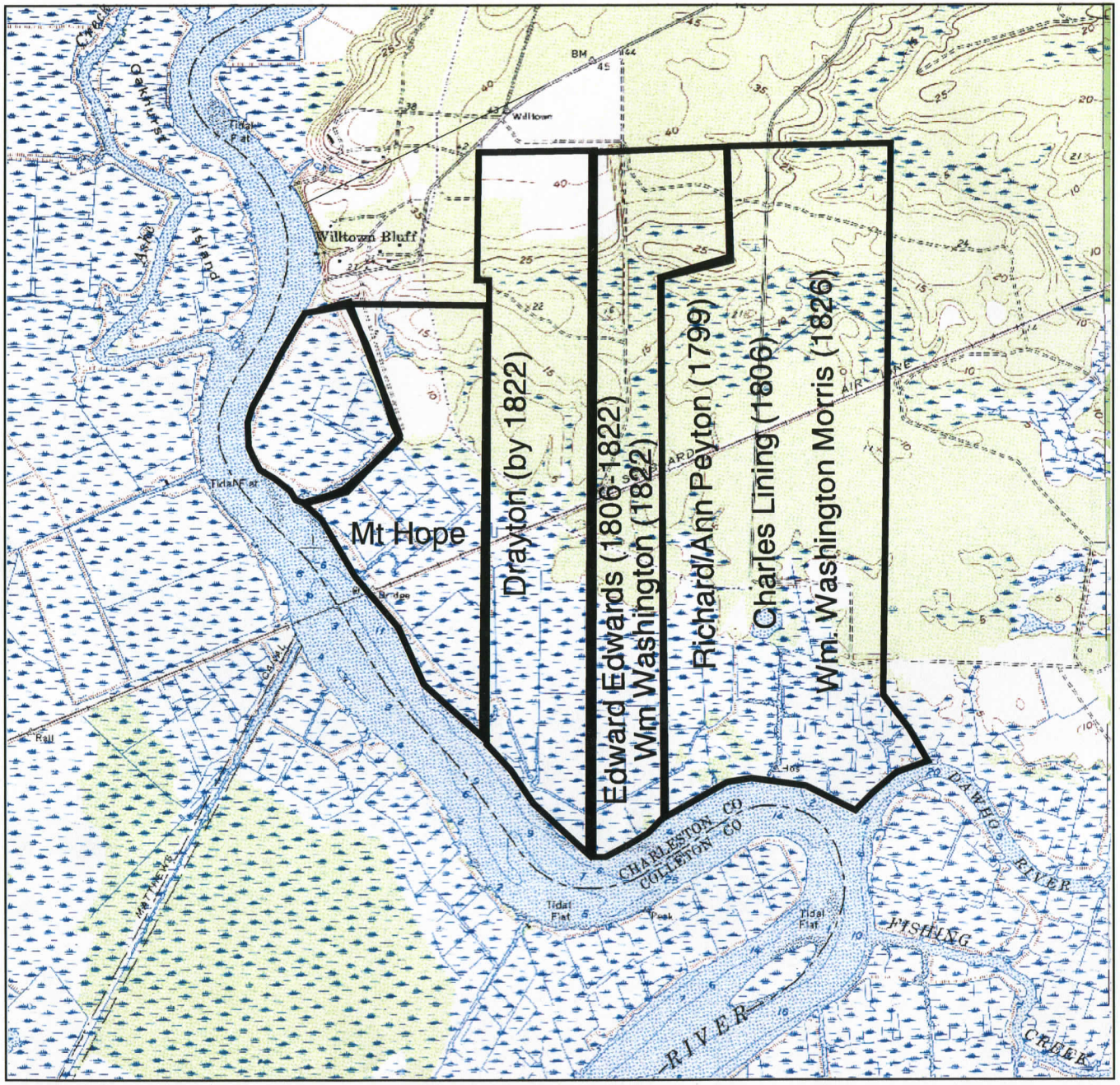


c. 1793: Charles Freer purchases William Mills' 328-acre tract (Francis Huger v. Chas. Freer, Court of Common Pleas, 2-17-1797) (#16)

c.1799: Charles Freer Acquires Charles Warham's 514-acre tract (Charleston Co Deeds, B7: 132-137; Y6: 357-58)

Figure 70

1799-1826



1799: Charles Freer sells 694a (Block Island) to Richard & Ann Peyton
N: Charles Freer
E: John Berkeley
S: PonPon & Dawho Rivers
W: Chandler D. Fowke
(Charleston Co Deeds, B7: 132-137; Y6: 357-358)

1806: Peyton sells Block Island to Charles Lining
(Charleston Co Deeds, Q7: 263-265)

1822: Edward Edwards sells 382 acres to Wm Washington
N: Charles Freer
E: Charles Lining
S: PonPon
W: Wm. Drayton
(Charleston Co Deeds, H9: 314-315)

1826: Mrs. Charles Lining sells Block Island to George Morris
(Charleston Co Deeds, Q9: 346-348)

Figure 71

son Thomas the plantation Westfield which belonged to Thomas' mother, Ann, along with the adjacent lands Livingston had purchased, making a total of about 1600 acres. He also left Thomas two lots in Charleston purchased by Mr. Bolton. This suggests that Livingston had married Ann Bolton, the widow of John Ash of Westfield. In addition to other property, Livingston left a lot in New London to his son William.

John Smelie purchased "Drumhall," a plantation of four hundred acres, from William Livingston in 1719. Smelie (Smiley) was in the province by at least 1717, when Richard Woodward obtained a judgment from the Equity Court against Smelie regarding ownership of a horse. The following year the Commissioners of Indian Trade ordered that Smiley be paid thirty pounds for a horse "bought and received of him, for the Use of the said Trade (Journals of the Commissioners of Indian Trade, 1710-1718, SCDAH 1955:284). The Smiley family is listed in "Burke's Peerage and Baronetage" and was apparently of Scottish origin with estates in Northern Ireland. No connection with John Smilie of Willtown has been established, but it is coincidental that the Smiley estate in Antrim, North Ireland, was called "Drumalis." In his will, John Smilie mentioned his brother Thomas "in the Country of Down in the Kingdom of Ireland." He bequeathed to his sons John and William "all my Tract of land & Plantation whereon I now live near Wiltown containing four hundred acres." (Wills 2:7-9, SCDAH). This provides evidence that Smilie did indeed have a home on his Willtown plantation. He also mentions his wife Elizabeth and his daughter Anne who later married John Seabrook (d.1807). The will of John Smilie, Sr. had provided that Elizabeth Smiley should live on the plantation "during her widowhood." The will further indicates that the three children were minors when the will was proved in 1727.

John and William Smilie inherited Drumhall from their father. By 1739, they were apparently of age, and at that time they sold the plantation to James Stobo (Deeds WW:236-237). Stobo's wife was named Elizabeth and the question arises whether he might possibly have married the widow. James Stobo (1705-1780) was the son of Archibald and Elizabeth Park Stobo. Archibald Stobo was a Presbyterian minister who arrived in South Carolina in 1700. He preached first in Charleston and later at Willtown. James Stobo accumulated some 4400 acres of land in a series of transactions, and engaged in rice and indigo planting. A contemporary source states that James Stobo was noted for producing a high quality indigo. The inventory of his estate indicates that he owned two sets of indigo vats. The inventory further shows that he owned 124 slaves and the luxury items in his household show that he was a wealthy man (Inventories BB:214-217, SCDAH). Though he lived until 1780, we know from the parish records of the Presbyterian church that Stobo had departed the Willtown area by 1767 (Simmons 1960).

In his will, James Stobo bequeathed to his son Richard Park Stobo his Willtown lands with the stipulation that Richard Park would be responsible for paying the debts of the estate. When James Stobo died, the American Revolution was in progress. He had lent the government of South Carolina L14,000. Richard Park Stobo served in the South Carolina General Assembly during the Revolution (Edgar and Bailey 1977:660). His father's loans probably left Richard Park short of ready cash when he took over the estate. At any rate, he failed to pay his father's debts. When Richard Park Stobo died in 1785, the estate had to be liquidated by order of the court.

The *South Carolina Gazette* of August 18, 1791 announced an auction to be held back of the Exchange on Monday, September 5, 1791, of "that body of valuable Land belonging to the Estate of Richard Park Stobo, Esq. And whereon he resided, consisting of several tracts of excellent Tide-Swamp and a proper proportion of high Land, situate at Willtown, in St. Paul's Parish; it will be divided into smaller tracts to suit purchasers, agreeable to a Platt in the hands of the Master in Equity who requests the attendance of the Creditors of the Estate at the sales. CONDITIONS - One Fifth *cash* - Two fifths of the Purchase money payable on the first day of January next, and the remaining two fifths on the first day of January 1793. (SCG August 18, 1791).

The land with the house site was purchased by Chandler Dinwiddie Fowke, an attorney who had married James Stobo's daughter Mary Stobo Fraser (previously married to John Fraser) on April 21, 1790. Fowke purchased 382 ares bounded north by Charles Freer, east on a tract late of the estate (purchased by Charles Warham), south on the Pon Pon River, and west on a tract late of the estate (purchased by Thomas William Price). The plat which accompanies the Fowke deed clearly shows a stylized two-story house with two chimneys. Most interestingly, an avenue is clearly marked as leading from the north and traversing an expanse of swamp or water via a causeway. A second, smaller structure is shown due south of the main house. (Charleston Equity Report Book, 1785-1794:147, 196, 205; CCRMCO Q7:446; figure 57). Thomas William Price purchased 412 acres. The plat that accompanies the deed does not show any structures, but another plat that precisely matches the land forms shows an extensive settlement on the southerly end of the high land, known after this point as the "Rocks Springs settlement" (SCHS, Maps #32-63-3; Charleston Deeds H6:55-58; figure 32).

Chandler D. Fowke died in 1795, and the Charleston newspaper stated, "In a few words, this gentleman possessed unbounded generousity and benevolence; those who knew him most, loved him best" (SCHM 23:75; SCHM 21:29). Fowke bequeathed everything he had to his wife Mary. Her will (proved May 13, 1814) does not mention any land, but she left substantial cash legacies to "the four daughters of my grand Niece mrs. Alice Scriven, wife of Dr. Richard B. Scriven of Beaufort" and ~~any~~ other relatives. She also left slaves to relatives. The rest of the slaves and the "residue of my property" went to Stobo Richard Perry (Charleston Wills, 800-801). No deeds for sale of Willtown land have been located for Perry or Fowke. However, equity court records show that Richard Peyton bought the Fowke tract and resold it to Dr. William Hayne Simmons.

In 1822 Edward Edwards sold a 382 acre tract "being at Willtown on Pon Pon River" to William Washington bounded north on Charles Freer, east on the estate of Charles Lining (Block Island, later the Grove), south on Pon Pon, and west on William Drayton (Deeds H9:314-315). Drayton had apparently purchased the Price tract. A search of the records gave no clues as to where Edwards acquired the property, and Dr. Linder was unable to trace the Drayton ownership, due to the destruction of Colleton County deeds in the Civil War.

William Washington was the son of William A. Washington, a kinsman of the first President, who came to South Carolina as an officer in the American army during the Revolution and decided to stay. The younger William married Martha Ferguson Blake, daughter of John Blake (1752-1810) (Edgar and Bailey 1977:749-751).

In 1793 Charles Freer purchased William Mills' 328 acre tract (Deeds, L6:194). He still owned the property in 1797, when Francis Huger sued Charles Freer for infringing on his property, near the intersection of Ponpon and Dawho. To settle the case, the surveyor drew a plat which confirms that Freer had acquired Block Island, the tract purchased by William Mills. The plat shows Charles Warham still owning the tract adjoining C.D. Fowke. By 1799, Freer had acquired the Warham tract, because at that time he sold "Block Island" bounded by Fowke on the west and Berkley on the eaast to Richard and Ann Peyton. Peyton sold Block Island to Charles Lining in 1806. When Polly Lining (Mrs. Charles Lining) sold Block Island to George Morris (who called it the Grove) in 1826, it bordered to the west on land formerly of Richard Park Stobo and "now of William Washington" (Deeds, Q9:346-348; see figures 69 and 70).

east

By the time James Stobo's estate (actually Richard Park Stobo's estate) was subdivided, it had become extremely valuable land that contained both inland swamp and tide swamp rice fields, indigo production sufficient to require two sets of vats, and, for a period of time, resources to operate a lumber mill on that portion that later became the Grove. In the 19th century this land attracted some wealthy and prominent Carolinians, including Lewis Morris and William Washington who had come south during the Revolutionary War, married local women, and stayed to become planters. Ralph Izard, son of U.S. Senator Ralph Izard and Alice DeLancey, established a plantation sometime between 1810 and 1820. William Drayton planted on Jehossee Island and on what later became Rock Spring (later owned by the son of Ralph Izard, Ralph DeLancey Izard). The Grimball family, long prominent in South Carolina, was present at the Grove, and John Berkley Grimball married Margaret Ann (Meta) Morris, granddaughter of Lewis Morris. Her mother Elizabeth Manigault was the daughter of Margaret Izard and Gabriel Manigault, and Gabriel Manigault owned land just north of the former Stobo property. Samuel Wilcox, son of Sir Thomas Wilcox of High Cross, Tottenham, Middlesex County, England, married Ann Stobo, daughter of Richard Park Stobo, and developed a friendship with Ralph Izard at Willtown. The owners of the former Stobo lands were cosmopolitan, well-educated, and wealthy. Together they formed the Willtown community of the 19th century.

The Site Revealed

Test excavations were conducted at the site for three weeks beginning June 23, 1997. Prior to our arrival, Mr. Allan Parks had cleared the site of underbrush and removed some of the downed wood which had compromised grid work during the shovel testing. Work at the site began by reestablishing the grid. The key stake, a section of iron rebar, remained in place from the 1996 testing, and so work began from this point. In order to accommodate a larger site grid and remain in the Chicago style, the arbitrary designation of the key stake was changed from N100E100 to N200E200. The transit was set up over this key stake and grid points placed to the north, south and east at 5 foot intervals.

After these grid coordinates were located and test excavation began, it was discovered that there was an error in the grid designation. The rebar remaining in the ground from the 1996 shovel testing was actually located 15 feet east of the original N100E100 stake; therefore the old coordinates

of this rebar were not N100E100, but N100E85. Since excavation of several designated squares had already commenced, it was decided to utilize the present coordinates as listed, but it is important for the reader who tries to coordinate shovel tests with excavated units that N200E200 in 1997 was N100E85 in 1996.

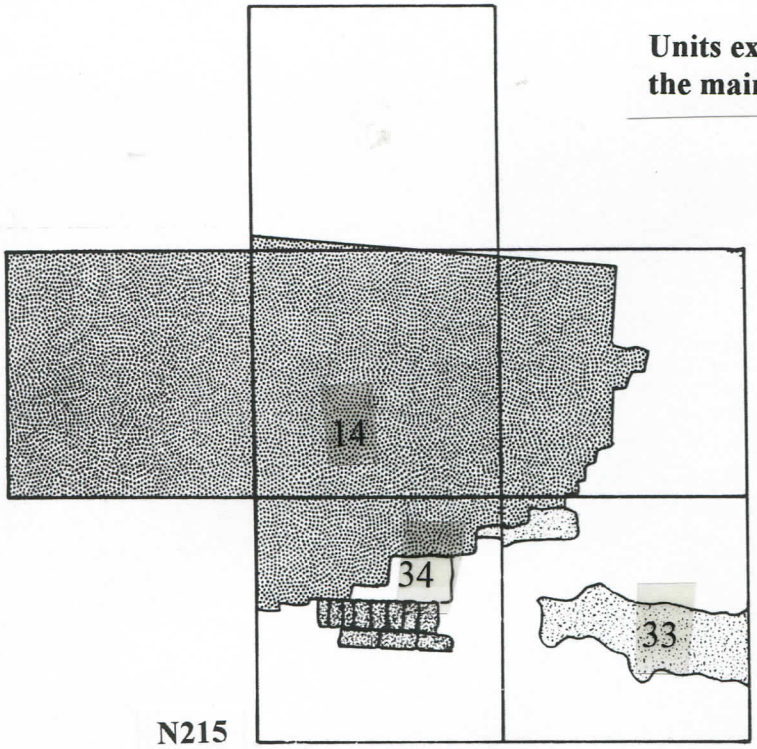
The 1997 testing consisted of excavation of a series of dispersed 5 foot squares, with adjacent squares excavated to more fully expose features. Each of the units, or group of units, was established by triangulation from two original grid points established with the transit. Seventeen 5-foot units were excavated in the three week field session. Excavation of 121 discrete proveniences from these units revealed nearly 8,600 artifacts, 4,200 grams of bone, and 2,750 pounds of brick. A block of seven units revealed a brick-floored structure or room, measuring approximately 12 by 15 feet, while dispersed units revealed at least two additional activity areas, in the vicinity of N165E200 and N200E260.

Careful examination of the site map and artifact profiles generated by this work (figures 72-73) indicated that the distinct boundaries for the brick rubble suggested in the density maps were indeed real. While the block of seven units in the N215 vicinity might reflect a small, freestanding structure, the outline of brick rubble noted in the the N190 vicinity suggested that these units instead outlined a much larger structure, the majority of which lay between and unexposed. This, plus the distinct stratigraphic record and the intact artifacts suggested that more work was clearly warranted. In addition to exploring the house, the outlying units suggested that the yard area also contained data worthy of further study.

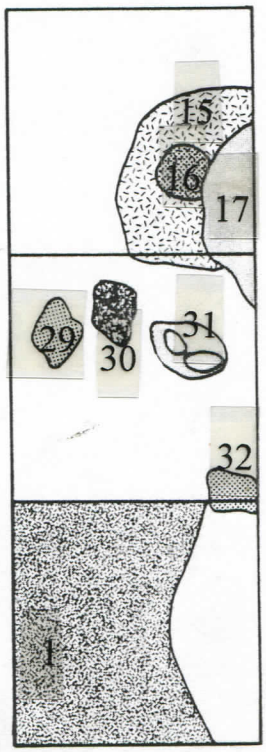
A second field season was planned for May 1998, utilizing many of the graduates of the initial field school. This project was planned as a special course in advanced field methods, designed to better prepare the graduating student for a role in the workplace. In lieu of lectures and examination, a series of guest scholars visited the site and provided lectures on their area of specialty and its relevance to the Willtown project. This 3-week course was followed immediately by two additional weeks of fieldwork, with the crew paid for their efforts. This 5-week project resulted in the excavation of 35 units, 19 of them uncovering additional portions of the main house and 16 dispersed across the yard area (figure 74).

Despite the extensive excavation of the second season, and the tremendous amount of detail revealed, the architectural remains eluded concrete interpretation. Mr. Lane thus suggested that a third and final season complete the exposure of the structure. This was conducted for three weeks beginning October 20, 1998, using a paid crew of ten full or part-time archaeologists. During this time, 30 new units were excavated and 37 additional features were defined. All but one of these units was located over the footprint of the main house. As is often the case in fieldwork, a new, unexpected portion of the compound was discovered with only two days remaining. A few extra days were required to entirely expose the limits of this structure in the most elementary fashion. The large area exposed during the first two seasons was backfilled in July to preserve the site. During the October project we simply excavated the units not previously dug. Therefore the photos of block excavation do not show those dug during the third project; these are reflected on the overall site map.

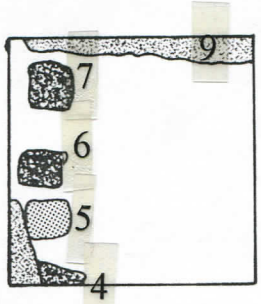
Units excavated and features encountered over the main house, Spring 1997 season



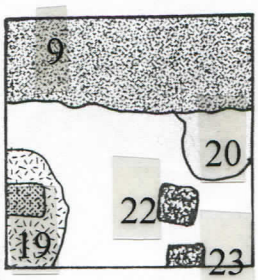
N215
E180



N210
E200



N190
E180



N190
E195

Figure 72

above: west profile, N215E180, showing feature 3 underlying feature 2
below: east profile, N215E185, showing robbed brick wall above feature 33

Figure 73

Figure 74 **Archaeologist Chris Judge lecturing to Advanced Field Methods Class Jackie Bagley and Kelly Jones troweling N215E180**

Field and Laboratory Methods

Excavations were conducted with shovel and trowel, working in natural zones. The shovel testing had demonstrated that the site appeared to be highly stratified, and never plowed. Soil was dry-screened through 1/4 inch mesh adjacent to each unit. Soil samples were recovered from most natural proveniences. While all diagnostic architectural artifacts were retained, brick and mortar rubble were collected and weighed by bucketfull for each provenience, and then discarded (these data are reflected in figure 118).

Vertical control was maintained with the transit, relative to the top of the key stake. Since no absolute elevation points could be established for the site, this point was given an assumed elevation of 15.0 feet above mean sea level. All elevations will be calculated to feet above mean sea level (msl).

Record keeping entailed narrative notes and completion of a variety of forms on a daily basis. Planview and profile maps were made for each unit, as appropriate. Material from each designated provenience were bagged and tagged separately; a field specimen number (FS#) was assigned to each in ordinal fashion. Photographs were taken in black and white (Tmax 100) and color slide (Kodachrome 200 professional film), and processed for archival stability. In addition, Ecktachrome 100 SW (for warm tones) was used at both sites for comparative purposes.

The students were involved in all phases and activities of the fieldwork. They maintained a duplicate set of narrative notes, rotating this duty on a daily basis. Labeling of bags and assignment of FS numbers was also assigned to individual students on a daily basis. In addition, students were primarily responsible for completing excavation unit forms and feature forms, under the supervision of the field supervisors.

Laboratory studies included the sorting, washing, identifying and cataloging of all recovered artifacts and ecofacts. Cultural, faunal, and ferrous materials were bagged separately during screening, and conservation of iron and brass artifacts began immediately after fieldwork. As dietary and environmental studies are a critical aspect of the research, floral, faunal, and pollen samples were collected for specialized study. Soil samples were collected from each provienience. The site yielded a rich array of faunal material, and these were washed, weighed, and shipped to Dr. Elizabeth Reitz at the University of Georgia for analysis. Soil samples were sorted, dried, and weighed, and eight samples were sent to Dr. Doug Frink for OCR dating. A few soil samples were also selected for pollen study, and sent to Jean Porter at the University of Georgia.

All metal, ferrous and non-ferrous, was stabilized and conserved in the Museum's laboratory. Ferrous materials from this site were in remarkably good condition, compared to other Lowcountry assemblages, but they still required some conservation. They were separated during washing and

stabilized by placing them in successive baths of distilled water to remove chlorides; they will then be oven-dried and bagged separately. Several ferrous and all nonferrous 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 ampheres. Upon completion of electrolysis, ranging from a few weeks to a few months, 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 ampheres. Electrolytic reduction of these artifacts was usually accomplished in one to two days. They were then placed in distilled water baths to remove surface chlorides, dried in ethanol, and gently polished with steel or brass wool before being coated with Incralac to protect the surfaces.

Mr. Lane decided that permanent curation of the collection at The Charleston Museum was appropriate, and donated the materials to the Museum. They received accession number 1997.069. All excavated materials are curated in The Charleston Museum's storage facility according to museum collection policy. Artifacts are packed by provenience in standard 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 security section. Archivally stable copies will be available in the general research section of the library. Many of the retrieved artifacts are on permanent exhibition as part of the Museum's examination of Rice Culture.

Cultural materials were washed in warm water, dried, and sorted by artifact type. The next step in analysis was identification of artifacts by provenience. The Museum's type collection, Noel Hume (1969), Stone (1974), Brown (1982), Ferguson (1992), and Deagan (1987) were the primary sources used. Other references were consulted for specific artifacts, including Gaimster (1997), Austin (1994) and Baumgarten (1986). Lorrain (1968), Huggins (1971), Kechum (1975), and Switzer (1974), as well as Noel Hume, were used to identify bottle glass. Epstein (1968) and Luscomb (1967), as well as South (1964) were used in button identification, and Fontana and Greenleaf (1962) was used for nails. Other specific reference books include Noel Hume (1974, 1978), Ray (1973), Fisher (1965) and a series of Shire Albums from Great Britain.

Following analysis by provenience, the ceramics from each provenience were individually numbered and cross-sorted by type to determine minimum vessel count and source of cross-mends for horizontal patterning. Many of the vessels recovered from feature 3 were reconstructable. These were conserved by volunteer Myrna Rowland using conservator's glue, B-72 soluble in acetone. Due to its pristine condition, the plantation site presents the first opportunity to conduct meaningful cross-mend analysis. This, and other quantification exercises, are presented after a general description of the recovered artifacts.

Description of Excavated Proveniences

Excavation at the site began with the simultaneous excavation of five units. Though their

precise placement was somewhat arbitrary, it was guided by the results of the shovel testing and a desire for dispersed units. These initial units defined the general site stratigraphy. Zone 1 was a post-occupational accumulation of humic topsoil. It was a dark grey-brown sand (10yr2/2) with moderate artifact content. Zone 1 varied in depth, but averaged .5 feet. Beneath this in some of the early units was a concentration of brick and mortar in the zone 1 matrix; when encountered this was excavated as zone 1a, and was equally dark (2.5yr3/2). Zone 2 was distinguished from the above deposit by color; it was lighter and grayer (7.5yr4/2) (figure 75).

In some of the peripheral units, this was the extent of the soil deposits; others revealed deeper and more complex stratigraphy. Unit N235E185 and N190E180 were .8 feet deep and contained the two zone deposits above sterile soil. Other units were deeper; N190E195 contained the two zones, but was 1.8 feet deep. There were other differences as well. Unit N235E185 contained a single, poorly-defined feature intruding into yellow sand subsoil. N190E180 in contrast contained 8 features, most of them very well defined. Unit N190E195 likewise exhibited a number of well-defined features intruding into subsoil beneath the very deep zone deposits.

The units located over the brick floor revealed quite different stratigraphy; unit N220E185 serves as an example. Zones 1 and 2 were the first proveniences encountered, and were similar the the deposits in the previous units. Zone 1 was defined as a medium to dark grey-brown sand, 10yr3/1. Beneath this, zone 2 was slightly lighter and browner, 10yr4/2. Artifact density increased in zone 2. Within a few tenths, brick and mortar density increased dramatically, and a nearly solid lense of wall plaster was encountered. Excavations were halted at this point, and the unit was troweled clean. The concentration of plaster was labeled feature 2, and this designation remained throughout the three seasons to refer to the dense plaster rubble overlying the entire house; this deposit did, however, exhibit some horizontal variability in density and content (brick vs. mortar vs. plaster). Overall, feature 2 was defined as principally plaster, and lying in a sheet deposit, to contrast with feature 1, defined as brick rubble, principally in linear depressions, corresponding roughly to robbed wall footings (figure 76).

Feature 2 contained a large number of artifacts, including nails and other architectural elements, and ceramics, including shell edged pearlware. In some portions of the unit, the plaster seemed to be jumbled with a slightly darker soil, and this was excavated as zone 2a. Beneath this, and clearly separate from it, was a deep midden-like deposit of black sand (10yr2/1), devoid of charcoal. This was designated feature 3, and was found across the brick floor. Feature 3 ranged from .3 to .7 feet deep, depending on the amount of disturbance from feature 2 or zone 2a above. Pockets or lenses of granular white sand were also found throughout feature 3. This midden contained large amounts of cultural materials, and a number of restorable vessels. These often cross-mended with artifacts from feature 2.

The brick foundation, designated feature 14, was encountered at the base of feature 3 and consisted of a brick floor laid in running bond. Feature 14 was intact in the western portion of this initial unit, but absent in the eastern. Instead, a number of irregular dark deposits intruded into yellow

Figure 75 Examples of soil profiles in units outside of main house: south wall, N150E260; north wall, N170E250

Figure 76 West profile, N215E175, showing interface of feature 49 (prepared courtyard surface), feature 14 (brick floor of bay 1) and feature 3 (overlying black midden)

sterile sand. The first of these was designated feature 13, and these ultimately proved to be evidence of robbed brick walls (figure 77).

These three examples demonstrate the distinguishing characteristics of the archaeological record. The site is very well preserved. Artifacts are large, and many are from primary deposits. There is a great deal of variation in horizontal patterning, and the delineation between areas of different deposits is quite clear. For the sake of efficiency and clarity, site stratigraphy will be described in general terms, grouping similar test units or block excavations. These general descriptions of stratigraphic sequence will be followed by detailed description of individual features.

James Stobo's (1741) house

The block excavations ultimately exposed a large structure covering, as the shovel testing initially suggested, an area 40 by 40 feet. This building consisted of three separate rectangular structures, or bays, which overlap, surrounding an area interepreted as a central courtyard. The stratigraphy of each of these four components (the three bays plus the courtyard) will be described separately. They have each received a designation of convenience, to streamline description and communication (figures 78-79).

Bay 1: Because it was encountered during the first phase of excavation, the northernmost bay, the footprint of feature 14, has been designated Bay 1. The stratigraphy described above for N220E185 held for the remainder of this portion of the block. The next unit excavated was N215E185. Here, the stratigraphy between features 2 and 3 was much more disturbed, and a good portion of the unit was excavated as zone 2a, the designation given to the mixing of these two deposits (though in some units it was simply labeled 'feature 2/3 disturbed'). By the time that the excavations of all the units were underway, it was clear that feature 14 was a brick floor, feature 3 a black midden which had accumulated on top of the floor some time in the mid-18th century, and that features 1 and 2 represented robbing of brick walls and demolition of the structure, respectively, dated after 1780 by the consistent presence of pearlware. This demolition activity resulted in varying amounts of disturbance to feature 3 and the mixing of deposits, clearly evident by the nature and content of the plaster, but also by the highly contrasting colors of the two soils. In unit N215E185 the soils were mixed to the based of the deposit, and beneath zones 1 and 2 were all excavated as zone 2a. In this unit the deposit contained less plaster and more large brick fragments, indicative of a demolished wall. Yellow sterile sand was encountered at the base of zone 2a, with the exception of the northwest corner of the unit. Here a very small portion of the brick floor, feature 14, was visible, as was a small builders trench around this corner, designeated feature 34. Elsewhere in the unit was an ephemeral linear deposit of dark grey sand intruding into sterile subsoil. This was aligned with a heavy concentration of brick in the profile, and seems to be residual evidence of a brick wall robbed to its base. This linear deposit was designated feature 33.

Figure 77 Planview and west profile, N225E175, showing robbed brick wall, and resulting mix of feature 1, zone 2, and feature 3 soils, intruding into sterile subsoil

FIGURE 78. SITE MAP, SHOWING ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES ENCOUNTERED IN MAIN BLOCK. ROBBED WALL TRENCHES (FEATURE 1) SHOWN IN BROWN. COURTYARD PAVING (FEATURE 49) SHOWN IN TAN. THE EARLY HOUSE (C. 1720; FEATURES 72, 73, 56, 1090) SHOWN IN ORANGE. SEE INSERT FOR COLORS.

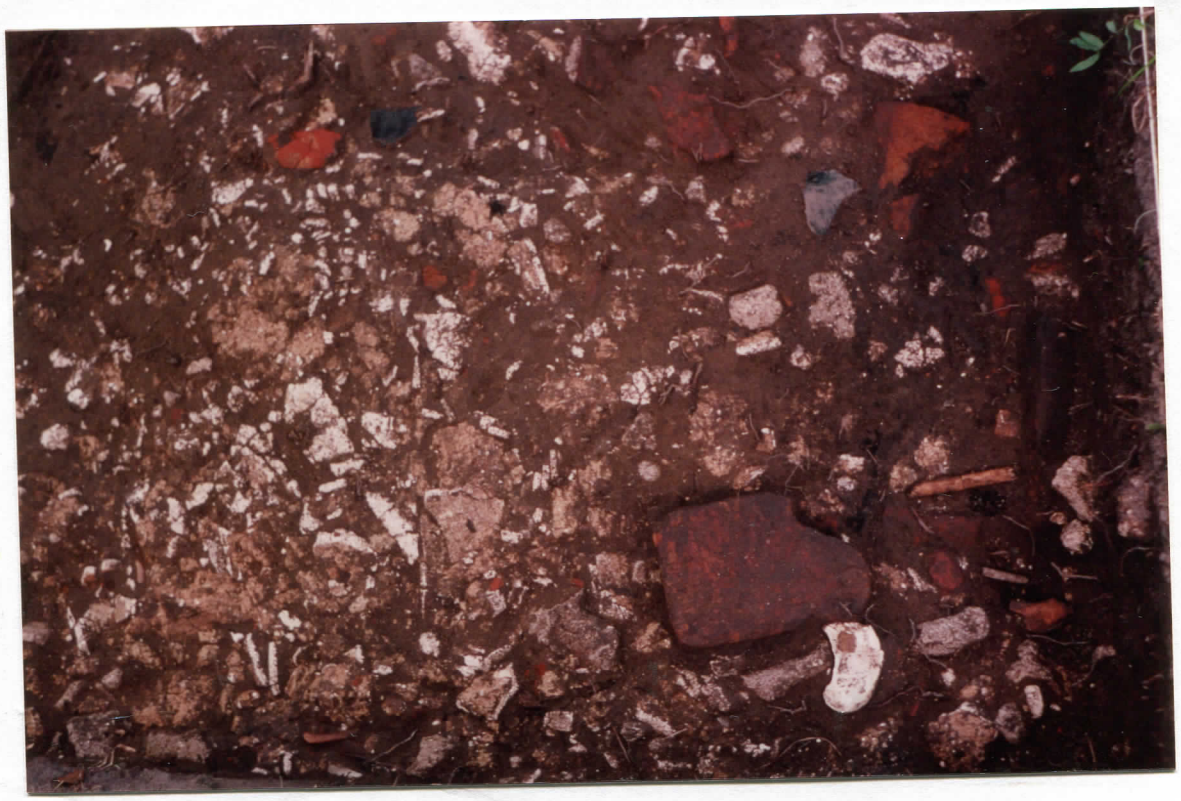


Figure 79 Aerial view of brick floors in bay 1 and bay 2; Closeup of plaster and debris in feature 2 (N220E185)

Unit N225E180 defines the stratigraphy of the northern edge of bay 1. Here, the soils were greatly disturbed by the robbing of a northerly brick wall, though this was evident only near the base of excavation. Zones 1 and 2 were intact, but beneath this the soil continued as highly mixed pockets of black, tan, and brown sands with varying amounts of brick and plaster rubble. These proveniences were variously excavated as feature 26 and 36, and zones 2b and 2c. Pearlware was found throughout. Other units placed over feature 14 revealed some disturbance to the stratigraphy, which received feature designations. Most notable was feature 43, a large area of lensed grey sand largely devoid of artifacts, which initiated near the ground surface. This feature was most prominent in N220E175, where the soils continued almost to the top of feature 14. Subsequent examination of the E180 profile between N215 and N225 revealed that this was a large hole , seemingly left open for a long period, gradually filled by water-washed sands. As we learned during subsequent excavations, reconstruction of the causeway for the railroad resulted in some disturbance to the site, characterized by lensed grey sand deposits like feature 43 and the introduction of the occasional railroad spike. Feature 24 was another late intrusive feature, a pit intruding into feature 2, whose edges were better defined but whose function remains unknown (figure 80).

Bay 2: Though there were, in retrospect, hints of its existence in units during the first field season, bay 2 was not revealed until the second phase of work in May 1998. Units N190E180 and N190E195 revealed the southern edge of this building, while units N210E200 through N220E200 contained the eastern wall. These units were reexamined during the second field session, to more fully define Bay 2, measuring roughly 16 by 20 feet. Bay 2 was ultimately defined as a two-room structure. The northern room featured a brick floor similar, but not identical, to that in bay 1, while the southern room was defined by a brick foundation that suggested a room with a raised wooden floor. In this section, the general stratigraphy of this area, plus those features associated with the structure, will be examined in detail.

Unit N205E180 was one of the first units excavated in season 2. It proved to be the first located in the central courtyard, and was the most complex unit of the season. This unit will be described in detail in a following section, but it served as a herald of discoveries to come. The first unit to expose portions of bay 2 was N205E195. Like the previous year's work, the unit began with zones 1 and 2; artifacts increased in density in zone 2. The next level was one of heavy brick rubble, which received the general designation of feature 1, originally defined in N210E200 the previous season. Here the brick rubble covered the entire unit. Beneath this was a thin layer of dark soil, and a brick floor, intact in portions of the unit. Here the bricks were slightly redder than in bay 1, and the floor contained a larger proportion of half-bricks. The bond ran east/west rather than north/south (figure 81).

Excavations immediately focused on adjacent units to follow the floor. N210E195 was the next excavated, and ultimately six units were excavated to expose the floor completely: N210E195,

Figure 80

West profile of N215E175, N220E175, and N225E175, showing extent of feature 43 intrusion

East profile of N220E185, showing possible wall demolition

Figure 81

Andrew Agha, Kelly Jones and Matt Tankersley mapping the edge of feature 55 brick floor

N210E190, N210E185, N205E195, N205E190, and N205E185. Units N210E200 and N215E200 were re-excavated to expose feature 1, defined in these units as the robbed wall trench for the eastern wall. All of these units exhibited the same stratigraphic sequence, with slight variation. Zones 1 and 2 were followed by heavy brick and plaster rubble. This was all excavated as feature 1 or feature 2, depending on the content, and each unit excavated this deposit in two to three zones. In some of the units,the midden soil beneath this rubble deposit was excavated as Feature 2 zone 3, and in others it received its more accurate designation as zone 3. Beneath this in each unit was intact brick flooring (figure 82).

The zone 3 deposits were in the same stratigraphic position as feature 3 in bay 1, but exhibited slightly different characteristics. The brick floor in bay 2, designated feature 55, initiated at a higher level than feature 14, so that zone 3 in turn initiated at a higher point. The tops of zone 3 and feature 3 were at the same level, so that zone 3 was a much thinner deposit than feature 3. Zone 3 is also lighter and browner whereas feature 3 was black (10yr3/2 for zone 3 compared to 10y2/1).

Beneath zone 3, the brick floor, feature 55, was mostly intact. The floor was somewhat uneven along its northern side, and portions were missing on the east and west ends. The portion along the western edge in particular, in N210E185, exhibited damage and disturbance, while a large portion of the brick was missing from N205E195. Nonetheless, it was possible to measure the extent of this floor as 10' north to south and 15' east to west.

The southern edge of feature 55 was finished in regular fashion. Here was a row of headers laid flat, adjoined to vertical bricks laid as headers. This served as a foundation for the wooden floor in the southern portion of the bay. This feature was intact along the western portion of the floor (the portion exposed in May), but disturbed and robbed in the eastern half; in October this disturbed area received the designation feature 115.

The southern half of bay 2 was exposed in two units in May 1998 (N200E185 and N195E185), and the remainder excavated as a block of seven units in October (N195E190 in the southwest to N200E205 in the northeast). Here the stratigraphic sequence was basically the same, but seemed to be more complex. Zones 1 and 2, comparable across the site, were followed by feature 2, the layer of brick, mortar, and particularly plaster. Beneath this was zone 3; here this deposit was deeper, about .7 feet, and in some portions of N200E185 contained pockets of darker midden soil, excavated as zone 4. (In October this soil was excavated as zone 3 level 2). The zone 3/4 deposits here contained a large number of artifacts. Instead of a brick floor, the zone 3 midden was underlain by a thin prepared surface consisting of orange clay mottled with pockets of crumbly white lime mortar. This was initially designated zone 4 level 2, and in October received the same for consistency. This appears to be the foundation for this portion of the structure (figure 83).

The western wall of this room consisted of single bricks laid side to side, designated feature 79. Unlike all of the other walls to the house, the southern wall of bay 2 was intact, and was first encountered in NN195E185, the last unit of the May 98 season. Here the foundation was four bricks wide, laid side to side, 1.2 feet wide and 1.0 feet deep. This was designated feature 95. It was

Figure 82 **Stratigraphy over feature 55, showing zone 3 and feature 2 above N205E185, south profile; N210E190, west profile**

Figure 83 Students discovering cache of early bottles in zone 4, N200E185; James Catto, Andrew Agha, Matt Tankersley showing off their 'finds'

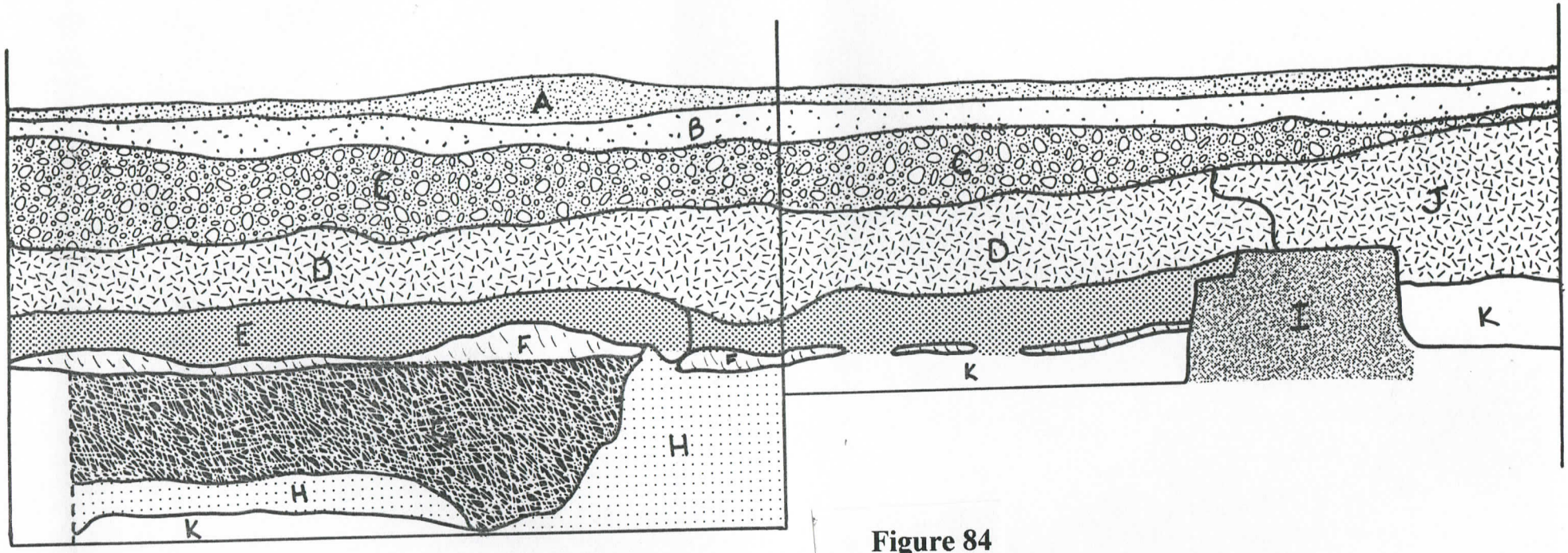


Figure 84

Soil Profile inside South Room of Bay 2, showing clay surface and early zones

East Profile, N200E185, N195E185

A	**Zone 1**	**G**	**Feature 74**
B	**Zone 2**	**H**	**Feature 78**
C	**Feature 2**	**I**	**Feature 95**
D	**Zone 3**	**J**	**Feature 9**
E	**Zone 4**	**K**	**Sterile subsoil**
F	**Zone 4 level 2**		

eventually exposed in units N195E190 and N195E195 as a southern wall, and in N195E195 and N200E195 as a western wall. Why this portion of the wall remained intact is puzzling, as there is a series of associated robbing trenches. A deep trench of brick rubble along the outside of the southern wall was originally designated feature 9, and is flush with feature 95. The corner intersection of feature 95 was also disturbed, and this particular deposit was designated feature 116. Beneath feature 9 and feature 116 were remnants of a builders trench for feature 95, designated feature 108. The southern room was comparable in size to the brick-floored one, 9' by 15' (figure 84).

The interpretation of bay 2 as a two roomed structure proceeded from conversations with Dr. Bernard Herman following the May 98 season. Dr. Herman proposed the tentative interpretation as a two-room plan with brick floored 'middling room' and wood-floored 'best room'. He advised more complete excavation of the southern room and suggested that a search for a fireplace for heat commence along the eastern, or back wall of the building. Excavations in October of N195E200, N200E200 and N200E205 indeed revealed such a feature. An intact brick pedestal, designated feature 113, abuted feature 95, and was centered on the wall between the two rooms; the fireplace thus serviced both rooms. The intact portion of feature 113 was 1.4 feet wide and 4.0 feet long. Associated with this was a large brick foundation, exposed in N200E205. This appeared to be a mass of bricks, laid vertically as headers, and sloping toward feature 113. This was designated feature 113b. It was 3.5 feet wide and of unknown length; it extended beyond the five foot limits of the unit.

These intact portions of the chimney foundations were surrounded by areas of robbing, characterized as pockets of brick and mortar rubble in a sand matrix. Feature 119 was the designation given to a robbers trench of brown sand and plaster in N200E205. The area between the two intact sections of brick was also filled with brick and mortar rubble, and this was designated feature 114. Areas of rubble above feature 113 was excavated as feature 2. The final feature associated with the chimney was feature 126, a builders trench. This was defined in N205E200, beneath feature 1, as a mottled yellow and dark grey sand, followed by a second level of dark soil (figure 85).

Bay 3: The third bay of the structure was the most enigmatic, the most unexpected, and the last discovered. It was also poorly preserved, impacted by the growth of a very large oak tree in the center of the 15 by 18 room. As the clearly-demarcated concentrations of brick and plaster rubble defined the limits of the structure, bay 3 was discovered during the last week of the October 98 project, when excavations along the western edge of the courtyard area produced increasing, rather than decreasing, rubble weights. Unlike bays 1 and 2, which overlapped at the southeast/northwest corners of the structure, bay 3 seems to have been detached. Moreover, the orientation the long axis of the structure was perpendicular to that of bay 2. But bay 3 was connected to bay 1 by a wall of some sort, represented by a substantial robbed wall trench, extending from the western edge of bay 1 and curving to join the north wall of bay 3. This robbed trench was designated feature 102.

The second section of bay 3 to be uncovered was a substantial robbed wall in N195E160 and N195E165. This was distinguished from other rubble deposits in that it was clearly linear, filled with

Figure 85

Feature 95, intact south and east walls of bay 2; feature 109, the robbed wall from earlier building, is also visible
Feature 113, foundation for rear chimney

Figure 86

Architectural remains of bay 3: feature 127, the south wall in N195E160, facing east
Features 102 and 139 in N205E165 and N210E165, the possible chimney.

bright red (5yr4/8) brick fragments (in large pieces), and was surrounded by a possible builders trench of brown sand. This was designated feature 127. The feature clearly continued to the west, so N200E140 and N200E145 were excavated. Evidence in these units included a small concentration of red brick rubble aligned with feature 127 (and so designated) that terminated one foot into the southeast corner of N200E140. A linear area of white mortar and brick rubble was noted in N200E145, tending to the north and possibly representing a western wall. This was designated features 128 and 138. While the edges of these features were ephemeral, there was no brick and mortar rubble west of them, suppporting the idea that the southwest corner of bay three was contained in N200E145 (figure 86).

Excavations then focused on the northern wall, with N210E145 and N215E145. These units revealed a heavy concentration of brick and mortar along the eastern edge of the unit, which appears to represent the northwestern corner of this bay. This also received the designation feature 127, and excavation suggested a robbed wall trench of some depth.

Units N210E160 and N210E165 were excavated to trace a northern wall. A linear area of yellow mortar and brick in N210E160 was designated feature 139 and was believed to represent the northern wall of bay 3; further excavation revealed that the northern half of this unit contained rubble concentrations characterized by white mortar. This was more likely the defined edge of the wall, as the plaster colors matched the western wall designated feature 127. Feature 139 abuted, but did to join, feature 102, the connecting wall.

The eastern wall, the one that interfaced with the central courtyard, was the most ephemeral and problematic, and its final exposed form was less than satisfying. Excavations of units along the E165 line, from N195 to N210, revealed the densest concentration of mortar and plaster encountered to date. Here were heavy layers of brick and yellow lime mortar, all excavated as feature 2, and not screened due to time constraints. Disturbance from the road bed and from possible tree holes further compromised the edges of features. In general, it appeared that a general layer of yellow mortared feature 2 was followed by deposits of brick and white mortar, with defined edges. In N210E165 and N205E165 the latter appeared to form an H-shaped feature (also designated feature 139) that may suggest a chimney foundation, and one that faced into the courtyard. Such a feature in this location is somewhat supported by recovery of fireplace hardware in the courtyard, but not supported by the lack of organic material in bay 3 (figure 86).

Excavation of the rest of the walls, and of the interior of the building was hampered by the presence of the large oak tree, whose trunk at shoulder height was 3' in diameter and root mass much larger. The units listed above were the only ones possible. A small sample of the building interior was obtained from excavation of N200E160. Here stratigraphy was relatively simple and shallow, with zones 1 and 2 being followed by a third zone of medium grey sand with fine crushed shell inclusions. Sterile subsoil was encountered .9 feet below ground surface. Artifacts and bone were sparse. This soil sequence appears to hold for the entire third bay. Unlike the soils around bays 1 and 2 and the courtyard, the foundation of bay 3 and the interior soil deposits are quite shallow, and

the edges of feature 127 are defined in part by their abutment to undisturbed sterile soil less than one foot below ground surface.

The Courtyard: The central courtyard created by the interface of the three bays, and possibly a fourth wall, was the most unusual and most unexpected feature of Stobo's house complex. Though the northern and eastern edges of it were encountered in six units excavated in May 98, the nature of the area did not become clear until the October project. The defining feature of this area was, in retrospect, encountered early in the May 98 project, with the excavation of N200E180. Excavation of this early unit revealed an additional deposit, following zone 3. This was a thick lense of granular yellowish-brown sand with small shell and mortar inclusions (10yr5/4). This deposit eventually abutted feature 55, the brick floor in bay 2, in this unit. Feature 49 was next encountered in N215E175, excavated to encounter the southwest corner of feature 14 and bay 1. Here, the edge of feature 49 terminated at the southern edge of the brick.

The October 98 excavations entailed a block of eight units, from N195 to N210, including those in the E170 and E175 line. These were initially opened to uncover the edges of a possible addition to bay 3, but it soon became clear that the lense of feature 49 was the unifying factor. It also became clear in retrospect that many of the unusual artifacts, those that signal "abandonment" were in fact recovered in the courtyard area during the May dig (see figures 122-132). Armed with this new interpretation, we determined to fully expose the courtyard area. As shown in the previous section, this ultimately led to the discovery of bay 3. Proveniences from the courtyard will be described in the order in which they were encountered, and in which they contributed to the ongoing interpretation of the site.

Excavation began with N210E170 and N200E170. As these units were in the woods roadbed, the upper layers were hard-packed and evidence some disturbance. The upper stratigraphy was the same as that found elsewhere over the structure; zones 1 and 2, followed by the heavy brick and plaster concentration of feature 2. Here, however, much of the upper layers of rubble were excavated as a zones 2a and 2b. The subsequent Feature 2 deposits were also excavated in two levels. Feature 102, the robbed wall trench that connects bays 1 and 3, was encountered in the northwest corner of N210E170.

Beneath feature 2 was a new zone deposit not previously encountered inside the house. This was a layer of brownish (from 10yr43 to 10yr3/2) sand, designated here as zone 3, and agreeing stratigraphically with the dark grey sand over bay 2. Between this brownish zone 3 and the underlying feature 49, both of which were contiguous over the entire courtyard, was a deposit of the black sands of feature 3. This, however, varied in thickness across the courtyard (figure 87).

The distribution of the distinctive feature 3 soils has been a key element in interpreting the architecture of the site and the chain of archaeological site formation processes. Feature 3 was, of course, first defined in bay 1, overlying feature 14. It was also mixed into the robbed wall trench along the north wall (feature 51). Further, it was not confined by the south edge of feature 14, but instead spilled past the posited south wall into the courtyard. At the point that the south edge of

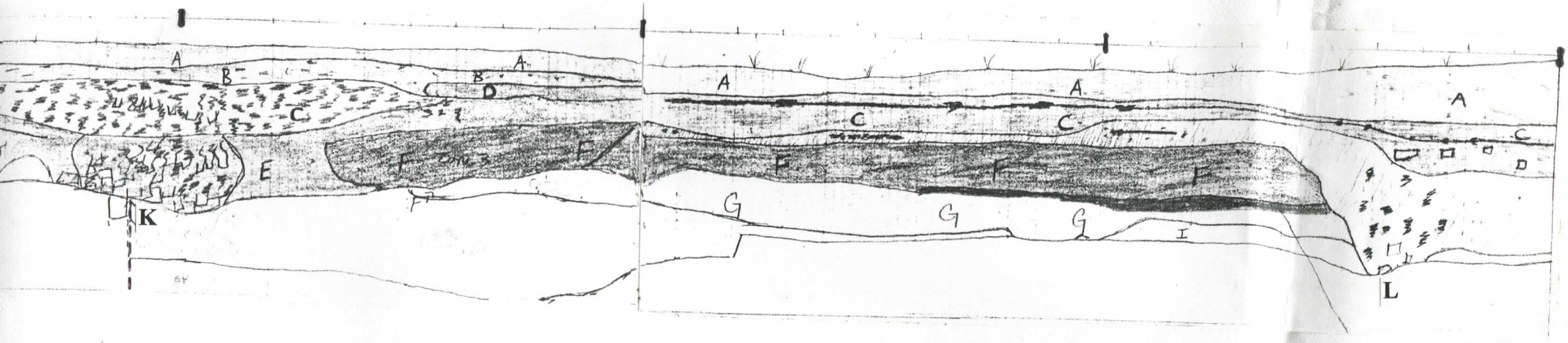


Figure 87

oil Profile, E180 line (through Courtyard)
(drawn by Elizabeth Garrett)
Vest Profile of N195E180 through N210E180

A Zone 1, dark grey sand, 10yr4/2
B Zone 2, same as A, but small amount of rubble, 10yr4/2
C Feature 2, brown sand with concentrations of brick and mortar, 10yr4/3
D lense of brown sand, no rubble
E Feature 2, zone 2, darker brown sand with large brick fragments, 10yr3/3
F Zone 3, very dark grey-brown soil, dense artifacts, 10yr3/2
G Feature 49, medium brown granular sand with mortar flecks, 10yr5/3
H Feature 3, black sand, 10yr2/1
I Sterile subsoil, pale brown sand
J Zone 4, mottled brown and gold sand
K Feature 72
L Feature 73
M Edge of Feature 118

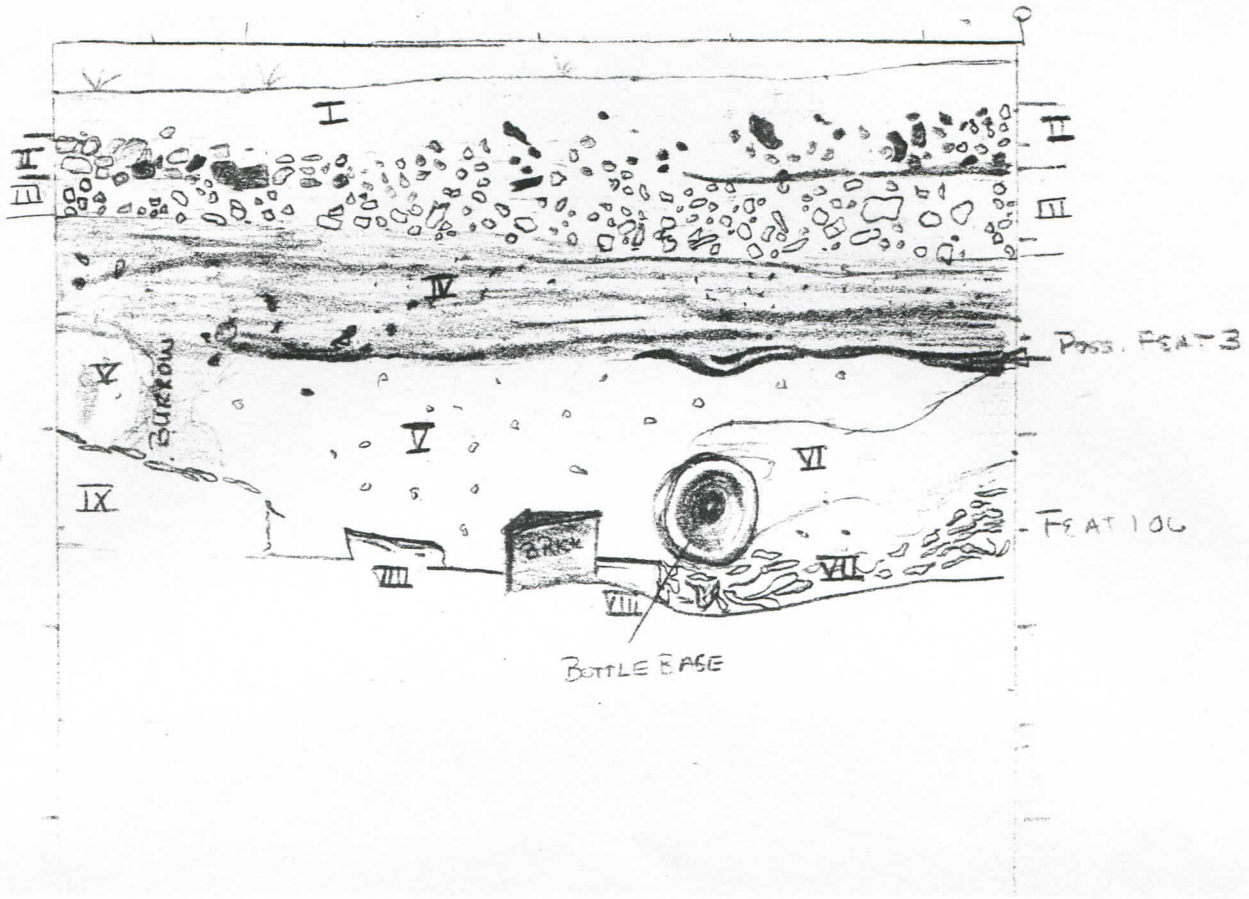


Figure 87 **Soil profiles in courtyard area: North profile, N195E175; bottle is at the interface of feature 49, courtyard surface, and underlying feature 106.**

feature 14 intersected feature 49 (as seen in the west profile of N215E175), feature 3 was .7' thick (figure 76). It was confined to the eastern third of N210E175, and seemed to get thinner as one moved south, ending in intermittent patches at the N205 line. Whether or not there was ever a south wall at this edge of feature 14, then, remains in question.

There was some architectural evidence of the courtyard being enclosed on the fourth side. This evidence was first noted in May 98 with the excavation of N195E180. Close examination of the west profile revealed two concentrations of brick rubble not isolated in the unit during excavation. It appeared that we had encountered the eastern end of them in this unit. Excavation of N195E175 in October revealed two narrow parallel trenches filled with small fragments of brick rubble; these trenches initiated at the top of zone 3. Though somewhat mixed and mottled the two appear to be parallel trenches and correspond to the two rubble concentrations from the profile. These were designated feature 118. Adjacent units, N195E170 and N195E165, were excavated to follow these features. Though their definition became fuzzier in N195E165, the two appear to adjoin the eastern end of feature 127. It appears that the robbing activities mixed these deposits more completely than in other areas of the site. Despite this, feature 118 has been interpreted as an enclosing wall or fence for the courtyard. The wall likely featured a brick foundation, if not superstructure, and abutted the southeast corner of bay 3. The terminal ends of the feature on the east side, four feet from the southwest corner of bay 2, is likely reflective of a gate or door in this location.

Evidence of Earlier Occupation

Though James Stobo's manor house dominated the landscape and the archaeological record, his was not the first occupation, nor was it the only one to leave traces in the ground. In the course of the block excavation, proveniences were encountered that suggest an earlier house in the same location, and possibly two. Those contained within the footprint of the block excavations will be described here.

Artifacts contained in feature 49, the courtyard paving, from the prepared surface of the wood-floored room (zone 4 level 2), and from beneath the brick floor in bay 2 contained white saltglazed stoneware and whieldon ware, suggesting a date of construction after 1740. Feature 49 was not the deepest deposit encountered, however; deep deposits dating to the first third of the 18th century were recorded beneath bay 2 and beneath the courtyard. These reflect the construction of a house roughly 14 by 18, and its demolition and razing before construction of the 1740s house. We'll begin with the architectural evidence.

During the May 98 season, small sections of brick foundation were encountered which were slightly lower in elevation than feature 55; further, these did not seem to align with bay 2 in a logical manner. Of particular concern was a small series of bricks located in N210E190 and N210E195. They were visible within a 'missing portion' of feature 55, and were variously interpreted as a chimney base, a foundation for the floor, etc. A faint builder's trench along portions of these, which seemed to represent a corner, contained early artifacts. These were designated feature 56 (figure 88).

Figure 88 **Foundations to early house: Feature 56 in N210E190; feature 72 in N200E175**

The next enigmatic features encountered during the May excavations were two parallel foundations of single stretcher bricks, located in N195E180 (feature 72) and N210E180 (feature 73; figure 88). These parallel foundations were at first interpreted as an addition or porch to bay 2. Though the elevation of the lowest course of bricks was lower than the floor level of feature 55, the narrow foundations were clearly robbed at the same time as the Stobo house; features 72 and 73 were originally recorded as narrow trenches of brick rubble which, like features 1 and 102, initiated within feature 2. They likewise contained pearlware. The role of these three foundations as an earlier house became apparent in October, when the fourth corner was encountered in N195E195, designated feature 109. Like features 72 and 73, this area had been robbed at the same time as the Stobo house, and during the course of excavation of feature 2 was difficult to separate from the surrounding rubble. But at the base of feature 2 the curved outline became clear, and some intact, single brick foundation remained among the rubble of the feature (figure 85a).

The rectangular outline of the foundation is not continuous, and it is unclear if this reflects the method of construction, or selective destruction from construction of the Stobo house. The corners represented by features 109 and 56 seem to be comparable in overall size, though their present configuration is completely different, due to damage from the brick robbing episode. The western side of the building, represented by features 72 and 73 is a bit more puzzling. The southern wall, feature 72, appeared to have its lowest course intact, though there was a distinct robbers trench along its entire length. Excavation of N195E175 revealed that this foundation turned a corner, creating the southwest corner of the structure, but the foundation ended suddenly after 1.5 feet of western wall. The northern wall, feature 73, was more damaged, and did not contain any intact bricks at the base of the robbers trench; however, the orientation and configuration of the trench was clear. Exposure of the western end of this feature in N210E175 revealed that the foundation simply ended at the anticipated northwest c0orner and did not turn to the south. Therefore, the building seems to be lacking a western wall. Despite these irregularities, the configuration of the features strongly suggests the footprint of an early structure.

Other features are associated with the early house. Of particular interest is feature 74 and associated feature 78, first discovered in N200E185. This was a large pit of brick rubble, which initiated below, and was sealed by the clay floor of zone 4 level 2. This pit, which contained no window glass or nails (in contrast to the feature 2 deposits), appears to be the demolished chimney foundation for the house. The location of this feature would suggest that the early house was divided into two rooms, roughly 10' by 15' and 6' by 15', respectively (figure 78).

Elsewhere in this vicinity, the soils beneath much of bay 2 of the Stobo house were swirled areas of sterile yellow sand and darker middden soil. These areas of disturbed soils were encountered within N198E180, N205E180, N210E195 and N195E195. These swirled soils were first noted in N210E195, beneath the bricks of feature 56; in contrast, the bricks of feature 14 sat directly on sterile subsoil. Excavation of a sample of these swirled deposits, during excavation of the feature 56 builders trench, revealed early artifacts. Such deposits were exposed in portions of the Stobo

footprint not sealed by brick flooring or other architectural remnants, and these received a variety of provenience designations. The primary designation for areas without flooring was zone 4, and for the area beneath the wooden-floored room was zone 5 (figure 84).

The area next explored was N205E195, a unit contained within the northern room of bay 2, where most of the brick floor was missing. After the feature 55 floor level was recorded and mapped, it was clear that sterile subsoil had not yet been encountered. These soils were excavated as feature 86, a large, shallow deposit which covered the entire unit, and feature 87, a deeper area along the south wall. These features contained a significant amount of bone and fragments of soft, red brick.

These swirled soils were also encountered in units of the E180 line. Due to the presence of a number of brick foundations (features 72 and 79) these soils were not excavated in N195E180. The unit to the north was one of the earliest excavated, and these deep proveniences proved challenging to interpret. One portion of the swirled soils was excavated as feature 70; when this proved to have poor definition, the remainder was excavated as 'mixed soils beneath zone 3'.

The most significant deposit from this era was recovered in the Stobo house courtyard area, immediately west of the early house. A series of deposits, in large shallow pits, contained many large and reconstructable artifacts, and may represent trash deposits from the house. These deposits were noted in N205E170 and N205E175, immediately beneath feature 49. Feature 106 was a lense of granular grey sand and oyster shell. Immediately above this, in the mixed soils of feature 49, zone 4 and feature 106 were two linear stains (feature 111), which may be the remains of wooden beams or logs which rotted in place. They contained large joining bolts. A larger pit (feature 125) was located in N200E175 and N205E175. This pit, which sloped to the east, consisted of lenses of light grey brown sand, darker grey-brown sand, and light yellow sterile sand, with some suggestion of water washed deposits (figure 89; see figure 87).

Another set of early 18th century proveniences consists of large circular postholes and smaller, rectangular postholes. These posts, which may represent structural foundations and fence posts, respectively, cluster on the eastern and southern sides of the Stobo house. Based on the artifacts recovered from the fill, and the clarity and substance of the features, the large circular posts may represent a third, earliest house, predating the rectangular brick foundation. If these posts represent a structure in roughly the same location as the subsequent two houses, then there is not enough of the posts exposed (and presumably preserved) to determine size, orientation, and function of the building. Nonetheless, this group of features provides tantalizing evidence for an early, somewhat temporary, occupation of the site.

The first large structural post encountered was feature 15 in N220E200 in May 1997. This feature was circular, approximately 3.5 feet in diameter, and characterized by a light yellow to white mottled sand fill, predominantly pockets of sterile subsoil, that contrasted with the darker orange subsoil. The central post, one foot in diameter, was characterized by a medium brown sand fill. The feature was nearly two feet deep. Similar features were discovered the following year, principally on

Figure 89 **Early artifacts *in situ*, base of feature 49, N205E170**

the southern side of the Stobo house. These included features 19, 4/47, 53, 58, 65 and 66. Those excavated revealed a profile similar to feature 15. Features 47, 58, and 65 all featured substantial postholes of light mottled sands, and dark post stains, suggesting they rotted in place. All were substantial, reaching two feet in depth. Feature 66 appeared to have the same configuration in planview, but upon excavation grew less well defined; nonetheless it is still tentatively interpreted in the same manner as the others. Profiles of these may be seen in figures 90-91.

A denser concentration of these posts were discovered in October 98 in the E200 line. These were, on average, not as wide as the more southerly posts but were equally deep and well defined. Each featured a pronounced postmold stain and considerable depth. Features 103 and 104 were truncated by the overlying feature 1, and each featured a postmold of mottled fill, suggesting the post was removed before it decayed. Features 85, 117, and 124 in N205E200 were more substantial, and all were over 2 feet in depth. Features 120, 123, and 130 were also similar.

A number of smaller, rectangular postholes were also present; these may represent fence posts, or they may be structural members that are of a secondary nature. Like the larger postholes, these at present form no discernable pattern. Those recorded include features 5, 6, 7, 8, 22, 23, 29, 30, 31, 32, 48, 53, 54, 59, 75, 76, 77, and 129. Those excavated include 5, 6, 29, 59, 75. Features 5 and 6 were well defined, and featured a central post stain of mottled sands, suggesting that the post had been removed. Fea 5 was .4 feet deep, but feature 6 was 1.3 feet deep. Feature 29 appears to have been burned, and features bright red sand and clay deposits. Feature 59, of mottled light sands, was also about 1.5 feet deep.

Evidence from the Yard

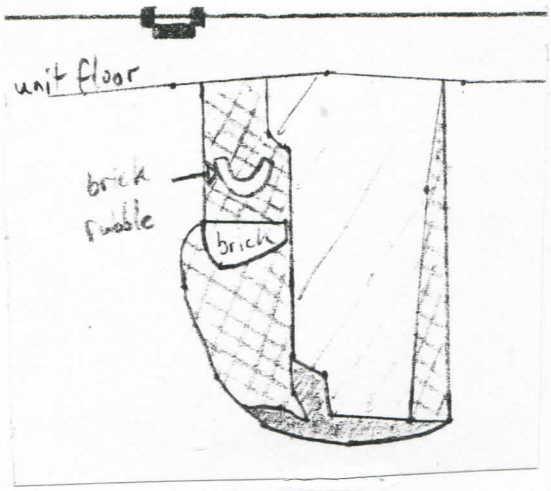
The series of dispersed test units and small blocks located outside the footprint of the Stobo house revealed a simpler stratigraphic record, but one that contains artifacts spanning the 18th century. The 23 five foot units, located principally to the south and east of the main house, all exhibited similar stratigraphy. They also contained a host of features intruding into subsoil that ranged in form, function, and date. A general discussion of the yard stratigraphy will be followed by a description of each of the features (figure 92).

Units located outside of the main house averaged a foot in depth from top of the ground to sterile subsoil. Two zones were present in each unit. Zone 1 was a dark grey granular sand, representing recent humic accumulation, with relatively sparse artifact content. Most of the zone 1 accumulations were measured at 10yr4/2, and varied in depth across the site. Beneath this, and marked by a change to a lighter and browner soil and an increase in artifact density, was a dark brown sand (10yr3/3) designated zone 2. In a few units, a third zone was designated. This was present in N160E235, N125E260, and the block of units at N155E255; thus, this zone clustered in the southeastern part of the site, and may in fact represent a concentration of early activity in this portion of the site. Zone 3 was characterized by light grey sand leaching into the light tan sterile subsoil.

