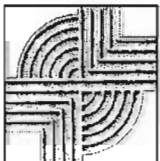
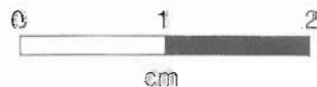


**ROUPELMOND: AN EIGHTEENTH AND
NINETEENTH CENTURY INTERIOR ST. HELENA
PARISH PLANTATION, BEAUFORT COUNTY,
SOUTH CAROLINA**



Front Cover Illustration: Civil War photograph of the Port Royal Ferry crossing on Stuarts Point. Superimposed are three views of a worked stone which was recovered from the Roupelmond slave settlement (470R440, plowzone).

ROUPELMOND:
AN EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURY
INTERIOR ST. HELENA PARISH PLANTATION,
BEAUFORT COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

Research Series 53

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Southerners are the more lonely and estranged, I think because we have lived so long in an artificial social system that we insisted was natural and right and just — when all along we knew it wasn't.

-- Carson McCullers

ABSTRACT

Roupelmond Plantation, also known as Ferry Plantation (38BU1689) is situated in northern Beaufort County, South Carolina, just east of the U.S. 21 crossing of Whale Branch. Chicora Foundation conducted data recovery excavations at the site in late 1997, focusing on two areas — the main house, situated adjacent to the water and the slave settlement, situated further inland. A series of two block excavations were opened in the main house area, with an additional two excavation areas in the vicinity of the slave settlement.

This work was conducted to assist the Beaufort County School Board comply with the provisions of the Coastal Zone Management Act. A Memorandum of Agreement was entered into between the Beaufort Schools, the S.C. Department of Archives and History (SCDAH), and the Office of Ocean and Coastal Resource Management (OCRM). The data recovery plan for these investigations was reviewed and approved by the signatory parties.

Historical research revealed that the plantation probably began about 1730 under the ownership of Samuel Prioleau, and was known at that time as Patterson Plantation. Prioleau died in 1752 and his plantation passed to his two daughters, Mary Bryan and Elizabeth, who later married George Roupell, a prominent government official. Roupell succeeded in acquiring all of the plantation by 1757 and was likely that the tract became known as Roupelmond shortly thereafter. Although fleeing South Carolina during the American Revolution he managed to retain ownership of his plantation and returned there after the war to continue his life as a planter. Roupell died in 1794, but his widow continued operating the plantation until her death in 1819. Their children sold the plantation, in 1819, to John Gibbes Barnwell, who in turn passed the tract to his son-in-law, Middleton Stuart. The Stuart family held the plantation until the Beaufort area was abandoned during the Civil War.

The archaeological investigations at the main house reveal the plantation probably stood during the Civil War, contrary to some local histories which suggest the house was demolished by Confederate batteries. However, since the Stuarts' were not immediately able to reclaim the plantation after the Civil War, it seems likely that the house fell in decay, probably being removed during the early twentieth century to allow easier cultivation. Remains recovered suggest that its construction included brick, tabby, and coquina. Also recovered from the main plantation area is evidence of wall trench construction, possibly representing early eighteenth century slave dwellings.

The slave settlement received more intensive investigation, revealing that it dates to the first half of the eighteenth century — probably to the earliest period of the plantation's occupation. Artifacts suggest that the slaves were largely provisioned using materials cast-off from the main settlement. The slave dwellings were all wall trench structures. Also described by archaeologists as wattle structures, these consisted of posts set into a trench. Wattle or thatch would have been woven around these posts. One of the more unusual features of the slave settlement is a privy, which may represent the only privy identified with a slave settlement in the southeast.

About the turn of the century, corresponding with the death of George Roupell, the slave settlement was dramatically transformed. The old style wall trench structures were replaced with earthfast post and beam frame houses and more ceramics were purchased specifically for the use of the slaves. It was also about this time that use of the slave privy was discontinued.

Roupelmond also evidences some unusual specimens, including several worked stones, a very high incidence of prehistoric lithics, and a number of beads, all of which seem to be related to the African American occupation and may reflect religious or spiritual activities present at the site during the eighteenth century.

This study also provides information on the floral, faunal, pollen, and phytolith remains from the plantation. Although the results are tentative, they offer suggestions of eighteenth century subsistence strategies on the part of the African American community at the plantation.

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Oversight and review was initially provided by Mr. Niels Taylor at the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office and Mr. Fritz Aichele at the Office of Ocean and Coastal Resources Management. Midway through the project Mr. Taylor left the SHPO and was replaced by Mr. Bill Green. Both have assisted us with not only compliance and procedural issues, but also the intellectual content of the study.

When human remains were identified at the site, we received excellent cooperation and assistance from both Dr. Jonathan Leader, Deputy State Archaeologist, S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, and also the staff at the Beaufort County Coroner's Office. The identification of human skeletal material can always be problematical, but both organizations went out of their way to ensure that the documentation procedures went smoothly. The analysis of these remains were conducted by Dr. Ted Rathbun, board certified forensic anthropologist at the University of South Carolina, and his student, Ms. Suzanne Coyle. Dr. Jack Meyer, a leading authority in weapons, including those of the Revolutionary and Civil wars, was kind enough to examine all of the lithics initially thought to be gun flints. We appreciate his assistance,

especially in pointing us toward a more careful examination of strike-a-lights.

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INTRODUCTION

Development of the Project

Roupelmond, also known as Ferry Plantation, is situated on Port Royal Island about 15 miles north of the City of Beaufort overlooking Whale Branch, or what has often called the upper reaches of the Coosaw River (Figure 1). At the time of the initial discovery, the archaeological remains of the plantation's slave settlement were situated in old fields, planted in pine, while the main house was found in mixed pine and hardwoods along the marsh edge (Figure 2).

The site was first encountered during a reconnaissance and the following intensive survey conducted in early 1997 for Construction Control, a firm selected to oversee the development of a new middle and high school on the 56 acre tract (Trinkley 1997a, 1997b). The site was eventually determined to be eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places by the S.C. State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) and a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) between the SHPO, the Office of Ocean and Coastal Resources Management (OCRM), and the Beaufort School District was concluded on June 16, 1997.

Since the proposed school design would not allow the site to remain preserved as a park, this MOA stipulated that excavations would be necessary to recover the significant information the site contained. Chicora Foundation submitted a proposal for the excavations on April 2, 1997, which was approved on July 16, 1997.

The archaeological investigations were conducted by Chicora Foundation in late July, August, and early September of 1997. Since that time the collections have been cataloged and analyzed, and special studies of different types of materials have been conducted. This report provides the outcome of that work and explores what the site has told us about life at late eighteenth and early nineteenth century plantation. It is submitted in fulfillment of the MOA and

represents the final report of excavations at this site.

Previous Investigations

The initial reconnaissance study of the tract (Trinkley 1997a) was conducted in compliance with the Beaufort County Archaeological and Historic Impact Assessment Ordinance. The initial study of the site, conducted in January 1997, involved a day of historic research coupled with a day of field survey. This work resulted in the identification of one archaeological site, 38BU1689, consisting of a broad range of both prehistoric and historic materials. The historic research also resulted in the discovery that there was good documentation that an early nineteenth century plantation had existed at the site.

Because of the quantity of materials, their recovery in what appeared to be good contexts, and the extensive historic information, an intensive survey was recommended in order to determine boundaries for the site, as well as undertake an assessment of National Register eligibility.

This second phase, or intensive survey, was conducted in early March and included additional historical research and field investigations. The field study included shovel testing the entire tract at 100 foot intervals, as well as close interval (50-foot) testing of two site concentrations — thought to be the main house and also the slave settlement. The field work also incorporated the excavation of two 5-foot squares to explore several areas of the slave settlement.

Additional historic documents were identified for the intensive study, although it also became clear that much of the plantation's historic record was likely in the National Archives. Based on the available evidence, it appeared that the plantation might date as early as 1740, terminating about the time of the Civil War. Using these dates produced a mean historic occupation date of about 1800.

ROUPELMOND PLANTATION

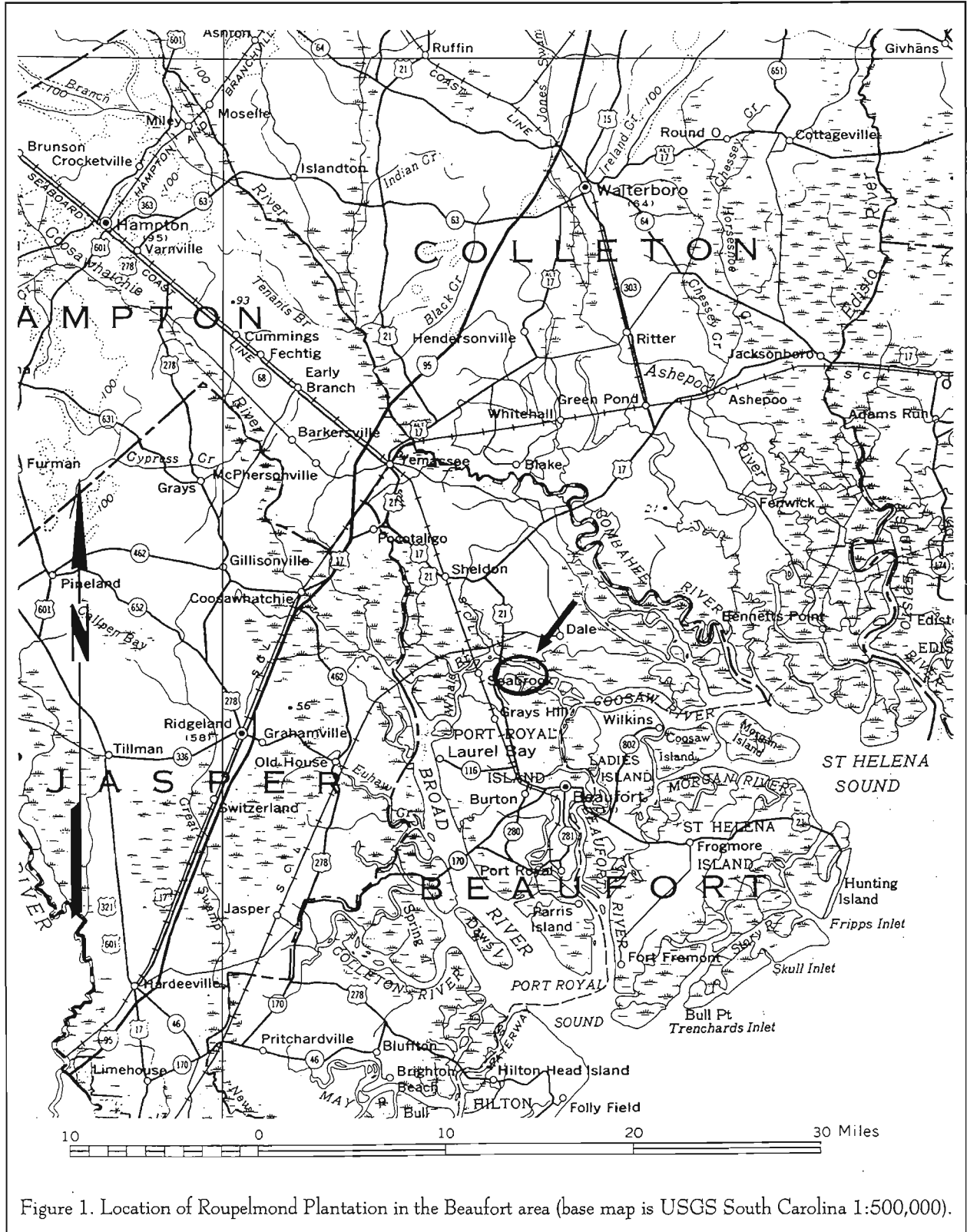


Figure 1. Location of Roupelmond Plantation in the Beaufort area (base map is USGS South Carolina 1:500,000).



Figure 2. View of the marsh fronting Roupelmond Plantation.

Of the 389 shovel tests excavated on the tract, 146 or nearly 38% were positive, containing pottery, ceramics, glass, nails, flakes, brick, or other materials. Seven distinct site areas were recognized and these were largely used to create the site boundaries of nearly 1,400 feet east-west by 900 feet north-south (Figure 3).

The prehistoric assemblage appeared as a thin wash across the entire site. No concentrations were revealed and materials like the pottery were consistently small and heavily plow eroded. The remains covered a temporal span from at least the Late Archaic (ca. 3,000 B.C.) through Mississippian (ca. A.D. 1400). Although the site produced several interesting artifacts, there was no indication of integrity and the prehistoric remains were not considered eligible for inclusion on the National Register.

The historic assemblage, on the other hand, appeared concentrated with large quantities of remains coming from discrete site areas. Along the marsh edge

two areas of structural remains were found. Identified were tabby chunks, coquina blocks, clay bricks, and mortar (what some call tabby) bricks. Surrounding them was a fairly dense below-ground distribution of artifacts, scattered along the bluff edge for about 600 feet. We also encountered archaeological remains in the marsh, representing a portion of the site which has been eroded and deposited below mean high tide. At the time of our visit, and even continuing during our field work, we found evidence of looting, probably facilitated by the use of a metal detector. Moving inland,

two very dense areas were found adjacent to one another, covering an area about 900 feet north-south by 400 feet east-west.

These historic remains were found to contain a range of early eighteenth century wares, such as North Devon gravel tempered and lead glazed slipwares, as well as mid-eighteenth century ceramics such as Nottingham stoneware, white salt glazed stoneware, delft, and Westerwald. Late eighteenth and early nineteenth century ceramics included creamware and pearlware. The mean date for the combined surface collections was 1806.5, although the two excavated units produced dates of 1789 and 1776 (Trinkley 1997b:46). Taken together, these were in close agreement to the mean historic date.

The survey found both high and low status motifs and a range of other artifacts that was consistent with an eighteenth century plantation settlement. Of special interest, especially in light of some of the historic accounts that suggested the presence of a

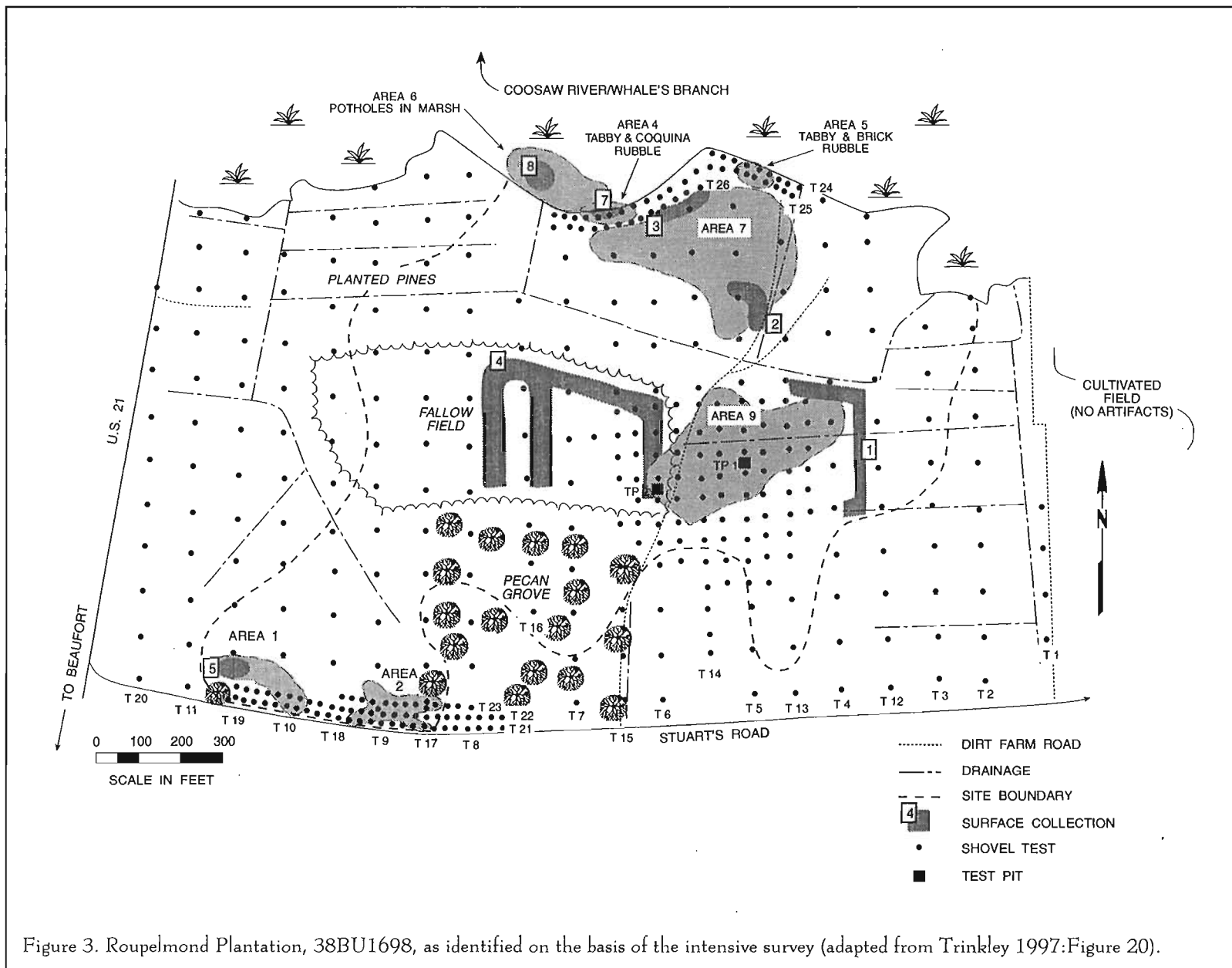


Figure 3. Roupelmond Plantation, 38BU1698, as identified on the basis of the intensive survey (adapted from Trinkley 1997:Figure 20).

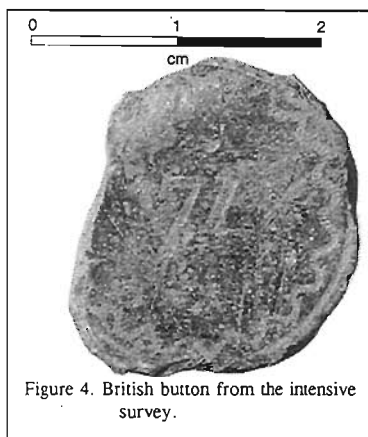


Figure 4. British button from the intensive survey.

British fortification in the general area, was the recovery of a white metal button with a stamped "71" on its face. This represents a uniform button the of the Seventy-first Highlanders —

one of the primary detachments in the area while Beaufort was held by the British during the American Revolution.

Also present, although in very small quantities, were probable postbellum remains. In fact, while early twentieth century maps indicated that several house sites should be located on the property, amazingly little evidence was encountered. While the antebellum remains were recommended eligible for inclusion on the National Register, the postbellum remains were so scattered and so lacking in integrity that they, like the prehistoric remains, were recommended not eligible.

Research Themes and Questions

The eligibility of this site was based on a range of potential research questions and the site's ability to address those questions. Although not all were equally explored, nor is it likely that all are equally tenable, they are still worthy of at least brief discussion.

The Development of Interior St. Helena Parish

Roupelmond is in St. Helena Parish, an administrative district originally including St. Helena, Lady's, and Port Royal islands, as well as the mainland. In 1745 the Parish of Prince William was created, leaving St. Helena covering the region from the Broad River west to the Coosaw and from the Atlantic Ocean north to Coosaw and Whale Branch. This parish is most often associated with those planters, especially on the Sea Islands, which focused on Sea Island cotton. Because of high archaeological and historical visibility,

coupled with the nature of compliance archaeology, there have been a number of projects exploring these wealthy, primarily antebellum, planters. Chicora Foundation, for example, has conducted research at the Haig Point Plantation on Daufuskie (Trinkley 1989), the Seabrook (Campo et al. 1998) and Pope (Trinkley 1990a) plantations on Hilton Head Island, as well as the Spring and Callawassie island plantations (Trinkley 1990b). All of these sites, while on sea islands, are in neighboring St. Luke's Parish. St. Queentens Plantation (Trinkley and Hacker 1998) is the only Lady's Island site, situated in St. Helena Parish, which has been examined in any detail.

Turning inland, however, the number of explored plantations steadily declines. In fact, the only three interior plantations which have received any degree of professional attention have been Rose Hill and Old House (Adams et al. 1995, Trinkley and Hacker 1996a), and 38BU1259 (Kennedy and Roberts 1993), in both Prince William and St. Lukes parishes.

Yet, there seems to be evidence that many planters in this portion of the parish, at least during the antebellum, were distinct from their wealthy colleagues toward the coast. This is perhaps most clearly revealed by commentators such as Edmund Ruffin, who noted that in this portion of the parish were primarily "pine barrens, & some inferior cotton lands" (Mathew 1992:122). It seems that the land in this area, being lower and better drained than the sandy soils of the sea islands, was seen as less favorable. The plantations tended to be smaller.

Our brief evaluation of the agricultural census for this tract based on the initial survey level data revealed that it was an average to slightly above average producer of cotton in the parish, producing 25 bales in 1860, while the parish-wide average was 22.9 bales. This, however, fails to tell the whole story. The median number of bales produced was 50, reported by 24 of the 132 plantation. The number of bales ranged from none (reported by five owners) to 600 bales (produced by only one — J.T.E. Fripp). Well over a third of the plantations (35.6%), produced 100 bales or more. These were the large plantations about which so much is written. Those producing 30 or fewer bales represent just over a quarter of the plantations. Clearly,

Roupelmond was at the low end of the St. Helena spectrum — likely because of its interior setting.

At the time of the survey the only "neighbors" we had identified were Verdier to the south and Seabrook to the west. Both appear to have operated somewhat more profitable tracts; Verdier produced 50 bales and Seabrook 120 bales of cotton. While both exceeded the mean for the parish, both still represent modest plantations when compared to those on the Sea Islands. They do, however, emphasize another feature of Roupelmond Planation — that it appears to be among the least profitable holdings.

The available data sets from Roupelmond, including structural remains, a wide range of domestic artifacts, and faunal remains, were thought to have the ability to expand our understanding of how the planters, and their slaves, fared on these smaller tracts, removed from the mainstream of St. Helena's Sea Island cotton plantations.

We thought that the architectural remains, keyed into the available historical documents, might provide information on the status of the architecture present on the tract. Were even these modest owners attempting to present a facade of conspicuous consumption to reinforce their place in planter society? We suggested that this might be addressed by the archaeological remains along the marsh edge. What types of buildings were present (based on building features and artifact patterns, for example)? How were they arranged (spread along the shore to maximize their water-front view or clustered into work units)? And of what were they constructed?

The domestic artifacts are of particular importance to us, since they most clearly reflect status. How might the artifact pattern of this plantation, and its different components, reflect the standard pattern used by archaeologists and found elsewhere on the Sea Islands? How might they reflect revisions previously offered based on temporal, and even more importantly, economic, divisions (see Trinkley 1993a:70-76, 211)? Work at other plantations, such as the Pope's tract on Daufuskie, has revealed that the poverty of the owner may be clearly observed in the poverty of the slaves — that the wealth and status of the owner, at least under

some circumstances, did affect the lifeways, if not the treatment, of the African-American bondsmen.

For the eighteenth century component of Roupelmond we also suggested that it would be appropriate to see to what degree the owners participated in the refinement of America. How pervasive was the effort to hold on the "Georgian world view," especially on the edge of Carolina's society, far away from Charleston. Are the types of artifacts so common at high status eighteenth century sites such as Broom Hall (Trinkley et al. 1995)? Even if we recognize that differences in wealth are likely to be reflected in differences in uncorrected numbers of items, are the same types of materials present?

It was also suggested that it might be appropriate to expand this question to focus not just on what the site might be able to contribute to our knowledge of small planters in St. Helena, but also what the site might be able to contribute to our understanding of small planters in general and also through time.

While what actually would be found at the site might limit our ability to address these questions, so too would the lack of comparative sites. An examination of the SCIAA data base for this portion of Beaufort County reveals only four other studies — all of them surveys and not suitable for comparison. Consequently, much of our study at Roupelmond would be explorative.

The Contribution of Historic Documents

It has been our experience that no matter how good or complete the historical documentation, there is relatively little that is suitable for the exploration of landscape or development of status studies. For example, one project which produced extraordinary historical resources was our work at the Vanderhorst mansion on Kiawah Island in Charleston County (Trinkley 1993b). In spite of the huge volume of Vanderhorst family papers, there was virtually nothing regarding the ancillary buildings at the plantation — nothing regarding how they were used, when they were built, or how use might have changed over time. And while some observations regarding status and wealth were recoverable from various diary comments and

business papers, the economic history of the family was difficult to piece together because the records were still not complete.

Although a number of historic documents would eventually be identified during our research at Roupelmond, the situation there was found to be nearly the same. Although a map of the plantation was identified, it was very difficult to reconcile with oral history accounts.

This points out one of the weakest links in using historical documents — we must often accept with blind faith their accuracy. Yet we have all seen situations where even multiple documents have been in error. Eventually a painting of the plantation surfaced, but it provides only an overview — dramatically affected by the artist's talent and school of painting. It doesn't show hidden buildings, it doesn't reveal functions, and it doesn't accurately reflect other landscape features, such as roads or slight differences in building alignments.

Moreover, virtually no economic data was recovered, beyond that available in agricultural census records. Consequently, the only avenues open are confused by dividing data between multiple properties, as well as reconciling it with oral history accounts.

As a result, the major issue frequently turns out to be the integration of the historical documents into the archaeological research. At Roupelmond, the archaeological study (based on the data sets we thought would be present) should be able to confirm the location of structures shown on the various documents. Beyond that, questions of diachronic change are worthy of consideration — exploring how the settlement changed through time, evolving to meet the needs of the plantation owner and his place in low country society. For example, does the main house evidence expansion through the addition of wings or attached flankers? Also, how are the various structures on the plantation connected, or isolated, from one another. What was the physical, or psychological, separation between the main house and slave settlement? Was the slave settlement used to buttress the owner's presentation of wealth and power?

What Can Archaeology Tell Us About Life on a Remote Plantation?

We found during a recent examination of the Whitesides Plantation in Christ Church that the owner's archaeological signature was almost indistinguishable from that of a slave (Trinkley and Hacker 1996). The architecture was very modest, there were few features associated with the architecture, and the artifacts were limited and low in status. While not nearly as spartan, the investigations at St. Queentens Plantation on Lady's Island (Trinkley and Hacker 1998) suggests that it is possible to clearly detect status differences among planters, further expanding earlier research that has revealed differences between eighteenth and nineteenth century plantations, as well as plantations with different economic foundations (Trinkley 1993a). The investigations at Roupelmond had, we felt, the ability to further refine this research, providing yet another scenario to factor into the overall research.

In other words, there may be differences between the lifeways on a major Sea Island cotton plantation near Beaufort or Charleston and the associated major sea coast transportation systems, and the lifeways on a smaller, less profitable, plantation further removed from the social circles of major cities and towns. This may be reflected in a different approach to Georgian opulence. There may be less evidence of table glass, less evidence of fancy ceramics, less evidence of teaware, and less evidence of personal items. There may be, instead, a focus on the working aspects of the plantation, with more plain china and more ordinary possessions. Or there may be a difference in the density or quantity of archaeological remains. Or the difference may be seen only the plantation architecture. Or it is even possible that the major differences will be found in the slaves' lifeways.

One reviewer questioned that Roupelmond was isolated, noting its proximity to a ferry, the Shell Road, and Coosaw River. All of this is true, yet isolation can mean many different things. Fernand Braudel (1973:148-152) offers an interesting discussion of island life in the Mediterranean during the age of Philip II. He observes that islands are often caught "between the two opposite poles of archaism and innovation,"

demonstrating extraordinary advances, while at the same time clearly remaining apart of other major developments. Island, because of their environmental settings, are often far more isolated than they may first appear. Clearly the seas which "cut off" the Mediterranean islands were far larger than the marshes, creeks, and rivers of the South Carolina low country. Yet the isolation of those living in these areas echoes through much of the low country's history. With or without a ferry, or shell road, travel was exceedingly difficult and, even into the mid-nineteenth century, armies felt secure in the isolation and protection that the coastal environment provided.

Our exploration of Roupelmond, since it is being conducted for the school district, also focused on simple questions about everyday life. While these research topics may not draw deeply from the well of science, they are of special interest since these issues will help make the plantation come alive to the kids.

Although frequently those differences may be ignored by archaeologists

The Natural Setting

Today Roupelmond Plantation is divided into a number of small tracts oriented with Stuarts Point Road (Beaufort County Road 70), which runs eastwardly off US 21, dividing Stuarts (also called Stewarts) Point into two roughly equal halves. To the north is the Coosaw River, often called Whale Branch, while to the south is McCalley's Creek, itself flowing eastward into the Coosaw (Figure 5). In 1997 the land is generally quiet, largely the home to a small black community on the edge of the largely white, and largely affluent, City of Beaufort. Although wood frame houses, many dating from the early twentieth century are giving way to mobile trailers, this area is still very much "country," reflecting deep agrarian roots. Fields are planted in truck crops and home gardens are common. Chickens and pigs are a staple in many yards. It is an area that development has not yet spoiled.

The portion of the plantation on which this research is focused consists of a roughly rectangular tract of land bordered to the north by Whale Branch, to the east by an adjacent tract (with an old field drainage

ditch forming much of the line), to the south by Stuarts Point Road, and to the west by US 21, for years known as Shell Road, or as "the road to Port Royal Ferry." That ferry landing was likely under the existing double bridge crossing Whale Branch — another sign of the relentless march of progress. The original survey tract was about 51 acres in size, with the archaeological site defined as Roupelmond Plantation covering much of this area (see Figure 3).

Physiography

Beaufort County is located in the lower Atlantic Coastal Plain of South Carolina and consists of both mainland, as well as march, barrier, and sea islands. Port Royal is a Pleistocene sea island shaped something like a shoe standing on its toe. Its sole, consisting of the flat eastern side of the island, is separated from Lady's and St. Helena islands by Beaufort River and Brickyard Creek. In the middle of this "sole" is the City of Beaufort, situated on a point projecting more-or-less eastward. At the southern tip of the island is Parris Island, once a small enclave of plantations, but today a Marine training facility. The "top" of the shoe, or western side of Port Royal, is bordered by Broad River and, to the north, by Whale Branch.

The island is punctuated by a series of small tidal creeks, originating about the midline of the island and flowing either east toward either Beaufort River, Battery Creek or Brickyard Creek, or west toward Broad River. As a result, the island tends to have a central high sandy ridge, with elevations falling to the east and west. US 21 which runs from Whale Branch southward to the City of Beaufort, follows this "route of least resistance," generally staying on the high, sandy core of the island.

Elevations on the southern two-thirds of the island range from sea level up to about 40 feet above mean sea level (AMSL), at a spot known as Grays Hill, overlooking the headwaters of McCalley's Creek. Today, as you drive US 21, there is a gradual, almost imperceptible grade northward from Beaufort to Grays' Hill, at the junction of US 21 and Beaufort County Road 71. Past that point, the topography drops rapidly

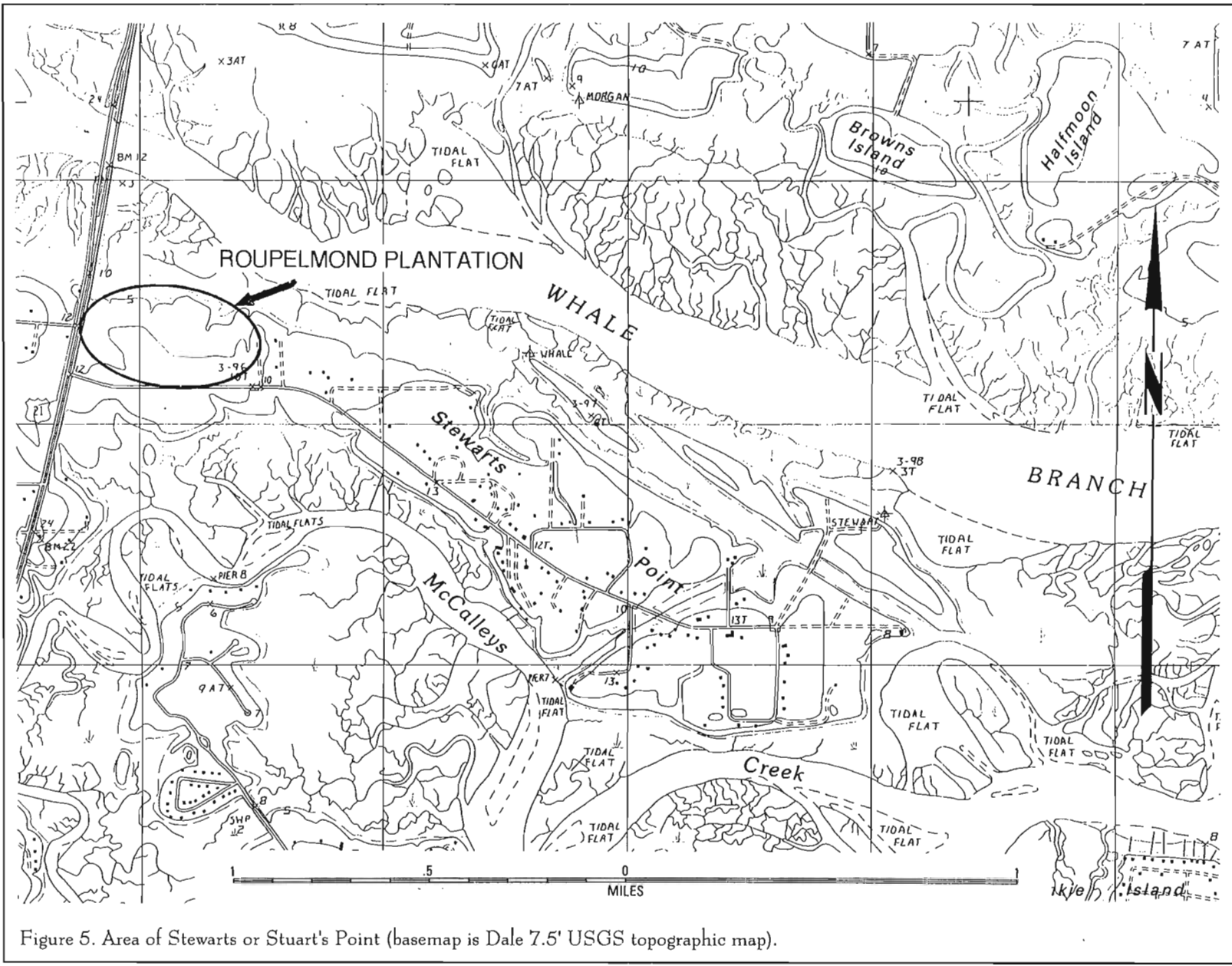


Figure 5. Area of Stewart's or Stuart's Point (basemap is Dale 7.5' USGS topographic map).

to the creek, then climbing slowly upward again to between 25 and 30 feet AMSL as US 21 crosses a series of small marshes before crossing Whale Branch.

Stuarts Point consists of generally low lands, ranging from sea level to about 15 feet AMSL. Although there are several pockets of slightly higher land, the highest property is that found in the study tract, adjacent to US 21. The ground slopes almost imperceptibly to the marsh. Along the marsh edge there are a few areas where there is a slight bank, with a drop of around 3-feet onto the hard marsh, although more commonly there is only a foot or so drop.

The vicinity of the higher bluff is also the area subjected to the most noticeable tidal erosion. Upwards of 100 to 120 feet have eroded in the past 100 to 200 years. At least part of this erosion was man-induced, since we speculate that this area served as the plantation landing.

Along the western edge of the property there is a major drainage ditch and dike, apparently constructed to prevent tidal flooding. To the east there is another major ditch, today serving as a property boundary, but probably originally serving as only a field marker.

Geology and Soils

The Sea Island coastal region is covered with sands and clays originally derived from the Appalachian Mountains and which are organized into coastal, fluvial, and aeolian deposits. Transported to the coast during the Quaternary period, they were deposited on Mesozoic bedrock. These sedimentary bedrock formations are only occasionally exposed on the coast (in the Beaufort area they are at least 1640 feet below the surface), although they frequently outcrop along the fall line (Mathews et al. 1980:2; Smith 1933:21).

As previously mentioned, Port Royal Island is almost exclusively Pleistocene in origin and these sediments are organized into topographically distinct, but lithologically similar, terraces parallel to the coast. Representing previous sea floors, these terraces were formed at high stands of the fluctuating, although

falling,¹ ocean and consist chiefly of sand and clay (Cooke 1936; Smith 1933:29). Cooke found that most of Port Island consists of the Pamlico Terrace, although there is a small remnant area of Talbot Terrace in the Grays Hill area, partially accounting for its elevation. In fact, Cooke observes that, "the Talbot terrace is represented by many irregular patches that were islands in the Pamlico sea" (Cooke 1936:7).

Within the Sea Islands section, the soils are Holocene and Pleistocene in age and were formed from materials that were deposited during the various stages of coastal submergence. The formation of soils on Port Royal is affected by the parent material (primarily sands and clays), the temperate climate, the various soil organisms, topography, and time. In general the Sea Island soils are less diverse and less well developed than the older mainland soils, lacking a well-defined B horizon. Organic matter is also often low and the soils tend to be acidic.