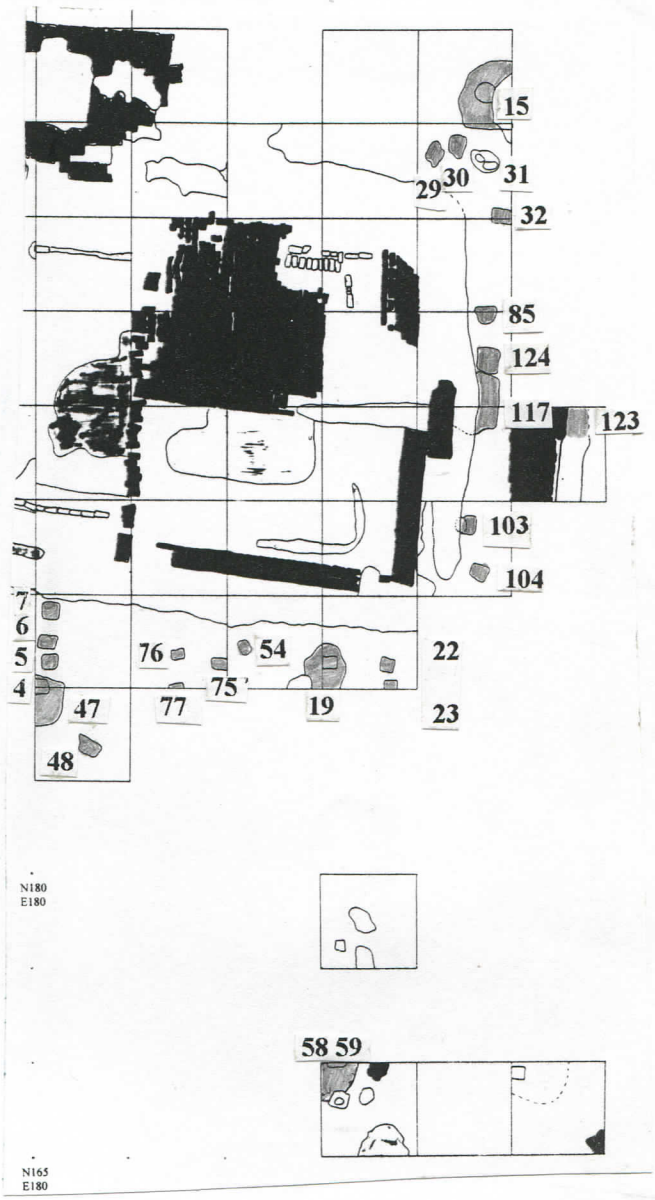
Examples of early posts: feature 85, N205E200;
feature 124, N205E200;

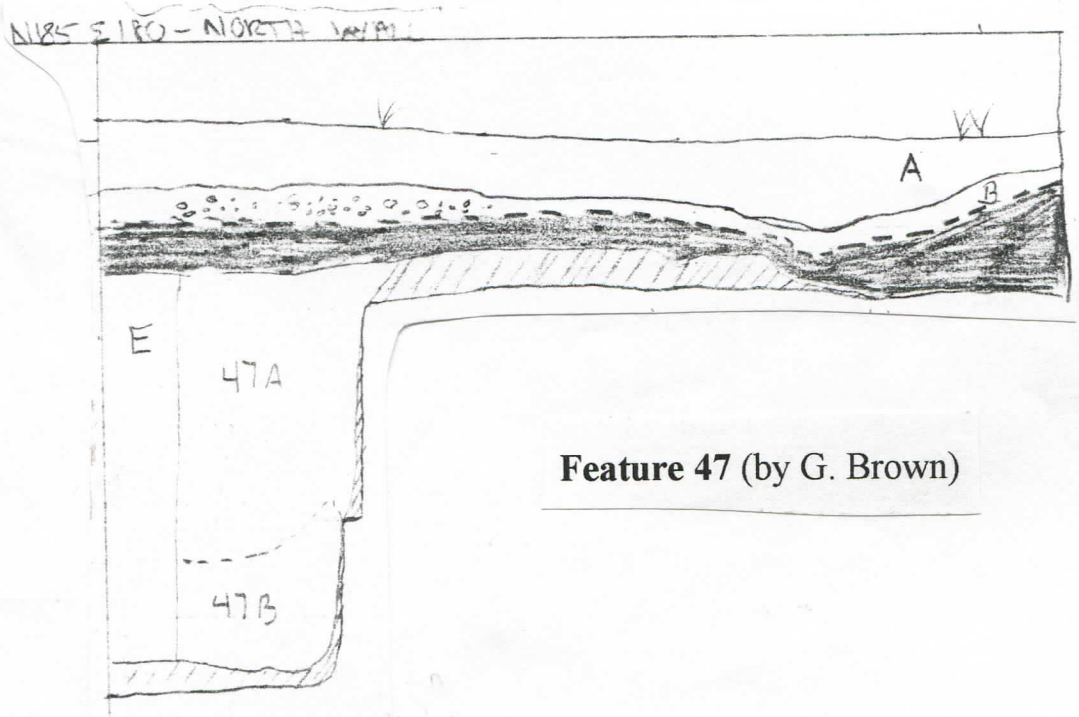
Figure 90

Figure 91
Examples of Early Posts and Postholes



Feature 124 (by J. Catto)





Feature 47 (by G. Brown)

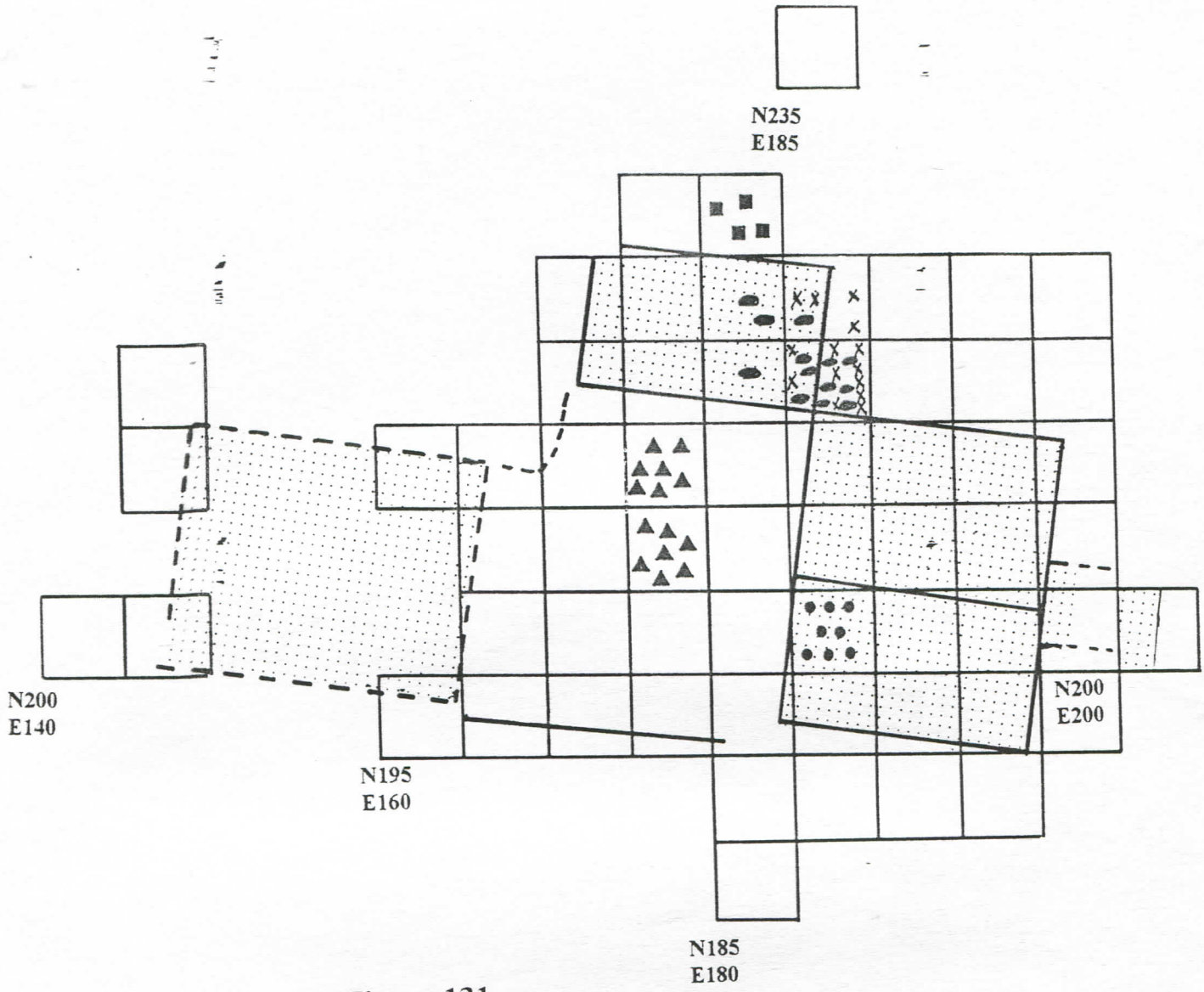


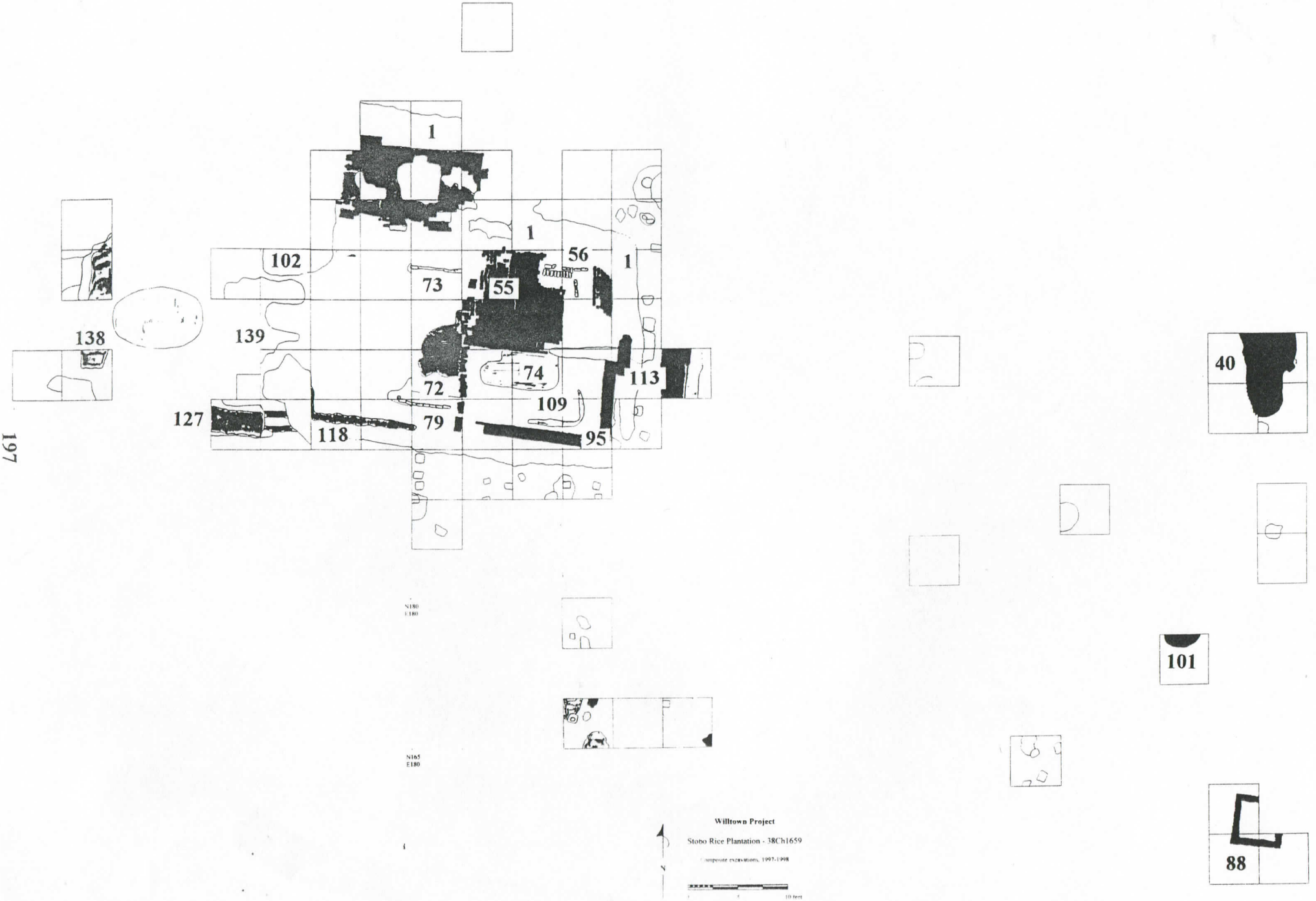
Figure 131

Porcelain vessels

- Teacup
- Teacup
- Teacup
- Plate
- Punch bowl
- Imari saucer

Units not shown:

N195E 90	N125E260
N200E280	N150E285



Several features were recorded in a group of units excavated between N165E195 and N165E205. The middle of these, N165E200, was excavated during the first field season and revealed a concentration of colono wares and animal bone, suggesting specialized activity areas. The two additional units were excavated in May 1998 to obtain a larger sample. Though the additional work did not support the initial artifact findings, the units did reveal a cluster of subsurface features. A few of these have been discussed in the previous section on the early occupation (features 58, 59, and 65). Other features included two post stains, features 61 and 67. Feature 68 was a small trash-filled pit of dark grey-brown soil. It contained, among other artifacts, a flaring hoe and some animal bone, as well as delft and olive green glass. Feature 68 was 1.2 feet in diameter and .8 feet deep. Feature 60 was a small pile of brick rubble over a small pit of dark brown soil. Feature 62 was a a circular area with poorly defined edges, of burned sand and ash. It was characterized by bright orange sand (5yr6/8), white ashy deposit, and mottled yellow and black sand. Features 60 and 62 were not excavated. The original unit, N165E200, contained an amorphous deposit, feature 25, that also was not excavated. Burned bone, colono wares, and historic Indian pottery were concentrated here.

An adjacent unit was excavated to test the area between the Stobo house footprint, beginning in the N190 line and the possible activity area around N165E200. This was problematical due to the large number of trees in this area. Unit N175E195 revealed three amorphous stains, features 87, 96, and 97. These may be small post stains, but only feature 96 seemed clear enough to warrant excavation. The feature was narrow and very deep, and devoid of artifacts; it was interpreted as a tree stain.

Post stains were also concentrated in N160E235; here features 89, 90, 91 and 92 were recorded and 89 and 92 excavated. Both proved to be roughly rectangular post stains 1.0 to 1.2 feet in diameter, and 2.2 feet deep. Unit N200E225 contained two slightly larger features, 93 and 94. Feature 93 was excavated, and proved to be a small pit of dark brown soil. This was also the case for feature 101, in unit N170E250. This shallow pit, excavated in two levels, contained pearlware. Another comparable feature, not excavated, was feature 99 in N185E240.

The yard area also contained features characterized by a dark center and light mottled 'collar'. While not as deep and well defined as the early posts near the Stobo house, they do appear to be similar. Two of these were excavated; feature 42 in N185E260 and feature 71 in N195E260. The latter was not excavated, but feature 42 was about 1.0 feet deep and contained delft and slipware.

Two large, substantial features in the yard area seem to define special activity areas and warranted small block excavations. First encountered in May 97, feature 40 was the most difficult to decipher. This feature was first exposed in N200E260, and eventually a four-unit block was excavated to the west and south to fully expose it. Feature 40 proved to be an oval area of dark grey brown sand mottled with orange clay, lined with brick and sections of flat paving stone set at an angle around the edges of the pit. The hard-packed fill of the feature, like the zones above, were full of creamware, animal bone (the densest concentration on site), and metal tools and scrap. A small

circular area seemed to intrude into feature 40, and this was designated separately as feature 39. Time limitation in May 97 led to a small sample of the feature being excavated, and the true configuration and function of the feature was never determined (figure 93).

Feature 88 was also a late-in-the-season surprise. This was a rectangular foundation of brick, first located in N150E255. Two additional units, N155E255 and N150E260, were excavated to expose 3/4 of the structure. This well-made brick structure consisted of thee courses of brick, the top course laid as headers, side to side, making the foundation .7 feet wide. The exterior dimensions were 5' by 5'. Unlike other areas of the site, the zone 2 deposits around feature 88 were very dark grey-brown, and contained whole oyster shell. Elsewhere in this three-unit block were a series of small post stains. There appeared to be a post at each corner, and in the northwest corner of the unit. Excavation of features 134 and 135 suggest an early date of deposition; colono ware was the only recovered artifact. The associated zone deposits, however, contain late 18th century ceramics. While feature 88 has been interpreted as a chimney base, to what is not clear. It may be a detached kitchen, or possibly quarters for the African bondsmen. If the latter is the case, then other such structure would be expected (figure 93).

The test units dispersed in the yard area were designed to test those portions of the site yielding the highest artifact concentrations during initial survey. While several units were clustered between N150 and N200, E160 and E260, the sample is not yet large enough to fully understand horizontal distribution of activities in the yard area. The units farthest removed from the main house, N150E185, N125E260, and even N195E90 far to the west yielded large amounts of ceramics, architectural debris, and food remains. Clearly the full potential of the yard area to yield information remains unreached.

The above discussion covers most, but not all, of the proveniences designated as features. Those not discussed above were amorphous, not excavated, or eventually interpreted in other fashion. The encountered proveniences are described in a variety of manners in table 10.

Dating the Provieniences

As is standard, all archaeological deposits from this site were dated on the basis of stratigraphic point of initiation and Terminus Post Quem. Stratigraphic point of initiation (or the relative vertical position of the top of a feature or zone) states that soils gradually accumulate on sites of human occupation, and that the deepest is the earliest. Terminus Post Quem, or TPQ is based on the invention date of the newest artifact in a provenience. Both principals were used in combination to date the events on this site. Because the site was so well preserved, this task is relatively straightforward. We'll begin with the deposits contained in the main block, starting with zone 1 and

Figure 93

Profile of feature 40, N200E260; foundation, feature 88, N150E260

working our way down through the ground and backwards through time. Zone 1, contiguous over the site, is a post-occupational event, and represents the newest deposition on the site. As pearlware is the latest dating artifact found on the site, both zones 1 and 2 contain numerous examples of this artifact type and nothing later. Therefore the TPQ of both zones 1 and 2 is 1795 However, the zone 1 deposits contain a higher percentage of the refined earthewares, 30.8% of the ceramics, than does zone 2, where creamware and pearlware are 22% of the ceramics. Further, the datable zone 1 ceramics yield a mean ceramic date of 1765, while the mean ceramic date of zone 2 is 1757. These two statistics demonstrate that some time lag occurred between the deposition of zones 2 and 1, and that they are reflective of the law of superimposition.

Feature 2, the brick and mortar deposit, which functioned like a zone deposit over the footprint of the main house, and its disturbed portions, all contain shell edged pearlware, providing a TPQ of 1780 and suggesting that this demolition took place some time after that date. Machine cut nails further support this turn-of-the-century date of deposition. The pearlwares in zones 1 and 2 indicate that this was the last human event to impact this site. Feature 2 contained 31% refined earthenwares (though a lower percentage of the later pearlwares than zone 1) and yielded a mean ceramic date of 1760. The underlying feature 3 contained a quantity of refuse, indicating that this feature best represents the period of most intense occupation at the site. A fair quantity of creamware is present, but the majority of the feature contains mid-18th century artifacts. Feature 3 contained no pearlware and only 2% creamware, and yielded a mean ceramic date of 1755. The Mean Ceramic Date formula, derived by Sanley South (1972), aids in determining period of occupation, as the TPQ merely allows dating on the fill. It is based on the principals of fashion and lifecycle of manufactured items, principally ceramics, to determine a peak period of site occupation, based on the frequency of each ceramic type and its median date of manufacture. While the mean ceramic date does not provide an absolute time of deposition, or range of occupation, it does hint at the peak period of site use, based on relative frequency of datable artifacts.

Based on the law of superimposition, the brick floor predates deposition of this midden. Though some faint builders trenches were noted for this feature, they were not excavated at this time. A date of construction for the house was provided by artifacts contained in the courtyard surface, feature 49, and the underlying deposits that reflect razing of the previous house (such as features 86, 106, and 125, and zones 4 and 5). These all contain white saltglazed stoneware and whieldon ware, providing a TPQ of 1740 for house construction and agreeing with the 1741 purchase of the property by Stobo. The earlier house is difficult to date, as the brick foundation was robbed at the same time as the main house, and all of the associated features initiate at the base of feature 2 and contain pearlware. As will be shown in the last chapter, the date of construction for this structure remains conjectural.

Other features contained artifacts sufficient for dating and provide additional information on the range of occupation at the site. The features found on in the easternmost units, presumably in a different activity area from the house (see interpretive discussion below) contain the latest features; the large clay pit, feature 40, contains quantities of creamware, providing a TPQ of 1760. Feature

39, a small post intrusive into feature 40, contains pearlware, and dates after 1780, helping to provide a bracket date for feature 40 and confirming its depostion in the 1760s-1770s.

The small postholes contain only a few artifacts each and could possibly date to the early decades of the 18th century. Feature 5 contained only window glass, and feature 6 contained Chinese porcelain. Feature 29 contained only nail fragments. These few artifacts and their dates could indicate early ocuupation, when refuse had not accumulated on the site; alternately they could be later and simply have a non-representative artifact content. The large post, features 15 and 17, contained a few more artifacts, and all of these suggest an early 18th century date of deposition; the lead gazed coarse earthenware and delft likely all date well before 1740. Based on this limited data, then, the site occupation may be from c. 1700 to 1820. The closing date corresponds with the 1781 death of James Stobo, and inheritance of the property by descendants. This 1800-1820 date also corresponds with the rise of tidal rice agriculture and the demise of inland swamp rice production. The initial occupation date is more difficult to determine; the occupational history is very sketchy for this period, and the artifacts from the early features could reflect a 1720s deposition as easily as a 1690s one. These issues will be explored in greater detail in subsequent chapters.

Table 10
Provenience Guide

FS# (Spring 1997)	Unit	provenience	TPQ/date of deposition
70	N220E185	zone 1	mocha pearlware
71	N235E185	zone 1	annular pearlware
72	N190E195	zone 1	transfer print pearlware
73	N210E200	zone 1	transfer print pearlware
74	N190E180	zone 1	transfer print pearlware
75	N220E185	zone 2	transfer print pearlware
76	N235E185	zone 2	creamware
77	N210E200	zone 1a	brown tr pr pw
78	N190E180	zone 2	hand paint pearlware
79	N210E200	zone 2	transfer print pearlware
80	N210E200	top fea 1	colono ware
81	N210E200	wall clean	transfer print pw
82	N235E185	wall/floor	shell edge pw
83	N190E180	wall/floor	trans print pw
84	N220E185	zone 2a	shell edge pw
85	N220E185	wall/floor	pearlware
86	N220E200	zone 1	transfer print pw

87	N180E225	zone 1	hand paint pw
88	N220E185	fea 2	shell edge pw
89	N190E195	zone 2	annular pw
90	N220E185	fea 3, s1/2	jackfield
91	N220E200	zone 2	creamware
92	N220E200	wall/floor	shell edge pw
93	N215E185	zone 1	annular pw
94	N220E185	fea 13	brown sgs
95	N220E185	cleaning	glass
96	N190E195	floor/wall	transfer print pw
97	N220E185	fea 2	mortar/plaster
98	N220E185	fea 14	nail frag
99	N180E225	floor/wall	poly h p pw
100	N165E200	zone 1	transfer print pw
101	N215E185	zone 2	hand paint pw
102	N220E180	zone 1	transfer print pw
103	N215E185	zone 2a	hand paint pw
104	N220E185	fea 3, n1/2	creamware
105	N220E185	fea 3 zone 1	white saltglazed stoneware
106	N165E200	zone 2	creamware
107	N220E180	zone 2	mocha pearlware
108	N165E200	wall/floor	transfer print pw
109	N215E200	zone 1	pearlware
110	N220E185	fea 3 zone 2	white saltglazed st.
111	N220E180	wall/floor	creamware
112	N220E185	west wall edge	delft
113	N220E180	fea 24	creamware
114	N220E185	wall/floor	grey sgs
115	N220E180	fea 2	annular pw
116	N225E180	zone 1	wormy finger paint
117	N220E180	fea 2 zone 2	poly pw
118	N215E200	zone 2	elers ware
119	N220E180	fea 2 zone 2	soil sample
120	N215E185	wall clean	creamware
121	N225E180	zone 2	transfer print pw
122	N220E180	fea 24 zone 2	whieldon ware
123	N225E180	zone 2	soil sample
124	N215E200	wall/floor	pearlware
125	N220E180	fea 3 zone 1	creamware
126	N180E260	zone 1	pearlware
127	N225E180	fea 26	plaster
128	N200E260	zone 1	shell edge pw
129	N220E180	wall/floor	creamware

130	N225E180	zone 2a	--combined with fs 135--
131	N200E260	zone 2	creamware
132	N220E180	zone 1	colono ware
133	N220E180	zone 2	undec pw
134	N225E180	zone 2b	whieldon ware
135	N225E180	zone 2a/2b	transfer print pw
136	N220E180	fea 24	mocha pw
137	N220E180	fea 3	white sgs
138	N180E260	zone 1	creamware
139	N220E180	fea 3 zone 2	porcelain
140	N225E180	fea 3	pearlware
141	N225E180	wall	shell edge pw
142	N200E260	zone 2 level 2	creamware
143	N225E180	s. wall, zone 2a	shell edge pw
144	N225E180	s. wall, zone 2	transfer print pw
145	N225E180	s. wall, zone 2b	shell edge pw
146	N225E180	wall/floor	pearlware
147	N215E180	zone 1	transfer print pw
148	N180E260	zone 2	>>
149	N220E175	zone 1	shell edge pw
150	N200E260	wall/floor	pearlware
151	N225E180	zone 2c	>>
152	N215E180	zone 2	transfer print pw
153	N225E180	fea 35	glass
154	N220E175	zone 2	transfer print pw
155	N180-E260	floor/wall	creamware
156	N200E255	zone 1	shell edge pw
157	N200E255	zone 1	soil
158	N215E180	fea 41	colono ware
159	N215E180	fea 2 zone 1	transfer print pw
160	N220E175	fea 2/3 disturbed	pearlware
161	N215E180	fea 2 zone 2	creamware
162	N225E180	fea 36	creamware
163	N200E255	zone 2	creamware
164	N215E180	fea 2 zone 3	soil sample
165	N220E175	fea 2/3 disturbed	creamware
166	N220E175	fea 3	creamware
167	N215E180	fea 2/3 disturbed	white saltglazed stoneware
168	N220E175	fea 43	shell edged pw
169	N180E260	fea 42	delft
170	N190E180	fea 5	window glass
171	N190E180	fea 6a	porcelain
172	N190E180	fea 6b	slipware

173	N180E260	fea 44	soil sample
174	N215E180	fea 44	porcelain
175	N215E180	floor/wall	creamware
176	N215E180	fea 44	soil
177	N220E175	fea 2/3 disturbed	porcelain
178	N220E175	wall/floor	pearlware
179	N220E200	fea 15	soil sample
180	N220E200	fea 15 mold	lead glazed earthenware
181	N200E255	top fea 40	creamware
182	N200E255	wall/floor	creamware
183	N220E200	fea 15 hole	soil sample
184	N220E200	fea 15 posthole	delft
185	N215E180 blk.	floor	porcelain
186	N215E200	fea 29	nail
187	N220E200	ph/pm mix (f. 15)	porcelain
188	N200E260	fea 40	creamware
189	N200E255	fea 39	creamware/pw
190	n215E185	w. profile	

(Spring 1998)

191	N205E180	zone 1	hand paint pw
192	N215E175	zone 1	creamware
193	N225E175	zone 1	transfer print pw
194	N205E180	zone 2	transfer print pw
195	N205E180	feature 2	creamware
196	N185E180	zone 1	transfer print pw
197	N225E175	zone 2	annular pw
198	N205E180	zone 2a	creamware
199	N205E180	zone 2b	annular pw
200	N185E180	zone 2	creamware
201	N225E175	fea 43	transfer print pw
202	N205E180	fea 3 lev 1	creamware
203	N225E175	fea 2/3 dist.	pearlware
204	N205E180	fea 3 lev 2	creamware
205	N225E175	fea 2/3 dist.	creamware
206	N205E180		tin can
207	N225E175	fea 2/3 dist.	creamware
208	N205E195	zone 2	shell edge pw
209	N215E175	rem. fea 2	creamware
210	N215E175	rem. fea 3 lev 1	white saltglaze stoneware
211	N205E180	zone 3	creamware
212	N225E175	fea 2/3 disturbed	glass

213	N227E175	fea 3	creamware
214	N225E175	sterile/fea 51	slipware
215	N190E190	zone 1	shell edge pw
216	N205E180	fea 49	white saltglazed stoneware
217	N225E175	fea 51	
218	N205E180	fea 52	westerwald
219	N205E195	fea 1	shell edge pw
220	N225E175	fea 3b	slipware
221	N225E175	wall/floor	-
222	N210E195	zone 1	transfer print pw
223	N210E195	fea 1 zone 1	creamware
224	N190E190	zone 2	pearlware
225	N205E185	zone 1	crown bottle cap
226	N190E190	wall/floor	creamware
227	N210E195	fea 1 zone 2	creamware
228	N165E195	zone 1	transfer print pw
229	N215E170	zone 1	pearlware
230	N205E185	zone 2a	shell edge pw
231	N205E185	fea 1/fea 2	shell edge pw
232	N205E185	fea 1	shell edge pw
233	N210E190	zone 1	pearlware
234	N205E185	fea 2	annular pw
235	N215E170	zone 2	creamware
236	N215E170	fea 43	shell edge pw
237	N210E190	fea 1	pearlware
238	N205E185	fea 2 zone 2	creamware
239	N165E195	zone 2	
240	N205E190	zone 1	shell edge pw
241	N215E170	fea 2	shell edge pw
242	N205E190	zone 2	
243	N215E170	fea 2 lev 2	shell edge pw
244	N205E180	wall/floor	
245	N205E185	fea 2 zone 3	creamware
246	N215E175	zone 2	pearlware
247	N215E175	fea 43	shell edge pw
248	N215E175	fea 2 level 1	pearlware
249	N215E175	fea 2 level 2	annular pw
250	N215E175	fea 3 level 1	
251	N215E175	fea 3 level 2	creamware
252	N215E175	wall/floor	
253	N205E190	fea 1	shell edge pw
254	N215E175	fea 49	white saltglazed stoneware
255	N215E170	fea 3	

256	N210E190	fea 1 zone 2	creamware
257	N210E190	fea 1 zone 3	shell edge pw
258	N215E170	fea 49	pearlware
259	N215E170	fea 2 level 2	hand paint pw
260	N205E185	wall/floor	--
261	N165E195	wall/floor	creamware
262	N210E200	fea 1	pearlware
263	N215E170	fea 2	creamware
264	N205E190	fea 2 zone 2	creamware
265	N210E190	zone 3	shell edge pw
266	N205E190	zone 3	annular pw
267	N210E190	wall/floor	--
268	block cleaning	floor	--
269	N205E195	wall/floor	transfer print pw
270	N215E195	floor/fea 57	
271	N210E195	wall/floor	--
272	N165E205	zone 1	transfer print pw
273	N200E180	zone 1	pop top
274	N165E195	fea 60	colono ware
275	N165E195	fea 59	
276	N165E205	zone 2	tranfer print pw
277	N200E180	zone a	
278	N200E180	fea 2 level 1	shell edge pw
279	N165E195	fea 58	delft
280	N210E185	zone 1	creamware
281	N215E170	wall/floor	pearlware
282	N200E180	zone 3	
283	N210E185	zone 2b	pearlware
284	N210E185	zone 2a	shell edge pw
285	N195E260	zone 1	shell edge pw
286	N165E205	wall/floor	
287	N210E185		
288	N200E180	fea 49	glass
289	N200E180	old shovel test	
290	N165E195	fea 58 cleaning	delft
291	N210E185	fea 2	pearlware
292	N195E260	zone 2	creamware
293	N200E180	fea 50	pearlware
294	N165E205	fea 66	no matl.
295	N200E180	fea 49	
296	N165E205	fea 68	delft
297	N200E180	fea 70	delft
298	N195E260	wall/floor	white saltglazed stoneware

299	N200E180	mixed proven.	creamware
300	N210E195	baulk	
301	N165E205	fea 65	
302	N200E185	fea 2 level 1	annular pw
303	N200E185	fea 2 level 2	shell edge pw
304	N200E185	zone 1	
305	N210E185	fea 69	
306	N210E185	zone 3	hand paint pw
307	N200E185	zone 2	
308	N185E260	zone 1	creamware
309	N195E180	zone 1	transfer print pw
310	N185E260	zone 2	transfer print pw
311	N210E185	fea 73	creamware
312	N210E180	zone 1	plastic fork
313	N195E180	zone 2	creamware
314	N195E180	zone 2a	pearlware
315	N195E180	fea 2 level 1	transfer print pw
316	N210E180	zone 2a	pearlware
317	N210E180	zone 2b	mocha pw
318	N185E260	wall/floor	--
319	N195E180	fea 2 level 2	transfer print pw
320	N200E185	zone 3 level 2	
321	N195E180	zone 2a	porcelain
322	N200E185	zone 4	whieldon ware
323	N190E185	zone 1	shell edge pearlware
324	N210E180	feature 2	transfer print pw
325	N190E185	zone 1	shell edge pw
326	N200E185	zone 4 level 2	creamware
327	N190E185	zone 2	creamware
328	N200E185	zone 5	north devon ware
329	N195E180	fea 72	
330	N190E185	zone 2/fea 9	creamware
331	N210E180	fea 2 level 2	creamware
332	N185E180	fea 47a	brick frag.
333	N195E180	zone 4	delft
334	N210E180	fea 3	porcelain
335	N200E185	fea 74	north devon ware
336	N190E185	wall/floor	
337	N210E180	fea 73	transfer print pw
338	N195E180	wall/floor	
339	N200E185	fea 74 level 2	
340	N200E185	fea 78	
341	N220E195	zone 1	

342	N185E180	fea 47b	colono ware
343	N220E195	zone 2	pearlware
344	N210E180	fea 49	annular pw
345	N210E180	fea 73	pearlware
346	N200E185	wall/floor	westerwald
347	N220E195	zone 2	white saltglazed stoneware
348	N210E180	wall/floor	annular pw
349	N220E195	wall/floor	
350	block	wall/floor	
351	N195E255	zone 1	pearlware
352	N205E195	fea 86 level 1	white saltglazed stoneware
353	N205E195	fea 86 level 2	
354	N205E195	fea 87	slipware
355	N200E185	fea 50	delft
356	N185E180	fea 48	
357	N195E255	zone 2	shell edged pw
358	N125E260	zone 1	creamware
359	N200E180	fea 63	
360	N200E180	zone 4	white saltglazed stoneware
361	N205E180	fea 50	porcelain
362	N205E180	zone 4	nottingham
363	N125E260	zone 2	pearlware
364	N195E280	zone 1	creamware
365	N210E195	fea 56 trench	no matl
366	N125E260	zone 3	creamware
367	N200E180	zone 4	slipware
368	N195E280	zone 2	creamware
369	N160E235	zones 1&2	shell edge pw
370	N125E260	floor/wall	white saltglaze stoneware
371	N160E235	zone 2	creamware
372	N160E235	zone 3	
373	N150E255	zone 1	creamware
374	N195E280	wall/floor	westerwald
375	N160E235	wall/floor	creamware
376	N195E185	zones 1&2	shell edge pw\
377	N190E190	fea 19	porcelain
378	N195E185	fea 2	annular pw
379	N175E195	zone 1	transfer print pw
380	N150E255	zone 2	pearlware
381	N200E225	zone 1	shell edge pw
382	N160E235	fea 89	delft
383	N160E235	fea 91	slipware
384	N195E185	fea 9	transfer print pw

385	N200E225	zone 2	shell edge pw
386	N195E185	zone 3	pearlware
387	N195E185	zone 4	nottingham
388	N200E225	wall/floor	--
389	N150E255	zone 3	
390	N150E255	wall/floor	
391	N190E185	fea 9	white saltglazed stoneware
392	N175E195	zone 2	delft
393	N185E240	zone 1	
394	N185E240	zone 2	transfer print pw
395	N155E255	zone 1	creamware
396	N155E255	zone 2	shell edge pw
397	N195E185	wall/floor	astbury ware
398	N150E260	zone 1	shell edge pw
399	N150E260	zone 2	shell edge pw
400	N150E260	zone 3	jackfield
401	N170E250	zone 1	shell edge pw
402	N195E90	zone 2	
403	N155E255	zone 3	
404	N170E250	zone 2	pearlware
405	N195E90	wall/floor	
406	N170E250	zone 3	hand paint pw
407	N150E250 block	wall/floor	pearlware
408	N200E225	fea 93	delft, slipware
409	N190E185	fea 75	delft, porcelain
410	N150E260	wall/floor	creamware
411	N185E260	fea 42	nail
412	N175E195	fea 96	
413	N195E90	zone 1	transfer print pw
414	N170E250	fea 101a	undec. pearlware
415	N185E260	fea 42a	slipware
416	N185E260	fea 42b	delft
417	N170E250	fea 101b	brick
418	N150E160	zone 2 inside f. 88	
419	N150E260	zone 3 inside f. 88	

(Fall 1998)

420	N210E170	zone 1	pepsi bottle top
421	N200E180	zone 1	shell edge pw
422	N200E170	zone 1	shell edge pw
423	N210E170	zone 2	transfer print pw
424	N200E170	fea 2	pearlware
425	N210E170	fea 2 lev 1	pearlware

426	N200E170	fea2 intrusive	white saltglazed stoneware
427	N200E170	fea 2	creamware
428	N200E190	zone 2	shell edge pw
429	N210E170	fea 2 level 2	hand paint pw
430	N200E170	fea 2	creamware
431	N200E170	fea 2	pearlware
432	N195E200	zone 1	transfer print pw
433	N200E170	fea 2 level 2	transfer print pw
434	N195E200	zone 2 level1	transfer print pw
435	N200E170	zone 3	hand paint pw
436	N210E170	fea 102	creamware
437	N200E170	zone 3 level 2	delft, westerwald
438	N195E200	zone 2 level 2	annular pw
439	N200E170	zone 4	porcelain
440	N210E170	zone 3	creamware
441	N200E190	zone 3	
442	N200E170	fea 49/zone 4	glass
443	N210E170	zone 3 level a	creamware
444	N195E200	zone 2 level 3	porcelain
445	N210E170	feature 3	westerwald
446	N200E170	zone 4	westerwald
447	N195E200	fea 1	transfer print pw
448	N200E170	zone 4	north devon ware
449	N210E170	fea 102 level 2	nail
450	N200E170	zone 3 level 3	blumenkubel
451	N200E170	wall/floor	porcelain, brown saltglaze stoneware
452	N210E170	fea 49	delft
453	N195E190	zone 1	creamware
454	N195E200	fea 1 level 2	glass
455	N210E170	zone 3b	white saltglazed stoneware
456	N195E200	wall/floor	glass
457	N195E190	zone 2	transfer print pw
458	N195E200	fea 103a	
459	n195E200	fea 103b	brick
460	N195E200	fea 104a	no matl
461	N195E200	fea 104b	nail
462	N205E170	zone 1	pearlware
463	N205E170	zone 2	pearlware
464	N195E190	fea 2	porcelain
465	N205E170	fea 2 level 1	creamware
465a	N195E195	zone 1	tranfer print pw
466	N205E170	fea 2 level 2	pearlware
467	N195E190	fea 2 level 2	pearlware

468	N195E190	fea 2 level 3	shell edge pw
469	N195E190	zone 3	elers ware
470	N205E170	fea level 3	creamware
471	N195E190	zone 3 level 2	nail
472	N210E175	zone 2	shell edge pw
473	N195E195	fea 2 level 1	pearlware
474	N205E170	zone 3 level 1	transfer print pw
475	N195E190	fea 108 level 1	
476	N195E190	fea 108 level 2	
477	N205E170	zone 3 level 2	colono ware
478	N195E195	fea 2 level 2	annular pearlware
479	N210E175	fea 2 level 2	creamware
480	N200E190	zone 3 level 2	white saltglazed stoneware
481	N205E170	fea 3	green glass
482	N205E170	zone 4, se	glass
483	N205E170	zone 4, nw	colono ware
484	N205E170	zone 4/fea 49	mottled ware
485	N195E195	fea 2 level 3	transfer print pw
486	N200E195	zone 1	
487	N205E170	fea 49/106/zone 4	
488	N200E195	fea 2 level 1	pearlware
489	N210E175	zone 3	creamware
490	N205E170	wall/floor	creamware
491	N210E175	fea 110	glass
492	N210E175	fea 73	transfer print pw
493	N200E195	fea 2 level 2	creamware
494	N200E195	fea 109	blumenkubel
495	N210E175	fea 3 level 1	creamware
496	N205E170	fea 111a	nail
497	N205E170	fea 111b	porcelain
498	N205E170	fea 106	
499	N200E195	fea 2 level 3	white saltglazed stoneware
500	N210E175	fea 3 level 2	creamware
501	N195E195	fea 109	shell edge pw
502	N200E195	zone 3	
503	N195E195	zone 3	westerwald
504	N205E170	fea 49 level 2	colono ware
505	N200E200	zone 1	pearlware
506	N210E175	fea 112	delft, porcelain
506a	N210E175	cleanup base fea 3	
507	N200E200	fea 2	annular pw
508	N205E170	wall/floor	porcelain
509	N200E200	fea 2 above wall	pearlware

510	N210E175	fea 49	white saltglazed stoneware
511	N195E190	fea 109 level 2	green glass
512	N200E200	zone 2	
513	N200E195	fea 109 level 2	no matl
514	N195E195	fea 109 level 2	creamware
515	N195E175	zone 1	pearlware
516	N200E200	fea 114a level 1	shell edge pw/white saltglaze
517	N195E175	zone 2	pearlware/rail spike
518	N200E200	fea 114a level 2	porcelain
519	N200E195	zone 3	creamware
520	N195E195	zone 3	porcelain
521	N200E200	fea 114b level 2	white saltglazed stoneware
522	N200E190	zone 3	glass
523	N195E175	fea 2 level 1	pearlware
524	N195E195	fea 116	delft
525	N200E200	zone 3	creamware
526	N205E175	zone 2	pearlware
527	N200E200	fea 117	brick/burned bone
528	N195E175	fea 72a	creamware
529	N195E190 block	floor	creamware
530	N195E175	fea 72b	transfer print pw
531	N195E175	fea 2 level 2	transfer print pw
532	N205E175	fea 2 level 1	yellow ware?
533	N200E205	fea 2	colono ware
534	N205E175	fea 2 level 2	mocha pw
535	N195E175	fea 2 level 3	white saltglazed stoneware
536	N210E170		
537	N205E175	zone 3	creamware
538	N220E170	fea 2	creamware
539	N195E175	zone 3	creamware
540	N200E205	fea 2 level 2	creamware
541	N220E170	fea 43	dispensary bottle
542	N205E175	fea 3	delft, porcelain
543	N205E175	fea 49/zone 4 lev 1	white saltglazed stoneware
544	N205E175	fea 49 zone 4 lev 2	
545	N195E175	fea 118 mottled sand	porcelain
546	N200E205	wall/floor	glass
547	N205E175	zone 4 level 3	green glass
548	N195E175	zone 3 level 2	pearlware/whieldon
549	N195E175	fea 118, nor. brick	porcelain
550	N205E175	fea 106	
551	N200E205	fea 119	
552	N205E175	wall/floor	burned earthenware

553	N200E205	fea 120	creamware/elers ware
554	N195E175	zone 4	creamware/porcelain
555	N200E175	zone 2	transfer print pw/soft paste porcelain
556	N220E170	fea 102	creamware
557	N205E200	fea 2	
558	N200E205	wall/floor	
559	N195E175	fea 121	window glass
560	N220E170	fea 2/3 disturbed	window glass
561	N205E200	fea 2 level 1	delft
562	N200E175	fea 2 level 1 (did not use)	
563	N200E175	fea 2 level 2	transfer print pw
564	N200E205	fea 123b	north devon ware
565	N205E200	fea 2 level 2	4-hole button
566	N195E170	zone 1	transfer print pw
567	N200E190	fea 74	buckley ware
568	N200E175	baulk zone 2	hand paint pw
569	N200E175	baulk fea 2	creamware
570	N200E190	zone 4 level 2	
571	N195E170	fea 2 level 2	transfer print pw
572	N200E175	zone 3	shell edge pw
573	N200E175	fea 72	shell edge pw
574	N195E165	zone 1	pearlware
575	N195E165	fea 2 level 1	creamware
576	N200E175	fea 72 level 2	whieldon ware
577	N200E170	wall/floor	
578	N195E160	zone 1	hand paint pw
579	N205E200	fea 114	creamware
580	N205E200	fea 1	blumenkubel
581	N200E175	zone 4 level 1	whieldon ware
582	N195E160	fea 2	pearlware
583	N205E200	wall/floor	delft
584	N195E190	fea 108	no matl
585	N200E175	zone 4 level 2	
586	N200E175	fea 49	whieldon ware
587	N215E195	zone 1	pearlware
588	N215E190	zone 1	shell edge pw
589	N200E175	zone 4/cleaning	porcelain
590	N195E170 etc	clean top fea 118	porcelain
591	N215E190	zone 2	creamware
592	N205E200	fea 117	delft
593	N205E200	fea 85	nottingham
594	N200E175	baulk, sw corner	porcelain
595	N200E175	fea 106	porcelain

596	N200E175	fea 125	whieldon ware
597	N205E200	fea 124	colono
598	N205E200	fea 126 level 2	
599	N195E170	zone 3	creamware
600	N215E145	zone 1	pearlware
601	N215E145	zone 2	transfer print pw
602	N195E170	zone 3 level 2	
603	N200E140	zone 1	pearlware
604	N200E140	zone 2	pearlware/creamware
605	N215E145	base zone 2 clean	delft, porcelain
606	N210E145	zone 1	
607	N200E165	fea 2 level 1	transfer print pw
608	N150E285	zone 1	hand paint pw
609	N210E145	zone 2	transfer print pw
610	N210E165	rem fea 2	hand paint pw
611	N210E145/N215	zone 2 level 2	pearlware
612	N200E145	zone 1	barbed wire
613	N155E255	top fea 132	
614	N210E145/N215	brick rubble sample	pearlware
615	N150E255	fea 135	colono ware
616	N210E145	floor/wall	shell edge pw
617	N150E255	fea 134	colono ware
618	N205E165	fea 2	transfer print pw
619	N205E160	zone ½	pearlware
620	N205E160	fea 2	glass
621	N205E160	zone 3	pearlware
622	N210E160	wall/floor	pearlware
623	N210E160	fea 2	shell edge pw
624	N210E165	fea 2	shell edge pw
625	N200E145	wall/floor	whieldon ware

Chapter VIII
Artifacts from 38Ch1659

Three seasons of fieldwork at the site of James Stobo's rice plantation produced a material assemblage remarkable in several ways. First, the unaltered nature of the 18th century deposits resulted in artifacts that are relatively large and intact. Secondly, the assemblage contains many items not usually recovered from archaeological sites, reflecting sudden abandonment of house and possessions. Finally, these two factors together result in an archaeological site that can be 'reconstructed' with a degree of accuracy not usually possible. Broken items are mendable over a series of contiguous units, and many items have not been displaced from their place of abandonment. It is possible here to discern much from detailed and creative analysis of horizontal, vertical, and quantitative distribution of artifacts and groups of artifacts.

Therefore, the description of recovered materials will proceed in a manner divergent from the traditional format. First, the most interesting individual items will be discussed and described, both individually and in groups. This section will highlight those artifacts that are remarkable because they are complete, because they are unusual, or because they are illustrative of particular phenomena. The casual reader may wish to focus his or her energies on this section, and skim the subsequent discussions of quantification. The following sections will move beyond the whole or the unusual, to consider the entire artifact assemblage, each and every fragment. While each of these will not be described, they will be quantified in a variety of ways. While the initial description may be the most engaging, it is the quantification that really speaks to the broader issues of daily life that are at the heart of archaeological research.

For the sake of consistency and organization, all of the artifact discussion will follow Stanley South's model for the Carolina Artifact Pattern (South 1977). Under this method, artifacts are grouped by presumed function, or how they were used in the everyday life of their owners. Artifacts are grouped, and then quantified, within eight broad categories: those artifacts related to kitchen activities, such as food preparation, service, and storage; to architecture and the buildings themselves; to arms and weaponry, to clothing, its surviving elements, its manufacture and repair; items of personal ownership; to furniture and furnishings; to tobacco smoking as an individualized habit, and an eclectic category which includes artifacts and tools from a variety of daily activities, such as gardening, storage, equestrian affairs, etc. All of the following artifact discussions will follow this general outline.

In addition to the more complete examples, the large artifact assemblage exhibited distributional patterning, both horizontally and vertically, that is amenable to detailed analysis and quantification. These aspects of the archaeological record are discussed in detail in subsequent sections. For the purposes of analysis, the entire site was subdivided into four discrete artifact assemblages. The first is the smallest, these materials from architectural features and other refuse-bearing layers that predate James Stobo's ownership of the property. These date from roughly 1710 to 1740, and include the remains of the structure represented by the large posts. Though the second

structure is likely constructed around 1720, the architectural proveniences from this second building are not included in the early subassemblage, as they were disturbed in the early 19th century, and thus contain artifacts from that era.

The second assembage includes midden deposits that contain artifacts only associated with James Stobo's tenure 1741-1767 (those soil deposits containing Whieldon Ware, White Saltglazed Stoneware, and Creamware as ceramics providing TPQ estimates). These are deposits associated with construction of his house (principally feature 49) and the deep midden that resulted from its sudden abandonment, feature 3 and zone 3. This assemblage covers only those proveniences within the footprint of the manor house.

The third, and by far the largest, assemblage are the layers of rubble that suggest robbing of the bricks and final abandonment of the site. Like the previous assembage, these are only those layers directly over the footprint of the house. As these rubble layers contain quantities of artifacts, including pearlwares that post-date Stobo's occupation, this is considered a separate occupational event, culminating in the demolition of the house. Roughly, these include all layers containing post-1780 ceramics (pearlwares) and the materials in features 1 and 2, and zones 1 and 2 above that. These layers do, however, contain a good deal of Stobo's artifacts, redeposited during the demolition activities.

The fourth subsassembage is horizontal rather than temporal, and consists of the material from the test units scattered through the yard. Here the artifacts are smaller and appear to be the result of daily discard, rather than abandonment. The yard midden, excavated as zones 1 and 2, also contain some pearlwares, underscoring the continual occupation through the early 19th century, after the Stobo family's departure. Within the discussion of these subassemblages and their quantified distribution, we will return to the artifact categories of the Carolina Pattern in more detail, and compare a number of artifact types, groups, and classes, in terms of their horizontal distrubtion and their temporal distribution. The results of these analyses will be incorporated into broad interpretive discussions in Chapter 12.

The site revealed over 38,000 artifacts from 486 discrete proveniences. The 75 proveniences that predated Stobo's tenure contained a relatively sparse artifact assembage, 899 artifacts (less than 12 artifacts per provenience on average). Those associated directly with James Stobo's house contained 5010 artifacts in 69 proveniences (72 per provenience average), while the larger demolition layers contained 24,561 artifacts in 264 proveniences (93 per provenience). The yard area included 78 proveniences and 9332 artifacts (the densest at 119 per provenience).

Kitchen-related Artifacts from James Stobo's plantation

As most of the artifacts recovered from domestic sites have to do with the affairs of daily life, the largest group is usually those items associated with food preparation, storage and service. On the sites of wealthy families, those of the latter category were designed to display one's social status and

the knowledge of use that went with ownership of such display pieces. Thus, decorative ceramic and glass items dominate the artifacts from Stobo's property.

Tea and Table Ceramics

Chinese porcelain was the most expensive and the most desired of all ceramics in the colonial period. It was relatively scarce in the 17th century American colonies, and thus indicative of wealth. By the second half of the 18th century, Chinese porcelain had become more readily available in the colonies, particularly in major ports such as Charleston. A great variety of types and styles have been noted in the Lowcountry, but they can be roughly divided into those decorated with blue hand-painted designs under the glaze and those decorated with hand painting on top of the glaze, creating a raised design. Some porcelains, known loosely as Imari-type, exhibited blue hand painting under the glaze, and the addition of red and gold hand painted designs on top of the glaze. By the last quarter of the 18th century, overglazed porcelain teacups often exhibited only a minimal design around the rim.

The China trade had opened up to the Western world in the early 17th century, introducing not only tea and coffee, but also its fine porcelain. Porcelain tablewares, and especially teawares, were a highly visible symbol of wealth and status; by the 1740s, though, the more common varieties were available to middle and lower classes in local stores. Improved trade and greater production made Chinese porcelain more readily available and less expensive throughout the 18th century, although it remained a high status item.

James Stobo's possessions, though, included a number of rare and expensive porcelains. His assemblage included wares for tea and for dinner. Vessels include the common teacups without handles, saucers for these, dinner plates, bowls, and large punch bowls. The latter are associated with communal consumption, a holdover from the Medieval period (Brown et al. 1990). Stobo's assemblage included at least two punch bowls (figure 94).

Most common were the teawares, particularly the underglaze blue-on-white teacups and their associated saucers. A nearly intact example from the first quarter of the 18th century was recovered from the trash midden below Stobo's courtyard, found inside the base of a large green case bottle. This example exhibited straight sides and a low shoulder, and relatively simple decoration. This small cup was 2.5" in diameter. The two complete examples from the mid-18th century had a rounded profile and more elaborate hand painted designs, particularly around the rim. They were in two sizes, 2.5" and 3.5" diameter. At least three others are present, including an example featuring the "blanca"design in the exterior paste. A minimum of three blue decorated saucers were reconstructed, ranging from 4.5" to 5" in diameter (figure 95).

Overglazed teawares were present, as well, and included at least one Imari-style teacup and an overglazed saucer with delicate red-and-gold dart design around a scalloped rim. But the majority of the overglazed wares were plates and other dinner wares. At least three plates featured floral overglazed designs in red, green, and white, in a variety of patterns. An elaborate Imari bowl (9" in

diameter) featured areas of blue underglazed design, particularly around the rim, interspersed with sections of red and gold decoration, in elaborate parallel lines and a ranging leaf and flower pattern. The most dramatic vessel was a single plate 9" in diameter, with a center of the "blanca" design, a marley of elaborate red and gold swirls on a black background, and a rim decorated in golden fruit outlined in red. A number of decorative arts specialists (Thomas Savage, Robert Leath, Chris Loeblein) have pronounced it one of great expense. It, perhaps more than any other single artifact, embodies James Stobo's attention to expensive and status-filled decorative objects (figure 96).

The variety of porcelain forms also included two punch bowls, and a small rounded vessel, likely a sugar bowl or other other container for condiments. At least two small tankard or mug forms, likely for coffee or chocolate were noted. At least two blue-on-white dinner plates, in styles typical of the third quarter of the 18th century, were reconstructed as well.

The earliest tableware were the tin-glazed earthenwares produced in England and known as delftware. Although this ware dominated the ceramic market in the late 17th century, it had lost much of the tableware market to the sturdier Chinese porcelain, which was not as easily cracked or chipped in daily use. First to fall into disuse were the smaller vessels, such as teacups. No reconstructable examples of these wares were recovered at Stobo, though there are identifiable fragments of rims and footrings that are as thin and small as the porcelain cups and saucers. Many of these are decorated with blue hand painting (figure 97).

The larger, sturdier vessels such as plates and punch bowls continued alongside porcelain until the mid-18th century, and the Stobo collection contains more examples of these types. Again, none of the vessels were reconstructable, but a number of distinct examples can be recognized. A number of fragments to a polychrome-decorated plate were recovered; these feature a sparse scene that covers the entire plate, painted in manganese, blue and yellow. Another plate featured a blue hand-painted mimosa pattern, immitating porcelain plates of the mid-century. These plates were 11" in diameter. At least three large bowls, 8" in diameter, were also recognized. All featured blue hand painted decoration immitating porcelain. The most unusual piece retrieved from the Stobo site is represented by two fragments of the base and footring. This vessel features a butter-yellow paste and pure white tin glaze, and is decorated with fine ridges in the bowl exterior. The size of the footring and the thickness of the vessel indicate that it was quite large. It is too fragmentary to be certain, but it is likely a punch bowl (figure 97).

The most common delftware form, however, was not from the table but was instead the small pots for ointment or medicine. The reconstructable examples are the undecorated ones in pedestal style, typical of the mid-18th century. A third ointment pot, in the same form, featured a red clay paste and a thin greyish tin glaze. This may be Spanish rather than English, as the materials do not match any known delft types (figure 97).

Chinese porcelain was not the only ceramic to replace delftware. White saltglazed stoneware, developed into the 1720s, was the first refined stoneware suitable for use as a tableware. The earliest, known as slip-dipped, featured a slighly grey paste, and a characteristic brown manganese band

around the rim. The most common forms were small mugs or tankards, though bowls have been recovered in the Lowcountry. The only recognizable vessel from Stobo appears to be a tankard, though a small fragment looks tantalizingly like a rectangular candlestick.

The more elaborately molded table and tea wares were first developed in the 1740s, and a variety of these are present in the Stobo collections. Rims from plates include undecorated, and those with molded rims in the dot-diaper-basket motif, and the bead and reel motif. Though numerous, these rim sherds were too fragmentary to determine a minimum vessel count. A few vessels were recognizable because of their special form. Two fragments to a specially molded plate were recovered. This featured an elaborate rim in classical motifs, and a series of molded hounds. The finial and a portion of a base and shoulder to a melon-style teapot were recovered. The most complete vessel was a simple handle-less teacup. The molded white saltglazed table and tea wares were durable and attractive, but expensive. When the less-expensive refined earthenwares were perfected in the 1770s, white saltglazed stoneware rapidly disappeared from merchants' shelves.

Several of the tablewares manufactured only in the middle 18th century are present in significant amounts in the Stobo assemblage. Three finely-made earthenwares are present in small amounts. The least common is agate ware, thin-walled vessels of red and yellow clays mixed and swirled, then covered with a clear lead glaze so that the swirls of clay are visible through the glaze, immitating the veins found in agate. This was manufactured in Staffordshire from 1740 to 1775, and only a few fragments were recovered from the site. Slightly more common was an earlier ware, named for the pottery John Astbury. This was a hard, red-bodied earthenware, lead glazed to give a ginger-brown surface. It was most commonly decorated with sprig-molded designs or simple stripes, in white pipe clay. The Stobo site featured the handle to a large cup or bowl. Most unusual was a teapot lid, slightly darker in color, featuring a finial in the form of a bird. Complete examples of this motif have been dated by Sotheby's to the 1750s. The teapot lid featured a sprigged grapeleaf design, enameled in green. Only one other example of this ware had been recovered in the Lowcountry, a melon-shaped teapot from the Charleston waterfront. Astbury ware was maufactured from 1725-1750 (figure 98).

Far more common at the Stobo site are the shiny black lead glazed wares known as Jackfield, produced from about 1740 to 1790. The ware was made by various potters and featured a clay body that ranged from grey to purple to red, the red being the hallmark of the Staffordshire potters. The common feature is a deep black, oily glaze and well-made forms. Though none could be pieced together, the recovery of some relatively large fragments suggests that the Stobo site contains at least two teapots of this ware , and a footed tea bowl. The bowl features three 'Lion's feet' as the base.

Also recovered in relatively large numbers were fragments of Nottingham stoneware, and its earthenware variety. This ceramic features a grey stoneware body and a lustrous brown glaze over a white slip, often compared to german chocolate cake. The vessels often feature distinctive incised decorations. Manufactured from 1700 to 1810, the principal forms were tavern mugs, bowls, pitchers, and double-handled cups. The Stobo collection features a bowl decorated with a distinctive

mid-18th century motif, a "sprinkle" of very finely crumbled pottery fragments, which appears in a band around a small bowl. Other fragments are decorated with the more common deeply incised grooves, whose cross-hatching forms a series of diamonds. This decoration appears on many small fragments of the stoneware, and on the earthenware vessel that appears to be a teapot. The largest fragment appears to be the rim of a bowl, featuring an everted rim style.

Only a small amount of the distinctive unglazed stonewares of the 18th century were recovered. The most distinctive stonewares of this period were dry-bodied, unglazed finely made stoneware. Teapots were the most common form. Produced from 1690 to 1775, the earlier wares often feature delicate sprigged ornamentation. In 1763 Josiah Wedgwood introduced the engine-turned technique, producing regular wavy lines at close intervals. Only a few fragments of Elers ware were recovered at Stobo, and all of these appear to be undecorated. Equally rare at Stobo is the comparable unglazed stoneware in black, made after 1750 and brought to prominence by Wedgewood, who called it Black Basaltes. The ware was manufactured through the early 19th century and was popular during times of mourning. Again, teapots are the most common form.

The Stobo site was occupied during the era of rapid development in the English ceramic market, both in terms of innovation and marketing. The leader of this innovative group of potters was Josiah Wedgwood, whose potting abilities were matched by market savvy. Though many experimented with the form, it was Wedgwood who first perfected the group of white-bodied ceramics known as refined earthenwares, and spread them literally to the four corners of the world. A revolution occurred in the 1740s to 50s, when Wedgwood developed an earthenware with a cream colored glaze which he called cream colored ware.

The original cream bodied ware featured clouded or swirled underglaze designs in purple, brown, yellow, green, and grey, introduced in 1746. Many of the same molds used for white saltglazed vessels were used for this ware. Thus it is that Stobo's site contains at least two dinner plates in the dot-diaper-basket pattern. In 1750 Wedgwood produced a wholly green ware, often in elaborately molded forms that mimic fruits and vegetables such as the cauliflower and pineapple. At least one bowl or teacup in the pineapple forms is present, and an example of the "cauliflower" ware is present as well. Other fragments of the green ware are more difficult to interpret. The most interesting are at least three fragments of a green fruit basket, featuring the intricate openwork motif of the Staffordshire potteries. The Whieldon-type wares were manufactured until 1770 (figure 98).

After Wedgwood went into business on his own in 1759, he found the green glazed ware was not so popular, and he turned his attention to the refinement of the cream colored ware, later called Queensware. Wedgwood appears to have perfected the ware by 1762, although diverse archaeological sites have produced nearly irrefutable evidence of earlier use. In any case, in less than ten years this ware could be found in every corner of the British colonial empire. In her study of 18th century consumerism (1994), Ann Smart Martin has commented that Wedgwood himself marveled at how quickly creamware "spread over the whole globe and how universally it is liked". What is remarkable in Martin's view is that Wedgwood managed to compress the cycle of luxury-to-common consumption into a very short period. Further, by continually bring out new styles, Wedgwood

satisfied both the middle class consumer eager to display a knowledge of manners and the fashionably wealthy who sought to distance themselves from the nouveau. Like porcelain, creamware came in highly decorated and expensive styles as well as relatively plain and inexpensive types. The Stobo site contains both.

The simpler wares dominate the Stobo site, and are contained in proveniences dating after 1760. Most common are dinner plates and soup bowls, with feather edged rims, or the scalloped rims of the royal pattern. A few of the smaller plates and saucers are present as well, as are a few mugs and bowls. Hygiene vessels are represented by the everted rims characteristic of chamber pots. The lack of elaborately decorated creamware, in contrast to the porcelains and other early 18th century ceramics, may suggest that Stobo did not invest heavily in new ceramics at this time, or that the creamware purchased was for site residents other than the Stobo family. Alternately, Stobo may simply have purchased the feather edged plates as an "everyday" china, as did so many other Lowcountry planters. The few decorative fragments suggest some sort of openwork or basket-type vessel.

Earthenware and Stoneware Utilitarian Wares

The Stobo site includes a number of more mundane, storage and preparation ceramics, in stoneware and earthenware. Most common are the saltglazed stoneware containers from the Rhineland region of Germany. Westerwald stoneware is grey-bodied and decorated in manganese in the late 17th century and exclusively in blue by the second quarter of the 18th century. While a few fragments of the manganese decorated ware were recovered, the majority featured blue decoration. A few fragments, bases and medallions may be from the bulbous jugs of the first quarter of the 18th century, but the majority of fragments appear to be from the tankards and chamber pots that characterize the mid-century production. Three distinct vessels were partially reconstructed, including a blue-decorated chamber pot, and a tall, slender jug, marked I F S WEESP GIN in a blue-ribboned cartouche. Though more fragmentary, at least three tankards were noted, as well (figure 99).

Stoneware storage containers were also glazed in a brown saltglaze. The site yielded significant numbers of fragments of these. All of the fragments appeared to be from jugs in a variety of sizes. A nearly complete example, of one gallon size, was reconstructed from the early deposits beneath the courtyard sands (figure 99; see figure 89).

Also reconstructed was a large stoneware crock unlike any seen before in the Lowcountry. The vessel featured a brown saltglazed exterior with bands of grey, and a shiny greenish-brown interior finish. The vessel exhibited a distinctive base that was very exaggerated and heavy, with a broad indented footring. According to research provided by Linda Carnes-McNaughton, this was designed to improve stability on dirt floors and to allow the passage of air underneath the vessels. Dr. Carnes-McNaughton had visited pottery musuems in Germany, particularly one in the

Langerwehe region, and provided exhibition photos that matched the recovered example identically. British specialist David Gaimster reports that the Langerwehe potteries were major suppliers in the 14th to 16th centuries. During the 17th through 19th centuries, large barrel-shaped jars accounted for the majority of the exports. These were used mainly in the preservation of fruits and vegetables, and in the storage of butter. Gaimster further reports that "these types were traded widely in the Rhineland and the Low countries, but not to Britain, where this form of foodstuff preservation was apparently not practiced" (Gaimster 1997). Carnes-McNaughton knows of no other examples in British North America. Gaimster's summary may explain the scarcity of this ware in the North American colonies, but it does not explain the presence of this vessel at Willtown. The example from Willtown is clearly a butter churn, as identified from its rim form. All of the fragments recovered came from units over the northern bay of the house (figure 100).

In contrast, fragments from another distinctive stoneware type were recovered across the site, concentrated in the units over the house but also found in N195E90 to the east and N125E260. The majority of fragments were retrieved from the dark midden deposits of Feature 3 and zone 3. These are extremely refined grey saltglazed stoneware vessels, featuring heavily molded wavy patterns at the base of the bowl, and elaborate sprigged designs near the top and around the rim. The sprigs are ropes of flowers and central partridges, and the rim features elaborate sprigged decorations, as well. Based on their form, the vessels appear to be pedestaled garden pots. Closer examination of the recovered fragments suggest that there are two vessels, based on the paste and glaze color. Further, the lighter of the two is lacking the partridges in the triangular panel. This vessel was also identified by Linda Carnes-McNaughton as "Blumenkubel", a flower pot made in the Rhineland in the 18th century (Noel Hume 1974). These are pedestal-footed urns, averaging 10 to 12 inches in height. Noel Hume notes that the extant examples have a pair of opposing knob handles, and are decorated on the body and rim with applied motifs. In Williamsburg, a few examples have been excavated from deposits dating to the second half of the 18th century, though the Willtown examples may be slightly earlier. The sprigged designs on the Willtown pieces are similar, though not identical, to those pictured by Noel Hume, though the knob, rim, and basal treatment are the same (figure 101).

The remainder of the utilitarian ceramics are course earthenwares. The majority of these are fragments of lead-glazed redware, in a variety of glaze colors. Few vessels could be reconstructed, but those identifiable rims were from the shallow cream pans found commonly on British colonial sites. The largest example came from feature 106, predating the Stobo occupation, and was a nearly complete cream pan, featuring a red paste and clear (and thus brick-red) glaze. Something acid had eroded the glazed surface, and the broken fragments were covered in white plaster (figure 102).

The earliest ceramic type is the distinctive North Devon Gravel-tempered ware, distinguished by coarse quartz temper in an otherwise smooth red-to-grey paste, and a thick brownish-green glaze. This ware was first produced in 1650 and is considered a hallmark of 17th century occupation, though the ware was manufactured through the middle of the 18th century. The majority of rims are from cream pans, though a few crocks are present, as well. Likewise, the small amount of Buckley ware (1720-1775) is from crocks. This ware exhibits a yellow and red swirled clay paste, and a distinctive ridged surface, glazed in black. Southern European ware is the name we have given to

a distinctive earthenware with a sandy salmon-and-grey paste, and an apple-green glaze. This type consists of large cream pans and storage jars, and is found consistently on Lowcountry sites. As the ware has stylistic relation to Spanish or circum-Mediterranean wares, archaeologist Ken Lewis suggested the name Southern European Ware in 1984 (Zierden et al. 1986).

The most common earthenware was combed and trailed slipware from the Staffordshire potteries of England, manufactured from 1670 through 1795. These wares feature a clear to yellowed glaze over a variety of clay slips applied to a buff-colored paste. Vessel forms include hollow wares such as mugs or cups; these are often glazed on both the interior and exterior, and the exterior is decorated with brown dots and trailed designs. These are the most common form at the Stobo site, and they might function as table wares as well as preparation wares. The large shallow bowls and plates have a thicker paste, are glazed only on the interior, and feature combed and trailed slips in a variety of brown and yellow hues. These vessels are surprisingly rare at this site. A variant of this ceramic is Manganese mottled ware, or Mottled ware, which exhibits the same speckled, buff-colored paste typical of Staffordshire earthenware. The vessels are glazed in a thick dark brown, and manganese inclusions give it a speckled, or tortoise shell, appearance. The glaze is often thin near the lip and puddles in the bottom of tankards or mugs. Mottled ware was manufactured from 1680 to 1750. The overwhelmingly common vessel form was straight-sided tankards in a variety of sizes, and these are represented in the Stobo collection. But we also recovered a bowl with straight, but flaring sides, of unknown dimensions.

Glass vessels

Perhaps the most common artifact recovered at the site were fragments of container glass, in the dark olive green color typical of the colonial period. These were generally used to hold liquids, though their most common use was for alcoholic beverages. They were often reused, refilled from barrels or hogsheads, and sealed with cork held in place with copper wire, much like today's champagne bottles. In addition to numerous fragments, the site yielded a number of nearly intact bottles, or those whose dimensions could be readily identified. These came from contexts that predate the house, from fill inside the wood-floored best room, and from the midden dating to Stobo's occupation. Bottles are principally dated by their shape, their relative height to diameter. Represented at the site are two nearly complete "onion" bottles, dating to the late 17th/early 18th century. Other complete examples may date to the second quarter of the century. None of those with measurable dimensions date any later than the first half of the century, though later examples may be represented in the fragments of green glass (figure 103; see figure 83).

The square case bottles were present in considerable numbers as well. The collection of early artifacts found in feature 106 (predating the Stobo occupation) included the base to a very large, very heavy square bottle that may be a 17th century example. The inside of the 'best room' also contained the top and base of a typical 18th century case bottle (figure 103; see figure 89).

The site also contained a variety of pharmaceutical or condiment glass. These were much smaller bottles, usually of a light green or light aqua glass, but also found in clear glass. All were hand-blown and exhibited distinct pontil scars on the base. Most common were the cylindrical vials typical of the second half of the 18th century, featuring straight sides, and long, slender dimensions. The most complete example was a lovely bottle of medium green glass, featuring undulating octagonal sides, and measuring 6" in height (figure 104).

Table glass was quite common at the Stobo site, and was present in a range of forms. Fragments included rims from tumblers and goblets, as well as numerous unidentifiable fragments. The table glass was separated from the bottle glass on the basis of the surface appearance and apparent formula of the glass. Like the bottle glass, all of the colonial table glass was hand blown, and features a pontil scar on the base. Identifiable forms included two shallow dishes, tentatively identified as salt dishes. Three bases of tumblers were recovered. The most elaborate was a nearly complete goblet featuring a drawn stem with a spiral of white glass, known as an 'enamel twist'. These vessels date to the third quarter of the 18th century. Also present were two bases from small containers that are likely cruets. Cruet sets, consisting of a half dozen crystal bottles, usually in a silver container, are part of The Charleston Museum's collection of colonial silver. Many of the table glass fragments feature elaborate etched designs from the middle of the 18th century (figure 104).

Cutlery was reflected in two forks and a knife. The forks each featured two tines, typical of the early 18th century. The knife blade was also typical of the mid-18th century. Two handles to pewter spoons were recovered; the one shown features a maker's stamp, 'Burford & Green' and dates to the third quarter of the 18th century (figure 105). The final kitchen items were a number of fragments of iron kettles.

Architecture

The archaeological record contained numerous diagnostic artifacts from the structures themselves. As we shall see later in this chapter, and again in Chapter 12, the distribution of these was key to understanding the site layout. Most common were those very common architectural artifacts, nails and window glass fragments. The nails were in a remarkably good state of preservation, so it was possible to note their method of manufacture. The quantities of window glass suggested extensive sash windows. All of the glass was pale aqua in color, typical of hand-blown window glass of the colonial period. Several exhibited letters scratched into the surface, likely by a diamond or other very hard item. None could be reconstructed, but they included a number of flourishes and portions of letters, as well as several that were discernable: 'ar', 'c', 'mary', 'D', 'Cha', 'W' (figure 106). It is tempting to suggest that these are from Chandler Dinwiddie Fowke and his wife Mary Stobo Fraser.

Other architectural hardware for windows was also recovered This included strap hinges, shutter pintels, and shutter hooks. Several hooks, cranes, and other hardware appeared to be associated with fireplaces. Five keys were recovered, as well (figures 106, 107)

Arms

Arms related artifacts were relatively numerous at Stobo's house, compared to Charleston sites of the same period, but less numerous than the frontier sites Stanley South used to compile the Carolina Artifact Pattern. Most common were gunflints and lead shot. Gunflints were present in honey-colored and grey flint, both presumed to be English. While the spall-variety was most common, a few reduced from blades were also present. All but one of the 43 recovered flints were associated with Stobo's occupation, or that after his departure. The lead balls came in three sizes, 7mm, 1.0 cm, and 1.6cm, the latter classified as musket balls. Twenty two shot and six musket balls were recovered. Again, a single musket ball was recovered from the early proveniences. The recovery of two sections of sprue attest to on-site manufacture of shot.

Other weaponry were present, as well. The courtyard area produced two decorative brass portions of muskets, including a portion of the trigger guard and a decorative side plate. These date to the 1750s-60s (Jack Meyer, personal communication) Most dramatic was the handle to a rapier or small-sword, a type used for civilian, rather than military, purposes. It was used for hunting, or perhaps simply for dress (Peterson 1956). Several scholars have examined it, and most suggest that it is quite early, dating to the first quarter of the 18th century; it was, however, recovered from Stobo's abandoment debris, and so may have been in his possession as an heirloom. Beverly Straube of Jamestown Rediscovery suggests a mid-18th century date, but both Jack Meyer and Carter Hudgins suggest an earlier date. The decorative plate features the profiles of a man and a woman, with an allegorical scene in the center. The man and woman are presumed to be William and Mary, supporting a suspected early date of manufacture. Three fragments of substantial metal may be portions of the blade (figure 108).

The final artifact was one of the most dramatic recovered. An iron pike was recovered from the courtyard surface, feature 49, and featured a substantial socket with two attachment holes. The substantial nature of this artifact suggests that it was meant for use, not for decorative or ceremonial purposes. Though such artifacts were obsolete by the end of the 17th century, they were sent regularly to the colonial militia, and were used as trenching spears through the Revolutionary War (Peterson 1956; Straube 1998) (figure 108) .

Clothing

The Stobo site contained surprisingly few clothing items, far fewer than traditionally recovered on colonial sites. This group contains artifacts related to the manufacture, as well as use, of clothing. Clothing items principally are fasteners, such as buttons, hooks, and lacing tips. Those related to manufacture include thread bobbins and straight pins. The most remarkable aspect of the clothing group was the recovery of a number of scissors. Such artifacts are rarely recovered archaeologically, as they are highly curated. This site contained six fragments. The largest pair, a large utilitarian pair, features a bent handle that dates them to the later eighteenth century. Three of

large utilitarian pair, features a bent handle that dates them to the later eighteenth century. Three of the scissors are smaller, and clearly used in sewing. A fifth, small pair may be more general-purpose. The sixth is represented only by a portion of the loop handle (figure 109).

Other clothing manufacture items were relatively scarce. A single bone bobbin was recovered, and a small piece of decorated bone may be from a needle case. A larger lid of bone may be from thread bobbin. Only six straight pins were recovered, and a single thimble. This, however, was a silver thimble, smashed flat. Unfortunately, no engraving was discovered. The final item relating to clothing manufacture was a lead bale seal, in the style of 18th century merchant's seals. Little is known about these, but they are most often associated with the fabric trade; however, seals may be attached to other products, as well. The Stobo example is, unfortunately, illegible (figure 109).

Two types of late 17th/early 18th century clothing fasteners were recovered. Two small spherical buttons, at least one of which was silver-plated, are early style clothing fasteners. Such buttons have been recovered on 16th and 17th century Spanish colonial sites such as Santa Elena, and on historic Indian sites, where they were trade items (South et al. 1988:134). So, too are the aiglets, or brass lacing tips, used to fasten men's breeches and occasionally shirts. Like the ball buttons, these have some antiquity, but fell out of favor as the 18th century progressed.

The majority of the fasteners recovered (30) were brass or white metal. Most are 18th century styles though some may date to the turn of the 19th century. Ivor Noel Hume (1969:89-90) notes that hollow-cast buttons, usually in white metal or brass and often with embossed decoration were the rule in the first half of the 18th century, while flat copper alloy disks predominated in the second, getting larger toward the end of the century. These disks were usually decorated, sometimes with turned designs but more often with gilding or plating. He further notes that many of the buttons from the second half of the century bear a gray-silvery coating, which is tin plating. Several from the Stobo site exhibit this tin plating, while others are gilded. One of the small, molded disks was a cuff link, rather than a button.

A smaller number of the single-hole bone disks were recovered. These are usually quite common on colonial sites and were often manufactured on site. They are remarkable for their near-absence at Stobo. These flat discs were modified with cloth or thread covering in a variety of ways to produce buttons that matched the garment to which they were attached (Mark Hutter, personal communication). The final type of garment closure were wire hooks and eyes, some of them of silver wire. This closure style is centuries-old, and continues unaltered to the present day.

Though small in number, the Stobo assembages contained a variety of buckles, in brass and iron, for shoes, belts, breeches, or hats. The larger, rectangular brass buckles were for shoes, and some quite elaborate examples are likely from women's shoes. The smaller buckles may be knee, hat or vest buckles. Though these are very difficult to date, a few in the collection may be attributed to the third quarter of the 18th century. The iron buckles were all plain, rectangular frames. They averaged two sizes, a very small, 1/2" rectangle and a slightly larger 1.5" rectangle. All of these were too fragile for successful conservation (figure 110).

Personal

Though relatively few in number, the artifact category that includes items of personal possession contained some unusual artifacts, again a signature of the abandonment of the site. Further, many of these could be ascribed gender associations. Mr. Stobo evidently was a flashy dresser. The most dramatic personal item was the head of a slender walking cane, in sterling silver. The cap, or ring, was the first portion encountered. This was badly torn and misshapen, but there were still traces of a lead top and bits of wood on the inside. The sides of the cane tip featured a pattern of diagonal ridges, separated by horizontal bands. As the excavators stood and pondered the identity of the artifact, unsure that it was indeed a cane tip, the next screenful of dirt revealed the top of the cane tip, a flat disc the size of a dime, embellished with engraved monogram. This was retrieved only a few days after the rice barrel brand with Mr. Stobo's name, and so we logically assumed the scroll might be his. But it was Suzanne Linder who helped recognize the third letter as an S and not an L, as originally read. There is no existing documentation for Stobo's middle name, but the cane tip suggests that it begins with R. The style of the engraving is consistent with the second half of the 18th century (Chris Loeblein, personal communication; Thomas Savage, personal communication). Though the cane tip seems small, the Museum holds a gold-tipped cane of almost identical dimensions in its history collections, this one dated to the early 19th century (figure 110).

Mr. Stobo also owned a number of pocket knives; four were recovered from the site. The first was a slender example, 1/2" by 31/2" and represented by the inner structural elements, of brass. The second was quite small, and still folded closed. It measured 21/2 inches in length and featured ornately molded iron sides. The third was much larger, 41/2 inches in length, and had rusted in a half-open position. The fourth knife was represented only by the blade. The final item that may be considered a personal possession were two parts of a small folding rule. The first was a strip of brass, stamped with numbers. The second, presumably part of the same artifact, was one of the folding hinges, of iron. The final men's artifact was a key for a pocket watch, again of brass (figure 111).

Women's items, presumably Mrs. Stobo's, were represented by fragments of fan slats and ribs from parasols. The latter, four in all, were of brass. Three small fragments from bone fans were recovered, and all were ornately carved. The recovered paste jewels may also be considered women's, though this is less certain. (Fales 1995) These artificial stones, of glass or 'paste' were popular in the second half of the 18th century. Those from Stobo's site include a small green stone in a pewter setting, from one of the early features, a large oval yellow stone, similar to citrine or amber, and a round purple stone, possibly in immitation of amethyst. Three final items are likely women's, as well. The first is an unusual double loop of gold-plated brass, badly bent. It appears to be jewelry of some sort. Likewise, a very small brass ring, with two small prongs on the back, may be a jewelry setting. The third is a decorative "quizzing glass". Designed to be worn around the neck, it features a delicate series of columns that serve as the handle, and a semicircle of brass that held a framed glass that likely swiveled (figure 111).

The remaining artifacts are not gender-specific. Those associated with writing may have belonged to children, and include slate pencils and a fragment of a writing slate, easily identified by

its smooth surface and scored lines for placement in a frame. The bone toothbrush, a novelty in the late 18th century, may also have belonged to any site resident. The same goes for the bone lice comb.

Furniture

Items from furniture were relatively common at the Stobo site, again a signature of the abandoment of the site, rather than daily discard. Furniture is represented in the archaeological record principally by the bits of brass hardware remaining after wood, fabric, and upholstery have decayed. But the fragments recovered attest to the presence of significant furnishings in the Stobo household.

The most common artifacts were the humble upholstery tack, featuring a domed head and square shank. These were present in a variety of sizes, and were used to hold fabric or leather upholstery in place. More and more of these might be placed on a piece of furniture as the century progressed, until the early 19th century, when Neoclassical pieces utilized an almost continual line of these, to enhance light reflection (McInnis 1999).

One of the best measures of Stobo's wealth in possessions are the numerous curtain rings recovered from the site. These flat rings, 1" in interior diameter, were cut from a sheet of brass and filed flat. Fourteen of these were recovered from the manor house area. These could have been used in a variety of ways, but were most likely for bed curtains (figure 112).

A smaller variety of drawer pull hardware, from chests, were recovered. Two bail handles may be from the same piece, and date to the mid-18th century. Also recovered were a variety of eye screw mounting posts and mounting plates. Another example was a brass loop that swiveled via an internal pin. Fragments of keyhole escuteons and various mounting hardware were part of the assemblage. Other chest hardware includes brass hinges and an elaborate example of an exterior finial.

The largest chest pieces include two brass lock faces, and their associated interior hardware of iron. The largest example measured 3" by 4" and included a large brass mounting bolt and a mounted twist-knob for opening the lock. The smaller example measured 2.5" square. These may have been from low chests or upright cabinets. Art historians suggest they were too small for door hardware (Bernard Herman, personal communication; Ritchie Garrison, personal communication) (figure 113).

Perhaps the most dramatic furniture piece was a candle holder of cast brass, either from a free-standing candleabra, or more likely from a wall-mounted sconce. This likely dates from the second quarter of the 18th century. It has been broken from its point of attachment. The rather delicate piece held a taper no larger than 3/4" diameter. Two substantial brass finials were recovered. One, clearly attached to an iron rod, has been interpreted as a finial to a fireplace tool. The second

is comparable in size, and has been interpreted in the same manner, though there is no surviving evidence for attachment to iron of any type.

The final group of furniture hardware are brass plates that affixed to wood or leather via double prongs on the back side. These range in size from 1" to 1.5", and in style from plain ovals to elaborate mace-shaped items, the latter a set of two. The exact use of these is unknown; they may have decorated furniture, leather, or saddles.

Other Activities

This category includes artifacts that represent specific activities not encompassed in the previous seven categories. Within the general Activities group are a range of specific artifact types and associations. Though this category was relatively small, compared to other colonial sites, it nonetheless included an unusual array of materials reflecting a wide range of on-site activities.

Toys and Games are likely reflective of children's games, but can include artifacts from adult leisure activities. Here the group was small, and included marbles, of white clay and likely of English manufacture. All of the ten recovered were undecorated, though elaborately hand-painted examples have been recovered from colonial sites in Charleston. Two additional marbles were manufactured on site. One was from red brick, likely ground to spherical shape. The other was made of colono ware. Two fragments of china from a child's toy tea set were recovered. These examples, of white saltglazed stoneware (c. 1740-1760), included half of a tiny teacup and the shoulder portion of the matching tea pot. Three small fragments of creamware may also be from toy sets. These include a very small feather-edged plate, a royal-pattern plate, and a small handled vessel that may be a toy teapot. The final item for recreation was a jaw harp, or jew's harp, minus its "doing-er" (figure 113).

Equestrian artifacts were relatively common at the Stobo site. Such artifacts are often highly curated, and rarely find their way to the archaeological record. Their relative abundance is part of the evidence for sudden site destruction and abandonment. The first such item recovered was a large tack, or boss, of brass, likely for attachment to saddle or harness. This domed tack, 2.4 cm in diameter, featured a hunting hound in the center, with a molded border of vines and leaves. The third season revealed addition decorative brass items. These were a matched set of two large brass buckles and two oval bosses, featuring the same feathery decorative motif. These may not be from tack, but from a man's dress belt instead, but those surveyed favor decorative tack by a slight margin (figure 114). A smaller half-buckle (figure 110, upper left), features the same motif and may be associated.

The second season revealed a large number of equestrian artifacts, again recovered from the courtyard area. These included a snaffle bit, a stirrup, and a carriage anchor (used to keep horses in place instead of tying them, and identified by Mr. Lane). A single horse shoe was recovered, but a few D-shaped saddle buckles completed the group. All of these artifacts were in excellent

condition.

The final group of artifacts are associated with wagons or carriages. These include portions of iron wheel rims, associated bolts, and a wagon wheel wrench. A small metal hoop is likely the hub for a wagon wheel, while the extremely large iron band recovered from bay 3 of the house on the last day is likely a large wagon or wheel rim. This artifact was nearly 5 feet in diameter, and recovered in zone 2 (figure 114).

Religious artifacts is a category not usually seen in archaeological reports, but several artifacts recovered may have religious or spiritual significance to the owner or user. The most obvious is one associated with christianity, and likely with the Roman Catholic church. A brass finger ring with glass setting was recovered just beyond the manor house. The glass stone features a scene engraved in the back of the stone, an image of the crucifixion, with a robed Christ on the cross and two kneeling figures, possibly Mary and Mary Magdalene, or possibly two angels. This most dramatic, and most unusual, artifact remains the site mystery (figure 115).

Though less readily identifiable by 20th century scholars, a number of other artifacts likely had religious or spiritual meaning to their makers or users, again likely the African bondsmen in residence. The four glass beads recovered on site were all blue, a socially meaningful color among African Americans of the Sea Islands. Blue beads dominate the beads recovered from archaeological sites associated with African American residents (Stine, Cabak and Groover 1996). The cowrie shell is not from local waters, and cowries are important as charms among some African groups. Most dramatic was the recovery of a marble, or more accurately a clay ball, of colono ware, and thus of local manufacture, clearly incised with an X on the surface. Such markings have been noted on colono ware bowls in the Lowcountry (Ferguson 1992) and on limestone marbles in the inner south (Tennessee and Kentucky; (Russell 1997; Young 1994). In his summary article, Aaron Russell describes the use of the cross symbol in "conjuration," giving a game of marbles as an example from the research of Newbell Puckett (1968). In this example, the X is inscribed on the ground to give one's opponent bad luck. The X-marked clay ball, and a smaller unmarked colono ware marble, were recovered from the courtyard area, along with a white quartz crystal. Such crystals have been recovered in "conjure kits" at other slave sites (Samford 1996; Brown 1994). Samford and others have argued that association of a group of artifacts carries more meaning than does the individual items. The recovery of these items together suggests that they embodied spiritual significance (figure 115).

Plantation Tools were remarkably common on Stobo's site, and again a clue to the sudden abandonment of the site. Such artifacts are rarely discarded, and the site contained a large and varied group of these. As might be expected on a rice plantation, hoes were the most common. Four broad hoes, the kind commonly used to weed the rice crop, were recovered, all from the courtyard area, and three from the early proveniences. Two deposits outside of the house yielded hoes, as well, including a flaring hoe and a straight hoe. A large flat fragment of iron may be a second straight hoe. A final example of a broad hoe was recovered from the ground surface adjacent to unit N195E90, east of the main house. All were corroded to a point where it was difficult to determine the extent of their

the main house. All were corroded to a point where it was difficult to determine the extent of their wear (figure 116).

The most dramatic tool associated with rice production is one never to be forgotten by those who recovered it. This is a brand for rice barrels, bearing the name I.STOBO in clear letters. The head of the brand measures $3^{3/4}$inches and the letters are 3/4 inches high. The handle is 14" long, and the pointed end is likely for a wooden handle. Two other curious items may be associated with Mr. Stobo's business ventures in some manner; these were brass weights for a scale, each square with symbols of weight. Alternately, such a small scale might be used for measuring medicines (figure 117).

Several tools for general construction and maintenance were recovered. These included two claw hammers and a broad axe. A wood chisel was well-used, as the socket end evidenced curling and deformation from continued pounding. Other tools included two triangular files, portions of flat files, and screw drivers. The most unusual artifacts were two long augers, each outfitted with a curved spoon end, and a loop at the top, to be fitted with a wooden handle for turning. One measures 2.5 feet in length and the other 4.0 feet. The most unusual items were four small iron wedges, perhaps for tool handles or woodworking in some manner. The first of these was recovered during the initial shovel testing in 1996 (figure 116).

In addition to these, there were several iron items that were unidentifiable, but appear to be handles of some sort, likely to tools or work implements. While many of the tools were located in the area of the main house, they were also clustered in the vicinity of N200E260 and feature 40, believed to be an outbuilding or work area of some sort.

Storage of rice, foodstuffs, or other supplies was reflected in portions of iron barrel bands, mostly present in fragmentary condition. These are commonly recovered on most colonial sites, but were not so common at Mr. Stobo's. Perhaps staples were stored in other containers, or barrels of rice were kept elsewhere.

Horizontal and Vertical Patterning

For the purposes of initial analysis, the entire site was divided into four discrete artifact assemblages. The first is the smallest, those materials from architectural features and other refuse-bearing layers that predate James Stobo's tenure at the site. These date from roughly 1710 through 1740, and include the remains of the structure represented by the large posts. They do not include the second structure, that believed to be built by James Smelie, as the walls for this were robbed at the same time as the Stobo house, and the demolition trenches contain pearlwares.

Early proveniences (1710-1740): There were 75 proveniences that predate the Stobo occupation. Based on the documentary record, these are assumed to date no earlier than 1710. The

Figure 94

Examples of blue-on-white Oriental porcelain

Figure 95

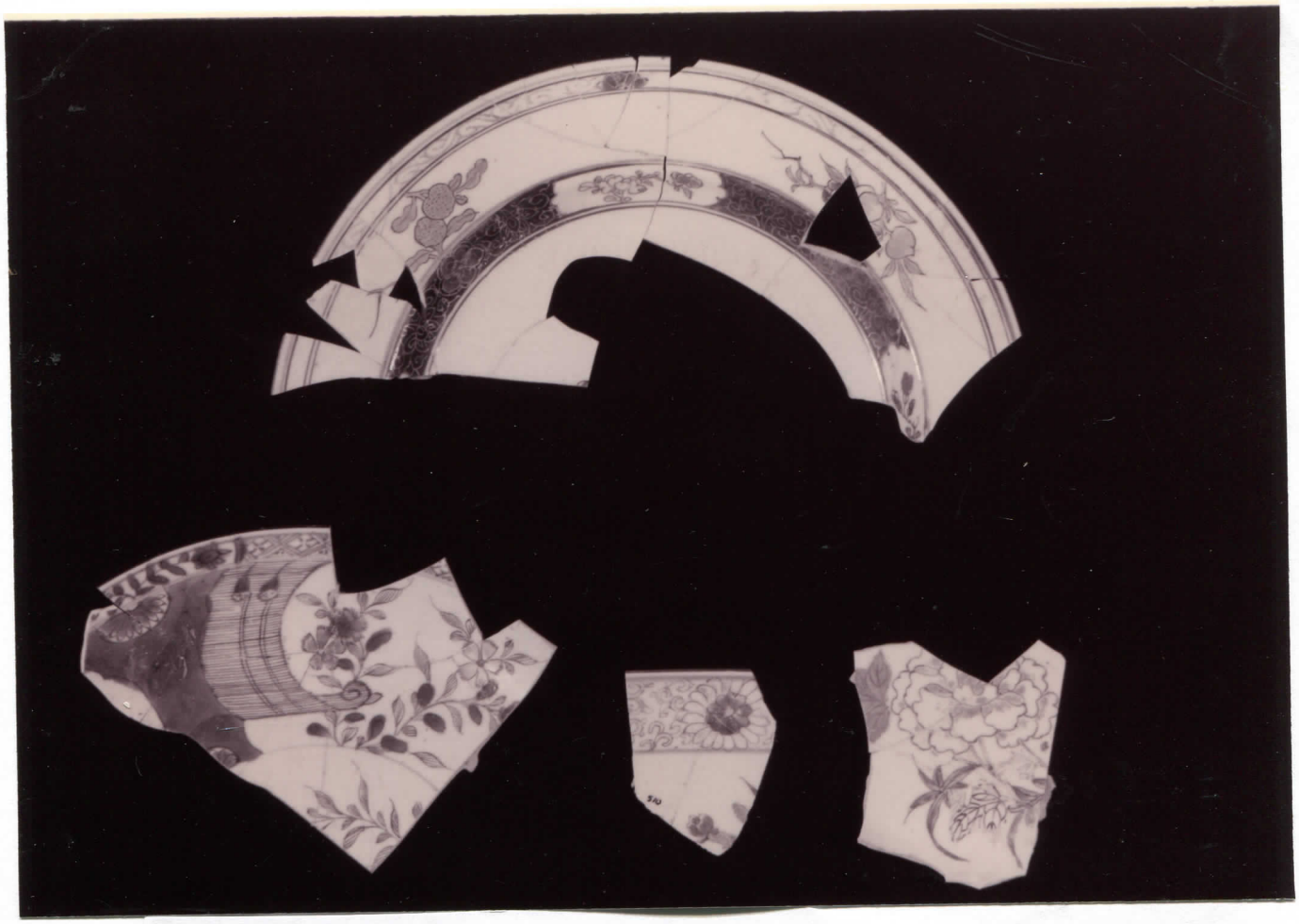


Figure 96 Gilded overglazed porcelain, 2nd quarter of the 18th century
Imari overglazed porcelain, 3rd quarter of the 18th century

Examples of blue on white hand-painted delft

Figure 97

Delft bowl featuring white glaze and ridged surface

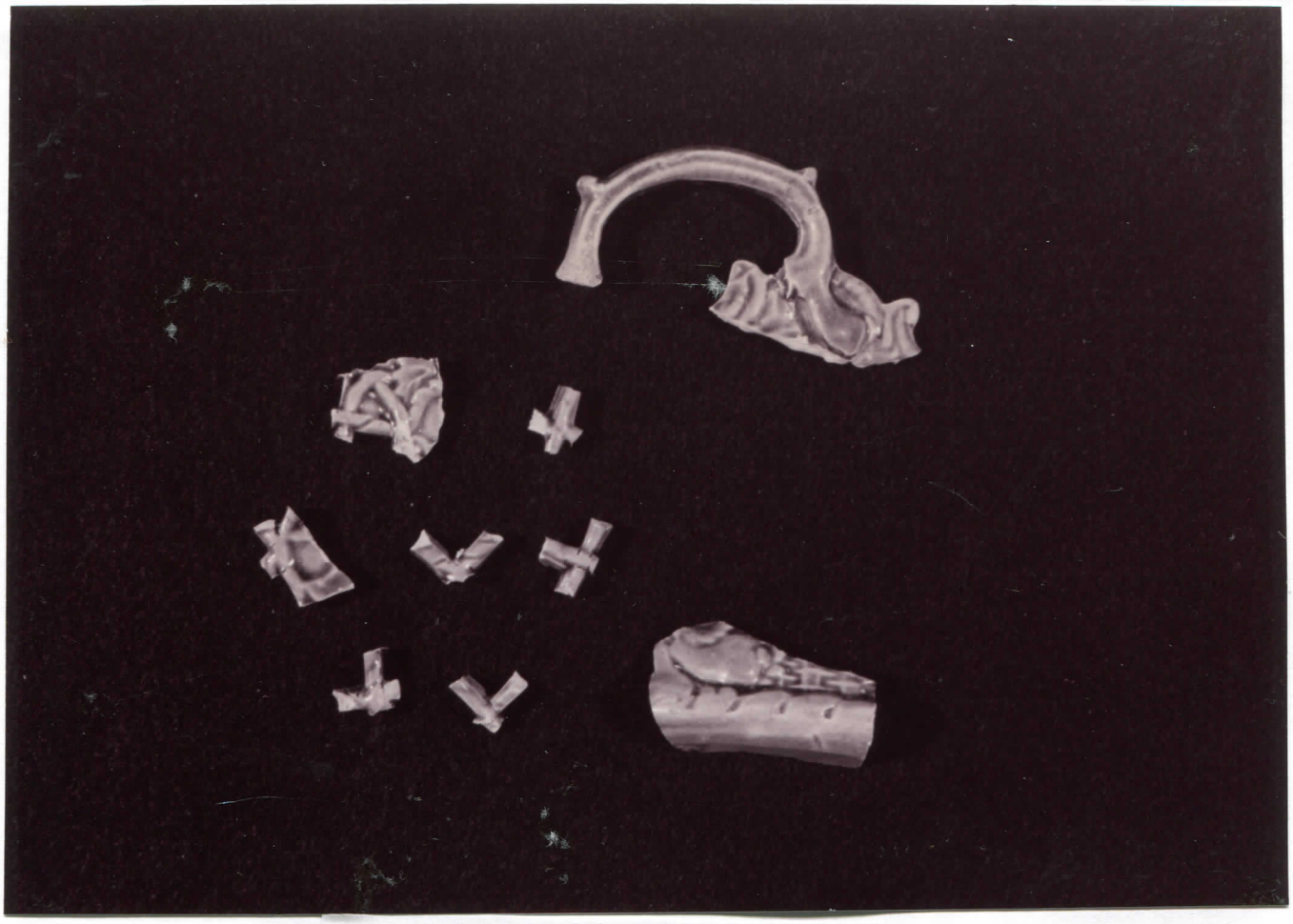


Figure 98 Fragments of whieldon ware fruit basket

Examples of tea wares: Nottingham stoneware, Astbury ware, Agate Ware, Lead-glazed red stoneware, Jackfield ware

Examples of Westerwald stoneware

Figure 99

Brown saltglazed stoneware jug, second quarter of the 18th century

Figure 100 Langerwehe butter churn from Feature 3/Feature 2

example of churn on exhibit, Topfereimuseum, Langerwehe

base of the churn *in situ*

Examples of sprigged grey stoneware *Blumenkubel* from Feature 3

FIGURE 37.
Blumenkubel *or flowerpot of gray stoneware made in the Rhineland in the eighteenth century. (Courtesy, Arts Museum, Cologne.)*

FIGURE 38.
Fragments of Blumenkubel *and trays found in Williamsburg; probably second half of the eighteenth century.*

from *Archaeology and the Colonial Gardener,* by Audrey Noel Hume, 1974.

Figure 101

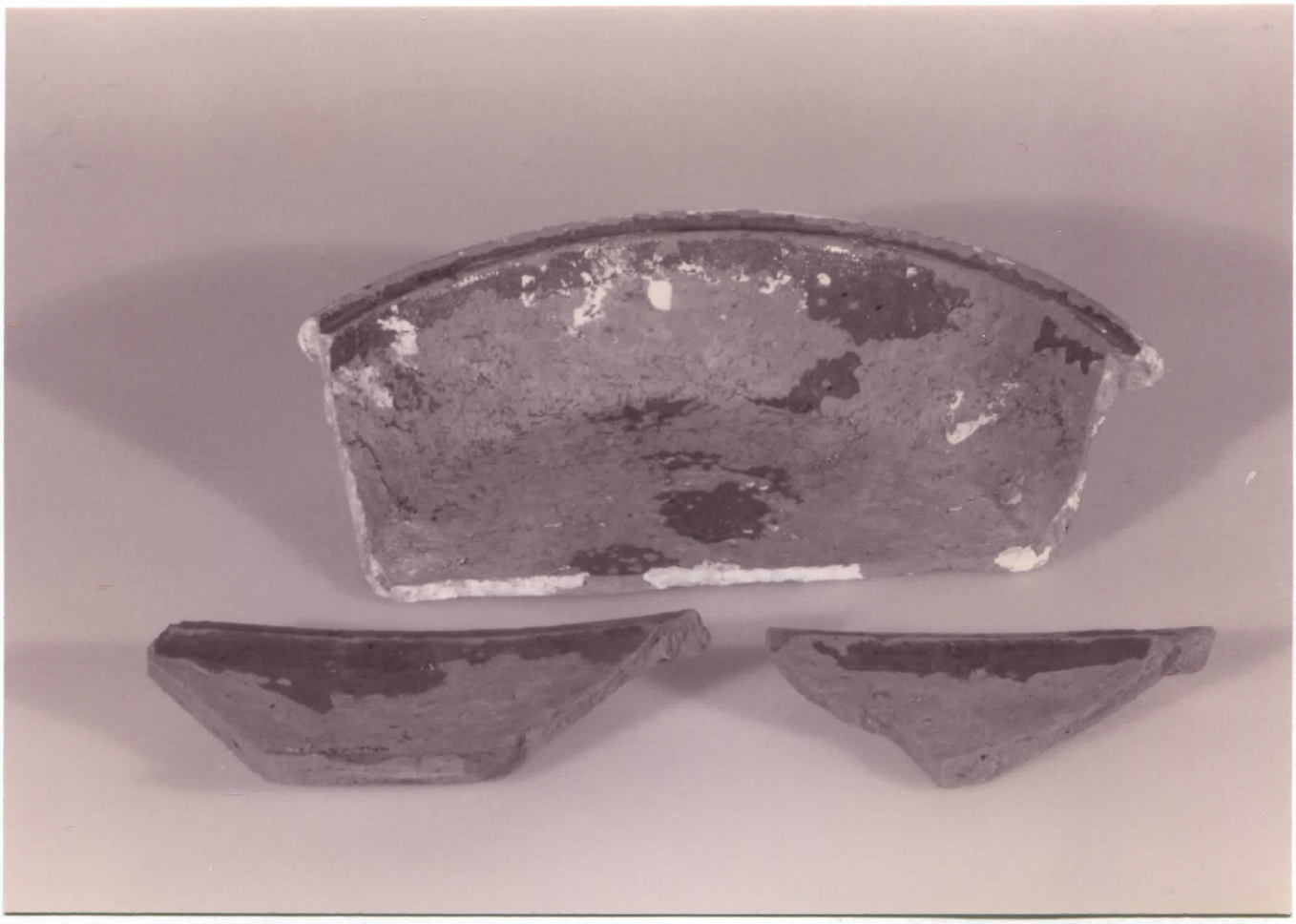


Figure 102 **Rims from lead-glazed earthenware cream pans**

Figure 103 Alcoholic beverage bottles from pre-1740 context

Green glass bottles from beneath the floor of bay 2

Examples of table glass: tumbler base, cruet bases, salt dishes, goblet with 'twist'stem, c. 1760.

Figure 104

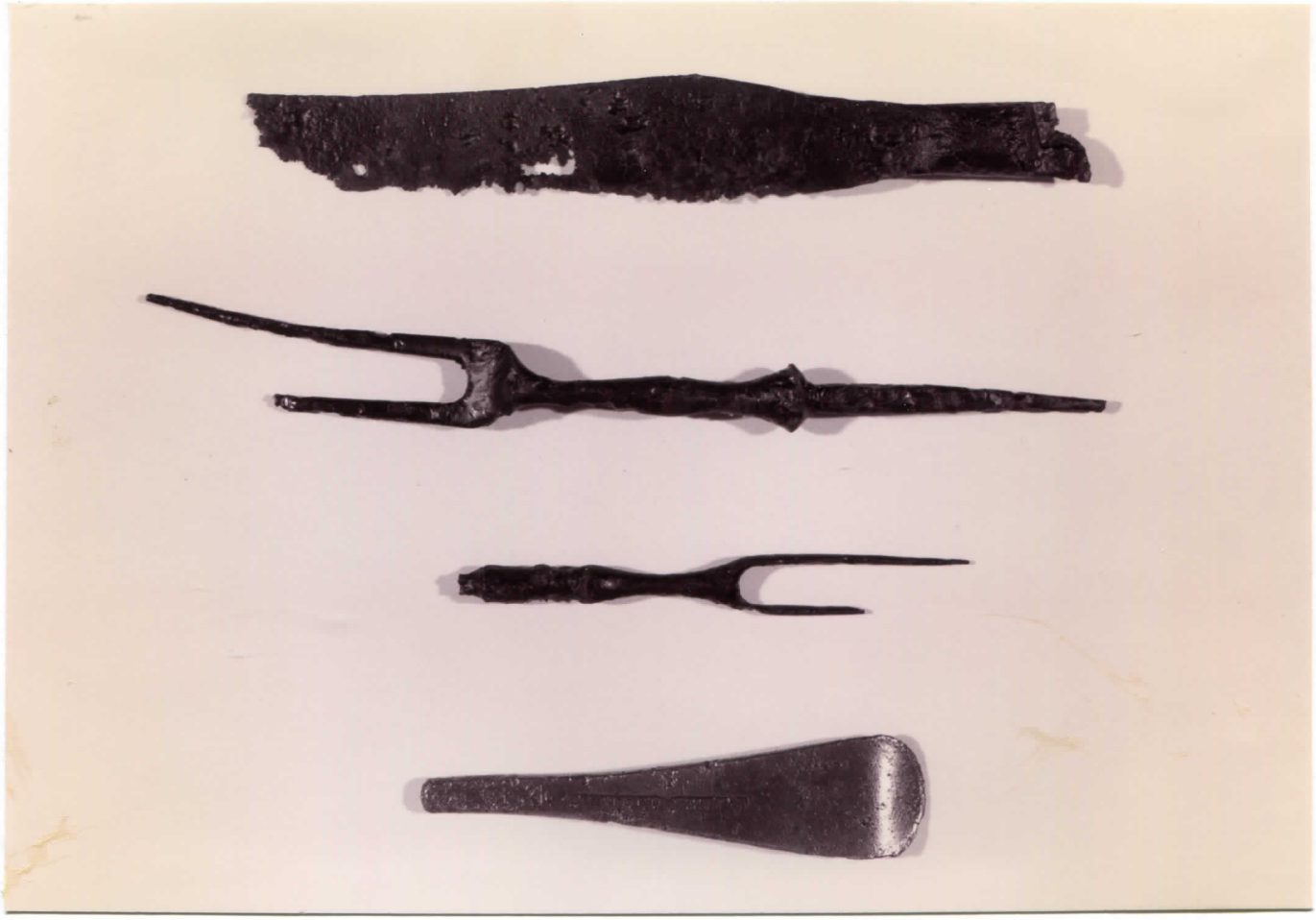
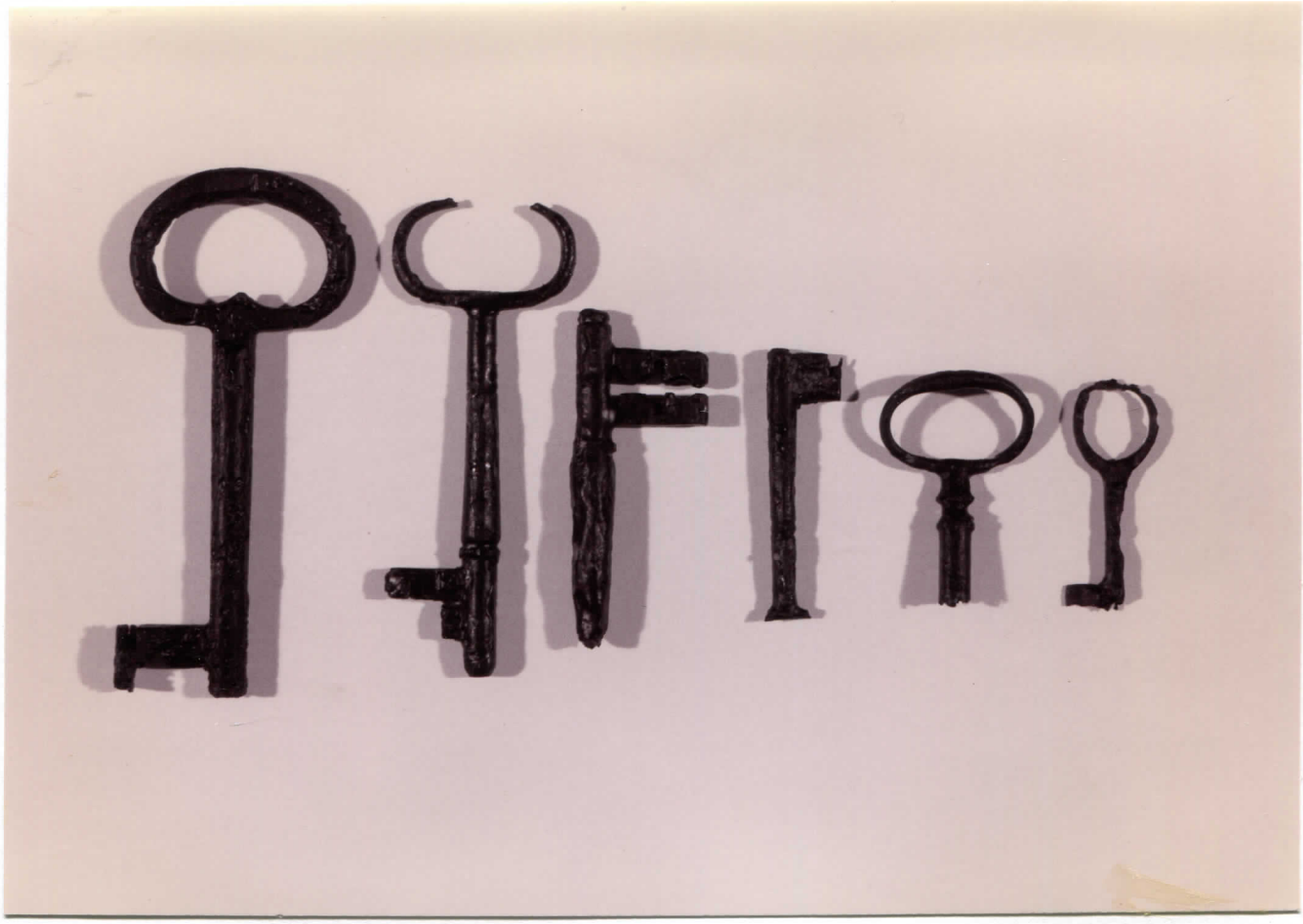


Figure 105

Cutlery items



Window glass with scratched letters

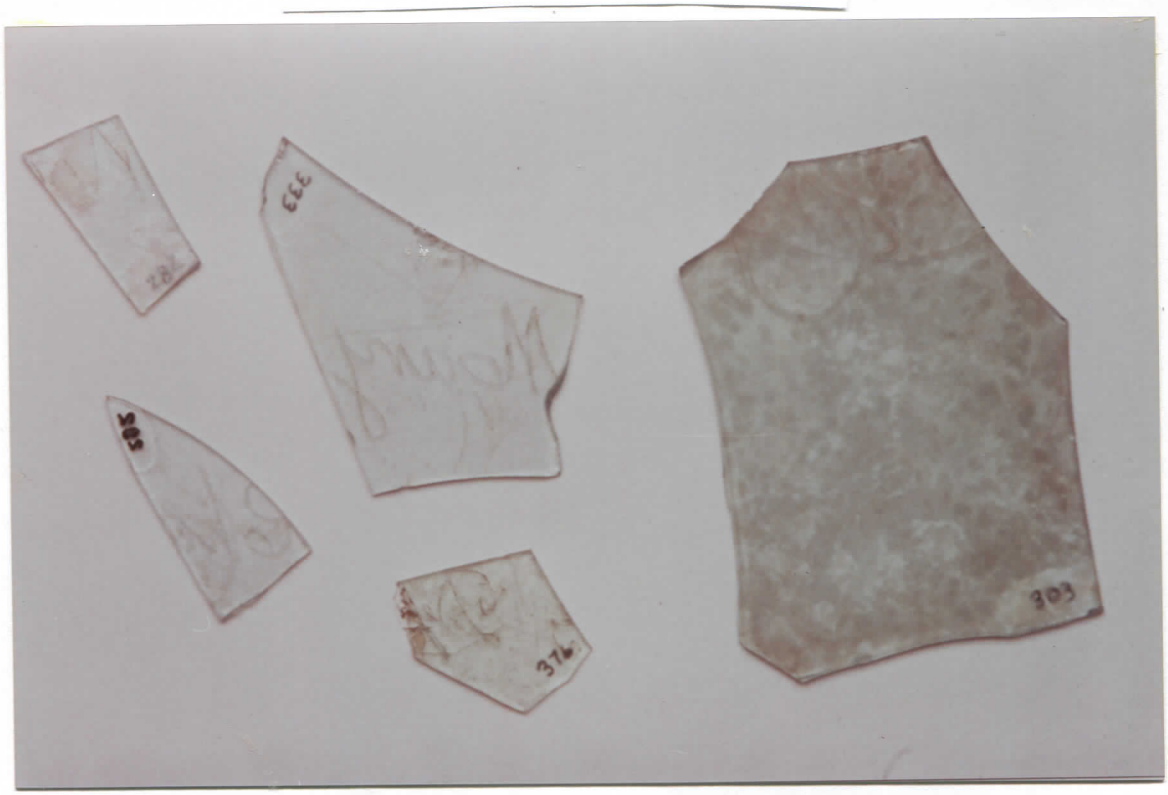
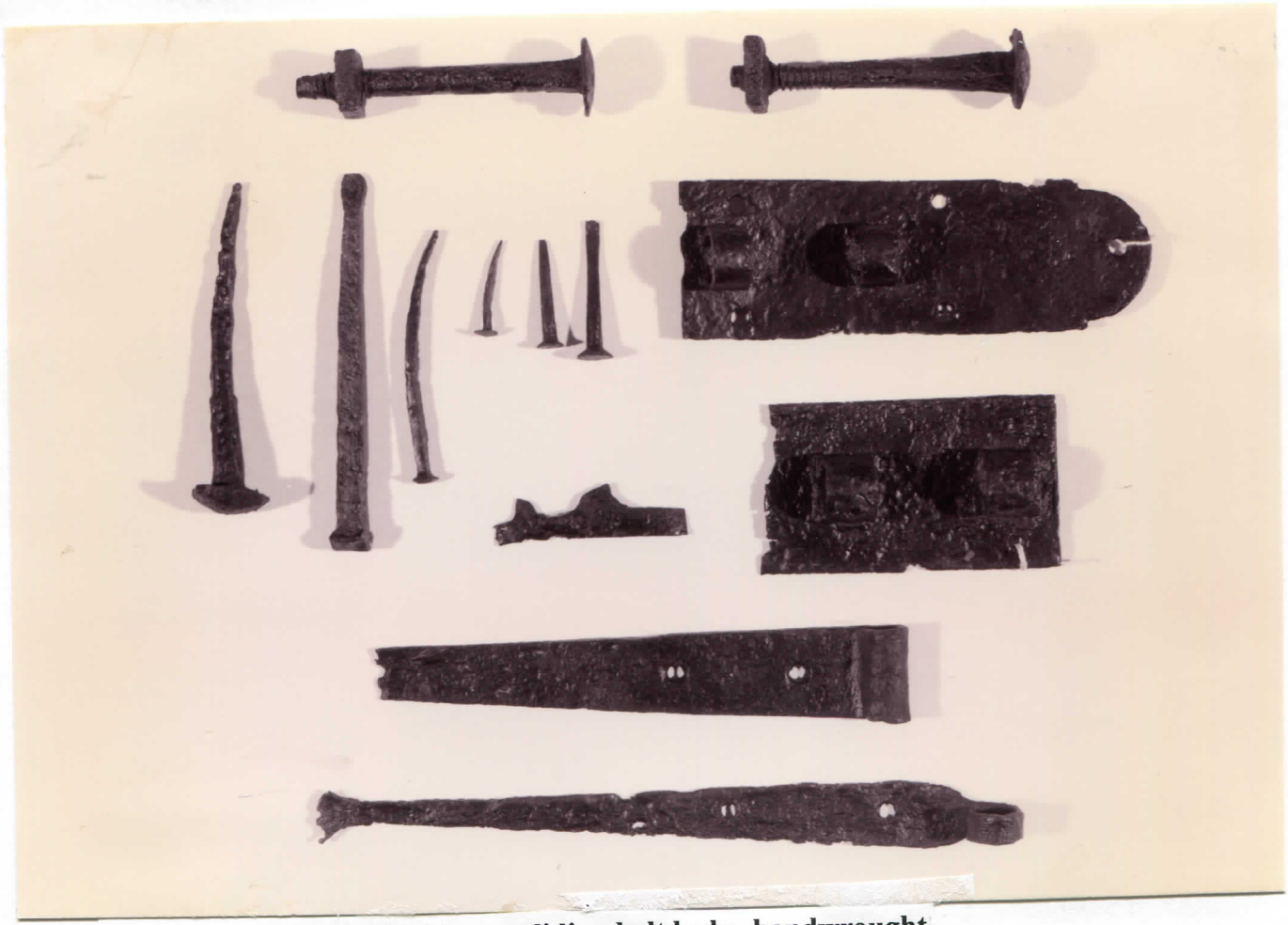


Figure 106



Architectural hardware: hinges, sliding bolt locks, handwrought nails and spikes, bolts
Fireplace hardware

Figure 107

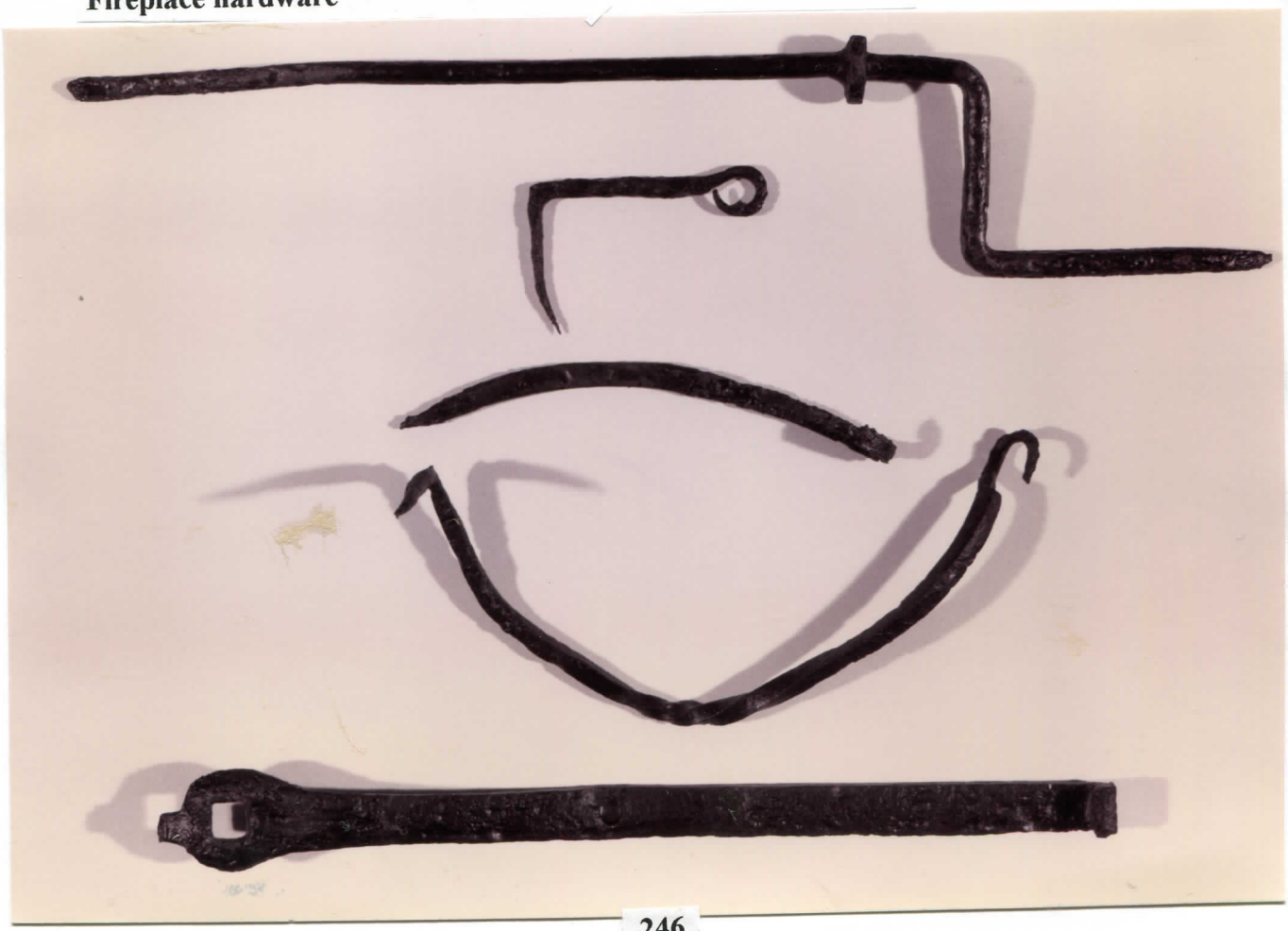
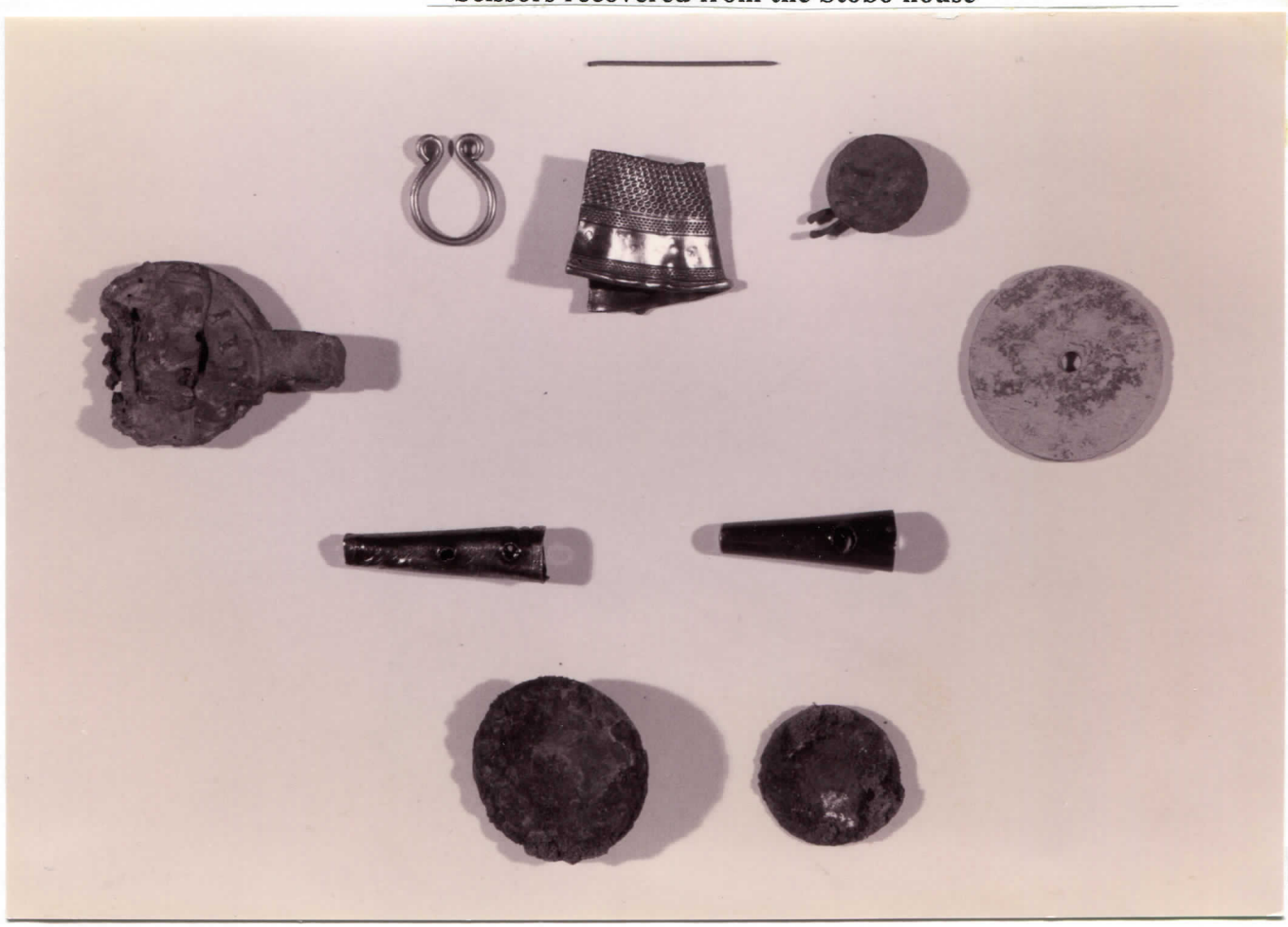


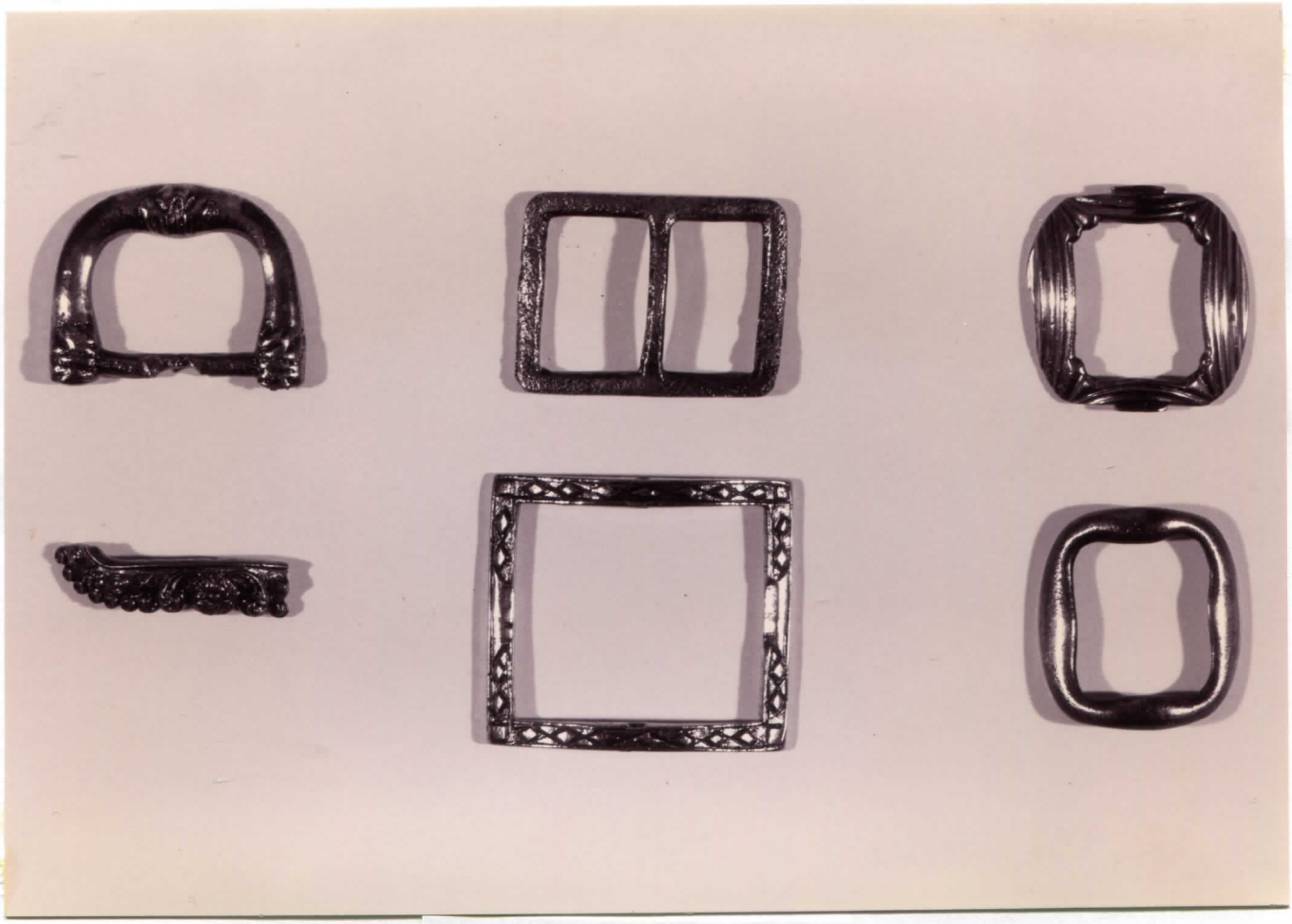
Figure 108 Pike, early 18th century
Flintlock mechanism from 38Ch482a

Brass handle to small-sword

Figure 109

Clothing items: lead bale seal, silver eye, silver thimble, brass cuff link, bone button base, brass aiglets, pewter buttons
Scissors recovered from the Stobo house





Brass clothing and shoe buckles

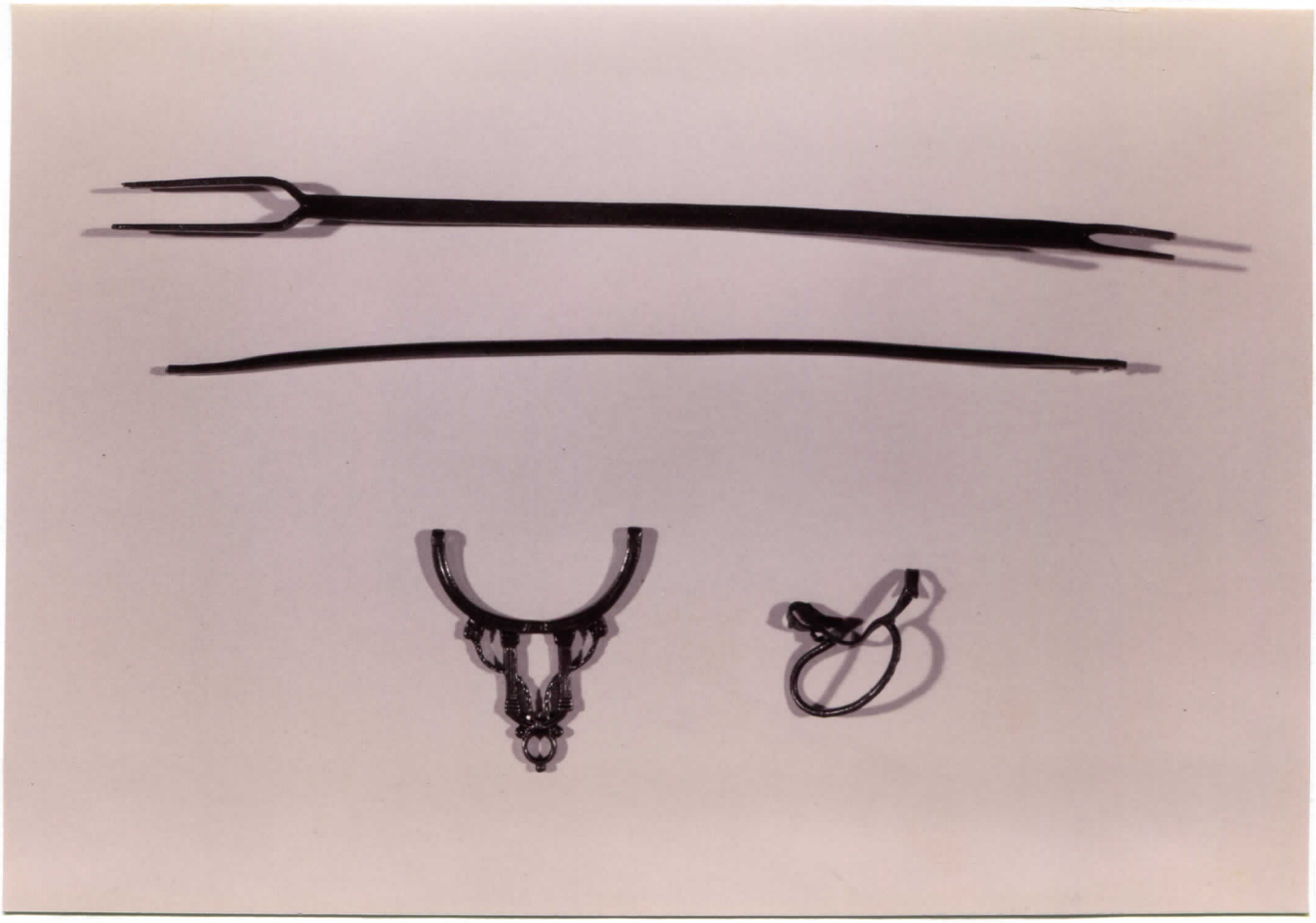
Figure 110

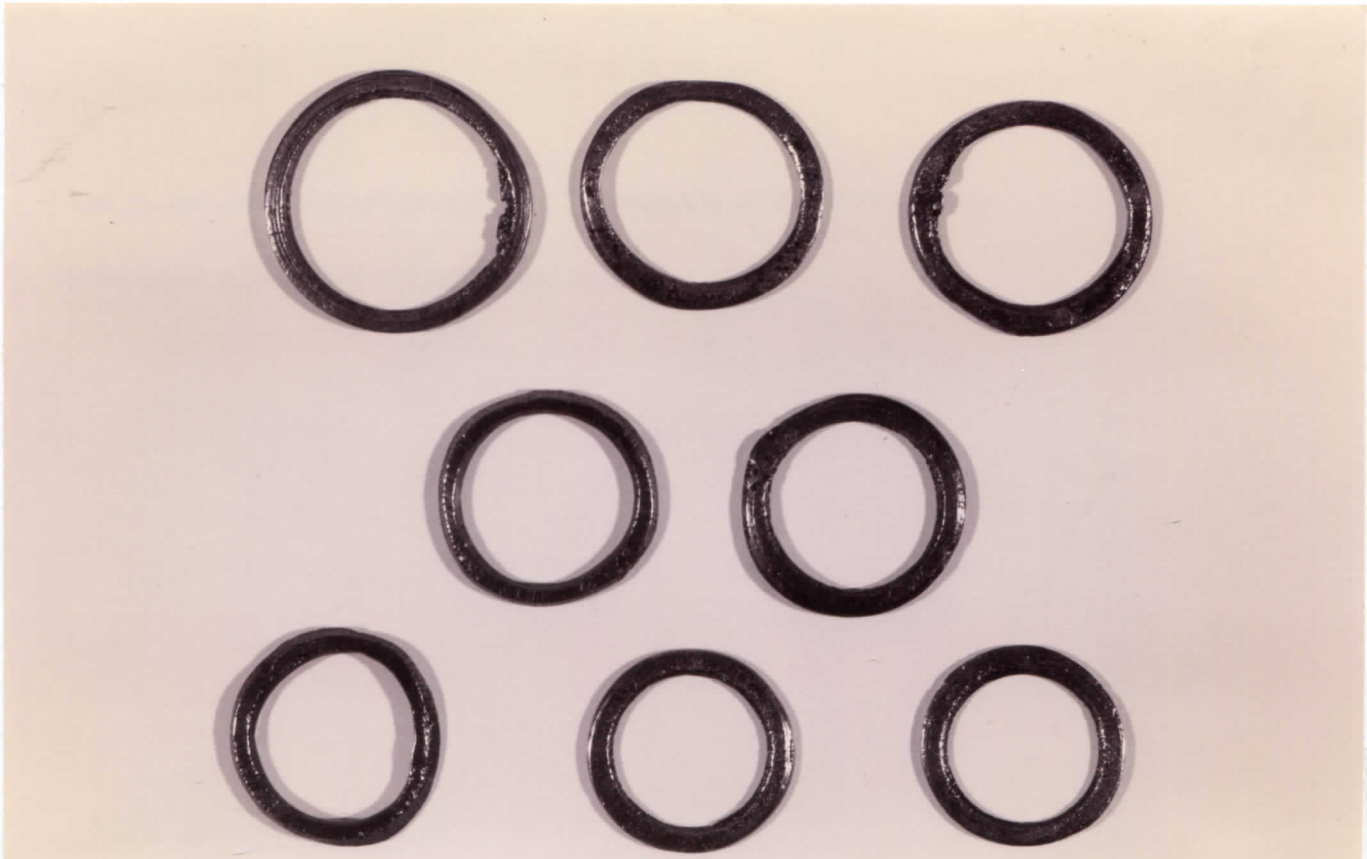
Silver cane tip, engraved 'JRS'

Figure 111

Pocket knives

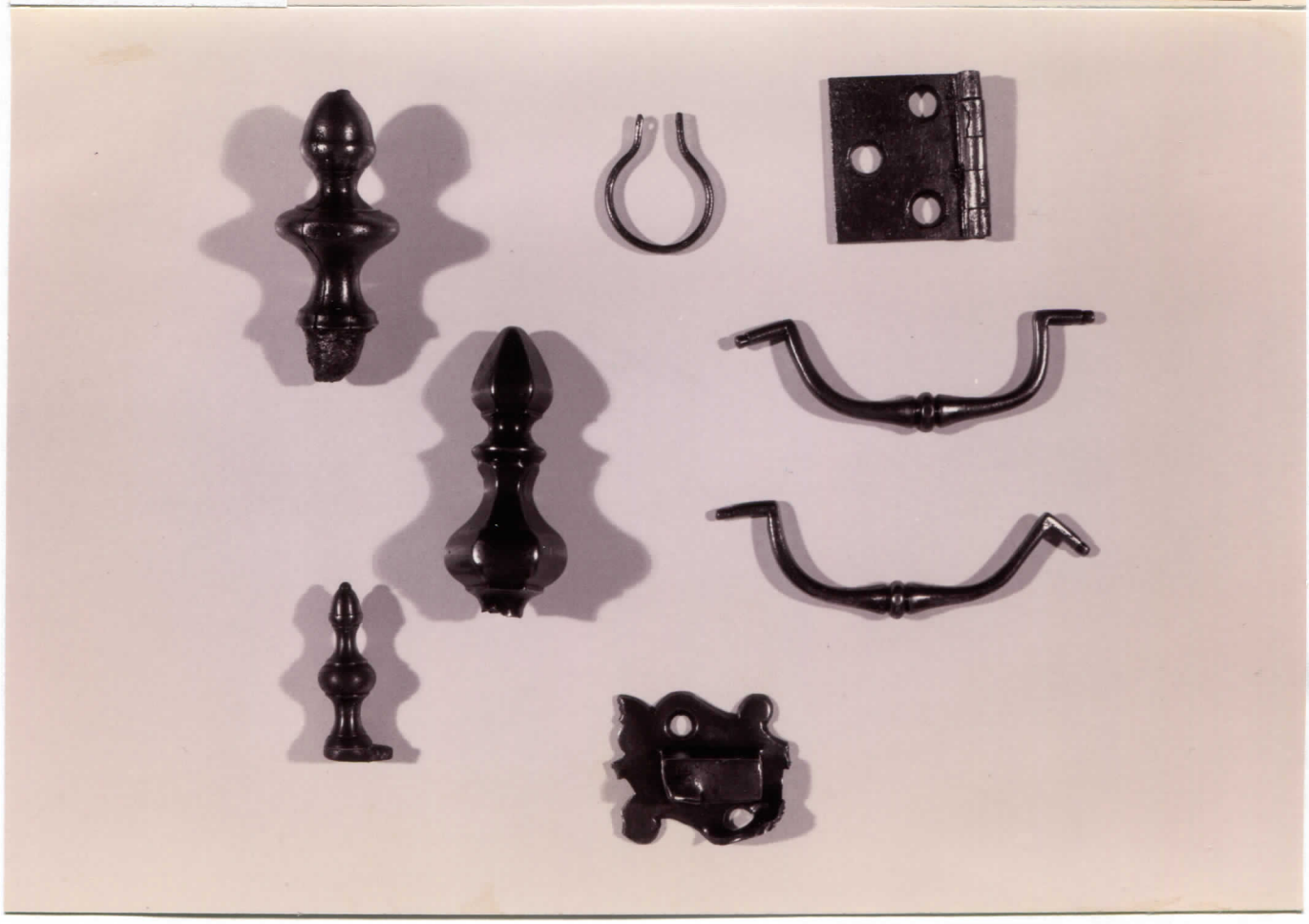
Women's parasol ribs, jewelry piece, looking glass frame





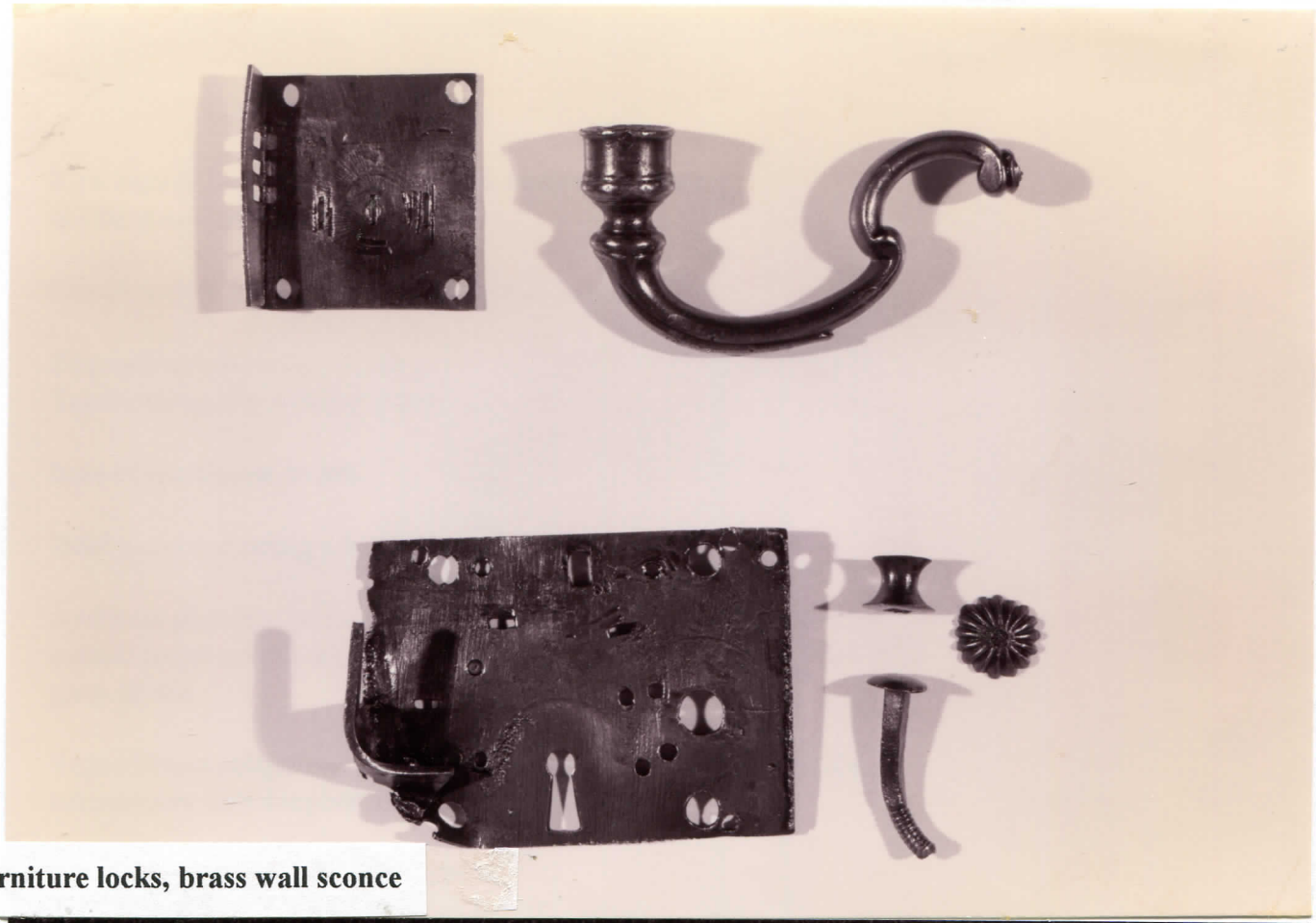
Curtain rings

Curtain rings



Fireplace and hinge finials, drawer pulls, furniture hinge

Figure 112



Furniture locks, brass wall sconce

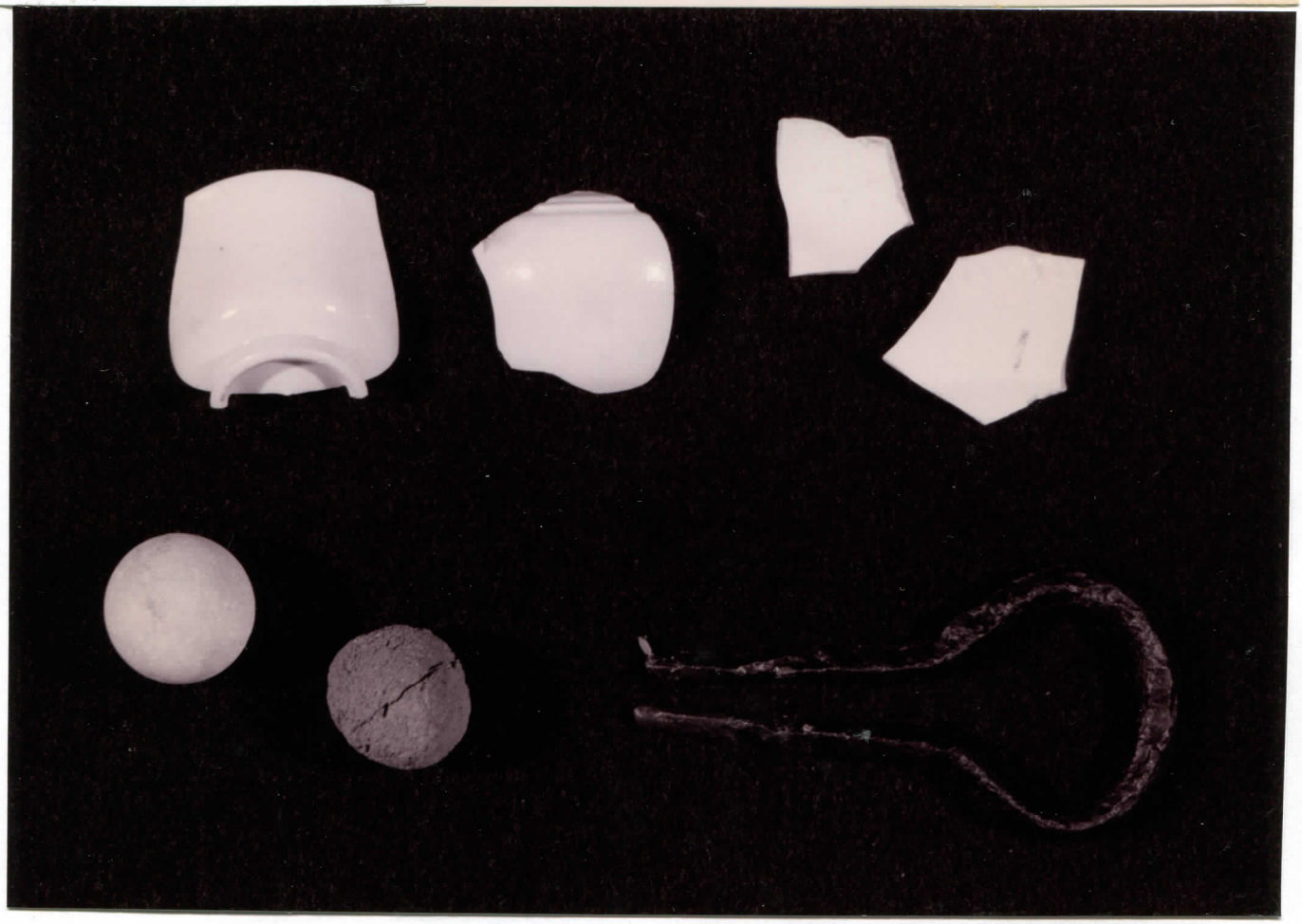


Figure 113

Toys: White saltglazed stoneware teacup and teapot fragment, creamware dish fragments, marbles, jaw harp

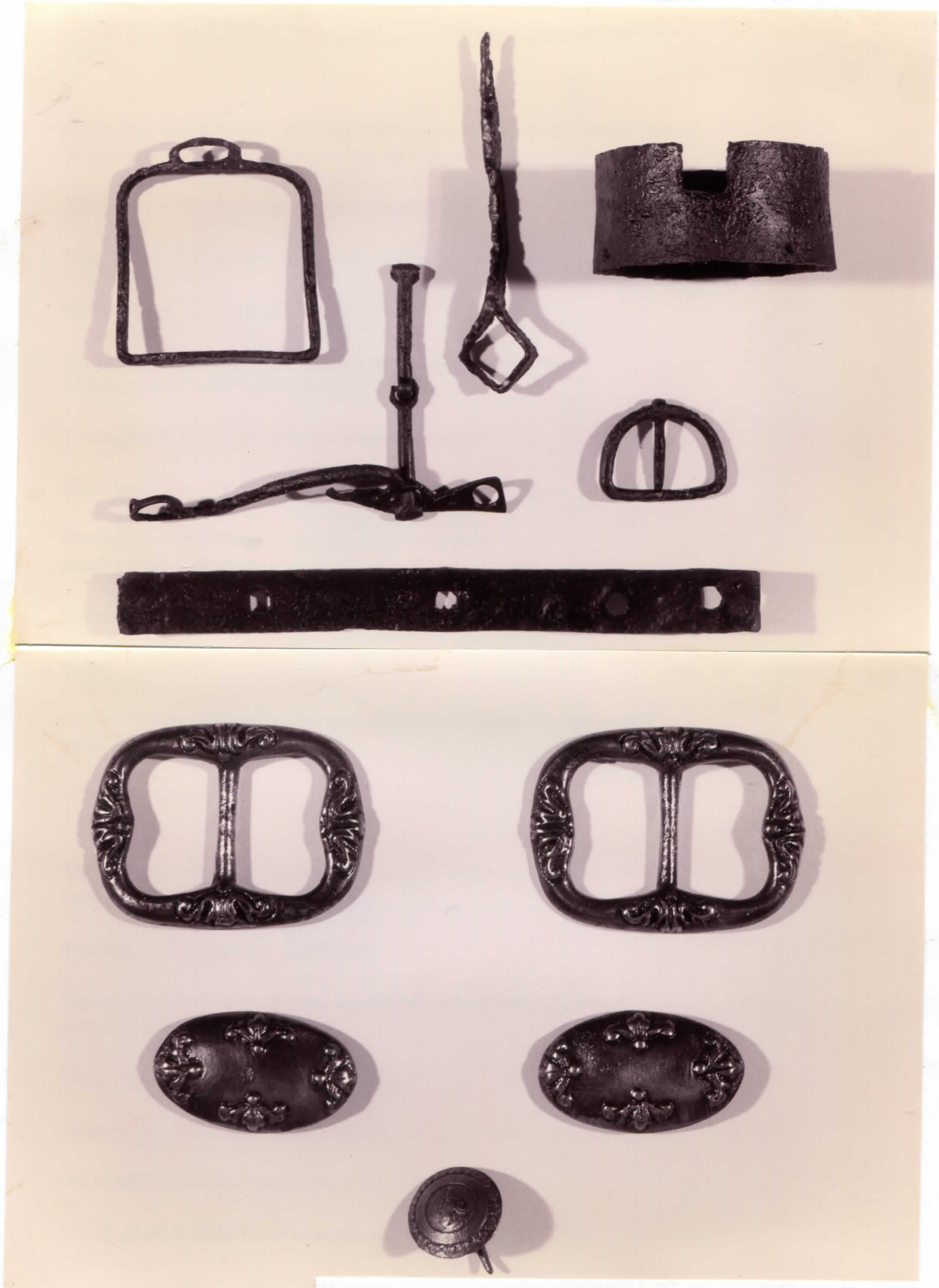


Figure 114

Equestrian artifacts: stirrup, snaffle bit, wheel wrench, wheel hub, buckle, wheel rim
Possible saddle buckles and bosses

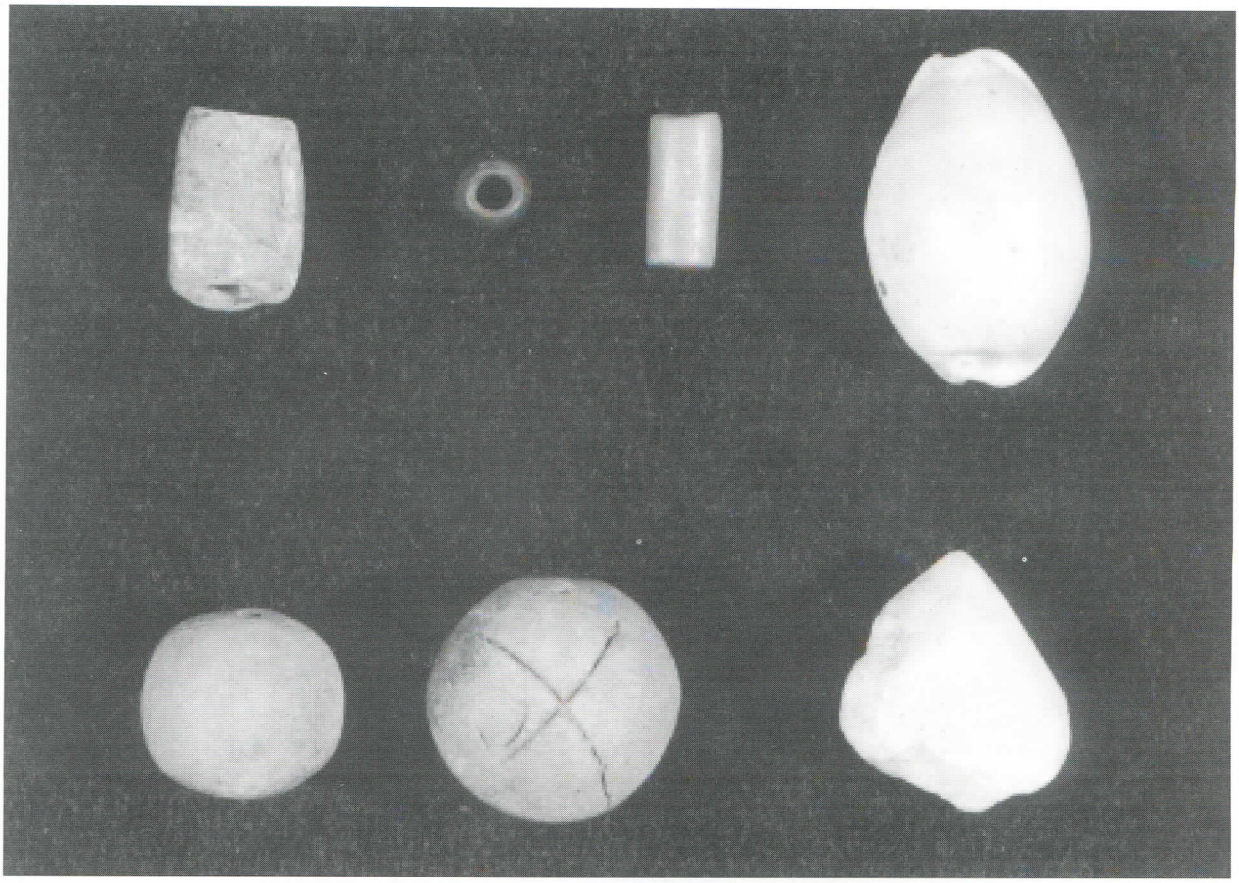


FIGURE 115.
ARTIFACTS POSSIBLY ASSOCIATED WITH AFRICAN RESIDENTS.