Mills commented that only two types of soil are present in the district: those associated with swamps, which are very productive when drained, and "the high lands lying between the swamps, . . . chiefly composed of sand, bottomed on clay" (Mills 1972:367 [1826]). Ruffin, reporting only a couple of decades later, is far less flattering:

The next ferry, over the Coosaw, (salt water here,) took us into Port Royal Island, & 10 miles thence, mostly over pine barrens, & some inferior cotton lands, brought us to the town of Beaufort (Mathew 1992:122).

Nevertheless, Mills was in some respects correct, there are two primary soil groups associated

¹ The sea level, although fluctuating throughout the period from about 2,000 B.C. on, has in general risen. Data from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries suggest that the level is continuing to rise. Kurtz and Wagner (1957:8) report a 0.8 foot rise in Charleston, South Carolina sea levels from 1833 to 1903. Between 1940 and 1950 a sea level rise of 0.34 feet was again recorded at Charleston. Although these data do not distinguish between sea level rise and land surface submergence, the result is the same.

with Port Royal Island — the Wando-Seabrook-Seewee Association and the Coosaw-William-Ridgeland Association. The former ranges from excessively drained to somewhat poorly drained and is associated with soils that are sandy throughout their profiles. The latter association is in general poorly drained and often have a loamy subsoil, overlain by sands.

The previously discussed topography is reflected in the soils found on the tract. Both Coosaw loamy fine sands and Chisolm loamy fine sands are present. The latter soils are well drained and exhibit an Ap horizon of grayish brown (10YR5/2) sand about 0.9 foot in depth, overlying a B horizon of yellowish-red (5YR5/8) sandy clay loam (Stuck 1980:65). These Chisolm soils are found in the center of the study tract, bordering Stuarts Point Road. Although the plantation site extends into this area, it does not contain the densest remains, in spite of the generally good drainage.

The Coosaw soils are somewhat poorly drained and typically have an Ap horizon of dark grayish-brown (10YR4/2) sand about 0.7 foot in depth which grades into a brownish-yellow (10YR6/6) sand (Stuck 1980:65). It is the areas of Coosaw soil which are dominated by the tract's ditch network. In spite of being less well drained, both prehistoric and historic remains are found on these soils, sometimes in fairly dense numbers. In fact, it is on these soils that both the main house and the slave settlement were identified.

Although the exact boundaries of Roupelmond Plantation are not known, if the soils on Stuarts Point are examined, 10 soils series are found, including Bertie, Chisolm, Coosaw, Murad, Nemours, Tomotley, Wahee, Wando, Williman, and Yemassee. Of these, the excessively well drained, well drained, and moderately well drained soils comprise 43.1% of the land, while the somewhat poorly to poorly drained soils account for the remaining 56.9%.

With over half of the available acreage representing poorly drained soils, drainage efforts may reasonably be expected to impact historic settlement patterns, as well as cultivation (and hence plantation wealth) during the colonial and antebellum periods. Plants such as indigo and cotton require well drained soils, while rice required flooding (and therefore soils

capable of holding the water) (Hammond 1884; Hilliard 1984; Huneycut 1949). A number of period accounts discuss the importance of soil drainage. Seabrook explained:

subsoil so close as to be impervious to water; so that the excess of the rains of winter cannot sink. Nor can it flow off, because of the level surface The land thereby is kept thoroughly water-soaked until late in the spring. The long continued wetness is favorable only to the growth of coarse and sour grasses and broom sedge . . . acid and antiseptic qualities of the soil . . . sponge-like power to absorb and retain water . . . is barren, (for useful crops) from two causes — excessive wetness and great acidity. The remedies requires are also two; and neither alone will be of the least useful effect, without the other also. Draining must remove the wetness — calcareous manures the acidity (Seabrook 1848:37).

Hammond expands on this, mentioning that:

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

Thus, while Roupelmond had a large percentage of its land very poorly drained, it seems likely that it still could have been put into cultivation, especially for cotton, by combining drainage with

planting on high beds. This approach, however, required constant attention and represented relatively intensive plantation activities.

Although rocks are uncommon on the coastal plain, the area of the Coosaw produces two types — one of which was used in the construction of the Roupelmond settlement, while the other was a significant part of the region's postbellum economy.

An early account comes from Mills, who notes that while rock is typically absent from the Beaufort area:

there is a species of rock found occasionally, of a very firm texture resembling marble, which is evidently formed of shell. At Captain Hugennin's plantation, below Coosawatchie, I have picked up small fragments of it, and understand it is found in large masses (Mills 1972: 376 [1826])

Ruffin provides another account:

At the Coosa [Coosaw] ferry, the abutment was covered with stones like both kinds found at Ashepoo (one calcareous & the other not) & also two species of recent coral or madrepora [perforate coral] in large lumps! All these the ferryman assured us were brought from Huspa creek a few miles behind us. If this be true, even omitting the coral, there is reason to believe that the white limestone found at Ashepoo was from the river three, as well as in Huspa creek. The whetstone is certainly the same. Heard at Beaufort that these stones are imbedded in the mud, of Huspa creek, in great abundance, & are commonly supposed to be petrified live-oak roots (Mathew 1992:122).

Although these discussions are far from

specific, it is fairly clear that both were referring to what is commonly called coquina — an organic limestone formed from a mixture of shells and lime. Today the only commercial deposits are in Horry and Clarendon counties, where the material is used for roadbeds (Murphy 1995:109).

The other rock is phosphate, the mining of which began in the Charleston area in 1867 and continued until 1938 (Mathews 1980:27). Two main types of deposits were mined: land rock, consisting of phosphate nodules, pebbles, and fossils in a sand matrix and river rock, consisting of phosphate-rich pebble gravels in creeks and rivers. Both were similar in chemical composition and, for a number of years, were extensively used world-wide for fertilizer.

The phosphates were formed in Oligocene, Miocene, and Pliocene seas as organic oozes were deposited in shallow areas. These oozes, which contained calcium phosphate, combined with the lime from underlying marl to form phosphate of lime. This, in turn, produced carbonic acid which dissolved and eroded the limestones, producing a thin pan of phosphates (Murphy 1995:110-111).

In the rivers these beds might be only 3-inches to 3-feet in depth and the most important river areas were the Wando, Cooper, Ashley, Edisto, and Coosaw basins. There the phosphates were dredged out, washed, and hauled to shore for processing, typically in the Charleston area, which consisted of drying the rock and then grinding it.

One of the major companies in the Beaufort area, which also extensively dredged the Coosaw, was the Coosaw Mining Company (Wyatt 1891). This company, ironically, played a major role in the demise of the phosphate industry, aggressively fighting the efforts of Governor Ben Tillman to reap further profits for the state by increasing taxation on the phosphate companies. The resulting protracted legal battle, in conjunction with increasing competition from Florida and the disastrous 1893 hurricane, caused a precipitous drop in production going into the twentieth century. The industry never fully recovered and river rock was abandoned by about 1910 and in 1938 only 100 tons were mined, down from the peak year of 1893 when

502,564 tons were shipped from South Carolina (Kovacik and Winberry 1987:116; Mathews 1980:28).

Although hardly a rock, another "geologic" resource of the Beaufort area were shells, often from prehistoric sites, were "abundant." Yet Ruffin notes that, "no use whatever made in any judicious & designed manner, with any calcareous manure" (Mathew 1992:126). In fact, he notes that some planters when as far as actually removing the shell piles from their lands in order to get rid of them. Certainly one favorite use for shell in the coastal area, was road construction.

What is today US 21 from Beaufort northward to Coosaw Creek was originally known as Shell Road. In 1907, 25 of Beaufort's 400 miles of public roads were surfaced in shell (the remainder were dirt). By 1915, 40 of the 480 miles were shell roads, while the remainder continued to be unimproved dirt roads — an increase in the percent of shell-based roads (Watson 1907:336, 1915:153-154).

Floristics

The difference between mainland vegetation, dominated by upland forest communities, and the sea islands, where a more maritime forest system is found, can be quite dramatic — and the dividing line between the two is at Whale Branch. In the 1930s, before US 21 was made a four-lane highway and convenience stores began springing up at every intersection, writers noted that:

beyond the [Whale] branch the country grows more tropical. Palmettos, gray moss, and wide sweeps of marsh grass grow between the fields. When the tide is out, the shining black mud flats give off their distinctive odor; at high tide the poles suggest pale ocher mirrors framed by marsh grass. Such scenes have enticed many artists and writers to Beaufort County (Federal Writers Project 1941:323).

Indeed, the Southern coasts gave rise to such quotes as

that by Fred Powledge, who observed, "The Southern coast is different: a land of incalculable biological energy, of incomparable beauty, of romance and love and nature's violence; of mysterious lush islands and serpentine salt marshes."

This environmental setting, while beginning to disappear today, framed the historic occupation and understanding of the history of plantations such as Roupelmond also requires an understanding of the almost overwhelming biological diversity and power of the coast.

Even as critical and scientific a mind as Edmund Ruffin remarked, in his own way, about the ecological diversity and character of the coast — providing us with a glimpse of what life was like before the "modern" era. Talking about the marshes, he noted at one juncture:

the marshes bordering on the river are very extensive. They are covered by two kinds of tall & coarse grass, growing usually separately. The one known as "marsh", furnishes good & early grazing, & cattle were already upon it [this was in early February]. It supplies a coarse hay, & elsewhere is much used for manure. The other growth is the rush, a longer & taller grass which is not considered of any value for any purpose (Mathew 1992:81).

Ruffin also reported on the ease of getting lost in the wide marshes, with their many small creeks and cut-offs (Mathew 1992:85). He describes these as "extensive low coast lands being merely intersected by numerous narrow passages of water" (Mathew 1992:117). Lawson similarly observed, "the multitude of Creeks lying along the Main, keeping their Course thro' the Marshes, turning and winding like a Labyrinth, having the Tide of Ebb and Flood twenty Times in less than three Leagues going" (Lefler 1967:21).

The maritime forest ecosystem is defined most simply as all upland areas located on barrier islands, limited by the ocean on one side and the marshes on the

other. On the sea islands, such as Port Royal, the distinction between the maritime and mainland communities can blur. The forests are characterized by dominance of live oak, "the Firmness and great Weight thereof," Lawson commented, "frightens our Sawyers from the Fatigue that attends the cutting of this Timber" (Lefler 1967:99). Closer to the coast the vegetation is characterized by its tolerance to salt spray (Sandifer et al. 1980:120). Thomas Higginson described the route to Roupelmond during the Civil War:

we marched our seven miles out upon the smooth and shaded road, — beneath jasmine clusters, and great pinecones dropping, and great branches of mistletoe [sic] still in bloom among the branches (Higginson 1962:134).

While the barrier island may include oak-pine, oak-magnolia, or palmetto woods, the sea islands are more mesic or even in some areas xeric, often including pine forest communities. These are the "pine barrens" often mentioned by Ruffin during his visits to the island around Beaufort, including the "pine barrens, & some inferior cotton lands" which he mentioned on Port Royal Island. Wenger (1968) notes that the presence of loblolly and shortleaf pines is common on coastal plain sites where they are a significant sub-climax aspect of the plant succession toward a hardwood climax. Longleaf pine forests were equally as common (Croker 1979). There may also be upland mesic hardwood communities, also known as "oak-hickory forests" (Braun 1950). These forests contain significant quantities of mockernut hickories as well as pignut hickory.

In fact this diversity was noted by Mills, who discussing Beaufort in the early nineteenth century observed:

besides a fine growth of pine, we have the cypress, red cedar, and live oak . . . white oak, red oak, and several other oaks, hickory, plum, palmetto, magnolia, poplar, beech, birch, ash, dogwood, black mulberry, etc. (Mills

1972:377 [1826]).

He also cautions that "some parts of the district are beginning already to experience a want of timber, even for common purposes" (Mills 1972:383 [1826]) and suggests that at least a quarter of a plantation's acreage should be reserved for woods. On plantations such as Roupelmond it is likely that those areas of poorest drainage would be left idle, supplying timber.

Combining the ecological data and historical accounts it is clear that islands such as Port Royal were often extraordinarily rich. Yet it was this richness that was often the greatest hindrance to their "development." As Lawson comments concerning the Native Americans, who were "not inclinable to settle in the richest Land, because the Timbers are too large from them to cut down, and too much burthen'd with Wood for their Labourers to make Plantations of " (Lefler 1967:89).

Of equal importance were the marshes — the estuarine ecosystem. Salinity might range from 0.5 parts per thousand (ppt) at the head of an estuary to 30 ppt where it comes into contact with the ocean. They were influenced by ocean tides, precipitation, fresh water runoff from the upland areas, evaporation, temperature, and wind. The tidal range for the Port Royal Island area is 6.6 to 7.8 feet, indicative of an area swept by moderately strong tidal currents.

Often this area is divided by ecologists into subtidal and intertidal environments (Sandifer et al. 1980:158-159), although rarely was that division recognized by the occupants of the area. Regardless, the richness of the marshes cannot be overstated. The flora was used for basket making, cattle feed, and fertilizer; while the fauna was frequently found on the table of both master and slave.

These resources were important to plantation whites since they helped relieve some of the tedium of the normal diet. Chaplin, on St. Helena Island, remarks in the mid-nineteenth century of collecting crabs, oysters, prawns [shrimp], flounders, mullets, and wading birds. They were equally important to the plantation's blacks since they often supplemented their rations by hunting and fishing. Tourtellotte comments

that in August 1862, "fresh fish in plenty . . . could be purchased in abundance from the floating horde of contrabands" (Tourtellotte 1910:41).

Shellfish, crabs, and shrimp are occasionally mentioned in nineteenth century accounts such as the 1867 letter from nearby Hilton Head Island resident, Eliza Ann Summers:

we are not going to eat any more oysters after this month. We are eating fresh fish and crabs every day, and the people [the local blacks] bring us prawns [shrimp] which are very nice. They are about as long as your finger, are red like a lobster and taste very much like one (Martin 1977:68).

They were equally plentiful in the creeks of nearby St. Helena (Rosengarten 1987), while further to the south Kemble reported that "the waters round the island are prolific in shellfish, oysters, and the most magnificent prawns I ever saw (Kemble 1984:257).

Although rarely being mentioned in the historic accounts, the fresh water palustrine ecosystem was in many respects equally important. These included the swamps, bays, savannahs, pocosins, and creeks where the salinities measure less than 0.5 ppt (Sandifer et al. 1980:295). A range of forest types, including red maple, swamp tupelo, sweet gum, red bay, and cypress, attracts a number of different terrestrial mammals. Also found are wading birds and reptiles such as the alligator and cooter. One of the few accounts for this area which mentions the fresh waters is Higginson, who explained that alligator steaks were common during their picket duty in the vicinity of Roupelmond (Higginson 1962:138). Nevertheless, in the nineteenth century these areas were most often described as "impenetrable swamps."

The final environmental area to be mentioned is the are sand spits and dunes of the ocean front. In today's context, this area tends to be characterized as possessing a relatively low energy level and being dominated by harsh conditions. Yet historically, it was an area frequently used. Ruffin describes a series of

planter's houses in this zone:

except for the always magnificent & often varying ocean view, these are dreary & uncomfortable sites for a continued & almost solitary residence of five or six months of every year. Not a tree & scarcely a shrub serves to relieve the eye from the dazzling whiteness of the sand which forms the entire surface & which, above high tide is drifted by the winds into sand-hills But comfortless as is this region of sand, in its privations of all the beauties of the land, it offers abundantly all the riches as well as the beauty of the ocean. A cool & bracing & healthful breeze from the ocean is always felt. The pleasures of fishing, from sharks in the ocean to small fish in the back creeks, are of the highest order; & the finest table fish & wild fowl are the most common & abundant of food (Mathew 1992:184-185).

Climate

During the early eighteenth century the Carolina low country was described as a paradise, largely by those comfortably situated in England writing tracts to entice potential settlement. By the early nineteenth century, when the truth was well known, the propaganda was still widely espoused and Mills described the Beaufort climate as "one of the healthiest (Mills 1972:377 [1826]). Even into the late nineteenth century, there were those promoting the area by commenting that the climate "destroys the germs of disease, as of yellow fever and of numerous skin diseases that flourish in similar regions elsewhere (Hammond 1884:472).

A somewhat more honest description extolls the wonders of autumn, while acknowledging the reality of the long Sea Island summers:

if there is one month in the whole year distinguished above all others for

its soft sunny days and refreshing breezes, when the over-wearied denizen, exhausted by the pent-up atmosphere and malarionic nite dews of the long summer weeks, rejoices in the renewed strength and alacrity of body and spirit, it is the month of November (*The Knickerbocker*, January 1843, pg. 36).

Carolina planters, by the mid-nineteenth century, began to see the connection between malaria and the low-lying swamps. About this time we begin to see planters on swamp margins moving their settlements to higher, drier, ground. Some descriptions offered very realistic appraisals (see Merrens and Terry 1984:548). A proverb popular in England was, "They who want to die quickly, go to Carolina," and a German visitor told his readers that, "Carolina is in the spring a paradise, in the summer a hell, and in the autumn a hospital" (quoted in Merrens and Terry 1984:549). In 1864 Charlotte Forten wrote that "yellow fever prevailed to an alarming extent, and that, indeed the manufacture of coffins was the only business that was at all flourishing" (Forten 1864:588). A letter written in December 1861 is quoted by Walkley:

between [the fleas] and malarial headache sleep is anything but restful The matted vines trail down into the dank edges of the swamps and the hot sun by day decays them enough to exhale malarious gases by night (Walkley 1905:34).

Describing Beaufort itself, Ruffin observes that while much of the town was free from malaria, the safe section was limited to "the point, extending most into the water" — that area of course being subjected to breezes on three sides which reduced the population of mosquitoes. The rest of the town, he reports, was "sickly":

some of the finest houses there are now deserted, on this account; & a college which stood still farther, became unfit to use, & has been demolished. This town has no trade

worth consideration. Strange as it may appear, it is sustained by the operation of malaria, which drives residents to it; & but for that cause, it is not unlikely that Beaufort would decline rapidly, & be soon almost deserted (Mathew 1992:130).

Of course, we know that the major climatic controls of the area are the latitude, elevation, distance from the ocean, and location with respect to the average track of migratory cyclones. And also that the malarial fevers were the result of mosquitoes breeding in the stagnant water pools and damp underbrush, not from the decay of vegetation.

The region's latitude of about 32° 13'N places it on the edge of the balmy subtropical climate typical of Florida. As a result, there are relatively short, mild winters and long, hot, humid summers. The large amount of nearby warm ocean water surface produces a marine climate which tends to moderate both the cold and hot weather, at least in theory. The Appalachian Mountains, about 220 miles to the northwest, block shallow cold air masses from the northwest moderating them before they reach the sea islands (Landers 1970:2-3; Mathews et al. 1980:46).

This climate was summed up succinctly in the 1930s:

Summer begins about the last of May and lasts until the middle of September. Travelers should be prepared for extremely warm weather, 90° to 100° temperatures are frequent. Fall and spring temperatures cool enough to be zestful. Winters short and mild; snow and ice the exception rather than the rule (Federal Writers Project 1941:xx).

This resulted in a growing season of about 285 days. And while the yearly precipitation is nearly 50 inches, about 34 of these occur from April through October, the growing season for most Sea Island crops. It also supported the production of oranges, lemons,

limes, and even bananas on the Sea Islands during the eighteenth century (see Hammond 1884:19; Kemble 1984:113-114; Rosengarten 1987).

The importance of weather — economically and socially — cannot be overstated. The diary of Thomas Chaplin (Rosengarten 1987:196-197) begins almost every daily entry with a report on the weather, noting what effect it would have on his planned work efforts and the status of planting, crop growth, or in some cases, crop destruction. He was concerned enough about the weather to try to spot trends from year to year and apply the information to his agricultural practices.

By the nineteenth century the climate was changing and it was apparent to many planters that subtropical plants, such as oranges, could no longer be grown easily. This climatological shift even pushed the date for safe planting from March into mid-April.

Hilliard points out that, "any description of climate in the South, however brief, would be incomplete without reference" to a meteorological event frequently identified with the region — the tropical hurricane. Hurricanes occur in the late summer and early fall, the period critical to antebellum cane, cotton, and rice growers. These storms, however, are capricious in occurrence:

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

The coastal area is a moderately high risk zone for tropical storms, with 169 hurricanes being

Table 1.
Major Nineteenth Century Hurricanes in the Beaufort Area

Date	Classification	Damage
September 7, 1804	Great	7-foot storm tide, effects felt as far north as Boston
August 27, 1813	Great	Most damage in Charleston, but storm tides in Beaufort, SC
September 14-15, 1824	Major	Land fall at Darien, GA, much crop damage
September 7-9, 1854	Major	Extensive damage from Georgia to Winyah Bay, SC,
August 27, 1881	Major	Storm surge of 16 feet, nearly 1,000 deaths
August 25, 1885	Extreme	125 mph wind speed, eye passed over Port Royal Island, SC
August 27, 1893	Extreme	1,000 - 2,000 deaths, \$10 million in property losses, 17-20 foot storm surge
October 2, 1898	Extreme	Tracked south of Savannah, storm surge in SC of 12 feet

documented from 1686 to 1972 (roughly one every two years) (Mathews et al. 1980:56). Although we know that significant Carolina hurricanes occurred in 1700, 1713, 1728, and 1752, their impact was primarily recorded in Charleston and their affect on the Beaufort area is not well documented. Those from the nineteenth century are better known (Table 1). The last storm in the nineteenth century was a Category 5 hurricane which made landfall on August 27, 1893 with winds of roughly 120 miles per hours and a storm surge of 17 to 20 feet. Over 1,000 people in South Carolina were reported killed (Mathews et al. 1980:55).

The Agricultural Basis of Beaufort Plantations

Rice

Although introduced by the 1690s, rice did not become a significant staple crop in South Carolina until the early eighteenth century. At that time it not only provided the proprietors with the economic base the mercantile system required, but it was also to form the basis of South Carolina's plantation system and economy — slavery.

At first, during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, rice was grown on inland or upland swamps. It wasn't until the mid-eighteenth century,

when slave labor became particularly abundant, that rice began to be grown in the swamps bordering the fresh-water tidal rivers and inland swamp cultivation was largely abandoned. The early planters had to solve two problems in inland swamp cultivation — initially they had to find adequate drainage to allow clearing and afterwards adequate water for irrigation.

By damming the lower end of a chosen swamp, the planter could prevent salt water from overflowing the fields. Gates, or trunks, were placed in this lower dam, allowing the water to be either held in the field, or drained off. The upper end was also dammed, in order to dry the area and allow it to be cleared. Coupled with this effort would be the excavation of ditches and canals to help dry the fields and also to aid in their eventual flooding. Even further up the swamp, past the fields being cleared and prepared, the planter would create another dam — this one designed to create a reservoir of water to be used for irrigation.

It was this reservoir — or rather the unpredictable nature of the water supply that the reservoir sought to control — that ultimately pushed rice cultivation out of the swamps (Heyward 1993:12-14; Meriweather 1940; Sellars 1934).

The process of planting and tending inland swamp rice was in many ways different than tidal rice. Thomas Drayton noted the inland swamp rice was planted several later than the tidal rice (usually the first or second week in April), "as their soils are of [a] colder nature" (Drayton 1802:117). Unlike tidal rice, which was flooded immediately after planting, upland rice was rarely covered, since the planters didn't want to exhaust their reservoirs so early in the season. Instead, the rice was allowed to come up naturally. This, of course, created situations where the grain might rot in the ground. Alternatively, it might also be overgrown with grass and weeds, requiring extensive hoeing.

The inland swamp rice planter continued his slaves hoeing through the "branching" of the rice. Typically water was not applied to the fields until the rice began to "joint, blossom, and form the ear," usually in August, at which time "whenever it can be thrown on from rivers, or reservoirs, it is so done: and it is retained thereon, with a change of water, if convenient, until a

few days before the harvest" (Drayton 1802:119).

However different planting was, the collecting and processing was identical for the different environments. The process, according to Drayton, involved several steps:

after harvest, the crop is placed in the open barn yards, either in stacks or in large ricks. It is then threshed out by hand-flails, on a level barn yard or floor, made of rammed clay, or of portions of sand and tar; and being winnowed from the straw, is ready for beating. This operation was formerly performed by manual labour, with a pestle and mortar; and is still so done, in some parts of the state (Drayton 1802:121-124).

Coclanis (1989:97) suggests that in the first quarter of the eighteenth century rice yields averaged around 1,000 pounds of clean rice per acre, although by the time of the American Revolution even inland swamp rice yields were upwards of 1,500 pounds per acre. Correspondingly, whereas James Glen, writing in 1748, explained that a good slave would produce about 2,250 pounds of rice, by the second half of the eighteenth century that figure had increased to 3,000 to 3,600 pounds yearly by an *average* worker.

During this period rice prices fluctuated from a low of 2.24 shillings sterling per hundredweight in 1746 to over 12 shillings sterling per hundredweight in 1772. In 1722 rice prices were at 5.17 shillings or about \$30.06 per hundred pounds of cleaned rice in 1992 dollars. By 1734 the price had jumped to \$50.26 (again in 1992 dollars per hundredweight), only to fall to about \$36.58 by 1742 (Coclanis 1989:106).

During this same period African American male slaves typically sold for £250 currency, or about \$4120 in 1992 dollars (Donnan 1928:820). While there were fluctuations, this figure seems relatively stable for much of the colonial period. Even considering the very high prices paid for slave labor, during the period from 1740 through 1770, the annual net rates of return on investment in rice agriculture ranged from

a low of about 13.5% to a high of 33.5% (Coclanis 1989:141).

These observations are sufficient to illustrate that rice and slaves were inseparable. And with rice and slavery came, to many, unbelievable wealth. Coclanis notes that:

on the eve of the American Revolution, the white population of the low country was by far the richest single group in British North America. With the area's wealth based largely on the expropriation by whites of the golden rice and blue dye produced by black slaves, the Carolina low country had by 1774 reached a level of aggregate wealth greater than that in many parts of the world even today. The evolution of Charleston, the center of the low-country civilization, reflected not only the growing wealth of the area but also its spirit and soul (Coclanis 1989:7).

This wealth, however, was concentrated, in the Beaufort area, along the Savannah River and, in Prince William Parish around the Coosawhatchee, Pocotaligo, and Combahee rivers. St. Helena was largely uninvolved in rice production and where the planters, as Rowland and his colleagues observe, "had to wait nearly half a century for the introduction of an export crop suited to their sandy soil and maritime climate (Rowland et al. 1996:161).

Indigo

Problems associated with the upland growth of rice, coupled with a dramatic decline in rice prices (see Coclanis 1989:106), provided the incentives necessary for serious consideration of indigo by planters. The economic motive for indigo was clear. Carman noted:

Mr. Glen's account is that one acre of *good land* will produce 80 lb. and one slave may manage two acres and upwards, and raise provisions besides,

and have all the winter months to saw lumber and be otherwise employed: 80 lb. at 3s., the present price, is 12£ per acre; and 2½ acres at that rate amount to 30£ per slave, besides lumber, which is very considerable: but I should observe, that there is much indigo brought now from Carolina which sells in London for from 5s. to 8s. a pound, some even higher, though the chief part of the crop may not yield more than 3s. or 4s.; this will alter the average price (Carman 1939:281-290 [1775]).

Copenhaver (1930) suggests that 80 pounds/acre was high and a better average was 30 to 40 pounds per acre. Eight slaves could cultivate, harvest, and prepare the dye from a 40 acre plot — with returns of from 30¢ to \$2.25 per pound (assuming Copenhaver was using 1930 dollars, this is \$2.51 to \$18.85 per pound in 1992 dollars). Coclanis (1989:107) reports prices ranging from 2.43 shillings sterling (\$14.14 in 1992 dollars) per pound in 1747 to 4.33 shillings sterling (\$25.19 in 1992 dollars) per pound in 1755.

The industry also flourished because of its unusual advantages — an indirect bounty, a protective tariff, and a monopoly on the British market during the various wars which cut off access to the better Spanish and French indigo supplies (Sharrer 1971). Winberry, however, suggests that South Carolina's love affair with indigo ran hot and cold, unlike its commitment to rice. At the end of King George's War in 1748, many Carolina planters returned to rice. Indigo cultivation continued, but it was always of poor quality, typically the cheapest "copper indigo" quality. Carolina planters failed to pay close attention to the exacting requirements of processing, and the result was disastrous. According to Winberry, "importers also noticed that in many of the casks there was nothing but a black spongy substance producing a muddy effect, as if the indigo were mixed with soil" (Winberry 1979:248).

If processing was difficult, cultivation was fairly simple. The crop was planted from seed in middle April,

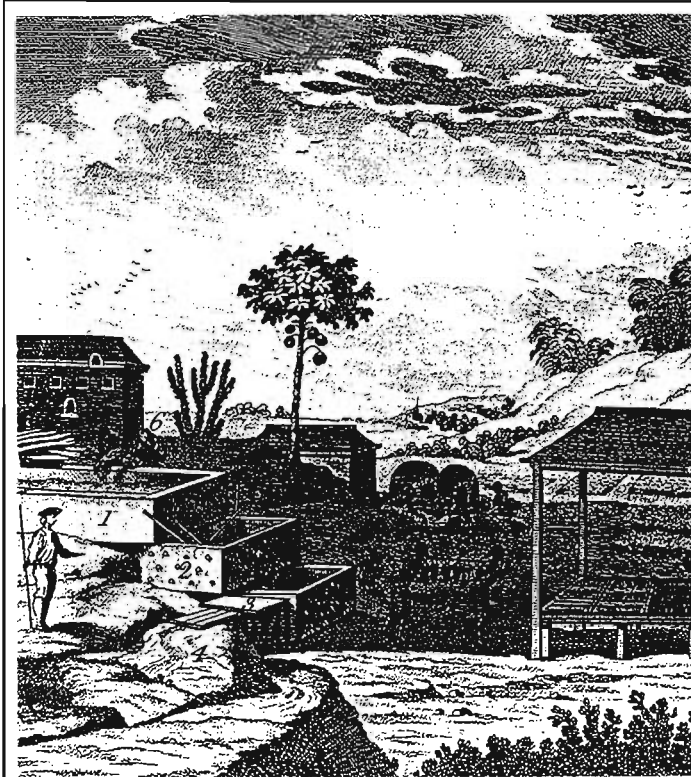


Figure 6. Indigo production, from Middleton's *Complete System of Geography*, 1779.

with a preference for dry, loose soil typical of "hickory lands and pine barrens" — the lands typical of the upland on islands such as Port Royal and St. Helena. The plant was harvested in late June or early July, immediately after it blossomed, by cutting it off at ground level. This allowed the roots to produce a second, and sometimes a third, crop before it was killed by frost.

The plants were hauled to the indigo vats and placed in a steeper made from pine or cypress planks measuring 16 feet square and 3½ to 5 feet deep (Figure 6). The plants were weighted down, covered with water, and allowed to ferment for 10 to 14 hours to remove the dye. The "liquor" was drained off to the wooden beating vats, which were typically 15 feet long, 8 feet wide, and 5 feet deep. There the solution was oxidized by beating. After visible precipitation began limewater was added from the adjacent lime vat to aid coagulation of the dye and agitation continued for about an hour.

Afterwards the liquid was drained from the vat and strained through woolen cloth to catch the dye. As Carman notes, "indigo has a very disagreeable smell, while making and curing; and the foeces, when taken out of the steeper, if not immediately buried in the ground (for which it is excellent manure) breeds incredible swarms of flies" (Carman 1939:288 [1775]). In fact, Ruffin notes that often the lime and debris from these vats were often buried, creating what he called "false marl" or "Indigo-vat marl" formations (Mathew 1992:165).

The wet dye was carried to the curing shed where it was pressed to remove as much water as possible and cut into cubes about 2 inches square. It was dried on trays in the shade, then placed in barrels with damp moss, where it was allowed to mold for several days. Afterwards it was brushed off and graded into four categories -- fine blue, ordinary blue, fine purple, and ordinary copper, the least desirable (Copenhaver 1930:895).

Rowland and his colleagues note that from its introduction through the American Revolution, indigo was a dominant feature of Beaufort agriculture. They note that:

in 1757, Alexander Fraser's three hundred acres on the Coosaw River near the Port Royal Ferry [in the vicinity of Roupelmond Plantation] were said to be typical of the sea islands, "extraordinary good for indigo with some middling rice land" [this also documents that land in the vicinity of Roupelmond was also still be used for rice] (Rowland et al. 1996:162).

The ultimate fate of indigo, like rice, was oblivion. Ruffin observed in 1843 that:

Indigo, once the almost sole sale crop of S.C. has long been abandoned every where except in Orangeburgh district. . . . Since the beginning [sic]

of the revolutionary war, & the production of better indigo in India, the price has been so low that it was abandoned universally in S.C., except as stated in part of this district. But even here it will soon disappear, as there is scarcely any sale for the article & some planters now have their last two crops on hand (Mathew 1992:235).

Cotton

"King Cotton" brought with it a labor pattern distinctively different, and in many ways much more tedious, than either rice or indigo. For some it brought wealth to rival eighteenth century rice and indigo production, although for most it brought only false hope.

The transition from indigo to cotton was fairly quick. One observer of Beaufort agriculture remarked in 1796:

the Island of Port Royal occupied today by sixty or seventy planters was, as late as four years ago, entirely devoted to the growing of indigo. At that time, poor results . . . difficulties in processing and low prices . . . forced people to try to convert to cotton . . . [by 1796, indigo had been] totally abandoned on Beaufort Island [Port Royal Island] and on the neighboring islands . . . where it is being replaced by cotton (quoted in Rowland et al. 1996:280).

Cotton prefers a deep, well-drained soil rich in humus. R.F.W. Allston remarked just prior to the Civil War that the best soil for Sea Island cotton was "a light yellow, sandy soil," warning, however, that "it bears well the admixture of salt and marsh mud with the compost allied to it" (Allston 1854:13; see also Hobhouse 1985:143). While the Sea Islands had deep, well-drained sands, these soils were lacking in humus and nutrients and required constant attention. Drainage was improved, albeit sporadically, by ditching, while marsh

mud and occasionally barn manure were used to improve the nutrients (see Allston 1854; Seabrook 1848).

Cotton also requires about 4 inches of rainfall per month during the critical first three months of growth and then much less during the picking season (when rain will cause rust and other problems reducing the value of the cotton fibers). Drought restricts growth which provides a quicker harvest date but much lower yields. Absence of wind is equally important since the large cotton bushes were unable to survive gales. Unlike crops such as rice or indigo, which allowed free time and even permitted the integration of other provision or cash crops, Sea Island or long-staple cotton² required year-round intensive labor. In fact, the production of the crop took a full 18 months, and work on one year's crop would overlap with the work still required on the crop from the preceding year.

The labor began with listing, or the hoeing under of the previous crop's stubble and vegetation. This would be done, of course, only after the last picking, usually in January or February. Next came tracking the land, or dividing it into beds and ditches to encourage drainage on the lower lands where there was higher fertility. At the same time the fields would be set out in tasks using wooden stakes. Called "running out the land," this process allowed subsequent work to be better managed by the overseer or slave driver.

About the first of March, as the soil began to warm, the slaves would begin the process of hoeing the fields to create beds or ridges about five feet apart (from center to center) and several feet high. This would ensure that the cotton plants had good drainage. Planting, during the late antebellum, was begun about the first or second week of April. One person drilled the hole, another dropped in a handful of seeds, and a third

² Described by Ruffin as "the great & celebrated crop . . . which grows only in perfection in the very limited space of the space from Charleston to the Southern line of Georgia [and only about 40 miles inland]. On no other lands is the fibre equally fine, silky & long" (Mathew 1992:99).

slave covered the hole. The task³ for planting was a quarter acre.

Hoeing began when the cotton plant put out its fourth or fifth leaf and most planters attempted to get in at least five, and sometimes eight, hoeings over the course of the growing season. These hoeings allowed the grass to be chopped away from the cotton plants and also provided an opportunity to thin the cotton plants — first so that the plants were 24 inches apart and later, in mid-July, so that they were no closer than 5 feet. This last thinning created the stand and the task for hoeing was usually half an acre.

Within a few weeks of the last hoeing the cotton would begin to flower and within a few more days the flowers would fall, leaving behind the cotton pods or bolls. Once the bolls began opening the fields would be in cotton for the better part of six months, but before picking the slaves were required to manure the fields at a rate of 40 ox-cart loads to the acre. It would sit in the fields until turned over the following winter. Some planters apparently preferred to manure their fields during the early February field preparations (see Hammond 1884:54).

As soon as the first good "blow,"⁴ usually in the middle of August when the plant is 4 or 5 feet tall, the slaves were called into the fields and picking began. For Sea Island cotton to be profitable, expert care in the process of picking was required. Either including too much debris, allowing the cotton to become stained, or even handling it too much would dramatically lower the price it would bring. Rosengarten (1987:72) reports that 25 pounds of raw cotton per hand per day was a low average for a fair blow, while 35 to 50 pounds was considered excellent. A good crop might require a dozen pickings and each time there was a heavy opening of bolls, the planter rushed slaves into the field to pick the

³ On the Sea Islands slaves were assigned a specific quantity of work to do in a day — a task. The basic task measured 105 feet square, or a quarter acre.