ABOVE:
QUARTZ CRYSTAL, COLONO WARE SPHERE WITH COSMOGRAPHIC MARKINGS, COWRIE SHELL, BLUE GLASS BEADS.

BELOW: FINGER RING WITH GLASS SETTING, CARVED WITH THE CRUCIFIXION.

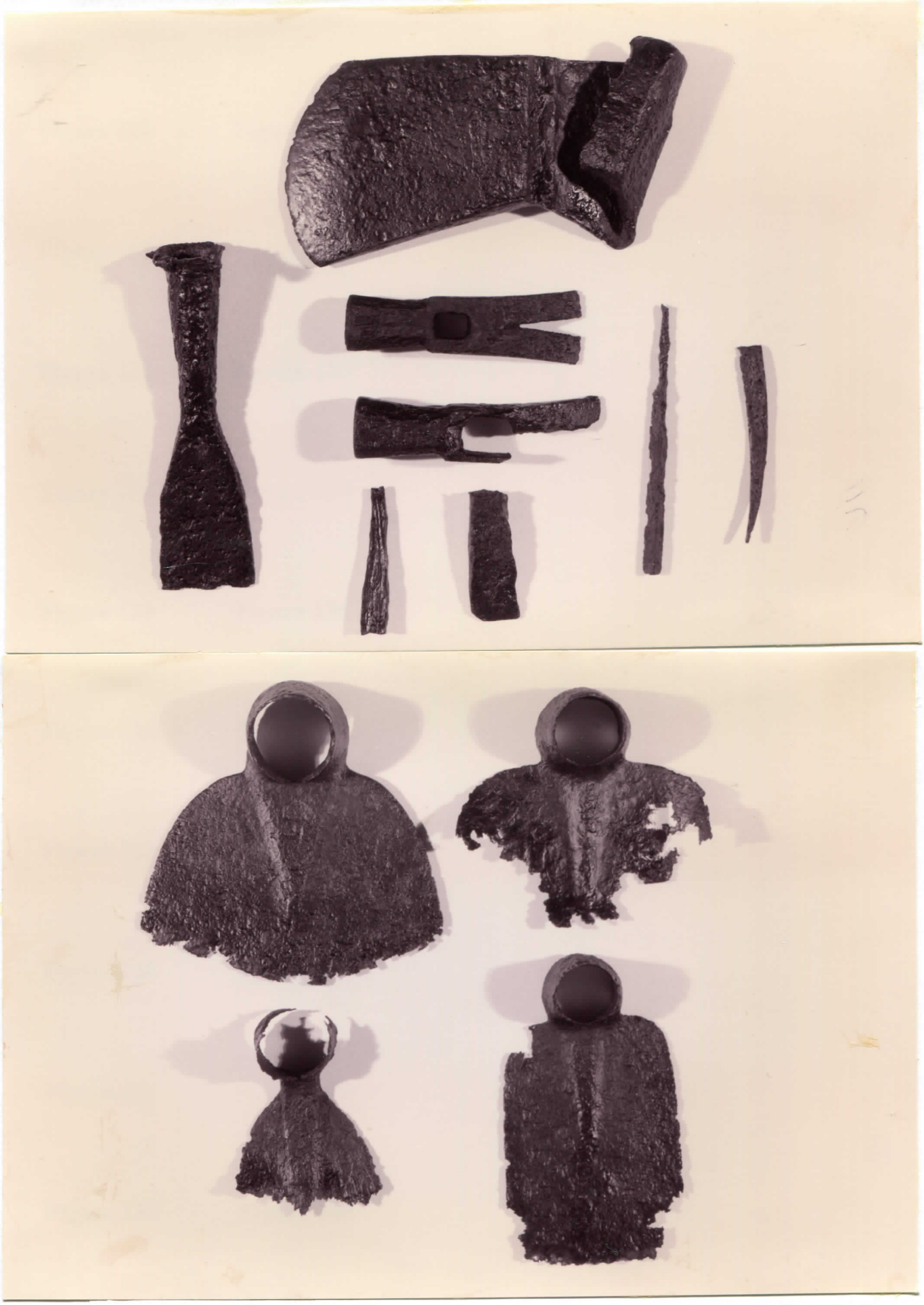


Figure 116 Tools recovered from the Stobo site: axe, wood chisel, claw hammers, wedges, triangular files; various style hoes

Figure 117

Rice barrel brand, 'I: STOBO', as recovered from the field and after conservation

median date of this occupation would be 1725; the ceramics yielded a mean date (South 1972) of 1734, suggesting that the bulk of the deposits are from the latter portion of the period, and likely associated with John Smelie's occupation rather than John Ash's ownership. Artifacts were relatively sparse in this assemblage; a total of 899 artifacts were recovered from 75 proveniences, with an average of 12 artifacts per provenience. Many of the proveniences, though, are from the earliest post stains, which contain very few artifacts.

Kitchen artifacts comprised 46.7% of the assembage, and about 60% of these were ceramics. Less than half the ceramics were tablewares. Chinese porcelain was the most numerous ceramic, 26%, followed by delft at 12%. Colono wares comprised one quarter of the ceramics. Whieldon ware and white saltglazed stoneware were the latest ceramic, and these comprised 2%. North Devon gravel tempered ware, the earliest type, was 6.5% of the ceramics.

Architectural remains comprised 46% of the assemblage. Window glass and wrought nails comprised 78% of this group. The relatively elevated size of the architecture group to kitchen groups was proposed by Stanley South as typical of the frontier period, when settlers would have owned relatively few possessions in relation to the materials required for building adequate shelter (South 1977). While numerous subsequent studies have suggested that site formation processes and sampling strategy have more bearing on the amount of architectural materials in the ground (see Zierden and Calhoun 1990, for example), the present pattern does support South's original theory.

The next most numerous category is tobacco pipes, which comprise 4.5% of the assemblage. While this compares favorably with the Carolina pattern, and with sites in Charleston and around the Lowcountry (Zierden 1996; King 1992), it is much lower than at other colonial sites, particularly in the Chesapeake. While tobacco smoking was an individual habit, the accumulating evidence from the Charleston area suggests that pipe smoking may have been less popular here. Comparable results have been noted for Spanish colonial sites in Florida (Deagan 1983).

Arms materials comprise .3% of the assemblage and, as we shall see (Table 12), this amount remains fairly constant through time. This is lower than one might expect from a rural, frontier setting. Clothing comprises .55% of the assemblage, and furniture .3%. The single personal item comprised .5% of the assemblage. Activities items comprised only .8% of the assemblage.

Stobo Period, 1741-1770: The proveniences included in this discussion are exclusively from the main house area, and are from the midden that reflects the site abandonment and Stobo's exodus. They should, then, contain artifacts clustering around the end of this period but, as they reflect abandonment rather than daily discard, may instead reflect the panorama of his occupation through accumulated possessions. The mean ceramic date supports this latter hypothesis. Stobo's occupation lasts roughly from 1740 through 1770, giving a median occupation date of 1754. The ceramics provided a mean date of 1751, in close agreement. This zone was much denser than the previous deposits; 5010 artifacts were recovered from 69 proveniences, averaging 72 artifacts per provenience.

Kitchen items were the majority of the artifacts recovered, 56.7%. This time, glass bottles were more numerous than ceramics, with olive green bottle glass dominating the group (55%). Within the ceramics, tablewares were more numerous, reflecting Stobo's status-conscious possessions: these were 70% of the ceramics. Porcelains alone comprised 32% of the ceramics, while the newer style creamwares added 19% more. White saltglazed stoneware was far less numerous, at 3% of the ceramics and the by-now out-of-fashion delftware was 6%. This supports the data discovered by Ann Smart Martin in her study of store inventories for Virginia. Here, the stock of White saltglaze wares seem to 'sit on the shelf' once creamware is available (Martin 1996).

The abbreviated utilitarian ceramics were dominated by slipwares (5% of the ceramics), with smaller amounts of the stoneware crocks and earthenware pans. North Devon gravel tempered ware declines to less than 1% of the ceramics. Colono wares, in contrast were 19%. Bottle and container glass dominated the kitchen assemblage. Table glass remained fairly common, at 5.8% of the kitchen group.

Architectural remains were still relatively high, at 40% of the assemblage. This likely reflects destruction of the house. This suggestion is supported by the preponderance of window glass, over 50% of the architectural group. Wrought nails are an additional 25%.

Arms materials maintain a constant level at .3% of the assemblage. There were very few clothing items, only 5 for .1% of the assemblage. Personal items were more numerous, rising to .3%. Furniture was also elevated, relative to the early period and relative to Charleston assemblages, likely reflecting destruction from the storm. These items comprise .4% of the assemblage. The frequency of tobacco pipes were comparable to the early period, at 4.6%. Very few activities items were recovered, at only .25% of the assemblage.

Later Occupation and abandonment: By far the largest assemblage were those proveniences associated with the demolition of the Stobo house and, by interpetation of the ceramic content, those that reflect later occupation of the house. These proveniences include all of those over the main house that contain pearlware, or post-1780 ceramics. This includes zones that have accumulated over the demolition rubble and subsequent to any site occupation. This assemblage included 264 proveniences, containing 24,561 artifacts. Th0is leaves a relatively dense midden, averaging 93 artifacts per provenience.

Reflecting the total demolition of the h0ouse, architecture items dominated this assemblage, comprising 55% of the assemblage. Window glass was slightly less frequent than in the previous assemblage; it was 40% of the architectural items. Identifiable hand wrought nails were an additional 37% and the newer style machine cut nails an additional 10% of the architecture group.

The kitchen materials comprised 42% of the assemblage. Tablewares, particularly the newer style refined earthenwares, dominated the ceramics at 73%. Porcelains were still relatively common, comprising 20% of the ceramics, followed by pearlwares at 18% and creamwares at 21%. As is expected for the late 18th century, colono wares decline to 14.6%. The early ceramics decline in

proportion as well; North Devon is only .4%, while delft is 7% and white saltglaze stoneware 3.7%. Glass containers have declined in relation to the ceramics, and these are 48% of the kitchen group. A relatively large proportion of the kitchen group are table glass, at 6.4%.

The other categories remained relatively minor components of the assemblage. Arms materials declined to .14%, and clothing and furniture were only slightly elevated at .24% each. Personal items again declined, to .07% and activities items were .5%. Tobacco pipes also declined in frequency, to 1.63% of the assemblage.

Units outside the house: The test excavation units located in the yard area, outside the footprint of the main house, were quantified separately for two reasons. First, they do not reflect the destruction and abandonment that are responsible for the layers of debris on top of the house footprint; they instead reflect daily discard of refuse. Secondly, almost all of the zone deposits here contain at least some pearlware, making it impossible to separate the 1740 to 1770 refuse from the post-1780 refuse. For these reasons, the outside proveniences were tabulated separately, and they do indeed show some differences. The features that predate Stobo's occupation found in these units are tabulated with the early assemblage. The project date range for this general midden spans the entire period of site occupation, c. 1710-1820. Thus a median date for these deposits would be 1765. The mean ceramic date is in fairly close agreement at 1758. This slightly earlier date might suggest that the post-1780 residents did not cycle as many items into the archaeological record as those during Stobo's occupancy.

The thirty units in the yard contained 78 defined proveniences and 9332 artifacts. This means that artifact density was highest here, averaging 119 artifacts per provenience. Though not reflected in this quantification exercise, visual inspection suggested that artifacts were smaller and more fragmentary here, which is typical of general yard midden.

The artifact assemblage here was far closer to the normal range for the Carolina Artifact pattern than those over the main house. Here, Kitchen artifacts were nearly 65% of the assemblage, and architectural items 28%. The majority of the kitchen group (76%) were ceramics, and utilitarian ceramics were more strongly represented. Glass bottles were less common, accounting for only 23% of the kitchen group.

There was less porcelain in the yard, 14% of the ceramics, and the refined earthenwares were also less common. Creamware comprised 14% of the ceramics, and the pearlwares were only 7%, suggesting again that the majority of the midden accumulation dates to Stobo's occupancy. The yard did contain a larger amount of the colono wares, over 25% of the ceramics here. Table glass is likewise reduced in frequency in the yard, to 2.6% of the kitchen group.

The yard area also features less window glass, in relation to nails. Wrought nails dominate the architecture group at 42%, and window glass is only 28%. Allowing for some redistribution across the yard area, it is likely that the outbuildings had few, if any, glass windows.

Tobacco pipes were slightly elevated in the yard area, to 5.12%. Other minor artifact groups remained fairly constant. The exception is furniture, where .6% of the assemblage consisted of artifacts in this group. The majority of the furniture items found in the yard were furniture tacks.

Horizontal Distribution

An additional aspect of the artifact analysis was the opportunity to discern horizontal differences in the distribution of materials. This was done by unit, cross-cutting the temporal divisions. Several different artifact types, categories, and groups were considered.

Though they will be revisited in Chapter 12 in the discussion of architectural analysis, distribution of architectural artifacts will be considered here. First to be measured was the brick and plaster, by weight per unit. These are shown in figure 118. Brick was the densest in the areas of the walls of bay 2, particularly in the vicinity of the rear chimney. The brick weight generally concentrated in the units over the four walls of bay 2, and along the east wall of bay 1. There was less brick in the area of bay 3. Interestingly, heavy concentrations were found in the courtyard area, along the west and south sides. This may reflect the possible chimney and surrounding wall interpeted from these units, or it may be from walls falling across the courtyard. The yard area generally held no brick rubble at all; moderate amounts were noted in the N200E255 and in N155E255, the two areas of suspected outbuildings (figure 118).

Architectural hardware was concentrated in the areas of bay 1 and bay 2, with very little in the courtyard. Other architectural hardware was found in N200E260, again supporting the presence of an outbuilding here. Of particular interest is the location of hinges and shutter hooks along the west wall of bay 2 and the east wall of bay 1; window glass is concentrated in these same areas, and the evidence together supports the presence of sash windows in these locations. The fragments of marble are more widespread, and are found in bay 1, bay 2, and the courtyard. Other than their generally trending with other architectural elements, this information is inconclusive. Distribution of window glass and nails by type are discussed in Chapter 12 (figures 119-121).

A number of the individual artifact types were mapped by their location. All showed similar distributions. Both the high status, more decorative items, and the mundane items of daily life were distributed through bays 1 and 2, and then concentrated in the courtyard. This is the basis for the dual interpretations of (1) most of the household functions being concentrated within the walls of the compound and (2) Stobo's personal possessions being washed, or drug, into the courtyard for sorting after the disaster.

While a few of the many tools found on the site are found in the yard, many are in the vicinity of the main house. Here they are over bay 2 and in the courtyard, primarily. Hoes, in particular, came from the courtyard, and from just outside the walls of bay 2. Another concentration of tools was noted in N200E260, in the vicinity of feature 40 (figure 122). The equestrian equipment was

discovery of these items that led to the alternate idea of bay 1 as a tack room (figure 123).

It is interesting to note that most of the arms items are in the courtyard as well. A few are located in the yard, particularly south of the main house, and a few are west of bay 3. But the majority of the shot, as well as the gun parts were found in the courtyard (figure 124). Most of these are in the demolition rubble. Because of their sheer number, the furniture artifacts are perhaps most illustrative. They are found across the site, and it is most interesting to note the number of tacks and other items in the yard. There are slight concentrations in the vicinities of the two outbuildings. And there are concentrations in bays 1 and 2. But the largest amount of furniture debris comes from the courtyard (figure 125).

The toys are found in the courtyard, but principally along the west wall of both rooms of bay 2. Toy dishes are concentrated in bay 1. The artifacts associated with African American spirituality are found principally in the courtyard, but overlapping into bay 2 (figures 126-127).

Next to be considered are the material symbols of James Stobo's social status. Curtain rings were selected for special study because they are relatively rare in colonial contexts, and can be considered examples of elaborate furnishing. These are, again, principally in the courtyard (figure 128). But the majority of those in the courtyard are from the demolition layers, which may reflect wall fall. Those from the Stobo midden are found inside the best room of bay 2.

The reconstructed ceramic vessels show a similar trend. The outstanding overglazed porcelain place was concentrated in six units, from N200E180 to N210E180 (figure 129). These units straddle the west wall of bay 2 and intrude into the courtyard. The majority of fragments are from the demolition layers. The decorative planters represented by the 'blumenkubel' are found across the house, and even across the site, with fragments being recovered from the farthest units. The langerwehe butter churn, in contrast, was concentrated in a narrow area of bay 1, indicating that it was broken in place and little disturbed thereafter (figure 130). The same is true of other porcelain vessels. The blue-on-white porcelain plate, teacup, and punch bowl were reconstructed from fragments along the east side of bay 1. A second blue on white teacup was in the middling room of bay 2, while the imari saucer was in the center of the courtyard. Each of these vessels was reconstructed from fragments contained within one or two adjacent squares (figure 131).

The final attempt to measure the domestic, or food-related, function of site areas was in relative percentage of kitchen items and in density of bone recovered. These data were not particularly revealing. Bone was fairly evenly distributed across the various components of the house, and is particularly concentrated in the courtyard; this, however, may be a result of cow bone in the early features found here. The most interesting variation in this pattern was the heavy concentration of bone in the N200E260 block, an area believed to be a kitchen, and the vicinity of N165E200, and area of concentrated burned bone and Native American pottery. In contrast, there was relatively little bone in the N150E260 block, associated with the feature 88 structure (figure 132). In general, the proportion of kitchen wares varied positively with the bone density. A relatively high proportion of kitchen wares was noted in the N165E200 area the N200E260 area, as well.

kitchen wares was noted in the N165E200 area the N200E260 area, as well.

The presence of distinctive artifacts speaks to the destruction and sudden abandonment of the site, while the distribution of these speaks to both the activities of site occupants, and of the processes responsible for the formation of the archaeological record. As we shall see in Chapter 12, understanding these latter processes is essential to better interpreting the activities of the former occupants of that site.

Table 11
Quantification of the Assemblage

	1710-1740	Stobo	Abandonment	Outside
Ceramics				
porcelain, overglaze	60	74	120	76
porcelain,blue on white	3	321	915	596
porcelain, 'burned'	1	15	18	12
brown saltglaze stoneware	17	28	70	40
bellarmine	-	-	1	-
grey saltglaze stoneware	2	7	32	34
Westerwald stoneware	2	19	83	124
Slip dipped stoneware	-	-	14	9
White saltglaze stoneware	2	42	199	171
Scratch blue stoneware	-	-	3	1
Nottingham stoneware	4	14	52	36
Nottingham earthenware	6	-	10	12
Langerwehe	-	-	22	-
'Blumenkubel'	-	14	18	5
Elers ware	-	-	8	5
Black Basalte	-	-	2	1
Glazed red stoneware	-	1	-	-
Whieldon ware	3	17	41	42
Creamware	-	240	1062	572
Pearlware, undecorated	-	26	441	171
hand painted	-	9	97	54
polychrome	-	3	12	10
brown tr.pr.	-	-	2	3
transfer print	-	19	189	33
shell edged	-	9	133	47
annular	-	2	86	32

Agate ware	-	-	4	-
Astbury ware	-	3	4	6
Jackfield ware	1	4	66	57
Delft, undecorated	18	50	308	210
blue on white	8	20	59	81
polychrome	5	8	13	10
North Devon ware	16	1	24	60
Slipware, comb+trail	25	64	295	373
Slipware, sgraffitto	-	-	1	-
Slipware, American	-	-	11	11
Buckley ware	-	1	3	2
Mid-atlantic ware	-	-	1	1
Mottled ware	2	4	37	20
Slip-coated ware	-	1	2	3
Southern Euro ware	-	2	14	15
Black lead glazed ware	2	3	31	62
misc. Lead glazed e.ware	5	8	41	79
Comp. Stamped ware	10	6	10	70
Colono wares	78	214	305	2218
Other Kitchen				
Olive green bottle glass	130	1071	3349	982
wine bottle	2	14	17	12
case bottle	1	6	7	-
clear bottle glass	8	251	659	92
aqua container glass	3	42	146	93
Pharmaceutical glass	8	19	66	67
table glass	22	166	622	154
goblet	-	5	10	-
tumbler	-	1	21	1
other	1	1	6	2
kettle frag	-	3	7	3
cutlery	-	2	1	1
Architecture				
window glass	144	1051	5425	752
nail, wrought	182	517	5115	1136
nail, cut	-	37	1437	221
u.d. nail	50	262	645	298
nail fragment	38	133	949	255
bldg. hardware	-	1	10	11
lock	-	-	6	1
hinge	1	-	-	1

key	-	1	5	2
beam bolt	4	2	-	-
spike, etc.	-	2	13	2
dressed marble fragment	-	2	13	6
Arms				
lead shot	-	7	12	8
sprue	-	-	-	2
musket ball	1	1	3	1
gunflint	1	5	20	17
gun hardware	-	1	1	-
sword	1	-	-	-
pike	-	1	-	-
Clothing				
pewter button	2	1	1	-
brass button	-	-	20	10
bone button	-	-	7	-
hook & eye	1	-	3	1
lacing tip	-	-	3	-
bead	-	-	4	1
pin	-	1	4	1
scissors	-	1	4	1
thimble	1	-	2	-
buckle, brass	1	-	5	4
buckle, iron	-	3	4	3
lace bobbin	-	-	-	1
Personal				
parasol rib	-	2	2	1
slate pencil/slate	-	2	3	3
fan fragment	-	3	3	-
ruler	-	-	1	-
jewelry	-	1	5	2
pocket knife	-	1	3	1
cane tip	1	-	-	-
bone comb	-	1	-	-
crystal/religious	-	1	-	1
pin/personal case	-	1	-	-
watch key	-	-	1	-
tooth brush	-	-	1	-
Furniture				

upholstery tack	1	7	22	25
curtain ring	2	1	6	-
drawer pull	-	3	14	6
lock	-	4	1	-
fireplace finial	-	2	2	1
misc hardware	-	4	15	30
leather book clasp	-	1	-	-
clock part	-	-	-	-
wall sconce	-	1	-	-
Pipes				
tobacco pipe frags	41	94	401	478
Activities				
marble/toy	1	2	8	1
iron wedge	-	-	2	
scale weight	-	-	2	
net weight	-	-	1	
equestrian	1	7	3	
hoes	2	1	2	
tools	1	2	12	4
barrel strap fragments	30	217	93	52

Table 12
Comparison of Assemblages to the Carolina Artifact Pattern

ceramics other	Early	Stobo	Abandonment	Yard	Carolina Pattern	Charleston 1720-1760
Kitchen	46.7	56.7	41.7	64.7	60.3	59.0
Architecture	46.4	40.0	55.4	28.7	23.9	33.7
Arms	.3	.29	.14	.31	.5	.07
Clothing	.55	.09	.24	.22	3.0	.52
Personal	.11	.27	.07	.08	.2	.14
Furniture	.3	.41	.24	.68	.2	.14
Pipes	4.5	4.67	1.63	5.12	5.8	2.01
Activities	.88	.23	.50	.10	1.7	2.91
Ceramics, %K	58.3	44.3	52.0	76.7	59.2	
Glass, %K	41.6	55.6	47.9	23.3	41.0	
Tableware, %C	46.3	69.2	73.4	48.5	58.4	
Utilitarian, % C.	53.7	30.8	26.6	51.5	41.6	
Colono, % C	25.1	19.2	14.6	25.6	22.3	
Porcelain, %C	26.1	32.3	19.7	14.7	6.07	
Creamware, % C	--	19.0	19.9	12.3	--	
Pearlware, % C	--	5.3	18.3	7.18	--	
Table glass, %K	5.2	5.8	6.4	2.59		
Window glass, %A	34.4	52.3	39.8	28.8	22.9	
Wrought nail, % A	53.5	25.1	37.5	42.0		
Cut nail, % A	.4	1.8	10.5	8.2		
# proveniences	75	69	264	78	67	
# artifacts	899	5010	24,561	9332	8229	
# art/provenience	11.9	72.6	93.0	119.6	122	
# ceramics/prov.	3.2	18.2	20.0	59.4		

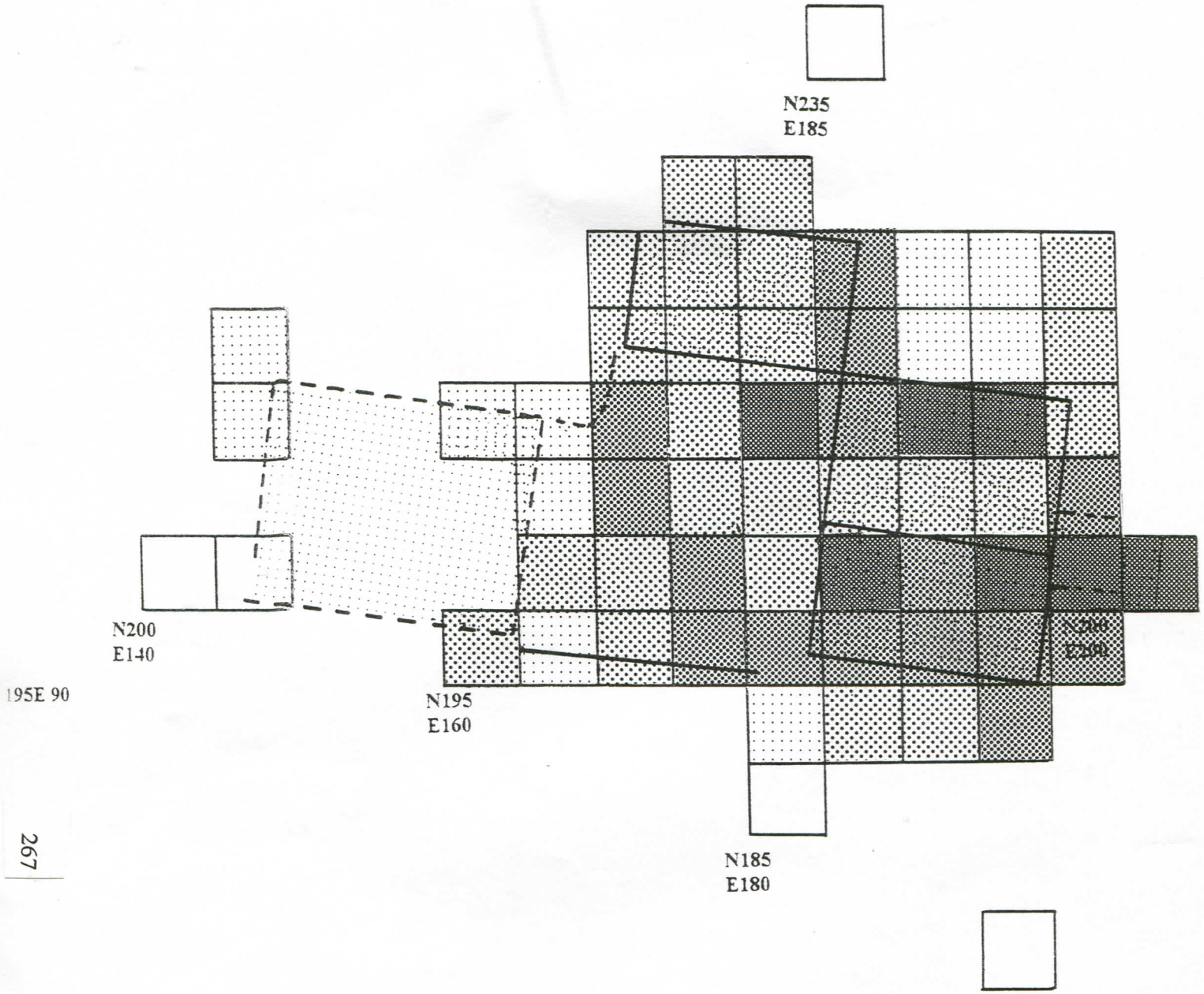
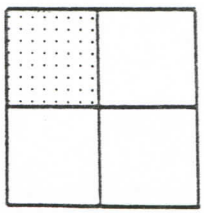
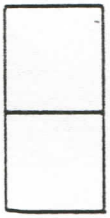


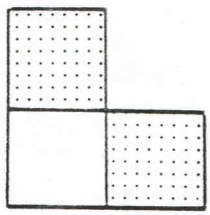
Figure 118

Brick Weight, total in pounds



N195
E260





N150
E255

N125E260

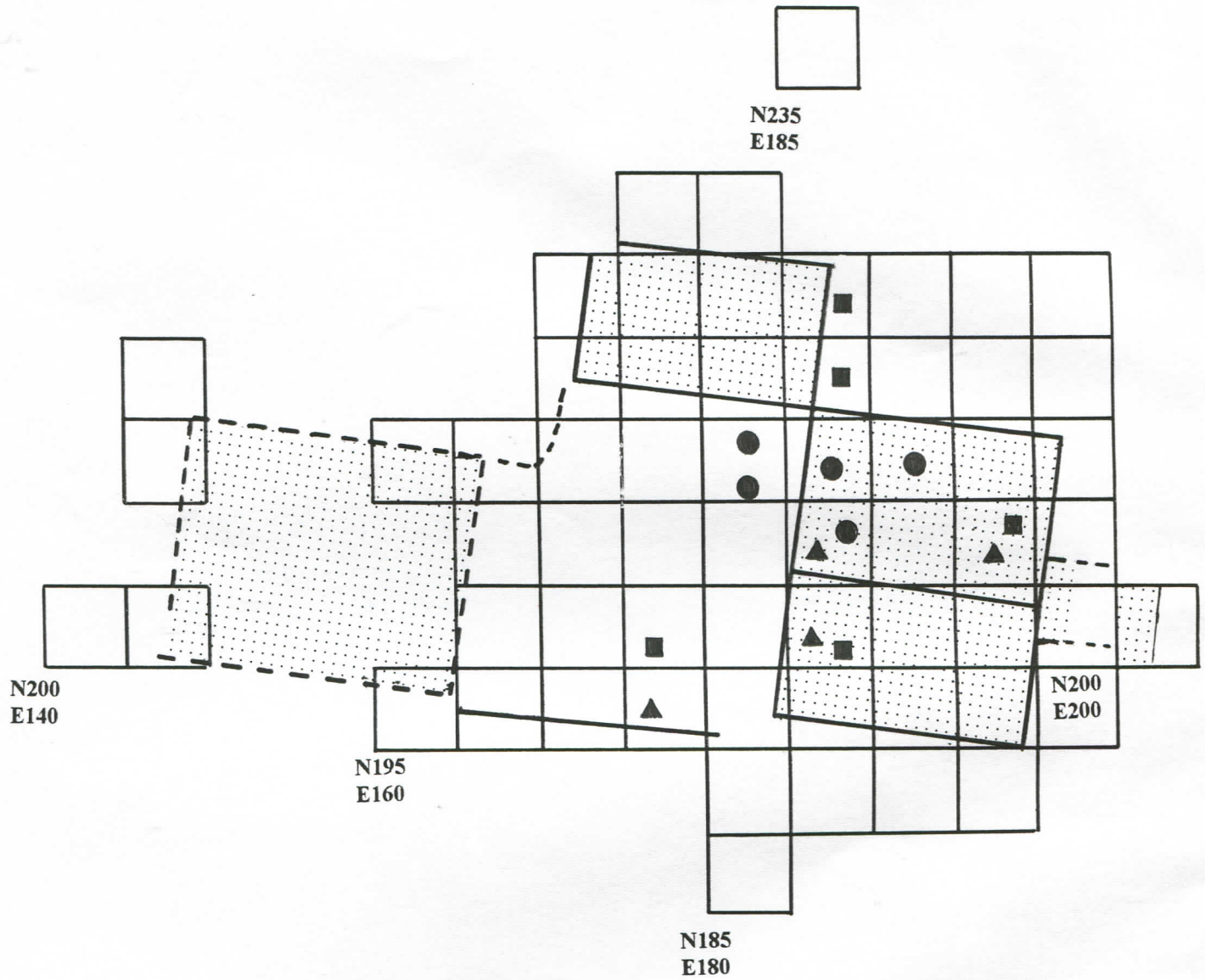
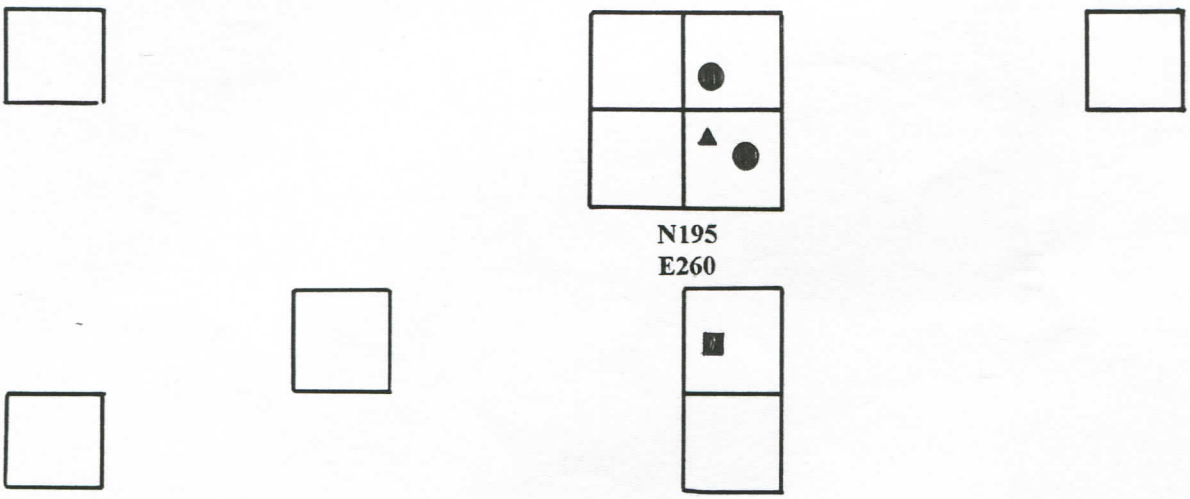


Figure 119

Architectural Hardware



N195
E260

N150
E255

N125E260

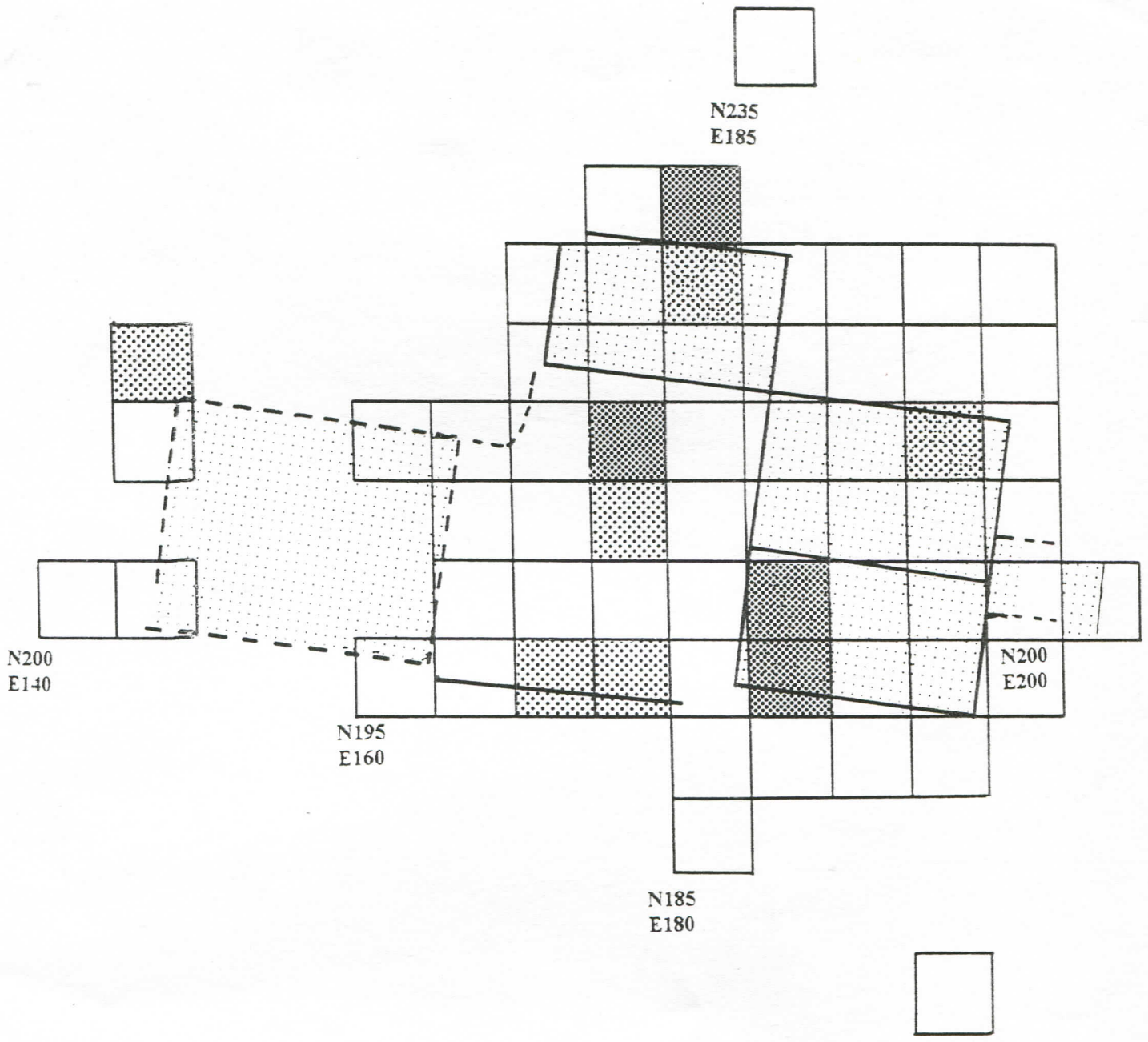
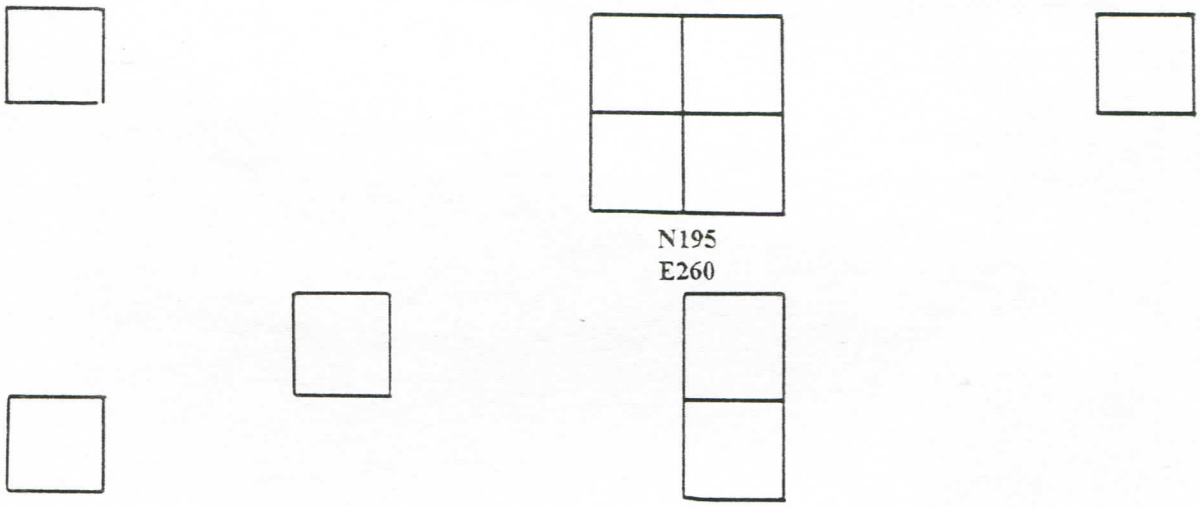
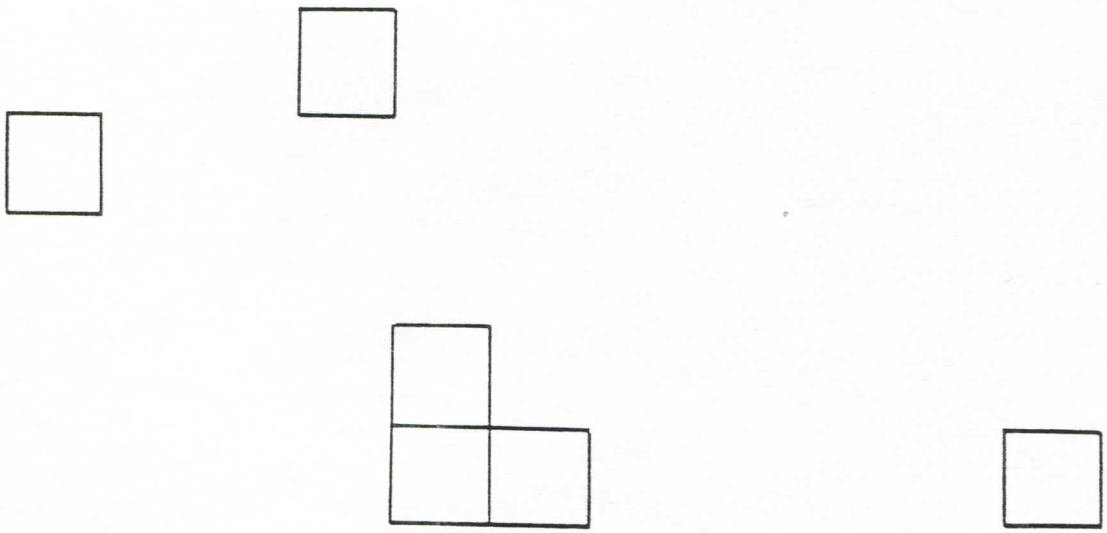


Figure 120

Window glass in Fea. 2
 # fragments

>50
>100





N125E260

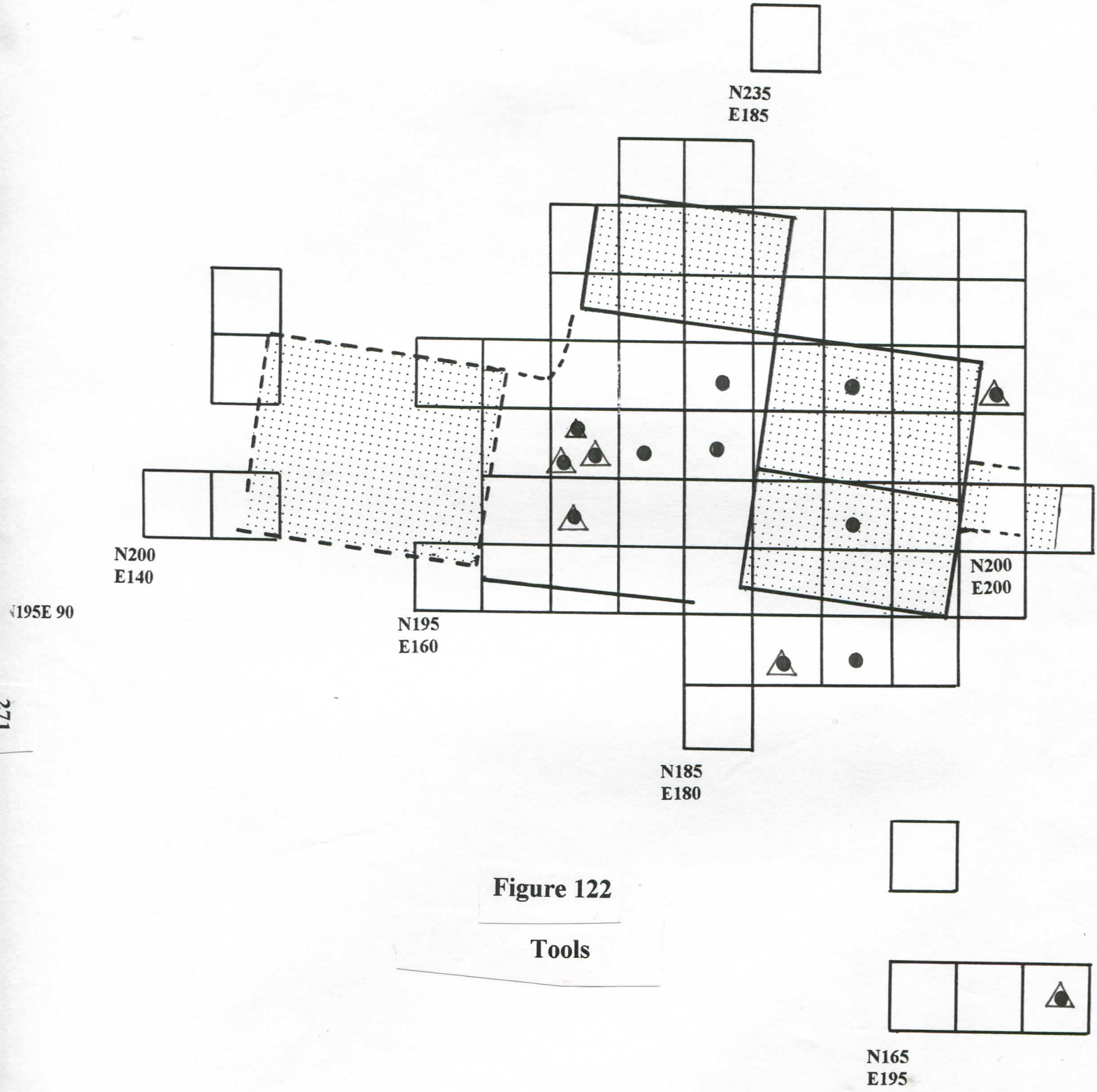
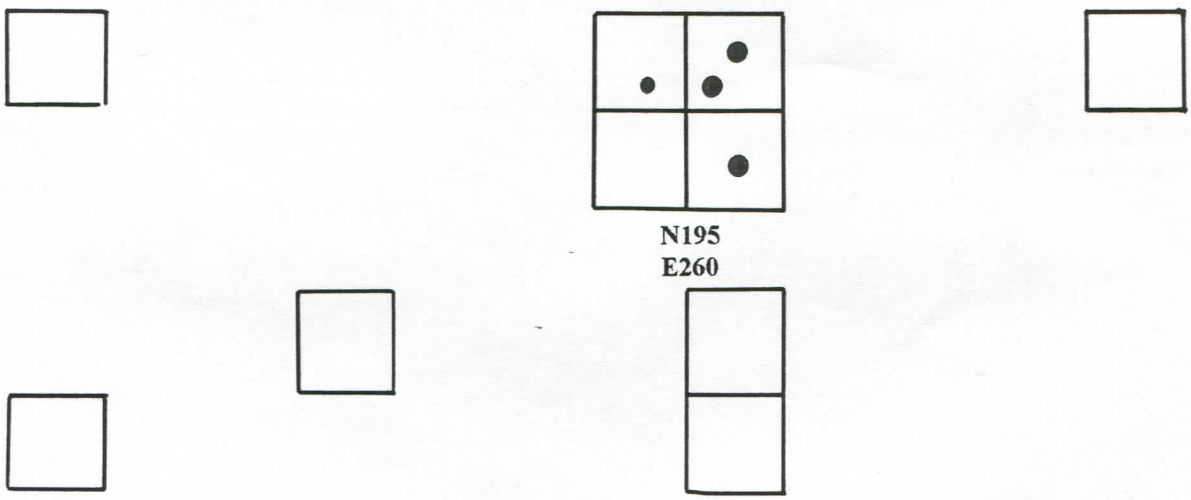
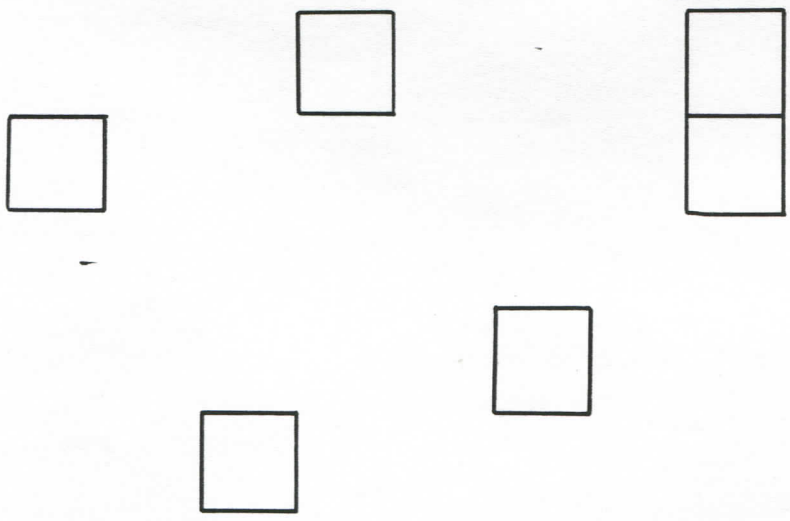


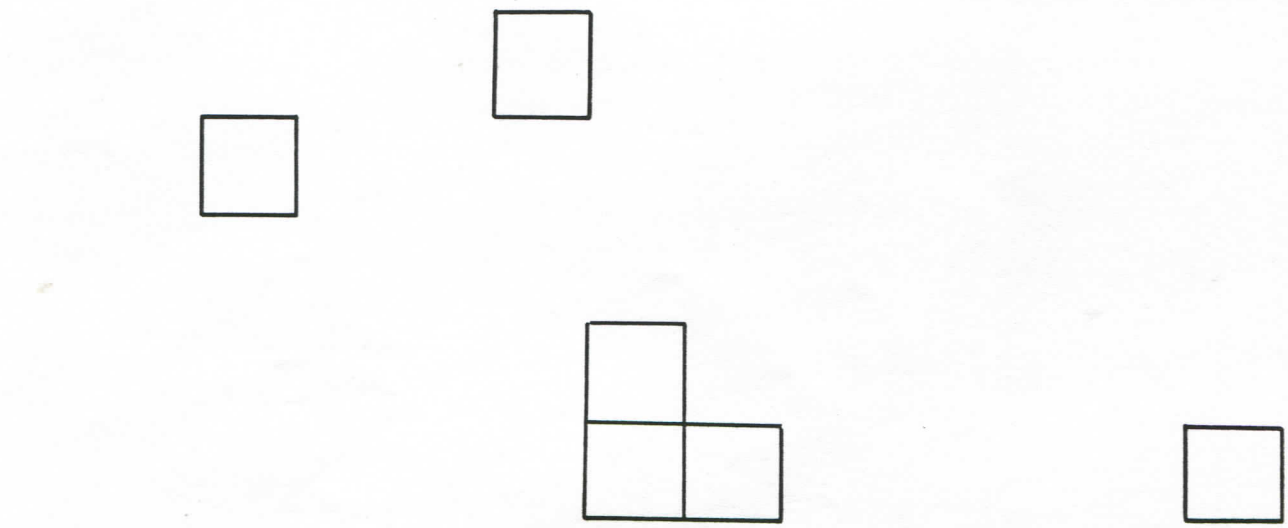
Figure 122

Tools



N195
E260





N150
E255

N125E260

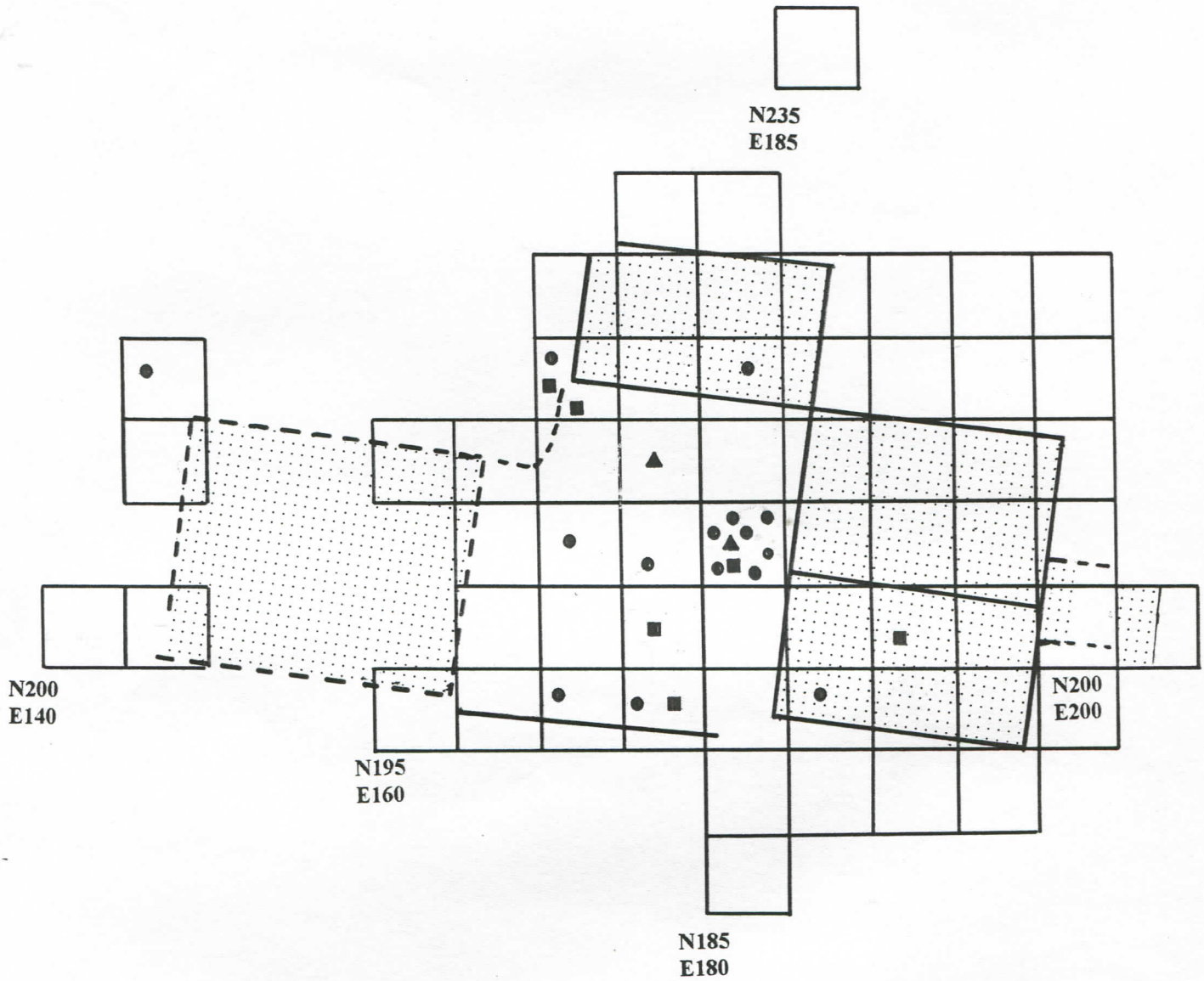
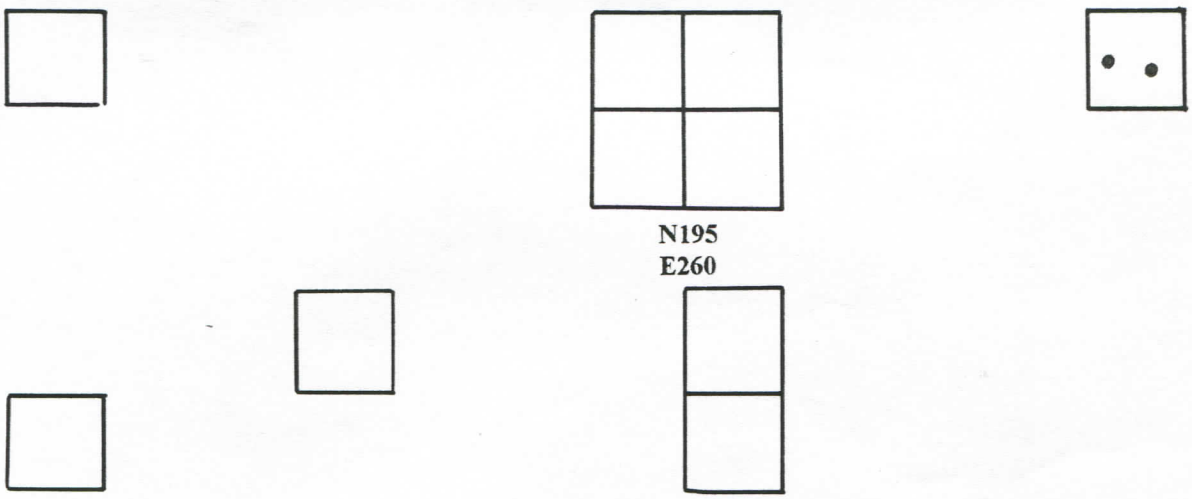


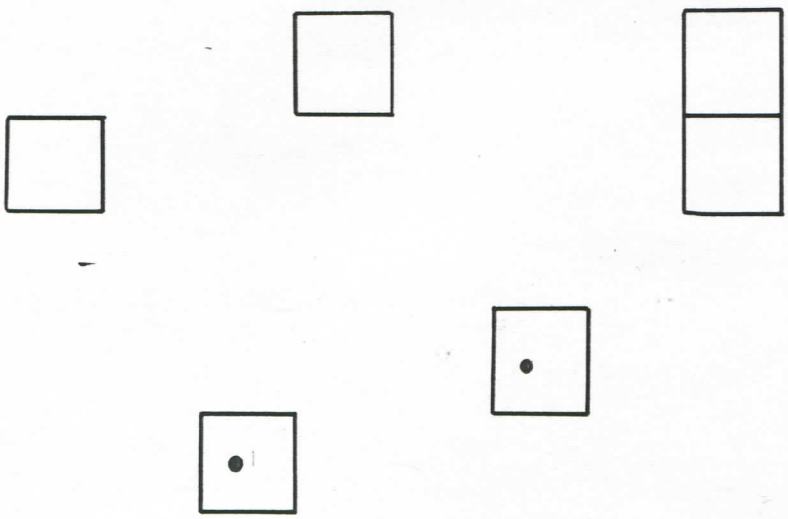
Figure 124

Arms

- ● lead shot
- ■ flints
- ▲ gun parts



N195
E260



N150
E255

N125E260

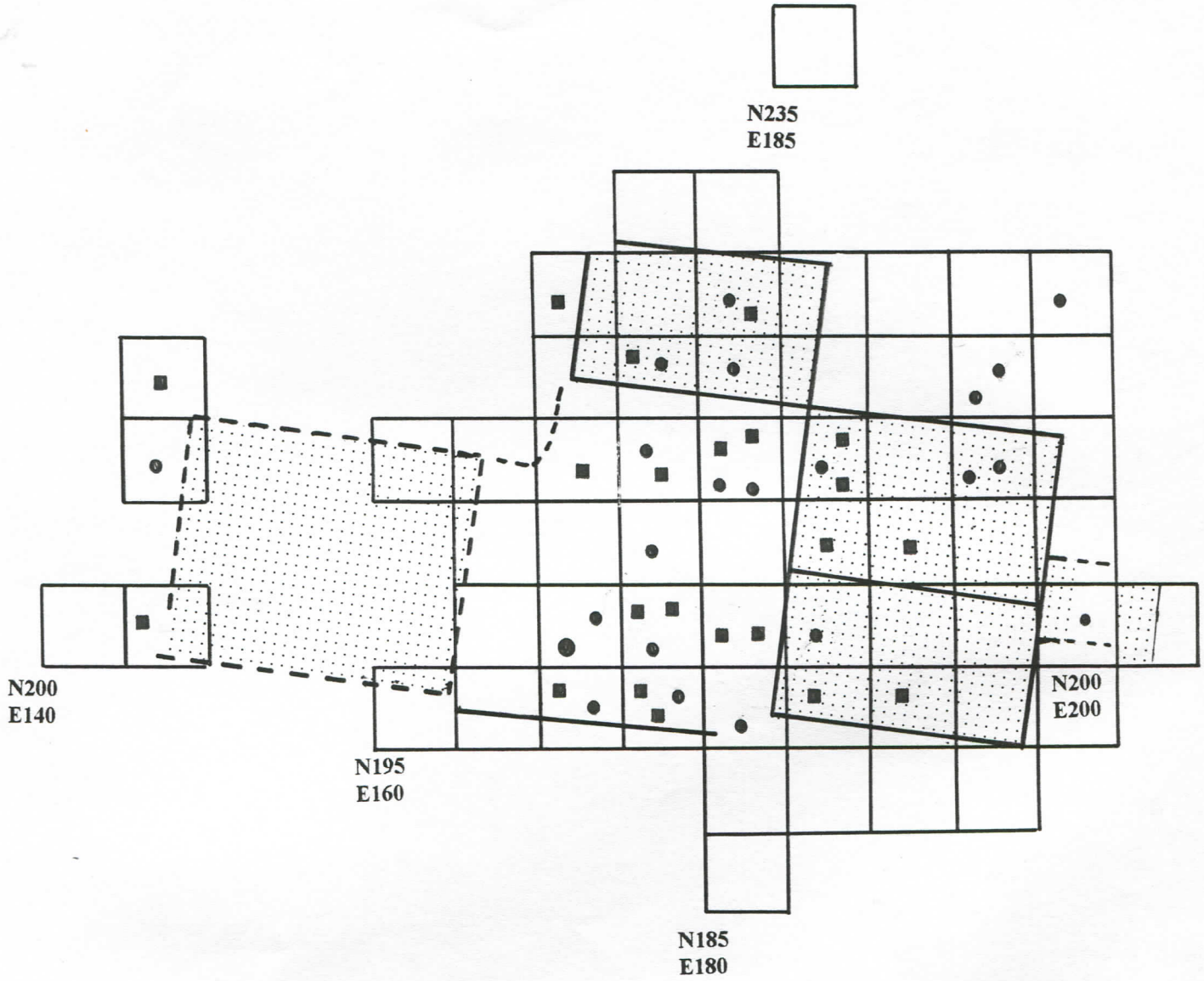
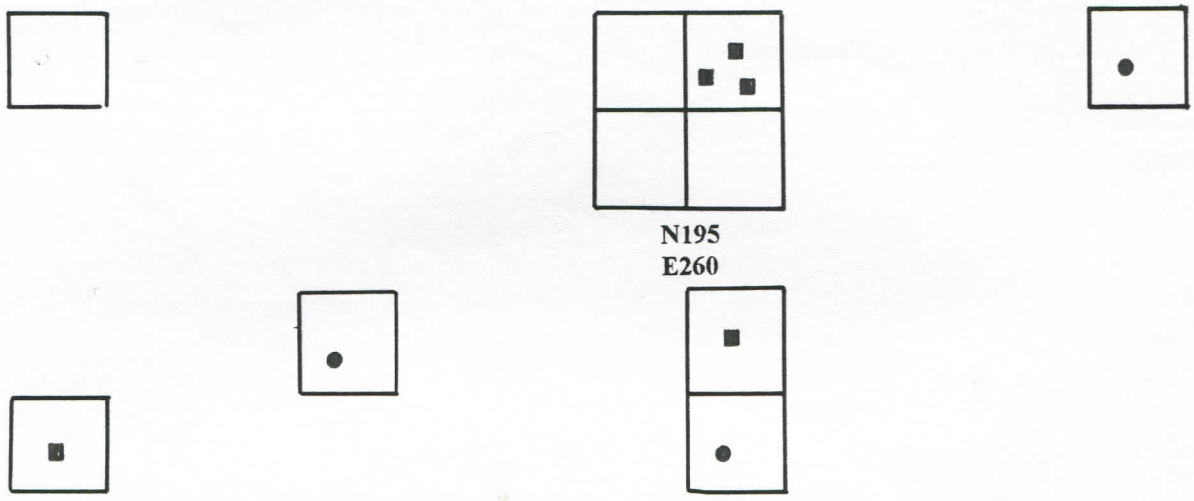


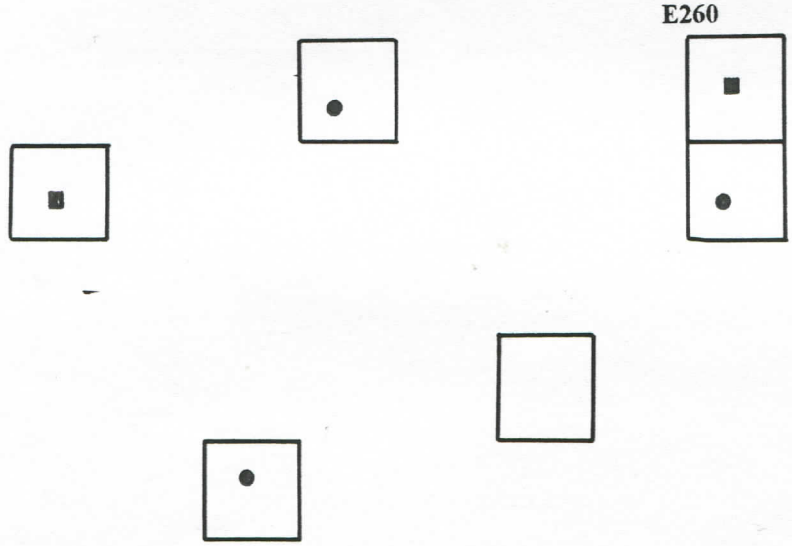
Figure 125

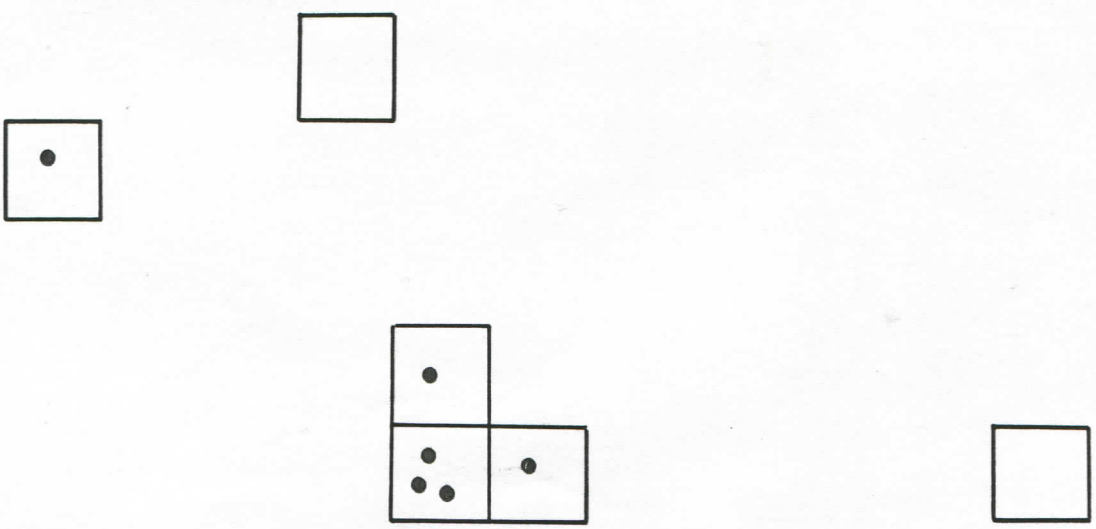
Furniture Hardware

- furniture tacks
- other hardware



N195
E260





N150
E255

N125E260

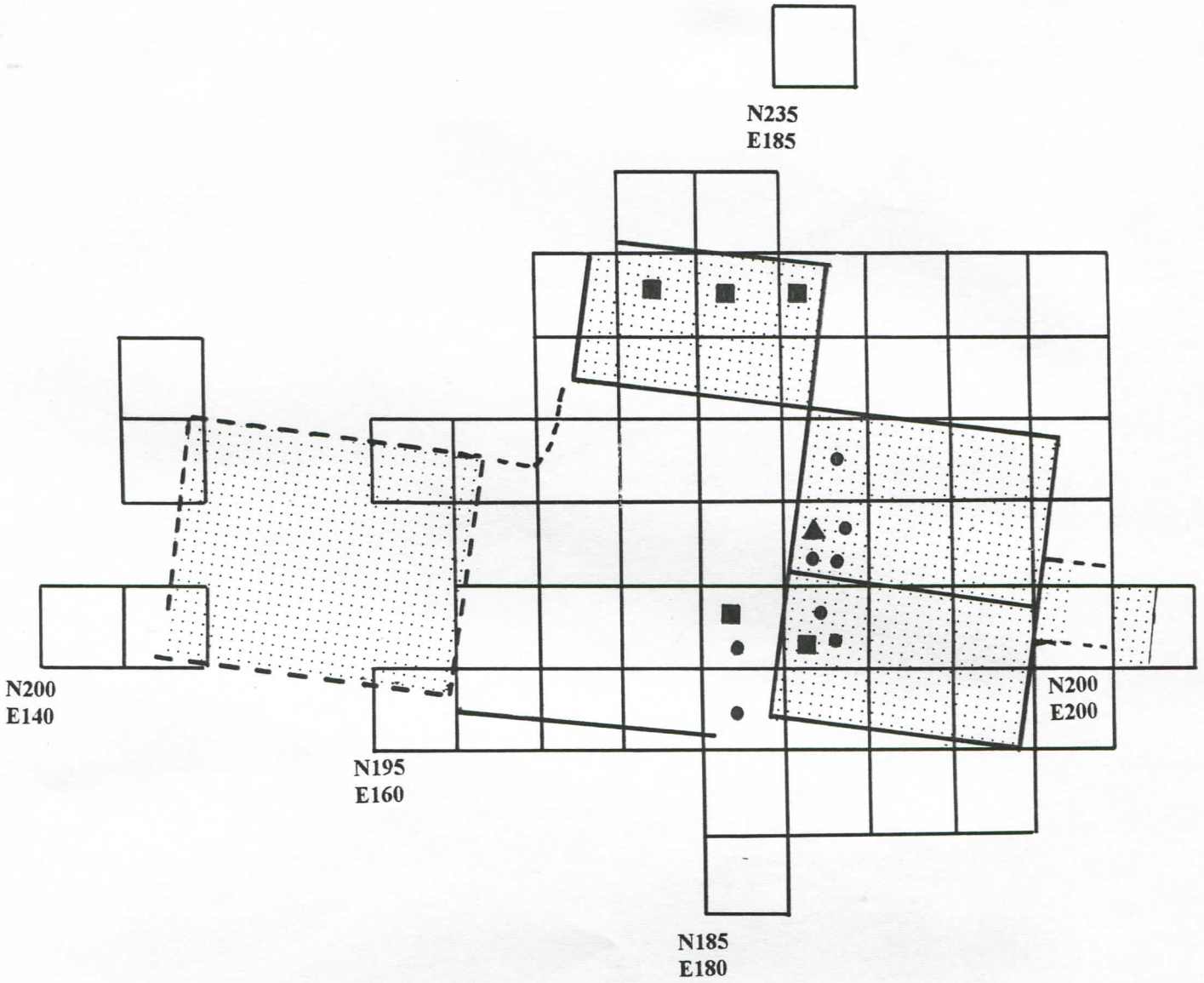
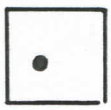
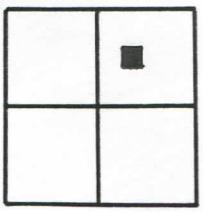


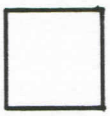
Figure 126

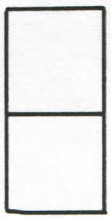
Children's toys

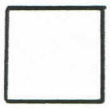


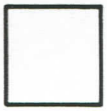


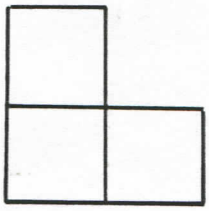
N195
E260



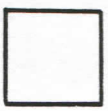








N150
E255



N125E260

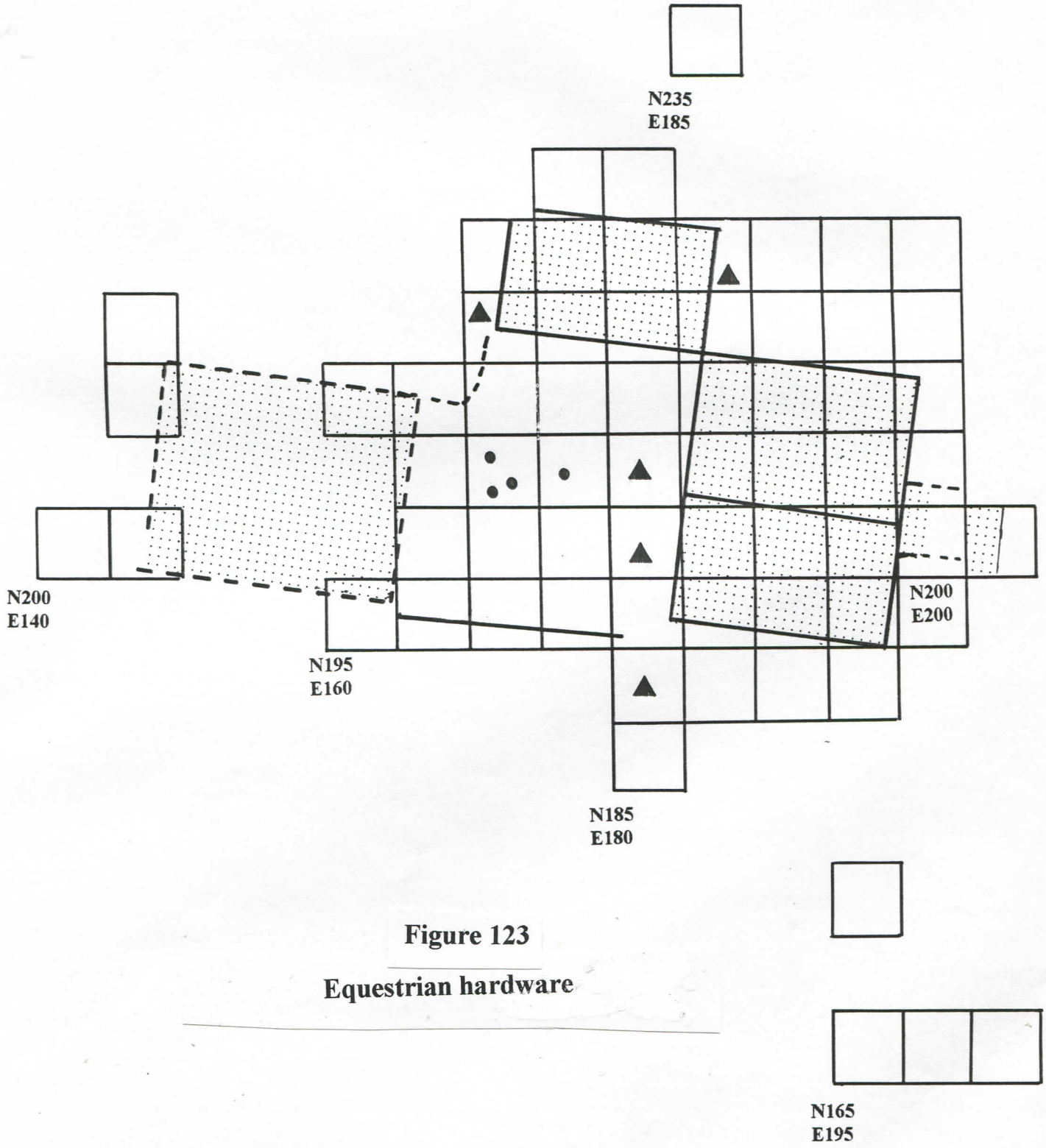
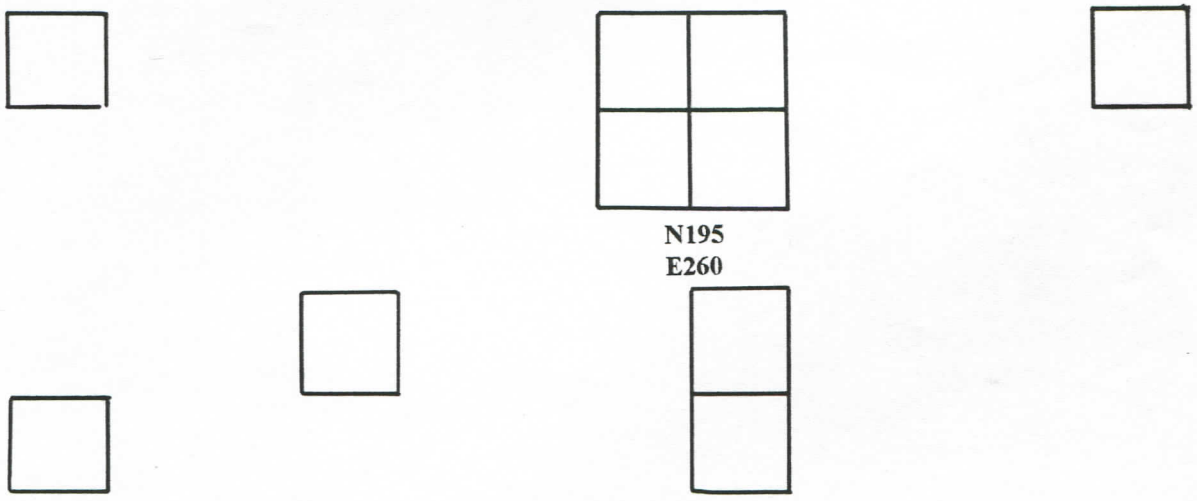
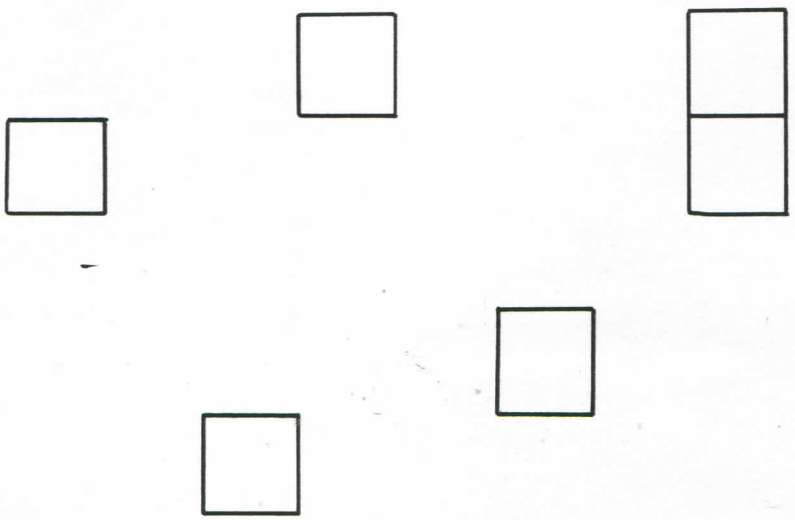


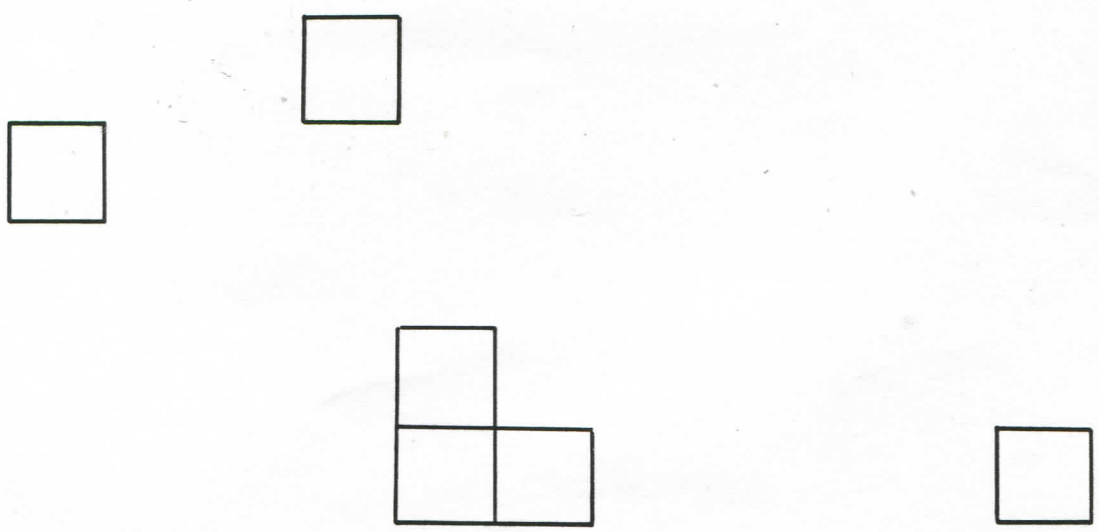
Figure 123

Equestrian hardware



N195
E260





N150
E255

N125E260

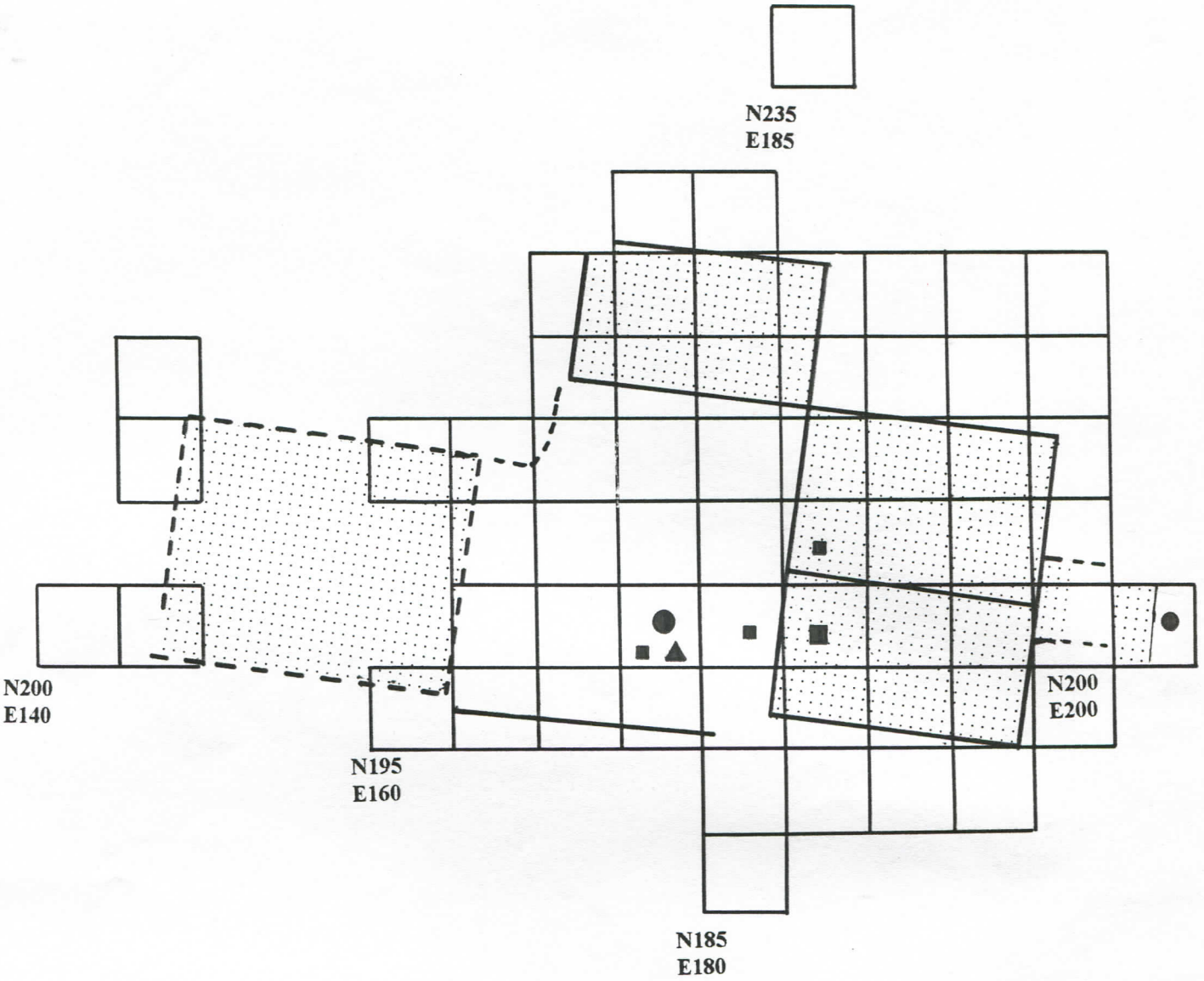
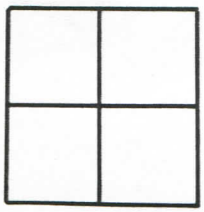
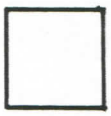


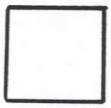
Figure 127

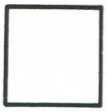
Spiritual Items

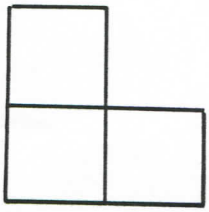


N195
E260









N150
E255

N125E260

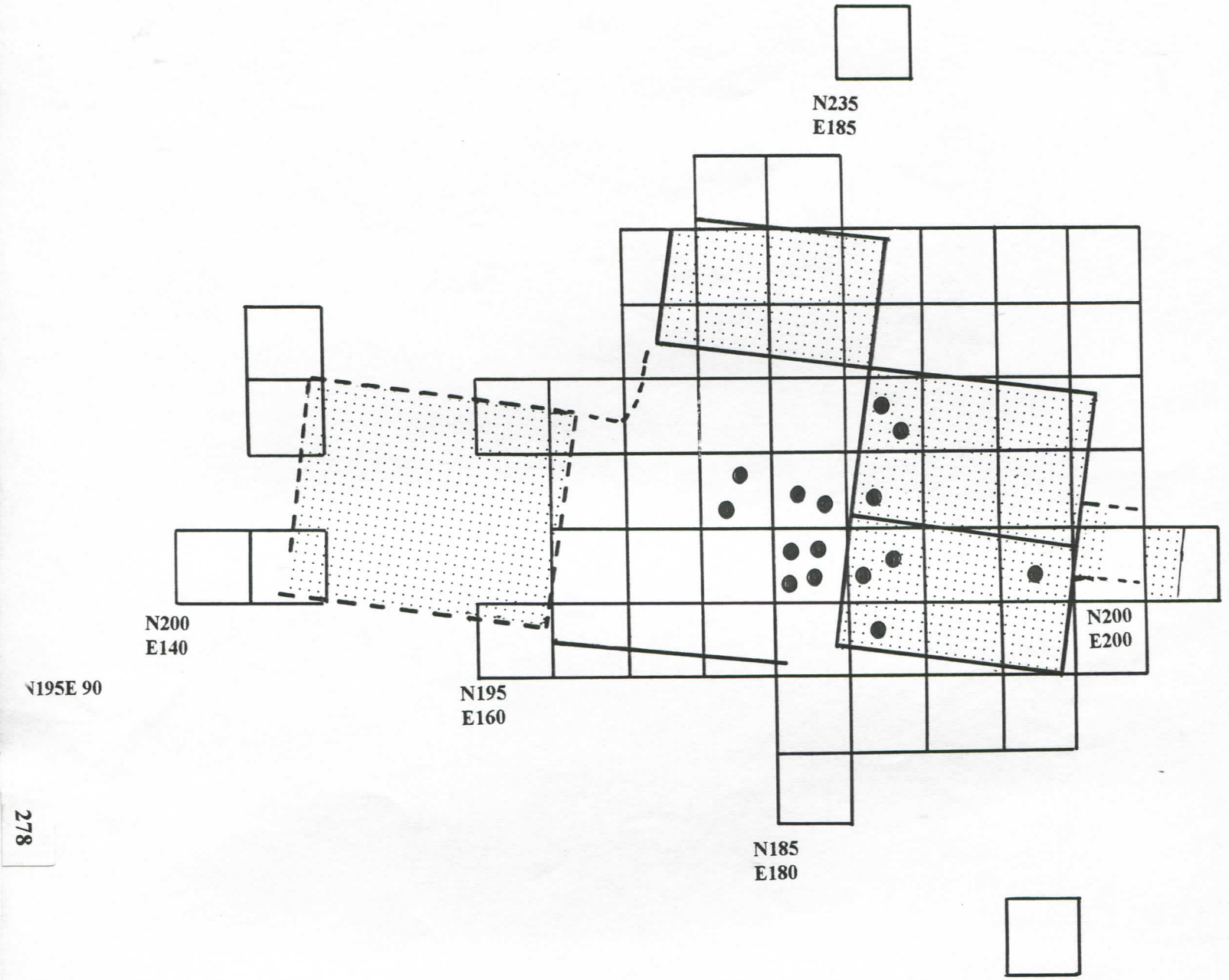
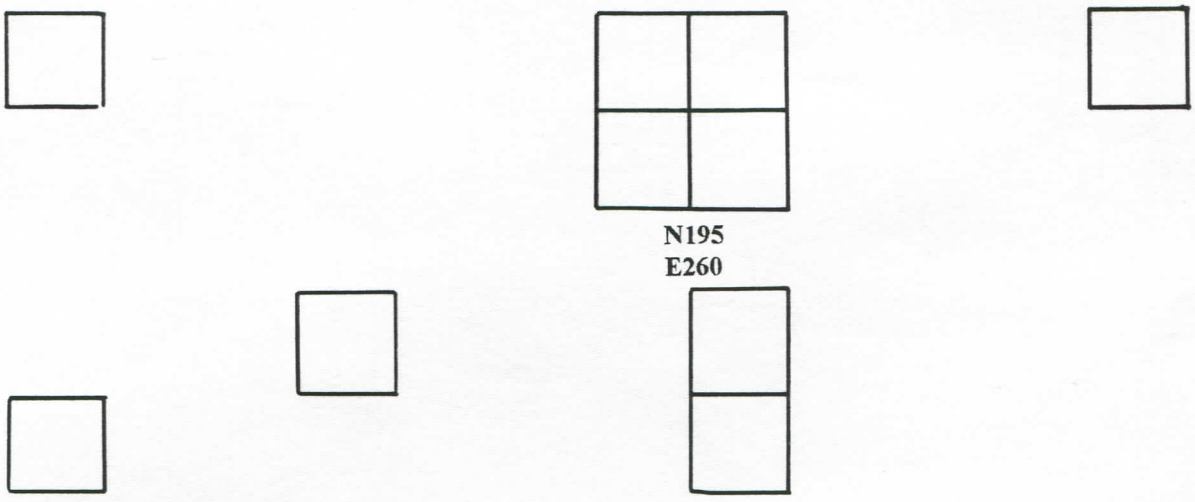
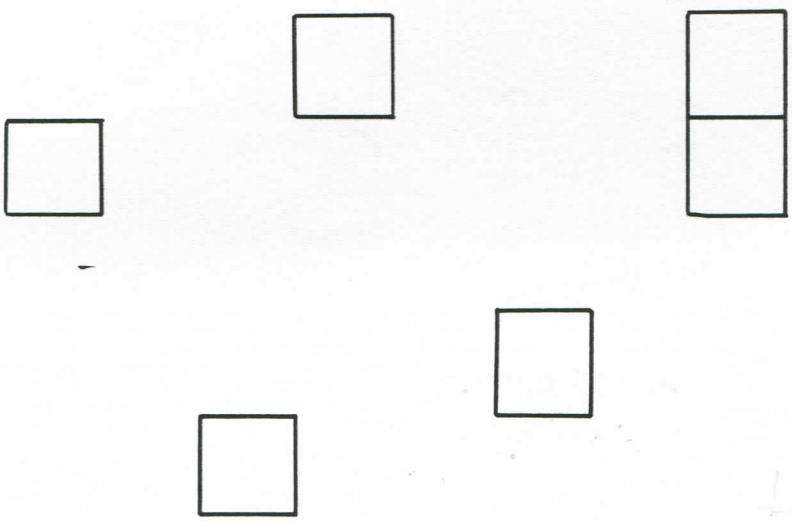


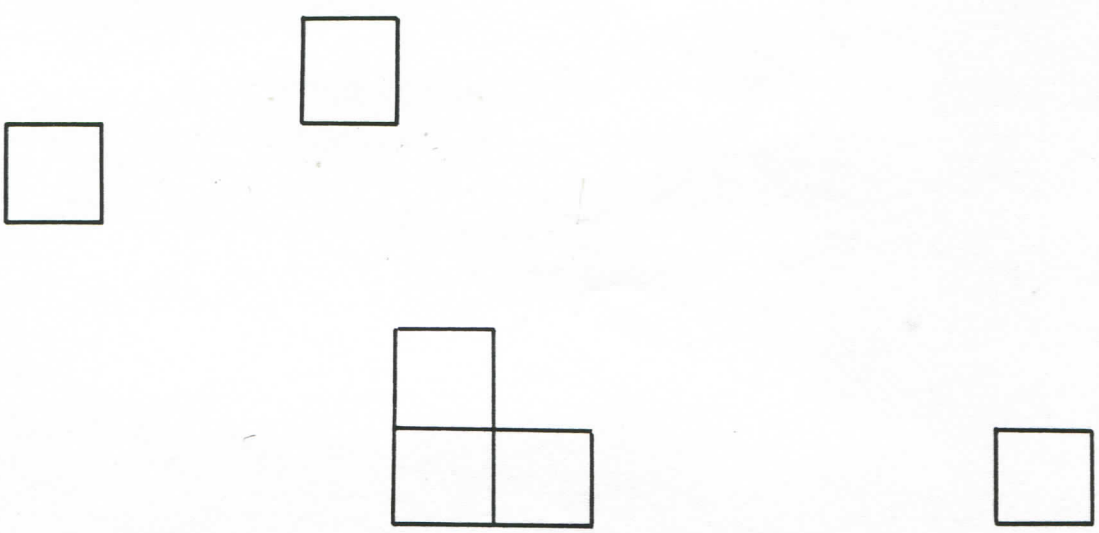
Figure 129

Overglazed Porcelain Plate



N195
E260





N150
E255

N125E260

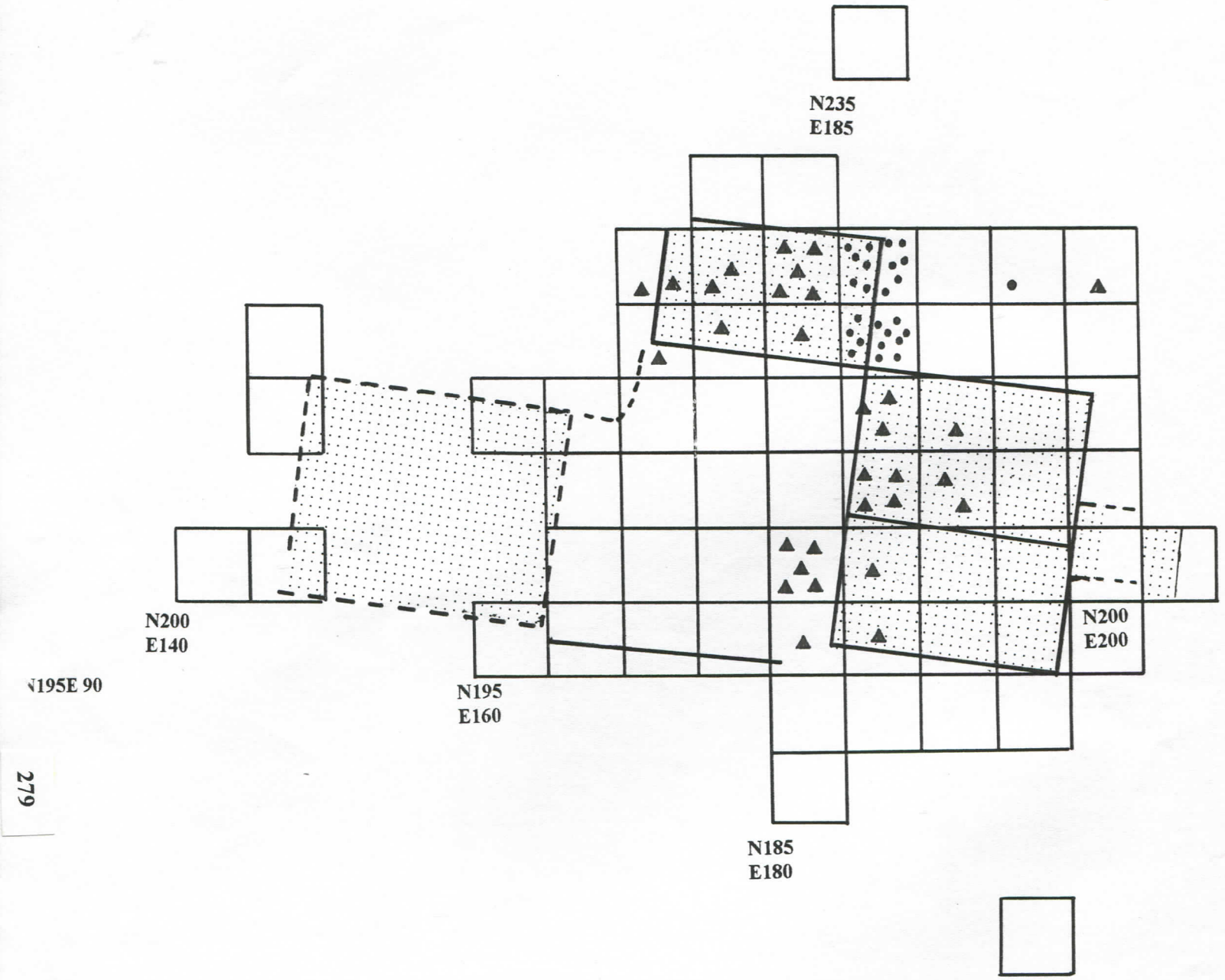
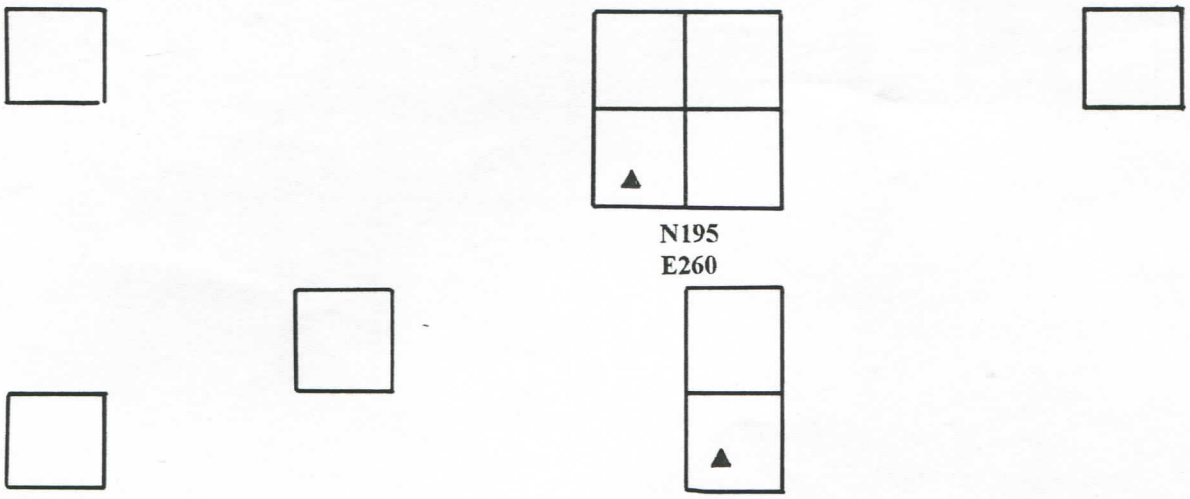
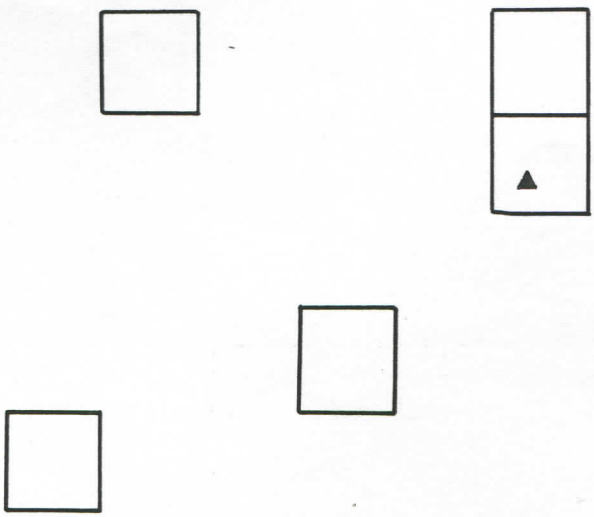


Figure 130

Stoneware vessels

- ▲ **Blumenkubel**
- ● **Langerwehe**





N125E260

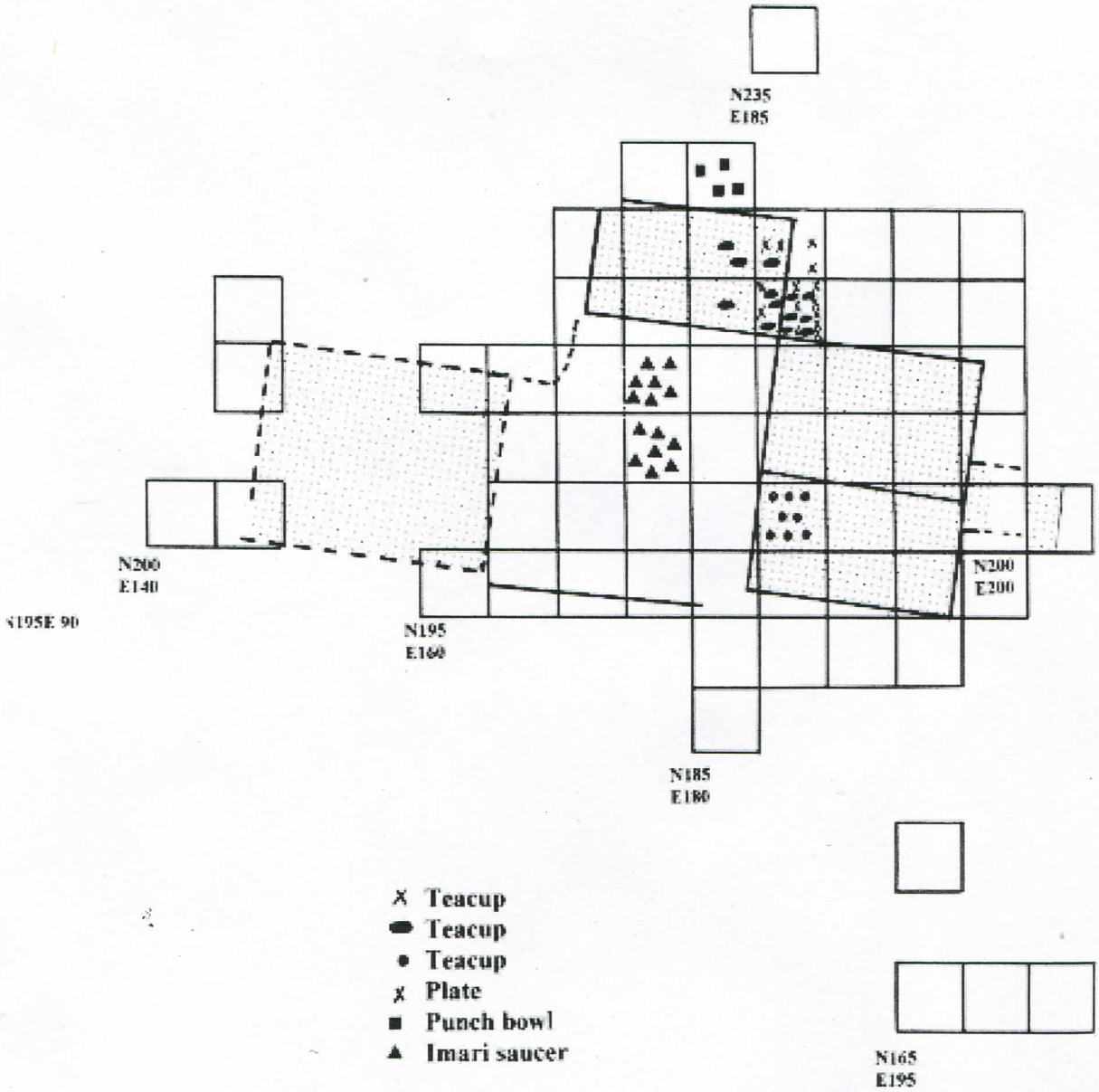


FIGURE 131. PORCELAIN VESSELS.

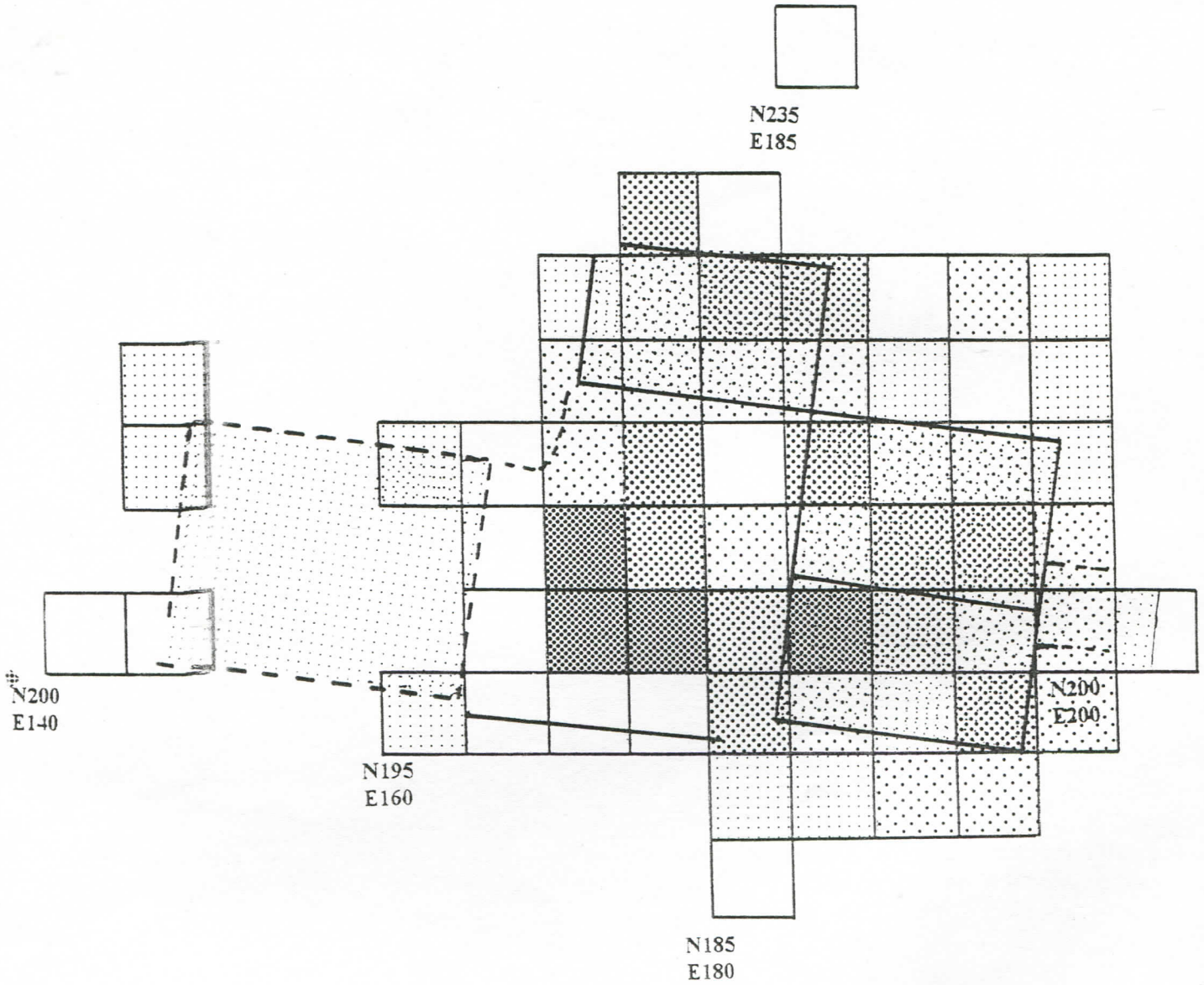
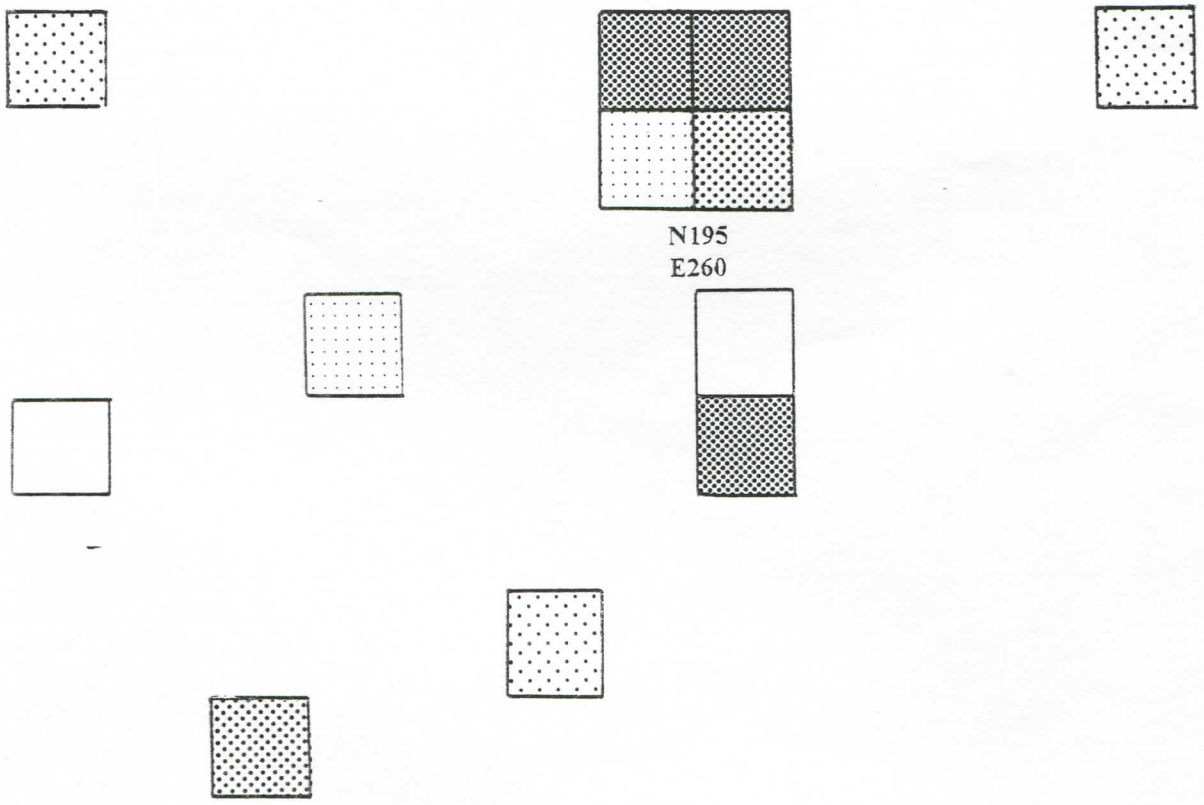

N235
E185
N200
E140
N195
E160
N200
E200
N185
E180
N165
E195
Bone Weight, in grams
>20
21-100
101-300
301-600
601-1000

Figure 132



N125E260

Chapter IX
Willtown Colono Wares

Colono wares are unglazed, low-fired earthenwares of local manufacture. These ceramics have long been of interest to South Carolina archaeologists, as they are found in great quantity on Lowcountry sites of the 18th century. Most scholars believe that the bulk of these wares were manufactured on plantations by enslaved AfricanAmericans. Some of the wares may be the product of itinerant Catawba Indian traders. But all agree that the precise identity of the makers, as well the manufacture and distribution networks, of these wares are poorly understood. Sites such as Willtown and Stobo's plantation, where African, Indian, and European peoples lived and worked together, present an excellent opportunity to examine these issues.

Deagan (1988:9) states that "Neither the historical record nor the archaeological record alone can serve to reconstruct ... past lifeways ..." Further, she notes (1988:10) that, "... questions that count in historical archaeology ..." are questions that can be solely addressed by historical archaeology's, "... unique, multi evidential approach ...". Orser (1984:) states that current historical archaeology has been the product of "those who view their work as history ... and those who view their work as anthropology." Historical archaeology is in a position to address questions that other fields have no or limited access to (Deagan 1988). Deagan succinctly states that, "Slavery, imperialism, class formation, cultural syncretism, the manifestation of economic inequality among classes, consumer choice behavior, and accelerated environmental degradation are a few of the related topics that can be accurately described and understood only by a historical archaeological approach ..." (Deagan 1988:9).

Within the last 20 years or so archaeological investigations of South Carolina plantations, unlike those in Virginia, have moved away from particularistic approaches toward more anthropologically oriented research (cf. Drucker and Anthony 1979; Lees 1980; Wheaten et al 1983; Orser et al 1983; Zierden et al 1986; Trinkley et al 1995; Cooper and Steen 1998). Accompanying this re-direction in research focus has been an increasing use of interdisciplinary techniques and search for pattern, often integrated into a general-systems-theory framework.

The focus on pattern recognition (South 1977) has been offered by Stanley South as "... a key to understanding culture process..." (South 1977:3). Many pattern recognition studies of southeastern United States and Caribbean plantations have demonstrated differences in the material assemblages and behaviors of elite planters and plantation workers (e.g. Otto 1975; Drucker and Anthony 1979; Singleton 1980; Moore 1981; Wheaton et al 1983; Armstrong 1983; Zierden et al 1986). As a result, inter-regional comparison and syntheses have been produced which attempted to reconstruct as well as explain the lifeways of plantation occupants and plantation organization (e.g. Wheaten et al 1983; Drucker et al 1984; Armstrong 1985; Lewis 1985; Zierden et al 1986).

The archaeological study of southern plantations began to blossom during the last 30 years. Within this realm of inquiry, African-American archaeological research has been a popular and much needed avenue of pursuit. The earliest sustained African-American archaeological research in this region began during the late 1960s and early 1970s, focusing primarily on coastal Georgia and Florida plantations (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; Fairbanks 1974; McFarlane 1975; Otto 1975, 1977, 1979). By the late 1970s and 1980s, accelerated interest in this topic had progressed dramatically, particularly within South Carolina and Georgia, incorporating both rural and urban archaeological sites (Drucker and Anthony 1979; Singleton 1980; Ferguson 1980; Mullins-Moore 1981; Wheaton et al 1983; Zierden and Calhoun 1983; Zierden 1984; Zierden et al 1986).

The first intensive archaeological investigation of a slave site in a rural South Carolina context was the salvage of the Spiers Landing site (38BK160) in Berkeley County (Drucker and Anthony 1979). Other major South Carolina investigations providing data on African-American lifestyle and settlement pattern include work at Limerick and Hampton plantations (Lees 1980; Lewis and Haskell 1980), Yaughan and Curriboo plantations (Wheaten et al 1983), Campfield plantation (Zierden and Calhoun 1983), Lesesne and Fairbanks plantations (Zierden et al 1986), Richmond Hill plantation (Michie 1990), and at Broom Hall plantation (Trinkley et al 1995), among others.

While African-American cultural patterns during the early historic period can be elusive, significant groundwork regarding material culture has been provided by Ferguson (1980), who presented evidence suggesting that much of what has been traditionally called "Colono-Indian" ware (Noel Hume 1962), a ceramic ware thought to have been produced by historic period Native Americans for sale to European- Americans, was likely produced and used by African-American slaves during the colonial and early antebellum periods. This view reflected the growing recognition of certain formal, decorative, and manufacturing characteristics of low-fired, unglazed earthenwares thought to have been somewhat atypical of the market wares produced by Native Americans during this period. Ferguson (1980) proposed the term Colono ware to generically classify these wares; a broadly encompassing term analogous to the term British ceramics.

Early support, in South Carolina, for Ferguson's hypothesis was provided by archaeological investigations of the slave site at Spiers Landing (Drucker and Anthony 1979; Anthony 1979) and the work at Yaughan and Curriboo plantations (Wheaten et al 1983). Colono wares at these sites comprise more than half of the total ceramic assemblages recovered and the Yaughan and Curriboo study revealed colono ware sherds with spalling marks, produced during ceramic firing, along with possible examples of unfired colono ware sherds (Wheaten et al 1983). Since these studies, other plantation sites, such as Lesesne plantation, have yielded colono wares with spalling marks as well (Anthony 1986). Ferguson's (1985) early work on the distribution of Colono ware as it relates to social structure and foodways was oriented toward a delineation of cultural differences between high and low socio-economic status colonial South Carolina populations, and to illustrating how aspects of African-American slave material culture functioned as "resistance" to a dominant planter society. More recently, Ferguson has studied Colono wares (bowl forms) marked with an "X" on their exterior or interior bases (Ferguson 1992). Originally thought to represent owner's or maker's

marks, Ferguson (1992) suggests that the marks are associated with African rooted belief systems, specifically Bakongo religious practices. No Colono ware vessels from Stobo plantation exhibit such marks, however a Colono ware marble marked with a "X" was recovered. Ferguson' current research regarding Colono wares suggests that some vessels were used in medicinal practices.

Colono ware research has traditionally focused on:
1. spatial and temporal distribution;
2. diachronic patterns of function;
3. temporal context of variation, including ceramic vessels and non-vessel items; and on
4. the ethnic affiliation of the producers of Colono ware.

Early studies of Colono ware were based on comparison between Colono ware vessel forms and West African forms; these results infer the possibility of similar foodways between African-American slaves and their West African ancestors and contemporaries during the colonial period (Ferguson 1985). Along similar lines, several researchers have noted similarities between vessel forms from British colonial plantations in the West Indies and the southeastern United States (Matthewson 1973; Ebanks 1974; Gartley 1979; Henry 1980; Wheaten et al 1983, Crane 199). Many believe that continued progress on determining the origins and cultural affiliation of Colono ware and its manufacture will require a sustained, inter-continental effort of archaeological and ethnological research, minimally involving West Africa, the West Indies, and the Americas, focusing on both African slave sites and historic Native American sites.

However, Cooper and Steen (1998), in advocating the primacy of intra-regional Colono ware research, have cogently presented pitfalls associated with such broad scaled study. This stance recognizes Colono ware variability and diversity and should be applied when investigating all forms of material culture encountered from plantation contexts (cf. Anthony 1989). Cooper and Steen (1998:1) warn that many of the "macro scale" or inter-regional studies have "... removed Colonoware from its context of manufacture and use". In other words, empirical data gleaned from large scale studies of Colono ware have been used to investigate local assemblages, an exercise which often did not appreciate notable intra-regional variability A method such as this, decontextualizing Colono ware, will obscure sought after cultural meaning available primarily through the study of more localized operative cultural processes reflected in this low fired earthenware.

In South Carolina much of the investiagation of Colono ware has focused on integrating its functional and expressive social elements with analyses of socio-economic status and spatial distribution within rural contexts (Drucker and Anthony 1979; Wheaten et al 1983; Ferguson 1985, 1992). Often past investigations of Colono ware have been concerned with a search for ethnicity, an effort to correlate particular named working categories of Colono ware with particular socio-economic groups. Often the initial impetus for these lines of inquiry was the need to determine basic site function at the many undocumented historic sites encountered.

Colono ware variation from site to site as well as within the confines of a single site can be pronounced, and challenging to study. As noted by several researchers, variability can be readily

observed morphologically in surface treatment, paste characteristics, vessel form, and method of manufacture (Anthony 1979, 1986; Wheaton et al 1983; Trinkley et al 1995). To facilitate the study of South Carolina Colono ware, while recognizing variation, several type-variety descriptions have been offered (cf. Anthony 1986; Wheaton et al 1983; Ferguson 1985; Garrow and Wheaten 1989). Descriptive analysis continues to provide the basis upon which material culture, including Colono ware, is integrated into reconstructive models of plantation lifeways.

During the present study, Colono ware from Stobo plantation was classified into two described varieties, Yaughan and Lesesne Lustered, as well as into a third unnamed grouping, likely associated with historic period Native Americans, (Anthony 1986; Ferguson 1985,1989; Garrow 1985; Garrow and Wheaten 1989). Another working classification, Lesesne Smoothed, initially used during the study of Lesesne and Fairbank plantations (Anthony 1986) is believed to be no longer useful, based on subsequent observations. Another Colono ware variety, described in the literature, termed River Burnished (Ferguson 1985), was not observed at Stobo plantation.

River Burnished is a *well fired*, well burnished colono ware usually with a micaceous paste. Characterized by *thin* vessel walls, ranging from 3-7 mm (an average thickness of 5 mm), River Burnished dates from the late 18th century to the early 19th century (Ferguson 1985). Although generally sharing some of the morphological attributes of other varieties of Colono ware, this variety of Colono ware is most easily distinguished by its relatively hard, well fired, non-laminar paste, often micaceous with fine sand, and relatively thin vessel walls. At times, these vessels exhibit painted designs most frequently in black or a "day glo" red. Designs observed include dots, lines, and floral motifs. Vessel shapes include straight sided flat bottomed unrestricted bowls and relatively straight necked globular jars (Ferguson 1985; Anthony 1986). Jar forms may be characterized by lug or strap handles attached via plugs which were inserted into holes in vessel walls and smoothed on the inside (Ferguson 1985; Trinkley et al 1995). Several River Burnished vessels have been observed whose vessel forms mimic that of some European made vessels. Additionally, some of the vessels appear to have been intentionally reduced producing a black finish (Ferguson 1985). Several researchers attribute their manufacture to Native American population(s) collectively known as the Catawba since the late 18th century.

Yaughan ceramics are found most frequently in association with African-American slave residences and are thought by many researchers to have been made and used by enslaved African-Americans. Vessel forms dominating Yaughan assemblages include convex sided rounded to slightly flat bottomed bowls and both large and small sized globular jars with everted rims and gently rounded bottoms. Some jars are characterized by strap or lug handles which do not appear to have been attached by plug insertion. Bowls generally far out number jars in archaeologically recovered collections. Other Yaughan vessel forms observed include chamber-pot-like vessels, bottles, cups, plates, and lidded vessels, possibly serving a function similar to a Dutch Oven. Yaughan smoking pipe fragments and gaming pieces, such as marbles, have also been recovered from 18th and early 19th century contexts. Unlike River Burnished and to a degree Lesesne Lustered, Yaughan pottery generally exhibits a readily observable low fired *laminar* paste. The laminar paste results from hand modelling vessels during their manufacture rather than using coils. Yaughan Colono ware,

characterized most frequently by a medium coarse paste with fine (1/8 to 1/4 mm) to medium (1/4 to ½ mm) sand is generally thicker walled than other Colono ware varieties. Vessel wall thickness is often not uniform, unlike other Colono ware varieties. Yaughan vessel surfaces are often crudely smoothed, although burnished or rubbed surfaces do occur. Other forms of surface treatment include punctation, incision, and possibly, in a minority of specimens, cord marking and rouletting. At times characterized by firing clouds, Yaughan ceramics are normally incompletely reduced or oxidized. Yaughan Colono ware seems to have been produced from at least the early 18th century into the mid 19th century in South Carolina.

Lesesne Lustered Colono ware lies morphologically between the River Burnished and Yaughan varieties of Colono ware (Anthony 1986). It apparently was produced from the early 18th century into the early 19th century in South Carolina. Examples of this pottery have been recovered from sealed contexts at Stono plantation, in Charleston County, dating to no later than 1725-1730 (Anthony 1995). The producers of this pottery are presently unknown, however Lesesne Lustered is more frequently found than other varieties in association with planter occupations (Anthony 1986,1995). This variety of Colono ware and possibly others were likely used routinely in planter households (Anthony 1986; Zierden et al 1986). Like other varieties of Colono ware, numerically most Lesesne Lustered vessels are bowls; both straight and convex sided with slightly rounded to almost flat bottoms. Unlike Yaughan bowls, a relatively high proportion of these examples are large with vessel orifices up to 14 inches in diameter. Frequently these bowls are characterized by a distinctive *bulbous lip*. Other Lesesne Lustered forms include both necked and neckless jars, bottles, cups, and multi-podal vessels, reminiscent of some early European forms (Anthony 1986). Vessel lid fragments have been recovered as well as vessels with loop or strap handles. Lesesne Lustered ceramics are characterized by burnished or rubbed surfaces which are often not as completely or evenly rubbed as River Burnished vessels; although they still often retain a smooth almost waxy feel to the touch. Usually exhibiting a fine to medium sandy paste, and, at times, virtually temperless, Lesesne Lustered pottery is not as well fired as River Burnished and does not exhibit a pronounced laminar paste like Yaughan pottery. Additionally, it is characterized by vessel walls that are generally thicker than most River Burnished vessels, although Lesesne Lustered wall thickness is more uniform and even than frequently observed on Yaughan vessels. Lesesne Lustered sherds can be incompletely oxidized or incompletely reduced, and sometimes oxidized.

A total of 2,818 Colono ware sherds were recovered during the present investigation of Stobo plantation representing 24% of the total historic ceramic (N = 11,648) assemblage. Of this number 693 Colono wares were not classified due to small size and/or eroded surfaces (Table 13).

TABLE 13.

Colono Ware	**#**
Yaughan	974
Lesesne Lustered	570
Historic Aboriginal	482

(*non-complicated stamped*)	
Historic Aboriginal (*complicated stamped*)	97
Residuals	693
TOTAL	**2,816**

All non-residual Colono ware sherds from Stobo plantation were analyzed (N = 2,123), first the rimsherds, then the body and basal sherds, followed by non-vessel items. Subsequent intensive analysis was confined to rimsherds. Rimsherds accounted for 18 % (n = 381) of the identifiable total. The variables considered by the Colono ware analysis were:

1. Paste: fine, medium, coarse
2. Paste Inclusions: sand, coarse sand, mica, clay, limestone, organics
3. Lip Form: rounded, flattened, beveled, folded, bulbous
4. Lip Treatment: tooled, cut, notched, nicked, impressed, incised
5. Rim Form: convex, straight, everted, inverted
6. Surface Treatment: crudely smoothed, smoothed, rubbed, incised, stamped, punctated, painted
7. Orifice Diameter: (inches)
8. Thickness: (millimeters) (measured 1-2 cm below lip)
9. Vessel Form: bowl, jar, bottle, cup, plate/saucer
10. Appendage/Special Form: strap/lug handle, lid, leg/pode, foot ring, pipe, gaming piece
11. Firing: reduced, oxidized, incompletely oxidized/reduced

Generally, the Colono ware assemblage from Stobo plantation is less diverse and variable than many other Lowcountry Colono ware assemblages (cf. Wheaten et al 1983; Anthony 1979, 1986; Trinkley et al 1995; Huddleston 1998; Cooper and Steen 1998). Additionally, the Colono ware from Stobo plantation exhibits less morphological variation and diversity internally, in other words, within the site's assemblage itself, than has been observed within other large Colono ware assemblages from South Carolina. More specifically, Colono ware from the site seems to exhibit less physical variation within a defined variety. These observations are particularly evident in terms of paste characteristics, vessel shape, and secondarily, in surface treatment. One of the most variable morphological aspects of Lowcountry Colono ware concerns variability in paste characteristics (cf. Anthony 1986; Trinkley et al 1995). Examination of the Colono ware from Stobo plantation suggests that much of the perceived paste/temper variability within some Lowcountry Colono ware assemblages may be explained by the presence of previously unrecognized historic aboriginal pottery; pottery that was produced as a result of interaction with various historic Native American populations and/or pottery that was produced directly by aboriginal plantation residents.

A total of 974 Yaughan Colono ware sherds were identified from Stobo plantation representing 46% of the identifiable Colono ware from the site. Of this number, 173 Yaughan

rimsherds were observed representing 45% of the identifiable rimsherds from the present study. Like most studied Colono ware assemblages, rimsherds from bowls occur most frequently (67%). Most (79%) of these bowl forms exhibit convex sides, while 17% are somewhat straight sided and the remaining specimens are slightly everted. Based on 20 observations, Yaughan bowl orifice diameters range from 5"-13" and average 8.3 inches in diameter. Yaughan jars are represented by 38 everted rimsherds. Only 5 of this number were able to be measured for vessel orifice diameter. Their orifice diameters ranges from 5"-9", with an average diameter of 6.8 inches. Other Yaughan vessel forms observed at Stobo plantation included convex sided cups, represented by 4 rimsherds, and a probable bottle, represented by a single rimsherd. The cups average 4.7 mm thick. One Yaughan cup evidences an orifice diameter of 4 inches, another exhibits a 5 inch diameter.

range

Yaughan Colono wares from Stobo plantation exhibit the thickest vessel walls. Vessel walls were often uneven, at times, varying substantially on an individual sherd. Based on rimsherd measurments, Yaughan bowls averaged 7.3 mm thick while jar forms averaged 7.5 mm thick.

The present study reveals that most (n = 85) Yaughan lip forms (54%) are rounded while 42% are flat. The remaining rimsherds are somewhat beveled. Quite a few of these vessel lips had been quickly and incompletely tooled with a hard surfaced object such as a pebble or bone tool. A minority of lip treatments included incising, punctating, notching, and finger impressing (Figure 133).

The majority of the Yaughan Colono ware from Stobo plantation exhibit vessel surfaces which are crudely smoothed; often tactually rough to the touch. A minority are better smoothed and exhibit varying degrees of rubbing or burnishing. Burnishing on these Yaughan vessels was often incomplete and haphazard. At times, burnishing was attempted on uneven or undulating vessel surfaces. Soot can be observed on the exterior surfaces of several jar and bowl rimsherds (Figure 133).

Observation of Yaughan sherd pastes from Stobo plantation reveal that the majority (95%) of these sherds are incompletely oxidized/reduced. This is a pattern observed in other Lowcountry Colono ware assemblages. However, unlike several other site assemblages, there is very little variability regarding paste inclusions evident in the Stobo plantation Yaughan Colono ware. Virtually all of the Stobo plantation Yaughan assemblage is characterized by a medium coarse paste comprised of sub-rounded to sub-angular medium sand (1/4-1/2 mm). One of the most distinguishing characteristics of these sherds is a laminar paste. It is likely that this layered look is associated with a hand modeling manufacturing method. No coil breaks were observed on any of the Yaughan sherds from Stobo plantation.

A total of 570 Lesesne Lustered sherds were identified from Stobo plantation (Table 13). Of this number 115 or 20% were rimsherds. The vast majority of the rimsherds reflect bowls (97%) while most of the remaining rimsherds represent jars (Figure 134). Cup forms are evidenced by 2 rimsherds. Two ring base fragments were observed in this assemblage as well. All of the jar forms are characterized by everted rims. The majority of the bowls (79%) are straight sided; the remaining

bowls are slightly convex sided. Vessel orifice diameters for Stobo plantation Lesesne Lustered bowls range from 5 to 12 inches and for jars 8 to 12 inches. The average orifice diameter for bowls is 9.3 inches,10.3 for jars, and 4.5 inches for cups.

Unlike Yaughan sherds, the Lesesne Lustered sherds from Stobo plantation exhibit even and uniform wall thickness. Lesesne Lustered bowl thickness average is 6.7 mm while jar average 5.0 mm in thickness.

Stobo plantation Lesesne Lustered vessel lips are either round, flat, or bulbous. Most lips are rounded (49%), followed in frequency by flattened lips (33%) and bulbous lips (Figures 134,135). Bulbous lip forms, not occurring on Yaughan vessels, have been observed in Lesesne Lustered assemblages from other Lowcountry sites (cf. Anthony 1986). Virtually all Lesesne Lustered vessel lips from Stobo plantation were tooled by a hard object such as a pebble.

The majority of Lesesne Lustered vessel surfaces viewed in the present study exhibited well smoothed and well rubbed/burnished surfaces. Surfaces yield almost a waxy feel tactually. Vessel surfaces were carefully rubbed not exhibiting the incomplete or haphazard look characterizing some of the Yaughan sherds from this site.

Overall, Stobo plantation Lesesne Lustered ware can be somewhat lighter in color than the majority of Yaughan sherds observed. Although most of the site's Lesesne Lustered sherds are classified as incompletely oxidized, several are considered oxidized. These sherds are also better fired and somewhat harder than Yaughan pottery; although less so than River Burnished Colono ware. Little variability is evident in the paste characteristics of the site's Lesesne Lustered pottery. Most paste inclusions are fine to medium sands. At times these sherds appear virtually temperless. Addtionally, these ceramics do not exhibit a pronounced laminar paste.

A third grouping of 579 Colono ware sherds from Stobo plantation was segregated during the present study. This number includes both rimsherds and body sherds. The pottery from this grouping is believed to have been produced by historic period aboriginals and/or produced and used by those interacting with historic Native American populations. A total of 97 sherds from this grouping is characterized by complicated stamped surface decorations, both curvilinear and rectilinear (Figures 136, 137a,b,c). Stamped motifs are generally large and bold and poorly applied. Several of the motifs are reminiscent of those present within the Altamaha series (Bill Green personal communication 1999). These ceramics are relatively thin walled with an average thickness of 5.7 mm. Several body sherds exhibit soot on exterior surfaces. Interior vessel surfaces are extremely well smoothed; essentially floated and at times burnished.

Other than complicated stamped surfaces, the most striking physical characteristic of the vast majority of these ceramics is their paste which is easily discernable from other Colono ware varieties on site. The paste is non-laminar and, at times, friable, and can appear contorted. Most examples are incompletely oxidized/reduced and are generally less well fired than Lesesne Lustered or River Burnished Colono ware. Their paste contains substantial quantities of sub-angular to angular coarse

sand (1/2-1.0 mm). However, interestingly, a few (4 to 5 sherds) of these complicated stamped sherds exhibit pastes indistinguishable from Lesesne Lustered pottery found on site. Ceramics very similar to these have been observed at Stono plantation on James Island, South Carolina. On Stono plantation (38Ch851) these ceramics have been recovered from sealed contexts dating no later than 1730 (Anthony 1995).

The majority of this catagory of ceramics (n = 482) consists of sherds lacking complicated stamped decoration but characterized by the distinctive paste described above. These ceramics consist of both bowl and jar forms, whose vessel walls average in thickness, 7.0 mm and 6.6 mm respectively. Bowls occur more frequently than Jars. Vessel orifice diameters for bowls range from 9-13 inches with an average diameter of 11 inches. Jar vessel orifice diameter averages 11.5 inches (2 specimens). The majority (82%) of the bowls in this assemblage are straight sided while the remaining examples are convex sided. All jar forms exhibit everted rims. Most vessel lip forms are round and bulbous; a minority is flat. Like Lesesne Lustered bowls, a popular lip form characterizing these ceramics from Stobo plantation appears to be a readily observable bulbous lip.

While examples of all categories of Colono ware evident at Stobo plantation were recovered from the main house complex, the majority of Colono ware was found south, southeast, and east of the complex. This suggests that the primary use and discard of these ceramics took place away from the main house and likely evidences specific activity areas at some distance from the planter residence. Interestingly, higher frequencies of Yaughan ceramics occur east and southeast of the complex while Lesesne Lustered and historic aboriginal pottery were located more frequently south and to a lesser degree southeast of the main residence.

Somewhat higher frequencies of Lesesne Lustered Colono ware were found within the confines of the main house complex. These ceramics occurred in high numbers inside of and adjacent to the northernmost room of the complex, as did the Yaughan pottery found within the complex. This suggests an area associated with food preparation, serving, or perhaps storage.

Three sets of proveniences, located inside of the main house complex, provide the best temporal controls at the site. These sets include those:

1. predating James Stobo's ownership, (c. 1720-1740),
2. proveniences prior to demolition, (c. 1741-1770), and
3. proveniences which contain pearlware ceramics, (TPQ c. 1780).

Yaughan, Lesesne Lustered, and historic aboriginal ceramics were recovered from all three sets of proveniences. Within the earliest set, frequencies of all Colono ware groupings are about the same. Proveniences dating to about 1741-1770 exhibit substantially higher frequencies of Lesesne Lustered ceramics; almost double the number of Yaughan ceramics. In proveniences containing pearlware, Yaughan ceramics are twice as prevalent as both Lesesne Lustered and historic aboriginal pottery. These findings suggest that Yaughan ceramic popularity increased through time and may

tangibly evidence a degree of aboriginal cultural loss through time.

Archaeologist Kathleen Deagan states "... that it was *only* in domestic settings that the actuality of lived and learned experiences was played out for *all* members of Atlantic World Societies." (Deagan 1999:5). Colono ware from sites such as Stobo plantation is reflective of domestic settings and is capable of informing us about various syncretic processes and associated interactions between culturally different plantation occupants. The occurance, moreover, the physical similarities between historic aboriginal ceramics and other Colono ware varieties at Stobo plantation is intriguing. These ceramics offer physical evidence of historic Native American occupation and/or notable interaction between aboriginals and other plantation workers. Deagan (1999) notes that African American households incorporated aboriginal and European material elements. Futher, she states (1999) that English colonists cared to remain English and strove to exclude non-English items from their households. The physical characteristics of the Stobo plantation Colono wares support Deagan's contention by strongly suggesting notable interaction between enslaved African Americans and historic period Native Americans. A lesser degree of interaction and cultural incorporation likely occurred between the plantation owner(s) and other ethnic groups present on site during the 18th century.

Stobo plantation and other similar sites offer invaluable opportunities to explore cultural interaction and operative syncretic processes on the Carolina frontier. Further study of Colono ware assemblages will provide an avenue to document and reconstruct the processes by which and toward which low fired earthenwares - as one expression of the material culture of its makers - embodied the context and development of African American, Native American, and European American cultures in contact during the American colonial and antebellum periods.

Figure 133. Colono Ware Rimsherds and Appendages.

Figure 134. Colono Ware Bowls.

Figure 135. Colono Ware Rimsherd Profiles.

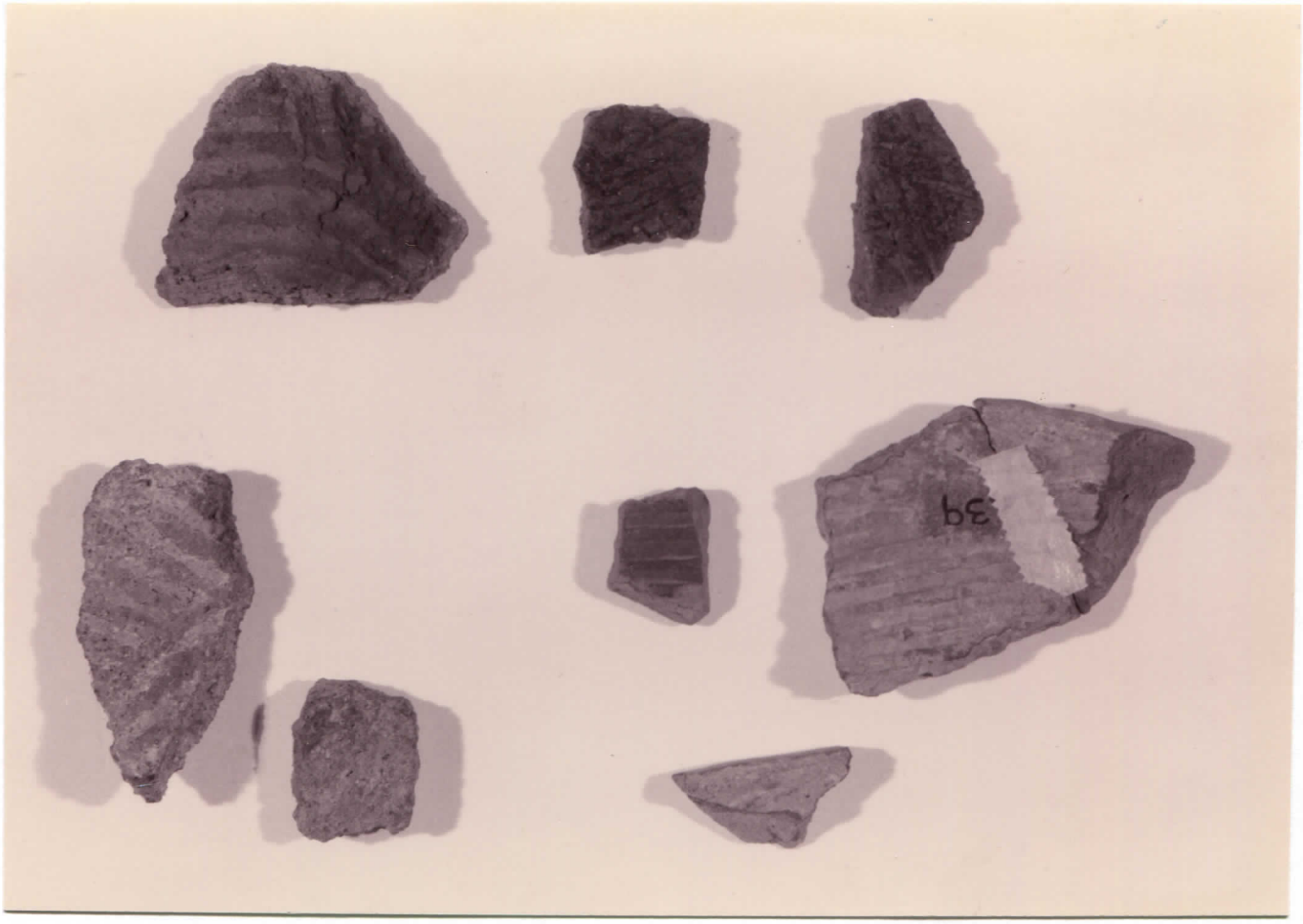


Figure 136. Historic Period Aboriginal Complicated Stamped Pottery.

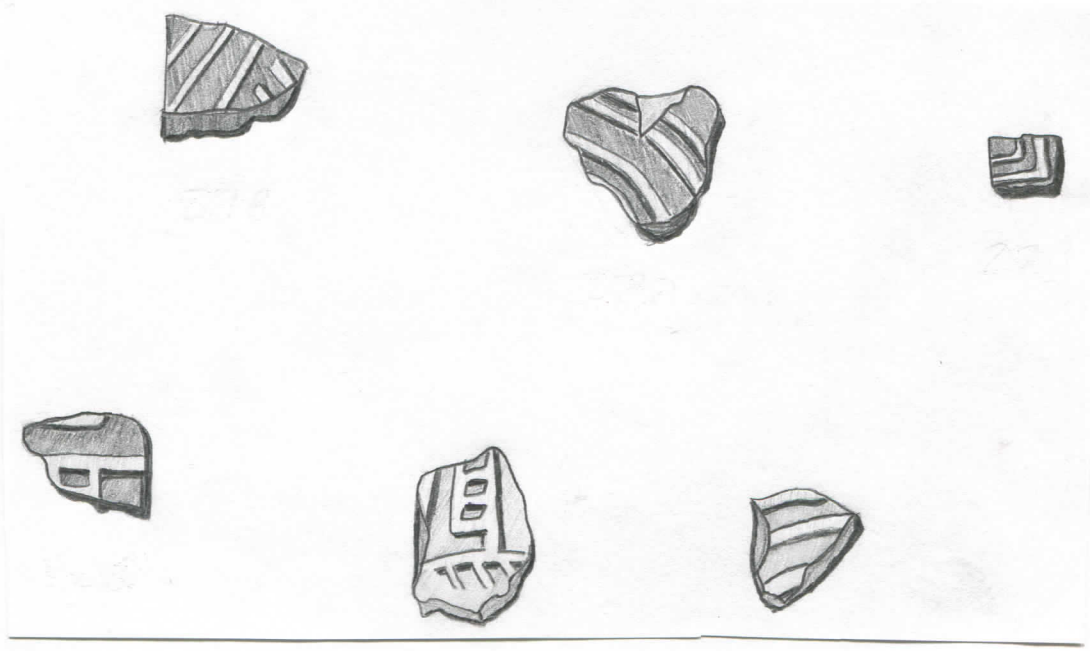


Figure 137a. Representative Sample of Complicated Stamped Motifs.