⁴ Called this because the cotton would appear to "blow" open, creating a sea of white spreading across the fields.

cotton before it was rained on (which would also reduce its value). Usually the picking was completed by the middle of December.

Miller (1993:159) reports that women and children ranked among the most productive in picking, which involved both manual dexterity and stamina.⁵ While cotton production required great labor, it did not need the artisans or other special skills required by rice and indigo. Consequently, many cotton plantations included about as many women and children as men.

After picking, the cotton was placed through five operations to transform it from a raw agricultural product to a semi-finished product ready to be shipped to Charleston and then on to England. The first step was sorting in which a slave would manually separate the white cotton from yellow or stained cotton. The trash would also be removed. The cleaned cotton ginned easier and kept a "higher shine." One slave could typically sort 60 pounds of seed cotton per day. Afterwards the cotton would be whipped by a simple machine called a whipper. This brightened the cotton and helped throw out more trash.

After sorting and whipping came the process of ginning to remove the sticky seeds from the lint. Using a foot gin one person could process 25 to 30 pounds of "freed cotton" in a day.⁶ Once ginned, the cotton was laid out in a frame for moting, during which all last vestiges of trash, yellow lint, and cracked seeds would be removed. Finally, the cotton would be packed into round bales, each with a weight of 350 to 400 pounds. Screw presses, such as those used on short-staple cotton, were not used since they damaged the fiber.

⁵ Harry Hammond, in discussing the picking of Sea Island cotton, remarked that the bolls were smaller than the short-staple variety and "instead of being five-lobed, are only three-lobed -- those lobes being so sharp pointed as to prick the fingers to the serious inconvenience of pickers not accustomed to gather it. Of course, the small size of the bolls, requiring so many to make a pound, adds much to the tediousness and expense of harvesting the crop" (Hammond 1884:21).

⁶ Whitney's saw gin could not be used with Sea Island cotton since its teeth would tear up the long fiber.

Once baled, the cotton was stacked in the cotton house until the planter was ready to send the bales to his cotton factor in Charleston or Savannah.

Good planters obtained about 245 pounds of ginned cotton, or about 1140 pounds of raw cotton, to the acre. Less successful planters might obtain a third of these figures (Rosengarten 1987:75). Planters soon realized that they needed between 10 and 20 slaves for every 100 acres of cotton (Hobhouse 1985:192) — thereby guaranteeing the future of slavery, at least for the foreseeable future.

Once in the hands of the factor the cotton was loosely graded by English buyers, often more on the basis of planter's past performance than any clearly identifiable grading process. White Sea Island cotton was divided into common (the great bulk of the crop falling into this category), fine, very fine, and finer cottons, each of which brought higher prices. The yellow cotton brought lower prices, with most planters realizing eight to ten bales of white to one bale of yellow or stained cotton (Rosengarten 1987:75). For the sale of the cotton factors usually took 4% of the proceeds. The remaining sum was used to clear the planter's account of mortgages or loans (provided at a rate of 8 to 12%). Whatever was left was passed on to the planter as "profit" from the sale.

What is not fully described here, however, is the risk of cotton production. The entire crop could be destroyed by rust, blight, hurricanes, caterpillars, late frosts, drought, wet springs, poor processing, poor storage, or fire. It cost the planter between \$75 and \$150 (not including transportation and factorage costs) to produce one bale of cotton, or between 22¢ and 42¢ per pound, depending on the quality of the fiber (Rosengarten 1987:74). Planters chose this risk because of the exceptional returns — one good year seemed to make it all worth while.

The broad trends found cotton prices expanding from the mid-1790s until 1819, a period when many planters expanded their production of

cotton, forsaking earlier efforts at indigo.⁷ By 1820, however, this bubble had burst and cotton prices began a steady decline to a low of only 9¢ in 1827. Agricultural experts reported that during the early 1840s the "legal interest on the capital of the grower is rarely ever realized" (Whitemarsh Seabrook quoted in Rosengarten 1987:85). Prices fluctuated in 1846 and 1847, before a thirteen year climb which began in 1848.

There was general prosperity, at least for the efficient planters, during the 1850s and Sea Island cotton often brought better than 50¢ a pound. In spite of these prices, Rosengarten determined that a modestly successful planter such as Thomas Chaplin on nearby St. Helena Island, even during his best years, saw a return of only 5½% on his agricultural capital (primarily land and slaves). In the poor years (which out-numbered the good for many planters) there was a negative return — or loss.

Summary

And the result of these various agricultural efforts? Certainly they did create owners of great, albeit transitory, wealth. Rowland and his colleagues present a clear picture of Beaufort's wealth, noting that it contained 881 plantations with an average of about 34 slaves per plantation. Moreover, there were 79 plantations (8.9% of the total) which contained more than 100 slaves. Of the plantations, 55 (or 6.2%) were valued in excess of \$20,000. St. Helena Parish — which included Roupelmond — was even more wealthy. The 155 plantations had, on average, 55 slaves and they note that, "with the average value of an individual slave being approximately one thousand dollars, this would have made St. Helena Parish, by any measure, one of the wealthiest neighborhoods in America" (Rowland et al. 1996:369).

This wealth was generated by the 32,492,786

⁷ In fact, during this period cotton was a luxury cloth compared to other fabrics. Cotton thread cost 12 to 14 person-days of labor, per pound. Wool, on the other hand, took at most 1 day per pound, linen 2 to 5 person-days per pound, and silk only six (Hobhouse 1985:144).

pounds of rice and 6,521,200 pounds of cotton, buttressed by the additional production of subsistence crops such as corn and sweet potatoes. Based on the average market prices, the rice and cotton crops were valued, in 1850 dollars, at \$2,170,265.

But Rowland and his fellow authors note that while St. Helena had the smallest white population of the parishes in Beaufort, it also had the second largest black population. Therefore, the \$2,170,265 worth of cash crops was "produced for the benefit of 5,946 planters and farmers by the labor of 30,279 African slaves" (Rowland et al. 1996:369). In other words, in addition to wealth, cotton, rice, and indigo had also brought human bondage at a scale unprecedented in American history. African American slavery shaped not only the economic history of the region, but also its society, and most especially its moral fabric.

That slavery had physically, economically, socially, and morally eaten its way through Southern society is clearly evidenced by such authors as Klein (1990), Tadman (1996), and Genovese (1992), among others. It is perhaps most clearly seen in exploring the extraordinary efforts taken by Southern planters to justify their morally bankrupt system of slavery. Moral society can have no sympathy for Hammond's deathbed realization, in Genovese's words, that like himself, "His beloved southern slave society had also lived too long" (Genovese 1992:107).⁸

⁸ The "cost" of this moral bankruptcy, however, was quite high: 600,000 men in the armies of the North and South were killed or died prematurely. These military casualties amount to more than 12% of those who enlisted or were conscripted or more than 6% of the males of military age. No one can calculate the extent of civilian casualties, which may well have been as high as 250,000. These figures are between 5 and 6 times the losses by the United States during the Second World War and more than ten times the losses this country suffered during the First World War. In spite of this cost, some point out that the war "made the United States, "not only for the obvious reason that the Union had to be secured, but also because without the sacrifice, without the waste, disease, and death, the meaning of nationhood would have as much value as it has in Argentina or Brazil — not very much" (Hobhouse 1985:186).

The development of the cash crops of rice, indigo, and cotton had yet another change — this one on the very environment of the South. Silver points out how dramatically European activities altered the Southern ecosystem between 1500 and 1800. The decrease in sturgeon and freshwater fish; fewer turkeys; dwindling flocks of both Carolina parakeets and passenger pigeons; diminishing herds of game, including muskrats, otters, minks, and even deer; the decline in live oaks; the increase in the turbidity of streams, rivers, and creeks resulting from slash, burn, and abandon agriculture — all would signal the impact of man's arrogance toward and wastefulness of the environment.

Virtually every writer of the eighteenth century urged greater and grander use of the "paradise" called Carolina. It wouldn't be until the early to mid-nineteenth century that a few began sounding an alarm regarding the damage being done by slovenly agriculture and wastefulness of the resources. As Silver observes, most commentators were caught up in the emergence of an expanding world economy that:

stressed the importance of private property, profit, and virtually unrestricted accumulation of goods. It was, in a word, capitalistic. Within that economic system, resources became commodities — articles of value that could be exchanged for other goods or for gold and silver (Silver 1990:189).

Coclanis also explores what he describes as "early land-intensive activities, activities which included not only mixed agriculture but rudimentary extraction and plunder — the stuff of Marxian primitive accumulation" which through time gave way to "economic activities requiring relatively greater inputs of labor and capital" (Coclanis 1989:58). He also emphasizes that the low country, in spite of its appearance as a "paradise" was actually a fragile ecological area with very limited economic potentials.

Viewed through the filter of history, the rural agrarianism of the antebellum had a disastrous affect on the South — and in its own way, Roupelmond clearly participated in these events. Coclanis reminds us that

just as the market (primarily for rice) was responsible for the area's rise, it was also responsible for the area's later decline:

For its siren song lured the area into a pattern of economic and social development which was conducive to economic growth under one limited set of conditions — great external demand for plantation staples produced in the low country — but which would thwart progressive economic adjustments if these conditions ever changed, that is to say, if external demand . . . ever faltered. . . . by establishing an economy whose health was dependent almost entirely upon the vagaries of international demand for commodities, the hegemonists, in effect, sealed the low country's fate (Coclanis 1989:157).

While his focus is on rice, virtually all of the same problems can be seen with the host of other economic ventures the low country tried — lumbering, naval-stores production, indigo and cotton cultivation, and phosphate mining. All were equal in sealing the economic fate of the Carolina low country.

The Educational Component

One of Chicora's main goals in our education programs is to make history accessible to students who are only exposed to it in "dry" books. The Roupelmond Plantation site offered students and teachers an opportunity to visit an archaeological site to see how history affects not just the men and women in the books, but also in our everyday lives. The site was open for a week and two local schools, Robert Smalls Middle School and the Davis Elementary School visited the site.

Ms. Kerri Barile, one of Chicora's staff members, took her educational experience from previous sites she has worked on, and conducted two-hour hands-on tours to the groups.

The students and teachers at Robert Smalls Middle School were so anxious to see the site and become "archaeologists for a day" that over 40 seventh graders and 10 parents and teachers came out to the site on a Saturday. Davis Elementary brought over 120 fifth grade students and 12 parents and teachers during another visit.

Ms. Barile met them at the entrance to the site and began their adventure by walking them to one of the excavation areas. Along the way, they found out that they would not only be seeing the site, but would actually be walking through it, touching and analyzing artifacts, examining stratigraphy (a new word for the day), and have the opportunity to really excavate a portion of the site. Before that, however, the students were given a brief introduction to archaeology. What is archaeology? How do archaeologists know where to dig? What do they look for? — all the questions that everyone asks when visiting an archaeological site for the first time.

The students looked at maps of the area found in the Beaufort County RMC and compared them to recent site maps looking for clues about past activities in the area. The topography and land forms in the area were also examined for significant changes.

After discovering the why, they needed to know the what — what were we looking for? Artifact analysis was one of their favorite parts of the visit. Students were reminded — by looking at things such as clothing styles — that material culture changes over time. They applied that idea to artifacts styles. Groups were given an artifact and had to figure out the mystery of who, what, when, how, and why of artifact identification.

Once they knew about artifacts and mapping, the students were given the opportunity to walk through the site and correlate what they saw on the site map with what was actually remaining on the site. They were also able to point out which of the artifacts they looked at might come from particular areas of the site. They looked at part of the slave house site, an old road bed, and their favorite — the wood-lined privy. Here students thought about how soil stains indicate something happened, some type of cultural activity.



Figure 7. Students from Davis Elementary School participate in hands-on archaeology at Roupelmond.

With the introductory work over, they were introduced to what quickly became their favorite part — excavation. A five by 10 foot unit was strung off and, by troweling and shovel skimming, the students (and some excited parents and teachers), began removing a thick plow zone that made up the top layer of the unit. The removed soil was then taken to a screen where it was sifted by their classmates. Numerous artifacts were recovered — including ceramics, glass, nails, and pipe stems. With their new knowledge about archaeology, the students looked at each artifact differently and began to connect them to people in the past. After excavating, students when on a brief tour of the rest of the site, including the area of the main house.

Not only did the program reach out to these two schools, but television coverage of the Robert Smalls Middle School was used by SC ETV for broadcast into school classrooms across the state, further enhancing the educational benefits of the program.

Curation

As part of the routine curation process, an updated archaeological site form for 38BU1689, Roupelmond Plantation, has been completed and filed with the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. Although much of the site is in the process of being destroyed by the school construction, portions of the main house will remain intact along the marsh edge.

The field notes, photographic materials, and artifacts resulting from Chicora's investigations at Roupelmond have been curated at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology under the site number 38BU1689. The collections have been cleaned and/or conserved as necessary. Further information on conservation practices may be found in a following section of this study. All original records and duplicate copies were provided to the curatorial facility on pH neutral, alkaline buffered paper and the black and white photographic materials were processed to archival permanence standards. Color slides, which are not an archival media, were processed to the best practical standards and have been prepared for permanent curation using archival materials.

HISTORIC SYNOPSIS

Methodology

The tract ownership portion of this synopsis relied heavily on sources available at the Beaufort County Register of Mesne Conveyances. Beaufort, however, is one of the several South Carolina counties which has suffered a significant loss of its early records. Both probate and clerk of court (including deed) records were moved from Beaufort to Columbia for safe keeping prior to the fall of Beaufort to Union forces during the Civil War. This was an unfortunate choice — Beaufort was protected because it became a Union base of operations, while Columbia, including the Beaufort records, was burned during Sherman's February 1865 sweep through South Carolina. As a result, there are no local records pre-dating about 1862, when the federal forces began attempting to reconstruction ownership in the area. There were additional, postbellum losses, resulting in incomplete records well into the 1880s.

Consequently, early ownership in the Beaufort area can sometimes be difficult or impossible to determine with precision. Some duplicate records were occasionally filed in Charleston and certain Beaufort records were apparently also filed in the Chatham County, Georgia courthouse. Some gaps may at times also be filled in using the South Carolina Department of Archives and History Combined Alphabetical Index, the state plats COM index, or the General Assembly papers. While these alternate sources can at times be helpful, most often there is very little available primary information.

This research combined these sources with a review of documents available at the National Archives. In particular, the Cartographic Branch (primarily Record Group 55) was consulted for any available information, especially from early Coastal Survey maps. The General Jurisdictional Case Files (Record Group 123) were consulted in an effort to determine additional information concerning the postbellum restoration efforts associated with Roupelmond Plantation. The

Treasury Department records (Record Groups 58 and 217) pertaining to the State Direct Tax Commissions and school farms were also consulted for information on the activities which took place on the property as well as its eventual disposition.

The Library of Congress was used extensively for research on a variety of Revolutionary War accounts. These were largely primary accounts, albeit often written after the war. We did, however, make some effort to also use such documents as *Records of the British Colonial Office*, a set of 53 microfilm reels, but discovered that the Library of Congress staff was woefully unprepared to make these resources useable. Being unable to retrieve the three volume guide to the microform, there was no intellectual control — making the film worthless for this project.

The Beaufort County Public Library's extensive local history collections were likewise consulted. This source proved quite useful, including an extensive map collection (including several not identified at the National Archives), a series of papers on local history read before the Beaufort Historical Society, and vertical files of various properties around the county.

In addition, the holdings of the South Carolina Historical Society, the South Caroliniana Library, and the Map Repository at the Thomas Cooper Library were also consulted. In an effort to obtain information on the Whale Branch ferry crossing we also consulted with the Department of Transportation's Plan Archives, obtaining copies of the early road and bridge plans for the crossing. We also attempted to consult their photographic archives, in an effort to identify visuals of the crossing that might help reveal the location of the ferry or remnant landscape features. We discovered that while these items are on a retention schedule with the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, there is very little intellectual control, making the use of the materials problematical. When photographs are identified which would be useful,

obtaining copies can be as difficult as actually finding the photographs. Other sources of photographic material, such as the Beaufort County Public Library, the South Caroliniana Library, and the South Carolina Historical Society failed to have photographs of this major crossing. Eventually an image of the crossing, from the Civil War, was found, although it provides almost no landscape detail. This image is reproduced as the front cover of this report.

Although this search has, by no means, been exhaustive, it has explored the majority of the sources most likely to provide information on Roupelmond Plantation. Where appropriate, we have supplemented that information with secondary sources, such as Rowland et al. (1996) in order to provide a context for the historical development of this portion of Beaufort County.

Beaufort's Early History

The early European history of the Beaufort area is the history of Spanish and French competition for a foothold on the Carolina coast. The early voyages and expeditions of Captain Francisco Gordillo, Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, and Hernando De Soto set the stage for Spanish conquest efforts, while the French relied on Captain Jean Ribaut.

The French efforts, at both Charlesfort (in the Beaufort, South Carolina area) and Fort Caroline (in Florida) were disastrous and had little permanent impact. While the Spanish efforts at Santa Elena were somewhat more permanent, they too had only a relatively brief impact on the history of the Beaufort area. Father Juan Rogel was one of the few careful observers of Native American life around Santa Elena and his commentaries are certainly one of the most important results of the settlement.

Nevertheless, tribes from Guale, Orista, and Escamacu united to drive the Spanish from the Beaufort area and briefly succeeded during a war which lasted from 1576 to 1579. The Spanish, however, returned with a vengeance, rebuilt the northern settlement, and embarked on a relatively peaceful coexistence with the local Indians until the settlement was permanently abandoned in 1587. Although there

were efforts to revive the Spanish presence nothing came of it and the Carolina coast was largely deserted until the settlement of Charleston by the English in 1670.

This is not, however, to say that there was not continued exploration of the Beaufort area. Spanish missionaries visited the Santa Elena area several times between 1587 and 1618 (Rowland et al. 1996:50-52). But longer-term consequences were associated with the explorations of Captain William Hilton, who entered St. Helena bay on September 3, 1663. There he met with Edisto and Escamaru Indians, visiting their towns and providing some commentary on their lifeways (Holmgren 1959). Also resulting from his efforts was an English settlement at Cape Fear, North Carolina.

In 1666 Robert Sandford sailed south from this new settlement to explore the Carolina coast, stopping at Edisto and then moving on to the Port Royal area. There he explored what are thought to be the Broad River and the Calibogue Sound. It was during this trip that Henry Woodland began to acquire his exceptional reputation with the Native American groups along the coast. As Sandford sailed back north, Woodward chose to stay behind and learn the Indian ways and language. As Rowland and colleagues observe, Woodward has the distinction of the first permanent English settler in South Carolina (Rowland et al. 1996:61).

By 1669 the Proprietors were ready to make a permanent settlement in South Carolina and three ships set out intending to settle the Port Royal area. It was only through the intercession of the cacique of Kiawah that the English were persuaded, instead, to make their settlement at a low bluff called Albemarle Point on the Ashley River, upriver from what is today Charleston.

Like other European powers, the English were lured to the "New World" for reasons other than acquisition of land and promotion of agriculture. The Proprietors, who owned the Carolina colony until 1719-1720, intended to discover a staple crop whose marketing would provide great wealth through the mercantile system. This system was designed to profit the mother country by providing raw materials

unavailable in England and then purchasing the finished products — in today's vernacular, largely a "win-lose" scenario (Clowse 1971).

Charleston's relationship with their governing body, the Proprietors, was always uneasy. After the extermination of the Westos in 1680, largely to break the monopoly of the Proprietors on Indian trade, the Proprietors lost interest in the Indians and began to realize that they had yet to make a profit off the colony (Ferris 1968:124-125). Rowland suggests that the settlement of Scots at Stuart Town was largely designed to begin a second commercial venture and perhaps even to rein in Charleston (Rowland et al. 1996:67). The settlement was established in 1684 about 1.5 miles south of Beaufort.

As soon as the settlement was established tensions between Charleston and Stuarts Town began to rise. An initial concern was the autonomy of the Scots settlement, although a deeper issue was who should have authority over the small contingent of Indian traders who had made settlements in the Beaufort area after the destruction of the Westo (Rowland et al. 1996:72).

Just as the eradication of the Westo opened the Beaufort area to the Proprietors and their Scots settlers, it also opened the area to the Yemassee, who quickly moved in from the west, spreading over the low country in just a few years. The Scots encouraged the Yemassee to attack Spanish missions to the south at the same time they alienated English support in Charleston. As a result, when the Spanish struck back in 1686, destroying Stuart Town, as well as all the Yemassee towns they could find, Charleston offered little support or sympathy. As Rowland notes:

now that the Port Royal area had been scoured of settlers — both white and Indian — the English at Charles Town could take up the land and establish the Indian trade to suit themselves. During the next thirty years (1686-1720) South Carolinians acquired land grants on the islands near Port Royal and St. Helena Sounds. From their frontier

plantations they conducted Indian trade and erected the foundations of lowcountry plantation society (Rowland et al. 1996:80).

Expansion in the Early Eighteenth Century

Rowland and his colleagues recount the ensuing land rush. Thomas Nairne, one of South Carolina most active Indian traders, rapidly acquired 3,000 acres in the Beaufort area; Governor Joseph Blake acquired what came to be known as Lady's Island; Paul Grimball took a warrant for Datha Island; and on it went (Rowland et al. 1996:81).

It was during this period of expansion that Roupelmond was first acquired. On November 4, 1702 700 acres were granted to James Tibbes (Colonial Grants, vol. 38, pg. 427, see also Abstracts of Grants, Part I, pg. 134). The tract was on Scotts Island (named after the abortive Stuarts Town), bounded to the north by the "Cusa" River, or Coosaw River (Whale Branch being a nineteenth century term, applied to the waterway after a whale swam into the channel and became beached), to the west by lands of Joshua Brenan, and to the south and east by creeks and marshes — the same boundaries found well into the nineteenth century.

During this early period it was possible to get proprietary grants in three ways: through headright grants that were offered to encourage settlement, through purchase, or as a special reward for some service to the proprietors (Lesser 1995:426). Of these options, a headright grant seems most reasonable and might indicate that Tibbes claimed land for himself and perhaps as many as 13 family members or slaves (at the 50 acres per free person or servant established in 1682; Ackerman 1977:24).

Although this is the only reference to Tibbes in the Combined Alphabetic Index, Salley (1973) does reveal that he acquired a warrant for 500 acres in 1700 at an unspecified location and another 500 acres in 1704 on Wembee Island. There is, however, a 1703 warrant for Daniel Calahan, located "between James Tibbes and him [Calahan] on Port Royal" (Salley 1973:610).

According to a later memorial (discussed below), the land passed from Tibbes to Robert Graham and his wife, Mary. This may be the Robert Graham who was, during this general time period, a factor to the Creek Indians (McDowell 1955). If so, it is unlikely that he spent any time at the plantation and, in fact, the tract was likely not developed.

Graham held the tract until 1719 — during a period when tension with the Yemassee were growing to the boiling point. It was also the period when Beaufort was established, with the original plat establishing 397 lots. The blocks to the east of Carteret Street were divided into six or more lots, while those to east were divided into four or six lots. Twenty-four lots of lesser size, likely intended for a commercial district, were set aside on the north of the street adjacent to the river. Lots twice the size of the largest standard parcels were established northwest of the waterfront, overlooking the marshes — these were obviously for planter's mansions (John Milner and Associates 1979:1). This new town, however, was very slow to grow and as late as 1720 there were only a handful of houses and businesses.

During either the ownership of Tibbes or Graham, the Yemassee were allocated a reservation in an effort to stabilize relations between the group and the English settlers. Called the "Indian Land" it was bordered on the southeast by the Coosaw River — with Roupelmond laying immediately across the marshes. Unfortunately, this measure did little to curtail either the infringements by English, greedy for more land, or the unscrupulous behavior, as they sought greater profits from the Indian trade. Rowland and his colleagues observe that by 1711 the Yemassee owned debts of 100,000 deer skins — an astronomical sum reflecting advances that continued to mount to the point where the Yemassee felt threatened by enslavement as a means of resolving the debt (Rowland et al. 1996:83). This, coupled with years of poor treatment, lead to the Yemassee War, which began on April 15, 1715.

What little had been built in Beaufort was burned by the Yemassee, as were almost certainly any plantations on the Coosaw. Nearby St. Bartholomew's Parish, it seems, was left virtually unihabitated. For many areas in the low country, whatever progress had

been made toward settlement was eliminated (Wallace 1951:90). Consequently, if Roupelmond had been established by this time, it's likely that the Yemassee War destroyed the plantation (Rowland et al. 1996:96).

After a series of counterattacks, the Yemassee were largely subdued by mid-1716, although hostilities didn't truly end until a treaty was signed with the Creeks in June 1718.

It was shortly after this that Graham, on September 11 and 12, 1719 sold the plantation to Samuel Prioleau by deed of lease and release.¹ We believe it is with Prioleau's ownership that the plantation began to take form and was probably fully developed.

Prioleau was born in South Carolina and became a Charleston jeweler, silversmith and merchant, although he also had very large landholdings — 4,871 acres on the Coosawhatchie, 1,000 acres on the Saltketcher River, 817 acres on Midway River, and the tract on the Coosaw. In addition, he owned houses on Church, Friend, and King streets in Charleston, as well as 61 slaves (Edgar and Bailey 1977:544). By any estimation he was a wealthy man who esteemed life in Charleston and its society. It's unlikely that he spent much time at his Coosaw Plantation.

His father, Elie (often called Elias) Prioleau, had been the pastor of the French or Huguenot Church in Charleston, and "offered South Carolina's early refugees steady, experienced, and committed religious leadership" (Butler 1983:94). Samuel, like many other Huguenots, began quickly assimilating into English society. Butler observes that the portraits of Samuel and his wife, Mary Magdalene, painted by Carolina's first known portraitist who captured Charleston's elite in oil, "underscore the position these and other Huguenots reached in South Carolina in the three decades after their arrival in the 1680s" (Butler 1983:107). Prioleau became a practicing Anglican, owning a pew in St.

¹ A lease and release is a very old method of conveyance in which a lease was first entered into and on the following day a release of seisen was given over, the legal result being a conveyance in fee simple.

Philip, a trait common of many Huguenots as they sought to not only fit in, but also succeed.

In a similar manner, his gradual movement from jeweler to silversmith to goldsmith (as noted by Burton and Ripley 1991:80-81) to land owner follows the course that was very common in eighteenth and even nineteenth century Carolina. By gradually acquiring assets and investing them in land, one might hope to move into the most favored of all classes — that of a planter.

He seems to have no real ties to the Indian trade, although he did sell the Indian Commissioners two guns presented to the Indians Cesar [sic] and Partridge (McDowell 1955:153). His political life was active, representing St. Philip, Prince William, and St. Helena at various times. He also served as a tax assessor for Charleston and as a Justice of the Peace for Berkeley County (Edgar and Bailey 1977:544).

Although the purpose isn't clear, in 1731 Prioleau mortgaged his 700 acre plantation on Port Royal, plus 51 "Negro, Indian, and Mustee Slaves" for £5,000 to Elisha Prioleau, his son, also a Charleston merchant. The mortgage specifies that Samuel retained free use of the plantation, as long the payments on the mortgage were met (Charleston County RMC, DB K, pg. 88). Although this document does not indicate where the 51 slaves were located, their enumeration with the plantation suggests that they may have been on that particular tract — that he was mortgaging all of this operations at this one location.

By 1733 the Assembly had established a ferry at Prioleau's plantation, called Patterson's Point, connecting it with the land of Thomas Inns, on the "Indian Land." Established for a 15 year period, the ferry was required to maintain "a good and sufficient boat, two horse and men." The fees for the ferry were established at 7s 6p for one man, 5s per person when there was more than one, and 10s for a man and horse. But, those seeking the ferry were also authorized to sue the ferry's operator 5s for the first hour they were unreasonably delayed in crossing and 10s for each additional hour (McCord 1841:80-81).

It was also in 1733 that Samuel Prioleau

registered his land under the 1731 Quit Rent Act (see Ackerman 1977:68) and obtained a memorial for the 935 acre tract (Memorials, vol. 5, pg. 34). It is from this document that we obtain much of our information concerning earlier owners. By this time the property owner to the west was no longer Brennan, but James Cochran, a noted physician, planter, and Commissioner of the Indian Trade. A portion of this adjoining property would acquire the term "Cochran's Point" in the mid-eighteenth century, although Cochran had died at least by 1724 (Edgar and Bailey 1977:157).²

This late registration was clearly the norm. Ackerman reports that by September 1732 memorials for only 61,000 acres had been entered in the auditor general's office, while taxes had been paid on over a million acres.

In 1737 the assembly authorized a second ferry, about a mile to the west, from the plantation on Cochran's Point to the mainland plantation belonging to Hugh Bryan (McCord 1841:102). Considerably less expensive than Prioleau's ferry (the charge for one person was regulated at 2s 6p and 5s for a man and a horse), apparently this was an effort to improve the route to Pocotaligo and Savannah (Rowland et al. 1996:122).

Curiously, Hugh Bryan would become Prioleau's son-in-law, marrying Mary Prioleau in 1744. Bryan, as revealed by Edgar and Bailey and Rowland and his colleagues, was at the least, an eccentric. Having been captured and escaped from the Yemassee, he went through what has been called a "religious conversion." He apparently had "mystical experiences," asserted that the 1740 Charleston fire was God telling the city of its sinfulness, and began to preach to large gatherings of slaves. While the other behavior was perhaps tolerable, the latter was not. He was charged with stirring insurrection — a charge which he denied, claiming that Satan had taken over his body. Edgar and Bailey (1977:108) report that shortly therefore he became

² Cochran's memorial for his property is dated 1733 and documents a March 20, 1715/16 grant (Memorials, vol. 3, page 165). This memorial identifies the creek and marsh to the south as Calahans Creek.

convinced that, like Moses, he could part the waters, nearly drowning in his efforts. Afterwards, he apparently stopped these odd activities (Rowland et al. 1996:136). Nevertheless, it is unfortunate that we have no record of Prioleau's joy at the prospect of having Bryan as a member of his family.

Regardless, in 1751 Prioleau's Patterson's Point ferry was again chartered, this time for a period of seven years. The original charter, of course, would have expired in 1748, but there is no indication that it ceased operation. This new act allowed for no increase in fees — in fact it decreased the charges. The cost for one person was set at 5s, while a man and horse would be charged 7s 6p. The potential penalties for delay, however, increased — 20s for the first hour and 40s for every following hour (McCord 1841:160).

Prioleau died in Charleston in 1752 and his inventory revealed an estate valued at more than £16,000, including over 50 slaves, plantation lands, cattle, and Charleston property (Charleston County WPA Inventories 79:394, 398). Unfortunately, while the inventory clearly itemizes his Charleston house and his Goose Creek Plantation, the tracts in the lower part of the colony were lumped together by the appraisers: A careful reading, however, reveals that there are two distinct "sets" of information (i.e., slave lists occur in two different places, lists of livestock occur in two different places, lists of tools and furnishings occur in two different places). Although unprovable, it seems likely that the appraisers lumped materials together from his interior plantations (on the Coosawhatchie and Saltketcher rivers), while the Port Royal plantation, being in the vicinity, but isolated from the others, represents a distinctly different listing. Unfortunately, it is not possible to surmise which of the two represents the Port Royal property (the first "batch" represents a value of over £4,800, while the second "batch" has a total value of just under £5,000), the nature of the two inventories is very similar.

Both included plantation tools: working hoes, sickles, axes, wedges (for splitting wood), reap hooks (for cutting either rice or indigo), brass and iron wire "scrives" or screens (used in indigo production), cooper's tools, and carpenter's tools. Also were items such as corn mills, for grinding provisions, and "2^{pr} stilliards" or

stilliards (heavy scales for measuring large commodities, such as indigo or rice). One plantation also included, "10^{pr} hooks and hinges" and "1/2 doz. brick moles" (or molds), indicating Prioleau was in the process of expansion — making bricks and building structures that required hung doors or window shutters.

One inventory included seven horses, six oxen, 154 head of cattle, 39 head of sheep, and 50 head of hogs, while the other included only six horses and 22 head of cattle. The presence of oxen at the first suggests that it may have been devoted to rice cultivation, simply because oxen were frequently used to prepare wet rice land.

There is also a difference between the two sets of home furnishings. At the first there is a wide assortment of items, suggesting that relatively little furniture was brought in for Prioleau's use. Present were seven pewter dishes, one dozen plates, one "bason" or basin, a pair of "Pewter salts," "1 china and 1 stone bowle 2 wine glasses," a silver spoon, and other kitchen wares. The furniture included a chest of drawers, 14 chairs, a cedar table, a "bed matrass, bedstead, 2 bolsters, 1 pillow, 2 pillow cases, 3 sheets and 1 pr. blankets." One of the more interesting furniture items was a "close stool." These were eighteenth century chairs or stools with a hole in seat designed to hold a chamber pot. In the absence of indoor plumbing, these were intended to make toileting more comfortable. Also present were a variety of men's clothing items — shirts, stockings, trousers, and caps.

The other batch of items represents a smaller assortment, suggesting that there the bulk of Prioleau's needs were transported in, probably by boat. At the end of his visit to the plantation they would have been packed back up and shipped back to the Charleston residence. In fact, the only items included in the inventory are six chairs, a mattress, bolster (a thin pad, often used on daybeds), a pair of blankets, and a gun. Everything else in the inventory is associated with agricultural activity on the plantation.

In a very similar fashion, the Goose Creek plantation inventory reveals almost no household items — some pots, "10 old Pewter plates 3 dishes," and two tables. Clearly, any visit by Prioleau to this tract also

necessitated the transfer of accoutrements essential to make life livable by a person of his wealth and power.

It is the Charleston inventory, however, which most clearly reveals the early eighteenth century life of the gentry. For example bedding including the bedstead, two mattresses, a feather bed, a blanket, a quilt, and a "Pavillion and Curtains" (a canopy and curtains, designed to keep out insects) with a total value of £40. Another nearly identical assortment of items was valued at £45, while a third was valued at £50. Two more were valued at £30 and £35. Additional bedding include another bed, four pillows, a bolster, eight pair of blankets, and nine "duffel" (a coarse, woolen cloth) blankets.

The house was equipped with a "close stool chair," as well a "two guns and a Gun Bassel," a "Silver Mounted Sword and a Cuttoe" (a knife or small sword), a pair of pistols, two "old cuttoes," and four powder flasks. There were jars with sugar, walking canes, no less than three pair of scales with weights, and a range of cloth goods. Very telling is the presence of a clock in the inventory, valued at £65.

Perhaps most interesting were the ceramics. Prioleau's Charleston house included three teapots, a pair of "cruets" (condiment bottles), a pair of salts, "4 Enamelled China Dishes," "4 Coloured China Dishes," "4 Blue China Dishes," 24 plates, 22 soup plates, 10 "old dishes," "3 Enamelled Bowls," two blue bowls, "1 dozen Chocolate Cups and Saucers," a dozen blue tea cups, a dozen "Coloured Tea Cups," 17 saucers, 11 cups, and five coffee cups, a "parcel of odd China," a "Compleat Set of China and Tea Board," 11 "earthen bowls" (perhaps Colono bowls, but also possibly earthenware, such as lead glazed slipware), four decanters, 19 tumblers, 12 "jelly glasses," and 30 wine glasses. Silver included two waiters, a cup, a two-handled cup, a pepper box, two porringers, a punch strainer, 32 table spoons, a soup spoon, eight tea spoons, tongs, a strainer (probably a tea strainer), two tankards, a ladle, and two graters. Combined, this silver alone was valued at £400.

At this time period the median personal wealth in South Carolina was £2,230 and the mean wealth was only £5,405. Only 19% of the estates in Charleston at

this time period are £14,000 or more — placing Prioleau very close to the top of Charleston's wealthy (see Coclanis 1989:85-86).

His will devised his Patterson's Point plantation "containing about nine hundred and thirty five acres" to his two daughters: Mary the wife of Hugh Bryan and Elizabeth Prioleau (Charleston County WPA Wills 6:627).

About a year after acquiring a moiety interest in her father's Port Royal plantation, Elizabeth Prioleau married George Roupell (also spelled by some historians as Roupel). Allowing an appropriate time for mourning, it may be that the two were courting prior to Prioleau's death and the wedding was postponed an appropriate length of time.

Roupell had arrived in Charleston about a decade earlier and almost immediately succeeded in being appointed Searcher of the Customs at Charleston.³ Edgar and Bailey (1977:570) also point out that although he was later appointed to additional offices, including Deputy Collector of Customs and Deputy Postmaster, he never resigned his Searcher post, instead holding all of the positions at once.

Shortly after his marriage to Elizabeth Prioleau, which made him a land owner, he was elected to represent St. Helena Parish.⁴ Perhaps the early proceeds from the plantation, coupled with his own

³ The Searcher was responsible for searching ships, baggage, and goods for dutiable items or contraband.