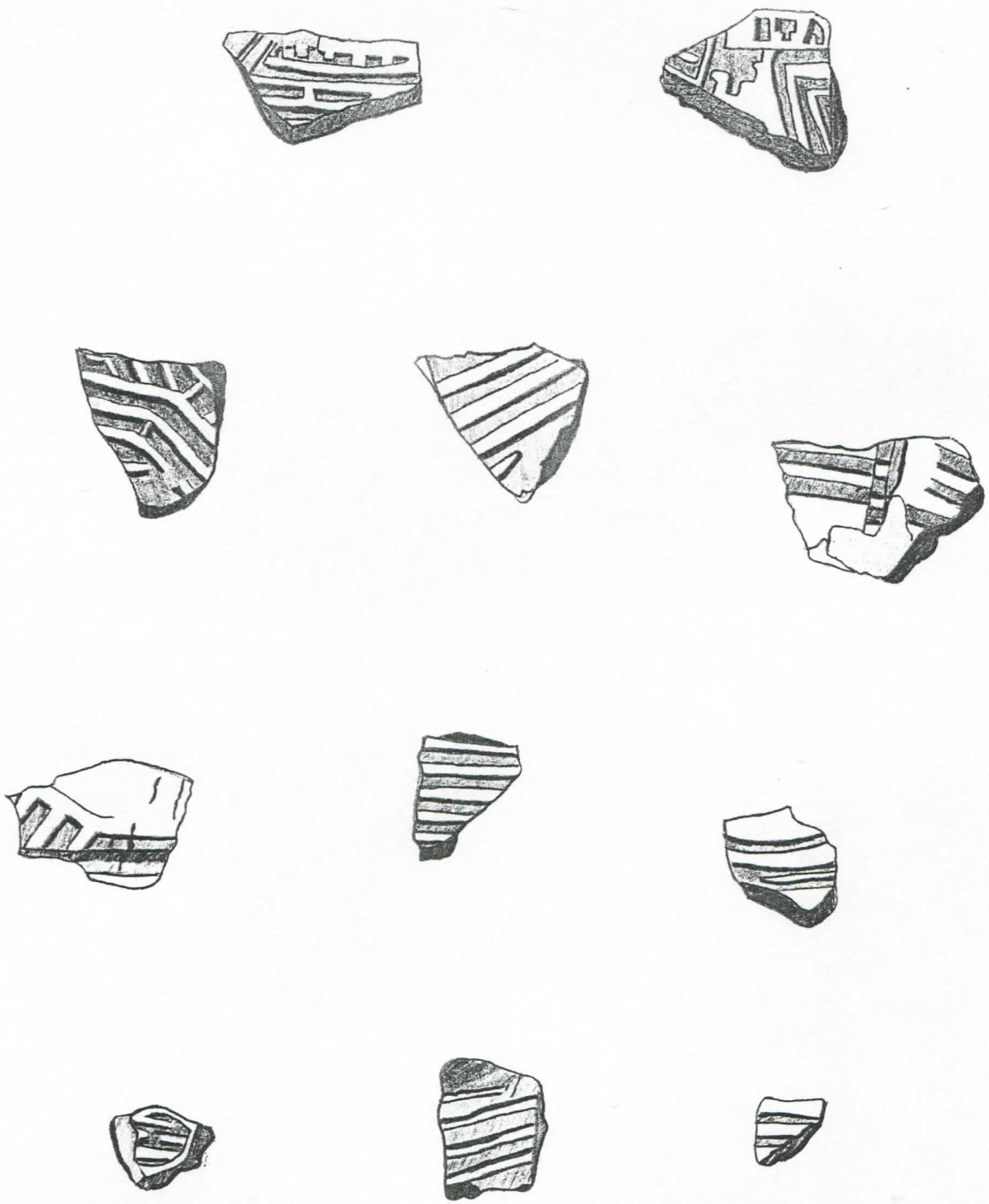


Figure 137b. Representative Sample of Complicated Stamped Motifs.

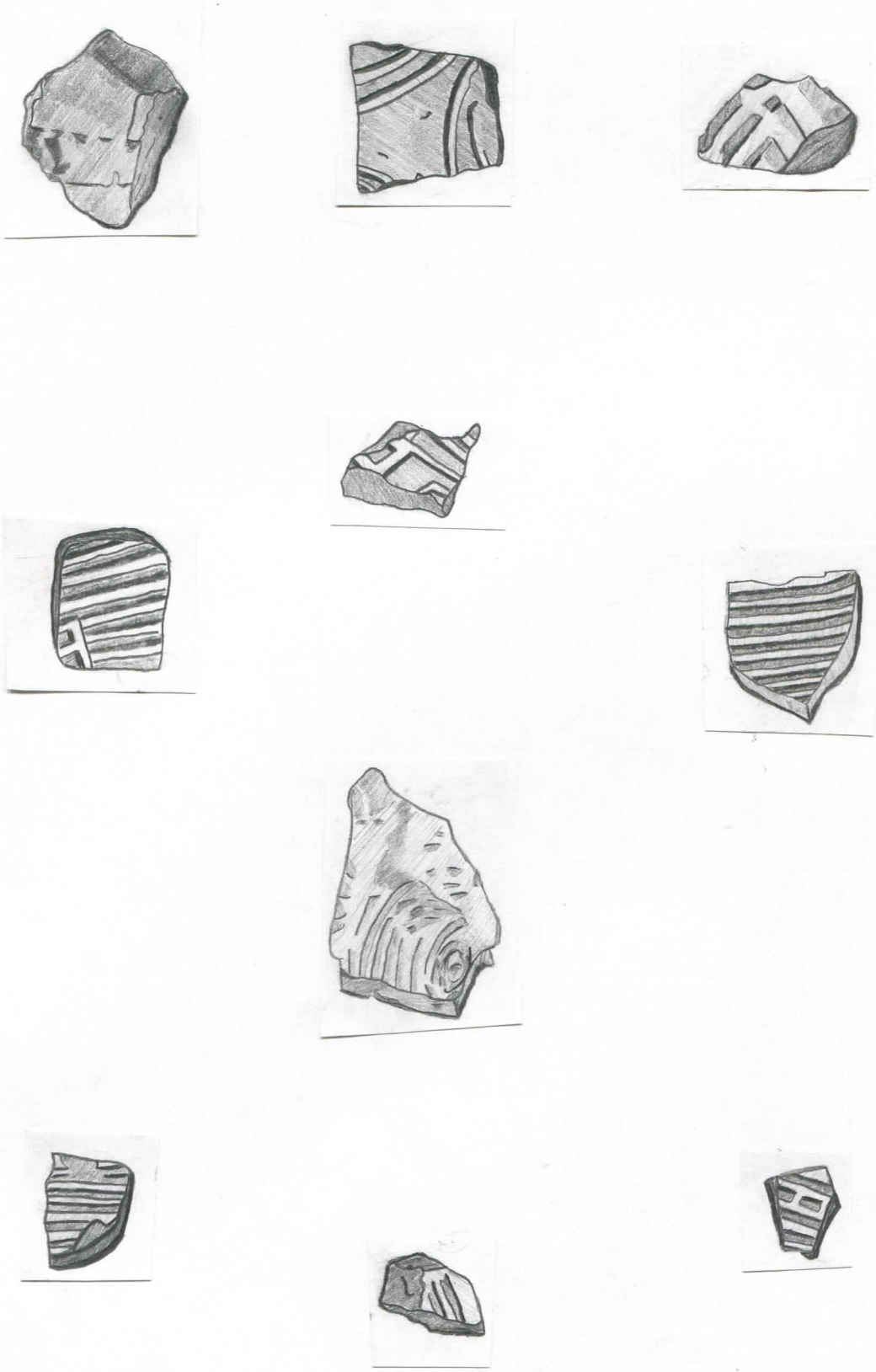


Figure 137c. Representative Sample of Complicated Stamped Motifs.

Chapter X
African American Slaves and Rice Dike Construction: A Preliminary Study at 38Ch1659

Andrew Agha

This preliminary archaeological study at 38CH1659's outlying rice dikes was conducted in order to date them and relate their construction to James Stobo, through the examination of the natural landscape and alterations to it by a labor force principally of enslaved Africans. The study consists of documentary research, and a comparison of the archaeological data from the adjoining house complex with the data found from the testing of the rice dikes. From the historic records and excavations at this site, we know that James Stobo was an inland swamp rice planter here from 1741 to 1767.

This study will also look at possible repair and/or changes to the dikes after Stobo's tenure. We know that this property was granted to John Ashe in 1710, later improved by John Smelie in 1720, and, after James Stobo's death in 1781, this land was divided among a number of people, with one tract going to a descendent of Stobo. Analysis of the fill in the dikes will shed light on changes to the natural environment after 1781.

The site 38CH1659 is situated inland from the village of Willtown. This site sits on a knoll of high land, 15 feet above sea level, and is surrounded by inland swamps to the north, east and south. A causeway road runs north/south, directly east of the site, and continues on this heading, continually sloping downward to the south. As the road runs north, it travels by a freshwater swamp; and as it runs south, the rice fields in question are bisected. Along a ridge of high land, a woods road leads up to the apex of the site from the west , and joins with the causeway road here.

Excavations began at 38CH1659 during the summer of 1997, with Martha Zierden, Ron Anthony, and the College of Charleston's field school taking part. The author was a part of the field school at the time. This crew returned in 1998 for two more seasons, one in the summer and again in the fall. From these excavations, we have discovered that James Stobo was the owner, constructor and rice planter of this plantation. A good number of architectural and personal artifacts helps to support this statement. The building foundation sits right off of the causeway road/woods road juncture, on the high knoll. Suzanne Linder continued the research on James Stobo after the 1998 summer field season yielded a rice barrel brand with Stobo's name on it. Judging from the artifacts found, Stobo was very wealthy, and he probably gained this wealth through rice and indigo farming.

African slaves became the labor force used to make rice grow as a staple crop in the Carolina lowcountry. Many scholars are moving beyond the study of manual labor to examine the influence that slaves had on the technology involved in a functioning rice field. In order to better understand how African slaves influenced Stobo's landscape, a survey of inland swamp rice plantations and how they were established was conducted first.

George Ogilvie wrote an elaborate lyric poem in 1776 about the trials and tribulations rice planting. It is called Carolina; or The Planter. There is an evocative quotation with sums up the mind state of rice planter in the Carolina Lowcounty:

> Having, with searching eye, remark'd ere while,
> Nature's wild landscape in each varying soil;
> We sing what toils these varying soils demand,
> Work of the mind, or labour of the hand (Ogilvie 1986: page?

While the planters led the "work of the mind" through planning and labor maintainence, the African slaves they specially selected would use their knowledge of cultivation and their hands to turn ordinary inland swamps into money making rice plantations.

The introduction of rice into South Carolina changed the colony, and especially the Lowcountry, into an agricultural industry center that the other colonies could not match (Porcher 1985: 9). Planters knew that rice would make them money, but a single planter would never be able to start a plantation by his hand alone. He would need slave laborers. Peter Wood has done extensive research into the African slave involvement in the lowcountry. His book *Black Majority* speaks of just that, a black majority among whites in South Carolina. He mentions that in the twenty years after rice took a permanent hold in 1695, the African percentage of the population equaled, and then surpassed the European population (Wood 1975: 36). The huge number of Africans imported speaks to the scale of this endeavor.

Although Europeans had some knowledge of diking swamp, African slaves had the knowledge of rice cultivation. Leland Ferguson talks of the "practical knowledge" that African slaves had that Europeans needed to utilize for their benefit. Slaves brought from Africa introduced many new things to the Carolina Lowcountry, such as foods, pottery and baskets, and even forms of natural medicine (Ferguson 1992: 61). However, when the economic success of the colony is considered, the most important new African introduction was the technology of rice cultivation, which allowed the Carolina Lowcountry rice planters to prosper and build the colony into an agricultural powerhouse.

Africans have been planting rice for centuries. They have been planting, it is estimated, since c. 1500 bce (Littlefield 1981: 81). There were roughly 2000 years of rice knowledge inherent in some of the African slaves that were brought to Carolina in the late

seventeenth century. Some of these slaves certainly possessed technology that they would transfer to the inland rice swamps. Europeans, in turn, brought some of the field engineering knowledge to bear.

Daniel Littlefield mentions that Africans tended to modify their agricultural practices to fit the environment, rather than alter the environment. In the Middle Niger region, dikes were constructed to keep predator fish out of their fields. Dikes of the Bamba region were used to improve the retention of water in their rice fields (Littlefield 1981: 86). A swamp had to be physically altered in order for it to become 'reclaimed land' to be farmed.

The reclaiming of the Lowcountry swamps began around the end of the 17th century (Porcher 1985: 14). David Doar, in the 1930's, wrote quite extensively about rice planting and field preparation. The first thing a planter would have to do is establish his acreage in order to set up his fields (Doar 1970: 8). A compass was probably the standard for doing this. George Ogilvie writes (Ogilvie 1986: 50):

> First, of your destin'd field the outlines mark,
> Not groping devious thro' the woodland dark;
> But let the compass to the pole-star true,
> Direct your progress, and assist your view;

After the field boundaries were set, the next step was the clearing of the trees in the swamp. This was done for the construction of a road that would run through the swamp (Doar 1970: 9). Burning the trees was also quite common. Some trees were left standing and 'girdled' to make them die. Littlefield mentions that inland planters in Africa used fire to clear their fields as well (Littlefield 1981: 89). Once the field was cleared, the breaking of ground could begin for ditches and banks, or dikes, in the way that suited the environment for maximum water control. Generally, a large dike was constructed near the lower end of the swamp to protect the fields from salt water intrusion (Porcher 1985: 14). Then, the dikes to separate areas inside the fields were established. Doar talks about how "the plantation was divided into separate fields according to the trend of the land" (Doar 1970: 14). Littlefield mentions how this was also the case in Africa (Littlefield 1981: 87). After the remaining trees and underbrush were clear-cut and burned, the ground would be ready for planting (Porcher 1985: 14).

The repairing and mending of dikes was also a big part of field management. Due to the lack of documentary information on this, the archaeological testing done on the dikes better addresses this topic. Most writing on dike repair involves tidal-marsh dikes, which are of a different nature than inland swamp dikes. A letter to the Agricultural Society of South Carolina, printed in the July 1842 edition of The *Southern Agriculturalist* mentions how General Thomas Pinckney called the aid of a certain dutchman to help him with his rice fields. Through the long description of dike building and preparation, the letter mentions a certain way of repairing dike breaks. First, large tree sized posts were driven into the ground

in front of the wounded dike. After this, a wooden frame would be constructed in conjunction with these posts in order to contain the dike break. This would allow the fill dirt in the mend to sit long enough to become strong again (Pinckney 1986: 347-352). Because Pinckney's dilemma happened in a tidal-marsh setting, it is unknown if this technique was used to mend inland dikes as well.

Archaeological Research

The archaeological testing of the rice fields at 38CH1659 consisted of 25 shovel tests, in and near some of the dikes south of the site. All distances were based from the datum (N200E200). At 200 feet south of the datum, there lies a long dike which runs east/west, with the causeway road running through it (figure 138). This dike was named Dike #1, and was tested first. This dike is on the magnetic East/West heading, and both sides were tested. The testing was at 20 ft. intervals, except where different distances seemed fit. Instead of just testing the middle of the dike, we tested to the immediate north and south of them as well, to examine washdown deposited from erosion. At roughly 200 feet east along Dike #1, the landform of the high knoll and dike merge, so that the landform continues, replacing the function of the dike. At another rough 60 feet from this event, the landform begins to curve to the northeast 50 degrees East of North. Fifty feet from this event, out Dike #2 runs due south off of the landform.

The hypothesis which concerns the dating of the dikes to James Stobo's tenure at 38CH1659, was tested with the ceramics and artifacts found in the fill. When a dike was to be constructed, a borrow trench was dug, with the soil from it being deposited immediately next to it for the construction of the dike. If there were artifacts present in this turned up fill, they would show dates that would predate Stobo, if he were the builder of the dike. We know that John Smelie was the land owner at 38CH1659 before Stobo. The excavations of Stobo's manor house uncovered early brick rubble deposits that predated Stobo's deposits. Shovel tests #1-A and #2-A were installed 20-25 feet north of Dike #1-E. In these tests were the presence of brick rubble and a purple decorated Westerwald sherd which predates 1730. Dike #1-E produced brick rubble and a Fulham Brown salt glazed stoneware (1730's). When viewing Dike #1-E, one can see the trench dug immediately north of the dike. The act of digging the trench redeposits Smelie's remains into the dike. From these findings, the author has concluded that because brick rubble and ceramics that date to around (and prior to) 1730 were found in Dike #1-E, and also in the land just 20 feet north of the dike, it is highly likely that James Stobo constructed these dikes when he founded his homestead in 1741 (figure 139).

Besides the archaeology, other research helps to associate Stobo to the dike construction. The inventory of James Stobo's estate, taken of March 12, 1781, lists a number of significant instruments that he probably used to aid in the rice field construction. Among this list are a number of compasses, a theodolite, and a surveyors chain and tripod. All of the dikes that outlie this rice plantation were built according to the cardinal directions. Dikes

#1, 3 and 4 are on west/east headings, and Dike #2 is on due south.

Artifacts recovered in Dike 1-W suggest repair. An intact olive green bottle base, dating to 1783, and Pearlware make this dike seem to be much later than the dike just 20 feet away to the east. Also, Southern Europeanware was found in this dike. No Southern European ware was present in the 1710-1740 proveniences from 38CH1659 (Stobo's manor house); Stobo's occupancy proveniences, from 1740-1770, shows only two sherds; and the abandonment of the estate, 1770-1820, shows 14 sherds, suggesting the ware was associated with later occupants. If James Stobo built these dikes, why is the fill in the west so much later? We know from existing plats that Stobo's land was divided among various people, and even changed hands again in a decade. This raises the question as to why anyone would want repair of fix these dikes as late as 1793. By 1780, inland rice farming was less popular and less lucrative than tidal rice. It did continue for many years, but on a limited basis, secondary to tidal rice.

Interpretations

So why would someone want to farm inland twenty years after the shift to tidal production? Leland Ferguson and David Babson did extensive research on rice plantations on the East branch of the Cooper River. They noted that Limerick plantation was using its inland swamp fields and tidal rice fields simultaneously, without losing profit from the labor distribution. A plat made by Elias Ball of this plantation in 1797 shows that the inland fields were active (Babson and Ferguson n.d.: 21-24). It is very possible that one of these later land owners could have made money from the rice fields at 38CH1659, even well into the 19th century. Suzanne Linder suggests that inland rice planting continued in some manner until the Civil War.

This study suggests that for one reason or another, the land owners after Stobo may have chosen to utilize only one half of the land for further planting (this being the west half). There is evidence for continued occupation of the site through this period, despite the abandonment of Stobo's house in the 1760's. The presence of Pearlware and the Southern Europeanware point to this later occupation. The real answers may lie in Site #1, roughly 1500 feet down woods road to the West. From the survey done at this site, it seems that the homestead here was abandoned in the end of the 1770's. It is possible that the residents of this site moved into the Stobo home next, and then possibly began rice farming. The archaeological testing of these rice dikes is work in progress, and more work would be productive, both here and at other sites. Extensive efforts to locate comparative archaeological data were unsuccessful.

This study has supported many points. Africans knew how to make rice work as a staple crop. They also knew how to adapt the crop to the Lowcountry environment. Judith Carney (1999) explained that the English and Dutch diked their land for farming, but these

crops were rain fed grains, not crops grown in standing water, like the rice of Africa. The African rice fields utilized dikes of their own. Surely the English commissioned slave labor to build the fields for them, and the fields were engineered by the English planters, however, the African knowledge of rice as a working crop was the key to the rice culture of the Lowcountry.

David Doar's (1930) description of how an inland rice field was constructed is just a general one. Stobo's fields resemble Doar's description, but other plantations may not. It would be worth the effort to examine field layout among many inland swamp plantations in the Lowcountry and surrounding areas to see how a particular landscape may or may not have affected the field layout and design.

The Pinckney article (1986) discusses the dike break method of wood frame reinforcement. The article mentions that the Dutchman made improvements on already existing ideas and practices. If this is the case, and inland swamp planting came before tidal marsh planting in Carolina, then perhaps this technique of dike repair existed in inland swamps also. With more fieldwork, these postholes for the frames could be found. Another goal for further archaeological study would be to search for the very temporary homes that the slaves constructed in the fields themselves, which were used while the field was being constructed. It may be worthwhile to date other plantation tenures to dike construction, as was done with Stobo's tenure. Determining construction periods may help to relate rice growing to status of the plantation owner, and to years of high yield for the plantation. These studies may reveal common trends that planters and Africans looked for in landforms utilized for their rice endeavors.

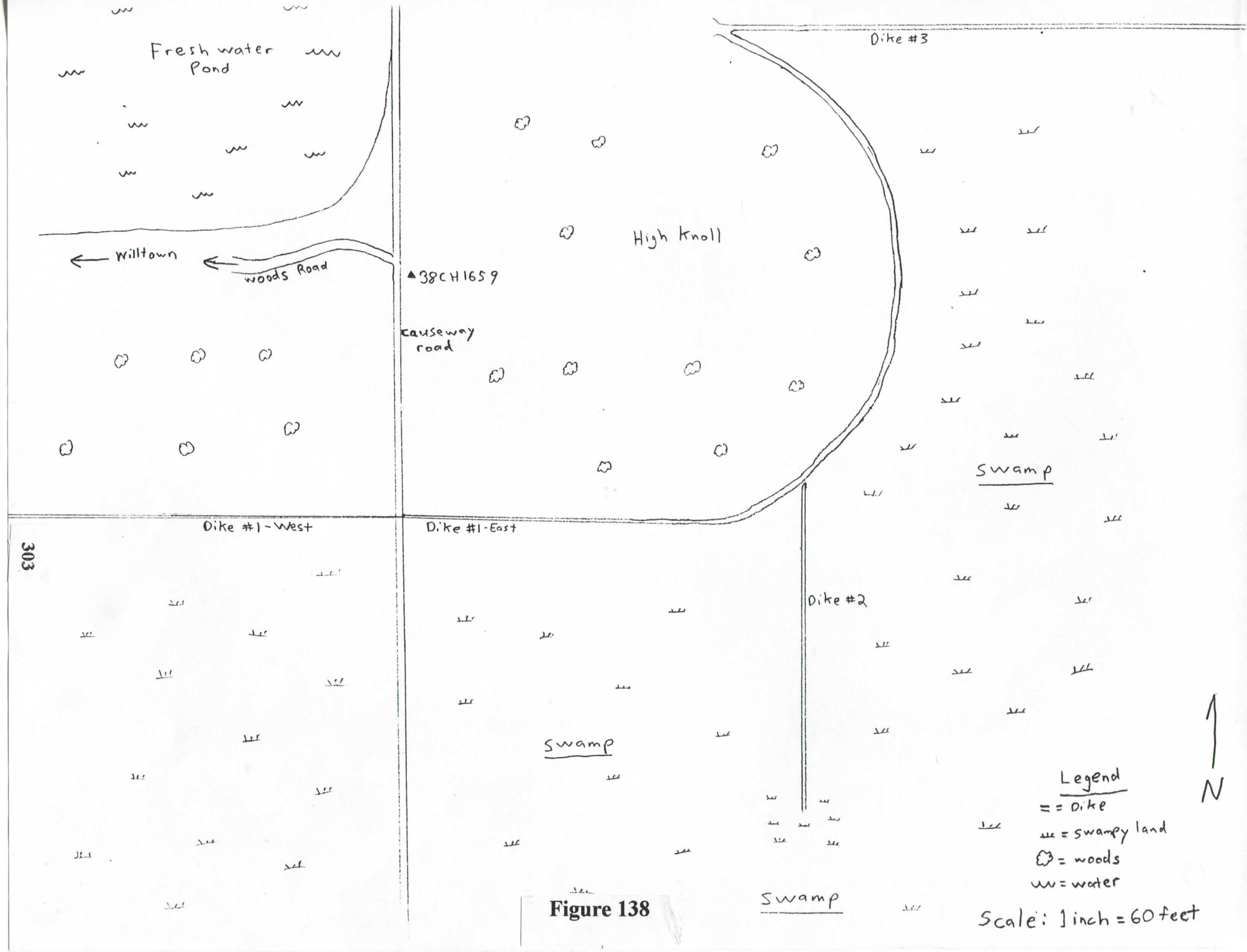

Fresh water Pond
Dike #3
Willtown
Woods Road
38CH1659
High Knoll
causeway road
swamp
Dike #1-West
Dike #1-East
303
Dike #2
swamp
swamp
Legend
= = Dike
= swampy land
= woods
= water
N
Scale: 1 inch = 60 feet

Figure 138

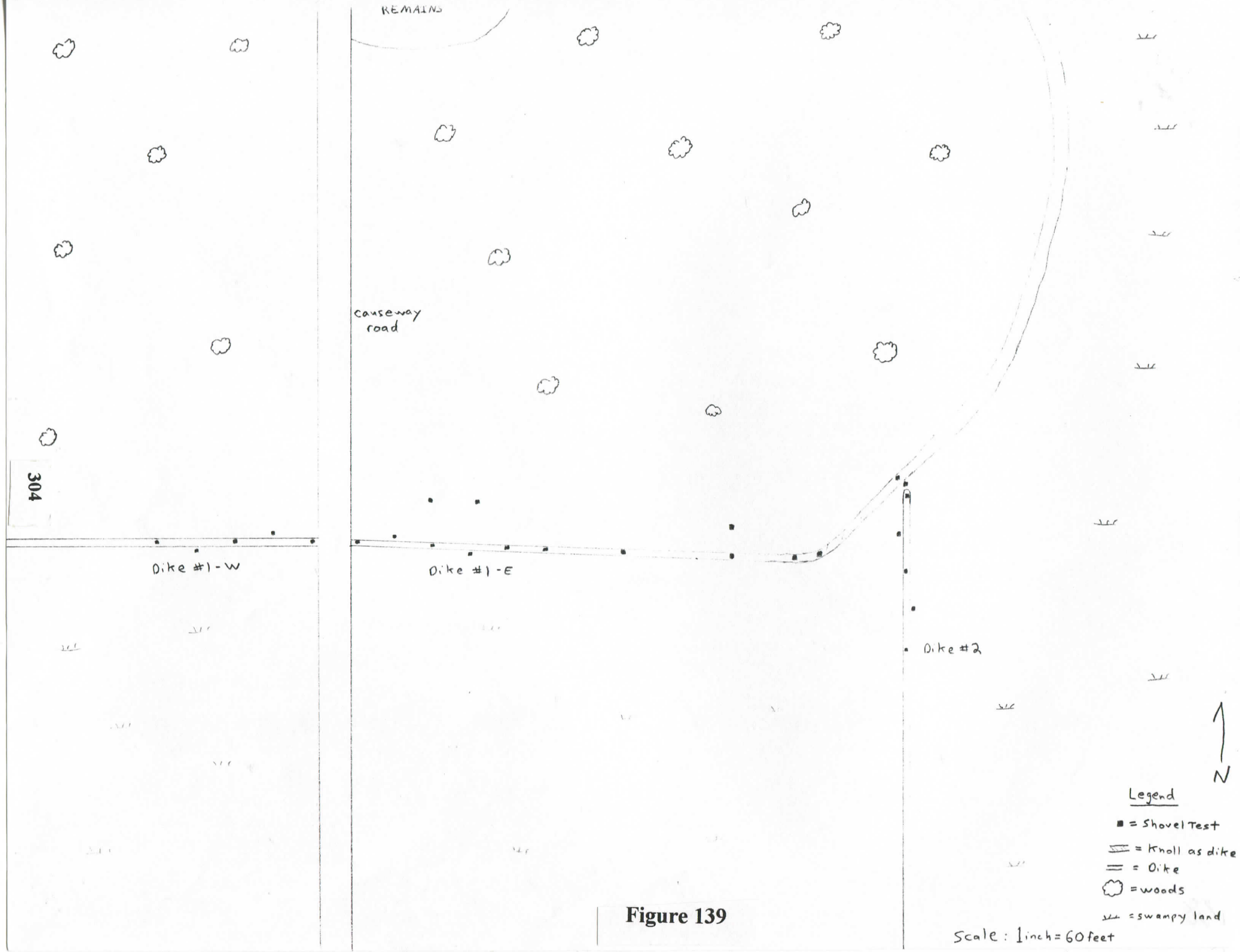

REMAINS
causeway road
304
Dike #1-W
Dike #1-E
Dike #2
N
Legend
■ = Shovel Test
= Knoll as dike
= Dike
= woods
= swampy land
Scale: 1 inch = 60 feet

Figure 139

Shovel Test-positive	Dike	Artifacts Recovered	Brick and M
1	#1 west	none	159 gms.
2	#1 west	none	119.5 gms.
3	#1 west	none	16.5 gms.
4	#1 west	1-Southern Eruopean ware, 1-, PW, 1-olive green glass	500 gms. (o
5	#1 west	2-white sgs, 1-porcelain, b/w 1-colonoware residual, 4-olive green bottle shards 1-olive green bottle base, c.1783	188 gms.
1	#1 east	2-colonoware, 4-window glass 1-olive green glass	2 gms.
2	#1 east	1-window glass	61 gms.
3	#1 east		16 gms.
4	#1 east	1-colonoware	
5	#1 east	1-Fulham brown sgs, 1-Colonoware	23 gms.
6	#1 east	1-window glass, 2-nails(unident.)	131 gms
7	#1 east	1-olive green glass, 1-unident. iron	
8	#1 east	1-possible metal slag	1 gm.
2	#2	7-iron concretions	8 gms.
3	#2	trace charcoal	
1	A	1-Westerwald (purple), 1-olive green glass, 1-window glass	13.5 gms.
2	A		7 gms.

Table 14

Chapter XI
Animal Use on the Eighteenth Century Frontier: Stobo Plantation, South Carolina

Jennifer J. Z. Webber and Elizabeth J. Reitz
Georgia Museum of Natural History

Introduction

Colonized areas consist of a gradient of settlements that decrease in size as the uncolonized area is approached (Lewis 1998). As frontiers are broached, this gradient shifts outward and previously settled areas become more urban. Therefore, the settlement of a frontier has the added function of moving the gradient of "civilization" outward; a frontier settlement is an attempt to replicate its source culture. This gradient of civilization also ties the settlements together economically.

Because communication and travel were serious obstacles on the Carolina frontier, frontier towns had an internal economy. These towns were dependent on continual immigration until external markets were established (Lewis 1998). This economic isolation led to greater utilization of the resources available without travel or trade, such as local wild animals. However, external markets were eventually necessary in order for the settlements to grow. Through a series of economic connections frontier farms became linked to international markets. However, it was primary ties to a more self-sustaining urban economy that made a frontier settlement an economically viable situation. The evolution of this economic relationship should be evident in the associated frontier faunal assemblages.

In recent years site location (i.e. urban, rural, frontier) has been explored as a variable in subsistence behavior. In particular, subsistence strategies in urban settings appear to be different from those in rural ones. Socioeconomic status and ethnicity have been studied through analyses of faunal remains from both rural and urban sites. At rural sites, there appear to be some differences in animal use based on status and ethnicity (Otto 1975); however, similar distinctions were not found in studies of urban faunal materials (Reitz 1987).

Urban sites have traditionally posed a dilemma for archaeologists investigating subsistence practices. Many mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century urban sites were occupied by both residential and commercial structures. Domestic and commercial activity might occur in the same building. In addition, people of different economic and ethnic affiliations might occupy the same lot: for example, residential lots occupied by a merchant as well as slaves. In spite of these problems, Reitz (1986) combined the data for faunal materials recovered from sites in Charleston and Savannah occupied from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries by middle class to blue collar

residents. Through the comparison of these data to those from rural plantations of the same time period and region, she was able to identify differences between urban and rural samples. Site location (urban v. rural) was suggested as a possible factor responsible for the apparent differences.

Subsistence behavior of urban residents may be differentiated from their rural counterparts in a number of ways. Analyses of vertebrate faunal materials indicate differences in reliance upon domestic mammals between urban and rural households. Typically, urban residents not only utilized a greater number of domestic mammals but also a greater variety of domestic species than did rural households.

In urban and rural deposits, cattle were more abundant than swine, while both species were far more frequent than goats and sheep. The dominance of cows over pigs in the archaeological assemblage has been a puzzle for archaeologists since it runs counter to documentary evidence (Hilliard 1972). This pattern may actually reflect techniques of marketing and processing hogs rather than dietary choice or availability (Honerkamp et al. 1982). Nevertheless, cattle are the dominant domestic species archaeologically in both urban and rural faunal assemblages.

An additional characteristic of urban subsistence behavior is the frequent use of domestic birds, primarily chickens (Reitz 1986). Although wild birds are identified in urban deposits, a less diverse range of wild species are present in these samples compared to rural ones. Urban sites contain primarily Canada goose and turkey remains.

Faunal samples from urban sites typically include fewer wild animals than rural ones, both in actual number of individuals and in the number of different species utilized. Deer are emphasized over other wild mammals in both urban and rural sites. Opossum, rabbit, and squirrel are additional wild species frequently encountered in samples recovered from urban sites. Aquatic reptiles (turtles and alligators) apparently were utilized less frequently by urban residents than their rural counterparts. Utilization of fish by coastal urban populations is surprisingly low. The proximity of Charleston and Savannah to the ocean would seem to encourage consumption of fish. By contrast, use of all wild resources, but particularly fish, is very high at rural sites.

Commensal species (rats, mice, cats, horses, frog/toads, and snakes) are more common in the fauna recovered from urban sites than rural ones. The alteration of the landscape for human habitation and purposes can provide sources of food and shelter for these species. As human occupation becomes more intrusive and expansive, the opportunities increase for commensal species.

The above summary is based on animal remains from sites occupied between the middle 1700s and the middle 1800s. By this time, substantial alterations in the environment had already occurred and these are reflected in the animal remains found at these relatively late sites. Not even the rural sites that formed the basis for the comparison reviewed above could be described as "on the frontier." In many of these rural settings, the environment had been subject to European and African modification for over a hundred years by the time many of these rural plantations were established. Further, most of the rural sites were large plantations located on or near sea islands and produced agricultural crops for export. Estuarine resources were abundant in the natural setting and were

probably not directly impacted by the construction of dikes and other facilities needed to raise rice, cotton, and indigo.

Frontier sites such as Stobo Plantation present an interesting problem. Frontier residents were attempting to balance their desire to replicate the urban society from which many of them came against the costs of sustaining a subsistence strategy in a frontier environment (Faulkner 1998; Lewis 1998). This can create contradictions in the resultant archaeological assemblage. Both luxury goods reminiscent of urban centers and the wild foods associated with a harsh environment should be present.

A far more interesting comparison between urban and frontier could be made if we had evidence from earlier days in the colonial period when both the urban centers and the rural sites were more clearly frontier sites with developing rather than developed relationships with their environments. It is in such very early deposits that we might expect to find evidence of significant environmental change as the colonists and their animals altered the landscape from frontier to rural.

An opportunity to study an example of early colonial animal use on the frontier is provided by recent work at Stobo Plantation, near the town of Willtown. The plantation was first granted, and presumably settled, around 1710. In 1741 James Stobo acquired the plantation, built a new house, and altered the land for inland swamp rice production. He left the plantation in 1767, seemingly after a cataclysmic event. The plantation was completely abandoned sometime after 1800 for unknown reasons.

Willtown has been studied for almost 100 years. It was first reported by Henry A. M. Smith, an historian, in 1909. The first archaeology of the site was performed by Drew Ruddy and Jim Batey in the 1960s (Zierden 1998). The current research began when Mr. Hugh Lane, Sr., current owner of the property, brought the site to the attention of professional archaeologists in 1996. Archaeological and historical study of Willtown and the Stobo Plantation site began that same year. Stobo Plantation is a site on the Carolina frontier that not only has the potential to increase our knowledge of life on southeastern plantations but also to suggest some characteristics specific to sites in a frontier setting.

Methods

The Stobo Plantation site (38Ch1659) is located inland from Willtown Bluff, about 30 miles southwest of Charleston, South Carolina. It is on a rise of land approximately 15 feet above sea level surrounded on three sides (north, east, and south) by freshwater swamp. The site may have been occupied as early as 1700 and was occupied through the last quarter of the 18th century. The house was abandoned after 1800. The area excavated includes the Stobo house and courtyard, the foundations of an earlier structure, and the area immediately surrounding the house. Some materials are from areas showing signs of later demolition work and brick-robbing activities. The field work which produced the vertebrate samples reported here was conducted between 1996 - 1998 under the

direction of Martha Zierden of the Charleston Museum. A 1/4-inch mesh was used to recover materials during excavation. A list of the samples reported here, arranged by analytical unit, is attached as Appendix A. The analytical units are: the 1720-1740 period deposits associated with the first house or houses; the 1741-1770 period inside the main house and courtyard; the outside yard area, excluding early features; and the areas associated with the demolition and brick-robbing of the main house after 1780. A portion of the data incorporated into this present report was previously reported in a preliminary fashion (Weinand 1997).

Vertebrate remains were identified using standard zooarchaeological methods. All identifications of the materials reported here were made by Jennifer J. Z. Webber and Daniel C. Weinand using the comparative skeletal collection of the Zooarchaeology Laboratory, Georgia Museum of Natural History, University of Georgia. A number of primary data classes are recorded. Specimens are identified in terms of elements represented, portion recovered, and symmetry. The Number of Identified Specimens (NISP) is determined. Those specimens that cross-mended are counted as single specimens. The only exception to these procedures is the UID Vertebrate category. Specimens in this category are not counted due to their extremely fragmented condition. All specimens are weighed to provide additional information about the relative abundance of the taxa identified. Indicators for sex, age at death, and modifications are noted when observed. Measurements are recorded following the guidelines established by Angela von den Driesch (1976) and are presented in Appendix B. The Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) is estimated based on paired elements and age. A variety of mollusc and crustacean fragments are present in the samples studied, but MNI was not estimated for these. It is not known in what way these may be related to the total mollusc collection from the site.

While MNI is a standard zooarchaeological quantification method, the measure has several well-known biases. For example, MNI emphasizes small species over larger ones. This can be demonstrated in a hypothetical sample consisting of twenty rabbits and one cow. Although twenty rabbits indicate emphasis on the exploitation of rabbits, one cow could supply more meat. Further, some elements are more readily identifiable than others. The taxa represented by these elements may therefore be incorrectly perceived as more significant to the diet than animals with less distinctive elements. Pig teeth, readily identified from very small fragments, exemplify this situation. Conversely, some taxa represented by large numbers of specimens may present relatively few paired elements and hence the number of individuals for these species may be underestimated. Turtles and alligators are good examples of this last problem. MNI for these animals will usually be underestimated relative to the number of specimens. Basic to MNI is the assumption that the entire individual was utilized at the site. From ethnographic evidence, it is known that this is not always true (Perkins and Daly 1968). This is particularly the case for larger individuals, animals used for special purposes, and where food exchange is an important economic activity (Thomas 1971; White 1953).

In addition to these primary biases, MNI is also subject to secondary bias introduced by the way samples are aggregated during analysis. The aggregation of archaeological samples into analytical units (Grayson 1973) allows for a conservative estimate of MNI, while the "maximum distinction" method applied when analysis discerns discrete sample units produces a much larger

MNI. In estimating MNI for the Stobo Plantation assemblage, faunal remains are grouped into the analytical units recommended by Martha Zierden.

A slight alteration was made to the original units recommended in order to consolidate the assemblage of domestic cat (Felis domesticus) specimens. All faunal remains in FS#'s 322, 326, and 328 (including 4 domestic cat specimens) were moved from the 1720-1740 analytical unit to the Inside House, 1741 -1770 unit (total domestic cat NISP = 101). All three FS#'s are from N200 E185, the courtyard area. The cat specimens in these FS#'s appear to be from the same individuals represented in the 1741-1770 analytical unit leading to the conclusion that all elements in these FS#'s should be included in the 1741-1770 unit.

Biomass estimates attempt to compensate for some of the problems encountered with MNI. Biomass refers to the quantity of tissue which a specified taxon might have supplied. Predictions of biomass are based on the allometric principle that the proportions of body mass, skeletal mass, and skeletal dimensions change with increasing body size. This scale effect results from a need to compensate for weakness in the basic structural material, in this case bone and teeth. The relationship between body weight and skeletal weight is described by the allometric equation:

$$Y = aX^b$$

(Simpson, Roe, and Lewontin 1960:397). In this equation, X is specimen weight, Y is the biomass, b is the constant of allometry (the slope of the line), and a is the Y-intercept for a log-log plot using the method of least squares regression and the best fit line (Casteel 1978; Reitz and Cordier 1983; Reitz et al.1987; Wing and Brown 1979). Many biological phenomena show allometry described by this formula (Gould 1966, 1971) so that a given quantity of skeletal material or a specific skeletal dimension represents a predictable amount of tissue or body length due to the effects of allometric growth. Values for a and b are derived from calculations based on data at the Florida Museum of Natural History, University of Florida, and the Georgia Museum of Natural History, University of Georgia. Allometric formulae for biomass estimates are not currently available for amphibians or reptiles (including alligators) so biomass is not estimated for these groups. The allometric formulae used here are presented in Table 1.

The species identified from the Stobo Plantation site are summarized in faunal categories based on vertebrate class. This summary contrasts the percentage of various groups of taxa in the assemblage. These categories are Domestic Mammals, Domestic Birds, Deer, Other Wild Mammals, Wild Birds, Alligators and Turtles, Fishes, and Commensal Taxa. European rabbit (Oryctolagus cuniculus) is classified as a domestic mammal. Canada goose (Branta canadensis) and turkey (Meleagris gallopavo) are classified as wild birds at this time. In order to make comparisons of MNI and biomass estimates possible, the summary tables include biomass estimates only for those taxa for which MNI is estimated.

Several taxa are tentatively classified as commensal. These include: toads (Bufo spp.), true frogs (Rana spp.), spadefoot (Scaphiopus holbrookii), non-poisonous snakes (Colubridae), pit vipers (Crotalinae), common screech owl (Otus asio), perching birds (Passeriformes), sparrows

(Emberizidae), American robin (Turdus migratorius), moles (Talpidae), Eastern woodrat (Neotoma floridana), Norway rat (Rattus norvegicus), black rat (Rattus rattus), Hispid cotton rat (Sigmodon hispidus), domestic cat (Felis domesticus), and horse/donkey (Equus spp.). While commensal animals might be consumed, they are commonly found in close association with humans and their built environment. They are animals whose presence is either not encouraged or is actively discouraged. Some of these animals may have been pets and probably did not contribute to the diet.

The presence or absence of elements in an archaeological assemblage provides data on animal use such as butchering practices and transportation costs. The domestic cat and artiodactyl elements identified at Stobo Plantation are summarized into categories by body parts. The Head category includes only skull fragments, including antlers and teeth. The atlas and axis, along with other vertebrae and ribs, are placed into the Vertebra/Rib category. It is likely the Head and Vertebra/Rib categories are under-represented because of recovery and identification difficulties. Vertebrae and ribs of deer-sized animals cannot be identified as deer, pig, or caprine unless distinctive morphological features support such identifications. Usually they do not, and specimens from these elements are classified as UID Mammal because a number of non-artiodactyls fall into the size-range of these medium-sized ungulates. Forequarter includes the scapula, humerus, radius, and ulna. Carpal and metacarpal specimens are presented in the Forefoot category. The Hindfoot category includes tarsal and metatarsal specimens. The Hindquarter category includes the innominate, sacrum, femur, and tibia. Metapodiae and podiae which could not be assigned to one of the other categories, as well as sesamoids and phalanges, are assigned to the Foot category.

The elements identified for domestic cat and for artiodactyls from each analytical unit are presented visually to illustrate their number and location in a carcass. Loose teeth, tooth fragments, antler fragments, and some skull fragments are not illustrated. Although the atlas and axis fragments are accurately depicted, other cervical, thoracic, lumbar, and caudal vertebrae, and ribs are placed approximately on the illustration. The last lumbar location is used to illustrate vertebrae that could only be identified as vertebrae. Specimens identified only as sesamoids, metapodiae, podials, or phalanges are illustrated on the right hindfoot.

Relative ages of domestic cats and artiodactyls identified are estimated based on observations of the degree of epiphyseal fusion for diagnostic elements and tooth eruption data (Severinghaus 1949). When animals are young their elements are not fully formed. The area of growth along the shaft and the end of the element, the epiphysis, is not fused. When growth is complete the shaft and the epiphysis fuse. While environmental factors influence the actual age at which fusion is complete (Watson 1978), elements fuse in a regular temporal sequence (Gilbert 1973; Owens 1982: 28; Purdue 1983; Schmid 1972). During analysis, specimens are recorded as either fused or unfused and placed into one of three categories based on the age at which fusion generally occurs. Unfused elements in the early-fusing category are interpreted as evidence for juveniles; unfused elements in the middle-fusing and late-fusing categories are usually interpreted as evidence for subadults, though sometimes characteristics of the specimen may suggest a juvenile. Fused specimens in the late-fusing group provide evidence for adults. Fused specimens in the early- and middle-fusing groups are indeterminate. Clearly fusion is more informative for unfused elements which fuse early in the maturation sequence and for fused elements which complete fusion late in the maturation process than

it is for other elements. An early-fusing element which is fused could be from an animal which died immediately after fusion was complete or many years later. The ambiguity inherent in age grouping is somewhat reduced by recording each element under the oldest category possible.

The sex of animals is an important indication of animal use; however, there are few diagnostic indicators of sex. Males are indicated by the presence of spurs on the tarsometatarsus of turkeys and antlers on deer. Male turtles are indicated by a depression on the plastron to accommodate the female during mating. Females are recognized by the absence of these features. Female birds may also be identified by the presence of medullary bone (Rick 1975). Another approach is to compare measurements of identified specimens for evidence of elements which fall into a male or female range, though there rarely are sufficient numbers of measurements to reliably indicate sex.

Modifications can indicate butchering methods as well as site formation processes. Modifications are classified as burned, cut, hacked, clean cut, rodent-gnawed, carnivore-gnawed, calcined, sawed, stained, and worked. Burned specimens may result from exposure to fire when a cut of meat is roasted. Burns may also occur if specimens are burned intentionally or unintentionally after discard. While NISP for specimens identified as UID Vertebrate is not included in the species lists, burned UID Vertebrate specimens are included in the modification tables. Cuts are small incisions across the surface of specimens. These marks were probably made by knives as meat was removed before or after the meat was cooked. Cuts may also be left on specimens if attempts are made to disarticulate the carcass at joints. Some marks that appear to have been made by human tools may actually be abrasions inflicted after the specimens were discarded, but distinguishing this source of small cuts requires access to higher powered magnification than is currently available (Shipman and Rose 1983). Hack marks are evidence that some larger instrument, such as a cleaver, was used. Presumably, a cleaver, hatchet, or ax would have been employed as the carcass was being dismembered rather than after the meat was cooked. Gnawing by rodents and carnivores indicate that specimens were not immediately buried after disposal. While burial would not insure an absence of gnawing, exposure of specimens for any length of time might result in gnawing. Rodents include such animals as squirrels, mice, and rats. Carnivores include such animals as dogs and raccoons. Gnawing by carnivores and rodents would result in loss of an unknown quantity of discarded material. Kent (1981) demonstrates that some bone gnawed by carnivores such as dogs may not necessarily leave any visible sign of such gnawing and yet the specimens would quite probably be removed from their original context. Calcined bones are the result of burning at extreme temperatures and are usually indicated by blue-gray discoloration.

Sawed bone is distinguished by a relatively smooth surface marked by shallow parallel grooving. Those bones with a smooth surface but without discernable grooves were noted as clean cut. Worked specimens, such as grooved and snapped, flaked, or polished include those which show evidence of human modification for reasons probably not associated with butchery.

Specimen count, MNI, biomass, and other derived measures are subject to several common biases (Casteel 1978; Grayson 1979, 1981; Wing and Brown 1979). In general, samples of at least 200 individuals or 1400 specimens are needed for reliable interpretations. Smaller samples frequently will generate a short species list with undue emphasis on one species in relation to others. It is not

possible to determine the nature or the extent of the bias, or to correct for it, until the sample is made larger through additional work.

Specimen count, MNI, and biomass also reflect identifiability. As discussed above, elements of some animals are simply more readily identified than others and the taxa represented by these elements may appear more significant in terms of specimen count than they were in the diet. If these animals are identified largely by unpaired elements, such as scales and cranial fragments, the estimated MNI for these taxa will be low. At the same time, animals with many highly diagnostic but unpaired elements will yield a high specimen weight and biomass estimate. Hence high specimen count, low MNI, and high biomass for some animals are artifacts of analysis. This source of bias is particularly critical to interpretations of the role of turtles in the subsistence strategies reflected in the Stobo Plantation assemblage.

One method which addresses this bias by comparing variety and degree of specialization is to measure the diversity and equitability of the species identified from a site (Hardesty 1975; Wing 1973, 1976). Diversity measures the number of species used. Equitability measures the degree of dependence on the utilized resources and the effective variety of species used at the site based on the even, or uneven, use of individual species. These indices allow discussion of food habits in terms of the variety of animals used at the site (richness or diversity) and the equitability (evenness) with which species were utilized.

To measure diversity, the Shannon-Weaver Index is used. The formula for the index is:

$$H' = -p_i \log_e p_i$$

where p_i is the number of the ith species, divided by the sample size (Pielou 1966; Shannon and Weaver 1949:14). p_i is actually the evenness component since the Shannon-Weaver Index measures both how many species were used and how much each was utilized.

Equitability is calculated using the formula:

$$E = H'/H \text{ max}$$

where H' is the Diversity Index and H max is the natural log of the number of observed species (Pielou 1966; Sheldon 1969).

Interpreting the indices can be difficult. Diversity increases as both the number of species and the equitability of species abundance increases. A diversity index of 4.99 is the highest possible value. A sample with many species identified and in which the number of individuals slowly declines from most abundant to least abundant will be high in diversity. Diversity can be increased by adding a new taxon to the list, but if another individual of an already present taxon is added, diversity is decreased. A low diversity can be obtained either by having a few species or by having a low equitability, where one species is considerably more abundant than others. A low equitability value indicates that one species was more heavily used than other species in the

sample. A high equitability index, approaching 1.0, indicates an even distribution of species in the sample following a normal pattern where there are a few abundant species, a moderate number of common ones, and many rare ones.

Diversity and equitability were calculated for both MNI and biomass. In the case of MNI, estimates of individuals were taken directly from the species lists. Biomass represents a different problem because biomass was estimated for more taxonomic levels than MNI. It is considered important to calculate biomass diversity and equitability using the same taxonomic units used to calculate these values for MNI. For this reason, only those biomass estimates for taxa for which MNI was estimated were included in the biomass diversity and equitability calculations. For example, in calculating biomass diversity and equitability, biomass for Kinosternon subrubrum was used rather than biomass for Kinosternidae. This ensures that when biomass and MNI diversity results are compared, exactly the same observations are used in both cases.

Results, 1720-1740

The 1720-1740 collection is the smallest unit presented here, with only 568 identified specimens and an estimated 23 individuals from 21 taxa (Table 2). Cow (Bos taurus) dominates in terms of biomass, contributing 80 percent of the biomass among taxa for which MNI was estimated (Table 3). This large amount of biomass contributed by cow also causes a contrast in the diversity and equitability results derived from MNI and biomass. This unit has a diversity of 3.0362 and a very high equitability of 0.9973 based on MNI. However, when calculated for biomass both values drop dramatically, producing a diversity of 0.8092 and an equitability of 0.2701 (Table 4). The numbers of individuals represented are very "even", but there is a significant difference in the biomass provided by the different animals.

Cow and white-tailed deer (Odocoileus virginianus) are the only taxa represented by more than one individual. Over 25 percent of the MNI in this unit, however, comes from wild mammals. There is very little evidence for the use of fish, with only four specimens identified to fish in this assemblage, none to a taxonomic level below Class. Only three turtle species are identified, each from a different family. All of the fishes and turtles are commonly found in fresh water. Both wild and domestic birds are present. Wild birds include a single member of the duck family: a Canada goose (Branta canadensis). Also found are a few pieces of bird egg shell and some bivalve fragments. A rarely-identified taxon present in this collection is barnacle (Cthamalus sp.).

Artiodactyls contribute the largest amount of biomass to the collection. Information as to the skeletal area from which that meat comes can prove important in interpreting subsistence patterns, as can estimates of age and sex. There are few pig (Sus scrofa) remains in this assemblage (NISP = 6), and, with the exception of one metatarsal, all elements are from the Head (Table 5, Figure 1). This is probably due to the identification bias towards pig teeth. The one pig was determined to be a juvenile because of a mandible with unerupted teeth (FS# 362). All of the white-tailed deer specimens are from the Forefoot, Hindfoot, and Foot with the exception of a distal tibia fragment (Table 5, Figure 2). The two deer individuals identified were at least 26

months old at death (Table 6). Cow is represented by specimens from all skeletal portions, with some emphasis on the lower limbs (49 percent) (Table 5, Figure 3). The remains of one juvenile cow individual are present, and one individual was a non-juvenile but otherwise of indeterminate age at death (Table 7). The caprine is represented by a single tooth and is therefore of indeterminate age (Table 5).

The most common modifications present are the result of heat: 205 elements were burned and 93 calcined (Table 8). Most of these elements are identified only to UID Vertebrate. The one worked specimen (FS# 592) appears to have been grooved and snapped. There are seven sawed specimens. Most of the sawed specimens are vertebrae; six are from FS# 354. The seventh, a cow vertebra, is from FS# 296.

Results, Inside House, 1741-1770

The Inside House, 1741-1770 unit has 1,161 identified specimens, with an estimated 59 individuals representing 39 taxa (Table 9). This is the highest MNI of any of the analytical units. The majority of taxa belong to the Commensal Taxa category (Table 10). Most of the biomass is from the Domestic Mammal category. This is due to the large amount of biomass from cow (Bos taurus), 75 percent of the biomass from animals for which MNI was calculated (Table 10). This creates a strong contrast in MNI and biomass diversity and equitability. When based on MNI, the 1741-1770 collection is moderately diverse and highly equitable. When diversity and equitability are based on biomass, the 1741-1770 collection has very low values, although it has the highest biomass-derived diversity of the site (Table 4).

While beef provides the majority of the biomass for the collection, there are several artiodactyls present: five pigs (Sus scrofa), one white-tailed deer (Odocoileus virginianus), and a sheep (Ovis aries) in addition to three cows. Ten percent of the MNI is wild mammals. There are also several rodents (Neotoma floridana, Rattus norvegicus, Rattus rattus, Sigmodon hispidus) present, and three domestic cat (Felis domesticus) individuals. There are a variety of wild birds, from great blue heron (Ardea herodias) to American crow (Corvus brachyrhyncos). Four ducks are present, including two aquatic forms in addition to Canada goose (Branta canadensis). The single taxon with the highest MNI in this assemblage is chicken (Gallus gallus). The presence of unfused chicken specimens suggests that one of these was very young at death, and the presence of medullary bone means that one of the adults was a female in egg-laying condition. Several turtles are present, and one alligator. This collection contains a much higher variety of fishes than the 1720-1740 collection: four individuals from four different taxa. However, the fish NISP is low.

The highest number of specimens are from cats (NISP = 101). The three cat individuals estimated for this analytical component show a remarkable degree of completeness, including a high number of Head and Vertebra/rib elements (Table 11, Figure 4). One of the cat individuals is represented by a mandible. The tooth eruption pattern suggests the cat was no more than 5

months old when it died. The other two individuals were not juveniles when they died: one was more than 7 months old and the other more than one year old (Table 12).

Five pig individuals are estimated. Of these, one was fetal and two others were either fetal or newborn at death based on the very small, poorly ossified specimens. The other two pigs were older, with well-formed bones: one between one and 3.5 years of age, the other of indeterminate age (Table 13). There is a high proportion of head elements, but, as is normal with pig assemblages, over half of these are teeth (Table 11, Figure 5). This analytical unit contains very little deer, leading to an estimate of one individual. This deer was between 24 and 27 months of age (Table 14). All specimens are from the Foot or Hindfoot (Table 11, Figure 6). Three cow individuals are present in this collection. One of these was less than 24 months of age at death (two years), one was more than 42 months (3.5 years). The third individual was of indeterminate age (Table 15). All areas of the cow are represented, with a somewhat elevated number of Foot elements (Table 11, Figure 7). The sheep individual is represented by specimens from the Forequarter and Forefoot (Table 11, Figure 8). It was at least 36 months old at time of death (Table 16).

There are few modified bones in this analytical unit (Table 17). Burned and calcined specimens predominate. However, several other modifications are present, with 20 specimens showing cut marks and 18 instances of rodent gnawing. Eight different taxonomic categories show signs of rodent gnawing. All of the sawed specimens are from Feature 49, the courtyard area of the house (FS# 452, 504, 543).

Results, Outside Units

There are 1,638 identified specimens in this assemblage, with an estimated 32 individuals from 24 different taxa (Table 18). Domestic mammals and turtles make up the majority of the MNI (Table 19). Most of the domestic mammal MNI is pig (Sus scrofa). In contrast, the MNI for turtles is composed of seven different taxa rather than being dominated by one abundant taxon. The MNI-based diversity of 3.0326 moderate (Table 4). The biomass-based diversity and equitability values are much lower than those obtained using MNI. This is due to the predominance of cow (Bos taurus) biomass: 83 percent of the summary total. In addition to the five pig individuals, the remains of two cows and two sheep/goats (Caprinae) are present in this collection. Four wild bird species are represented and two chicken (Gallus gallus) individuals. There are seven different turtle species. The number of fish specimens recovered is low, but there are three different families of fishes represented.

There are five pig individuals estimated for this analytical unit. Three of these are indeterminate non-juveniles, the other two are juveniles, as determined by tooth eruption (Table 20). The majority (87 percent) of the pig specimens are teeth (Table 21, Figure 9). The one white-tailed deer (Odocoileus virginianus) individual is a non-juvenile of indeterminate age (Table 22). There are four elements identified as deer from disparate areas of the skeleton (Table 21, Figure 10). In contrast to the small quantity of deer elements, the two cow individuals in this unit

are represented by 115 specimens. Most of these are teeth, but the rest of the skeleton is relatively evenly represented, with the exception of Vertebra/rib pieces (Table 21, Figure 11). It is not uncommon for the Vertebra/rib category to be low, however, as fragments of these elements can be difficult to identify to species. One of the cow individuals was between 18 - 36 months at death, the other was older than 42 months (3.5 years) at death (Table 23). Very few elements are identified to sheep/goat, but there is evidence for two individuals: one was a juvenile and one was more than 15 months at death (Table 24, Figure 12).

This analytical unit contains a large number of burned and calcined specimens, most of which were identified to UID Vertebrate or UID Mammal (Table 25). There were also a number of modifications generally associated with butchery: 29 cut specimens and 15 hacked. Three cow specimens in particular show very unusual hack marks, a metacarpus and a mending radius and ulna, all from FS #131. These specimens appear to have been repeatedly and forcefully hacked in a random manner. If this was done with the purpose of butchery, it appears to have been the work of an amateur (Weinand 1997). There are also three specimens that show evidence of sawing (FS# 142, 148, 357), and one of these (FS# 142) may also have been the work of an amateur. It is a cow ilium which has been sawed through at the widest part. There is evidence of carnivore and rodent gnawing.

Results, Demolition/Features 1 and 2

This context contains the largest number of identified specimens (NISP = 1,864) and 51 individuals estimated for 39 taxa (Table 26). This is the most diverse unit based on MNI (H' = 3.5832), but is less diverse in terms of biomass (H' = 1.0329). Biomass diversity and equitability are much lower than that derived from MNI (Table 4). Equitability based on MNI (E = 0.9781) is moderate, based on biomass (E = 0.2881) it is low. In this case, 76 percent of the summary biomass comes from cow (Bos taurus) (Table 27). Most of the MNI in this unit are Commensal Taxa (27 percent).

The domestic mammals continue this trend toward evenness, with three individuals each of pig (Sus scrofa) and cow, and one each of sheep (Ovis aries) and European rabbit (Oryctolagus cuniculus). This unit has two domestic cats (Felis domesticus), which contribute to the high commensal MNI. There are also several rodents and two amphibians. This is the only unit in which snakes are present; two individuals from different families. There are several wild birds present and four chicken (Gallus gallus) individuals. This unit has an alligator (Alligator mississippiensis) element and a variety of turtles. The diamondback terrapin (Malaclemys terrapin) prefers salt marshes and brackish water to the freshwater swamps that surround the Stobo Plantation. One of the fishes present in this unit also prefers a saltwater environment: the hardhead catfish (Arius felis). This catfish is normally found in estuarine and coastal settings. However, saltwater species are occasionally encountered today near the site. This unit has the highest number of specimens identified to fish, and there are four fish individuals from as many taxa.

This is the second context with domestic cat. Of the two individuals, one was between 3.5 and 20.5 months at death and the other was older than 3.5 months at death (Table 28). All skeletal areas appear to be represented (Table 29, Figure 13), but these individuals are less complete than the cats in the 1741-1770 analytical unit. There are three pig individuals, of which one was fetal at time of death. One of the other two pigs was a subadult (less than 42 months) and the other was of indeterminate age (Table 30). Pigs can be sexed by the morphology of their canines, and in this case the canines indicate one male and one female individual. It is not possible to determine which individual was the subadult. Over half of the pig elements in this assemblage are teeth, and there are also several skull fragments represented (Table 29, Figure 14). Comparatively, the rest of the skeletal areas are sparsely represented. Both of the white-tailed deer (Odocoileus virginianus) individuals identified were subadults at the time of death: one was less than 26 months of age, the other less than 23 months (Table 31). Only 15 deer specimens are identified but portions of the entire skeleton are represented (Table 29, Figure 15). There are three cow individuals in this assemblage, all of indeterminate age (Table 32). The Head is dominated by teeth. The second most common skeletal portion is the Foot, due to the large number of phalanges identified (Table 29, Figure 16). The one sheep individual is represented by a single calcaneus, and was more than 30 months old when it died (Table 33, Figure 17).

Heat-based modifications are again the most common in this analytical unit, with 137 burned specimens and 53 calcined ones (Table 34). Several specimens show modifications associated with butchery: cuts, hacks, and sawing are all relatively common. The sawed bones are from FS# 146, 428, 434, 478, 507, and 531. Thirteen percent of the modifications are rodent gnawed specimens.

Discussion

Martha Zierden (1998) defines four themes for research at Willtown and affiliated sites. She proposes to look at site formation processes, the life cycle of colonial towns, cultural interaction on the Carolina frontier, and refinement and consumerism on the Carolina frontier. The faunal data pertaining to each of these research themes will be reviewed below.

Site Formation Processes: One of the questions most basic to archaeology is how materials come to be deposited at a site. These are site formation processes. One of the most interesting questions pertaining to site formation at Stobo Plantation involves cat. Cats were identified in the 1741-1770 and Demolition contexts.

The cats in the 1741-1770 context were highly complete. Figure 18 shows a reconstruction of a cat skeleton from the elements identified from one sample (FS# 245). This photograph is not intended to accurately portray exactly where each rib and vertebra belong, but rather to convey the completeness of the individual. Several elements articulate and it is believed that these are from a single adult individual. The other adult individual was also relatively complete, although less so than this one. This degree of skeletal completeness is highly unusual and usually indicates intentional burial or at least minimal post-mortem disturbance.

The most under-represented elements are the tail vertebrae and toes. When those elements are missing, it is often evidence of skinning. When skinning, the tail and toes are often initially left in the skin. Skinning is also usually associated with small cuts on elements of the lower leg and around the nose and ears on the discarded skeleton. However, no modifications of any kind were found on the cat specimens. Tail vertebrae and toes are among the smallest elements of the cat skeleton. The missing ribs, caudal vertebrae, and foot elements (metapodials and phalanges) could also be absent because of the 1/4-inch screen size used during excavation (Shaffer 1992; Shaffer and Sanchez 1994). In the absence of other evidence, the completeness of the skeletons in the 1741-1770 context suggests intentional burial.

One of the cats identified was a kitten. This individual's skeleton was less complete than that of the two adults. It is likely that the density of a five-month old kitten's bones would be low, resulting in poor preservation. The relative smaller size of the elements of a kitten's skeleton is another probable cause of low recovery rates for this individual.

The Demolition context not only has a high number of cats, but also has a high level of other commensal animals that could be considered vermin. This disturbed context is also the only one with snakes. It is likely that the vermin and snakes moved in after the building was abandoned and died *in situ.* It is probable that the cats are strays and that the high level of vermin attracted the cats to the site.

Fish was very uncommon at this site. Screen size often presents problem in the recovery of fish remains. Many fish elements are small enough to fall through a standard 1/4-inch screen. Considering the water-based nature of a rice plantation, it is surprising that this assemblage contains so little fish. The richness of the fish remains (12 individuals representing nine taxa) is high. However, there are very few specimens or individuals for each species. It is unlikely that this sparse assemblage is wholly due to excavation bias and poor preservation. It is also unlikely that local fish were seldom eaten.

Studies of fishing strategies among South Americans find an inverse relationship between water volume or depth and the number of fish caught (Beckerman 1994; Gragson 1992). Large lakes and rivers returned fewer fish per hour of time spent fishing than smaller waterways. In addition, fishing during the rainy season when lakes and rivers were larger and deeper was less productive than was fishing during the dry season when waters were shallow and confined.

The inhabitants of Stobo Plantation were altering the landscape to make it suitable for rice farming. This resulted in, essentially, several large, shallow ponds. This large aquatic area probably decreased the density of fish in the nearby area and perhaps changed the types of fish available. The extremely shallow nature of the water of a rice plantation can also decrease the effectiveness of fishing as a subsistence strategy. Fishes require a certain amount of aquatic volume in which to live. A shallow body of water, by its very nature, limits the size of the fish that can be present. Smaller fish represent less return for effort. The ultimate result is more time spent catching smaller fish.

On the other hand, these shallow ponds would be a favoured habitat for several varieties of turtles. This may explain why there are so many different species of turtle (24 individuals representing 8 taxa) in the assemblage. In this setting, turtles, rather than fishes, might be the cost-effective animal resource. Turtles could be captured using traps collected at the end of a working day or at other times convenient to the trapper. It may also be significant that more ducks were represented in the 1741-1770 collection than any other context.

The Life Cycle of Colonial Towns:Willtown began as a well-planned town on the Carolina frontier. Trade routes moved away from the Willtown area, however, and so plantations such as Stobo's proved to be more profitable than town life (Zierden 1998). The level of urbanism of a site is reflected in the faunal assemblage (Reitz 1986). A comparison of the Stobo Plantation faunal materials to rural and urban sites of the southeast follows. The Outside and Demolition analytical contexts will not be included in this discussion for the sake of clarity.

It might reasonably be expected that the Stobo faunal materials would be similar to those of other rural sites (Table 35). Instead, the Stobo Plantation site shows a pattern of faunal exploitation which is even more "rural" than those sites designated as such by Reitz (1986). In particular, the 1720-1740 context has a much higher percentage of individuals from the wild mammal category than any other context (Figure 19). The 1720-1740 context also has a much larger variety of wild mammals than the 1741-1770 context (Figure 20). Both Stobo Plantation analytical units show a higher emphasis on the use of wild birds than either of the later rural and urban sites. However, there is a clear shift to the use of more domestic birds by 1741-1770. In this case the domestic birds are all chicken, which indicates a simplification of diet. Both Stobo Plantation contexts have a much higher percentage of commensal taxa than either the rural or urban groupings (Figures 21, 22). There is a trend from a diet based largely on wild animal sources to one with more domestic mammals and birds. The urban sites exemplify the other end of this trend, with 48 percent of the taxa domestic in origin.

This change in use of different categories of taxa may represent the change in land use over time. During the first occupation of the site there would have been less land under cultivation and so more wild animals available. In addition, some wild animals were predators on domestic stock, particularly chickens. As the plantation became more established, it is possible that fewer wild animals, especially predatory carnivores, were present in the area. The inhabitants would also have had time to form defenses against the threats to their domestic animal population. The slight increase in caprine/sheep (Ovis aries) may also reflect a decrease in the number of predators nearby. As the environment was altered further, there would also be an increase in the disturbed habitat preferred by commensal taxa. People at rural sites of a later period placed the same emphasis on domestic mammals that the occupants of Stobo Plantation did between 1741 and 1770, but had a much larger percentage of wild mammals in their diet. The lack of birds in the rural sites was probably due to their use of estuarine fish. Urban residents relied almost exclusively on domestic taxa and fish. The lack of fishes at Stobo Plantation is unlikely to be due to the frontier nature of the site, but rather to some other variable such as alterations in the aquatic ecosystem.

Cultural Interaction: Willtown and Stobo Plantation were multiethnic communities. The colonists themselves were a diverse group, with Dissenters, Anglicans, traders, merchants, and planters (Zierden 1998). They brought with them enslaved Africans and Native Americans; neighboring free Native Americans were also present. It is reasonable to expect this diversity of ethnic backgrounds would be reflected in the subsistence activities. Yet, it does not appear to be. To the extent that fauna from sites such as the free black settlement of Fort Mose (Reitz 1994) or rural plantations (Reitz 1986) reflect African food choices, the data from Stobo Plantation clearly are not similar. They also are quite different from contemporaneous Native American assemblages (Reitz 1996). We need to know more about traditional Native American subsistence patterns in the Stobo region before discounting elements such as the high usage of turtles and some of the butchering strategies as evidence of Native American input. However, at this time there are no clear markers for cultural interaction. The diet at Stobo Plantation appears to be European-dominated with some local adaptations to the natural environment rather than the cultural one.

Refinement and Consumerism on the Carolina Frontier: Diet is often a major indication of status. The majority of the biomass for all analytical contexts was beef. This suggests that the most commonly eaten meat was beef. When a specific food appears in the diet more than any other, it tends to carry with it a connotation of normalcy. Special occasion foods are those seen less frequently. Cows were utilized evenly across age groups and contexts (Figure 23), suggesting that cows of all ages were utilized in all contexts. This may be the result of a meat "exchange" in which different households in the community take turns at butchering a cow. The meat from the cow is then shared among the participants so that there is less spoilage and waste.

However, pigs of different age groupings are distributed differently in the 1741-1770 and Outside contexts (Figure 24). Most of the pigs in the 1741-1770 context are fetal/newborn or young. The Outside context has two juvenile pigs, but also three non-juveniles. The lack of fetal pig outside may be the result of taphonomic processes due to the low density of fetal bone. The structure of the house may have protected these poorly ossified pig bones in the 1741-1770 context so that they survived. However, there is a distinct lack of non-juvenile pig individuals inside the house.

Considering the small amount of meat available from suckling pig, pork from this source was probably a higher status food than beef. In the 1741- 1770 context several newborn pigs are represented, as well as a young and an old pig. Outside there are several older pigs. Assuming that remains associated with higher status food would be inside the house rather than outside, this suggests that the younger the pig, the higher the status of the household consuming it. The large number of fetal pigs identified in this assemblage support the classification of this site as high status.

A high status household might also pride itself on a lack of vermin. A vermin-ridden household is not only unhealthy to live in but is an indication that the inhabitants of the household are incapable of controlling their environment. Control of the environment is an indication of status. The 1741-1770 and Demolition contexts have a high percentage of vermin among their

commensal taxa (Figure 25). These are the same analytical contexts that have cats. We have hypothesized that the presence of humans creating rice plantations disturbed the environment in such a way that more commensals were attracted to the settlement. The creation of hedgerows or fencelines accompanied by the accessibility of materials suitable for food or bedding attracts opportunistic species such as rodents. An increase in these taxa would make the environment not only more attractive to vermin-eating predators such as cats, but would make the cats more attractive to humans in their turn as a form of environmental control. If the cats were seen as pets, they could contribute to the status of the household; this could also explain why the effort may have been made to bury the cats.

Conclusion

This site has a very high level of commensal taxa present. Among the commensals were several cats, some of which are believed to have been buried. This may have been an attempt to control the vermin population, or may be due to some other variable. This aspect of the site would benefit from comparisons with other assemblages.

A variety of dietary observations were made. Most of the swine identified were killed as suckling pigs and did not contribute greatly to the diet. However, the heavy reliance on wild mammals and birds, especially during the earliest period of occupation, indicates the frontier nature of the site. Very little fish was used. Considering that relatively little fish was present at urban centers like Charleston and Savannah (Reitz 1986), perhaps it was a resource that was easily removed from the diet with an increase in procurement costs. It is possible that turtles took the place of fishes in the diet. The decrease in wild terrestrial animals and slight increase in fishes and aquatic ducks between the 1720-1740 and the 1741-1770 occupation appears to indicate a subtle "domestication" of the landscape and the stabilization of shallow aquatic rice cultivation areas nearby.

When studying sites in a frontier setting, the archaeologist is facing a different situation than at either a rural or urban site. The inhabitants of this particular frontier site, Stobo Plantation, ate a "European" diet with high status foods. There was no apparent influence from the other cultural groups at Stobo Plantation. This may have been an attempt to emulate the society of urban centers such as Charleston as the plantation became more established. Further study into both the Native American diet of the period and comparisons of this site with other frontier settlements would be informative.

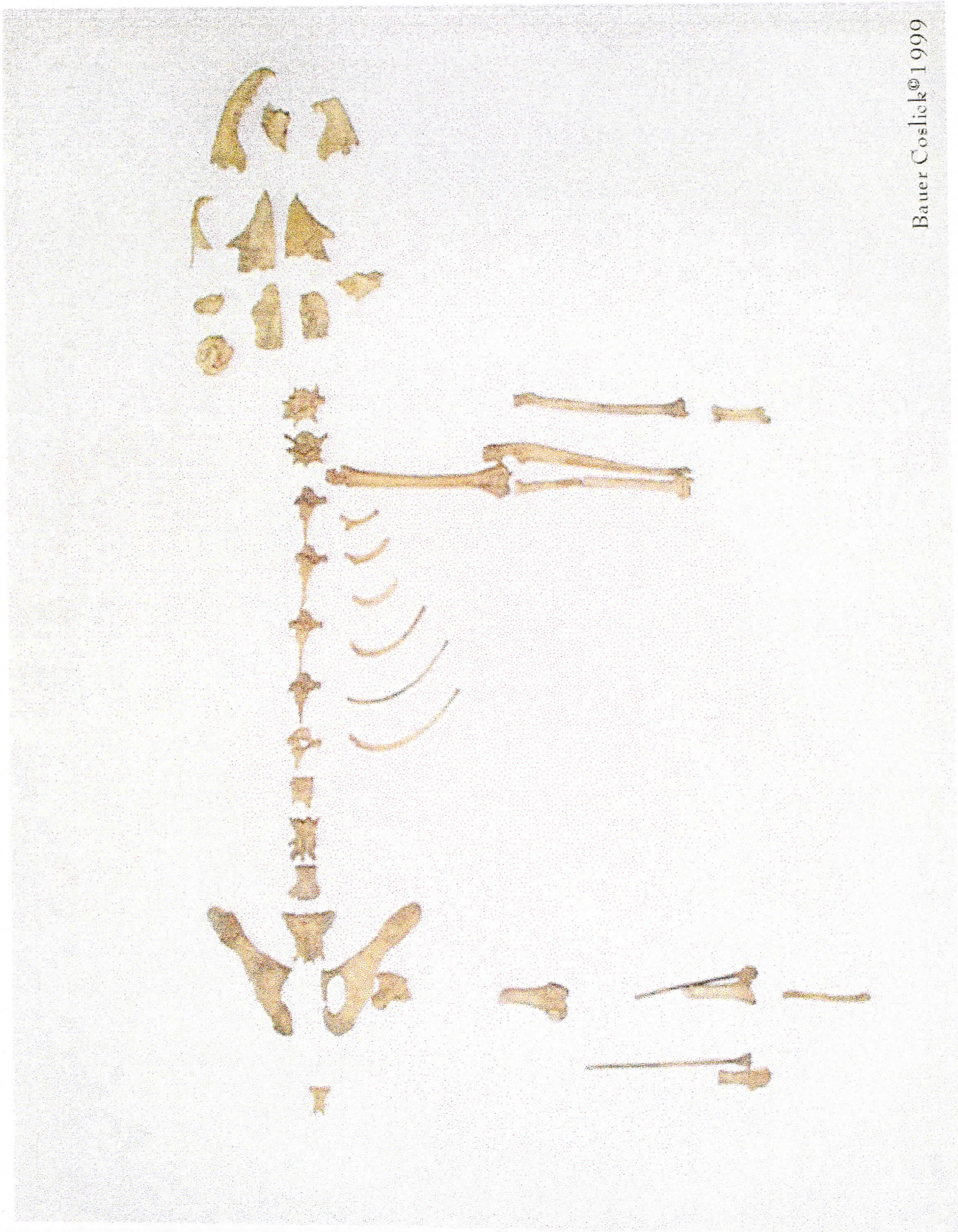


Figure 140. Stobo Plantation. Photo of domestic cat from one sample (FS# 245). Placement of vertebrae, ribs, and metapodials are approximate. Photo taken by N. Bauer Coslick.

Chapter XII

Interpretations of Life in the Willtown Community

The collective data from the many aspects of this project were used to derive interpretations specific to James Stobo's plantation and its occupants, and those generally dealing with the evolution of the Willtown community and the Carolina frontier. Because of the immediate interest in such issues, the site-specific interpretations for Stobo's plantation will be presented in detail first, subdivided into discrete, if somewhat overlapping, topics of discussion.

These site-specific interpretations will then be incorporated into the broader topics considered for Willtown as a whole. Comparative data from the many Willtown sites, as well as other frontier settlements, will be included in these discussions. The research topics move from specific to general within two broad, if overlapping, categories of data. The vast archaeological data base, in all of its myriad details, may generally be divided into two discrete categories - stratigraphy, the complex layering of discrete soil deposits, and material culture, the artifacts contained within those soil lenses. The consideration of the frontier landscape, for example, relies principally on the stratigraphic evidence, with the artifacts providing supporting data in terms of dating and function. These topics considered the "outdoors", the grounds surrounding homes and beyond. From here, discussions move "indoors" to a consideration of the material items recovered at Stobo's plantation; this discussion derives meaning in turn from the stratigraphic context of these artifacts, both singly and in groups. The discussions begin with the specific topics of site formation processes, or how the site was formed physically, and then moves to a detailed analysis of the architecture at Stobo's plantation.

From here the discussion moves to material culture, first considering the material evidence for consumerism and refinement on the frontier. From here we move to the broader issue of cultural interaction as reflected in the artifacts retrieved. The broadest topics, which proceed equally from the archaeological, architectural, documentary, and geographical data, concern community development, cultural pluralism, landscape evolution and urban development on the Carolina frontier.

Site Formation Processes

At Willtown, and elsewhere, an archaeologist's first concern is with the physical meaning of a site: what does the presence of artifacts in the ground mean, in terms of formation and alteration of the landscape? More particularly, how and why did they end up in the particular position and association in which we find them? Thorough consideration of these issues is an essential first step in the endeavor to recover past meaning. Our analysis begins, then, with a consideration of site formation processes, the physical events that form the archaeological site, and then move to issues

of redeposition, discerning and dating discrete proveniences, and determining association.

A basic question guiding archaeological analysis, though one rarely articulated, is "how did these artifacts get here?" When working with students and volunteers, and in front of the public, the question is asked repeatedly, engaging the archaeologists in a constant struggle to answer this question clearly, and without hesitation. An often unarticulated assumption prefacing most archaeological studies is that the artifacts were discarded, or otherwise deposited, by the previous site residents, principally as trash. On an isolated rural site this is a relatively safe assumption though, as we have seen in Chapter 8, not necessarily a simple issue.

Cultural materials become part of an archaeological deposit by four basic methods: discard, loss, destruction, or abandonment (Schiffer 1977). Discard, the throwing away of refuse, is the most common form of site formation. Artifacts and other debris are either broadcast on the ground surface, gradually forming zone deposits, or placed in newly dug (trash pits) or previously existing holes (such as abandoned wells, clay borrow pits, privy pits, etc.), called features. Items deposited due to loss are usually small, such as buttons, straight pins, coins, toys, etc. Abandonment includes destruction of buildings and their contents from fire or storm, or the artifacts left behind or thrown out when tenants vacate a property. In some cases, as here at the Stobo site, it is possible to distinguish proveniences (the defined archaeological boundaries of single behaviors) resulting from specific depositional processes.

Once in the ground, artifacts 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. Redistribution or removal can be done by the same site occupants who created the deposit, or these events can happen much later, by subsequent users. Under these conditions, the archaeological deposits are said to be disturbed. The most common form of site disturbance is plowing for agricultural purposes, following abandonment of a domestic site. Plowing compromises an archaeological site by displacing deposits vertically and removing any distinct soil layering or stratigraphy; this means that archaeological materials in a plowed deposit may not be used to date site occupation and use. But other forms for redistribution can take place by site occupants, when they dig a hole through previously deposited trash, or demolish their old house and recycle the bricks.

Stobo's rice plantation is a unique coastal site in that it was occupied only during the 18th century and was subject to very little post-depositional activity. Unlike almost all Lowcountry sites, including Willtown lots 41-45, the wooded site has never been plowed during the last two centuries. Shovel testing immediately revealed that the site was clearly stratified, artifacts relatively large and intact, and distinct horizontal patterning was evident. The only extensive post-occupational event appears to have been the robbing of bricks from the foundations shortly after final abandonment. This event is clearly visible and can be isolated stratigraphically. Methodological problems, then, have been an important first issue in this research; careful recording of exceptionally well preserved data has facilitated broader investigations. This special opportunity has with it a pressing obligation to clearly identify and describe the events responsible for the site's condition, and the characteristics of each of the discrete deposits.

Based on Schiffer's definitions, the Stobo site contains evidence of three processes; daily discard, abandonment, and destruction. Beginning with the most common, it is safe to say that much of the refuse encountered on site is the result of daily discard. Certainly the artifacts retrieved in the general yard midden are the result of daily discard, of trash deposited principally on the ground surface and generally shuffled about under foot traffic, before becomming part of the general midden, or zone, accumulation here. The artifacts in the yard are generally smaller than those found over the main house, again consistent with the accumulation of yard debris.

Zones 1 and 2 on top of the main house are also general accretions of soil and artifacts, though not specifically the results of human agency. Zone 2 may be the last result of traffic at the site, when the plantation was still active, but the site itself unoccupied. Zone 1, both on top of the house and across the yard, is relatively devoid of artifacts of any type, and is the gradual accumulation of soil and organic debris of an unoccupied woodland, bioturbation and root disturbance accounting for most of the few artifacts found there.

The Stobo site is an excellent case study for the difference between an artifact assemblage that is discarded versus one that is abandoned. Generally, an abandoned deposit will contain items not thrown away on a daily basis. While abandonment summons up visions of a catastrophe, one accompanied by destruction, this does not have to be the case. In Charleston, for example, many assemblages have been classified as 'abandonment' that result from an occupant vacating a site. This has parallels in modern society, where a 'big clean out' and yard sale accompanies a move: you finally throw out all those half-full jellies, pickles, spices you've been hanging onto. In such a case, abandoment is not related to destruction.

But many abandoned archaeological assemblages do accompany some form of site destruction, as was the case at Stobo. The destructive event that likely unroofed the Stobo house, accompanied by tree fall or flood, resulted in an archaeological assemblage that is different from the one in the yard. Interestingly, the relative proportions of artifact groups are similar, but the individual artifact types are different, as items were damaged beyond use, or simply left behind. So it is that we have similar proportions of clothing items, but scissors instead of straight pins and buttons. In the arms group we have swords and pikes in addition to gunflints and shot. Though small, we have several silver items. While the thimble and book clasp could have been lost at any time, the walking cane was likely destroyed. Abandonment and destruction deposits often contain a higher portion of architectural debris, and this was certainly the case here. It was for this reason that the house and yard proveniences were quantified separately.

There is evidence for another destructive event on the site, this time one of human agency. The swirled soil and artifact deposits beneath the Stobo house - Features 106, 125, 86, 87, and zones 4 and 5 are the results of razing the earlier house to build Stobo's in the same location. The highly swirled and mixed sands of these deposits - all are characterized by bands and lenses of dark organic soil and yellow sterile sand - suggest razing, leveling, and mixing, though not necessarily the addition of any 'later' artifacts to these deposits.

It is sometimes possible to isolate items, or groups of items, that were lost rather than thrown out, though this was not readily apparent at the Stobo site. Schiffer notes that the likelihood of loss varies positively with size of the artifact. In Charleston, drains often contain mostly 'lost' items - buttons from pants and shirts, children's marbles, and other toys. No discrete proveniences at Stobo were the result of loss, though the cluster of marbles in the courtyard may have been. They could have been lost here during post-destruction occupation. As they all cluster here, they may have instead been abandoned.

As we have seen the stratigraphic record at Stobo is clear. Determining the site formation processes - figuring out how the various artifacts got there - is essential to further analysis and interpretation. As will be demonstrated in the next section, considering site formation processes is an essential first step in reconstructing site history.

Architectural Evidence

Deciphering the architectural details encoded in the archaeological ruins of James Stobo's compound has been a guiding challenge through three seasons of fieldwork. Describing our present understanding of the evolution of the structure, and the broader historical events embodied in its lifecycle, lays the foundation for the broader interpretive questions to follow. In this section, every aspect of architectural evidence, the proposed stratigraphic sequence, and the posited events they represent will be discussed in detail. This will, for the sake of thoroughness, require some repetition of field data.

Throughout this project, the architectural data both excited and frustrated us. It was evident from the beginning that the site was pristine, and should be clearly interpretable. Yet the areas exposed always defied full definition. It would ultimately require complete exposure of the structure, with big "surprises" the last week of the dig, to figure it out. From the initial shovel testing, which revealed the by-now characteristic deep rubble deposit and an intact brick floor, exposure and interpretation of the structure was a guiding premise of the fieldwork. The shovel test data revealed a very high concentration of brick rubble, with well-defined limits. Computer graphing of the rubble revealed a concentration of brick and mortar rubble approximately 40 by 40, and virtually no rubble outside of this large deposit. The first season of fieldwork exposed a brick floor in running bond, in an area eventually designated Bay 1. Excavation of seven contiguous units suggested a building, or room, 10' by 14', with robbed surrounding walls. Excavation of test units in what proved to be the eastern and southern edges of Bay 2 suggested that we had inadvertently exposed the edges of a large house, and nothing of the middle. Additional tests dispersed through the yard area revealed that the projected precise limits of the brick rubble was indeed concentrated only in the suspected footprint of the house: weighed rubble in units over the house averaged 200 to 400 pounds: those units a mere 15 feet outside the walls only 5 pounds (figure 118).

The second season focused on exploration of the expected center of the house, and explored a second 'bay', known for the purposes of this document as Bay 2, at right angles to Bay 1,

measuring 15' by 20' and seemingly divided into two rooms. The southeast corner of Bay 1 and northwest corner of Bay 2 overlapped, suggesting access between the two. A curious deposit of granular tan sand, seemingly a construction layer of some sort, was discovered on the west side of this brick structure.

But these excavations still did not expose enough of the building to completely understand its layout: we still had no chimneys, for example. And the three architectural historians who examined the site or site data and photos had divergent interpretations [Willie Graham of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Bernard Herman of the University of Delware, Ritchie Garrison of Winterthur Museum, and Carter Hudgins of Historic Charleston Foundation]. At this point, Mr. Lane proposed a third field season to "finish the house". The architects were consulted, and they proposed areas for further testing; they also remained in disagreement. Bernie proposed a search for an external chimney along the east side of Bay 2 and continued exposure of the south wall, a small portion of which had been discovered intact in the last few days of the second season. Willie remained tantalized by the area to the south of Bay 1 and west of Bay 2, and the meaning behind the distribution of Feature 3 deposits. Both were correct. Excavations along the south and east exposed the rest of the intact wall, providing firm dimensions for Bay 2. A chimney foundation on the exterior east wall, splitting the two rooms, was also exposed.

Excavations on the west side revealed a larger area of the granular sand construction surface, and continuing concentrations of brick rubble. Since we knew by now that rubble was not spread across the site in random fashion, and that the presence of Feature 2 meant structural evidence below, we continued excavation to the west, five feet at a time. To our dismay, this exposed a third bay, less substantial and more disturbed, measuring 15' by 18'. The granular sand proved to be a prepared surface, known to us by now as the Courtyard, and defined by the three bays. Thus it was that Mr. Stobo's compound ultimately measured 30' by 60' and required 60 contiguous 5' squares for its complete exposure and current interpretation. Each aspect of architectural evidence will now be described and interpreted. We'll begin with a brief recap of the stratigraphy, and return to various aspects of the stratigraphic evidence at later points in the discussion.

Layout and Floors

The three bay house exhibited floors that were largely intact, and walls that were largely removed and replaced with dug robber's trenches filled with brick and mortar rubble. The brick floors and areas of the building without brick floors rested directly on sterile sand or, in an area roughly 15' by 25', on the demolished remains of a previous house, but that is another story. Artifacts contained in the demolition layers below the floor, and in the granular construction layer (feature 49) provide a TPQ and date of construction of the 1740s. Immediately on top of the floors, in Bay 1, Bay 2, and the eastern portion of the Courtyard, was a dark brown to black midden layer, full of artifactual debris and suggestive of destruction and/or abandonment (feature 3/zone 3). Artifact dates suggest a late 1760s-early 1770s date of deposition.

On top of this, and clearly a separate event, was a layer of plaster, brick, and mortar rubble,

evidence of final demolition (features 1 and 2). Artifacts here suggest that this occurred at least twenty, and possibly forty, years after the midden accumulated. Areas of robbed wall, containing mostly brick, were designated feature 1. Other interior deposits, mostly of plaster, received the designation of Feature 2, though these differences and definitions were not always precise. The significance of this stratigraphy will be discussed a bit later.

Returning to the layout, we have a three-bay plan around a central courtyard, and some evidence that the bay was self-contained behind continuous brick walls. As mentioned before, Bay 1 measured 10' north/south by 14' east/west, and exhibited a brick floor in running bond. Based on the artifact content of the overlying midden and its configuration, Bay 1 was interpreted as a kitchen. However, there was no evidence for a chimney. The robbed walls were fairly thoroughly gouged, and the chimney foundation could have been removed completely. Rubble was densest along the east wall, but this may simply be the intersecting walls. An interesting feature of Bay 1 was the recovery of fragments of dressed marble, which may be from a mantle, a hearth paving, or an architectural detail.

Bay 2, measuring 15' by 20', was a right angle to Bay 1, and overlapped it slightly. Bay 2 contained two rooms, and the artifacts recovered here suggest that this was the main living area of the house. The northern room was paved in brick in a bond perpendicular to Bay 1 and at a slightly higher elevation. This floor was finished along the south side with upright bricks, these in turn likely serving as a foundation for the posited wooden floor over the southern room (Bernard Herman, personal communication). A lack of brick, the raised foundation, and the presence of a very thin prepared clay semisubterranean surface, and the expertise of architects, support the wood floor interpretation.

The southern wall of the structure here was relatively intact, as was the eastern wall in the area of this room. A line of single brick marked the western edge of the room. A substantial foundation for an external chimney was discovered on the eastern wall, measuring 10' in width, splitting the two rooms and likely heating both.

Bay 3 was much more enigmatic and difficult to interpret for two reasons: first, a very large oak tree occupies the entire center of the building. Secondly, its very late discovery meant that, quite candidly, its treatment was not as thorough as earlier discoveries. Still, some clear evidence was obtained. The bay measures 15' by 18', perpendicular in orientation to Bay 1. The walls are robbed, but they appear less substantial than the other two bays. There was very little midden accumulation and no evidence of flooring, either wood or brick. The building likely had an earthen floor.

Most curious was a very dense concentration of rubble along the east wall of Bay 3, facing the courtyard. Removal of the very densely packed overlying Feature 2 revealed large 'pits' of rubble intruding into the zones below that may possibly reflect a chimney. If our interpreted layout of the compound is correct, then placement of a chimney here seems awkward. Several fireplace tools were recovered from the courtyard, but these may well have come from Bay 1. The function of Bay 3, then, is unknown. It does not appear to be domestic. Carriage house, tack room, and stable are

possible. It is also possibly a residence for slaves, but there is little supporting evidence for this. Unlike Bay 2, Bay 3 did not abut Bay 1.

The robbed trench suggests, though, that a connecting brick wall continued from the southwest corner of Bay 1 in curving fashion to the northeast corner of Bay 3, completely enclosing the courtyard. There is less defined, but still strong, evidence that a fourth wall along the southern side completed the enclosure of the courtyard. There is a 4' gap between the eastern end of this wall and the southwest corner of Bay 2, possibly for a gate. These continuous walls have been interpreted as an enclosed and gated, if not fortified, compound.

Even if this is the case, it remains most curious that there is little evidence for walls, or robbing of walls, on the courtyard sides of Bays 1 and 2. There is tentative evience for a substantial south wall for Bay 1, reflected in a change of brick pattern, a faint robber's trench, and a well-defined brick rubble trench in the profile of N215E185. There was no evidence for a robbed west wall for Bay 2 intruding into earlier deposits; perhaps it can be teased from the rubble density in overlying zones. It seems unlikely that these courtyard-facing 'interior' walls were open. An alternate theory is that the courtyard was covered, and all three components were united under a single roof, creating a 20' by 30' structure with front portico or entryway represented by Bay 1, but this seems unlikely.

Walls, Windows, Roof

When archaeologists move beyond floors and foundations, they find themselves on shaky interpretive ground. But there are some hints at the superstructure that can be derived from the archaeological data at hand. One story or two, is a logical first question. While two stories seem logical for a house worthy of Mr. Stobo's fine furnishings, it is possible that he crammed them into a more humble space. At least one of the consulting architects has suggested that the walls are not substantial enough for two stories.

The foundation was certainly of brick, and continuous rather than piers. Beyond that the house may have been wood siding. One thing is certain: the interior walls were plaster on lath. Feature 2 covers the entire compound and is an almost solid sheet of plaster with lath impressions. And Feature 2 is full of hand-wrought lath nails.

Based on the quantities of flat glass, it appears that windows were numerous. A single lead came from early-style leaded windows was recovered from Fea 2 in N225E175, but could have been redeposited from the earlier structure. The quantity of glass, and lack of cames, suggests sash windows. The window glass in the demolition rubble (feature 2) was not evenly distributed and the relative amount was tabulated by 5' square. This analysis shows clusters along the north wall of Bay 1, the west wall of the south room of Bay 2, the northeast corner of Bay 2, and in the courtyard, particularly along the south wall. Very little window glass was retrieved from Bay 3, supporting the interpretation as a non-domestic unit, whose openings contained no glass (figures 120-121).

Interpretation of the window glass distribution in Feature 2 was made in consideration of the suggestion that the walls may have collapsed across the courtyard, either before or during demolition. Perhaps the distribution of window glass in the underlying feature 3/zone 3 might be a better measure of window location, when the house was extant and fully occupied. But such was not the case. There was some correspondence with the feature 2 data, but some differences as well. Window glass was concentrated in the same places in Bay 1, providing fairly good evidence of window location. And the southwest corner of Bay 2 showed a comparable density. But otherwise the majority of the glass was in the center of the courtyard. This may provide striking evidence of the forces of whatever destroyed the building. Taken together, though, both sets of measurements suggest that the majority of windows faced the inner courtyard. While glassed openings ran on the outside of Bay 1, the back, or east, side of Bay 2 seems to be devoid of windows. There is conflicting evidence for the two sides of Bay 2.

Evidence for windows on the east side of bay 1 and west side of bay 2 may be supported by the recovery of window hardware in these two locations; strap hinges, shutter hooks, and pintels were concentrated in these areas. In contrast to the window glass, which was spread through the courtyard, other architectural hardware was located over bay 1 and bay 2, but not bay 3, lending further strength to the suggested uses of these three sections.

Evidence for the roof comes mainly in the form of negative evidence; there really wasn't any roofing material recovered. The very few bits of slate removed were not enough for a roof, and are likely from writing slates or architectural detail. Based on the lack of roofing material, a wood shingle roof is proposed.

Room Use

If the layout of the building described above is accurate, then the question of function of the three bays is the next topic of consideration. As we saw in Chapter 8, the distribution of artifacts provides some clue but is clouded by the fact that most of the 'abandoned' artifacts were recovered from the courtyard. This has variously been interpreted as storm damage, attempted retrieval of materials after the disaster by the owner, and pilfering of the manor house by slaves after the disaster. In other words, furnishings seem to be washed out, or drug out, into the courtyard. A third possibility is that the post-disaster occupants 'lived' in the courtyard area, and that some of the artifacts are in situ.

Moving from room to room, we begin with the clearest and move to the most enigmatic. Bay 3 lacks flooring, windows, and domestic debris. The recovery of horse tack in the courtyard and the wagon wheel in N200E145 suggest carriage house and/or stable. Lack of domestic debris, including colono wares, argues against second-story residential quarters. Bay 2 is fairly clear. The northern brick-floored room was a 'middling' room and the southern one with the raised wooden floor the 'best' room. The finest goods - the gilded porcelain, curtain rings, all cluster in this room or just outside it. Bay 1 is the puzzle. The heavy organics, relatively large quantities of utilitarian and

colono wares, including the entire Langerwehe churn, and position would suggest a kitchen, but the lack of a chimney is a problem. The organics, utilitarian ceramics, and door locks might suggest storage instead. The blumenkubel flower urns and the marble base, plus the platted entrance to the north, might suggest entryway or public room.

The courtyard appears to be just that - a private area, or simply an enclosed space. The possible archaeological evidence for a chimney is puzzling. This, coupled with the recovery of fireplace hardware such as the spit and hooks, may indicate that the courtyard, either roofed or not, was used for cooking. The arrangement of window glass (facing into the courtyard) argues against roofing of this area.

Taken together, the three bays, plus the suggested walls that surround the courtyard, and the smaller section that connects Bay 1 to Bay 3, suggest an enclosed, if not fortified, compound, one designed to keep strangers out. The lack of openings on the outide, and apparent lack of windows there, suggest a relatively impervious exterior. The recovery of almost all of the arms material in the courtyard is also interesting. Built two years after the Stono Rebellion (Stobo obtained the property in 1741), the house suggests one planter's mixed emotions about constructing a home in a wilderness, one populated by unwilling laborers who, though enslaved, collectively held some bargaining power, if only through demographics. The house, then, with its opulent furnishings and protective demeanor, reflects the ambivalence of the Lowcountry elite, a fear of the laborers with whom they lived and who made their lifestyles possible.

Evidence for Abandonment

Perhaps the most tantalizing feature of the site, and certainly one which has generated the most thought, frustration, discussion and speculation, is the midden layer on top of the brick floors and sand courtyard. Why is it there? How did it get there? And, most puzzling of all, why did it remain during what was clearly continued use, or reuse, of the structure? The layers of soil and debris at the Stobo site are nearly pristine in their clarity, and provide compelling evidence for the lifestyle of the site occupants. What follows, then, is our current interpretation of these events, and the supporting evidence for such. Other explanations are certainly possible, for the one proposed remains troubling in some ways.

The construction sequence is clear. A previous, unimposing house, or its remnants, was razed, but the brick foundation, a single brick wide, was left in place (Features 72, 73, 56). The chimney was razed (features 74), and much of the remaining trash turned into pits as soil was leveled for new construction (zones 4 and 5, features 106, 125, 86 and 87). The foundation trenches for Mr. Stobo's house were dug, the brick floors placed directly on new ground, and the courtyard paved with granular sand. This occurred shortly, if not immediately, after Stobo acquired the property in 1740.

Something dramatic happened here in the late 1760s. We know from documents that James

Stobo had left the plantation in 1767. The artifacts contained in feature 3 and zone 3 conform closely to this date. What happened to produce this midden?

Historical architects Bernard Herman and Willie Graham are in agreement that the midden reflects a calamity, one that severely damaged the structure. The characteristics of the midden suggest a storm or flood, but not a fire. The sands of feature 3 are black but contain no charcoal. The artifacts retrieved in the deposit are broken, nearly in situ, and the artifact profile suggests abandonment, with items normally highly curated found in substantial numbers. Bernard Herman proposed that the midden reflects the type of damaged caused by a large tree falling on a structure, unroofing it, and then the entire mass of debris slowly rotting in place. The distribution of feature 3 is finite, and its edges are not artificially produced by abutting walls. Feature 3 only occupies the eastern third of the courtyard, for example, becoming thinner, and then disappearing altogether toward the west and to the south. It is thickest and darkest over Bay 1, but does 'flow' southward as if there was no southern wall to impede its progress. Pollen analysis of this midden was inconclusive.

The point of impact, or at least greatest damage, seems to be at the southeast corner of Bay 1 and the northwest corner of Bay 2, where portions of the floors are missing. Bernard Herman suggests that the black organic staining may be the tree top, rotting in place. Alternately, the black soil may reflect a high number of organics in the room that rotted in place. Barrels of flour, rice, or other staples might produce similar soil, and thus the color of the Feature 3 soil could support the interpretation of Bay 1 as a kitchen or storage room.

The most logical conclusion to draw from the deep, undisturbed nature of feature 3, zone 3, and the heavy demolition rubble that clearly overlies it, is that a storm - a hurricane, tornado, or flood, any of which could include a large tree fall - damaged Stobo's home past the point where he felt it not worth the effort to repair. The damaged artifacts, their displacement, the damaged floors, the distribution of window glass, and the spread of hand-wrought nails all support this scenario.

The artifact distribution suggests at least some cursory attempt to recover valuables, before abandoning much of it. The authors are in the unique position of having witnessed such a natural catastrophe first-hand (Hurricane Hugo on September 21, 1989), and seeing the formation of just such deposits; zones of mud full of displaced items rarely discarded. The logical conclusion is that the shell of this heavily-damaged big house then sat unoccupied and exposed to the elements, until the new owners decided to recycle the brick, and completed the demolition begun by nature.

But there are a few problems with this picture. First are the nails. The feature 3 midden contains wrought nails, made before 1780 and the kind found in a 1740s house. The demolition rubble, feature 2, though, contains a significant portion of machine cut nails, manufactured after 1780, and even some made after 1815 (Ritchie Garrison, Bernard Herman, Willie Graham, personal communication). This would suggest at least some rebuilding. Many are flooring nails; perhaps new wood floors were built over the soil-filled cellars. Others were likely for a new roof. The demolition deposits also contain significant portions of pearlware, manufactured after 1780, and into the 1810s-

20s. A few of the brass buttons may also date to the turn of the century.

So it appears that the structure was reoccupied in some fashion after the natural disaster. Graham, Herman, and Garrison agree tht the quantity of nails suggest a 'pieced together' repair job, but not complete renovations. The pearlwares likewise suggest substantial use, but not by those with the money or social ambitions of James Stobo. Remembering that the distribution of artifacts sugested possible pilfering, one proposed explanation for these data is that resident slaves repaired and occupied the Stobo house. The documents suggest, at least indirectly, that Stobo continued to operate this plantation, and that it remained valuable real estate for the next several decades. The 1791 plat of this tract indicates that a main house still stands in this location. And a 1794 plat of an adjoining property shows an avenue to "Mr. Fowke's". An alternate suggestion is that Mr. Fowke, a son-in-law and purchaser of the property, repaired the house after 1791.

The composition of the faunal assemblage provides some interesting data to this discussion. There is a very high proportion of commensal species in the demolition zones, and these include snakes. These animals suggest a pile of debris that attracted rodents, and those who prey on them. But the dark midden layer, feature 3/zone 3, also contains a number of these commensals, including some of the nearly complete cats. This would likewise suggest a spread of debris, and a lack of human traffic, conducive to the presence of commensals. These assemblages, then, tend to support the scenario which has the site abandoned for a while after Stobo's departure, in 1767, before it is repaired and reoccupied, after 1780 (see Chapter 11).

But the continued occupation by slave residents seems more plausible. Though very little work was done there, site #1 may be a slave community associated with the Stobo plantation, being less than 1500 feet away. The bit of testing conducted there suggests that this site is contemporaneous with Stobo's but abandoned around the time of his. Creamware is the latest ceramic and a 1772 coin in the chimney fall is the latest object recovered. Perhaps these buildings were damaged or destroyed in the same storm, and the residents moved, perhaps gradually, to Stobo's house and made it their own. Again, the destruction of the site after 1772, and the post-1780 nails suggest that this may have happpened a few years after Stobo's abandonment.

Cut nails average 25% of those in demolition rubble (in feature 1 and feature 2 deposits). In other words, new nails were one quarter of those contained in the house that was demolished. Interestingly, there is little evidence for later rebuilding elsewhere on the site. Cut nails averaged only 9% of all proveniences in the yard area, including the top zones. Cut nails are particularly infrequent in the two areas that are likely outbuildings, the area of feature 88 (square brick foundation) and the block around feature 40. Though the latter area contains quantities of creamware, the nails are overwhelmingly early.

The site does not contain any ceramics or other artifacts that date after 1820. This is the basis for determining that the final demolition occurred at this time. The final demolition coincides with the expansion of the plantation lands and the move to tidal rice production.

Refinement and Consumerism among the Lowcountry Planters

The 18th century was an era of rapid change in technology, economics, and ideology; the century ushered in an era which emphasized gentility and refinement as a measure of one's social class, and a simultaneous and interrelated rise in consumerism among the economic elite and a rising middle class. In the 18th century, gentility was the visible expression of gentry status, the most sharply defined social class. Gentility gave expression to social divisions universally acknowledged among people of European heritage. By the end of the century, many middle class folk had acquired some of the aspects of gentility (Bushman 1992).

Basic to the present discussion is the contention that the genteel life depended on the creation of proper environments. As refinement spread to more and more folks, the need for appropriate and signifying objects created an unprecedented mass market for individual items. Early and late 18th century archaeological assemblages have been used to investigate refinement, in quantifiable material terms, of Charleston society (Zierden 1996, 1999). Other scholars have explored this issue in frontier settings of the same period (Faulkner 1998; Crass et al. 1999). The Willtown sites, particularly Stobo's plantation with its abundant material record, is well suited to expanding this study.

Gentility arose with world trade and economy and the increased availability of goods. Gentility followed from new stylish houses. In the 18th century, these were the most visible expression of gentry status, the most sharply defined social class in the colony. By the end of the 18th century, many middle class folks had acquired some of the aspects of gentility, what Bushman has termed "vernacular gentility." Most germane to our study is the contention that the genteel life depended on the creation of proper environments. Further, Ann Smart Martin has emphasized the dynamic relationship between these new objects and 'a host of social rules for their use'. Martin notes that the elite invested their money in new objects, but also in education, manners, and leisure time. Modeled after the English gentry, the elite studied genteel social behavior: conversation, dancing, games, tea drinking, and elaborate dining. In turn, proper actions were reinforced by proper accoutrements, in the latest fashion (Martin 1996:76). As gentility spread, in the late 18th century, the need for refined objects created an unprecedented mass market for individual items. People craved a host of signifying objects: carpets, mahogany furniture, tableware, fine fabrics, candlesticks, buckles and buttons, hats, silver ware. Charlestonians' affinity for English goods and English styles has been attributed to several factors by J. Thomas Savage: "the constant arrival of both foreign artisans and imported consumer goods, the availability of imported design books relating to both architecture and furniture, and the experiences of Charlestonians traveling abroad" (1995:4).

That this trend had enveloped the residents of Willtown may be seen in the early 19th century correspondence of Ralph Izard, a community inheritor of the Stobo wealth. He writes in 1818 of

> "paying our visits to each other, & having occasional pleasant parties of whist &c in which the lady or ladies, as the case may be take a share. I went yesterday, accompanied by Mr. Wilcocks, on horseback to pay a friendly visit to Mr. William Washington - we arrived there

> (at Sandy Hill) to dinner, passed the night, eat breakfast this morning & returned to Willtown to dinner - We found everything at Sandy Hill as comfortable & agreeable as a hearty welcome, excellent fare, delightful beds & a gentlemanly well informed communicativeness on the part of my friend & a fund of good humour & kind attention on the part of his wife, could possibly make it." (Letter: Ralph Izard to his mother, Alice DeLancey Izard, dated Wiltown, January 27, 1818, SCHS)

The above passage reminds us that the archaeological record contains only a small fraction of such objects, as the archaeologist deals only with what was discarded, lost, or abandoned. Comparison of archaeological assemblages to the advertisements of Charleston merchants (Calhoun et al. 1982) reveals such a disparity. "Just Imported" the colonial newspapers chime, "and available at Mr. _____store." The average ad then lists an extensive range of everyday needs and exotic luxuries. As Ann Smart Martin found in her research on Virginia merchants (1995), fabrics dominate the lists of goods touted by Charleston merchants. Others listed fashion accessories, large and small household furnishings. Tools and building hardware were commonly enumerated, as were exotic foodstuffs, beverages and spices. Merchants often reminded their customers of their stock of rum, sugars, and teas. In a recent study of New York advertisements, Timothy Breen noted a literal explosion of goods offered, from 15 different items in 1720 to over 5,000 by the end of the colonial period (Breen 1999). Local craftsmen, who advertised their work as "good as any from England" hinted at the desired goods and services of aspiring gentlemen: portraiture, silver, clocks and cabinetry, luxurious dresses, china painted with "gentlemen's coats of arms".

The artifacts that dominate archaeological assemblages, such as ceramic and glass containers, are infrequently mentioned and rarely enumerated. On the other hand, a variety of items mentioned find their way into the archaeological record after use, some of it in by-product form. Nails, building hardware, bits of personal items such as fans, small decorative touches from household furnishings, are there only occasionally, but in consistent enough fashion for meaningful quantification. At the same time, the archaeological record contains not the idiosyncracies and personalized objects of specific individuals, but artifacts of a sameness found on sites across eastern North America, from the refined seaport cities to struggling backcountry towns (see Crass et al. 1998; Faulkner 1998; Crass et al. 1999). The ceramics and other artifacts archaeologists excavate were part of a global language of behavior: what was proper, what was not, who owned the required tea service, who did not. These artifacts signify the global connectedness of small frontier towns, bustling colonial seaports, and England's industrial centers, and underscore the role of the world economy in producing the remains we excavate.

In Chapter 8, several individual items were enumerated which give clues to Stobo's material status. These include the fine porcelain plates, the porcelain teaware, the Whieldon ware fruit basket, the table glass in a variety of forms that include goblets, tumblers, salt dishes, cruets, and decanters. There is evidence of fine furnishings, including chests, upholstered chairs, and curtains. Personal dress items include the small sword, the silver-headed cane, the fine buttons, the ladies' parasol and fan parts. And then there are the silver book clasp and the silver thimble, opulent examples of everyday items.

But how do these items, and fragments of the same, compare to those of other colonial residents? Items that seem to denote status have been quantified in comparison to other classes of artifacts for a variety of Charleston sites (Zierden and Calhoun 1990; Zierden 1999). For this data base, the assemblages from twenty Charleston sites excavated in the last two decades were subdivided temporally, and then various artifact types and classes quantified and compared to South's Carolina Pattern and to other data sources. The temporal subdivisions are based on specific site events and general trends in Charleston's development. Charleston proveniences and their materials have generally been divided into three temporal subdivisions, 1720-1760, 1760-1830, and 1830 to 1880. The earliest period is the one that concerns us here, and it covers Charleston's transition from frontier outpost to emerging port city. The second period, one with a bit of overlap with the Stobo site, marks Charleston's 'golden years' as a leading seaport and center of wealth. These periods also correspond to changes in the technology which produced the artifacts we recover (Table 15).

Richard Bushman has noted, for example, that the first artifact of gentility was a new and stylish house. Rhys Isaac has called them "architectural pronouncements of social order" (Isaac 1982:39) In her research on the early 19th century, Maurie McInnis has further suggested that houses were "the ultimate consumer object" (McInnis 1996; see also Chappell 1994). Within these houses, a well crafted and appointed interior became "a carefully orchestrated, processional space" It was on the interior where one could impart his personal cultural refinement with the combination of interior architectural details and collections of paintings, furniture, and decorative arts. These eventually included separate dining rooms (Jordan 1988), sweeping staircases, large sash windows, elaborately detailed public rooms. These, and a carefully arranged traffic pattern, were elements which emphasized social inclusion within clearly defined boundaries of social division and distance. Though the dimensions and appearance of Stobo's house remain unknown, the architectural remains address some of the issues discussed above. The consulting architects noted numerous examples of nails for trim in the assemblage, suggesting at least some decorative woodwork in the house. And the walls are finished in plaster, indicating refined finishes. Early 18th century descriptions of grand houses seem to focus more on the amount and type of decoration, rather than the size of the structure. And window glass, indicative of sash windows, is there in considerable quantity. Window glass averages 23% of the architectural items in Charleston's early period, and rises to 39% by the turn of the 19th century (period 2). Stobo's site contains 52% window glass for the period of occupation, though the suspected storm damage may have artificially increased this number.

In Charleston, we find that a variety of fine wares for food serving, consumption, and entertaining explode on the scene in the second half of the 18th century. Here, utilitarian ceramics remain relatively consistent in quantity and variety; and quantities of new tablewares are added to the assemblage. In Charleston, these wares include Chinese export porcelains, creamwares in a variety of styles, and less common ceramics such as Nottingham and Elers stonewares, Astbury and Jackfield earthenware. Chinese porcelains have been used as a measure of status here and elsewhere. The sites that comprise the average for Charleston's early period are mostly elite sites, so they should serve as a baseline for elite behavior; in Charleston they are 6% of the early period, and rise to 20% of the 1760-1830 period. Stobo's site contains 32% porcelain during his tenure, with 19% overall. Stobo's assemblage included table china, punch bowls, and a host of tea cups and saucers.

Insert following p. 337-

Charleston County Inventories, Vol. BB(1776-1789) pp. 214-217 James Stobo (1705-1781)

An inventory and Appraisement of the goods and Chattels of the Estate of James Stobo decd in sterling money March 12th 1781 vizt

	Ł	S.	P.
A Mahogany Desk 90/ 1 Do. [ditto] Table 30/	6		
1 Do. Desk 20/ - 7 setting Chairs 20/	2		
1 Rum case 20/ - 4 small Do. 20/	2		
1 Round Maho. Table 10/ 1 Rum Case cont. 5 Bottles - 1 Maho. Tea Table & 2 Waiters [tea trays]	1	17	6
1 Book Case 40/ - an old chest of Drawers 3/	2	3	
an old Chest 1/ 1 large chest 5/ - a pr. Holsters 2/		8	
A Lot containing a surveyors chain Theodolite - a funnel [?]cotter frames etc.		5	
A Shot Mould ladle Nippers & 3 sad Irons		15	
pr. Of steelyards[scales] Brass mortar & pestle pr. Shears		10	
2 small fowling pieces 40/ - 4 old Guns & 2 spare barrels 15/	2	15	
2 large Cannisters 3/ a Lot of old china & Qs [Queen's?] Ware		6	
14 Vol. Clarks works 42/ Trot's Collections 10/	2	12	
8 Vols. Rusworths Collections 40/ Scotts Xn [Christian]Life	2	5	
Lord Clarendons History 10/ Bakers Chronicle 8/		18	
3 Vol. Tillotsons works 20/ 1 Vol. Flemings [?] works 5/	1	5	
Bates Works 10/ Works of Josephers 6/		16	
Clarkinsons Sermons 5/ Burnets history 20/	1	5	
2 Vols Prideaux Collections 15/ Lot old B.s [books?] 25/	2		
2 Pocket Bibles a psalm Book & prayer book		6	
a Sea Compass & Case of surveyors Instruments		15	
a Surveyors Tripod 5/ 1 small Table & 2 Cherhs 3/		8	
1 three gallon Jug 2/ a settee 15/		17	

9 straw Bottom Chairs 15/ A Large Maho. Table & dressing Table - 15	1	10	
1 pr. Fire Dogs & Tongs		8	
2 Beds 2 Bedsteads - 1 pillow & 2 Bolsters	3		
4 Blankets & a quilt 20/ a pr. Old fire Dogs 3/	1	3	
1 Dressing Table 3/ A Lot of old Iron 7/6		10	6
delete "1" ian old spinning Wheel & sundries		2	
an ox chain 2 x [cross] Cut Saws 2 Axes & a set [?] omit(?)	1	10	
a Waggon 60/ - a pr. Mill stones 20/ have verified	2		
a large Iron pott, Skillets & Spit		16	
43 Barrels of old Rice @ 51/3 pr. bbl [barrel]	110	4	6 3/4
50 Do. [ditto] new Do. @ 47/11 ½ pr. bbl.	119	17	11
an old press 10/ abt.[about] 160 bush. Corn 3/	24	10	
a Lot of Wool & Cotton 50/ 12 bush.[ditto?] seed 60/	5	10	
1 rice screen 2/ a windsor chair without harness 60/	3	2	
Cooper his wife Macy, Juba, Venus & Tiley ?	280		
Shadwell & his children Tenar Dick Ned John & Isaac G children Venus & Shadwell	300		
Kitt his Wife Sabina & Child Philida	150		
Brutus his Wife Diana & Harriet	180		
Jemmy his Wife Rose, Myrtilla Suky & Maner	230		
Phidilia & her Grand Child Naryer	55		
Stepney his Wife Hagar & Glora	150		
Dry his Wife Statira & Daphney	180		
Sampson his Wife Nanny, Lymus, Sampson Amey, Prince& Lucy	300		
Relia & her Children Cloe Caesar Pamela	200		
Lucy & her Children John & Quash	105		

Tula & her Child Statira & Sister Rachel	155		
Pamela & her Child Duke	130		
July Ł5 Greenwich 10/ Billey Ł90	95	10	
Jacob, Peter & Cuffee Ł105 Cromwell Ł 100	205		
Sam 60Ł Juba Ł40	100		
Old Phillis her Children March & Tamer	170	10	
Portsmouth	30		
3 doz Bottles 2 flower Potts & Cannister		10	
17 Head Sheep 10/ Ł8..10/ 2 Wind Fans Ł9	17	10	
A pr. Quern [Stones 30/ 150 bush. Seed Rice [@]2/ Ł 15	16	10	
A Blind fellow Winter			
5 Straw Bottom Chairs 10/ 1 old arm chair 3/		13	
1 Oval Table 3/ a Mahogany Table 30/	1	13	
A Back Gammon 7/6 a Lot of Books 20/	1	7	6
A Lot of old Books & an old Trunk		15	
A Rum Case with 18 empty Bottles		15	
11 Pictures & a Box	1	4	
A Silver Tea pott - a Tankard - a Tea pott - a Set Casters - a Candle Cup 3 Waiters - a Milk pot - a strainer 9 Tea Spoons 6 good Table spoons - 3 broken do. [ditto] - & two Sugar Tongs abt. 200 oz @ 4 ? oz.	20		
5 Decanters - 1 large Tumbler &Cover 2 Salts - 10 Jelly Glasses - 2 Wine Glasses 3 Egg Cups - 1 glass pepper Box - an old China Cup & 2 bottle stands	1	5	
1 China Bowl 2/6 A Candle Box - Scales & Weights 3/		5	6
5 Bed Blankets 45/ a suit Homespun Curtains 40/	4	5	
2 pr. Sheets - 2 Table Cloths & 2 pillow Cases		15	
2 Beds - 1 Bolster - a quilt - pillows & Bedstead	7		
1 old Bed & 3 pillows 20/ 1 Rum Case with 12 Bottles 30/	2	10	

1 Jug - a Bottle & shears 3/ an old chair & harness 60/	3	3	
1 ox waggon with 4 yokes & 3 chains	5		
a Copper Kettle & a pr. Sad Irons	4		
a pr. Quern stones 25/ 2 Iron potts & a spit 16/	2	1	
Framp & his Wife Doll, Jemmy, Lymus, Jack, Monday	305		
Jacob his Wife Lydia, Doll, Cloe, Cate, Dorcas, Maurice	300		
Myrtilla & Children Rinah & Cato a Carpenter and Wheelwright	270		
Marlborough his Wife Maria, Kate Abraham & Hector	190		
Cudjoe his Wife Venus, Charles, Statira & Polladore	195		
Pleasant & her Family Cuffee George Daphne & Phoebe	270		
Rachel & her Children Andrew Patty & Daniel	160		
Bella & her Children Emanuel & Betty	220		
Joe Ł55 Isaac Ł45 Martin Ł40	140		
Hester Cloe Ł90 ondon & Peggy	210		
Miley Ł85 Amey Beck & Fanny Ł150	235		
Old Venus Ł10 old Bess 10/	10	10	
Amelia, Primus - Grace - Jemmy Czarina & Sarah	225		
Billey Ł90 & Philander Ł80	170		
1 Cotton Counterpae 40/ 1 pillow Case 2 Towells & bed pan 4/	2	4	
a Cypress Table 2/ 2 pr. Broken Dogs 2/		4	
2 Vols Clarkes Sermons		5	
a Lot of old Axes & Sundries 25/ 2 goats 16/	2	/	
4 Iron potts 45/ a Sow & 3 piggs 35/	4		
a large Boat 6 Oars Ł35 1 small Do. Ł8	43		
3 small Hills of Potato Seed	2		
70 Bushels Corn @ 3/ Ł10..10/ 20 bush. Old pease @ 8 pence 13/4	11	3	4

2 Bushels new pease 4/ 48 ? Cypress plank &c 60/	3	4	
A Spinning wheel & 2 Iron Spindles		7	6
13 Geese @ 2/ - 26/ 4 Bush. Indico Seed 5/20	2	6	
1 ½ bbs Cotton in the Seed 20/ Rye & Corn Blades	1	3	
a pr. Quern Stones 30/ an old whip saw - coopers ax & Compass 15/	2	5	
A Casting nett 10/ a Barrel Tarr 15/	2	5	
George his Wife Viotet & Grand Children Peggy & Tom	110		
Belinda & her Children Bacchus, Silvia & Violet	130		
Sampson Ł20 Sancho Ł 16 Harry Ł16 Smart Ł20	72		
Cynthia Ł10 Andrew Ł 40 Robin Ł5 Jack & Nanny Ł30 Sarah Ł50	80		
a small old gun 12 pence		1	
60 head Cattle [@]30/ Ł90 4 Yoke Oxen@ 7 Ł 28	118		
a Lot of Carpenters Tools 25/ 4 pr. Iron Wedges @ 4/ 16/	2	1	
A Bay Mare & young colt 90/ a brown Bay Mare in foal 40/	6	10	
A Bay Mare & young colt 60/ a black roan mare & young colt Ł7	10		
A long Tail dark Bay Mare 50/ a brown Bay young Horse 60/	5	10	
a young sorrel Stallion 40/ a Bay Mare 60/ a grey colt 20/	6	10	
A Bay Colt 60/ a Bay Do. 70/ a light Bay Mare 60/	9	10	
a Lame Mare 20/ a Bay filley 30/ a Bay Mare Ł4	6	10	
A Dark brown 30/ a white Horse Leeds Ł8 a Do. [another white horse] Homespun Ł6	15	10	
a Lott of Carpenters Tools & Frow 10/ abt. 15 Bushels potato Seed 15/	1	5	
Aberdeen his wife Judy & Child Hannah	230		
A Lott of Glass 20/ a small water Jug 12 pence	1	1	
39 head of Cattle 30/ Ł 58..10/ 2 Wind Fans Ł9	67	10	
5 Old Guns & a barrel 10/ 20 Bush. Indico Seed [@] 5/ Ł5 - 2 Frows 5/	5	15	

a Pr. Quern Stones 30/ 14 Barrows - 15/ 10 Ł..10 2 Sows 30/ 14 Pigs & Shoats@ 7/ Ł98 [This should be 98/]	18	18	
1 Cypress Bedstead 4/ 11 Large Iron Hoops 30/ 6 small Do. 12/ 5 smaller Do. 8/	2	14	
5 large Cart Boxes & 8 small Do. 12/ 5 Trunk Boxes 5/		17	
A Lot of old Iron 2/ 1 Coopers Axe - 2 Adzes & a Compass — 5/		7	
1 Carpenters long plane & hand Saw 3/ 2 old whip Saws 10/		13	
2 Setts Indico Vatts @ 60/ Ł6 1 large Iron pott 15/	6	15	
60 Bushels potato Seed 60/ Lot Rye 2/ a pr. Door Hinges 2/	3	4	
An old Ax & 2 Spades 2/ 1 ox chain 3/		5	
370 bush. Corn [@] 3/ Ł55..10/ 200 bushels pease @ 2/ Ł20	75	10	
2 Weaving Looms - - @ 10/	1		
[Total]	7437	16	3 3/4

Thomas Smith
And[rew] Slann Appraisers
Thomas Osborne

The united States of America for one sartificate No. 349		4000 Dollars
One Ditto No. 350	4000	Do.
One Indent No. 345	Ł10,000	pd.
One Ditto No. 249	4000	pd.
One Bond Jas. Bullock Esqr. Deemed bad	460	
One Do. Jon. Chambers	1706	
One note John Fraser	155	15
One Ditto Jas Stobo	2000	Dollars
One Ditto Jos. Slann	4000	Do.

In the mid-18th century, tea drinking was properly a perogative of the elite (Roth 1961). The tea ceremony, a private affair, occurred in people's houses; it only stretched the family circle slightly (Carson 1990:28). By the Revolution, many families came to share aspirations for ornamental luxuries. By the end of the century, tea equipage included a tea table, tray, tea pot, cream jug, sugar bowl and tongs, cups, saucers, and teaspoons. Additional items might include a tea urn, a small stand for the urn or pot, a slop bowl, a canister, strainer, spoon, tray, and plates for bread and cakes.

Accoutrements for dining increased in number and importance as the 18th century progressed, as table manners took their place alongside tea manners as a measure of one's refinement. Among the elite, attention to formal dining began with allocation of domestic space, and was followed by purchases of furniture and tableware as prescribed in the literature. Furnishings for such spaces included not only basic tables and chairs, but decorative elements such as carpets, window hangings, and elaborate lighting. Tablwares eventually were in matched sets, and sufficient in number and variety to serve at least ten guests (Carson 1990; see also Breen 1994, Bushman 1994, Carr and Walsh 1994).

The relative amount of leaded table glass has also been used as a measure of social status. Elite sites in Charleston have averaged between 1% and 4% of the kitchen group. Stobo's site was again relatively well stocked, with 6% table glass. Only the opulent 1740s plantation, Drayton Hall, is close with 7% (Zierden and Calhoun 1990; Lewis in Singleton 1985). The Stobo assemblage exhibits variety as well as quantity, with goblets, tumblers, salt dishes, cruets, and decanters represented.

Furniture remains are relatively sparse in Charleston, averaging between .2% and .4% of the total assemblage. The Stobo assemblage is comparable, averaging between .4% and .6%. Again, the previous discussion underscores the variety found in the Stobo collection. Only clothing and personal items are relatively sparse at Stobo, compared to Charleston.

Dave Crass and his colleagues (Crass et al. 1999) have conducted similar studies for a German-Swiss farmstead in New Windsor, one of the 1730s townships founded on the Savannah River. These immigrants have been traditionally portrayed as austere and culturally conservative, but the archaeologists found strong evidence of participation in the consumer society of this period and acquisition of socially signifying artifacts. They, in turn, compared the New Windsor site to two other backcountry settlements (Brooks 1987; Groover 1992) Porcelain teawares are present, but sparse. They average .13 to 2.6% of the ceramics. But teawares are present at these sites, primarily in white saltglazed stoneware (Crass et al. 1999). Personal items and furniture items are also reduced when compared to Charleston, but they are present. Crass and his colleagues suggest that the few brass upholstery tacks, hinges, and looking glass fragments "hint at a world in which some backcountry families, at least, enjoyed furnishing more elaborate that crude wooden benches and nails to hang their clothes on." The clothing group from the Savannah River area, though small, included brass coat buttons, inlaid buttons, and cufflink sets, implying the presence of fine white shirts.

The above comparison illustrates two points. Though isolated, backcountry settlers had connections to Charleston and its social and material symbols. Further, backcountry settlers were active participants in this world, in contrast to the many travelers' accounts which paint the backcountry with a broadly condescending brush. Crass notes that "while an Imari teacup does not a gentleman make, the presence of such artifacts in the households of farmers indicates the power that gentility emanating largely from Charleston had, even on the frontier. Ann Smart Martin has recently commented (1999), however, that while the backwoods farmer was likely to own teacups, he would not have owned a tea table. Secondly, this study underscores the remarkable quality of goods on Stobo's plantation. While this site was not so far, socially and geographically, from Charleston in the late 18th century, it was isolated at its founding. The vision we twentieth century observers have of 'a house full of finery in the middle of the woods' may not be far from the truth.

And how does our vision, through an archaeological eye, compare with the historical reality? Though taken fifteen years after he departed the site in question, the inventory of James Stobo's estate lists many of the same items recovered archaeologically, and reinforces our image of Stobo as a man of means, and a man of significant possessions, though some are listed as 'old'. Items listed in quantity include books, silver pieces, mostly for tea service, lead crystal ware, and only a small amount of china. Furnishings include mahogany tables, blankets, curtains, table cloths. A scale and weights are listed. Andrew Agha has already noted the surveyors' equipment. The majority of his wares are plantation crops, livestock, and of course, humans. Over 100 slaves are listed by name, many in family groups. The inventories of men like James Stobo remind us that archaeologists are forced by the limits of their data to make assements of past people through a small fraction of their possessions.

Pluralism and Cultural Interaction on the Carolina Frontier

A frontier is usually defined from the perspective of the arrival of peoples of European ancestry. A major characteristic of frontier society, however, was its multiracial and multiethnic character and the ways relations and identities of its component groups shifted. European domination and Native annihilation was not always a foregone conclusion. Willtown was planned with the overlapping and seemingly conflicting goals of promoting Indian trade and protecting Charleston from Indian invasion. In such a setting it is likely that native and newly arrived often met face to face. The presence of Indians and the emphasis on Indian trade in the early decades of the community's existence likely created a different political and economic order to Willtown than that of Charleston. When Indian trade diminished in importance, and Indian threat diminished due to the retreat and removal of these people, white planters faced a new, and continuing, threat of revolt from the Africans imported to work the rice fields.

Consideration of the issue of cultural pluralism as a defining characteristic of the Willtown community grew out of ongoing discussions among three archaeologists studying similar late 17th

century frontier communities in the Lowcountry. Simultaneous to the investigation of Willtown by the present authors has been ongoing research at the community of Dorchester on the Ashley River by Monica Beck of the South Carolina Parks Department, and investigation of the Wappetaw Church and community on the Wando River by Dr. Chris Clement of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. Ongoing discussions of similarities and differences among the three communities led to presentation of a joint paper at the 1999 meetings of the Society for Historical Archaeology (Beck, Clement and Zierden 1999). Portions of these discussions, as they relate to the development of Willtown, are presented here.

Each of the three settlements, Dorchester, Wappetaw, and Willtown, had as a primary component of its population groups of settlers who shared a common political and religious outlook (Dissenters) and who sought a better life by emigrating to the budding Carolina colony. Further, all three were founded within a two-year period at the close of the 17th century and all three served as frontier outposts about 30 miles from the primary settlement of Charleston. But on establishment each community began a slow process of change in response to economic opportunities, external threats and internal threats. The location around which each coalesced gradually assumed less importance in the life of the community until ultimately each was abandoned as a central place. The rate of this transformation differed, but in the end each remained a symbolic center, reference points tying together communities bound by new social bonds.

Community is considered to be a basic unit of social organization and transmision. The community is a constantly evolving set of extra-familial social relations. It can be based on ethnicity, religion, economic or social status, or other social constructs, or on simple geographic proximity (Lewis 1984; Horn 1994). A community, then, must be defined in terms of geographic or social scale, often both. "Pluralistic" communities are comprised of individuals from diverse backgrounds, and imply differing social, economic, and political agendas by the community members. In many situations, people live around each other as well as with each other. There was, as a result, a heightened sense of self/other, where the physical presence of other was a constant issue in defining self. In frontier communities, such as those examined here, the relative social status of the varying groups was in flux, and the underclasses in many ways held great sway over the emerging dominant class.

Each settlement contained a diverse array of settlers, some dominant and officially recorded, and many others disenfranchised and seemingly silent in the documents. But a more careful examination of the documents and new evidence from the archaeological record reveals that the disenfranchised had a greater influence on the direction of community development than previously acknowledged. In addition to white settlers of diverse religious and social backgrounds, people of African and Native American heritage were major players in the three colonial communities considered here.

Dorchester and Wappetaw were planned and settled nearly simultaneously in the period 1695 to 1697 by Puritans from the Massachusetts Bay colony. Members voyaged together, settled together, and shared a common religious outlook. The settlers of Dorchester first examined the

Willtown vicinity, but for reasons kept secret, chose the Dorchester location instead. In their desire to come to Carolina, these immigrants, and the Presbyterians who settled at Willtown, were aided and abetted by the then Governor of Carolina, John Archdale. He had ulterior motives, for in addition to strengthening the colony the newcomers also strengthened his political position, one that was in some doubt with the declining fortunes of the Lords Proprietors (Edgar 1998:90). Though of diverse faiths, the settlers of these three communities became part of the broader political, if not religous, group known as Dissenters and at odds with the Anglicans.

Although neither Dorchester nor Willtown developed as intended, the fact that both were initially envisioned as nucleated settlements contrasts sharply with Wappetaw. The first two were built on the frontier which served as a buffer from Spanish and French threat, as well as Indian raids. In comparison, Wappetaw to the north was in a well-protected, easily defensible position, cut off from the interior by the Wando River. Clement has suggested that a nucleated settlement that concentrated available manpower and served as a rallying point for outlying settlers was unnecessary. Nor does the Wando River penetrate the interior and encourage a trade center. Wappetaw was thus a dispersed community of like-minded settlers, spiritually centered around the Wappetaw Independent Church (Clement and Grunden 1998). Despite plans to the contrary, Dorchester and Willtown were similarly dispersed, though to different extents. In Willtown less than a third of the available land lots were ever granted, let alone occupied or improved (Herold 1980; Linder 1996).

The protestant settlers found the Indians with whom they shared the land both a blessing and a curse. Control of the Indians was pursued relentlessly by the English, French and Spanish as a result of Europe's desire for animal skins and the colonists' desire for Indian slaves. Willtown proper, then, can be viewed as an entrepot in the classic frontier sense, and not surprisingly it was dominated by traders: James Cochran, Commissioner of Indian Trade in 1707, Thomas Bruce of the Scouts, William Scott, an authorized trader, and others (Linder 1996:21-25). It is likely that the stores in Willtown served the Indian Trade as much, or more, than they did the surrounding European settlers. Limited archaeological work in the Willtown area supports this interpretation: the single granted lots with early 18th century artifacts contains two structures of mud-sill construction. Neither appears domestic, and they have instead been interpreted as a store and warehouse, likely for deerskins. Located away from the bluff that was the central part of the planned community, and adjacent to a navigable slough, the interpretation as a commercial property is bolstered by the possession of other lots adjoining this slough by merchants and traders. A similar argument can be made for Dorchester, as well. By 1724 several merchants occupied the town while most of the original settlers were dispersed in the outlying area.

More trade was carried out on plantations than in towns, however. On an informal basis, planters received hides in face-to-face trade for various manufactured goods from Indians who themselves lived in the local area and formed as much a part of the community as did the planters (Crane 1981:118). Some planters went so far as to hire an Indian hunter to supply them with skins. Most, however, traded in a haphazard fashion with partners of expedience. Not until after the Yemassee War, when the local groups were largely displaced or decimated, did the overland trade with distant tribes fully usurp the local trade, though it had been in place since the early 1680s. When

Dorchester, Wappetaw, and Willtown were settled, Indians were their neighbors. They were not exactly next door, perhaps, but certainly part of everyday life.

But the Indian trade also brought threats. The penetration of the interior by British traders brought the colony into increased competition with the French and Spanish, and the 1702 Queen Anne's War was focused on control of the Indian trade. And in April 1715 many of the tribes in contact with the Carolina colony, both locally and on the interior, rose up against the colonists, largely against what they saw as injustices and unfair trading practices. The initial conflict was not far removed from Willtown, and the village served as a rallying point for the fleeing Europeans. The hastily constructed fort withstood an attack in July, when about 20 plantations were destroyed. Though Wappetaw is never mentioned specifically in accounts of the Yemassee War, in all likelihood the Wappetaw settlers were involved. But the marauding Indians appear not to have touched this area directly, perhaps because of nearby allied Indian groups.

The effect the Yemassee War had on the Carolina colonists was considerable. This outside threat certainly strengthened the bonds the Europeans felt as Carolinians. This cohesiveness began to develop immediately, despite religious and political differences, as a result of shared hardships on the frontier. It was further strengthened by nearly constant warfare with the French, Spanish and their Indian allies. The friction between Anglican and dissenters, while not forgotten, ceased to be a critical concern. Almost immediately, and Act of the Assembly made the legislative body more representative.

The Indian Trade, too, was altered by the Yemassee War. Local tribes, such as the Yemassee, Santee, Congaree, and Peedee were virtually extinguished, and survivors left for the interior or for Spanish Florida. Though other tribal remnants, "neighbor indians" remained in the area, by 1730 the frontier had been pushed well back from Charleston, and a series of Townships, including New Windsor, became the new buffer. Only Dorchester retained direct ties to the Indian trade, as it remained on a crossroads to the interior.

New economic opportunties arose, and changed the direction of Willtown, and the composition of local communities. Although slow to catch on, the steadily increasing profits from rice and the realization of the agricultural potential of inland swamps meant that profits could be made from plantation lands. The principal effect was a rapid rise in the enslaved African population, which created new tension in the white community. By 1730 Africans outnumbered European colonists in significant amounts. Against such odds in the event of an uprising, planters felt little security. By the same token, slaves were emboldened, and in 1739 the largest slave revolt in British North America resulted in the deaths of 75 Carolinians, black and white. This event involved the Willtown community and took place nearby. As discussed in the previous section, James Stobo's house seems to be a direct physical response to this act. Though daily violence was far more perceived than actual, it appears that Stobo was never really secure in his wealth.

If Willtown and its surrounding plantations retained a heightened sense of self/other, then sharing and exchange were also unavoidable. If Stobo's house is a material reflection of isolation,

then many of the recovered artifacts also reflect interaction. Though fewer in number, the artifact assemblage from Stobo's plantation reflects the lives and activities of site residents other than Mr. Stobo. The enslaved laborers imported from Africa to work the rice fields left behind quantities of colono ware, some in Mr. Stobo's house, but most outside it. The most dramatic was the recovery of the quartz crystal and the colono ware sphere with cosmographic markings. The blue beads and cowrie shell may have also belonged to African residents (Russell 1997; Stine et al. 1996). While the items listed above came from the area of the main house, the bulk of the colono ware came from outside. Evidently these ceramics were used principally by people not living in this house.

Though a clear minority, Indian slaves were also used to labor in the rice fields of the Willtown area, as others traded with Willtown residents. Several of the early Willtown planters enumerate a few "Indian slaves" in documents dating from the 1720s - 30s. Berlin's recent study (1998) of colonial slavery suggests that these people may have still been present on Lowcountry plantations after this time, but no longer enumerated as Indian. Much of the colono ware in the Stobo assemblage appears to be the product of Native Americans instead. In his detailed study of the colono wares, Ron Anthony (Chapter 9) discovered a much higher percentage of these wares (27%) that appear to be made in the Native style than expected. What was lacking were colono wares made in European forms. The colono wares, then, suggest a strong African and Native presence at the site, and extensive interaction among the two groups, with relatively little influence from the European residents.

Another tantalizing clue to the cultural complexity of the site demography is the faunal remains. Jennifer Webber and Elizabeth Reitz report that cow bones from the area of N165E200 show very unusual hack marks. These bones appear to have been repeatedly and forcefully hacked in a random manner. They and Dan Weinand suggest that if this was done for butchery purposes, it appears to have been the work of an amateur. Dr. Reitz suggests this might be someone unfamiliar with the animal, or unfamiliar with the tool. Interestingly, these bones were recovered in a concentration of Native American pottery.

The faunal assemblage (Chapter 10) in general, though, suggests something else. Jen Webber and Elizabeth Reitz found a diet preponderantly European in form, with very little resemblance to contemporary African American or Native American sites. The contradiction between these two data sets is puzzling at first. But it is likely that a European diet was modified by the African and Indian site residents during preparation, cooking or consumption to more closely approximate their traditions, in ways that are not visible in the archaeological record.

But the most dramatic evidence for cultural interaction was also the smallest. A brass finger ring with a glass setting was recovered just beyond the manor house. The glass stone features an image of the crucifixion, with a robed Christ on the cross and two kneeling figures, possibly Mary and Mary Magdalene. Like his minister father, James Stobo was a strident dissenter who despised papist influences. This ring was likely not his. Nor did it belong to neighboring Anglicans, who during this period were far more spartan and protestant in their iconography than in the subsequent century (Pearson 1998). The scenario constructed so far has the artifact originating with christianized

Indians, possibly the Apalachee provinces in Florida. It is further possible that the ring changed hands many times before arriving on the wooded peninsula near the Edisto. Perhaps it was acquired by African residents before being lost, either those knowledgable of its symbolic meaning or simply attracted to it, subsequently assigning it different symbolic value. Recently, historians John Thornton (1991) and Ira Berlin (1998) have explained that the leaders of the Stono Rebellion, identified as "twenty Angolans", and many other Africans of the early 18th century were in fact from the kingdom of Kongo and were devout Catholics. Thornton suggests that this fueled their desire to rebel, and to reach Spanish Florida and the African American community of Mose. Perhaps the ring was always the cultural property of African residents. Though we might pose a variety of scenes, we will never know for sure. But that does not negate the power of this singular artifact. It remains the signature of the demographic and cultural complexity of the frontier, the meeting point of peoples, belief systems, and iconography.

Evolution of the Willtown Community

Like many other communities in Carolina and elsewhere, Willtown began on paper and on the ground as an ambitious and well-planned town. Designed by European settlers for protection, trade, and religious toleration, the community seemed poised for economic success. Changes in external threats, in trade and transportation networks, and in political and social mores affected many colonial towns. Further the development of wildly successful staple crops encouraged dispersed settlement. While the town's role diminished, the Willtown community evolved in purpose and population.

Willtown was planned as a town, an urban center. An urban setting has been defined as a permanent location in which the density of settlement and the amount of human energy expended per unit of land are considerably greater than in the surrounding region. (Staski 1982:97) Further, John Stilgoe has implied that an urban setting is a planned population center, deliberately designed to serve commerce rather than agriculture (1982:88-99). To this definition, Bernard Herman has recently added diversity of enterprise, as well as density of enterprise (Herman 1999). The traditions of an urban-based society were part of the cultural baggage arriving with the first European settlers. Colonial proprietors encouraged the development of urban centers for protection, community, and commerce, though they met with mixed success (Brownell and Goldfield 1977; Zierden 1997). Many colonial towns served as important social, political, and commercial centers for abbreviated hinterlands, but were not large enough, dense enough, or complex enough to be considered "cities".

More recently, Audrey Horning (1995) has argued that intent may be used to define a town as much as size and function. She suggests that towns may also be defined by function, and perhaps even by intent. Based on these broad definitions, Willtown certainly functioned for a half-century as a town, and perhaps as an urban center. The fact that it was such a prominent landmark on maps of

the period, that it was the seat of governmental and religious functions, and that it remained a cognitive landmark long after the vestiges of urban structure had disappeared, attest to its functional role as a town. Archaeological study of the urban portion of Willtown has just begun, and its continued study holds much promise. Future studies should be organized under an urban studies framework, in order to best place the discovered remains in context.

As wealth increased in the colony with the intensification of rice production it brought with it the final demise of Willtown and Dorchester as population centers; villages in the popular sense. The movement of the Willtown church in the 1760s to another location, "so that it is very convenient and centrical" seems very telling. The Indian trade routes continued to carry traffic past the river bluff, but bypassed the town proper in favor of PonPon a few miles upriver. By 1759 James Stobo had been regranted the entire town, and in 1760 William Elliott received 24 lots in the center of the village. The tract soon became another tidal swamp plantation, with adjacent rivers turned into productive rice land. Dorchester, too, was abandoned in the wake of the increased opportunities brought about by rice cultivation. Perhaps missing this, the dissenter community that had made it their place in the first half of the century elected to move to Georgia in the 1750s. Wappetaw, never a village, survived the 18th century, as a dispersed community focused around a spiritual center. Willtown again assumes this role (one that was likely never lost completely) when a church again occupies the bluff in the 1820s.

Kenneth Lewis' definition of *community* fits well the issues discussed here. Willtown itself seems to have served as the organizational center, if not a physical center, of a greater, more dispersed community, as defined from the perspective of the politically and economically, if not numerically, dominant white society. Thus we have a town that is preeminent on maps and plats, and drifts in and out of contemporary narratives, but appears to have left little physical impact. What was in place was a community that fits James Horn's (1994) description; a settlement loosely bounded by geography, but better defined by a series of relationships and interaction spheres, ranging from the informal to the highly structured. Thus it is that early in the 18th century, if not before, the Willtown community encompassed the plantation lands of the south Edisto, radiating out from the initial settlement at Willtown bluff.

If the village of Willtown declined, then the greater <u>community</u> of Willtown merely changed. White settlers chose to risk living alone in the wilderness of newly developed plantations, among potentially threatening African bondsmen and displaced Native Americans, for the chances to acquire vast fortunes through rice and indigo production. As white and black settlers dispersed, and native groups moved on, the village on the river bluff remained a symbolic, and still occasionally geographic, center of the community , where individuals, families, and groups met and interacted for a variety of purposes. The movement of the Willtown church in 1750 to a location "more central" suggests that the community had changed its focus but remained a self-identified community.

James Stobo's plantation, then, is very much a part of the story of the Willtown community. Further, this sense of centrality and community continued after the town's demise. Descendants of the original plantation owners often remained in the area, subdividing the huge colonial tracts and

continuing their use, even if they weren't always congenial. The extensive litigation of the Stobo family suggests that family members may have had to fight for their share. After Richard Park Stobo's death in 1785, it was necessary to divide the estate which James Stobo had amassed. It had become extremely valuable land which contained both inland swamp and tide swamp ricefields, indigo production sufficient to require two sets of vats, and even a lumber yard on what would become the Grove. The owners of the former Stobo lands were cosmopolitan, well educated and wealthy. Ralph Izard writes of gatherings of gentlemen to play whist (a forerunner of bridge) and of visiting his neighbors. In 1818, he wrote to his mother, Alice Delancey Izard, from Willtown,

> "The roads are & have been almost impassable, which added to the general disinclination of leaving home has kept me more within the circle of my own family than has been ususal for me during the particular season of the year - So continued has been the rain, that altho' our house is not more than four or five hundred yards from Mr. Morris's that we have not had as much intercourse personally with the ladies of both our houses as would naturally be calculated on, being some of us, so much of invalides as to require considerable forethought & preparations, much consultation & examination of the weather & path, previously to determining upon a walk or a ride from one house to the other"

The land use studies conducted for this project by Dr. Suzanne Linder, and for her previous work on the ACE Basin plantations, reflect a vibrant planter community. The letters of Ralph Izard recently analyzed by Suzanne Linder and Hayden Smith reflect close familial and geographic connections between the owners of plantation lands in this area, as well as sometimes tenuous interpersonal relations.

Willtown might be viewed as an example of the history of South Carolina in microcosm. The first village outside Charleston, it was a landmark during the Proprietary period, and one of the Lords Proprietors owned land there. When the Spaniards attacked in 1686, they struck Edisto Island, just downriver. Citizens were actively involved in the Indian trade when that was the most important economic endeavor. Willtown was directly attacked during the Yemassee War, one of the most pivotal events in the colonial period, and one that radically changed the demography of the Carolina colony. This was followed by direct involvement in the largest slave revolt on the American mainland in the colonial period. It was an area of high production of deerskins, then rice and indigo - items essential to the trade of the colony - and a meeting place for all of the peoples involved in these endeavors.

In the antebellum period, the large plantations that evolved from the town dominated the local scene, serving as an attraction for citizens of wealth, education, and influence to settle in the area - for at least a portion of the year. Then in the Civil War the bluff was directly attacked by a Yankee gunboat. After the war, the decline of the local economy mirrored the situation in the state as a whole, because of the collapse of the rice economy. In the present day, Willtown is on the cutting edge of environmental and historic preservation, and the current owners of the plantation tracts remain a loosely-knit community, many of them united by their involvement in the development of the ACE basin National Wildlife Refuge.

Afterword

And so we leave 38Ch1659 as we found it - before it had a number: a lovely hardwood knoll, mature live oaks festooned with wild grapevines, no understory, and a graceful covering of this year's leaves, those from fall augmented by the offerings of the live oaks in spring. There is hardly a trace of our having been there, thanks to Allan Parks' careful filling, and nature's quick work. The intersection of the woods road at this high point, pond on one side and the falling swamps to the south, remains one of the most beautiful woods spots in the Lowcountry.

But there is more than that. For this spot holds special meaning for those of us who worked this site. There is an almost tangible immediacy about the place. The pristine nature of the deposits, the sense that we are the first to turn over the torn cane tip since James Stobo left it behind, is stronger here than at most archaeological sites, as they are more ravaged by time. There was always a sense that if you were alone there on a quiet day, James Stobo might come around the bend, dismount his horse, and tell his story. (He almost did this to one of the young archaeologists that first season). But were that to happen, we might not like the whole story - and he would probably tell us we got it all wrong - try again! For there is much more to 'try', to study, to learn at this site and elsewhere at Willtown. For now, the sites remain buried - preserved and protected. To work here has been a privilege.

Though we have completely excavated the main house, the Stobo site is far from finished. The thirty units in the yard area are only tests, and the ones furthest east and west have the most artifacts. We haven't even found the limits of the site. There are likely more buildings to discover here. And then there are the associated sites. We have recently deduced that site 38Ch1658, or Site 1, is likely part of the Stobo compound, and its abandonment may be linked to events at Stobo's house. This site likely holds much information for the Stobo story. And then there is the recently discovered brick kiln. Likewise, Andrew Agha's investigation of the rice dikes suggests that more work is warranted.

There is also much to be done at Willtown. The field that contains the structures on lots 41-45 likely holds more information. Careful removal of the overburden and mapping of all site features will likely give a more complete picture of these buildings, and tell us if they are residential, commercial, or hold some other role. And then the other areas of Willtown certainly warrant further study.