⁴ Throughout the colonial period there were qualifications for membership in the Assembly. Initially, they required only the ownership of 50 acres or £10 in chattels. This was increased to 500 acres or £500 in chattels in 1716. By 1717 the property qualifications increased to 500 acres and 10 slaves or £1,000 in chattels (Edgar and Bailey 1977:4). It is likely that Roupell, in spite of his government jobs, would not have qualified without marrying into property. Perhaps the importance of this was not missed by others, since the wedding announcement in the Charleston paper described Elizabeth Prioleau as, "an agreeable young lady with a handsome fortune and other amiable accomplishments" (*South Carolina Gazette*, May 14, 1753).

savings allowed Roupell, in 1757, to purchase Mary Bryan's moiety of Patterson's Point. This was also four years after the death of Mary's husband, Hugh Bryan, so she may have desired cash rather than partial ownership in a plantation. Her disposal of the tract may also have been associated with her second marriage, this time to Rev. William Hutson, another convert of George Whitefield and a tutor earlier hired by Hugh Bryan (Middleton 1953:140). Regardless, Roupell brought the plantation together, albeit his wife still legally had control over half of the tract.

Within a year of acquiring a portion of the tract, Roupell also filed his memorial for the tract with the auditor general. Although Prioleau's will (and 1733 memorial) identified the tract as 935 acres, Roupell's memorial identifies the property as containing 950 acres (Memorials, vol. 7, pg. 184). This suggests that a survey was done, although no record of it remains. It may have been among the records destroyed in Columbia, or it may have been an unrecorded plat that was lost, discarded, or destroyed.

The ferry, previously established by Samuel Prioleau, was again mandated in 1762 (McCord 1841:205), this time for 10 years and in Roupell's own name. The fees remained fixed, yet again the penalty for unreasonable delay was increased — this time to 40s for the first hour and £5 for each additional hour. The law also stipulated a wide range of individuals who did not need to pay, including the Governor, ministers, mustered militia members, "all persons in time of alarm," government messengers, and free Indians. This ferry was again authorized by the Assembly, this time for seven years, in 1778 (McCord 1841:261).

Roupell produced scientific drawings, characterized by one art historian as "adequate," although his caricatures show "a keen eye and wit," being "diverting and expressive" (Rutledge 1949:119). Edgar and Bailey are somewhat less flattering, noting only that he "enjoyed a local reputation as a caricaturist and as a "skilled draftsman" (Edgar and Bailey 1977:570). Nevertheless, these accounts perhaps reveal that Roupell was far more at home in the polite society of Charleston than he was on the frontier of Beaufort. Rutledge comments that Roupell, "was evidently a 'man of taste,' his portrait by Copley having been exhibited at

the Royal Academy in 1780" (Rutledge 1941:119).

It seems likely that he, like Prioleau before him, sought to spend as much time as possible in Charleston, where he owned a house on the northeast corner of Tradd and Friend streets (Middleton 1953:163). One would also think that his three government jobs would have kept him rather busy in Charleston. There seems little doubt, however, that his plantation focused on indigo — the primary crop for the Beaufort sea islands at this time (Rowland et al. 1996:161-171). Rowland also recounts that the period of the 1760s was one of nearly unbridled optimism and economic prosperity. The French and Indian War was settled, Spain relinquished St. Augustine, and agricultural prices were generally high. The only hinderance to making more money was an inadequate labor supply, so many planters reinvested their profits in slavery, swelling the ranks of Beaufort's African-American population.

Unfortunately, there are few reliable population estimates for St. Helena Parish. For example, a 1720 estimate reported only 72 individuals in that parish — 42 of whom (58.2%) were slaves (BPRO Transcripts, vol. 9, pg. 23). By 1725 St. Helena minister Reverend Lewis Jones reported 224 slaves, strangely dropping to 170 in 1726 (Rowland et al. 1996:129). By 1790, the first year of the federal census, the Beaufort area population rose to 18,753 people, of which 76.7% were African-American slaves (Wallace 1951:710).

Dramatic improvements in the wealth of the planters in St. Helena's Parish occur between 1720, when there were perhaps as many as 1234 acres per slave, and 1769, when this number had dropped to only 25 acres per slave (Waterhouse 1989:132-133). On the eve of the Revolution, St. Helena's assemblymen, on average, owned 73 slaves and had estates values at £3216 sterling. Nevertheless, St. Helena had still not grown to be an especially prosperous parish. It ranked fourth from the bottom in terms of average wealth of assemblymen (above only Christ Church, Prince Frederick's, and Prince George's) and sixth from the bottom in average slaveholding. Far wealthier were St. George's, St. James' Goose Creek, and even adjacent St. William's (Waterhouse 1989:175).

Deteriorating Conditions and the American Revolution

As Bull (1991:196) explains, 1774 was the last full year of royal government in South Carolina. The power of and respect toward the King of England was visibly fading and South Carolinians formed what amounted to a shadow government, ready to step in at the right moment. The Assembly was largely kept out of session, in an effort to prevent the passage of yet more seditious acts. This is not, however, to imply that all South Carolinians were ardent supports of a revolution. Far from it. As Kaplanoff (1991:68) observes, "South Carolina was exceptional" — the planters were extraordinarily wealthy, Charleston was truly the gem of the southern seaboard, and the area was characterized by a wealth built upon the backs of African-American slaves. He comments that, "socially and culturally, the Low Country maintained closer links with Britain and the British Caribbean than did any other part of America" (Kaplanoff 1991:68). As a result, allegiance to a revolution was far from solid and this may help account for the often changing allegiances of Beaufort's citizens.

Rowland and his colleagues trace the gradual deterioration of relations specific to the Beaufort area and pay specific attention to the problems faced by patriot forces in getting the various trade embargoes enforced in the Beaufort area (see also Weir 1976). As a major indigo producing area, the embargo on indigo hit the local economy hard — planters had no other cash crop to sell and local merchants were virtually shut down. That in December 1775, the Council of Safety was issuing instructions to the local committee in Beaufort to take more aggressive action to stem the flow of illegal goods, reveals the extent of the problem (Rowland et al. 1996:205).

Although nothing is known about activities at George Roupell's plantation, he attracted attention to himself in a dispute over the kings mail and, in 1775 was placed under arrest and confined, along with other officers of the Crown, in his house. It must have been about this time, in August 1775, that Roupell wrote to Anthony Todd, complaining of the harassment faced by friends of the government (Sellers 1975: item 1480).

At some point during the war (after 1775, but least by 1779), Roupell and his sons were apparently exiled to England, although his wife and daughter remained in South Carolina — likely at their Charleston residence. By 1782, however, he had returned to Carolina. Given his long service to the Crown, as well as his duties as a custom's official, it is strange that he managed somehow, in the words of Rogers and his colleagues, "to weather the Revolution" (Rogers et al. 1976:273; see also Edgar and Bailey 1977:570-571 and Middleton 1953:163).

With the fall of Savannah to British forces at the end of December 1778, Beaufort was placed in clear threat of the British army. The incursion into Georgia and South Carolina, of course, was part of a much large plan designed by Lord George Germain, designed to "drive a wedge of troops through the pine barrens westward of the low country, thereby isolating the rebellious planters on the coast and reducing them, as Germain put it, 'to the necessity of abandoning, or being abandoned by their Slaves, or submitting to the King's authority'" (Weir 1976:13). Furthermore, the thought was that occupation of the low country would not only provide a base of operations for the English (as it would for the Union forces during the Civil War), but that it would also deprive the Americans of its use.

The importance of Beaufort was stated clearly in 1770 by Lieutenant Governor William Bull to the Earl of Hillsborough:

In the year 1731 by direction from the Lords of the Admiralty, Captain Gascoigne, in His Majesty's ship *Scarborough*, surveyed the bar and harbour with great accuracy and found twenty-one feet water at low tide and the flood rising about seven feet. I have been informed by several captains of His Majesty's ships that the bar is wide enough to allow a ship to turn in or out against wind. A seventy-gun ship may come over this bar and run within a mile of Beaufort Town. About a mile and half below Beaufort stands Fort Lyttleton, mounted with fifteen

cannon, twenty-four, twelve and nine-pounders; it is built with tabby, a composition of oyster shells and lime like soft stone. It has barracks for one hundred men, though the provincial establishment is only one gunner. A small garrison here in time of war would secure the town of Beaufort from the insults of privateers (Davies 1973:274)

Following the fall of Savannah, Augusta was next, being captured by the British in January 1779. Even before moving into the Beaufort area in force, Weir notes that several raiding parties ventured into the area. Perhaps the most notable was that taking place on the last several days of January, when a large body of British troops arrived in Port Royal Sound. They made several landings, burning plantations deserted by their owners, including the Laurel Bay plantation of General Stephen Bull. Confronted by superior forces, the Americans at Fort Lyttleton hastily spiked their guns and blew up their magazine, then abandoned the fort.

A day later, on February 1, 1779, General William Moultrie arrived at the Port Royal Ferry, crossing over to Port Royal Island (and through Roupell's plantation), with the intention of taking command of the Beaufort forces and holding Fort Lyttleton — regrettably a day too late. He stationed troops north of Beaufort, to protect the rear. Meanwhile, the British landed at Laurel Bay, to the west, and marched north to Roupell's ferry on February 2. There they discovered Americans encamped on the opposite bank of Whale Branch and learned that a large force had already moved over and marched southward to Beaufort. The British turned southward, preparing to meet the Americans.

Moultrie, in turn, learned of the British and marched north from Beaufort on February 3. Rowland and his colleagues report that the two forces engaged "about halfway between the town and the ferry along the main road just west of the present U.S. Marine Corps Air Station" (Rowland et al. 1996:217). Barnwell offers a little more detail, explaining:

Just where the battle took place

cannot now be accurately fixed. According to General Moultrie's account, he marched 2 miles and then 3 miles and then a certain distance further, trying to reach a favorable position which he had picked out for the battle; but the enemy got there first. The British account indicates that the battle was at the entry of Rhodes swamp beyond a causeway. In an article published in a newspaper in Beaufort in 1873 by Dr. Archibald Johnson of Beaufort, the battle is said to have been fought at "the Half-way House" (Barnwell 1945:7).

An undated map of the island, "Sketch of Port Royal Island and Town of Beaufort," likely dating to the first decade of the nineteenth century (Figure 8), identifies the location of the "Half-way House" at the intersection of the shell road, or US 21, and a road which looped westward to "Dr. Rhodes," today S-71. Just south of a marshy area, which almost certainly was Rhodes swamp, the map identifies, "Battle Ground in 1778" (National Archives, RG 77, Drawer 146-1). A British account reveals that Moultrie held the high ground overlooking the marsh causeway, but had not been able to beat the British to the road leading back to their ships:

on the crest of the Pine Barrens beyond the swamp, where the trees were felled but not cleared off, — were distinctly seen, the Americans with 2 pieces of cannon: a company of Artillery, the Virginia Riflemen, the silk stocking Company of Charleston, all gentlemen, and other Militia . . . besides Captain Barnwell's Dragoons. . . . It was evident that they did not wish to bring on an action by their position to defend the only pass on the road, and leaving the way to our ships open to us (diary of Major Patrick Murray, quoted in Butler 1913:315).

Consequently, it appears that the two armies engaged just north of Gray's Hill. Through the higher position, Moultrie was able to take an excellent stand against the British regulars. Both groups withdrew from the field — the Americans apparently because of dwindling powder and the British apparently because of the effectiveness of the American display. Nevertheless, the battle had little practical effect, as Rowland points out — Fort Lyttleton had been destroyed (albeit at American, not British hands), a number of plantations had been plundered, and the British suffered no significant losses.

General Augustine Prevost, after the Port Royal battle, set his sights on Charleston, beginning an exceptional advance with the 71st and 60th regiments through the low country in the spring of 1779. By early May the Beaufort and Colleton area belonged to the British; with American forces rapidly retreating toward Charleston. With Prevost within striking distance of Charleston, Prevost decided that he lacked both the naval support he needed and also the lines of supply which were essential to maintain his position. Consequently, by the time the American forces engaged the British in the battle at Stono Ferry, Prevost had already decided to return to the Beaufort area. Like the Battle of Port Royal, the American victory was rather hollow, especially with the loss of 150 men.

As Rowland and his colleagues mention, "the retreat of the British army through the sea islands was the most remarkable military maneuver of the campaign" (Rowland et al. 1996:224). By July 3, 1779 Moultrie had received correspondence from Colonel Daniel Horry, camped on the mainland side of Roupell's Ferry, that Prevost's main force had not yet arrived, although British marines were camped "opposite his post," meaning at either the ferry or on the associated plantation (Jones 1960:131). By July 5, Moultrie reported that the main British force was on Port Royal, and while he intended to establish his camp "near Colonel [Benjamin] Garden's" he would keep his "picquets on the river side" opposite the ferry (Jones 1960:131). By July 17th Moultrie's intelligence revealed that while some of the British had returned to Savannah, they:

have kept the 71st, the light-infantry

and some Hessians at Mile-End, throwing up some works. This place is a narrow neck of land, about a mile from the town, not more than 300 yards across; on each side is a navigable river, which makes it a very strong post indeed. The light infantry (between 3 and 400) are opposite Port-royal-ferry, in sight of one of our guards at the redoubt (Jones 1960:132).

Similar reports were coming from the British camps. On July 14, Prevost wrote Clinton reporting that upon his return to Beaufort he discovered "a number of the back Inhabitants of Georgia . . . taking advantage of the absence of the Main Body of the Army . . . had taken Arms and infested the lower settlements." He also recounted that he intended, "to leave Col. Maitland with the 71st and Light Infantry for the defense of Beaufort and the other Island were the people have almost all submitted," reporting that the area was "the Montpellier of this Country" and there was a good chance of keeping the army fairly healthy through the summer. On the other hand he also commented that, "if we can rely on the Accounts of the Inhabitants or Judge from the present unpromising Appearances, we have reason to fear that we shall every one of us fall sick before the End of next Month" (Charleton Papers, July 14, 1779, Maj.-General Augustine Prevost to Sir Henry Clinton, S.C. Department of Archives and History). A very similar account is provided by in a letter dated July 30, again to Clinton.

Even a number of eighteenth and nineteenth century authors, closer to the scene of events, offer rather nebulous accounts. Lamb reports only that the British at Beaufort, "were put in proper stations, and the whole waited the arrival of such reinforcements as were necessary for the intended attack on Charleston" (Lamb 1809:267), while Stedman recounts:

at Beaufort general Prevost established a post, the garrison of which he left under the command of lieutenant Maitland, and returned with the rest of the army to Georgia; that the troops might rest during the

ROUPELMOND PLANTATION

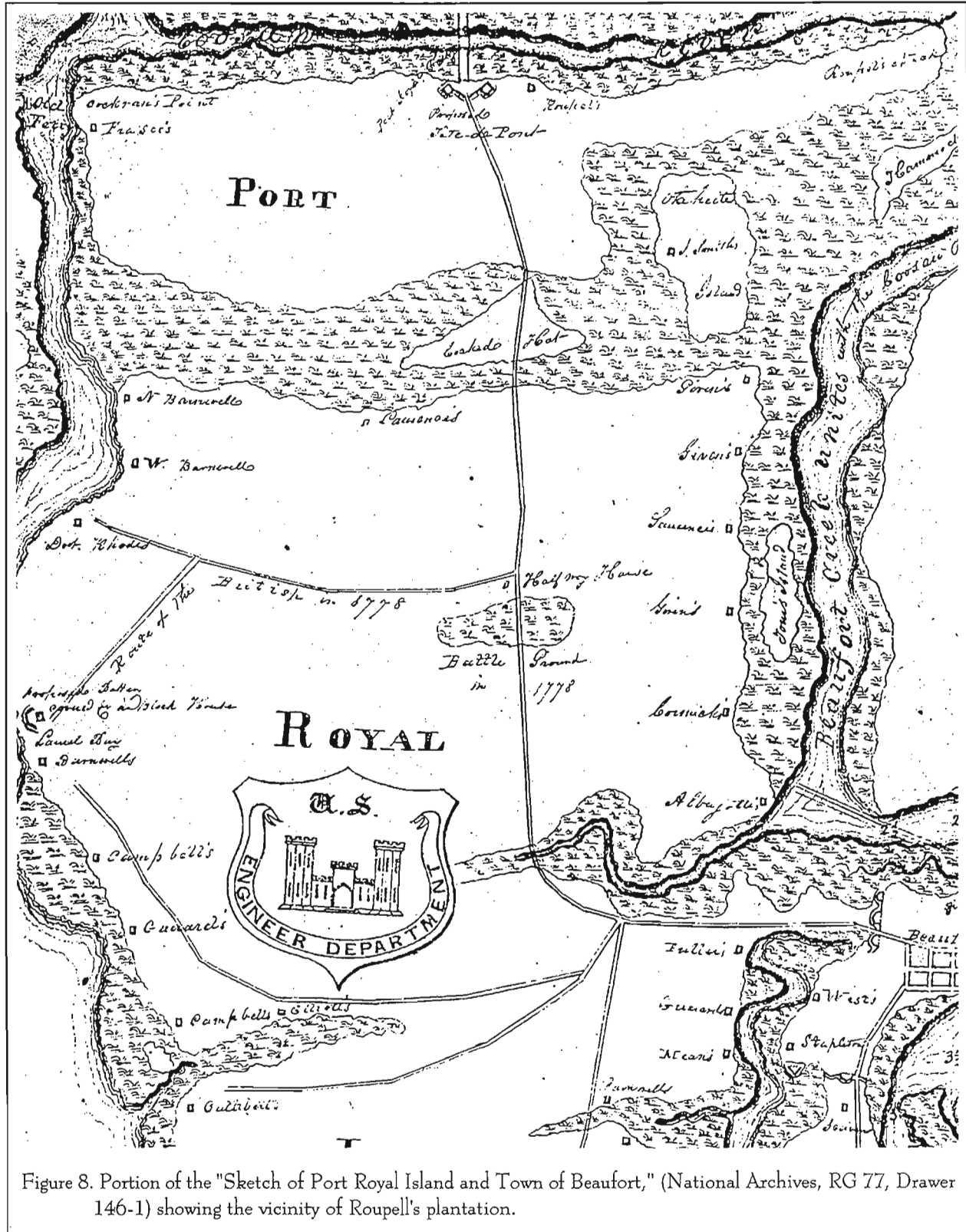


Figure 8. Portion of the "Sketch of Port Royal Island and Town of Beaufort," (National Archives, RG 77, Drawer 146-1) showing the vicinity of Roupell's plantation.

hot and sickly season (Stedman 1794:119).

Although Rowland and his colleagues report an earthen bastion was built on Roupell's plantation, overlooking the ferry and that two guns were mounted there (Rowland et al. 1996:226), we have been able to find no evidence of this earthwork. There is documentation concerning the American fortifications on the opposite side of the ferry (see, for example, Col. Barnard Beekman to General Benjamin Lincoln, August 19, 1779, Lincoln Papers), so it is certainly reasonable that these were countered by British efforts, but we have been unsuccessful at finding documentation for this.

The "Sketch of Port Royal Island Town of Beaufort" continues to offer perplexing clues. As stated previously, based on the tense of the descriptions, it is clear that the map postdates 1778. In addition, the way notations are written, it appears that it was produced by Americans, not British. For example, at Laurel Bay, the map indicates, "The British debarked . . . at this spot in 1778." The map also shows the earthworks established by Maitland at the entrance to Beaufort, indicating that the map also post-dates July 1779.

The map also reveals a series of notations concerning *proposed* fortifications at three locations. At Laurel Bay is the notation, "proposed Battery covered by a Block House." The same is shown for the bank overlooking Battery Creek at what is today the west side of the Town of Port Royal. The third notation is "Proposed Tête-de-Pont" on either side of the road leading to the Port Royal Ferry, west of Roupell's main settlement. At Fort Lyttelton there is the notation, "Marion."

The map appears to have used the lessons learned from British occupation of Beaufort and applied them to the strategic defense of the area, almost certainly on the eve of the War of 1812. Rowland and his colleagues comment that in 1807 Alexander McComb of the Army Corps of

Engineers visited the Beaufort area and made an evaluation of defensive needs. Captain Prentiss Willard, also of the Corps, was later sent to South Carolina to oversee the construction of Fort Marion, at the location of old Fort Lyttelton. The map may have originated with either representative.

It indicates that either there was no earthwork at Roupell's ferry or that it was so minor (for example, in comparison with the one covering the entrance to Beaufort), that complete refabrication was necessary. This circumstantial evidence is about all we have concerning the supposed British fort at the ferry.

Maitland's stay in the Beaufort area was punctuated by the American and French attack on Savannah in early October 1779 and the British capture of Charleston in May 1780. Maitland himself died of malaria just days after leading his troops on a perilous journey through the back swamps between Beaufort and Savannah in order to provide reinforcements to Prevost in Savannah (Boatner 1966:670).

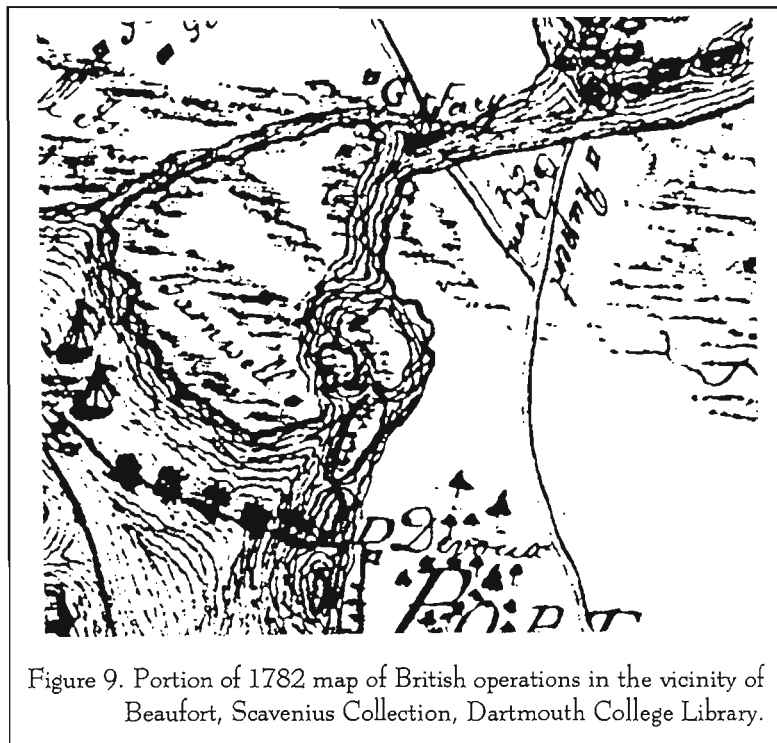


Figure 9. Portion of 1782 map of British operations in the vicinity of Beaufort, Scavenius Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

The accounts of the Beaufort occupation are scarce, and often biased depending on the politics of the commentator. There is some indication that the British sought to pacify low country residents. Clinton, while aware of his army's need to "live off the land," cautioned against improper behavior. Banastre Tarleton may have been among the more unscrupulous. He commented that:

besides the defense of the frontiers, another material and national advantage resulted from this disposition of the King's troops. The officers and men of the different regiments and corps were supplied by the flour and cattle, whilst the horses were foraged by the produce of the country (Tarleton 1787:88).

Weir (1976:14) notes that Tarleton remounted his legion on horses confiscated from the plantations on Port Royal Island. Nevertheless, it appears that the British met with some success in winning over the Beaufort residents, pumping cash into the war torn economy, and Weir also comments that, "a substantial portion of local residents chose to be neutralist or Tory" (Weir 1976:16).

The British withdrew from Beaufort in November 1781, leaving the low country in what might best be described as a subdued state of civil war. Savannah was still held by British forces, Daufuskie was a stronghold of Loyalists, and as Rowland and his colleagues wryly observe, "many prominent citizens of the Beaufort District had so committed themselves to the British cause that they could not now abandon it" (Rowland et al. 1996:236-237). Although largely dominated by partisan activities, at least one British raid was carried out in the area in October 1782, designed to capture stockpiles of corn and rice. The raid is briefly described by Rowland and his colleagues (Rowland et al. 1996:241) and another view is provided from the British perspective as margin notes on a map of the raid prepared by a British officer (Scavenius Collection, Dartmouth College Library; Figure 9). This was the last major engagement in the British theater. By the end of December 1782 the British abandoned Charleston and the war in South Carolina was essentially over.

Recovery and the First Half of the Nineteenth Century

The Beaufort area, and its economy, was badly damaged by the war. Perhaps one of the most poignant descriptions of the area is offered by the Reverend Archibald Simpson; upon returning to his old parsonage at Stoney Creek, he described the countryside:

all was desolation, and indeed all the way there was a gloomy solitariness. Every field, every plantation, showed marks of ruin and devastation. Not a person was to be met with in the roads. All was gloomy It is impossible to describe in words how altered these once beautiful fields are; no garden, no enclosure, no mulberry, no fruit trees, nothing but wild fennel, bushes, underwood, briars, to be seen — and a very ruinous habitation No one comes to see me, for none have horses. All society seems to be at an end. Every person keeps close on his own plantation. Robberies and murders are often committed on the public roads. The people that remain have been peeled, pillaged, and plundered. Poverty, want, and hardship appear everywhere, and the mortals of the people are almost entirely extirpated. A general discontent, dissatisfaction, and distrust of their present rulers and of one another prevails throughout the country. . . . It is evident that the British army came here to plunder, and to fight or conquer the people, far less to conciliate them to submit to the British government. The appearance of the whole country shows it here, and the vast fortunes that the officers of the British army have carried home with them and realized in Britain, shows it there. (Jones 1960:138-139).

Efforts to renew civil rule and operation, however, were certainly present. In 1784 the General Assembly accepted a proposal for the establishment of a new ferry at Cochran's Point, authorizing the development of causeways. The resulting act authorized the establishment of a commission to oversee the venture and also to establish procedures to accomplish the work (McCord 1841:287). Perhaps the Port Royal Ferry had been heavily damaged by the war, or perhaps this was simply evidence of the displeasure with George Ruppell.

Nevertheless, only two years later, in 1786, the Assembly announced that the proposed ferry was found to be impractical. The previously authorized commission (consisting of such planters as Nathaniel Barnwell, Charles Givens, Stephen Bull, and Benjamin Garden) was authorized, instead, to "erect causeways and establish a public ferry at or near the place called Roupell's ferry" (McCord 1841:305).

The previously mentioned map of the area, probably developed in the first decade of the nineteenth century by the Army Corps of Engineers, shows the ferry and its landing being very close to the present US 21 crossing. It also reveals that a significant causeway had been constructed into the marsh, leading to the ferry and allowing it to pass at both high and low tides. This suggests that whatever might have been there has long since been destroyed by a series of bridges (see discussion below).

As previously mentioned, George Roupell and his son apparently returned to South Carolina by February 1782. Edgar and Bailey comment that he "returned to Patterson Point" and go on to recount his death there in 1794 (Edgar and Bailey 1977:571), leaving one with the impression that his time between 1782 and 1794 was largely spent in Port Royal. This seems unlikely, although the *Charleston City Gazette* did report on October 28, 1794:

Died. At his plantation near Beaufort, George Roupell, Esq., for many years deputy postmaster general of the Southern department of America (Webber 1921:121).

What is equally unclear is how Roupell managed to weather the Revolution, how he managed not to be banished, how he managed not to have his property confiscated, and how he managed to reintegrate himself in Charleston society. A historian of the period, Edward McCrady, even mentions how unusual Roupell's story is (Middleton 1953:163).

George Roupell died intestate and his estate was divided between his wife, Elizabeth P. Roupell, and children, Mary Magdalene Roupell and George Boone Roupell.

While freed of Britain and her mercantilism, the new United States found its economy thoroughly disrupted. There was no longer a bounty on indigo, and in fact Britain encouraged competition from the British and French West Indies and India "to embarrass her former colonies" (Huneycutt 1949:44). As a consequence the economy shifted to tidewater rice production and cotton agriculture.

Although we have almost no information concerning their activities on the plantation, the Duc de la Rochefoucauld provided a good summary of the Beaufort situation during his visit in 1796 — just two years after Roupell's death:

The Island of Port Royal occupied today by sixty or seventy planters was, as late as four years ago, entirely devoted to the growing of indigo. At that time, poor results . . . difficulties in processing and low prices . . . forced people to try to convert to cotton, begun two years earlier in Georgia. . . . [Indigo had been] totally abandoned on Beaufort Island [Port Royal Island] and on the neighboring islands . . . where it is being replaced by cotton (quoted in Rowland et al. 1996:280).

With cotton the clamor for more labor increased — labor that seemingly could only be supplied by African slaves. In 1803 South Carolina reopened the slave trade, which had been closed since 1787. Perhaps 60,000 new Africans were brought into the South

Carolina low country. In Beaufort the African-American population nearly doubled between 1790 and 1820 (increasing from 14,389 to 27,520). Rowland and his colleagues observe that between 1800 and 1810 the slave population of St. Helena Parish, where the bulk of the cotton lands were situated, increased by nearly 87% (Rowland et al. 1996:348). In contrast, the white population increased by only 7.2% in the same time period. The proportion of the African-American population increased from 77% to 86%.

Describing the Beaufort islands, Mills comments that they were "beautiful to the eye, rich in production, and withal salubrious" (Mills 1826:372). Land prices ranged from \$60 an acre for the best, \$30 for "second quality," and as low as 25 cents for the "inferior" lands. Grain and sugarcane were cultivated in small quantities for home use while:

[t]he principal attention of the planter is . . . devoted to the cultivation of cotton and rice, especially the former. The sea islands, or salt water lands, yield cotton of the finest staple, which commands the highest price in market; it has been no uncommon circumstance for such cotton to bring \$1 a pound. In favorable seasons, or particular spots, nearly 300 weight has been raised from an acre, and an active field hand can cultivate upwards of four acres, exclusive of one acre and half of corn and ground provisions (Mills 1972:368 [1826]).

Elizabeth Roupell, widow of George Roupell died in 1819. Her will, written in 1811, devised the plantation to her "beloved children, Mary Magdalene and George Boone" (Charleston County WPA Wills, vol. 34, pg. 93). Apparently the children were not especially interested in being responsible for a

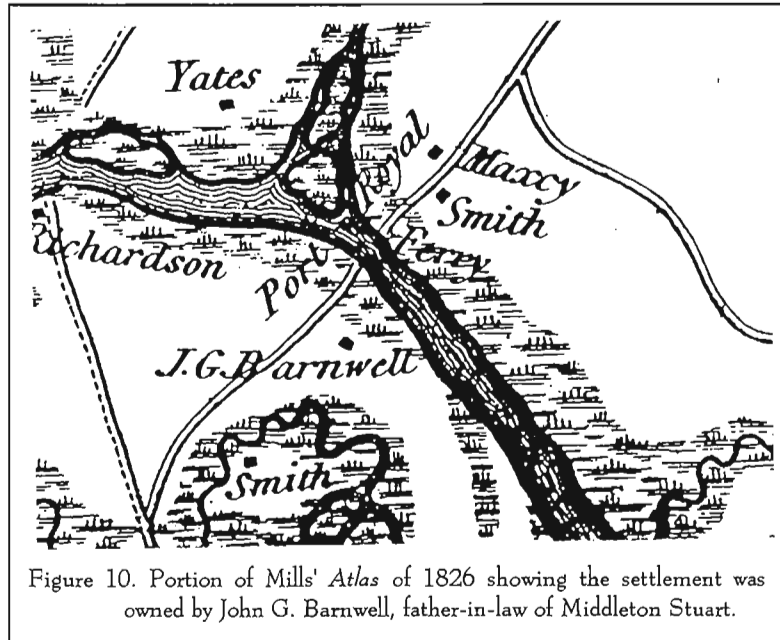


Figure 10. Portion of Mills' *Atlas* of 1826 showing the settlement was owned by John G. Barnwell, father-in-law of Middleton Stuart.

plantation, since that same year they sold the tract to John Gibbes Barnwell. Although the deed was among those destroyed with the burning of Columbia, a copy has been preserved in the General Jurisdictional Case Files, now preserved by the National Archives (RG 123, General Jurisdictional Case Files 17,327, Box 1027). It appears that either George Boone Roupell never returned to South Carolina after leaving for London with his father or he didn't stay long in Carolina before returning to England.⁵

The 1826 Mills' *Atlas* also reveals that the study tract was owned by J. G. Barnwell (Figure 10) as revealed by the deed. Very little has been found concerning Barnwell, or his operations at this

⁵ There is also some confusion regarding Roupell's daughters. Edgar and Bailey (1977:570), typically very thorough in their research, mention only one daughter, Ann, who married Robert McCulloch. The wills of both George and his wife Elizabeth mention their daughter, Mary Magdalene, but do not mention an Ann Roupell. However, Middleton mentions Polly Roupell, who stayed with her mother, Elizabeth, in Carolina while her father and brothers went to England. Middleton also mentions that, "later she seems to have developed into a curious old spinster, the butt of small boys of her neighborhood" (Middleton 1953:163).

plantation. What is certain, however, is that Middleton Stuart acquired the plantation in 1829, through his marriage to Barnwell's daughter, Mary Howe Barnwell (Barnwell 1969:141). This source also reveals that the plantation began to be called Roupelmond (or Roupelmonde) about this time — adding to the previous names of Patterson's Point and Ferry Plantation.

After the Civil War, during the Stuarts' restoration efforts (discussed below), the issue of ownership came up in the deposition of Sarah B. Stuart (daughter of Middleton Stuart (I) and his wife Mary). She explained that her father acquired the property, "partly as my mother's share from her father's estate and partly in payment of my father's services in overlooking the estate" (National Archives, RG 123, General Jurisdictional Case Files 17,327, Box 1027). So, Middleton Stuart appears to not only have married into the plantation lands, but also received at least some interest as a result of his management efforts for Barnwell.

In fact, it seems likely that the Stuart family was involved with Roupelmond at least by 1825, when Dr. James Stuart (Middleton Stuart's father) filed the tax return for Barnwell's property in St. Helena's Parish (Comptroller General, 1824 Tax Returns, No. 1946, South Carolina Department of Archives and History).

This tax return lists 1237 acres of land valued at \$4/acre and 1237 acres valued at 20¢ an acre, totalling \$5,149.40, suggesting rather middling lands. Also listed was a town lot, valued at \$ 6,250 and goods or personal property valued at \$11,445.40. Finally, 229 African-American slaves were also listed. This tax return reveals that Barnwell was a wealthy man by the standards of the day, even if his Port Royal lands were only of middling quality.

James Stuart filed his own, far more modest, tax return at the same time for only 365 acres and 80 slaves (Comptroller General, 1824 Tax Returns, No. 4096, South Carolina Department of Archives and History). His son, Middleton Stuart (I) filed a return for only 16 slaves and no property (Comptroller General, 1824 Tax Returns, No. 2153, South Carolina Department of Archives and History).

Reference to the 1860 agricultural census reveals that of the 891,228 acres of farmland, 274,015 (30.7%) were improved. In contrast, only 28% of the State's total farmland was improved, and only 17% of the neighboring Colleton District's farm land was improved. Even in wealthy Charleston District only 17.8% of the farm land was improved (Kennedy 1864:128-129). The cash value of Beaufort farms was \$9,900,652, while the state average by county was only \$4,655,083. The value of Beaufort farms was greater than any other district in the state for that year, and only Georgetown listed a greater cash value of farming implements and machinery (perhaps reflecting the more specialized equipment needed for rice production).

The record of wealth and prosperity, such as it was, is tempered by the realization that it was based on the racial imbalance typical of Southern slavery. As previously mentioned, in 1820 there were 32,199 people enumerated in Beaufort District, 84.9% of whom were black. While the 1850 population had risen to 38,805, the racial breakdown had changed little, with 84.7% being black (83.2% were slaves). Thus, while the statewide ratio of free white to black slave was 1:1.4, the Beaufort ratio was 1:5.4 (DeBow 1853:338).

Middleton Stuart (I) died in 1840, but his widow appears to have continued the operation of the plantation since the 1860 agricultural census lists a Mrs. Middleton Stuart in St. Helena with a total of 600 acres, 400 of which were improved. A family history, one of two prepared by James R. Stuart⁶, reported that:

⁶ James Reeve Stuart was a son of Middleton Stuart (I) and his wife, Mary Howe Barnwell. One account reports that after the Civil War, "he refused to live among freed Negroes and settled in Wisconsin" (Foster 1952). In his own account, Stuart clearly found it difficult to adjust to the new order, commenting that Beaufort, "swarmed with carpetbaggers and negroes" (Stuart n.d. a:35). Elsewhere he lamented the loss of Roupelmond, observing about the portion they were unable to have restored to the family, "Our negroes own the rest" (emphasis in original; Stuart n.d. b:5). His move to Wisconsin, while perhaps racially motivated, was also in search for employment in the post-war economy. He is today known as an artist of considerable talent.

my father [Middleton Stuart (I)] died when I was six years old. My uncle Henry Barnwell took charge of his affairs. He went to the place once a week to give directions to the foreman Jack. Between times Jack was in full charge (Stuart n.d. a:1).

This suggests that while owned by Mary Stuart, her brother, Henry Barnwell, took nominal control, while the day-to-day control was in the hands of a slave driver.

Mary Stuart's plantation appears fairly typical — the average improved acreage in the parish was 342 acres. The value of the plantation was listed at \$12,000, with the implements valued at \$250. The plantation livestock included two horses, five axes, 12 milk cows, seven oxen, 45 head of cattle, 33 sheep, and 45 swine. The value of the livestock was listed as \$1,700.

Agricultural products focused on cotton, with 25 bales being produced. This was slightly above the 22.9 bale average for the 130 planters in St. Helena. Mrs. Stuart also harvested 700 bushels of corn, 600 bushels of sweet potatoes, 72 bushels of peas, and 10 tons of hay. The milk cows produced 200 pounds of butter, while the sheep contributed 80 pounds of wool. The most surprising entry is the 600 pounds of rice, suggesting that somewhere on the tract, Mary Stuart was managing to create a freshwater swamp with a dependable supply of water. Only two other plantations in St. Helena produced rice — John G. Barnwell, who must have continued to own land in the area, and M.B. Perryclear. Perryclear, who we believe was in the same general area, produced 2,000 pounds of rice, but only 10 bushels of cotton on 300 acres of improved land.

It seems that Roupelmond was a fairly typical plantation for this region. Moreover, Mary Stuart was apparently a successful planter in her own right. The 1860 census reports that her real estate was valued at \$15,000 and her personal estate was valued at \$4,000. By way of comparison, her son, Middleton Stuart (II), was a planter in St. Luke's Parish and he claimed real estate valued at \$9,000 and a personal estate valued at \$30,000.

The Antebellum House and Landscape

One untapped resource for the study of Roupelmond is a painting of the plantation, reproduced as a small photograph in Barnwell (1969:142; Figure 11). It seems certain, although not specified, that the view was created by James Reeve Stuart, known as a relatively accomplished artist. At the time of the publication the painting was owned by a Katharin Woodson of Dallas, Texas. Today, 20 years later, this painting appears to have dropped out of sight. All of the Woodsons in Dallas have been called and none, apparently, are related to the owner of the painting.

It appears to be an oil, with the main house viewed from the Coosaw River. Consequently, we see the north facade of the building. The house is two stories, with a piazza off both the first and second floors, and the roof supported by four white columns. There is one, apparently end, chimney visible, although it was likely matched by a second. To the right (i.e., west), was a grove of live oaks, while to the left (i.e., east), there are a number of small trees, perhaps an orchard of fruit trees. On the water there is a boat, at the left edge of the painting, heading to the west.

Very recently, Roderick K. Shaw, Jr., Esq. of Tampa Florida, a Stuart descendent, provided us with a photograph of a charcoal sketch on wood (Figure 12). In many respects the two are identical.

The house is certainly the same, although the sketch reveals an individual on the second story piazza, reputed to be Mary B. Stuart. There is a building on the far right side (i.e., west) of the painting. Although largely obscured by a single, large live oak, it appears to be raised higher than the main house. On the water there is a boat, although this one is on the right side of the sketch and is heading to the east. The charcoal sketch also appears to show more trees in the grove to the east.

In the background the landscape is flat and appears to consist of agricultural fields. The only structure appears between the main house and the flanker to the west. Although incomplete, its shape suggests a barn or other utility building. This artwork also reveals several lattice-work fences, both east and



Figure 11. Photograph of Roupelmond oil painting in Barnwell's *The Story of An American Family*, at that time owned by Mrs. Katharin Woodson of Dallas, Texas.



Figure 12. Photograph of Roupelmond charcoal sketch on wood, provided by Roderick K. Shaw of Tampa, Florida.

west of the main house.

These views of Roupelmond are further supplemented by two written histories of the property, both produced by James R. Stuart — one appearing to be an elaboration on the other. Both are exceptional accounts of plantation life and are reproduced as appendices to this study. Stuart provides an excellent description of the plantation house:

our place on the Coosaw River abutting directly upon Port Royal Ferry, the only bond of connection between the Sea Islands and the main land. The house, with the settlement, stood about a quarter of a mile from the causeway. . . . The dining room occupied the whole front of the house on the lower floor, only one step above the brick pavement of the front porch. Above the porch on the 2nd floor was a balcony supported by four columns of brick, which rose up to the roof — or rather, the entablature. The drawing room was above the dining room, occupying the same space and opening by a door and two windows on the balcony.⁷ The brick columns were plastered and whitened. The dining room had windows on three sides, to the North, East, and South, this last one opening on to the lobby, which was unenclosed except by a heavy balustrade, which separated it from the back porch, which had a colonnade of six pillars of brick, which supported the long cross section of the storey [sic]. The house was on wood and had been remodeled, by my grandfather Barnwell, from the original old quaint French structure of Mr.

Roupel. Outside of the East windows of the dining room [a] volunteer orange tree had sprung up and been allowed to grow up to the roof, filling the window with its pleasant green foliage. An opening trimmed thro' this gave a vista Eastward down the river beneath a couple of grand old live oaks which stood on a little promontory three hundred yards away. A few small cedars were scattered about beneath them (Stuart n.d. a:6-8).

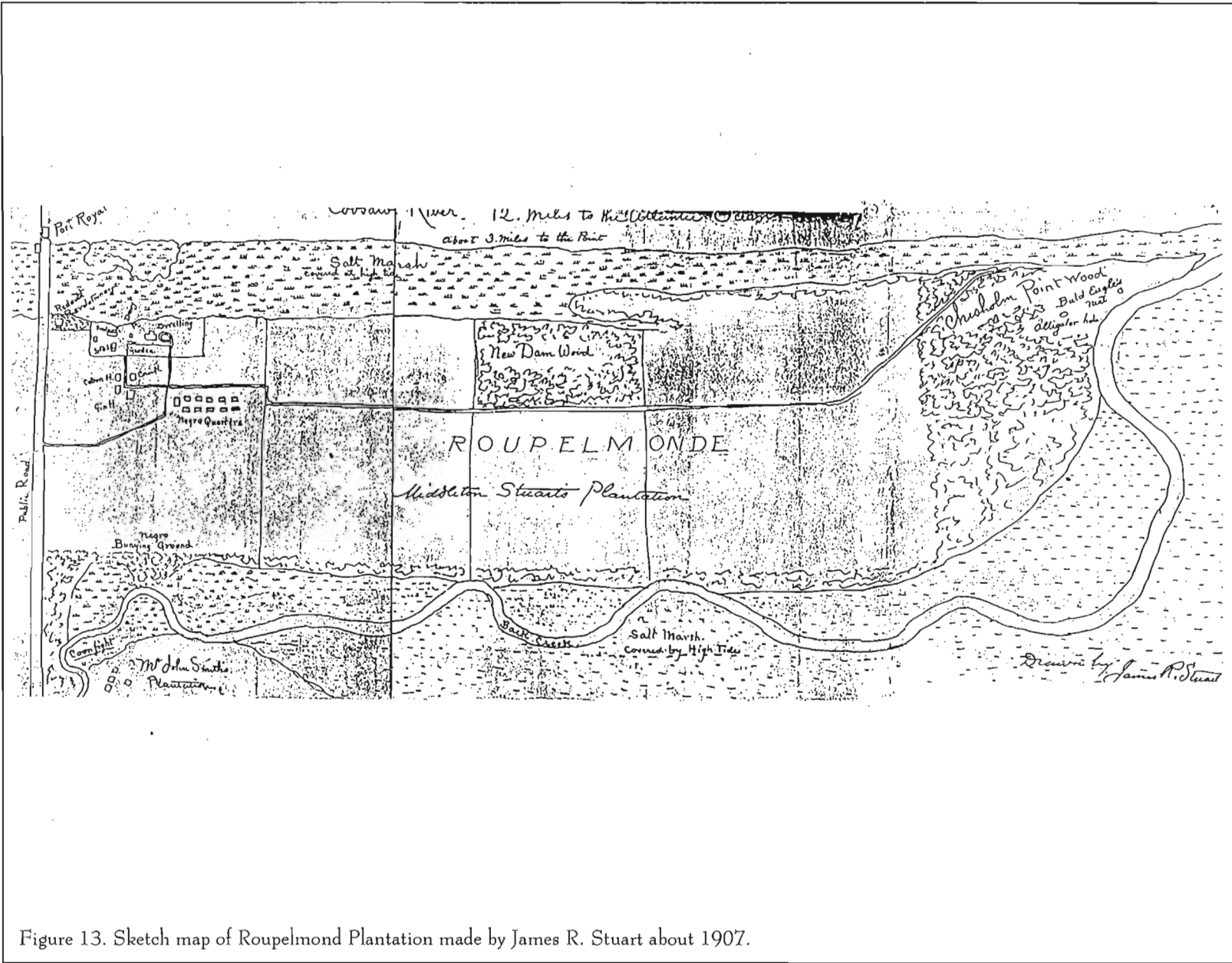
The account goes on to mention the "Negroes' Quarters some distance away from the house," "the old oaks by the dairy on the edge of the river," "the Cotton and Gin houses a few hundred yards away," and the "plantation burying grounds." In fact, Stuart provides a vivid description of the graveyard:

This burying ground was a clump of woods on a peninsula jutting out into the salt marsh to the rear of the Plantation half a mile away [from the main settlement, we suppose]. No axe was ever heard in that wood. It was a dense thicket, except where the graves were (Stuart n.a. a:10).

Coupled with these descriptions, James R. Stuart also drew two maps of the plantation — one showing the entire island, including the "Negro Burying Ground," the "Negro Quarters," the main settlement, and also the "Redoubt Revolutionary" adjacent to the Public Road, which is (as will be discussed below) the south bound lanes of US 21 today (Figure 13). When this map is compared to the modern topographic plan of Stewart's Point (Figure 5) it is impressive how strong his memory was of the physical features. If the topographic features were so strongly remembered, it is likely that the cultural features are as well, or perhaps even better, placed.

The plantation consisted largely of cultivated lands. Only three wooded tracts are indicated — that small area around the graveyard, a rectangular tract called New Dam Wood, and the eastern end of the

⁷ Stuart may have been describing casement windows, which would allow the entire window to open up, unlike sash windows.



HISTORIC SYNOPSIS

Figure 13. Sketch map of Roupelmond Plantation made by James R. Stuart about 1907.

island, called Chisholm Point Wood, where there was a bald eagle's nest and an alligator hole. Chisholm Point appears, today, to be separated from the remainder of Stewarts Point by a marsh creek which Stuart failed to show. Altogether, it probably contains about 150 acres. New Dam Wood is still recognizable based on the jutting point of land just to the north of it. These woods probably included another 20 acres. This is very close to the estimate of 200 acres being unimproved and represented about a third of the tract (although Stuart's drawing is clearly out of scale in this regard).

The issue of wood land also came up during the Stuarts' restoration efforts after the Civil War. At that time Sarah B. Stuart (a daughter of Middleton Stuart and his wife Mary), was asked about the number of acres, replying that according to the Barnwell title "there are nine hundred and some, but I have always heard there were six hundred and sixty acres," which is in closer conformity to the various agricultural census returns. The 660 acres were also declared for the property in the St. Helena Parish tax collector's book in 1860. When asked about the quantity of land reserved for wood, she responded only that there were sufficient acres reserved "for fuel."

Dr. H.M. Stuart, the nephew of Middleton Stuart (I) and husband of Sarah B. Stuart, was also deposed during the restoration efforts. He also was unsure of the amount of wooded acreage, but felt that it was under 40 acres, stating, "I suppose there may have been twenty, but I am not sure of that" (National Archives, RG 123, General Jurisdictional Case Files 17,327, Box 1027).

Clearly the acreage, and especially the proportion of improved and unimproved lands, was of concern in terms of valuation. Although there would have been motivation to overestimate the amount the cultivated land, it is also likely that owners and children of owners were far more familiar with the fields (from which came profitable cotton) than with the woods (which were reserved for fire wood).

Stuart also produced a second drawing, this one showing only the main settlement (Figure 14). In most, although not all, respects this map is consistent with the other. We see the main house being a T-plan,

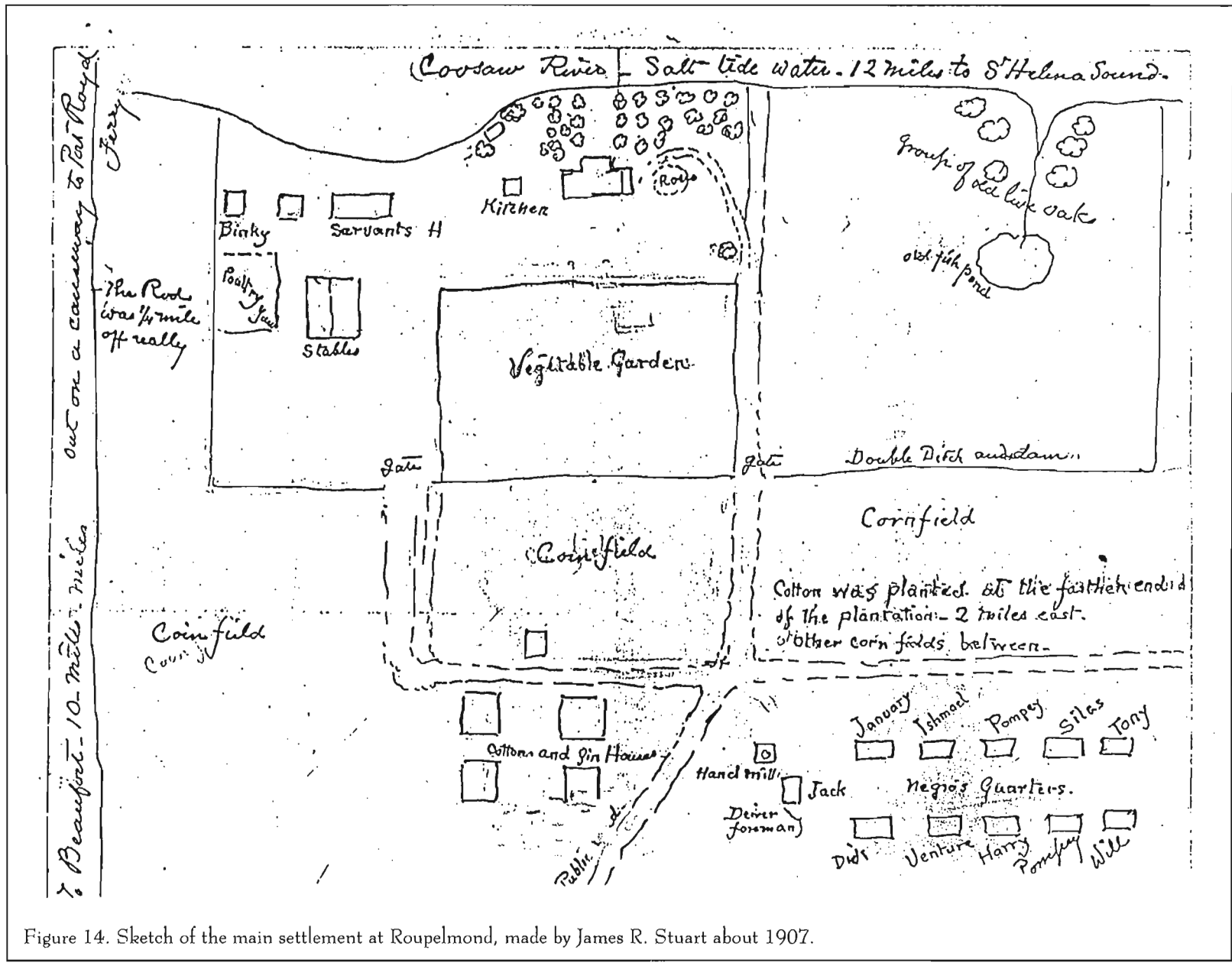
perhaps suggesting a central core that had been enlarged — hence the previous comment that the original "quaint" French house was enlarged by Barnwell. Certainly Barnwell owned the plantation at a time when cotton was providing great wealth and a number of plantations were enlarged. Stuart's description of the house being built just about at grade ("only one step above the brick pavement of the front porch") is consistent with both the oil painting and the sketch, however unusual it is to see this feature surviving in low country architecture today.

To the west of the main house is a building labeled "kitchen." It is almost certainly the building shown at the edge of the charcoal sketch (which, more consistent with surviving low country architecture, is raised a story above the ground level). The dairy, mentioned in the account, is shown labeled on the overall map, and in the same location, albeit unlabeled, in the more detailed map.

Further to the west are three structures — a servant's house, almost certainly representing the residence of the house slaves, unidentified building, and a building identified only as "Binky." Also west of the house was the poultry yard and the stables.

Vegetative features are sparsely identified. South of the main house was the vegetable garden, a large rectangular field which was probably tended entirely for food and perhaps herb production. On the east side of the house there was a circular rose garden, while between the house and marsh there was vegetation, although nothing to indicate a planned, much less formal, setting. To the east a little further, were a grove of live oaks, surrounding the "old fish pond." Entirely surrounding the main settlement there was a "double ditch and dam" (perhaps meaning two ditches with an intervening bank?), penetrated by two gates, one leading to what must have been a plantation landing and, by way of a branching road, to the main house. The other gate allowed access to the vegetable garden, stables, and other work areas.

Outside the ditch enclosure — serving as both a physical and psychological barrier — were corn fields and the slave settlement. Stuart shows the location of 11 houses. At the west head was Jack, the driver.



HISTORIC SYNOPSIS

Figure 14. Sketch of the main settlement at Roupelmond, made by James R. Stuart about 1907.

Forming a street were two rows of five houses, each labeled with occupant: January, Ishmael, Pompey, Silas, Tony, Dids, Venture, Harry, Pompey, and Will. Near Jack's house was the hand mill, probably where the individual families were expected to grind their own corn meal. West of the plantation road leading out to the main public road, were four "Cotton and Gin Houses."

The maps, although certainly not intended to represent legal surveys, provide an exceptional view of the plantation. In fact, they provide the only plans of Roupelmond known to exist.

The Civil War and Roupelmond

Hilton Head Island fell to Union forces on November 7, 1861 and was occupied by the Expeditionary Corps under the direction of General T.W. Sherman. Beaufort, deserted by the Confederate troops and the white towns-people, was occupied by the Union forces several weeks later. Hilton Head became the Headquarters for the Department of the South and served as the staging area for a variety of military campaigns. A brief sketch of this period, generally accurate, is offered by Holmgren (1959), while a similarly popular account is provided by Carse (1981). As a result of Hilton Head and Beaufort's early occupation by Union forces, all of the plantations fell to military occupation, a large number of blacks flocked to the area, and a "Department of Experiments" was born. An excellent account of the "Port Royal Experiment" is provided by Rose (1964), while the land policies on St. Helena are explored by McGuire (1985).

While it seems likely that the Union pickets were stationed at a number of places in the region, the major ferry crossing at Whales Branch, which provided a gateway for Confederate attack from the north, must have been of concern.

This is elaborated on by the account of Thomas Wentworth Higginson, a commander of a "negro regiment" assigned picket duty along Whale Branch in mid-1863. His recollections of that duty provide a vivid account of the area and his troops, although relatively little is learned about Roupelmond (Higginson 1962:130-151)

Although never mentioned by name, Higginson explains that although the regiment was spread out along the Coosaw shore, "the main force being under my immediate command, at a plantation close by the Shell Road, two miles from the ferry, and seven miles from Beaufort" (Higginson 1962:135). His command post and the surrounding camp was only briefly described:

Our house possessed four spacious rooms and a piazza; around it were grouped sheds and tents; the camp was a little way off on one side, the negro quarters of the plantation on the other; and all was immersed in a dense mass of waving and murmuring locust-blossoms. . . . A large, low, dilapidated room, with an immense fireplace, and with window-panes chiefly broken, so that the sashes were still open even when closed, — such was our home. The walls were scrawled with capital charcoal sketches by R. of the Fourth New Hampshire, and with a good map of the island and its wood-paths by C. of the First Massachusetts Calvary (Higginson 1962:136-137).

The description of the plantation house closely matches that of Stuart himself; perhaps more interesting is that Higginson reveals that this troops camped to the west of the main house — opposite the slave settlement.

The plantation is most commonly mentioned in connection with the May 1862 Union expedition against Pocotaligo and the railroad between Savannah and Charleston.⁸ For example, Stuart recounts that as the Union troops retreated from their failed efforts at

⁸ For a discussion of the May 1862 expedition there are a variety of sources, such as Brennan (1996). The expedition in October 1862 (which did not involve the use of the Port Royal Ferry) is discussed by Western Carolina Historical Research (1997).

Pocotaligo, that they crossed over the Port Royal Ferry:

one of our guns was run down to the head of the causeway on the channel and threw some shells into our old Residence to drive out the Picket stationed there. The old house was soon in ruins and from time to time, when we happened to be opposite, we could see the fragments disappear, being used by the pickets for firewood (Stuart 1907:32).

The report by Col. W.S. Walker, who chased the retreating Union troops reported that:

Early in morning I advanced as far as Port Royal Ferry, where I found the enemy had crossed during the night. Capt. Stephen Elliott, jr., brought up his artillery and battered the ferry house, which sheltered their pickets, and their flat-boats, with which they had effected a crossing, at the range of 250 yards (*Official Records, Series 1, Volume 14, page 26*).

More detail is provided by the Charleston newspaper, that reported:

Early the next morning our forces were again put in motion, and proceeded as far as the ferry, but without the good luck to overtake the invaders, as they had succeeded in crossing the river. The Colonel, unwilling to see the Beaufort Artillery entirely disappointed in their expectation of having an opportunity for displaying their skill, consented for the pieces to be moved forward for the purpose of playing upon the ferry house and other, on the opposite side of the river, and also upon the end of the causeway, where a few Yankees were seen to be loitering. The pieces were promptly placed in position, one on the right

and one on the left of the causeway, the two at once opening a brisk fire of shot and shell upon the opposite shore, quite to the discomfiture of the subjects of Abraham L., who left with all possible speed, whilst the third force was, in the meantime, gallantly taken down to the bulk head, within a short distance of the landing, on the other side, and joined in the amusement. Some dozen or fifteen rounds were fired, exhibiting great skill and efficiency on the part of the officers and men in charge of the guns (*The Mercury* [Charleston, S.C.], June 3, 1862, pg. 1).

None of these period accounts of the engagement at the ferry provide any clear indication of the amount of damage done, although both suggest that the bulk was directed at the ferry house, not the Roupelmond main house. Nevertheless, it seems probable that the bombardment, coupled with frequent Union picket duty and the search for building materials by freedmen, probably caused the gradual deterioration of the Roupelmond house.

Confiscation, School Farms and Restoration Efforts

Rose (1964) and McGuire (1985) both provide excellent accounts of the political events surrounding the "Port Royal Experiment: and the land distribution policies of the Tax Commissioners. In general, however, Congress passed a law taxing owners in the insurrectionary states to help pay for the war efforts. Those not coming forward to pay taxes in areas where Union forces had gained control would have their property seized and sold by the Federal government.

That was the fate of Roupelmond Plantation. In March 1863 the plantation was confiscated and placed up for sale. This was one of many plantations purchased by the Federal government, which paid \$100 for the 660 acres tract. A good portion of the plantation (about 500 acres, apparently excluding the main settlement area of 165 acres; National Archives, RG 58, Records of the IRS, District Tax

Commissioners, S.C., Correspondence Relating to School Farmlands, 1866-99, vol. 1), was resold by the government to heads of freedmen families, typically in small parcels. Many of the black families living on Stuart's Road today could likely trace their land ownership back to this process of redistribution. The government collected an additional \$ 837.40 from these sales, with a quarter of the funds eventually passed on to the State of South Carolina after the Civil War (Direct Tax Cases, Beaufort County, South Carolina, South Caroliniana Library).

That portion of the property held by the government was known as School Farm 24. One of the more unique government programs of the "Port Royal Experiment," these were small portions of plantations set aside as mini-farms. Rent and sale proceeds from these acreages formed a public school fund intended to assist with the education of the Beaufort freedmen.

The earliest record of School Farm 24 being leased is in 1864, when Esther Graves rented the entire tract for \$160, to be paid in quarterly installments of \$40. The lease provided considerable detail:

one half of the arable land on the said school farm, and no more, is to be cultivated in the said year, 1864, the other half is to lie fallow; and a free day school is to be kept on the said school farm from January 1st to May 15th and from October 15th to December 25th of the said year; the tuition in the said school and the number of scholars are to be under the regulations and control of the said United States District Tax Commissioners; and the said party of the second part [Esther Graves] is also to provide the necessary books and stationary; and it is hereby understood further and agreed, if the said party of the second part shall faithfully fulfill the last named conditions on her part to be observed, that she shall receive the amount to be paid by her on this Lease, as compensation for

maintaining the said school. And it is hereby further understood and agreed that the said party of the first part, in behalf of the United States, shall have a lien upon all the crops raised upon the said school farm to secure the payment of rents above specified. And it is also understood and agreed that none of the persons now residing in the cabins on the said school farm shall be removed therefrom, except upon the order of the said Commissioners, and that the rate of wages paid to laborers on the said school farm shall not be less than that heretofore paid by the government for the cultivation of the plantation (National Archives, RG 217, Entry 888, vol. 1, pg. 15).

This lease is of special interest since it reveals that prior to 1864 the lands must have been cultivated by wage labor and this was perhaps the first year that the lands were leased. It also proposes a unique deal that traded the lease cost for care and upkeep of the school.

The following year the same lands were leased to Henry G. Judd for four years, with the payment of \$220/year "payable half yearly in advance. The lease was assigned to Nathaniel Paige just a month after it was acquired by Judd. This lease does not have any stipulation concerning the school, although other standard clauses concerning no more than half of the land being cultivated and that there be no waste were included. Also present was an unusual stipulation that specified that no one on the tract could be removed:

provided that each of the said residents capable of labor shall work for the exclusive benefit of the lessee at least one-half of his or her time in consideration of such compensation as shall be agreed upon in writing by the lessee and the laborer (National Archives, RG 217, Entry 888, vol. 1, pg. 51).

The following year only 25 acres of the parcel

were rented — all to Charles E. Patrick for \$50. The only stipulation in the lease was that the lessor could remove any buildings he erected on the property at the end of the lease (National Archives, RG 217, Entry 888, vol. 1, pg. 164).

The 1870 lease, to William Wilson, involved not only the Stuart School Farm 24, but also School Farm 25, Gray Hill. They were leased for \$80. This lease specified that no alcohol could be sold on the property and also that "the dwelling or mansion house, the yard buildings, the orange trees and all the unplanted portions of the Place are to be subject to the control and disposal or occupancy of the purchaser thereof, should it be sold at any time within the year 1870" (National Archives, RG 217, Entry 888, vol. 1, pg. 191). Not only does this suggest that the government was hopeful it might dispose of the tract, but also that there must have been some buildings still extant.

The property was not, however, sold and in 1871 it was leased to Julius Bell (National Archives, RG 217, Entry 888, vol. 1, pg. 212), who renewed his lease in 1872. The second year the lease also specified, "it is understood and agreed that the large house formerly used as a drivers house is to be reserved and under the control of the Collector to be used as a School House with the right of way to and from the same" (National Archives, RG 217, Entry 888, vol. 1, pg. 261). This is the first time since the original 1864 lease that a school on the property has been mentioned. The house, of course, was that of Jack, situated at the head of the slave settlement (see Figure 14).

There is a gap in the records until 1876, when the property was leased to William H. McGill. The cost of \$40 included some acreage that was thought to be so good that it was leased at the rate of \$3 per acre (National Archives, RG 58, Entry 102, Box 2).

It was about this time that the records begin to reveal the growing discontent with the school farm process. A December 27, 1876 letter from a local official to the IRS Commissioner in Washington explained, "the renting of these farms has in my judgement been badly managed and but little revenue has been derived therefrom". The following February

the local collector complained that many of the school lands had been taken over by "squatters" who cut the woods off the lands, refused to pay lease, and couldn't be thrown off without legal action, which in typical bureaucratic fashion had to be instigated by the Attorney General. Apparently this hurdle was successful, since in late May 21 correspondence reveals that six individuals had been arrested and successfully prosecuted.

It was also at this time that there was a fundamental shift away from leasing the entire school farm to one individual and, instead, leasing small tracts. In 1878, for example, six individuals leased tracts of School Farm 24: Hardy Norman, Sam Ward, Mrs. T. Green, Charles Green, George Washington, and Abram Robinson. Although acreage is not specified, the amounts paid vary from as much as \$12.50 (by Norman) to only \$1 (by Charles Green, Washington, and Robinson). The total collected was \$27.50 (National Archives, RG 58, Entry 102, Box 2).

The clamor from the local Deputy Collector continued to increase. An August 12, 1879 letter explained that:

some of these school farms are selections of the poorest portions of plantations, being worn out worthless lands, (the best having been sold to the freedmen.) Consequently they would bring a very low price if sold. [Yet for some reason,] the original owners and parties in interest watch these lands with jealous care, and it has required the utmost vigilance on the part of your deputy to keep the property, buildings and timber intact, and they are a source of great trouble and annoyance to this office (National Archives, RG 58, Entry 102, Box 1).

Two weeks later, the correspondent wrote to explain that the leases from the school lands, "assists in the support" of various schools around the district, including two each at Gillisonville, Grahamville and Bluffton; three on Hilton Head, four in Beaufort, one

on Lady's Island, and three on St. Helena Island. By this time, however, the report indicates that none of the schools were being held on school and lands and that, in fact, "nor are there any buildings on the School Farms suitable for school purposes" (National Archives, RG 58, Entry 102, Box 2).

In 1879, 40 acres of School Farm 24 were leased to eight individuals (Hardy Norman, Sambo Ward, Jim Woods, Stepiney Simmons, Tony Barker, Adam Robertson, Mrs. Grant, and George Harris) for a total of \$36.85. In 1881, the next year for which records were identified, property at the school farm was rented to 13 individuals. The only repeat is Hardy Norman. The remaining individuals were all new for that year: Julius Bell, Nelson Maxwell, Henry Woods, Isaac Williams, Tommy Green, James Williams, Leah Green, Toney Parker, David Delany, Julius Walker, Douglas Marshal, and Pompey Devoe (National Archives, RG 58, Entry 102, Box 2).

In 1882 there were seven lessors, representing \$25 in leases. Hardy Norman was again renting, as were James Williams, Nelson Maxwell, Toney Parker, and George Washington (who last rented there in 1878). New names include Sandy Brown, and "School House." The last entry perhaps means that someone was renting the school house (i.e., Jack's old quarters) (National Archives, RG 58, Entry 102, Box 2). By 1883, however, School Farm 24 had only three renters — Isaac Williams, James Williams, and Toney Parker — and brought in only \$8 (National Archives, RG 58, Entry 102, Box 2).

Reports coming out of the Deputy Collector's Office in Beaufort continue to emphasize the problems with the school farm lands. One letter, to the Columbia office, dated February 1, 1885 explains that there were 18 school farms at that time, most about 160 acres. They were, however, a range of odd sizes and shapes, often "cut up in ten acre lots" that were frequently not contiguous, resulting in much confusion and no clear records. It was reported that the "buildings have mostly gone to decay and ruin Only two school houses have ever been built on these lands." One of these, built by the state and worth about \$100, was situated on School Farm 24, suggesting that at some point Jack's house stopped being used as a school. The letter

identifies that the Stuart tract consisted of the best acreage, renting for \$2/acre. It also reveals that few of the renters actually lived on the lands they were renting, "but come in and pick out patches suited to the crop they wish to plant" (National Archives, RG 58, Entry 102, Box 1).

A letter in December 4, 1886 reveals how totally chaotic the process was. It reported that the Deputy Collectors had no records of the lands, no plats, and no clear idea of even how many acres were involved in each tract. There were no consistent accounts of the rents, and what records did exist had been previously sent to Washington, leaving almost no documentation at the local level. The Deputy Collectors again recommended disposing of the lands, explaining that they were a waste of energy and effort. The only tenants interested in these lands, they were so wasted, were "a very poor and irresponsible class, unable to handle more than five — or, at the outside, ten acres" (National Archives, RG 58, Entry 102, Box 1). The government was moving, albeit slowly, toward disposal of their last agricultural land holdings on the Sea Islands (McGuire 1982:68-69, 135-137, 217).

At the close of the Civil War, Mary Barnwell Stuart was living with her eldest son, Middleton Stuart (II) and his family in Sandersville, Georgia. Barnwell reports that Middleton Stuart (II) initially got a short lived position as overseer of Forest Hill Plantation in Burke County, Georgia. When the owner of the tract lost the land, Middleton and his family moved back to the Beaufort area (Barnwell 1969:237).

During the late nineteenth century most of the sea island plantations continued as a rural, isolated agrarian communities. The new plantation owners attempted to forge an economic relationship with the free black laborers and found a multitude of problems, including the need to pay higher wages, increasing problems with the cotton boll weevil, and decreasing soil fertility.

Stuart quickly became involved managing the William Henry Trescot plantation on Barnwell Island in the Broad River, about 5 miles from Paris Island. Trescot described Stuart as a "gentleman in whose energy, ability, and integrity, I and the whole

community in which he grew up, have implicit confidence" (quoted in Amundson 1967:32). James W. Patterson, Stuart's own overseer before the war, was retained as his assistant.

Things, however, did not go well. Stuart found the labor problems serve, writing Trescot that:

The condition of labor in this neighborhood has been very bad for the past month, owing to a report among Negroes that the Government

Beaufort whites, expressed a clear preference for the "old system" of labor — slavery was dearly missed by the plantation elite who were now forced to work for a living (Amundson 1967:33).

The first year's crop at Barnwell Island was much less than expected, leaving Trescot with a \$1,000 debt, rather than the profit he had hoped for. As a result, Stuart was not rehired for 1869, with Trescot commenting that, "his management is not as thrifty as I expected" (quoted in Amundson 1967:34). Patterson was promoted to overseer, with an old "slave driver" working as his assistant.

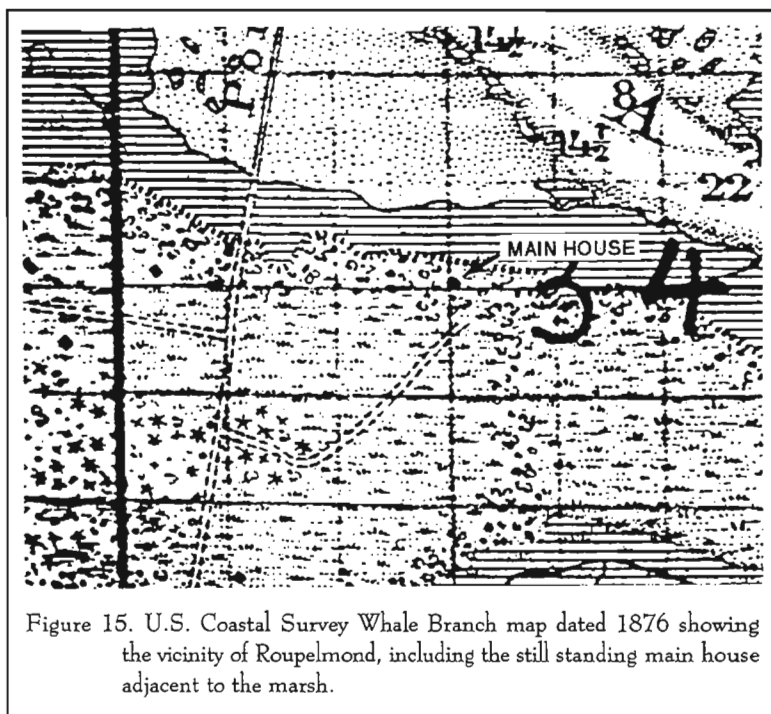


Figure 15. U.S. Coastal Survey Whale Branch map dated 1876 showing the vicinity of Roupelmond, including the still standing main house adjacent to the marsh.

Maps from this period shortly after the Civil War continue to show the location of the plantation. Of greatest importance is the 1876 U.S. Coastal Survey map (Figure 15). This map reveals that the plantation was still in existence and situated on the edge of the marsh. A road is shown leading to what is likely the main settlement. In comparing this map to Figures 13 and 14, it is clear that the road system remained the same, although much of the land around the main plantation settlement was allowed to grow up in woods — probably a result of the small acreage actually being farmed and failure to maintain the main settlement facilities.

intends issuing rations. In consequence several of our hands left us and the balance [are] much demoralized (quoted in Amundson 1967:32).

During these postbellum years previous owners slowly came forward to reclaim, or redeem, land confiscated by the Federal government. The 1872 redemption process was not totally successful, partially because some tracts had such low value. In addition, the school farms, such as Roupelmond, were exempted from these restoration efforts until very late.

In particular, Stuart discovered that Trescot's plan to hire laborers by the season was a dismal failure, with most freedman wanting day labor jobs. It seems likely that hiring for a season, especially given the wages and retainage provisions of the contracts, felt too much like slavery. Indeed, Middleton Stuart (II), like most other

Middleton Stuart (II) apparently moved to Union County, where he managed the DeLoach plantation for a short while and then eventually joined with the migration of unreconstructed Confederates who moved to Texas (Barnwell 1969:238).

By 1872 the Beaufort area was "in a state of

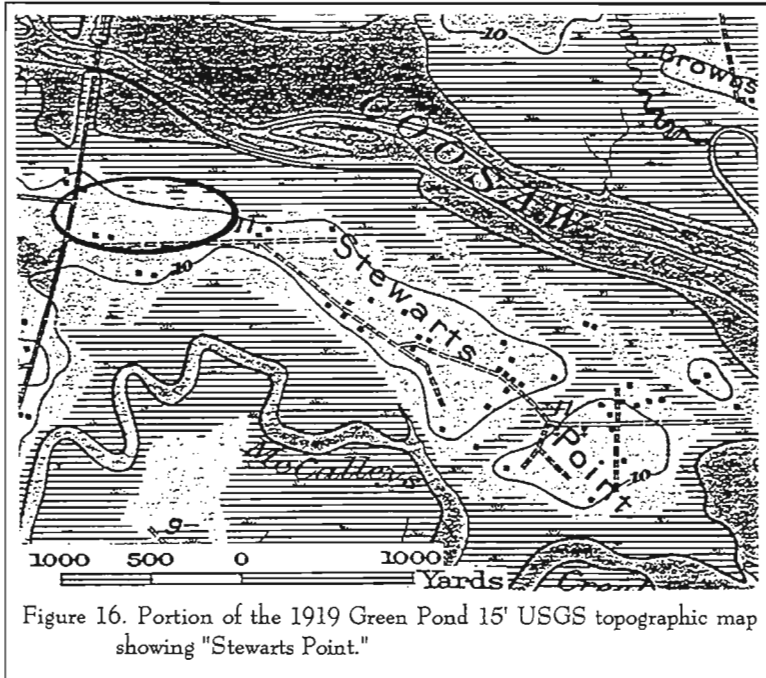


Figure 16. Portion of the 1919 Green Pond 15' USGS topographic map showing "Stewarts Point."

utter disorganization" resulting from the efforts of white planters to reclaim lands originally sold to freedmen (McGuire 1985:132). As an effort to slow, or perhaps even stop, these efforts, the federal government decided to restore federal lands that had not yet been sold. Consequently, Congress passed a law which allowed two years for the restoration of all unsold Federal holdings once the previous owners paid taxes, costs, and interest.

This law was extended several times and on October 11, 1887, the Internal Revenue Service received the petition for redemption of that portion of the Middleton Stuart Place contained within School Farm 24. The required taxes of \$10.73 were paid, but it was noted that within the property:

a small frame building . . . has been erected by the County Board of School Trustees for a school house and [it] is not used for public school purposes. Section 6 of the Act . . . provides that wherever on any School Farm there are buildings which have been erected by the State or United States for school purposes and are now used for such purposes,

said buildings, with two acres of land surrounding the same, shall be exempt from redemption. Will the parties agree that the portion exempted from redemption shall be a square pieces of ground containing two acres, of which the center shall be the building? It will not be necessary to have a survey made if the parties will give their consent to this in writing (National Archives, RG 217, Entry 888, vol. 1, October 11, 1887).

This was apparently agreeable, for although no survey was made, and no clear boundaries were established, by early November 1887, Middleton Stuart (II), his sister, Sarah Barnwell Stuart, and his brother, James Reeve Stuart, obtained a Certificate of Release of "School Farm"

lands incorporating about 130 acres. All three surviving children of Middleton Stuart (I) were listed, since both their father and mother died without wills and the property was being divided among the heirs equally.

The initial Certificate of Release indicated only that the tract was on Stuart's Road, with the building in the middle of the square parcel amounting to two acres (suggesting about 295 feet on a side). On December 23, 1887, the records reveal a letter:

It appears that the Certificate of Release No. 4 issued to Middleton Stuart and others, on the 3rd of November last, described the two acres reserved for school purposes as follows: "In the shape and form of a square, the school building being in the center of said square." As the above description would extend the two acres across a public road, a new Certificate of Release has been executed, changing the description so that the whole of the two acres shall be on the north side of the road (National Archives, RG 217, Entry

888, vol. 1, December 23, 1887).

This new Certificate of Release specified that the whole of the 2 acres would be on the north side of the public road and described the tract as:

The Middleton Stuart Place bounded Northerly by Coosaw River, Southerly by Magnolia and Greenfield Creek, Easterly by Coosaw River, Westerly by Magnolia, containing 660 acres more or less . . . included in School Farm No. 24 (Beaufort County RMC, DB 15, p. 578).

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

By the 1890s Southern states were stripping African Americans of the rights granted by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and the South fell, "to one party rule under control of a reactionary elite who used the same violence and fraud that had helped defeat Reconstruction to stifle internal dissent" (Froner and Mahoney 1995:134). As part of the process to get the Federal government out of land holding in Southern states, the Direct Tax Refunding law was passed by Congress in 1891. This allowed plantation owners to claim compensation for land confiscated by the Federal government during the Civil War (McGuire 1982:77). On February 12, 1892 Middleton Stuart, Sarah B. Stuart, and James R. Stuart filed suit in the Court of Claims (Direct Tax Case 17,327) for compensation of 530 acres of land not resold to freedmen (but never reclaimed) and 75% of the value of the proceeds of land sold by the Direct Tax Commissions to heads of families. In all, the claim was for \$3,278.05 (National Archives, RG 123, General Jurisdictional Case Files, 17,327, Box 1027).

The information provided the court included the previously cited deed from Mary M. Roupell and George B. Roupell to John G. Barnwell, as well as affidavits from Sarah B. Stuart and Dr. H. M. Stuart (nephew of Middleton Stuart (I)).

The Court awarded the Stuarts \$2,650 as the value of the 530 acres of cultivated land not distributed to freedmen and an additional \$628.00 as their share of the proceeds from the earlier sales.

Twentieth Century Developments

Apparently the 530 acres were eventually sold to other owners, while the Stuarts maintained ownership of the 130 acre School Farm lands. It is likely that they leased the land out for farming, although this is unclear. Regardless, in 1901, Middleton Stuart, James R. Stuart, and Sarah B. Stuart sold the 130 acres remaining of Roupelmond to William H. McLeod and Claudius E. McLeod for \$1,300 (Beaufort County RMC, DB 25, p. 64). This deed provides the names of a few of the freedmen who had purchased the surrounding portions of the plantations: Nancy Brown, Esaw Kelson, Cuffie Heyward, Adam Jenkins, and Jerry Green.

By 1918 only three structures were present on the project tract. One was situated adjacent to U.S. 21 immediately before leaving the highland. Two were situated north of Stuart's Road about 500 and 700 feet east of U.S. 21 (Figure 16). There was nothing left of the main plantation settlement, and virtually all of the area had been opened for farming. By this time, however, a swing span bridge had been built across Whale Branch, with US 21 likely closely following the original "Shell Road."

By 1930 plans were well underway to replace this original bridge (S.C. Department of Transportation, Project Number 33R, Plan and Profile Bridge Over Whale Branch). The existing bridge was temporarily replaced with a detour on the west side. A series of four photographs were taken during the construction work, showing the detour bridge, bridge construction, and the causeway which lead to the original bridge (S.C. Department of Archives and History, S233001, Box 1, Photographs 84-87). The

ROUPELMOND PLANTATION

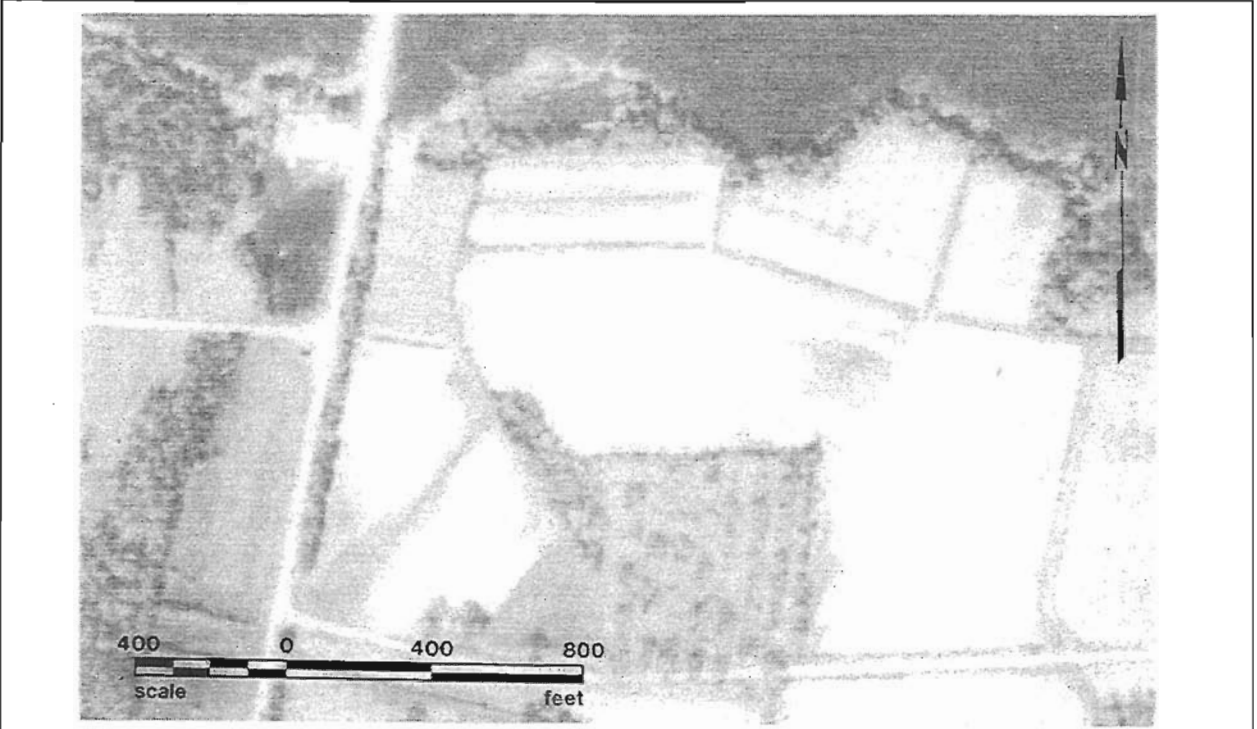


Figure 17. Portion of a 1959 aerial photograph showing the fields surrounding Roupelmond.



Figure 18. Portion of a 1965 aerial photograph showing the fields surrounding Roupelmond.

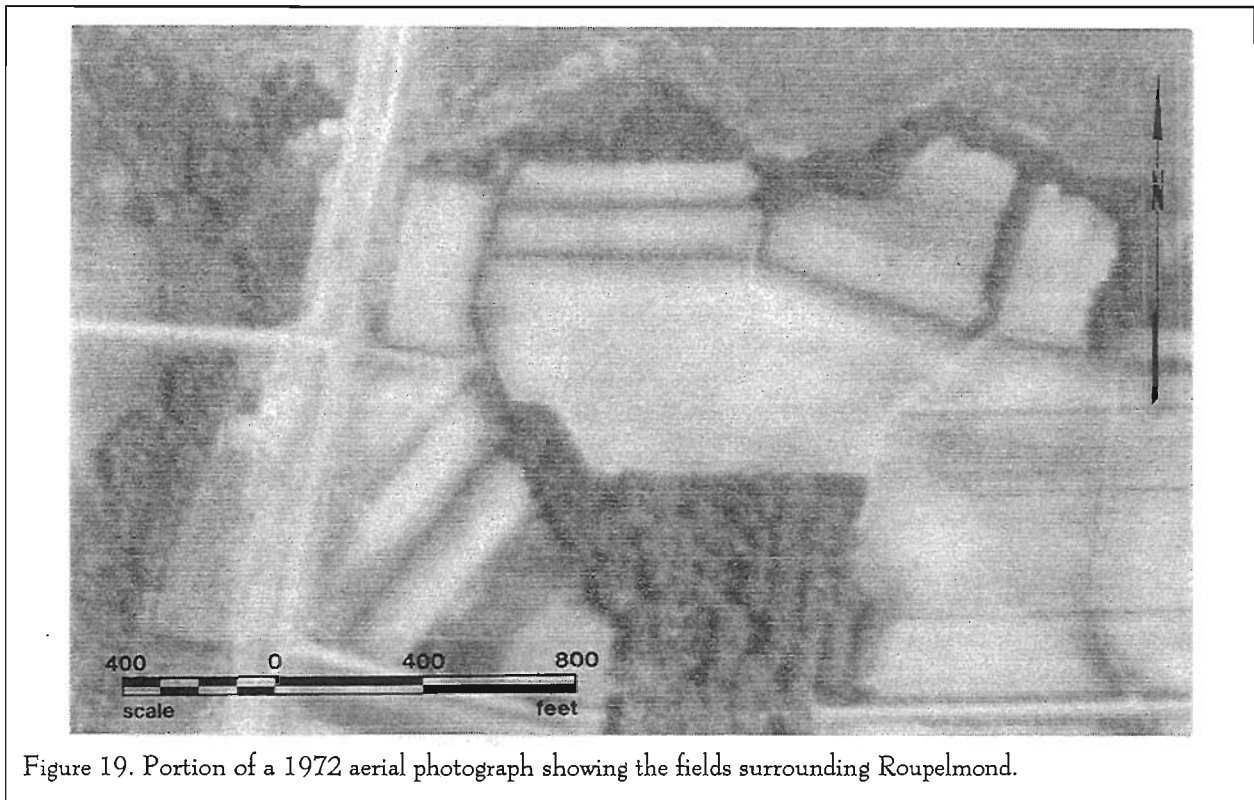


Figure 19. Portion of a 1972 aerial photograph showing the fields surrounding Roupelmond.

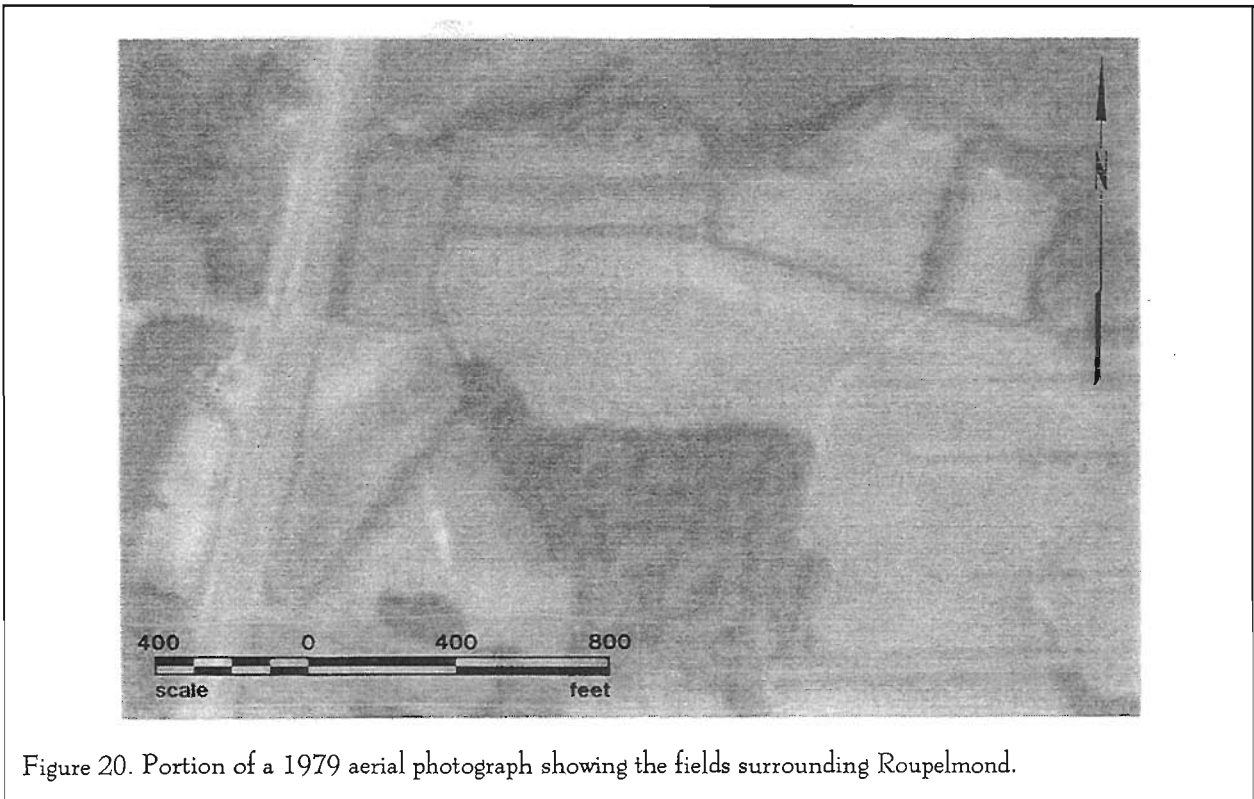


Figure 20. Portion of a 1979 aerial photograph showing the fields surrounding Roupelmond.

causeway is mass of logs filled with earth. It appears that the earliest bridge at this location used the causeway originally constructed for the ferry. As a result, it is likely that the ferry crossing itself was largely destroyed by the original bridge and associated road work. The only other obvious disturbance to the site area were metal transmission towers on the east side of the bridge, on both sides of Whale Branch.

The 1959 aerial photograph of the project area (CDU 2AA-149; Figure 17) shows the 1931 bridge. Although the area to the west of the bridge at the water edge is clearly disturbed, there is no other evidence of the earlier detour. The store at the intersection of US 21 and S-42 is visible. All of the plantation site was being cultivated, although a relatively young pecan orchard is shown on Stuarts Point Road (S-70). Likewise, the two structures shown on this road in the 1919 map are indicated by large clumps of trees and other vegetation in the aerial photograph. They were likely in ruins by this time, with yard vegetation allowed to overtake them.

This new bridge stood without change through the 1960 improvements to U.S. 21, which maintained the 33-foot right-of-way on each side of the centerline of the two-lane road, but raised the road bed about a foot and resurfaced the road (S.C. Department of Transportation, Docket Number 7.338). This work, however, stopped short of the bridge, going just up to S-42 on the west side of the highway. It is therefore unlikely that it had any significant impact on the plantation remains. The plans for this undertaking, however, do show the location of the highway department bridge tender's house on the west side US 21 — a structure which in the past 15 years has been destroyed.

By 1965 a second bridge was constructed to provide four lanes of traffic across the river, although US 21 itself remained two-lanes. This is illustrated in the November 1965 aerial photographs (CDU 1GG-243; Figure 18). The orchard continued to grow, the two structures along Stuarts Point Road (S-70) were still present, and the fields continued to be well maintained.

In 1971, US 21 was widened from two to four

lanes, with the additional two lanes constructed to the west, again avoiding Roupelmond (S.C. Department of Transportation, File Number 7.393). The existing 1931 bridge was maintained, with the new bridge also built to the west.

This construction is shown on the 1972 aerial photograph (45013 372-121; Figure 19), which reveals the completed grade, but no paving. The fields to the east remain in good condition, although it appears that there is more vegetation was beginning to fill in along the marsh and various drainage ditches.

Changes are more clearly revealed by the 1979 aerial photograph (45013 178-62; Figure 20). Although the fields are generally the same, there is a clearer indication that less care was being taken in maintaining the property. For example, the woods lines along the ditches and marsh are much heavier, and some ditches, which had no vegetative covering only seven years early, do by this time. The orchard is not only mature, but there is an indication that scrub vegetation was in existence along the edges. All of this suggests that periodic cleaning and maintenance was being neglected.

In 1990 the study tract, along other tracts in the vicinity totalling 1030.98 acres, were conveyed by George A. McLeod to the South Carolina National Bank, as trustee under a trust agreement signed May 11, 1990 (Beaufort County RMC DB 553, p. 1052).

EXCAVATIONS

Strategy and Methods

Background and Research Strategy

As a result of the initial survey phases (Trinkley 1997a, 1997b) the entire site had been shovel tested at 100-foot intervals. These 220 shovel tests were sufficient to identify site boundaries and identify general concentrations of artifacts. An additional 43 shovel tests were excavated at 25-foot intervals along the edge of the marsh and an additional 62 shovel tests were excavated at 50-foot intervals in an interior portion of the site. Finally, two 5-foot units were excavated — one was placed at the edge of the interior concentration and the other was placed at the edge of the densest portion of the site.

The ceramics recovered from the site include very early eighteenth century wares such as North Devon gravel tempered and lead glazed slipwares; mid-eighteenth century wares such as Nottingham stoneware, white salt glazed stones, delft, and Westerwald; late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century wares, such as creamware and pearlware; and mid-nineteenth century ware, such as whiteware. The mean ceramic dates for the two formal test units range from 1789.5 to 1776.8, while the mean date for the general collection from the site is 1806.5.

Assuming the plantation had a date range of about 1740 to 1860, the mean historic date would be 1800 — very close to the mean date obtained from the overall survey collection. The earlier dates from the test units suggested that there were temporally, as well as spatially, discrete areas within the study area.

The collections have also produced both high status motifs, such as transfer prints and painted wares, and low status edged and annular wares. This suggested that assemblages from both owner and slaves were

present in the collections. When the artifact patterns from the two excavated units were examined they were found to most closely resemble the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern. Although it appeared highly likely that some mixing had occurred, possibly by the intervening years of agricultural activity, it seemed likely that the upland concentration represented part of Roupelmonde's eighteenth century slave settlement.

In spite of this probable agricultural mixing, we found no especially deep plowzone deposits. In addition, we identified discrete concentrations of artifacts during the intensive survey, and even very distinct concentrations of faunal remains. Along the bluff edge there were multiple concentrations of structural remains, including tabby, mortar brick, fired brick, and coquina. All of these were interpreted as signs that the plantation, or portions of the plantation, were likely in good condition, with sub-surface features and structural information intact.

One proposed focus in the plantation excavation was to be the identification of different spatial and/or temporal components of the plantation. Ideally the main house and slave row would be clearly defined, both in time and space. We recognized, however, that the main settlement had been in one location throughout the plantation's history, so that both eighteenth and nineteenth century remains would likely be mixed. That seemed relatively well established by the data collected during the survey phase, although we couldn't rule out the presence of discrete disposal areas. It was also possible that the slave settlements, built of less permanent materials and affected by the planter's changing ideas, may have changed location. This might result in distinct archaeological evidence. The evidence available from the survey phase suggested that the inland site core was fairly early, although we did not have any indication that there was a late settlement somewhere else.

For the main house, we were especially

interested in what might be gleaned from the architectural evidence regarding the building style of this area. Previous efforts on the sea islands have found very distinctive regional styles. Are these also likely to be found further inland? The two projects from nearby Prince William Parish seem to suggest a more vernacular style with relatively few coastal antecedents. In addition, we were interested in exploring the lifeways of the planter. The current level of historical research tentatively suggests that this plantation was of middling status, at least by the late antebellum. Ruffin, in the 1840s, also suggests that the soils in this area of Beaufort District were rather poor (Mathew 1992). How might this lower level of agricultural productivity have affected the lifestyle of the planter, when compared to plantations like Haig Point, Stoney/Baynard, Seabrook, or other Sea Island tracts? Is it possible to see any decline through time, as the lands become more worn?

Many of these same questions were thought appropriate for the slave settlement. Isolation of architectural remains would provide another piece in the puzzle of slave architecture in the low country. With some additional information regarding architectural style, even without complete structures, it may be possible to address at least some questions on the layout of the settlement. We hoped that we might be able, for example, to see a situation at this settlement, similar to sites like Crawl and Crowfield in Berkeley County, where the slave settlement lacked the organization typical of nineteenth century coastal plantations. Turning to other aspects of the material culture, how did the slaves live? What did they eat? What types of plates did they eat off of? What did their yards look like? Where did they throw their garbage? Did they supplement their diets with wild foods? Did they ever have "fancy" possessions?

Although these are perhaps particularistic questions, they are the questions that tour groups ask, that kids are interested in, and that are essential for us to address if we wish to make archaeology relevant to the public. Too often slavery is simply not addressed by school text books, teachers, or even guides or docents. Black kids have a right to know their heritage and to be proud — of their survival and the massive part their ancestors played in creating the colonial and antebellum

worlds. Archaeology can help to contribute to that pride by providing real information on these often invisible people.

Examples of the research questions which Roupelmonde was hoped to address include:

- How does the artifact assemblage of this plantation compare to other eighteenth and nineteenth century plantations in Beaufort County. We have previously examined eighteenth and nineteenth century main and slave settlements, providing an exceptional comparative base. While state-wide and even regional comparisons are also possible, we believe that it is more useful to make comparisons on a very local basis, where it is easiest to control, or at least document, other variables, such as owner wealth, type of plantation, location, and so forth.
- How do the architectural features at Roupelmonde compare to other excavated Beaufort and Southeastern plantations? What is the architectural range in slave dwellings? How does the architecture compare with what is known archaeologically and historically about other nineteenth century slave houses (see, for example, Wheaton et al. 1983; Zierden et al. 1986; Drucker and Anthony 1979; see also Adams 1990 for a synthesis)? Previous research (see Adams 1990) has suggested that historical accounts of slave housing do not coincide with what has been found archaeologically. Although only a few houses have been excavated, more data is needed to better understand diversity and dichotomy between written documents and the archaeological record.
- How does the architecture and the layout of the plantation complex reflect current landscape movements? In other words, does the plantation exhibit a Georgian world view? Is there evidence that the plantation was later altered to reflect the dominant nineteenth century landscape movement (see, for example, Brooker and Trinkley 1991)? Is there an initial blending of both landscape types? What does the plantation landscape at Roupelmonde tell us about the view isolated planters had of their world? This question can be addressed through a combination of locating architectural features (houses and outbuildings), archaeological features (fence lines and roads), the relationship of the main house to the slave row, and

historic plats.

■ How does the slave row and the surrounding area fit into the planter's landscape concept? Are houses rigidly aligned? Are they unevenly placed? Is there evidence for fences? If yard features are present, what do these features suggest about the use of extramural space by slaves in the nineteenth century (see Westmacott 1992; Ferguson 1992; Adams 1990)? Although the landscape concept is not new to the humanities, only recently have archaeologists tried to implement field techniques to begin understanding historic landscapes.

■ Is there evidence for alienation of the slave population? Some (Terry 1981; Orser 1988) have suggested that this alienation took place in the mid-eighteenth century as planters obtained more and more wealth. They then separated themselves physically and materially from their slaves. In other words, although the planter became richer, the slaves' conditions did not improve, increasing the gap between planter and slave. Roupelmonde, because of its date, offers a unique opportunity to explore slave life at a plantation characteristic of a middling status land owner. Is there evidence that slaves benefitted from the plantation owner's wealth? Archaeological investigations to identify type of housing and the artifactual assemblage can address these questions as well as historical research to locate wills and inventories.

Archaeological Methods

Excavations, relying on the previous investigations, were focused on two site areas: Area 7

along the marsh edge, which was thought to represent the main house and Area 8 further inland, which was thought to represent the main slave settlement (see Figure 3).

Area 7, situated on the marsh edge, consisted of dense herbaceous brush and mixed hardwood and pines, thinned both by hand (Figure 21) and using a bush hog. Eventually a series of three areas were opened by hand, allowing the placement of units on both sides of the farm road which provided access to this area. Excavations in this area included Blocks 3 and 4 (Figure 22).

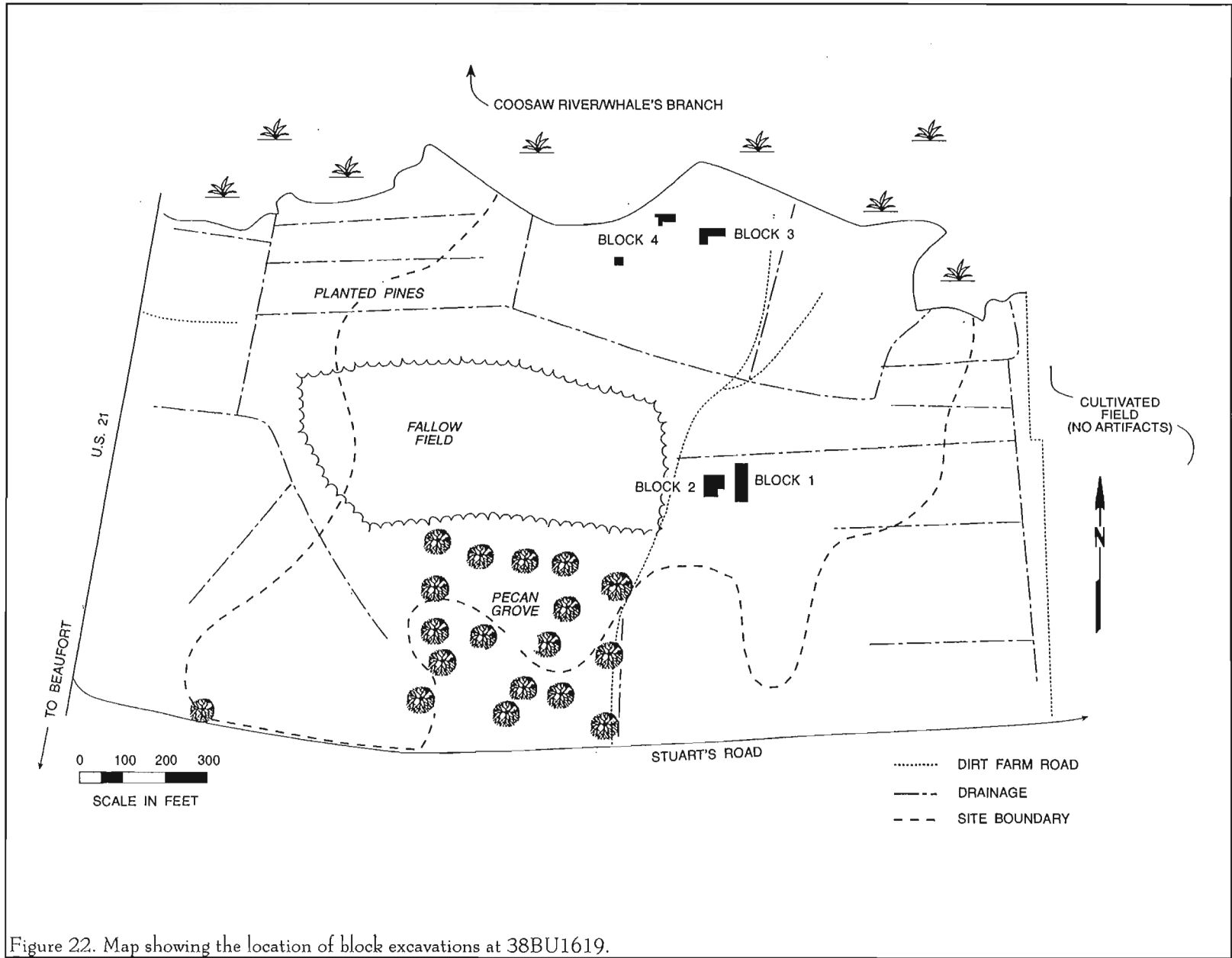
In contrast, Area 8 was entirely planted pine which required extensive hand clearing (Figure 23).



Figure 21. Clearing block excavation areas in Area 7, adjacent to the marsh.

There we opened one large area, measuring about 100 feet north-south by 150 feet east-west. Excavations in this area includes Blocks 1 and 2 (Figure 22).

Although these two areas were only about 600 feet apart, they were separated by very dense woods and we decided that it would take far more time and energy



ROUPELMOND PLANTATION

Figure 22. Map showing the location of block excavations at 38BU1619.

to establish one grid system, encompassing both areas, then it would be worth. Instead, we laid in two grids, both oriented magnetic north-south, and established permanent points for each which were later identified and mapped by surveyors for the Beaufort County School District. This approach allowed us to maximize our field time, while still obtaining very accurate data for tying the two areas into one site plan (Figure 24).

Horizontal control in each area was maintained using a modified Chicago grid system. This system assumes an off-site ORO point and the southeast corner of each unit designates the feet north and right (or east) of this arbitrary ORO point. Hence, the southeast corner of unit 10R50 would be 10 feet north and 50 feet right, or east, of the ORO point. To help minimize confusion between the two different areas, the blocks in Area 7 were begun with a central 1000R1000 grid point, resulting in the excavated units ranging in the upper hundreds or low thousands. In contrast, the central permanent point in Area 8 was identified as 500R500, resulting in the units from this area running in the mid-four hundreds to low five hundreds.

Vertical control at the site was established by reference to an off-site elevation point. In Area 7 the iron rebar at 1000R100 was assigned an elevation of 11.28 feet above mean sea level (AMSL). In area 8 the rebar at 500R500 was found to be at an elevation of 14.87 feet AMSL and a second rebar at 500R370 was



Figure 23. Clearing the planted pines in Area 8 for Blocks 1 and 2, view to the north.

at an elevation of 15.51 feet AMSL.¹ This system allows the two widely separated areas of the site to be precisely compared.

The minimal excavation unit was a 5 by 5 foot unit, although typically 10 by 10 foot units were used for horizontal control. Chicora has adopted engineering measurements (feet and tenths of feet) for consistency in its work, especially on European sites where structural measurements are most often in feet.

The excavations were by natural soil zones, with the site consistently containing about 0.8 to 1.3 foot of dark brown (7.5YR3/2) sandy loam plowzone (Ap horizon) overlying a subsoil which varied from pale yellow (2.5YR7/3) to mottled yellowish brown (10YR5/6) sand. Excavation was by hand with all fill dry-screened through ¼-inch mesh using both

¹ Subsequently we discovered that there was an error in the off-site elevation, resulting in all of the on-site elevations being 2.17 feet high. As a result, all of the elevations in this study should be reduced by 2.17 feet to provide accurate mean sea level elevations.

ROUPELMOND PLANTATION

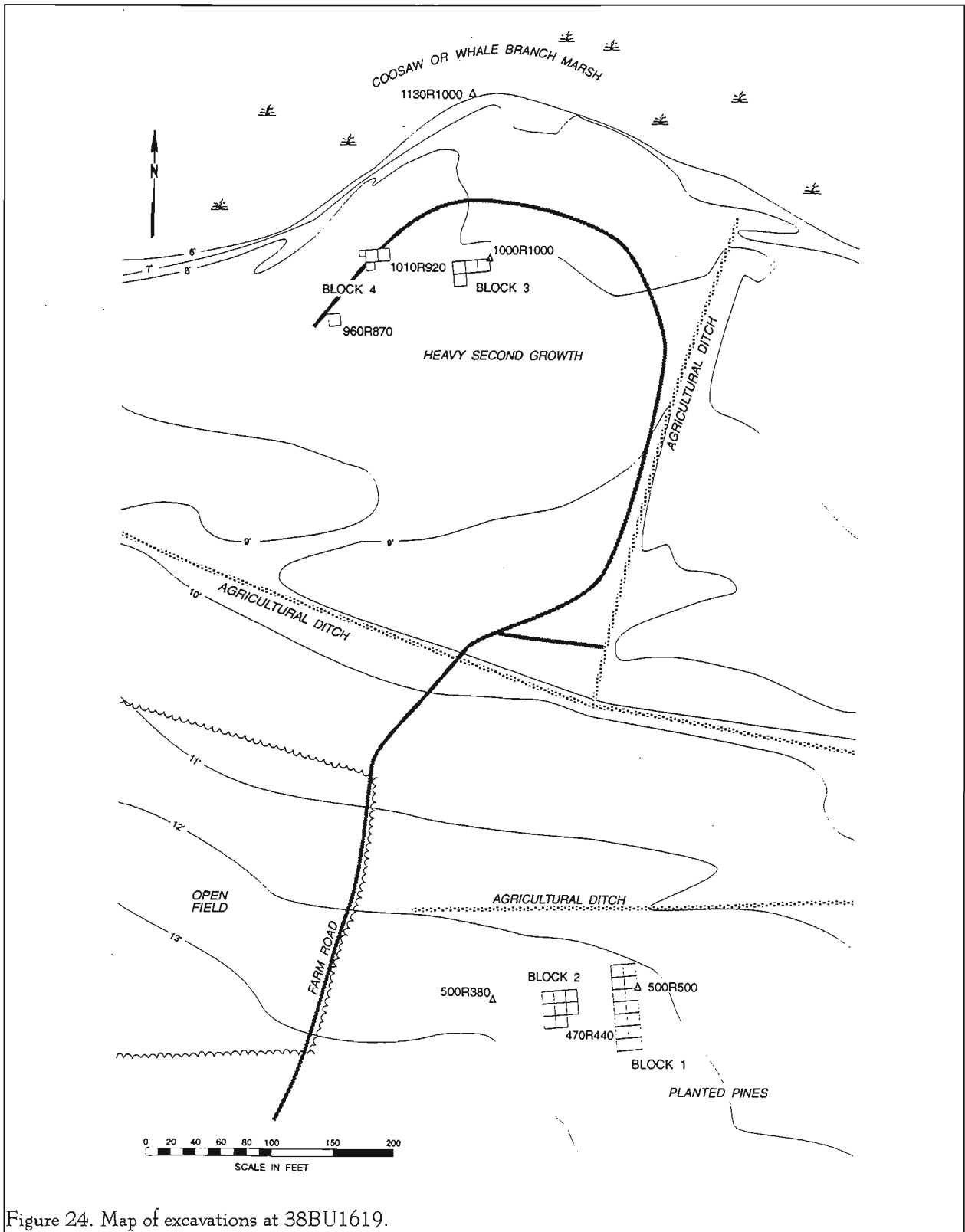


Figure 24. Map of excavations at 38BU1619.

mechanical and hand sifters (Figure 25).

Flotation samples (typically 5 gallons in size) were collected from areas which exhibited a high potential for the recovery of ethnobotanical remains. These typically included dark organic trash refuse areas. We have found from past experience on historic sites that routine flotation of samples is not cost-effective — they simply don't provide samples large enough for meaningful analysis. It



Figure 25. Excavation of Block 1 using a mechanical sifter, view to the east.

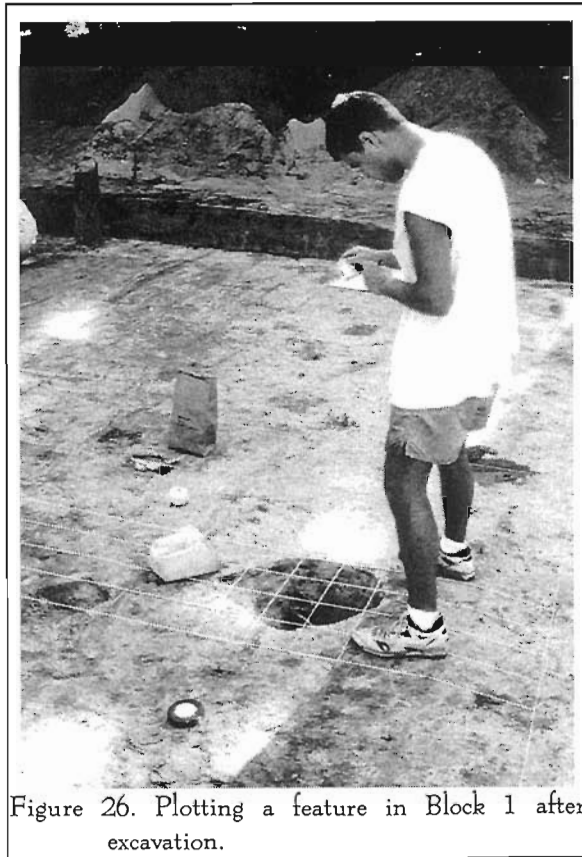


Figure 26. Plotting a feature in Block 1 after excavation.

is far better to search for samples which are likely to produce quantities of food remains than to float materials by rote in the hope of finding adequate samples. A mechanical water flotation process was used at the conclusion of the field investigations.

A one-quart soil sample was also collected from each provenience for future soil chemistry needs. We also collected pollen and phytolith samples from identifiable structures or discrete midden areas.

All brick and rubble from the screens was collected, weighed, and discarded in the field. These weights provide information on total brick and assist in evaluating construction details such as pier height, presence of continuous brick inset skirting, and height of chimney stacks. It can also be used as an indicator of salvage or possible reuse of brick.

Each unit was troweled at the top of subsoil, photographed in b/w and color slide film, and profile and plan views were drawn. Features encountered during the excavations were plotted and photographed (Figure 26). Features, or samples of redundant features, were bisected to provide profiles. All feature fill was screened

through ¼-inch mesh, with samples, typically about 5 gallons in volume, also screened through ⅛-inch mesh. Samples retained minimally included a soil sample and flotation samples.

Although we began our work with the intention of focusing equal efforts on both the main house (Area 7, Blocks 3 and 4) and the slave settlement (Area 8, Blocks 1 and 2), we found that the main house area had suffered greater disturbance than originally anticipated. In addition, this area was far more heavily overgrown and required a much greater expenditure of effort to open. In addition, as further information was available on the school design, it appeared that this marsh edge area was not going to be directly impacted by construction (although it would likely be subjected to secondary impacts). Consequently, our attention turned more toward Area 8.

As a result of these excavations a total of 1,139 person hours were spent in the field and a total of 2,925 square feet were opened. This includes 725 square feet (797.8 cubic feet) at Area 7 and 2,200 square feet (2,358 cubic feet) at Area 8.

Some readers may wonder why even larger blocks weren't mechanically opened, perhaps at the conclusion of the hand excavations. This might have provided far larger samples of features, allowing us to make more comprehensive statements concerning architectural and landscape features. Even if the funds had been available for this work, it would not have been possible given the densely planted pines that dominated the vegetation in both site areas. The quantity of trees and their placement precluded this approach. Nevertheless, we are very satisfied with the results of the study — which helped identify a variety of structures and recovered an exceptional quantity of cultural remains from this plantation complex.

Field notes were prepared on alkaline buffered paper and photographic materials were processed to archival standards. All original field notes, with archival copies, are curated at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (SCIAA). All specimens have been evaluated for conservation needs and have been treated prior to curation (this process is discussed in a following section of the study). The materials have

been cataloged as 38BU1689-1-1 through 38BU1689-130-3.

Excavation Results

Area 8, Block 1 — The Slave Settlement

As previously discussed (see Figure 24), two blocks were excavated in the slave area. The first, 450-510R490-500, began with units at the northern end intended to re-open the area of survey Test Unit 1 (which was identified at 505.1R492) and was expanded southward in order to explore the dense quantities of brick found in the excavations.

Unit	Weight in pounds	
	Brick	Shell
	Block 1	
450R490	9	71
450R500	13	76
460R490	9	50
460R500	7	53
470R490	9	83
470R500	11	51
480R490	13	76
480R500	8	47
490R490	7	89
490R500	10	54
500R490	9	36
500R500	9	38
510R490	10	23
510R500	5	34
	Block 2	
470R430	19	92
470R440	23	103
480R430	29	90
480R440	64	216
480R450	16	198
490R430	27	34
490R440	72	84
490R450	20	136

EXCAVATIONS

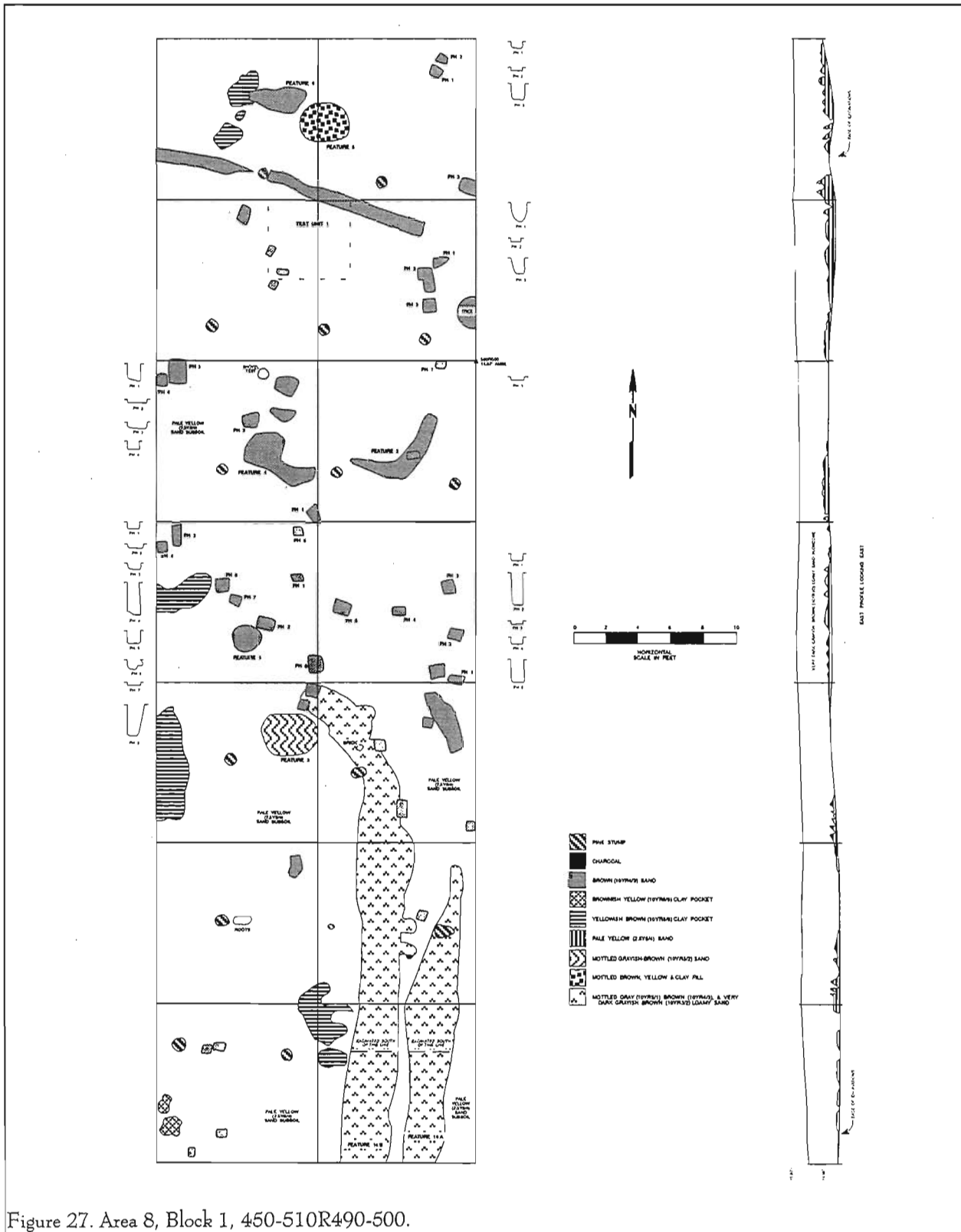


Figure 27. Area 8, Block 1, 450-510R490-500.

Sufficient time had elapsed between the intensive survey (when Test Unit 1 was excavated) and the current study, that it was difficult to recover evidence of the original shovel testing. As a result we used close interval shovel testing (25-foot intervals) in this area of the pine woods to recover what appeared to be a concentration of cultural materials. This assisted in the placement of the block which, as noted above, was successful in reidentifying the original test unit.

With the opening of a 20 by 70 foot trench, this block revealed an area of considerable complexity (Figure 27). Scattered among the pine stumps, root stains, and old trees were a total of 43 post holes (24 of which were excavated) and eight features (Features 1-6, 14A, and 14B). Most clearly defined of these features are a wall-trench structure in the northern half of the excavations and what appear to be two wagon ruts in the southern half.

Throughout the excavations we found a dark brown plowzone overlying a pale yellow sand, interspersed with brownish yellow and yellowish brown clay pockets or domes which are natural to the soils in this region. The plowing was consistently east-west across the field, leaving very distinct plowscars in the subsoil (not plotted in Figure 27). Although the plowing was heavy, the deepest scars were rarely more than 1.2 feet below the surface and the plowzone itself averaged about 0.9 foot. Features and post holes were distinct in the subsoil and easily recognizable.

Excavations revealed that the density of artifacts dropped noticeably from north to south, while shell weights tended to increase and brick weights tended to heavier in the south. It seems likely that the artifacts are associated with one

or both of two wall-trench structures, while the bricks and shell seem to overlie the fill of the wagon rut road to the south (see Table 2). Although there were a number of post holes, their associations are problematical. For example, the deepest post holes in 510R500 (PH3) and 500R500 (PH1 and 3) do form a straight line, but it is only a short segment. Likewise there are several potential wall segments in the central portion of the block, but none can be definitively associated.

The post holes do, however, indicate that this portion of the site was intensively occupied. While some may actually represent posts for framing, many others may simply represent posts erected for other activities around the slave settlement.

The most complete wall trench structure in the northern portion of the block measures at least 13 feet in width and minimally 18 feet in length (with the western end not identified in the excavations). There is no clear evidence of doors or chimney, although the structure remains have suffered considerable degradation from both later occupation and also plowing. The second structure is much less complete and does not allow any measurements. These structures probably represent the earliest slave occupation of Roupelmond

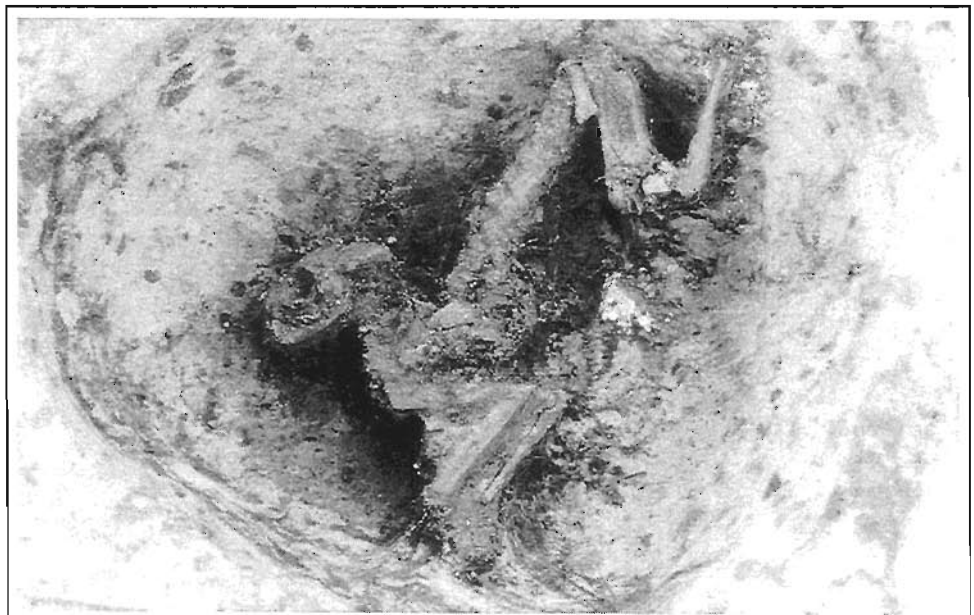


Figure 28. Feature 1, after excavation, view to the north.

Plantation.

The ruts at the southern end of the block seem to represent an access road. The center of the ruts is spaced about 4 feet apart. The road appears to originate in the south, and turns to the west in 470R500, being lost at that point.

In addition to the historic occupation evident in this block, there was also evidence of prehistoric activities. Small quantities of flakes, worked stone tools, and pottery were recovered from all of the units. In addition, the remains of a human burial were encountered in Feature 3 (discussed below). These materials, in spite of the human remains, were not considered to contribute to the site's National Register eligibility and are only briefly discussed in this study.

Feature 1 was found at the base of the plowzone in the southwest quadrant of 480R490, with a centerpoint of 482.8R485.6. The feature consisted of heavily mottled brown sand and was 0.71 foot in depth and 1.6 feet in diameter. Excavation of the feature produced a small number of mid to late eighteenth century remains in the fill. At the base of the pit was the articulated skeleton of a cat (Figure 28). This feature is discounted as a trash pit since so few artifacts were recovered. In addition, the cat appears to have been carefully laid out in the base of the hole and not "dumped" in. Everything suggests that someone took great care to provide a resting place for the cat — while trash was simply dumped in the nearby marsh or thrown in randomly available holes. Given the location in the midst of the slave settlement, it is likely that the burial was intentional and was associated with one of the slave houses. This association between cats and African Americans is currently being explored, perhaps as a mystical or religious association (Alicia Paresi, personal communication 1998).

Feature 2 was found at the base of the plowzone in the center of 490R500 and consisted of

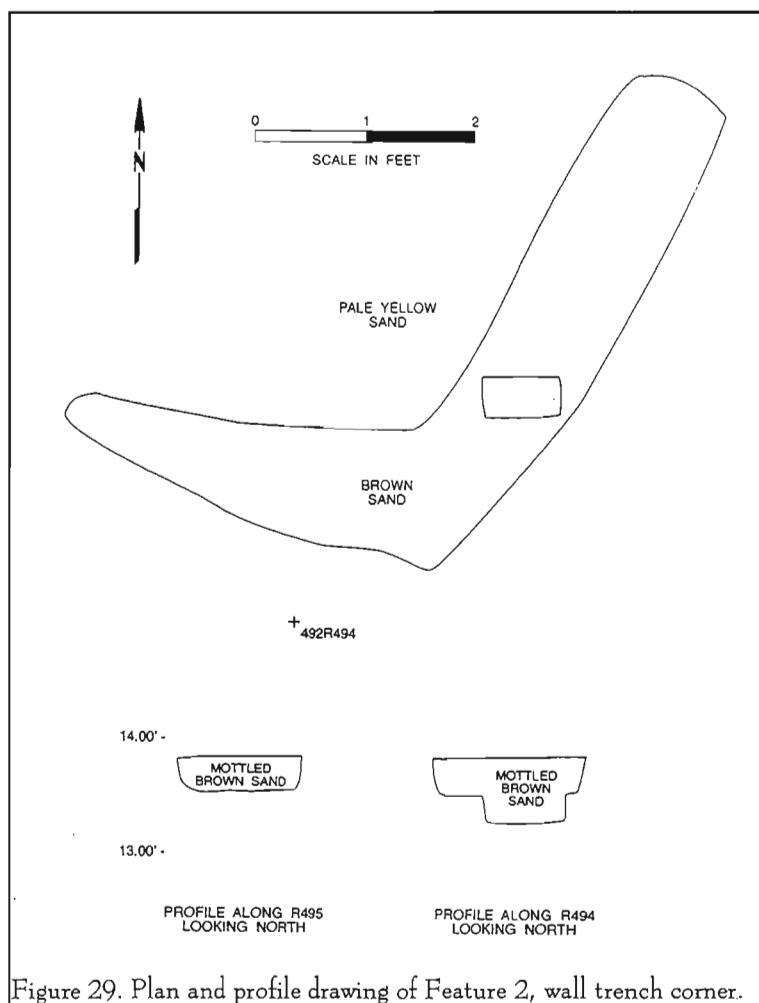


Figure 29. Plan and profile drawing of Feature 2, wall trench corner.

brown sand. This stain was found to be a corner of the wall trench structure occurring in the north half of the block excavation. The depth of the trench varied from about 0.1 to 0.3 foot with the width likewise varying from about 0.3 foot at the ends to about 1.0 foot in the middle, at the corner. Artifacts were sparse, but included a small nail fragment, a single Colono ware ceramic, and several iron fragments — suggesting an eighteenth century date. Only one individual post hole could be identified in the wall trench, just north of the corner. This post was rectangular, measuring about 0.7 by 0.4 foot (Figure 29).

Feature 3 was found in the northeast quadrant of 470R490 at the base of the plowzone. The centerpoint was 477R488 and the stain measured 3.5 feet north-south by 2.6 feet east-west. The pit had the

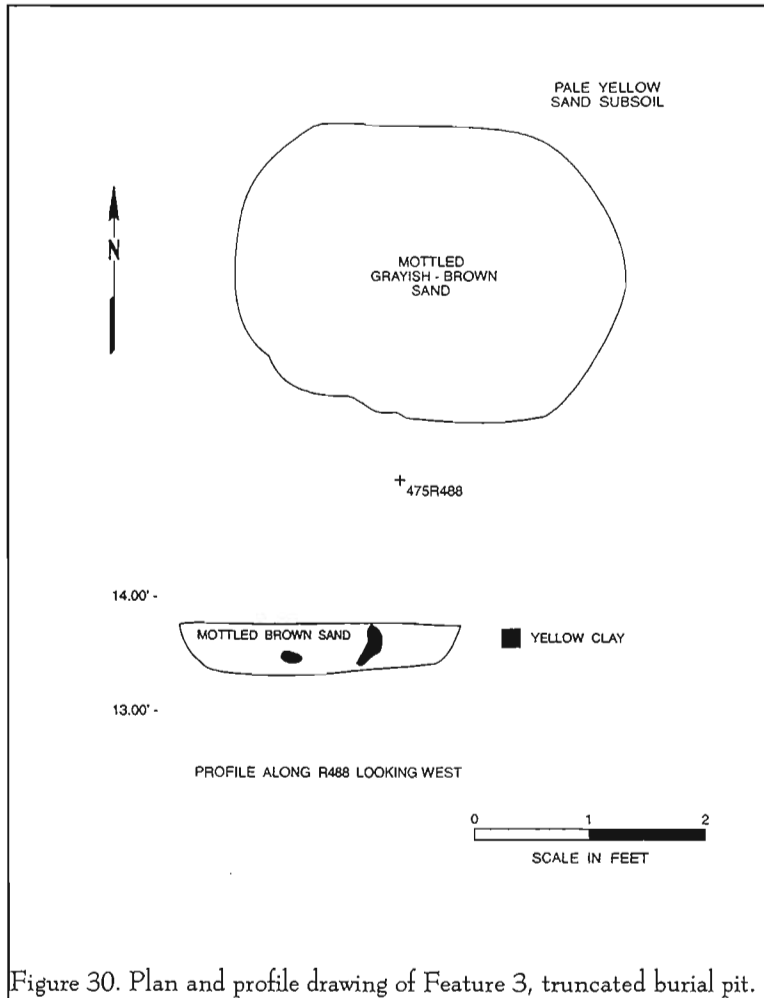


Figure 30. Plan and profile drawing of Feature 3, truncated burial pit.

early appearance of a burial, with large masses of clay incorporated into the backfill, but this was initially dismissed as a coincidence and the feature was bisected north-south with the east half being removed first (Figure 30). Within the first few inches we began to find bone, but none was immediately recognizable. In addition, none of the bone appeared to be articulated. The excavation revealed the pit to be only 0.4 foot in depth. As the west half was being excavated additional bone was identified, including a number of human teeth. Subsequent analysis of the bone reveals the presence of a human patella and phalanges. This feature appears to represent an almost entirely plowed out human burial. The condition of the bone is so poor, and the remains so sparse, it is difficult to interpret, but it is likely to have been a secondary interment. The only other materials associated with the remains were six

small prehistoric sherds (with sand inclusions in the paste), scattered in the fill. In compliance with S.C. Code of Laws 16-17-600 both the Beaufort County Coroner and the Deputy State Archaeologist at SCIAA were notified of the find. The Coroner certified that it was not a forensic case and the matter was turned over to SCIAA. Given the disturbance caused by plowing and the isolated context, no additional investigations were requested by SCIAA. In addition, the State Historic Preservation Office determined that no modifications of the data recovery plan were necessary, again based on the isolated context of the burial.

Feature 4 represents another wall-trench structure corner and was first encountered at the base of the plowzone in the southeast quadrant of 490R490. Although the feature's width varied from 0.9 to 2.4 feet, portions (particularly on the eastern end) were quite distinct. The depth ranged from 0.3 to 0.6 feet. This corner represents a second wall trench structure and is not associated with Feature 2. The only datable artifact from the feature is a fragment of white salt glazed stoneware, suggesting a mid-eighteenth date for the dwelling.

Feature 5 was identified at the base of the plowzone and was bisected by the R490 line, with the pit falling into 510R490 and 510R500. It measured about 3.0 feet east-west by 2.4 feet north-south and contained mottled brown sand and yellow clay fill (Figure 31). The feature contained a single coarse red earthenware ceramic, one piece of clear glass, several brick fragments and a small collection of faunal remains. While these remains suggest a date later than the other features, perhaps even into the first half of the nineteenth century, there are too few specimens to classify the feature as a trash pit. The depth of the feature was only 0.6 foot, although like other features in this block it is possible that the upper portion was truncated by plowing.

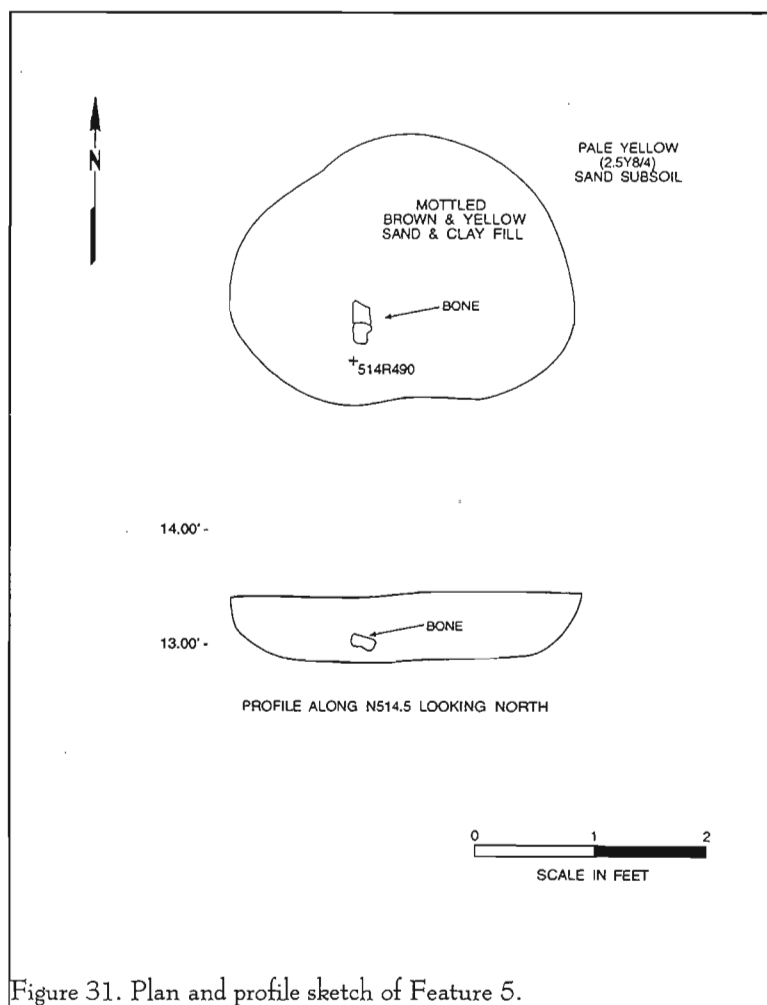


Figure 31. Plan and profile sketch of Feature 5.

The centerpoint for **Feature 6** is 516.1R487.6 and it was identified at the base of the plowzone in the northeast quadrant of 510R490. The fill consisted of a mottled brown sand with small clay lump inclusions — nearly identical to both features 4 and 5. Although this may represent a third wall trench structure, it is too amorphous to allow this determination with any certainty. The feature had a maximum length of 3.3 feet and a maximum width of 1.7 feet. It was found to be 0.7 feet deep. The only historic remains were two small nail fragments.

Feature 14 was encountered at the base of the plowzone. It originated in the N450 wall in 450R500 and ran northward to 460R500 where **Feature 14A** terminated. **Feature 14B** continued northward to 470R500 where it curved to the west. In this unit a

portion of **Feature 14A** re-appears, also curving to the west. The fill was a mottled gray, brown, and very dark grayish brown loamy sand. Excavation revealed that the soil was very mottled, almost churned in appearance, and that the ruts were relatively concave in cross-section. Artifacts were sparse — consisting entirely of early to mid-eighteenth century materials. It seems likely based on this that the road was associated with the earliest slave settlement in this area but was abandoned by the nineteenth century.

Area 8, Block 2 — The Slave Settlement

To the west of Block 1 is Block 2, comprising a total of 800 square feet (Figure 32). These units were excavated based on the seemingly dense surface scatter of brick rubble and shell in this area, visible once the pines were removed.

In addition, a metal detector survey conducted of the entire cleared area revealed a seeming concentration of ferrous objects — thought to be nails — around this block. The survey was conducted using a Tesoro Bandido II™ with an 8-inch concentric coil (electromagnetic type, operating at 10KHz). Although the instrument has the capability to operate in either an all metal mode or discriminate mode (which eliminates ferrous metal response), we found that when ferrous objects were eliminated, few “hits” were identified and there seemed to be no concentrations. As excavation would demonstrate, the quantity of nails in this block was significantly higher than in Block 1.

Excavation would also reveal that the density of both shell and brick were heavier in this area, with brick weights ranging from 16 to 72 pounds per unit (with the heaviest density occurring in 480-490R440) and shell weights ranging from 34 to 216 pounds per unit (with the heaviest density occurring in 480R440-450) (see Table 2).

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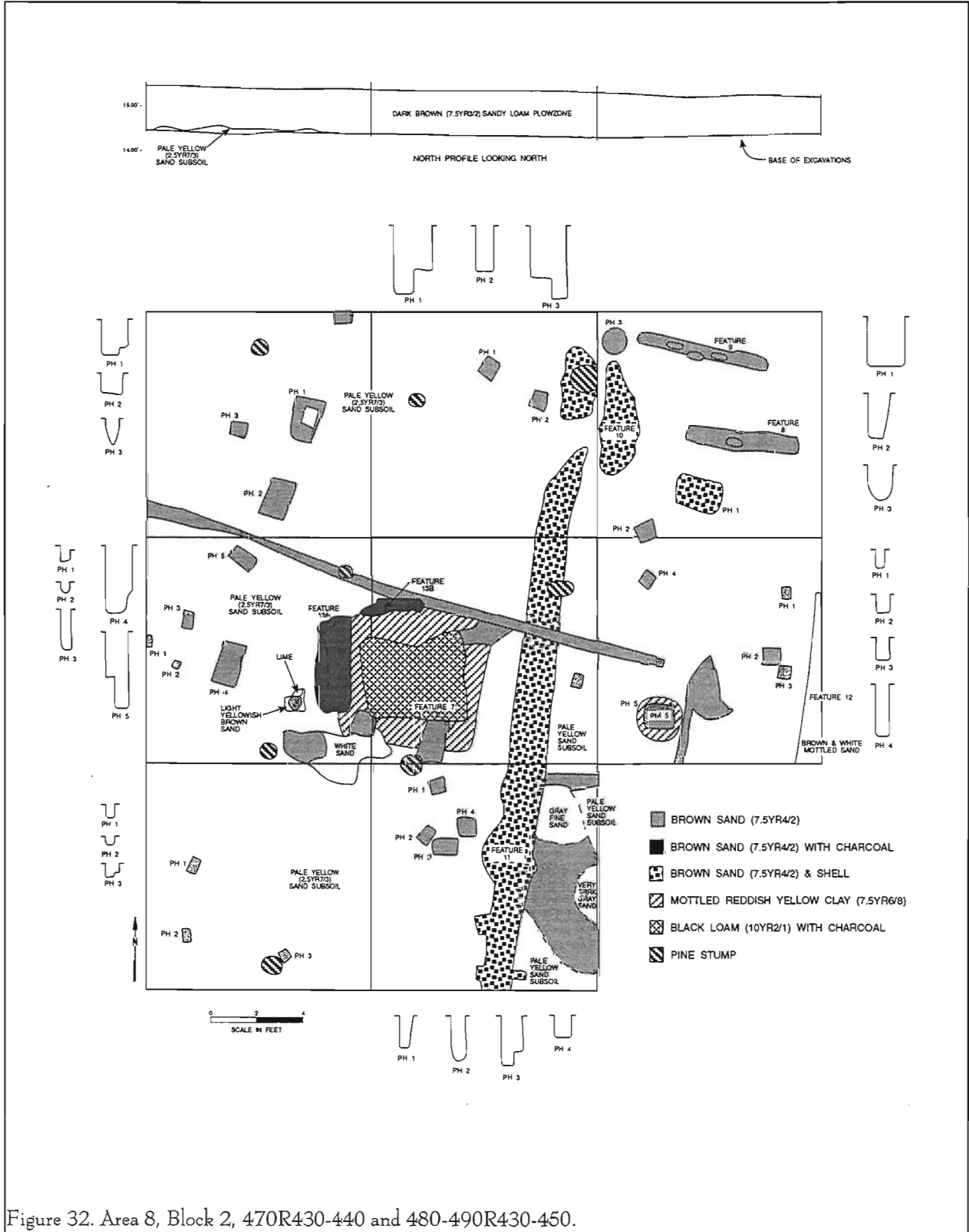


Figure 32. Area 8, Block 2, 470R430-440 and 480-490R430-450.

In spite of the brick, which we tend to associate with either chimneys or piers, we failed to identify any remains clearly nineteenth century in origin and, in fact, only probable eighteenth century wall trench structures were recovered. The most plausible explanation is that the nineteenth century structures were more archaeologically ephemeral than the earlier wall-trench buildings, with their brick piers and fire boxes only very shallowly set in the topsoil. It is likely that plowing, if not intentional robbing for brick salvage, destroyed any evidence of the nineteenth century slave dwellings.

Block 2 was equally as complex as Block 1, producing 28 post holes (with 25 being excavated in this work) and seven features (Features 7-13). Again agricultural activities resulted in a plowzone upwards of a foot in depth, overlying a place yellow sand subsoil. Plowscars were consistently oriented nearly east-west and were fairly closely spaced. In spite of the plowing intensity, depths of the scars rarely exceeded 0.2 foot. Moreover, as with Block 1 it was relatively easy to distinguish the mottled brown plowscars from the darker feature stains.

The features include sections of at least four different wall trench structures, a ditch, and a privy. Although many of the post holes, like in Block 1, don't seem to be related, there are several which appear to form one side of a probable nineteenth century structure raised on wood piers. Post holes 4 and 5 in 480R430 and post holes 1 and 2 in 490R430 are all about the same size and depth, representing placement of large massive posts. This likely represents the east side of a building since there are no similar posts in any of the units to the east. Representing about 7 feet of length, they are probably the gable end of a dwelling extending to the west.

Unfortunately none of the wall trench structures are complete, probably suffering damage from later nineteenth century activities at the site, as well as twentieth century agriculture. Nevertheless, they provide clear evidence of just how intensively this site was used in the eighteenth century, as well as indicating that the slave settlement went through several periods of rebuilding and adjustment, including a significant change in architectural form. At least one of the wall

trenches seems to be associated with a building too massive to represent a slave cabin. It may represent a barn or other utilitarian structure, suggesting that this building technique saw use beyond simple slave housing.

Also of considerable interest is the identification of a privy feature, dating from the late eighteenth century, in the middle of the slave settlement. Privies, most especially ones so well constructed, are rarely associated with slave settlements, so this feature seems unique. We considered the possibility that it might have been built for use by the British soldiers stationed at Roupelmond during the Revolution, but it seems unlikely that they would have established their garrison in the slave settlement. In addition, the trash being disposed of in this privy seems almost certainly associated with the slaves at Roupelmond.

Feature 7 was the most complex feature at the site. Large quantities of artifacts and darker, organic soil were encountered during the plowzone excavation, but the feature was not clearly defined until the top of the lighter colored subsoil. The feature was situated in the southwest quadrant of 480R440, although it extended west into 480R430. The feature was not immediately recognized as a privy and, in fact, was at first thought to represent some form of wattle and daub chimney support, although it was at a slightly different orientation than the wall trench features. It was only through the process of excavation that it became obvious that the feature was a privy pit.

A post hole in the northwest quadrant of the feature was first removed, then the north half was excavated by hand with the fill screened through ¼-inch mesh. This fill was a rich black loam with large quantities of charcoal, artifacts, brick and shell, removed as Zone 1. The number of artifacts increased dramatically as the depth increased. The brick was entirely rubble, although adhering fragments of lime mortar were also present. The shell was almost entirely large oysters. At the base of the black loam, about 2.5 feet from the base of the plowzone, we encountered a brown sand with a much reduced artifact content. This level was removed as Zone 2 and was found to have a depth of about 2 feet, terminating on a flat bottom, parts of which had preserved wood planking. This same

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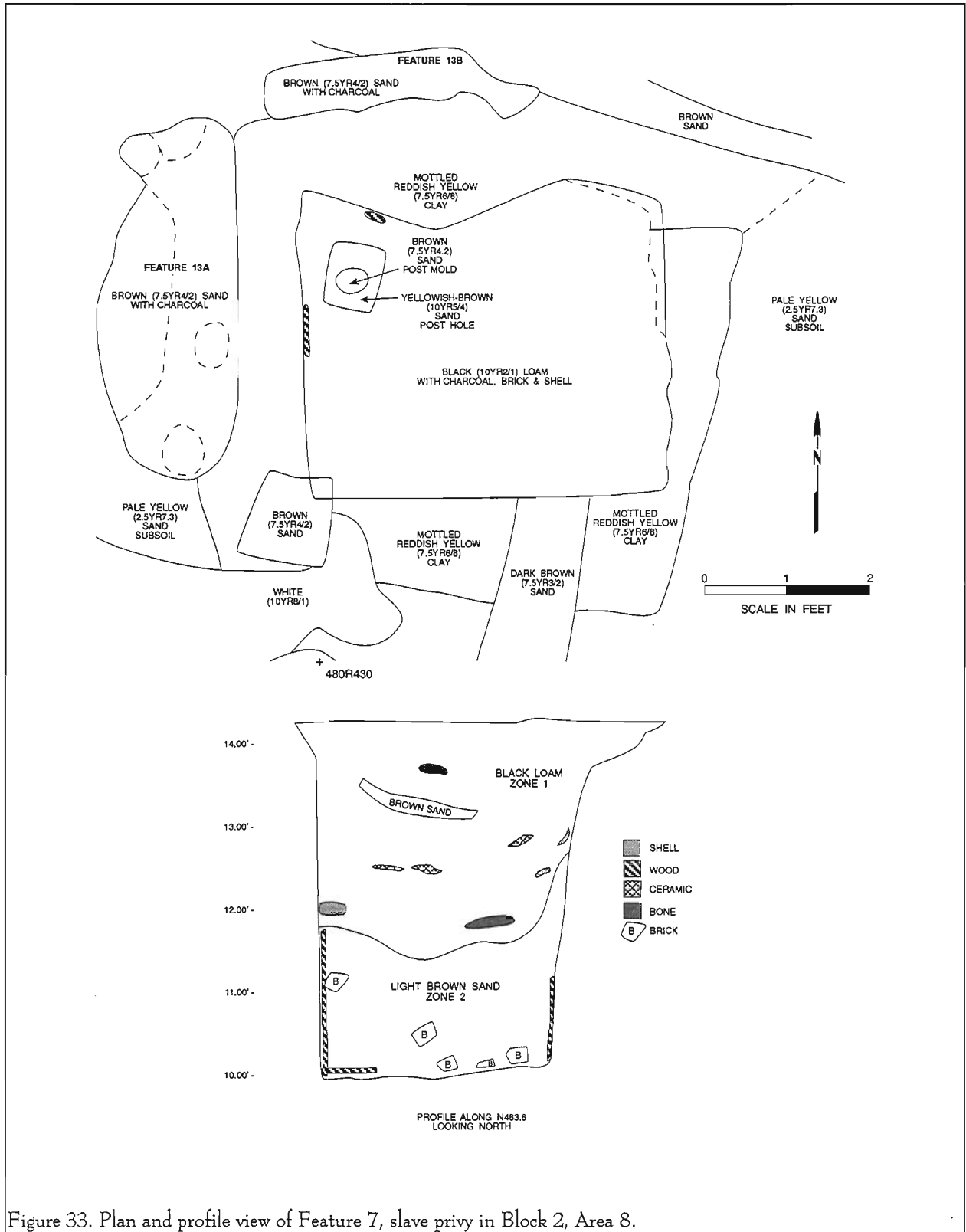


Figure 33. Plan and profile view of Feature 7, slave privy in Block 2, Area 8.

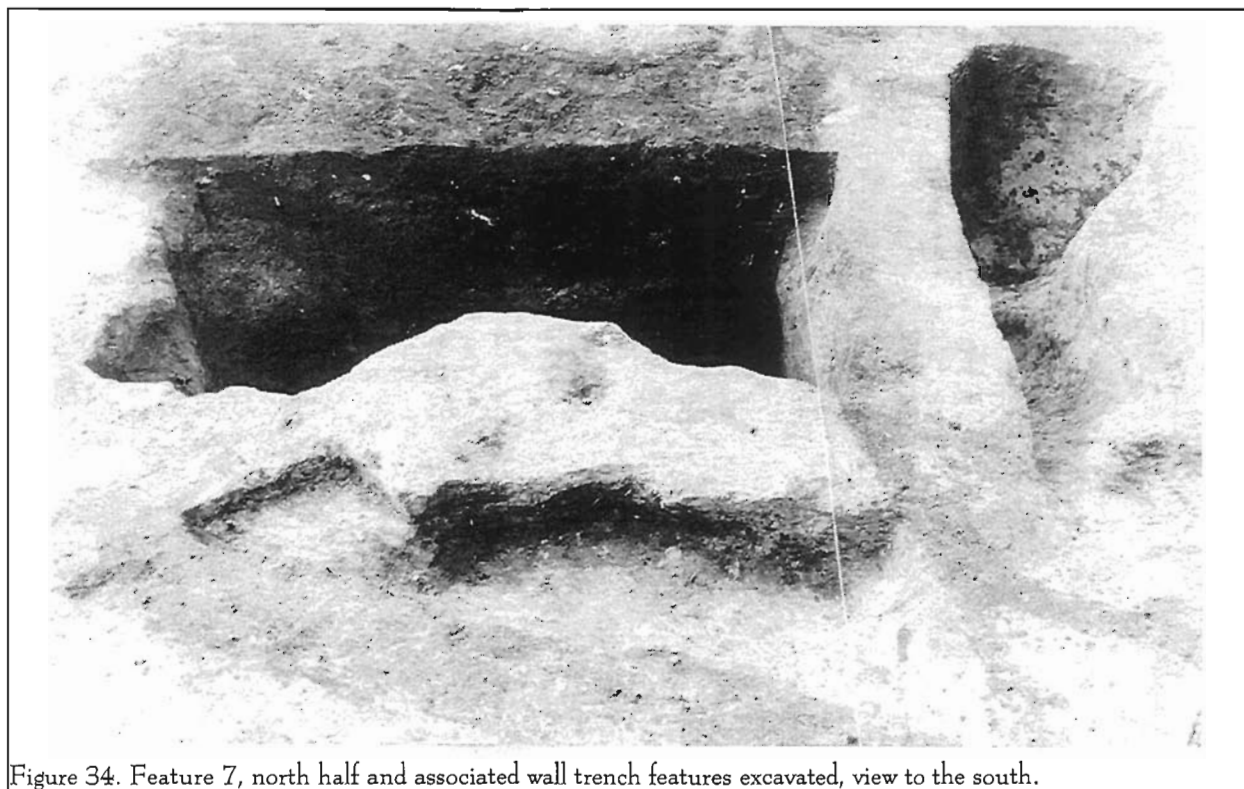


Figure 34. Feature 7, north half and associated wall trench features excavated, view to the south.

wood planking was encountered on much of the wall as the feature was cleaned. The lower 1.5 feet of Zone 2 appears to be privy soil — primarily a light brown sand with relatively few artifacts other than a number of brick fragments. These bricks, although largely disarticulated, appear to have been used to line the bottom of the pit once the wood rotted out.

Beyond the wood we found that the clay “collar” which seemed to surround the black central core of the pit was simply backfill put in after the wood box was in place. The box was made of very heavy 2x11-inch heart pine planks, which were preserved below the moist soil line. The box measure about 3.5 by 4.5 feet and was about 4.3 feet in depth (although it originally would have been about 5.3 feet in depth).

Surrounding the privy, on the north and west sides, are short wall trenches. It appears that the south wall trench has been obliterated by other features not related to the privy. We found no indication of a wall trench on the east side, suggesting that this may have been the doorway. It was this east side where we found

the pit partially caved in, probably from both use and water entry. The wall trenches likely supported some type of enclosure to provide privacy for the occupant.

The artifact assemblage from the privy is exceptional, including a range of ceramics (including Colono ware), glassware, kitchenware, tools, and personal items. Many of the items are relatively high status, such as portions of an engraved tumbler, while other remains are clearly work related, such as a hoe, rake, and scythe. Personal items include a bone comb, buckles, and buttons. Architectural remains include not only the bricks, but also window glass, hinge fragments, and portions of a lock box. The faunal remains include a number of species, although the most impressive is a near complete cow skull, as well as horns from several other cows. The material from the pit represents a cross section of the plantation — suggesting that at some point the privy was abandoned and used as a convenient spot for refuse disposal.

The datable European ceramics from Zone 2, which may provide a clue concerning the use period of

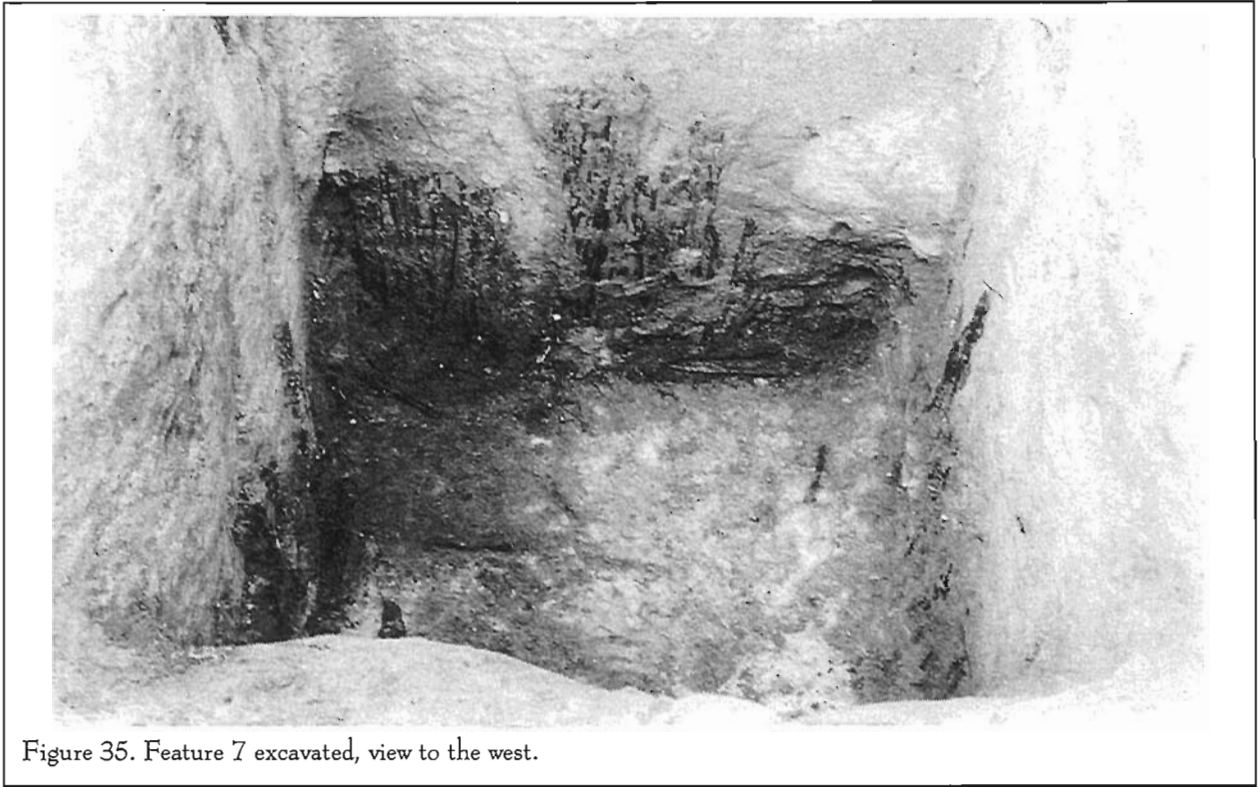


Figure 35. Feature 7 excavated, view to the west.

the privy, are dominated by creamwares, although both North Devon gravel tempered ware and also pearlware are present. The mean date for the small assemblage ($n=24$) is 1779 (Table 3). The presence of five undecorated pearlware ceramics, however, indicate that the privy must have been open and being used in 1780, although South's bracketing technique suggests the privy may have been used from about 1740 through 1795.

The assemblage from Zone 1 is far larger, accounting for 604 datable European ceramics. The mean date for the materials thought to have been incorporated into the feature as trash after it was no longer being used is 1791. The collection includes seven whitewares which provide a TPQ date of 1831. If these whitewares are discounted as representing intrusive materials from the plowzone or from animal disturbances (which were recognizable during excavations), the mean date is changed little, dropping back a single year to 1790. The terminal date, however, is changed to 1795. South's bracketing dates are 1765 through 1800.

This information suggests that the privy was perhaps in use as early as the middle of the eighteenth century. The damage to the wood floor, and the brick patching, suggest that it was used for a number of years — perhaps until the end of the eighteenth century, when it was abandoned and quickly filled up with plantation trash. This scenario indicates that the privy was associated with the slave settlement from its earliest inception — making it one of the most unique features discovered during the past 30 years of research at slave settlements in South Carolina.

Feature 8 was encountered at the base of the plow zone in the central portion of 490R450. During the initial investigation it appeared as a long, linear stain, somewhat like a plowscar, but at a different orientation (Figure 36). Upon excavation we found it to be fairly shallow (about 0.1 to 0.2 foot in depth), tapering toward the east end. About in the middle of the trench there was a post hole measuring 0.7 by 0.4 foot and extending an additional 0.3 foot in depth. The trench was out 0.8 foot in width and extended for 3.9 feet. It appears that this feature represents a deep

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portion of a wall trench, most of which has been plowed out. The trench produced a small quantity of ceramics, including white salt glazed stoneware, creamware, and pearlware.

wall trench sections, however, this one did not contain any post holes. Artifacts included Colono ware, lead glazed slipware, creamware, and pearlware, as well as a

Feature 9 is a trench similar to Feature 8 and was found at the base of the plowzone in the northern third of 490R450. The trench measured 5.9 feet in length and exhibited a maximum width of 0.5 foot. At its deepest it was 0.3 feet. Three distinct post holes were found in the base of the trench, each rectangular to ovoid and measuring about 0.7 by 0.3 foot. The central post was the deepest, about 0.6 foot, with the two on either side ranging from 0.1 to 0.2 foot. This wall trench section produced only three fragmented nails.

Feature 10 was found at the base of the plowzone in the western third of 490R450. It had a somewhat irregular shape and was heavily impacted by pine tree roots from the west. Nevertheless, when excavated it was found to be fairly shallow, about 0.4 foot, and to slope up at both ends. The length is 5.0 feet and the width, nearly 1.7 feet in the center, is likely the result of root intrusion and smearing. Unlike the other

single example of window glass and five nail fragments.

Table 3.
Mean Ceramic Date for Feature 7

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	Zone 1		Zone 2	
			(fi)	fi x xi	(fi)	fi x ix
Canton porcelain	1800-1830	1815	2	3630		
OG hand painted	1660-1800	1730	1	1730		
UG blue hp porcelain	1660-1800	1730	13	22490	1	1730
Westerwald	1700-1775	1738	3	5214		
White SG	1740-1775	1758	10	17580		
White SG, scratch bl	1744-1775	1760	1	1760	1	1758
Black basalt	1750-1820	1785	1	1785		
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	33	57189	2	3466
Jackfield	1740-1780	1760	1	1760		
Decorated delft	1600-1802	1750	7	12250		
Plain delft	1640-1800	1720	3	5160	1	1720
North Devon	1650-1775	1713	3	5139	1	1713
CW, annular	1780-1815	1798	6	10788		
undecorated	1762-1820	1791	323	578493	13	23283
PW, poly hp	1795-1815	1805	19	34295		
blue hp	1780-1820	1800	19	34200		
blue tp	1795-1840	1818	70	127260		
edged	1780-1830	1805	12	21660		
annular/cable	1790-1820	1805	11	19855		
undecorated	1780-1830	1805	59	106495	5	9025
WW, blue edged	1826-1880	1853	1	1853		
blue tp	1831-1865	1848	1	1848		
undecorated	1813-1900	1860	5	9300		

Zone 1: with whiteware, $1,081,734 \div 604 = 1790.9$
without whiteware, $1,068,733 \div 597 = 1790.2$

Zone 2: $42,695 \div 24 = 1778.9$

OG = overglazed; UG = under glazed; SG = salt glazed; hp = hand painted;
tp = transfer printed

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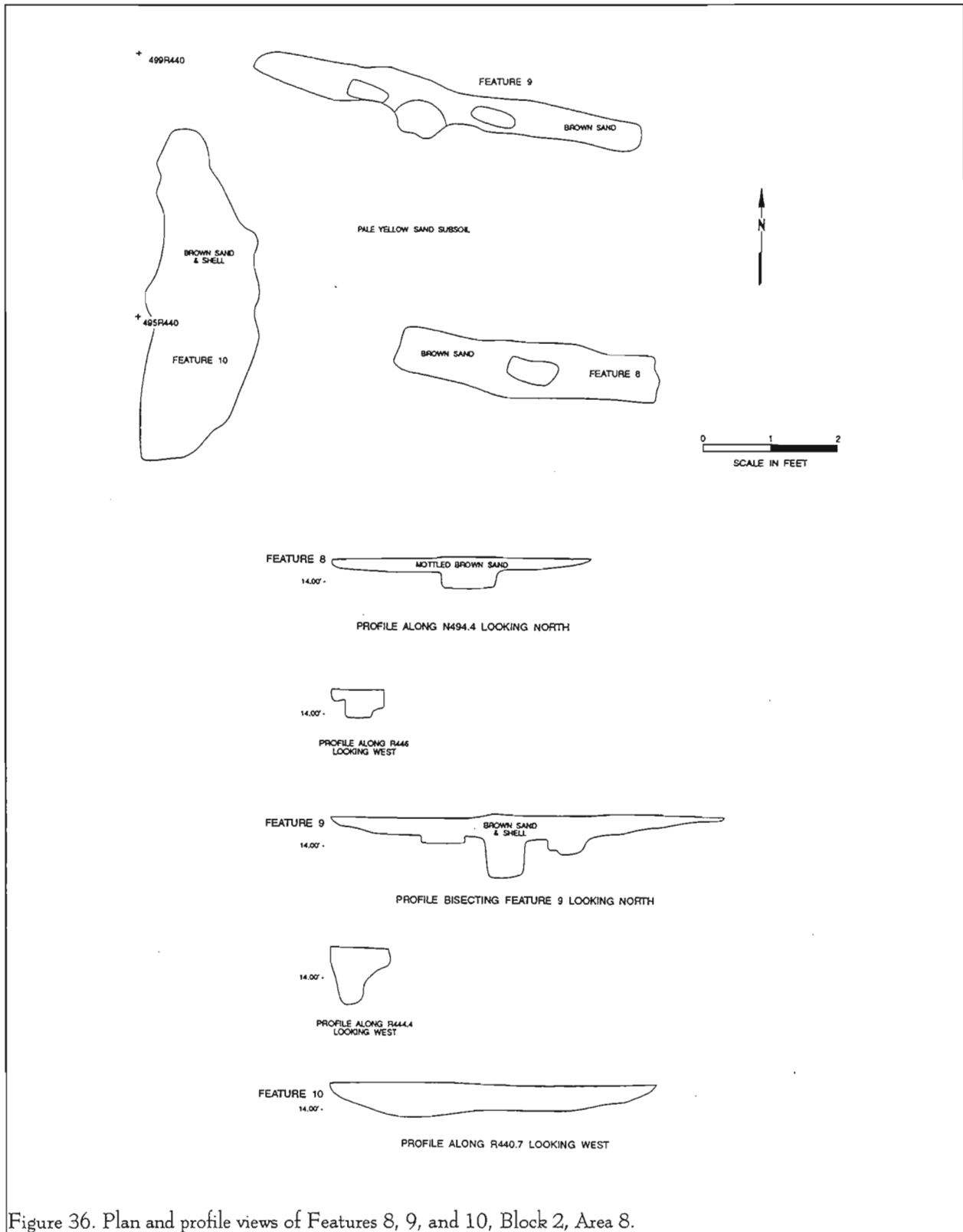


Figure 36. Plan and profile views of Features 8, 9, and 10, Block 2, Area 8.

EXCAVATIONS

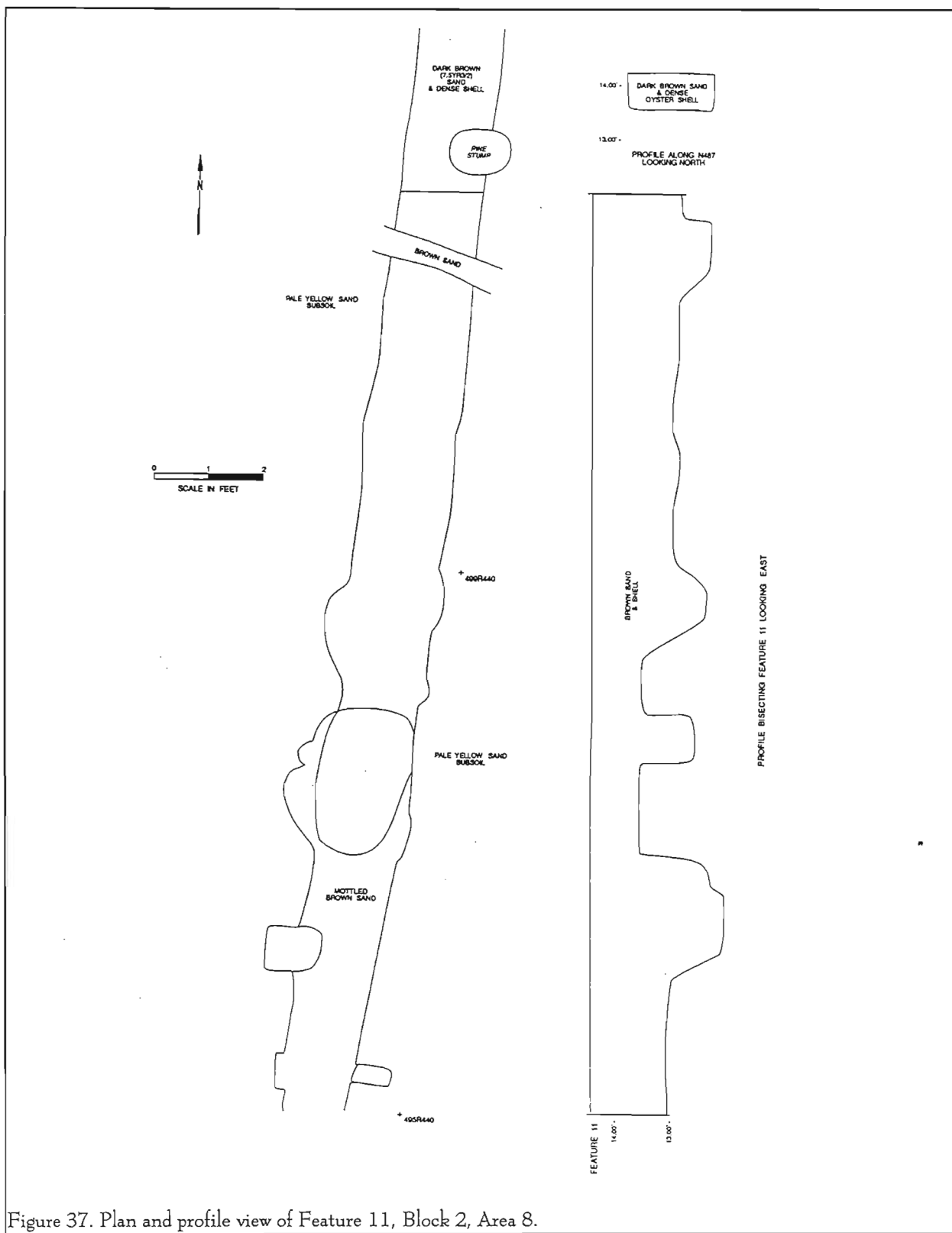


Figure 37. Plan and profile view of Feature 11, Block 2, Area 8.

Feature 11 was encountered at the base of the plowzone beginning in 470R440 and extending northerly to 490R440 (Figure 37). It was recognized by its mottled brown fill and had a width ranging from about 1.2 to 2.2 feet. Upon excavation we found that it also had fairly straight sides and a generally flat bottom, with a depth of about 0.8 foot. In two areas there were very large posts set into the base of the trench, as well as several additional posts on the edges of the trench. These posts are at about 2 feet intervals and range from 0.2 to 0.5 foot deeper than the trench itself. Artifacts were most abundant in the southern half of the trench, where the fill consisted of mottled and lens soils in the upper 0.2 foot, followed by dark brown to black soil. Also present were a number of brick fragments and lumps of lime. In the northern section of the trench the soil is largely replaced by large quantities of oyster shells. The shells are largely singles, although a few clumps are present.

The artifacts from the feature include a range of European ceramics as well as Colono ware, glass container fragments, kitchenware, wrought nail fragments, and tobacco pipe fragments. Also present were a number of animal bone fragments, largely representing larger species. When the ceramics are examined, they yield a mean date of 1742 (Table 4), although South's bracketing technique suggests materials spanning the period from about 1740 through 1800. The TPQ for the feature is 1795, based on one fragment of blue transfer printed pearlware.

It seems likely that this feature represents a section of a wall trench, although the building represented was likely far larger and more substantial than a slave cabin. Based solely on the massiveness of the trench and associated posts, this building may have been a barn or storage structure of some kind. Although it is difficult to determine when it was constructed, the fill appears to be rubble used to close the trench once the building was demolished. The TPQ and upper end of South's bracket, then, likely dates when the building was removed from service — about 1800.

Feature 12 was encountered at the base of the plowzone along the east wall of 480R450, bisected by the R450 profile. The feature was at a slight angle to the unit, but roughly parallel to Feature 11, which

Table 4.
Mean Ceramic Date for Feature 11

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
UG blue hp porcelain	1660-1800	1730	5	8680
White SG	1740-1775	1758	2	3516
White SG, scratch bl	1744-1775	1760	5	8800
Black basalt	1750-1820	1785	1	1785
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	21	36393
Decorated delft	1600-1802	1750	2	3500
Plain delft	1640-1800	1720	3	5160
CW, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	1	1791
PW, blue tp	1795-1840	1818	1	1818
$71,413 \div 41 = 1741.8$				
UG = under glazed; SG = salt glazed; tp = transfer printed				

suggested that the two might be associated. Upon excavation, however, it became clear that this was some sort of ditch. The exposed portion measures about 7.5 feet in length and upwards of a foot in width. We thought that it might represent agricultural drainage since the fill was lensed, but upon close examination we discovered that the lensing was more akin to heaped basket loading than to thin lenses of water laid sand. It appears that the trench, about 0.6 to 0.8 foot in depth below the subsoil, was both excavated and backfilled when there were relatively few artifacts present on the site. The fill contains only three small Colono ware sherds, one white salt glazed stoneware ceramic, two gray salt glazed stonewares, and one red earthenware with a clear lead glaze. Also present were five nail fragments and a single pipe stem fragment. The fill includes a humic brown sand and also a white sand, probably from a deep excavation into the subsoil.

Although the function of this feature is unclear, it was likely the earliest in the block and may have been agricultural in nature; being filled in as the land was devoted to the slave settlement.

Feature 13 was identified at the base of the plowzone. Feature 13A was found at the east edge of 480R430 on the west edge of the privy (Feature 7), while Feature 13B was situated on the north edge of the privy in the northwest quadrant of 480R440. These two features were removed after the north half of Feature 7 had been excavated and we were better able to distinguish them from the surrounding matrix. Feature 13A had three very distinct posts in the wall trench, while Feature 13B was more difficult to interpret since it had been intruded on its north edge by a plow scar and its east end was not well defined. Nevertheless, we believe that these two wall trenches represent walls around the privy, with the southern wall being lost to intrusive disturbances and the east side probably being open or serving as a doorway. Although we might be tempted to interpret these walls as providing privacy (which they likely did), it seems equally likely that they were intended to support a roof system to protect the privy itself from flooding during heavy rains.

Area 8 Summary

Prior to the slave settlement, perhaps several hundred years or more earlier, this area appears to have had a Native American settlement. The proximity to the marshes of Whale Branch almost certainly provided an incentive for the settlement, but what is most interesting is that at least one burial took place. Whether it was associated with a dwelling cannot be determined. In fact, four to five hundred years of use and plowing have significantly truncated the burial, leaving behind perhaps only 20% of the original pit. Nevertheless, its discovery documents that the tract was intensively exploited long before European settlement. It may even have been the abandoned old fields of the Native Americans which initially attracted historic settlement to this site. The presence of one historic feature containing very few artifacts suggests that the area may initially have been planted before being converted to a slave settlement.

The excavations in Area 8 opened a large area

of the eighteenth century slave settlement at Roupelmond. Although heavily plowed and later converted to planted pine, this portion of the site documents the presence of multiple wall trench slave houses. These structures, which consisted of a trench, filled with posts, wattled, with the walls perhaps finally protected by daub or dried clay, were oriented west-northwest by east-southeast in both blocks, suggesting that they formed a linear arrangement. The best preserved suggests a measurement about 13 feet in width and something in excess of 18 feet in length. The number of different wall trench segments also suggests that these ephemeral structures were frequently rebuilt, but continued to occupy this portion of the plantation throughout the eighteenth century.

There is also one wall trench that suggests something larger, and more substantial, than that of a slave cabin. It may have represented a store house, or a utility building, although its orientation was consistent with that of the slave dwellings.

In addition to the wall trench structures, the excavations also reveal something of daily life in the eighteenth century slave row. Although no hearths were found, we did recover a cat burial which was probably associated with one of the dwellings. This feature suggests that the animal was carefully buried; whether this represents some ritual association, as has been suggested, or simply respect for a beloved pet, is unknown, but it does begin to help us see these eighteenth century African Americans as real people.

This slave row also revealed something which is very uncommon — a privy apparently intended solely for the use of the slave population. Well constructed using very solid heart pine planks, it was even surrounded by a wall trench structure, perhaps for privacy or perhaps to protect the privy from the weather and flooding. It seems to have been used throughout the mid to late eighteenth century, probably being cleaned out, and repaired, on at least one occasion.

The excavation blocks also reveal a range of post holes, most of which are interpreted to be historic in origin. Although it isn't possible with most to distinguish eighteenth from nineteenth century post

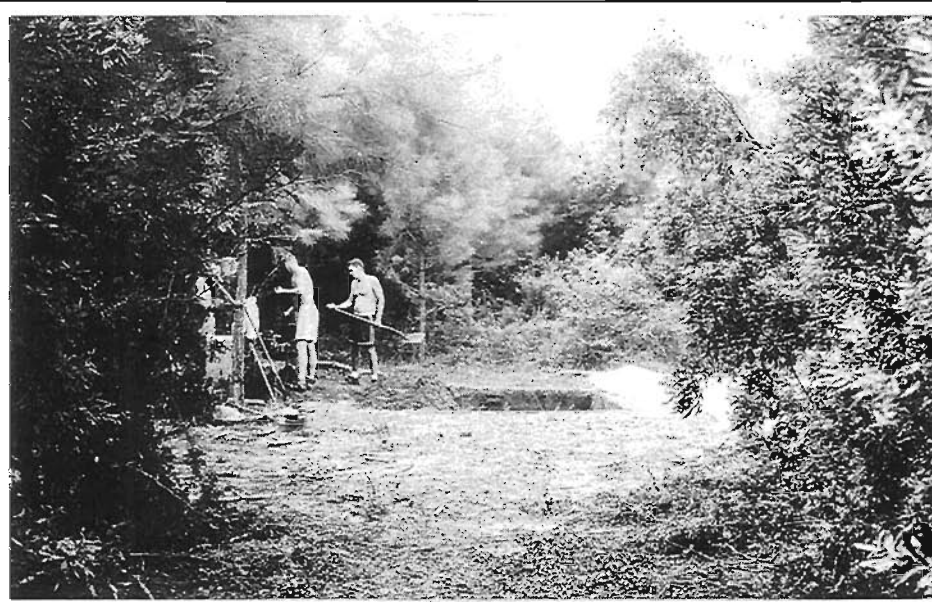


Figure 38. Area of Block 3, view to the west from the dirt farm road.

holes, it seems likely that most are from the earlier period, based on the relatively sparse materials present in their fill (i.e., they were probably dug, and rotted out, being filled by surface soils, prior to there being dense artifacts present at the site). These posts are probably associated with a range of activities which took place in the African American yards — preparing foods, cooking, and perhaps even washing and drying of clothes. Some may be remnants of fences to protect garden spots or enclose animals.

By the last decade of the eighteenth century or perhaps the first decade of the nineteenth century, the slave settlement saw considerable change. The “old” style of wall trench architecture was abandoned in favor of houses built on large posts. The change seen at Roupelmoond, of course, echoes the changes which were occurring throughout the South Carolina low country as slave dwellings were “improved.” In spite of the drastic architectural change, the slave settlement retained its slightly off east-west orientation.

Unfortunately, little of this change is still seen today. In spite of the improvements of greater space, a raised floor, and probably a built-in chimney, these structures were in many respects even more ephemeral than the earlier ground-fast wall-trench buildings. Years of plowing have largely obliterated the post hole patterns

and only one was still partially preserved. The structure was perhaps 13 feet in width at the gable end.

Although additional information on slave life is provided by the analysis of the artifacts (in the following section), the archaeological record has already provided considerable information about the site, helping us to address questions of site architecture, refuse disposal, and activity areas.

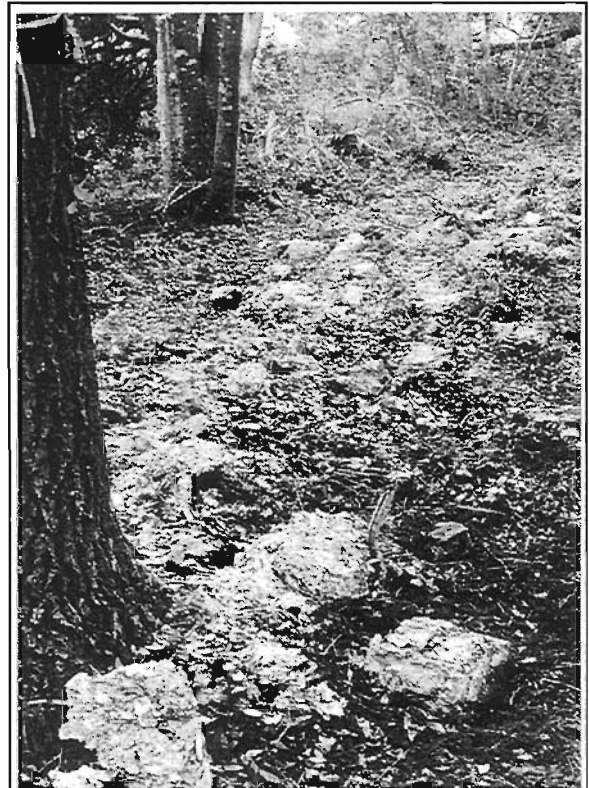


Figure 39. Rubble along the marsh edge near Block 3, Area 7

Area 7, Block 3, The Main House

Reference to Figures 22 and 24 reveals that Block 3 consisted of 400 square feet situated just inland from the marsh edge in an area exhibiting fairly dense shell and rubble after bush hogging (Figure 38).

Not only did this seem, based on comparison with the sketch maps and Coastal Survey map, to be the vicinity of the main house, it was also in very close proximity to a range of rubble found along the marsh edge (Figure 39). The materials formed a long, albeit intermittent, line of rubble debris. Unfortunately, as this rubble was cleared of vegetation we became increasingly convinced that it represented materials pushed, drug, or carried there from the adjacent agricultural field. As agricultural endeavors became aggressive, there was an effort to remove all obstacles to easy cultivation. As a result, excavations was focused on the interior field area, rather than the marsh edge.

Our investigation found that the materials included bricks, many with shell-lime mortar and some still bonded to one another. Also present were sections of tabby.² The materials available appear to represent relatively thin wall sections, although they were so fragmented that it was difficult to distinguish pour lines. Some of the tabby had a stucco coat still tightly adhering and, on this stucco, were scored lines to make the tabby appear like ashlar block construction. It is clear that at least some portion of the main house was constructed of tabby. Even more prevalent, however, were blocks and chunks of coquina. These were also apparently used as building material, although it was unclear if, at this site, they were laid up like blocks and then parged, or if they were used in some other fashion.

Excavations in Block 3 formed a "L"-shaped trench, opening 400 square feet. The units revealed a dark brown sandy loam plowzone ranging in depth from about 0.9 to 1.2 feet. At the base of the plowzone was usually a heavily mottled brownish yellow clay sand

Table 5.
Brick and Shell Weights for Area 7,
Block 3

Unit	Weight in pounds	
	Rubble	Shell
980R980	581	20
990R980	470	18
990R990	277	12
990R1000	307	12

subsoil. In areas this subsoil was a mottled very pale brown or a mottled very dark grayish brown, but the one consistency was that features and post holes in this area were far harder to distinguish than in Area 8, where the subsoil was more uniformly lighter in color. Another distinctive feature was the high proportion of clay in the subsoil, which held moisture, making screening difficult and the adjacent road impassable at times.

Excavations revealed only a sparse scatter of shell throughout the units, although building rubble was very dense (Table 5) and appeared to become even more dense to the south — suggesting that we may have been on the very edge of the main house area. The rubble included brick fragments, mortar, tabby, and pieces of coquina. Although nail fragments and window glass were common, intact architectural hardware was exceedingly uncommon, providing us with the first suggestion that the house may have been stripped prior to its final collapse. Unlike the slave settlement, early to mid-eighteenth century remains are relatively uncommon in this area and the artifact assemblage was dominated by nearly equal quantities of creamware, pearlware, and whiteware — suggesting a late eighteenth and early nineteenth century occupation.

The block excavation revealed 13 post holes, all of which were excavated. In spite of the heavy cultivation (plow scars were found going in two different directions), many of these post holes were well defined and most were exceedingly deep, suggestive of fairly massive supports. In fact, six of these posts seem to form three distinct lines, including a corner with an

² Tabby is a building material composed of shells and lime. Mixed with water to form a slurry, it was poured into forms, such like concrete is formed today. When set the forms were removed and another layer could be added. Each "rise" or layer was usually between 1.5 and 2.0 feet in depth.

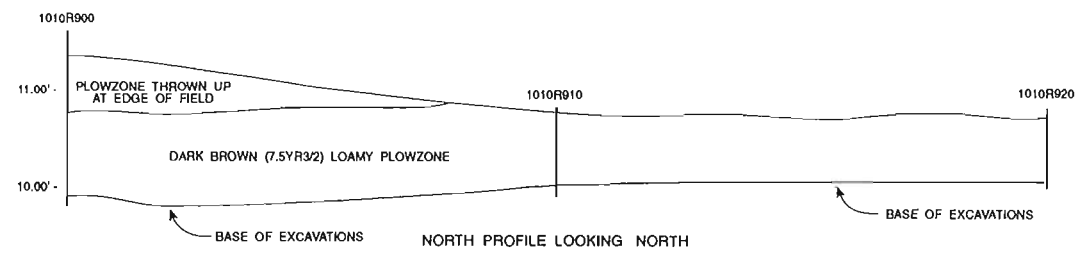