The recently examined set of letters from Ralph Izard underscore the wealth of information to be retrieved from the early 19th century plantation sites at Willtown. Site 38Ch482d is large and well-preserved, and the two sessions of shovel testing suggest much can be learned about the antebellum Willtown community from this area and from the Morris house area. Rock Springs remains uninvestigated, as does the possible location of Oak Lodge. And the newly-discovered watercolor of the 1830s, taken from the porch of the Morris house facing south, suggests a series of

There is also much to be done at Willtown. The field that contains the structures on lots 41–45 likely holds more information. Careful removal of the overburden and mapping of all site features will likely give a more complete picture of these buildings, and tell us if they are residential, commercial, or hold some other role. And then the other areas of Willtown certainly warrant further study.

The recently examined set of letters from Ralph Izard underscores the wealth of information to be retrieved from the early 19th century plantation sites at Willtown. Site 38Ch482d is large and well-preserved, and the two sessions of shovel testing suggest much can be learned about the antebellum Willtown community from this area and from the Morris house area. Rock Springs remains uninvestigated, as does the possible location of Oak Lodge. And the newly-discovered watercolor, taken from the porch of the Morris house facing south, suggests a series of outbuildings to be located.

This study, then, may be more of a beginning than an ending. But the sites have provided volumes of new, and in many ways unexpected, information. They have suggested a panorama of events at Willtown, and defined the changing community as a microcosm of South Carolina's development.

References Cited

Andrews, Charles M.
1938 The Colonial Period of American History: England's Commercial and Colonial Policy, vol. 4. Yale University Press, New Haven.

Anthony, Ronald W.
1979 Descriptive Analysis and Replication of Historic Earthenware: Colono Wares from Spiers Landing Site, Berkeley County, South Carolina. Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers 13:253-268.

1986 Colono Wares. In Home Upriver: Rural Life on Daniels Island, by Martha Zierden, Lesley Drucker, and Jeanne Calhoun. Ms. on file, South Carolina Department of Highways and Public Transportation, Columbia.

1989 Cultural Diversity at Mid to Late 18th Century Lowcountry Plantation Slave Settlements. M.A. Thesis, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

1995 Stono Plantation: Research Orientation and Preliminary Results from the Study of a James Island, South Carolina Plantation. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Washington DC.

Armstrong, Douglas
1983 The 'Old Village' at Drax Hall Plantation: An Archaeological Examination of Afro-Jamaican Settlement. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.

Ascher, Robert
1968 Time' Arrow and the Archaeology of a Contemporary Community. In Settlement Archaeology, edited by K.C. Chang, National Press Books, Palo Alto.

Ascher, Robert and Charles H. Fairbanks
1971 Excavation of a Slave Cabin: Georgia, U.S.A. Historical Archaeology 5:3-17.

Austin, John C.
1994 British Delft at Williamburg. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Baine, Rodney M.
1992 Myths of Mary Musgrove. Georgia Historical Quarterly LXXVI, no 2:428-435.

Baker, J. R. And D. R. Brothwell
1980 Animal Diseases in Archaeology. Academic Press, New York.

Balkwill, D.M. and S. L. Cumbaa
1992 A Guide to the Identification of Postcranial Bones of *Bos taurus* and *Bison bison.* Canadian Museum of Nature Syllogeus No. 71.

Baumgarten, Linda
1986 Eighteenth-Century Clothing at Williamburg. Colonial Williamburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Beck, Monica
1998 Dissenters and Anglicans within the Colonial Frontier Town of Dorchester. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Greenville, SC.

Beck, Monica, Christopher Clement, and Martha Zierden
1999 Far from the Maddening Crowd: Outlying Settlements in 17th Century South Carolina. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Salt Lake City, UT.

Beckerman, S.
1994 Hunting and Fishing in Amazonia: Hold the Answers, What are the Questions? In Amazonian Indians from Prehistory to the Present: Archaeological Perspectives, edited by A. Roosevelt, pp. 177-200, University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Bell, Daniel
1995 Old Dorchester State Park Visitor's Guide. South Carolina Department of Parks, Recreation, and Tourism, Columbia.

Berlin, Ira
1998 Many Thousands Gone: the First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America, 1685-1815. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Braund, Kathryn Holland
1992 Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Breen, Timothy H.
1994 "Baubles of Britain": The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century. In Of Consuming Interests, edited by Cary Carson, Paul Hoffman, and Peter Albert, pp. 444-482, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.

1999 Discovering Color: Reconstructing a Visual Landscape in the Age of Washington. Lecture delivered at the College of Charleston, Charleston, SC.

Bridenbaugh, Carl
1955 Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743-1776. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

Brooks, Richard
1987 250 Years of Historic Occupation on Steel Creek, Savannah River Plant, Barnwell County, South Carolina. Savannah River Archaeological Papers 1. SC Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia.

Brown, Ann R.
1982 Historic Ceramic Typology with Principal Dates of Manufacture and Descriptive Characteristics for Identification. DELDOT Archaeology Series 15, Delaware Department of Transportation, Dover.

Brown, Kenneth L.
1994 Material Culture and Community Structure: The Slave and Tenant Community at Levi Jordan's Plantation. In Working Toward Freedom: Slave Society and Domestic Economy in the American South, edited by Larry E. Hudson, pp. 95-118, University of Rochester Press, Rochester, NY.

Brownell, Blaine and David Goldfield
1977 The City in Southern History. Kennikat Press, Port Washington, New York.

Bushman, Richard
1992 The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

Calhoun, Jeanne
1986 Historical Overview of the Charleston Vicinity. In Home Upriver, edited by Martha Zierden, Lesley Drucker, and Jeanne Calhoun. Ms. on file, South Carolina Department of Highways and Public Transportation, Columbia.

Calhoun, Jeanne, Elizabeth Paysinger, and Martha Zierden
1982 A Survey of Economic Activity in Charleston, 1732-1767. Archaeological Contributions 2, The Charleston Museum, Charleston.

Carr, Lois Green and Lorena S. Walsh
1994 Changing Lifestyles and Consumer Behavior in the Colonial Chesapeake. In Of Consuming Interests, edited by Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman and Peter Albert, pp. 59-166, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Carson, Barbara G.
1990 Ambitious Appetites: Dining, Behavior and Patterns of Consumption in Federal Washington. American Institute of Architects Press, Washington, DC.

Carson, Cary, Norman F. Barka, William M. Kelso, Garry Wheeler Stone, and Dell Upton
1988 Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies. In Material Life in America, 1600-1860, edited by Robert B. St. George, Northeastern University Press, Boston.

Carson, Cary, Ronald Hoffman and Peter Albert, editors
1994 Of Consuming Interests: the Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Casteel, R.W.
1978 Faunal Assemblages and the "Weigemethode" or Weight Method. Journal of Field Archaeology 5:72-77.

Cayton, Andrew R.L and Frederika J. Teute
1998 Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830. Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Chappell, Edward
1994 Housing a Nation: the Transformation of Living Standards in Early America. In Of Consuming Interests, edited by Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman and Peter Albert, pp. 167-231, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Cheves, Langdon, editor
1897 Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society, vol. 5. Jones, Book and Printer, Richmond.

Clement, Christopher Ohm and Ramona M. Grunden
1998 "Where the Wappetaw Independent Congregational Church Stood..." Archaeological Testing at 38Ch1682, Charleston County, SC. Research Manuscript Series 225, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia.

Cooper, Margaret and Carl Steen
1998 Colonoware and Creolization: the Development of a Unique Social Identity in the South Carolina Lowcountry. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Atlanta.

Corkran, David H.
1970 The Carolina Indian Frontier. Tricentennial Booklet no. 6, University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.

Coulter, E. Merton
1927 Mary Musgrove, "Queen of the Creeks": A Chapter of Early Georgia Troubles. Georgia Historical Quarterly XI, no 1:1-30.

Crane, Verner W.
1981(1956) The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732. W.W. Norton & Co., New York.

Crane, Brian
1993 Colono Wares and Criollo Ware Pottery from Charleston, South Carolina and San Juan, Puerto Rico in Comparative Perspective. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.

Crass, David Colin, Bruce Penner, Tammy Forehand, John Hoffman, Lois Potter and Larry Potter
1997 Excavations at New Windsor Township, South Carolina. Occasional Papers of the Savannah River Archaeological Research Program, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia.

Crass, David Colin, Bruce R. Penner and Tammy R. Forehand
1998 Gentility and Material Culture on the Frontier. Historical Archaeology 33 (3): in press.

Crass, David Colin, Steven D. Smith, Martha A. Zierden and Richard D. Brooks
1998 Introduction: Southern Frontier Communities viewed through the Archaeological Eye. In The Southern Colonial Backcountry: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Frontier Communities. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

Crass, David Colin and Martha A. Zierden
1999 Complex Societies and the Archaeology of the Early American Frontier. Paper presented at the conference, Eighteenth Century Frontiers in North America, Winchester, VA.

Cronon, William
1983 Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists and the Ecology of New England. Hill and Wang, Farrar, Straus & Giroux, New York.

Deagan, Kathleen
1983 Spanish St. Augustine: the Archaeology of a Colonial Creole Community. Academic Press, New York.

1987 Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500-1800. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington.

1988 Neither History nor Prehistory: the Questions that Count in Historical Archaeology. Historical Archaeology 22(1):7-12.

1998 Rethinking Modern History. Archaeology Magazine, September/October 1998.

1999 Historical Archaeology and Multicultural Engagement in the Formaiton of the Atlantic World. Wachovia Lecture, Center for the Lowcountry and Atlantic World, College of Charleston, Charleston, SC.

Deagan, Kathleen and Darcie MacMahon
1995 Fort Mose: Colonial America's Black Fortress of Freedom. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Deetz, James
1977 Material Culture and Archaeology - What's the Difference? In Historical Archaeology and the Importance of Material Things, edited by Leland Ferguson. Special Publications Series no. 2, Society for Historical Archaeology, Tucson.

1990 Prologue: Landscapes as Cultural Statements. In Earth Patterns, edited by William Kelso and Rachel Most, pp. 1-4, University Press of Virginia, Charolottesville.

DePratter, Chester
1990 Disease, Death and Distruption: European and Native American Interaction in Colonial South Carolina. Paper presented at the symposium First Encounters in South Carolina, South Carolina State Museum, Columbia.

1994 The Kingdom of Cofitachequi. In The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704, edited by Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaus Tesser, University of Georgia Press, Athens.

Doar, David
1970(1936) Rice and Rice Planting in the South Carolina Low Country. Contributions from The Charleston Museum VIII, Charleston.

Dowd, Gregory Evans
1998 "Insidious Friends": Gift Giving and the Cherokee-British Alliance in the Seven Years' War. In Contact Points, edited by Andrew Cayton and Frederika Teute, pp. 114-150, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Driesch, A. von den
1976 A Guide to the Measurements of Animal Bones from Archaeological Sites. Peabody Museum Bulletin, No. 1.

Drucker, Lesley
1986 Colonial Outposts: the Lowcountry Plantation as Redistributive Center. Paper presented at the 1987 meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Savannah.

Drucker, Lesley and Ronald Anthony
1979 The Spiers Landing Site: Archaeological Investigations in Berkeley County, South Carolina. Resource Studies Series 10, Carolina Archaeological Services, Columbia.

Drucker, Lesley, Ronald Anthony, Susan Jackson, Susan Krantz and Carl Steen
1984 An Archaeological Study of the Little River-Buffalo Creek Special Land Disposal Tract, McCormick County, South Carolina. Resource Studies Series 75, Carolina Archaeological Services, Columbia.

Durant, Will and Ariel Durant
1961 The Age of Reason Begins: A History of European Civilization in the Period of Shakespeare, Bacon, Montaigne, Rembrandt, Galileo, and Descartes, 1558-1648. Simon and Schuster, New York.

Earle, Carville and Ronald Hoffman
1977 The Urban South: the First Two Centuries. In The City in Southern History, edited by Blaine Brownell and David Goldfield, pp. 23-51, Kennikat Press, Port Washington, New York.

Ebanks, Roderick C.
1974 Letter to the Editor. Jamaica Journal (2-3): 2

Edgar, Walter
1998 South Carolina: a History. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.

Edgar, Walter and N. Louise Bailey
1977 Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.

Epstein, Diana
1968 Collector's Blue Book of Buttons. Walker & Co., New York.

Fagan, Brian
1992 People of the Earth: an Introduction to World Prehistory. HarperCollins, New York.

Fairbanks, Charles
1984 The Plantation Archaeology of the Southeastern Coast. Historical Archaeology 18(1):1-14.

Fales, Martha Gandy
1995 Jewelry in America, 1600-1900. Antique Collectors Club, Woodbridge, Suffolk.

Faulkner, Charles
1998 "Here are Frame Houses and Brick Chimneys": Knoxville, Tennessee in the Late Eighteenth Century. In The Southern Colonial Backcountry, edited by David Crass, Steven Smith, Martha Zierden and Richard Brooks, University of Tennesse Press, Knoxville.

Ferguson, Leland
1980 Looking for the 'Afro' in Colono Indian Pottery. In Archaeological Perspectives on Ethnicity in America, edited by Robert Schuyler, pp. 14-28, Baywood Publishing, Farmingdale, New York.

1985 Struggling with Pots in Colonial South Carolina. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Boston.

1992 Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650-1800. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington.

1999 Medicine and Pottery: Creolization and African American Ethnogenesis in Early Carolina. Paper presented at the conference, Slavery in Early South Carolina, Columbia, SC.

Ferguson, Leland and David Babson
n.d. Survey of Plantation Sites along the East Branch of the Cooper River. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

Fisher, Stanley
1965 English Ceramics. Hawthorn books, Inc., New York.

Fisher, Doris Behrman
1990 Mary Musgrove: Creek Englishwoman. Ph.D. Dissertation, Emory University, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.

Fontana, Bernard and J. Cameron Greenleaf
1962 Johnny Ward's Ranch: A Study in Historical Archaeology. The Kiva 28(-2):1-115.

Fraser, Walter J.
1989 Charleston! Charleston! The History of a Southern City. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.

Gaimster, David
1997 German Stoneware 1200-1900: Archaeology and Cultural History. British Museum Press, London.

Gardner, Harold Warren
1969 The Dissenting Sects on the Southern Colonial Frontier, 1720-1770. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Kansas, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.

Gartley, Richard T.
1979 Afro-Cruzan pottery - a New Style of Colonial Earthenware from St.Croix. Journal of the Virgin Islands Archaeological Society 8:47-61.

Geiger, Florence Gambrill
1949 St. Bartholomew's Parish as Seen by its Rectors, 1713-1761. South Carolina Historical Magazine 50:173-177.

Gibb, James G., Al Luckenbach, and Anthony Lindauer
1998 In Search of Maryland's Lost Towns: Providence (1649-1680) and London (1683-1783). Paper presented at the 1998 meetings of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Atlanta.

Gilbert, B.M.
1973 Mammalian Osteo-archaeology: North America. Missouri Archaeological Society, Columbia.

Gould, S.J.
1966 Allometry and Size in Ontogeny and Phylogeny. Biological Review of the Cambridge Philosophical Society 41:587-640.

1971 Geometric Similarity in Allometric Growth: a Contribution to the Problem of Scaling in the Evolution of Size. The American Naturalist. 105(942):113-137.

Gragson, T.L.
1992 Fishing the Waters of Amazonia: Native Subsistence Economies in a Tropical Rain Forest. American Anthropologist 94:428-440.

Graham, Willie
1997 Quantifying Stylistic and Technological Change in Charleston and the Chesapeake. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Corpus Christi.

Grayson, D.K.
1973 On the Methodology of Faunal Analysis. American Antiquity 38(4): 432-439.

1979 On the Quantification of Vertebrate Archaeofauna. In Advances in Archaeological Method and theory, vol. 2, edited by M.B. Schiffer, pp. 199-237, Academic Press, New York.

1981 The Effects of Sample Size on Some Derived Measures in Vertebrate Faunal Analysis. Journal of Archaeological Science 8(1):77-88.

Green, William
1991 The Search for Altamaha: the Archaeology and Ethnohistory of an Early 18th Century Yamasee Indian Town. M.A. thesis, Dept of Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

1998 The Erie/Westo connection: Possible Evidence of Long Distance Migration in the Eastern Woodlands during the 16th and 17th Centuries. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Columbia.

Green, William and David McKivergan
1991 The Yamasee in South Carolina: an Archaeo-Historical Perspective. Paper presented at the 1991 meetings of the Society for Georgia Archaeology, Augusta.

Greig, D.M.
1931 Clinical Observations on the Surgical Pathology of Bone. Oliver and Boyd, Edinburg.

Groover, Mark
1992 Of Mindset and Material Culture: an Archaeological View of Continuity and Change in the 18th Century Backcountry. Volumes in Historical Archaeology XX, SC Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia.

Hann, John H.
1988 Apalachee: the Land Between the Rivers. University Presses of Florida, Gainesville.

Hann, John H. and Bonnie G. McEwan
1998The Apalachee Indians and Mission San Luis. University Presses of Florida, Gainesville.

Hardesty, D. L.
1975 The Niche Concept: Suggestions for its Use in Human Ecology. Human Ecology 3(2):71-85.

Helsley, Alexia Jones
1997 Unsung Heroines of the Carolina Frontier: Mary Musgrove Matthews Bosomworth. South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Document Packet no. 9, Columbia.

Henry, Susan
1980 Physical, Spatial, and Temporal Dimensions of Colono Ware in the Chesapeake, 1600-1800. M.A. Thesis, Catholic University of America, Washington, DC.

Herman, Bernard L.
1992 The Stolen House: Material Culture and Metaphor in the Early Republic. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.

1993 Rethinking the Charleston Single House. Paper presented at the 46th annual meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians, Charleston, SC.

1999 Urban Hinterlands: the Backcountry and the Town. Paper presented at the conference, Eighteenth Century Frontiers in North America, Winchester VA.

Herold, Elaine
1980 Historical and Archaeological Survey of Willtown Bluff Plantation, Charleston County, South Carolina. Ms. on file, The Charleston Museum, Charleston.

Hilliard, Samuel B.
1972 Hog Meat and Hoe Cake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840-1860. Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale.

Hodder, Ian
1986 Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Honerkamp, Nicholas
1980 Frontier Process in Eighteenth Century Colonial Georgia: an Archaeological Approach. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.

Honerkamp, Nicholas and Charles H. Fairbanks
1984 Definition of Site Formation Processes in Urban Contexts. American Archaeology 4(1):60-66.

Honerkamp, Nicholas, R. Bruce Council and M. Elizabeth Will
1982 An Archaeological Investigation of the Charleston Convention Center Site, Charleston, South Carolina. Ms. on file, National Park Service, Atlanta.

Horn, James
1994 Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth Century Chesapeake. Institute of Early American History and Culture, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Horning, Audrey J.
1995 "A Verie fit place to Erect a Great Cittie": Comparative Contextual Analysis of Archaeological Jamestown. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.

1998 Review of "Diversity and Accommodation" by Michael Puglisi, Vernacular Architecture Newsletter 78:16-19.

Huddleston, Connie M.
1998 Plates and Scalloped Rims: Indications of Temporal Change in Low Country Colonoware Production. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Greenville, SC

Huggins, Phillip K.
1971 The South Carolina Dispensary. Sandlapper Press, Columbia.

Isaac, Rhys
1982 The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790. Institute of Early American History and Culture, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Ivers, Larry
1970 Colonial Forts of South Carolina, 1670-1775. Tricentennial Booklet no. 3, University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.

1972 Scouting the Inland Passage, 1685-1737. South Carolina Historical Magazine 73:117-129.

Jackson, James Brinckerhof
1984 Discovering the Vernacular Landscape. Yale University Press, New Haven.

Jones, Charles C.
1883 The History of Georgia: volume 1, Aboriginal and Colonial Epochs. Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Boston.

Jordan, James C., III
1988 The Neoclassical Dining Room in Charleston. Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts V(2):1-26.

Joyner, Charles
1984 Down by the Riverside: a South Carolina Slave Community. University of Illinois Press, Chicago.

Judge, Christopher and Steven D. Smith
1991 Acquiring the Past for the Future: the South Carolina Heritage Trust Statewide Assessment of Cultural Sites. Research Manuscript Series 213, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia.

Kechum, William C.
1975 A Treasury of American Bottles. Bobbs Merrill, New York.

Kent, S.
1981 The Dog: an Archaeologist's Best Firend or Worst Enemy - the Spatial Distribution of Faunal Remains. Journal of Field Archaeology 8(3):367-372.

King, Julia A.
1992 Archaeological Investigations at Charles Pinckney's Snee Farm, Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina. Ms. on file, Friends of Historic Snee Farm, Inc., Mt. Pleasant, SC.

Klingberg, Frank J.
1960 Early Attempts at Indian Education in South Carolina, A Documentary. South Carolina Historical Magazine 61:1-10.

1962 The Mystery of the Lost Yamassee Prince. South Carolina Historical Magazine 63:18-32.

Kohl, P.L.
1981 Materialist Approaches in Prehistory. Annual Review of Anthropology 10:89-118.

Kovacik, Charles and John Winberry
1987 South Carolina: the Making of a Landscape. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.

Kryder-Reid, Elizabeth
1994 "As is the Gardener, So is the Garden": The Archaeology of Landscape as Myth. In Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake, edited by Paul Shackel and Barbara Little, pp. 131-148, Smithsonian Insititution Press, Washington.

Lamar, Howard and Leonard Thompson, editors
1981 The Frontier in History: North America and Southern Africa Compared. Yale University Press, New Haven.

Landers, Jane
1984 Spanish Sanctuary: Fugitives in Florida 1687-1790. The Florida Historical Quarterly 62(3):296-313.

Lees, William B.
1980 Old and In the Way: Archaeological Investigations at Limerick Plantation. Anthropological Studies 5, SC Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia.

Lefler, Hugh Talmage
1967 A New Voyage to Carolina, by John Lawson. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Lesser, Charles H.
1995 South Carolina Begins: the Records of a Proprietary Colony, 1663-1721. South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

Lewis, Lynn G.
1985 The Planter Class: the Archaeological Record at Drayton Hall. In The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life, edited by Theresa Singleton, pp. 121-140, Academic Press, New York.

p26
Lewis, Kenneth
1984 The American Frontier: An Archaeological Study of Settlement Pattern and Process. Academic Press, New York.

1998 Economic Development in the South Carolina Backcountry: A View from Camden. In The Southern Colonial Backcountry, edited by David Crass, Steven Smith, Martha Zierden and Richard Brooks, pp. 87-107, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

1999 The Metropolis and the Backcountry: the Making of a Colonial Landscape on the South Carolina Frontier. Historical Archaeology 33:3, in press.

Lewis, Kenneth and Helen Haskell
1980 Hampton II: Further Archaeological Investigations at a Santee River Rice Plantation. Research Manuscript 161, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia.

Linder, Suzanne Cameron
1995 Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the Ace River Basin to 1860. South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

1996 Willtown: Colonial Village on the Edisto. Ms. on file, The Charleston Museum, Charleston.

Lipscomb, Terry
1993 South Carolina in 1791: George Washinton's Southern Tour. South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

Littlefield, Daniel
1981 Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.

Lorrain, Dessamae
1968 An Archaeologist's Guide to the 19th Century American Glass. Historical Archaeology 2:35-44.

Lounsbury, Carl
1994 An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape. Oxford University Press, New York.

Luscomb, Sally C.
1954 The Collector's Encyclopedia of Buttons. Crown Publishers, Inc., New York.

Marquardt, William H.
1985 Complexity and Scale in the Study of Fisher-Gatherer-Hunters: an Example from the Eastern United States. In Prehistoric Hunters-Gatherers: The Emergence of Complexity, edited by T.D. Price and J. Brown, pp. 59-87, Academic Press, New York.

Martin, Ann Smart
1987 The Limits of the Possible: Availability and Costs of Tableware in and Eighteenth Century Virginia Store. Paper presented at the 20th annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Savannah.

1994 "Fashionable Sugar Dishes, Latest Fashion Ware": The Retail Trade in Eighteenth Century Tea and Tablewares. In Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake, edited by Paul Shackel and Barbara Little, pp. 169-188, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C.

1996 Frontier Boys and Country Cousins: The Context for Choice in Eighteenth-Century Consumerism. In Historical Archaeology and the Study of American Culture, edited by Lu Ann De Cunzo and Bernard Herman, pp. 71-102, Winterthur Museum Publications, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

1996 Material Things and Cultural Meanings: Notes on the Study of Early American Material Culture. William and Mary Quarterly LIII(1):5-12.

1997 Shaping the Field: the Multidisciplinary Perspectives of Material Culture. In American Material Culture: the Shape of the Field, edited by Ann Smart Martin and J. Ritchie Garrison, pp. 1-20, Winterthur Museum, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

Martin, Joel

1994 Southeastern Indians and the English Trade in Skins and Slaves. In The Forgotten Centuries, edited by Charles Hudson and Carmen Tesser, University of Georgia Press, Athens.

Matthewson, Duncan

1973 Archaeological Analysis of Material Culture as a Reflection of Sub-Cultural Differentiation in 18th Century Jamaica. Jamaica Journal 7(102):25-29, 6:54-56.

McAmis, Herb

c.1988 Indian People of the Edisto River: A Brief History of the Kusso-Natchez Indians, often called "Edistos". Published privately for the Four Holes Indian Organization, Edisto Tribal Council, Inc.

McDowell, William L., editor

1955 Journals of the Commissioners of Indian Trade. South Carolina Archives Department, Columbia.

McFarlane, Suzanne

1975 The Ethnoarchaeology of a Slave Community: The Couper Plantation Site. M.A. Thesis, University of Florida, Gainesville.

McInnis, Maurie

1996 The Politics of Taste: Classicism in Charleston, South Carolina, 1815-1840. Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.

McKivergan, David A. Jr.

1991 Migration and Settlement Among the Yamasee in South Carolina. M.A. Thesis, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

Merrell, James
1989 "Our Bond of Peace": Patterns of Intercultural Exchange in the Carolina Piedmont, 1650-1750. In Powhatan's Mantle, edited by Peter Wood, Gregory Waselkov and Thomas Hatley, pp. 196-222, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

1992 The Indians' New World: the Catawba and their Neighbors. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Michie, James L.
1990 Richmond Hill Plantation, 1810-1868. The Reprint Company, Spartanburg, SC.

Miller, George L.
1980 Classification and Economic Scaling of 19th Century Ceramics. Historical Archaeology 14:1-41.

1991 A Revised List of CC Index Values for Classification and Economic Scaling of English Ceramics from 1787 to 1880. Historical Archaeology 25(1):1-25.

Milling, Chapman J.
1940 Red Carolinians. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Moore, Sue Mullins
1981 The Antebellum Barrier Island Plantation: In Search of an Archaeological Pattern. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.

Morgan, Phillip
1998 Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry. Omohundro Institue of Early American History and Culture, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Noel Hume, Audrey
1974 Archaeology and the Colonial Gardener. Colonial Williamsburg Archaeological Series no. 7, Williamsburg, Virginia.

1978 Food. Colonial Williamsburg Archaeological Series no. 9, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Noel Hume, Ivor
1962 An Indian Ware of the Colonial Period. Quarterly Bulletin, Archaeological Society of Virginia 17:1.

1969 A Guide to the Artifacts of Colonial America. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

Ogilvie, George
1986 Carolina or The Planter. The Southern Literary Journal

Orser, Charles E., Jr.
1984 The Past Ten Years of Plantation Archaeology in the Southeastern United States. Southeastern Archaeology 3(1):1-12.

Orser, Charles, Annette Nekola and James Roark
1983 Exploring the Rustic Life: Multidisciplinary Research at Millwood Plantation, a Large Piedmont Plantation in Abbeville County, South Carolina and Elbert County, Georgia. Ms. on file, National Park Service, Atlanta.

Otto, John
1975 Status Differences and the Archaeological Record: a Comparison of Planter, Overseer and Slave Sites from Cannon's Point Plantation (1796-1861), St. Simon's Island, Georgia. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.

1979 A New Look at Slave Life. Natural History 88(1):8-30.

1984 Cannon's Point Plantation, 1794-1860: Living Conditions and Status Patterns in the Old South. Academic Press, New York.

1987 Livestock-Raising in Early South Carolina, 1670-1700: Prelude to the Rice Plantation Economy. Agricultural History 61.

Owens, J.M.
1982 Radiographic Interpretation for the Small Animal Clinician. Ralston Purina Company, St. Louis, MO.

Pearson, Lennart
1998 The Church of the Nativity and the Frank Wills Connection. South Carolina Historical Magazine: in press.

Perkins, D. And P. Daly
1968 A Hunter's Village in Neolithic Turkey. Scientific American 219(5):96-106.

Peterson, Harold L.
1956 Arms and Armor in Colonial America 1526-1783. Bramhall House, New York.

Pielou, E.C.
1966 Species-Diversity and Pattern-Diversity in the Study of Ecological Succession. Journal of Theoretical Biology 10:370-383.

Pinckney, Charles C.
1895 The Life of General Thomas Pinckney. Houghton Mifflin & Co., Cambridge.

Pinckney, Thomas
1841 On the Use of Facines in Stopping Breaks or Creeks. The Southern Agriculturalist.

Porcher, Richard
1985 Rice Culture. In A Teacher's Field Guide to the Natural History of the Bluff Plantation Wildlife Sanctuary. Kathleen O'Brien Foundation, New Orleans, LA

Puckett, Newbell Niles
1968 Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro. Reprint of 1926 edition. Patterson Smith, Montclair, NY.

Purdue, J.R.
1983 Epiphyseal Closure in White-Tailed Deer. Journal of Wildlife Management 47(4): 1207-1213.

Pyne, Steven J.
1982 Fire in America: a Cultural History of Wildland and Rural Fire. Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Quattlebaum, Paul
1956 The Land Called Chicora. The Reprint Co., Spartanburg.

Ray, Anthony
1973 English Delftware Tiles. Faber and Faber, London.

Reitz, Elizabeth
1986 Urban/Rural Contrasts in Vertebrate Fauna from the Southern Coastal Plain. Historical Archaeology 20(2):47-58.

1987 Vertebrate Fauna and Socioeconomic Status. In Consumer Choices in Historical Archaeology, edited by Suzanne Spencer-Wood, pp. 101-119, Plenum Publishing, New York.

1994 Zooarchaeological Analysis of A Free African Community: Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose. Historical Archaeology 28(1):23-40.

1996 The Zooarchaeology of Culture Contact. Paper presented at the 53rd annual meeting of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Birmingham, AL.

Reitz, Elizabeth and Dan Cordier
1983 Use of Allometry in Zooarchaeological Analysis. In Animals in Archaeology: 2, Shell Middens, Fishes and Birds, edited by C. Grigson and J. Clutton-Brock, pp. 237-252, BAR International Series 183, Oxford.

Reitz, Elizabeth Irv Quitmyer, H. Stephen Hale, Sylvia J. Scudder and Elizabeth Wing
1987 Application of Allometry to Zooarchaeology. American Antiquity 52(2)304-317.

Reitz, Elizabeth and Barbara Ruff
1994 Morphometric Data for Cattle from North America and the Caribbean Prior to the 1850s. Journal of Archaeological Science 211:699-713.

Reitz, Elizabeth and Martha Zierden
1991 Cattle Bones and Status from Charleston, South Carolina. In Perspectives in Zooarchaeology: Tributes to the Career of Paul W. Parmalee, edited by Bonnie Styles, James Purdue and Walter Klippel, pp. 395-408, Illinois State Museum Publications, Springfield.

Rick, A.
1975 Bird Medullary bone: A Seasonal Dating Technique for Faunal Analysis. Canadian Archaeological Association Bulletin 7:183-190.

Ripley, Warren
1970 Charles Town: Birth of a City. Evening Post Publishing Company, Charleston.

Rogers, George C.
1980 Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.

Roth, Rodris
1961 Tea Drinking in Eighteenth Century America: Its Etiquette and Equipage. Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology. Bulletin 225, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

Russell, Aaron E.
1997 Material Culture and African American Spirituality at the Hermitage. Historical Archaeology 31(2):63-80.

Salley, Alexander
1967 Narratives of Early Carolina. Barnes and Nobles, New York.

Samford, Patricia M.
1996 The Archaeology of African Americna Slavery and Material Culture. William and Mary Quarterly LIII (1):87-114.

Saunt, Claudio
1998 "Domestick...Quite being broke": Gender Conflict among Creek Indians in the Eighteenth Century. In Contact Points, edited by Andrew Cayton and Fredrika Teute, pp. 151-174, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Savage, J. Thomas and N. Jane Iseley
1995 The Charleston Interior. Legacy Publications, Greensboro, NC.

Schiffer, Michael
1977 Toward a Unified Science of the Cultural Past. In Research Strategies in Historical Archaeology, edited by Stanley South, pp. 13-40, Academic Press, New York.

1983 Toward the Identification of Formation Processes. American Antiquity 48(4):675-706.

Schmid, E.
1972 Atlas of Animal Bones for Prehistorians, Archaeologists, and Quaternary Geologists. Elsevsier, Amsterdam.

Sellers, Leila
1970 Charleston Businesses on the Eve of the American Revolution. Arno Press, New York.

Severinghaus, C.W.
1949 Tooth Development and Wear as Criteria of Age in White-Tailed Deer. Journal of Wildlife Management 13(2):195-216.

Shackel, Paul and Barbara Little
1992 Post-Processual Approaches to Meantings and Uses of Material Culture in Historical Archaeology. Historical Archaeology 26(3): 5-11.

Shaffer, B.S.
1992 Quarter-Inch Screening: Understanding Biases in Recovery of Vertebrate Faunal Remains. American Antiquity 57(1): 129-136.

Shaffer, B.S. and J.L.J. Sanchez
1994 Comparison of 1/8" and 1/4" Mesh Recovery of Controlled Samples of Small-to-Medium Sized Mammals. American Antiquity 59(3):525-530.

Shannon, C.E. and W. Weaver
1949 The Mathematical Theory of Communication. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

Sheldon, A.L.
1969 Equitability Indicies: Dependence on Species Count. Ecology 50:466-467.

Shipman, P. And J. Rose
1983 Evidence of Butchery and Hominid Activities at Torralba and Ambrona: An Evaluation Using Microscopic Techniques. Journal of Archaeological Science 10(5): 465-474.

Shomette, Donald
1978 London Town: a Brief History. London Town Public House Commission, Inc., Londontown, Maryland

Silver, Timothy
1990 A New Face on the Countryside: Indians, Colonists and Slaves in South Atlantic Forests, 1500-1800. Cambridge University Press, New York.

Simmons, Slann Legare Clement
1960 Records of Willtown Presbyterian Church, 1747-1841. South Carolina Historical Magazine 61:150-151.

Simpson, G.G.
1941 Large Pleistocene Felines of North America. American Museum Novitates 1136:1-27.

Simpson, G.G., A. Roe and R. C. Lewontin
1960 Quantitative Zoology. Harcourt, Brace, and Co., New York.

Singleton, Theresa
1980 The Archaeology of Afro-American Slavery in Coastal Georgia: a Regional Perception of Slave Household and Community Patterns. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.

Sirmans, M. Eugene
1966 Colonial South Carolina: a Political History, 1663-1763. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Smith, Henry A.M.
1988 Cities and Towns from Early South Carolina. The Reprint Company, Spartanburg.

Smith, Marvin
1987 Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change in the Interior Southeast: Depopulation during the Early Historic Period. University Presses of Florida, Gainesville.

1989 Aboriginal Population Movement in the Early Historic Period Interior Southeast. In Powhatan's Mantle, edited by Peter Wood, Gregory Waselkov, and Thomas Hatley, pp. 21-34, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Snell, William R.
1973 Indian Slavery in Colonial South Carolina, 1671-1795. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Alabama, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.

South, Stanley
1964 Analysis of the Buttons from Brunswick Town and Fort Fisher. Florida Anthropologist XVII(2):1113-133.

1972 Evolution and Horizon as Revealed in Ceramic Analysis in Historical Archaeology. Conference on Historic Sites Archaeology Papers 6(2):71-106.

1977 Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology. Academic Press, New York.

South, Stanley and Michael Hartley
1980 Deep Water and High Ground: Seventeenth Century Low Country Settlement. Research Manuscript Series 166, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia.

Southerlin, Bobby
1999 Archaeology at 38Bu1605: The Yemassee Occupation at the Town of Chechessee. Paper presented at the annual Conference on South Carolina Archaeology, Columbia.

Staski, Edward
1982 Advances in Urban Archaeology. In Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory, volume 5, edited by Michael Schiffer, pp. 97-150, Academic Press, New York.

Steen, Carl
1996 South Carolina's Backcountry Ethnic Stew. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Cincinnati.

Steen, Carl, Christopher Judge and Tariq Ghaffar
1998 Searching for the 18th Century Pee Dee Indian town in Marion County, South Carolina. Report on file, South Carolina Department of Natural Resources, Columbia, SC.

Steward, Julian H.
1955 Theory of Culture Change. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

Stilgoe, John R.
1982 Common Landscapes of America 1580-1845. Yale University Press, New Haven.

Stine, Linda and Martha Zierden
1997 Historical Landscapes through the Prism of Archaeology. In Carolina's Historical Landscapes: Archaeological Perspectives, edited by Linda Stine, Martha Zierden, Lesley Drucker and Christopher Judge, pp xi-xvi, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

Stine, Linda, Melanie Cabak, and Mark Groover
1996 Blue Beads as African American Cultural Symbols. Historical Archaeology 30(3):49-75.

Stone, Lyle M.
1974 Fort Michilimackinac 1715-1781: An Archaeological Perspective on the Revolutionary Frontier. Publications of the Museum, Michigan State University, East Lansing.

Switzer, Ronald R.
1974 The Bertrand Bottles: A Study of 19th Century Glass and Ceramic Containers. National Park Service, Washington.

Thomas, David H.
1971 On Distinguishing Natural from Cultural Bone in Archaeological Sites. American Antiquity 36(3): 366-371.

Thornton, John
1991 African Domensions of the Stono Rebellion. The American Historical Review 96(4):1101-1113.

Trinkley, Michael, Debi Hacker and Natalie Adams
1995 Broom Hall Plantation: 'A good One and in a Pleasant Neighborhood'. Research Series 44, Chicora Foundation, Columbia.

Upton, Dell
1990 Imagining the Early Virginia Landscape. In Earth Patterns, edited by William Kelso and Rachel Most, pp. 71-88, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Waddell, Eugene
1980 Indians of the South Carolina Lowcountry 1562-1751. The Reprint Company, Spartanburg.

Waselkov, Gregory
1989 Seventeenth Century Trade in the Colonial Southeast. Southeastern Archaeology 8(2): 117-133.

Watson, J.P.N.
1978 The Interpretation of Epipyseal Fusion Data. In Research Problems in Zooarchaeology, edited by D.R. Brothwell, J.D. Thomas and J. Clutton-Brock, pp. 97-102. University of London Institute of Archaeology, Occasional Publications 3.

Weinand, Dan C.
1997 Appendix in Interim Report: Archaeology at Willtown. Ms on file, The Charleston Museum, Charleston.

Weir, Robert M.
1983 Colonial South Carolina: a History. KTO Press, Millwood, New York.

Wheaton, Thomas, Amy Friedlander and Patrick Garrow
1983 Yaughan and Curriboo Plantations: Studies in Afro-American Archaeology. Soil Systems, Inc., National Park Service, Atlanta.

White, T.E.
1953 A Method for Calculating the Dietary Percentages of Various Food Animals Utilized by Aboriginal Peoples. American Antiquity 19(2):396-398.

Wing, Elizabeth S.
1973 Subsistence Systems in the Southeast. Paper presented at the 38th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Memphis.

1976 Ways of Going from the Sliver of Bone to a Calorie. Paper presented at the 41st Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, St. Louis.

Wing, Elizabeth and A. Brown
1979 Paleonutrition: Method and Theory in Prehistoric Foodways. Academic Press, New York.

Wood, Peter
1975 Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

1989 The Changing Population of the Colonial South: An Overview by Race and Region, 1685-1790. In Powhatan's Mantle, edited by Peter Wood, Gregory Waselkov and Thomas Hatley, pp. 35-103, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Worth, John E.
1995 The Struggle for the Georgia Coast: an Eighteenth-Century Spanish Retrospective on Guale and Mocama. Anthropological Papers number 75, American Museum of Natural History, University of Georgia Press, Athens.

Wright, J. Leitch
1971 Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in North America. University of Georgia Press, Athens.

Young, Amy L.
1994 Change and Continuity in African-Derived Religious Practices on an Upland South Plantation. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Lexington, Kentucky.

Zierden, Martha
1996 Big House/Back Lot: Archaeological Research at the Nathaniel Russell House. Archaeological Contributions 25, The Charleston Museum, Charleston.

1997 Archaeological Investigation of Willtown: Plan of Work, 1997 Season. Ms. on file, The Charleston Museum, Charleston.

1997 The Urban Landscape in South Carolina. In Carolina's Historic Landscapes, edited by Linda Stine et al., pp 161-174, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

1999 A Trans-Atlantic Merchant's House in Charleston: Archaeological Exploration of Refinement and Subsistence in an Urban Setting. Historical Archaeology 33(3): in press.

Zierden, Martha and Ronald Anthony
1998 Looking for Willtown, South Carolina. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Atlanta.

Zierden, Martha and Jeanne Calhoun
1990 An Archaeological Interpretation of Elite Townhouse Sites in Charleston, South Carolina, 1770-1850. Southeastern Archaeology 9(2): 79-92.

Zierden, Martha and Bernard L. Herman
1996 Charleston Townhouses: Archaeology, Architecture, and the Urban Landscape, 1750-1850. In Landscape Archaeology: Studies in Reading and Interpreting the American Historical Landscape, edited by Rebecca Yamin and Karen Metheny, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

Zierden, Martha and Jeanne Calhoun

1983 An Archaeological Investigation of the Greenfield Borrow Pit, Georgetown County, South Carolina. Archaeological Contributions 4, The Charleston Museum, Charleston.

1990 An Archaeological Interpretation of Elite Townhouse Sites in Charleston, South Carolina, 1770-1850. Southeastern Archaeology 9(2): 79-92.

Zierden, Martha, Lesley Drucker and Jeanne Calhoun

1986 Home Upriver: Rural Life on Daniels Island, Berkeley County, South Carolina. Ms. on file, South Carolina Department of Highways and Public Transportation, SC

Willtown:
An Archaeological and Historical Perspective

Appendix I: Analysis of Pollen Samples
Jean Porter, University of Georgia

Appendix II: OCR Dates
Douglas Frink, Archaeology Consulting Team

Appendix III: Partial group of Tables to accompany Analysis of Faunal Remains
Jennifer Webber, University of Georgia
(Note: additional tablular data and figures are available at The Charleston Musem and the Museum of Natural History, University of Georgia)

Jean Marie Porter, Pollen Analyst
Paleoecology Laboratory
Department of Geography and Georgia Museum of Natural History
University of Georgia
Athens, GA 30602

Pollen Report - 23 April 1999

Site: Wilton - 38Ch1659

Owner: Martha Zierden
The Charleston Museum
360 Meeting Street
Charleston, SC 29403-6297

Description: All samples contained a large amount of charcoal, some plant vegetative material and seeds.

Processing: 25 gram samples were prepared. Large mineral particles and shells were removed prior to weighing. Standard procedures for pollen processing follow Faegri and Iversen, 1989, *Textbook of Pollen Analysis*, Fourth edition, John Wiley and Sons, New York, and Pearsall, D.M., 1989, *Paleoethnobotany: a handbook of procedures*, Academic Press,Inc., San Diego.

Hot 10% KOH to remove organic acids.
Bulk flotation and wash through 180 μm mesh to remove sand.
Hot 10% HCl to remove carbonates.
Flotation on $ZnCl_2$, specific gravity 1.9.
Hot conc. HF to remove silicates and inorganics.
Acetolysis to remove organics and stain pollen and spores.
Dehydration and mounting in silicone oil.

Pollen and spore report: Willtown

A fresh pollen control was processed in parallel with samples to check technique. Slides for counting pollen were made from a well-mixed suspension. Slides were systematically scanned at 250X magnification. Identification was made at 400X magnification. Two slides were counted for FS# 148 to compare two processing techniques. Pollen counts were similar with both techniques and one slide was counted for the other sites. Pollen counts for all samples are on the following page.

Arboreal species identified are: *Pinus* (pine), *Quercus* (oak), *Carya* (hickory), *Liquidambar* (sweetgum), *Carpinus* (ironwood), *Nyssa* (blackgum), and *Castanea* (chinquapin). Herbaceous families are: Asteraceae (daisy, sunflower), Chenopodiaceae (pigweed), Poaceae (grass), and Cyperaceae (sedge). The previous pollen types are typical of terrestrial pollen rain on the coastal plain. *Taraxacum* (dandelion) and the ferns are not as common in the pollen rain and indicate on-site deposition. Pollen and spores were mostly degraded, broken, or collapsed as would be expected in a highly oxidized environment.

There is enough variation between samples to indicate different deposition times or environments. Comparisons between sample sites should be made by percentages rather that actual counts. For pollen counts from a typical coastal plain forest, hickory is usually 15-20% of the oak count. This is the case in FS# 148, 213, and 306. FS# 504, 539, and 621 have substantially elevated hickory counts possibly indicating a large tree nearby.

Sphagnum moss may have been bedding or stuffing material. Undifferentiated and undetermined fungal spores and sporangia are typical of most soils and may be characteristic of certain soil types but are not within my expertise. Our plant pathologist identified the pathogenic smut fungus.

FS# 148: some unidentified pollen may be holly, grape, or members of the mustard family.

FS# 446: very high smut, probably a pathogen on a grass or grain.

FS# 504: high number of spores not thought to be pathogens.

FS# 539: apparent absence of fungi.

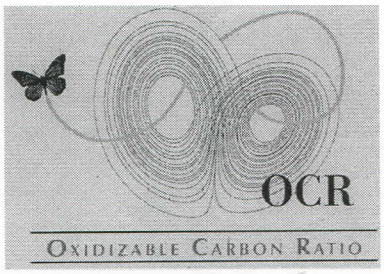
FS# 621: unknowns include 3 possible legumes; apparent absence of fern spores.

Willtown	Field site # 148	213	306	446	504	539	621
Pollen types:							
Pinus	11	6	3	4	4	8	1
Quercus	30	18	6	8	7	10	5
Carya	5	3	1		7	9	7
Liquidambar	1	2				1	2
Carpinus	2	3					
Nyssa	3		1				
Castanea						1	
Ericaceae				1			
Asteraceae	5	5				3	
Taraxacum	1	3	3			9	3
Chenopodiaceae	2	2	2		1	3	1
Poaceae	3					4	3
Cyperaceae	1					1	
Unknowns		3	2			4	4
Unidentifiable	4	6	1	3	5	5	1
Spores:							
Osmunda		9	2		3	6	
Botrychium	1	1	1				
undetermined ferns		3	1	4		5	
Sphagnum moss	6	2		1			
smut fungus	6			106			
fungal spores and sporangia	**	*	*	**	70		*

Calculated OCR DATE Report

For The Charleston Museum

30-Sep-97



Sample Id:	ACT # 2857			
Site Id #:	38-CH-482-A			
Location:	N 235 E 145			
Feature Type:	Cultural			
Feature Designation:	FEAT 12			
Sample Recieved:	9/4/97			
Calculated OCR DATE:	262	YBP(1950)	1688	+/- 7

Sample Id:	ACT # 2858			
Site Id #:	38-CH-482-A			
Location:	N 235 E 190			
Feature Type:	Cultural			
Feature Designation:	FEAT 10			
Sample Recieved:	9/4/97			
Calculated OCR DATE:	283	YBP(1950)	1667	+/- 8

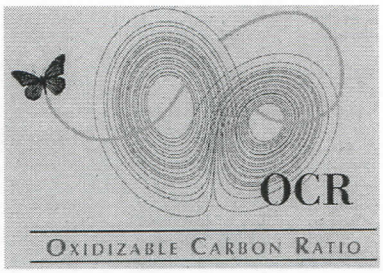
Sample Id:	ACT # 2859			
Site Id #:	38-CH-482-A			
Location:	N 235 E 200			
Feature Type:	Cultural			
Feature Designation:	FEAT 7			
Sample Recieved:	9/4/97			
Calculated OCR DATE:	360	YBP(1950)	1590	+/- 10

Sample Id:	ACT # 2860			
Site Id #:	38-CH-482-A			
Location:	N 235 E 190			
Feature Type:	Cultural			
Feature Designation:	FEAT 11			
Sample Recieved:	9/4/97			
Calculated OCR DATE:	289	YBP(1950)	1661	+/- 8

Calculated OCR DATE Report

For The Charleston Museum

30-Sep-97



Sample Id:	ACT # 2861		
Site Id #:	38-CH-482-A		
Location:	N 235 E 180		
Feature Type:	Cultural		
Feature Designation:	FEAT 5		
Sample Recieved:	9/4/97		
Calculated OCR DATE:	. 283	YBP(1950)	1667 +/- 8

Sample Id:	ACT # 2862		
Site Id #:	38-CH-482-A		
Location:	N 220 E 205		
Feature Type:	Cultural		
Feature Designation:	FEAT 44		
Sample Recieved:	9/4/97		
Calculated OCR DATE:	271	YBP(1950)	1679 +/- 8

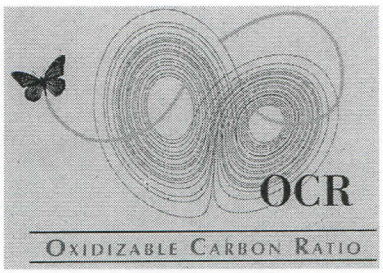
Sample Id:	ACT # 2863		
Site Id #:	38-CH-482-A		
Location:	N 240 E 195		
Feature Type:	Cultural		
Feature Designation:	FEAT 39		
Sample Recieved:	9/4/97		
Calculated OCR DATE:	326	YBP(1950)	1624 +/- 9

Sample Id:	ACT # 2864		
Site Id #:	38-CH-1659		
Location:	N 190 E 195		
Feature Type:	MRT Soil		
Feature Designation:	FS #72		
Sample Recieved:	9/4/97		
Calculated OCR DATE:	137	YBP(1950)	1813

Calculated OCR DATE Report

For The Charleston Museum

30-Sep-97



Sample Id:	ACT # 2865		
Site Id #:	38-CH-1659		
Location:	N 190 E 180		
Feature Type:	MRT Soil		
Feature Designation:	FS #78		
Sample Recieved:	9/4/97		
Calculated OCR DATE:	224	YBP(1950)	1726

Sample Id:	ACT # 2866		
Site Id #:	38-CH-1659		
Location:	N 220 E 185		
Feature Type:	Cultural		
Feature Designation:	FEAT 3		
Sample Recieved:	9/4/97		
Calculated OCR DATE:	276	YBP(1950)	1674 +/- 8

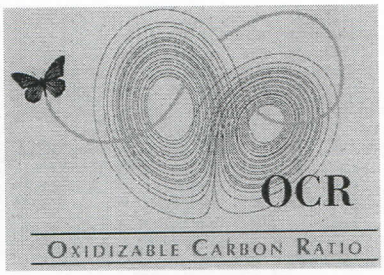
Sample Id:	ACT # 2867		
Site Id #:	38-CH-1659		
Location:	N 220 E 180		
Feature Type:	Cultural		
Feature Designation:	FEAT 2-2		
Sample Recieved:	9/4/97		
Calculated OCR DATE:	225	YBP(1950)	1725 +/- 6

Sample Id:	ACT # 2868		
Site Id #:	38-CH-1659		
Location:	N 220 E 180		
Feature Type:	Cultural		
Feature Designation:	FEAT 3-2		
Sample Recieved:	9/4/97		
Calculated OCR DATE:	298	YBP(1950)	1652 +/- 8

Calculated OCR DATE Report

For The Charleston Museum

30-Sep-97



Sample Id:	ACT # 2869		
Site Id #:	38-CH-1659		
Location:	N 215 E 180		
Feature Type:	Cultural		
Feature Designation:	FEAT 44		
Sample Recieved:	9/4/97		
Calculated OCR DATE:	353	YBP(1950)	1597 +/- 10

Sample Id:	ACT # 2870		
Site Id #:	38-CH-1659		
Location:	N 220 E 200		
Feature Type:	Cultural		
Feature Designation:	FEAT 15-POST		
Sample Recieved:	9/4/97		
Calculated OCR DATE:	253	YBP(1950)	1697 +/- 7

Sample Id:	ACT # 2871		
Site Id #:	38-CH-1659		
Location:	N 200 E 260		
Feature Type:	Cultural		
Feature Designation:	FEAT 40		
Sample Recieved:	9/4/97		
Calculated OCR DATE:	251	YBP(1950)	1699 +/- 7

Sample Id:	ACT # 2872		
Site Id #:	38-CH-1661		
Location:	N 250 E 255		
Feature Type:	MRT Soil		
Feature Designation:	ZONE 2		
Sample Recieved:	9/4/97		
Calculated OCR DATE:	282	YBP(1950)	1668

Table 2. Stobo Plantation/Early Proveniences, 1720 - 1740: Species List

	NISP	MNI		Wt, gm	Biomass, kg
		#	%		
UID Fish	4	1	4.4	1.81	0.048
Bufo spp.	1	1	4.4	0.06	
Toads					
UID Turtle	4			4.00	0.080
Chelydra serpentina	2	1	4.4	2.05	0.051
Snapping turtle					
Kinosternidae	16			1.94	0.049
Mud/musk turtles					
Kinosternon subrubrum	1	1	4.4	1.03	0.032
Mud turtle					
Emydidae	7			5.67	0.101
Box and water turtles					
Deirochelys reticularia	2	1	4.4	2.12	0.052
Chicken turtle					
UID Bird	30			13.16	0.213
Anatidae	3			1.62	0.032
Swans, geese, ducks					
Branta canadensis	3	1	4.4	1.76	0.034
Canada goose					

Table 2. Stobo Plantation/Early Proveniences, 1720 - 1740: Species List (cont.).

	NISP	MNI		Wt, gm	Biomass, kg
		#	%		
Gallus gallus	8	1	4.4	10.36	0.171
Chicken					
Meleagris gallopavo	4	1	4.4	26.25	0.399
Turkey					
Ectopistes migratorius	1	1	4.4	0.38	0.009
Passenger pigeon					
Turdus migratorius	1	1	4.4	0.15	0.004
American robin					
UID Mammal	378			679.12	9.306
Didelphis virginiana	1	1	4.4	0.88	0.023
Opossum					
Leporidae	2			0.45	0.013
Hares and rabbits					
Oryctolagus cuniculus	1	1	4.4	0.42	0.012
European rabbit					
Sylvilagus floridanus	2	1	4.4	3.41	0.079
Eastern cottontail					
Sylvilagus palustris	1	1	4.4	0.46	0.013
Marsh rabbit					

Table 2. Stobo Plantation/Early Proveniences, 1720 - 1740: Species List (cont.).

	NISP	MNI		Wt, gm	Biomass, kg
		#	%		
Muridae	1			0.13	0.004
Rats and mice					
Rattus spp.	1			0.19	0.006
Old World rat					
Rattus norvegicus	1	1	4.4	0.09	0.003
Norway rat					
Carnivora	1			1.84	0.046
Ursus americanus	1	1	4.4	3.04	0.072
Black bear					
Equus spp.	1	1	4.4	17.41	0.344
Horse/donkey					
Artiodactyla	10			44.83	0.806
Sus scrofa	6	1	4.4	10.57	0.220
Pig					
Odocoileus virginianus	17	2	8.7	143.18	2.292
White-tailed deer					
Bos taurus	35	2	8.7	1265.77	16.297
Cow					

Table 2. Stobo Plantation/Early Proveniences, 1720 - 1740: Species List (cont.).

	NISP	MNI		Wt, gm	Biomass, kg
		#	%		
Caprinae	1	1	4.4	3.36	0.078
Sheep and goats					
UID Vertebrate				254.45	
Egg Shell	3			0.13	
Mollusca	1			0.36	
Bivalvia	11			4.06	
Cthamalus spp.	6			1.14	
Barnacle					
TOTAL	568	23		2507.65	30.889

Table 3. Stobo Plantation/Early Proveniences, 1720 - 1740: Summary.

	MNI		Biomass	
	#	%	kg	%
Domestic Mammals	5	21.7	16.607	82.1
Domestic Birds	1	4.4	0.171	0.9
Deer	2	8.7	2.292	11.3
Other Wild Mammals	4	17.4	0.187	0.9
Wild Birds	3	13.0	0.442	2.2
Turtles	3	13.0	0.135	0.7
Fishes	1	4.4	0.048	0.2
Commensal Taxa	4	17.4	0.351	1.7
TOTAL	23		20.233	

Table 9. Stobo Plantation/Inside House, 1741-1770: Species List.

	NISP	MNI		Wt, gm	Biomass, kg
		#	%		
UID Fish	6			1.56	0.042
Amia calva	1	1	1.7	0.33	0.002
Bowfin					
Morone saxatalis	1	1	1.7	0.06	0.003
Striped bass					
Micropterus salmoides	1	1	1.7	0.63	0.012
Largemouth bass					
Percidae	1	1	1.7	0.11	0.004
Perches					
Anura	2			0.66	
Frogs/toads					
Rana spp.	7	1	1.7	3.22	
True frogs					
Alligator mississippiensis	1	1	1.7	0.63	
American alligator					
UID Turtle	8			5.75	0.102
Chelydra serpentina	5	1	1.7	3.54	0.074
Snapping turtle					

Table 9. Willtown/Inside House, 1741-1770: Species List (cont.).

	NISP	MNI		Wt, gm	Biomass, kg
		#	%		
Kinosternidae	2			1.21	0.036
Mud/musk turtles					
Kinosternon subrubrum	1	1	1.7	0.29	0.014
Mud turtle					
Sternotherus odoratus	4	1	1.7	1.01	0.032
Common musk turtle					
Emydidae	11			9.59	0.144
Box and water turtles					
Dierochelys reticularia	1	1	1.7	1.57	0.043
Chicken turtle					
Pseudemys concinna	1	1	1.7	14.25	0.188
River cooter					
Terrapene carolina	2	1	1.7	1.28	0.037
Box turtle					
Trachemys scripta	3	1	1.7	0.91	0.030
Slider					
UID Bird	121			50.65	0.726
Ardeidae	1			0.61	0.013
Herons and bitterns					

Table 9. Willtown/Inside House, 1741-1770: Species List (cont.).

	NISP	MNI		Wt, gm	Biomass, kg
		#	%		
Ardea herodias	1	1	1.7	0.54	0.012
Great blue heron					
Anatidae	19			15.24	0.244
Swans, geese, ducks					
Anserinae	5			7.66	0.130
Geese					
Branta canadensis	2	2	3.4	5.46	0.096
Canada goose					
Anatinae	2			0.63	0.013
Marsh ducks					
Aix sponsa	1	1	1.7	2.62	0.049
Wood duck					
Anas platyrhyncos	2	1	1.7	1.86	0.036
Mallard					
Accipitridae	1	1	1.7	1.25	0.025
Hawks, eagles, etc.					
Falconidae	1	1	1.7	0.11	0.003
Falcons					

Table 9. Willtown/Inside House, 1741-1770: Species List (cont.).

	NISP	MNI		Wt, gm	Biomass, kg
		#	%		
Phasianidae	3			2.28	0.046
Pheasants, quails, partridges					
Gallus gallus	39	6	10.2	33.42	0.498
Chicken					
Larinae	1	1	1.7	0.55	0.012
Gulls					
Columbidae	1			0.09	0.002
Pigeons and doves					
Zenaidura macroura	3	1	1.7	0.30	0.007
Mourning dove					
Otus asio	2	1	1.7	0.33	0.007
Common screech owl					
Corvus brachyrhyncos	2	1	1.7	1.26	0.025
American crow					
Passeriformes	1			0.29	0.007
Perching birds					
Turdus migratorius	1	1	1.7	0.07	0.002
American robin					
UID Mammal	506			1057.64	13.865

Table 9. Willtown/Inside House, 1741-1770: Species List (cont.).

	NISP	MNI		Wt, gm	Biomass, kg
		#	%		
Talpidae	1	1	1.7	0.26	0.008
Moles					
Leporidae	72			35.36	0.651
Hares and rabbits					
Oryctolagus cuniculus	7	2	3.4	7.18	0.155
European rabbit					
Sylvilagus spp.	7			5.50	0.122
American rabbit					
Sylvilagus floridanus	14	3	5.1	19.04	0.373
Eastern cottontail					
Sylvilagus palustris	9	1	1.7	6.02	0.132
Marsh rabbit					
Sciurus niger	1	1	1.7	0.40	0.012
Eastern fox squirrel					
Muridae	5			0.56	0.016
Rats and mice					
Neotoma floridana	3	1	1.7	0.47	0.013
Eastern woodrat					
Rattus spp.	5			1.42	0.036
Old World rat					

Table 9. Willtown/Inside House, 1741-1770: Species List (cont.).

	NISP	MNI		Wt, gm	Biomass, kg
		#	%		
Rattus norvegicus	10	2	3.4	3.62	0.084
Norway rat					
Rattus rattus	5	2	3.4	1.39	0.035
Black rat					
Sigmodon hispidus	2	2	3.4	0.43	0.012
Hispid cotton rat					
Felis domesticus	101	3	5.1	95.48	1.592
Domestic cat					
Artiodactyla	20			81.34	1.378
Sus scrofa	48	5	8.5	132.85	2.143
Pig					
Odocoileus virginianus	6	1	1.7	97.16	1.617
White-tailed deer					
Bos taurus	65	3	5.1	2079.81	25.481
Cow					
Caprinae	2			12.40	0.254
Sheep and goats					
Ovis aries	3	1	1.7	67.87	1.171
Sheep					

Table 9. Willtown/Inside House, 1741-1770: Species List (cont.).

	NISP	MNI		Wt, gm	Biomass, kg
		#	%		
UID Vertebrate				315.69	
Bivalvia	2			2.32	
TOTAL	1161	59		4196.03	51.866

Table 10. Stobo Plantation/Inside House, 1741 - 1770: Summary.

	MNI		Biomass	
	#	%	kg	%
Domestic Mammals	11	18.6	28.950	85.1
Domestic Birds	6	10.2	0.498	1.5
Deer	1	1.7	1.617	4.8
Other Wild Mammals	5	8.5	0.517	1.5
Wild Birds	10	16.9	0.265	0.8
Alligator and Turtles	8	13.6	0.418	1.2
Fishes	4	6.8	0.021	0.1
Commensal Taxa	14	23.7	1.753	5.1
TOTAL	59		34.039	

Table 18. Stobo Plantation/Outside Units: Species List.

	NISP	MNI		Wt, gm	Biomass, kg
		#	%		
UID Fish	6			1.45	0.040
Catostomidae	1	1	3.1	0.11	0.005
Suckers					
Micropterus salmoides	1	1	3.1	0.11	0.003
Largemouth bass					
Perca flavescens	1	1	3.1	0.22	0.008
Yellow perch					
Bufo spp.	1	1	3.1	0.08	
Toads					
Alligator mississippiensis	1	1	3.1	5.82	
American alligator					
UID Turtle	45			25.07	0.274
Chelydridae	1			0.76	0.026
Snapping Turtles					
Chelydra serpentina	4	1	3.1	5.90	0.104
Snapping turtle					
Kinosternidae	11			3.35	0.071
Mud/musk turtles					

Table 18. Stobo Plantation/Outside Units: Species List (cont.).

	NISP	MNI		Wt, gm	Biomass, kg
		#	%		
Kinosternon subrubrum	5	1	3.1	1.79	0.047
Mud turtle					
Sternotherus odoratus	2	1	3.1	0.49	0.020
Common musk turtle					
Emydidae	31			48.46	0.426
Box and water turtles					
Deirochelys reticularia	6	1	3.1	4.67	0.089
Chicken turtle					
Pseudemys concinna	1	1	3.1	3.29	0.070
River cooter					
Terrapene carolina	4	1	3.1	4.59	0.088
Box turtle					
Trachemys scripta	18	1	3.1	84.04	0.616
Slider					
UID Bird	33			13.40	0.217
Anatidae	10			5.27	0.093
Swans, geese, ducks					
Branta canadensis	1	1	3.1	2.11	0.040
Canada goose					

Table 18. Stobo Plantation/Outside Units: Species List (cont.).

	NISP	MNI		Wt, gm	Biomass, kg
		#	%		
Anatinae	2	1	3.1	0.99	0.020
Marsh ducks					
Gallus gallus	6	2	6.3	1.90	0.037
Chicken					
Meleagris gallopavo	2	1	3.1	8.67	0.146
Turkey					
Emberizidae	2	2	6.3	0.84	0.017
Sparrows					
UID Mammal	1209			2455.13	29.585
Leporidae	3			0.76	0.021
Hares and rabbits					
Sylvilagus spp.	2	1	3.1	0.54	0.015
American rabbit					
Procyon lotor	2	1	3.1	4.65	0.105
Raccoon					
Equus spp.	1	1	3.1	4.35	0.099
Horse/donkey					
Artiodactyla	32			77.78	1.324

Table 18. Stobo Plantation/Outside Units: Species List (cont.).

	NISP	MNI		Wt, gm	Biomass, kg
		#	%		
Sus scrofa	60	5	15.6	147.23	2.351
Pig					
Odocoileus virginianus	4	1	3.1	36.28	0.666
White-tailed deer					
Bos taurus	115	2	6.3	2126.10	25.991
Cow					
Caprinae	4	2	6.3	52.89	0.936
Sheep and goats					
UID Vertebrate				748.21	
Bivalvia	8			7.25	
Polygyridae	3			0.65	
Land snail	———	—		———	———
TOTAL	1638	32		5885.20	63.550

Table 19. Stobo Plantation/Outside Units: Summary.

	MNI		Biomass	
	#	%	kg	%
Domestic Mammals	9	28.1	29.278	93.0
Domestic Birds	2	6.3	0.037	0.1
Deer	1	3.1	0.666	2.1
Other Wild Mammals	2	6.3	0.120	0.4
Wild Birds	3	9.4	0.206	0.7
Alligator and Turtles	8	25.0	1.034	3.3
Fishes	3	9.4	0.016	0.1
Commensal Taxa	4	12.5	0.116	0.4
TOTAL	32		31.473	

Table 26. Stobo Plantation/Demolition, Fea 1/Fea2: Species List.

	NISP	MNI		Wt, gm	Biomass, kg
		#	%		
UID Fish	11			2.98	0.072
Amia calva	1	1	2.0	0.20	0.001
Bowfin					
Siluriformes	1			0.36	0.008
Catfishes					
Ictalurus punctatus	1	1	2.0	0.58	0.012
Channel catfish					
Arius felis	2	1	2.0	0.56	0.012
Hardhead catfish					
Micropterus salmoides	3	1	2.0	1.26	0.021
Largemouth bass					
Anura	2			0.07	
Frogs/toads					
Rana spp.	1	1	2.0	0.21	
True frogs					
Scaphiopus holbrookii	1	1	2.0	0.05	
Spadefoot					
UID Reptila	1			0.66	

Table 26. Stobo Plantation/Demolition, Fea 1/Fea 2: Species List (cont.).

	NISP	MNI		Wt, gm	Biomass, kg
		#	%		
Alligator mississippiensis	2	1	2.0	11.85	
American alligator					
UID Turtle	30			14.13	0.187
Kinosternidae	5			1.32	0.038
Mud/musk turtles					
Kinosternon subrubrum	8	1	2.0	4.39	0.085
Mud turtle					
Sternotherus odoratus	4	1	2.0	0.63	0.023
Common musk turtle					
Emydidae	18			50.77	0.439
Box and water turtles					
Deirochelys reticularia	1	1	2.0	0.43	0.018
Chicken turtle					
Malaclemys terrapin	2	1	2.0	3.12	0.068
Diamondback terrapin					
Pseudemys concinna	1	1	2.0	3.29	0.070
River cooter					
Terrapene carolina	3	1	2.0	2.61	0.060
Box turtle					

Table 26. Stobo Plantation/Demolition, Fea 1/Fea 2: Species List (cont.).

	NISP	MNI		Wt, gm	Biomass, kg
		#	%		
Trachemys scripta	5	1	2.0	18.87	0.226
Slider					
Colubridae	3	1	2.0	0.48	0.019
Non-poisonous snakes					
Crotalinae	2	1	2.0	0.99	0.031
Pit vipers					
UID Bird	127			62.36	0.878
Ardeidae	1	1	2.0	0.50	0.011
Herons and bitterns					
Anatidae	10			8.59	0.145
Swans, geese, ducks					
Anserinae	2			1.79	0.035
Geese					
Branta canadensis	1	1	2.0	2.13	0.041
Canada goose					
Aythya valisineria	1	1	2.0	2.54	0.048
Canvasback					
Phasianidae	3			3.99	0.072
Pheasants, quails, partridges					

Table 26. Stobo Plantation/Demolition, Fea 1/Fea 2: Species List (cont.).

	NISP	MNI		Wt, gm	Biomass, kg
		#	%		
Gallus gallus	17	4	7.8	11.54	0.189
Chicken					
Meleagris gallopavo	2	1	2.0	4.84	0.086
Turkey					
Zenaidura macroura	2	1	2.0	0.47	0.010
Mourning dove					
Corvus brachyrhyncos	4	1	2.0	0.77	0.016
American crow					
Passeriformes	2	1	2.0	0.25	0.006
Perching birds					
UID Mammal	1260			2300.51	27.902
Didelphis virginiana	4	1	2.0	2.72	0.065
Opossum					
Leporidae	11			10.06	0.210
Hares and rabbits					
Oryctolagus cuniculus	1	1	2.0	0.72	0.020
European rabbit					
Sylvilagus spp.	3			3.53	0.082
American rabbit					

Table 26. Stobo Plantation/Demolition, Fea 1/Fea 2: Species List (cont.).

	NISP	MNI		Wt, gm	Biomass, kg
		#	%		
Sylvilagus floridanus	4	1	2.0	3.28	0.077
Eastern cottontail					
Sylvilagus palustris	4	1	2.0	2.36	0.057
Marsh rabbit					
Rodentia	1			0.18	0.006
Sciuridae	1			0.57	0.016
Squirrels					
Sciurus spp.	3			1.79	0.044
Tree squirrels					
Sciurus niger	1	1	2.0	1.19	0.031
Eastern fox squirrel					
Muridae	14			2.94	0.069
Rats and mice					
Neotoma floridana	2	1	2.0	0.62	0.017
Eastern woodrat					
Rattus spp.	17			5.23	0.117
Old world rat					
Rattus norvegicus	10	2	3.9	4.26	0.097
Norway rat					

Table 26. Stobo Plantation/Demolition, Fea 1/Fea 2: Species List (cont.).

	NISP	MNI		Wt, gm	Biomass, kg
		#	%		
Rattus rattus	12	3	5.9	2.87	0.068
Black rat					
Procyon lotor	5	1	2.0	4.07	0.093
Raccoon					
Felidae	1			0.82	0.022
Cats					
Felis domesticus	26	2	3.9	26.36	0.500
Domestic cat					
Equus spp.	1	1	2.0	6.24	0.137
Horse/donkey					
Artiodactyla	19			38.27	0.699
Sus scrofa	79	3	5.9	204.97	3.166
Pig					
Odocoileus virginianus	15	2	3.9	108.53	1.787
White-tailed deer					
Bos taurus	83	3	5.9	1886.69	23.342
Cow					
Caprine	4			30.70	0.573
Sheep and goats					

Table 26. Stobo Plantation/Demolition, Fea 1/Fea 2: Species List (cont.).

	NISP	MNI		Wt, gm	Biomass, kg
		#	%		
Ovis aries	1	1	2.0	6.72	0.146
Sheep					
UID Vertebrate				451.18	
Bivalvia	2	—		3.23	—
TOTAL	1864	51		5330.19	62.270

Table 27. Stobo Plantation/Demolition, Fea 1/Fea 2: Summary.

	MNI		Biomass	
	#	%	kg	%
Domestic Mammals	8	15.7	26.674	87.0
Domestic Birds	4	7.8	0.189	0.6
Deer	2	3.9	1.787	5.8
Other Wild Mammals	5	9.8	0.323	1.1
Wild Birds	6	11.8	0.212	0.7
Alligator and Turtles	8	15.7	0.550	1.8
Fishes	4	7.8	0.046	0.2
Commensal Taxa	14	27.5	0.875	2.9
TOTAL	51		30.656	

THE FAMILY OF JAMES STOBO (1705–1781)

JAMES STOBO** (1705–1781), SON OF ARCHIBALD AND ELIZABETH PARK STOBO
M. ELIZABETH [SCOTT?]

1. WILLIAM

2. ARCHIBALD (D. 1764)
M. ELIZABETH SKIRVING (D. 1777) — *M.* 2ND PHILIP SMITH**
A. JAMES STOBO (D. 1793)
M. ANN WILKINSON
(1) MORTON WILKINSON STOBO
M. MARTHA SARAH ?
A. ELIZABETH
B. SUSAN LAVINIA
(A) PHILIP
(B) CHARLOTTE
M. THOMAS W. PRICE

3. JAMES (D. 1768) — *M.* 2ND RICHARD HENRY PEYTON
(A) WILLIAM HENRY
(B) JOHN
(C) EDWARD W. B.
(D) SUSAN B.

4. ELIZABETH (D. 1790)

5. JANE (D. 1785)

6. MARY (POLLY) D. 1814
M. JOHN FRASER IN 1771
M. 2ND CHANDLER DINWIDDIE FOWKE IN 1790

8. RICHARD PARK**(D. 1785)
M. MARY HARVEY IN 1757 (D. 1785)
A. ANN (B. 1761)
M. SAMUEL WILCOX IN 1790 [SON OF SIR THOMAS WILCOX, HIGH CROSS, TOTTENHAM, MIDDLESEX]

B. RICHARD PARK (B. 1762)

C. ELIZABETH LOUISA M. JOSIAH PENDARVIS (CHANGED NAME TO BEDON IN 1802)
(1) RICHARD B. BEDON *M.* JANE B. PERRY
A. RICHARD STOBO BEDON*
(2) ALICE *M.* RICHARD BEDON SCREVEN*

D. JOHN RUTLEDGE

E. JANE (C. 1764-1813) *M.* BENJAMIN JAMES*
(1) JOHN STOBO
(2) ROBERT
(3) MARIA *M.* WADE ANDERSON
(4) JANE STROTHER *M.* PATILLO FARROW
(5) SUSAN *M.* JOHN GARLINGTON
(6) LOUISA *M.* ? BALLEW

*FOR FURTHER INFORMATION SEE *BIOGRAPHICAL DIRECTORY OF THE SOUTH CAROLINA SENATE*

** SEE *BIOGRAHICAL DIRECTORY OF THE SOUTH CAROLINA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES*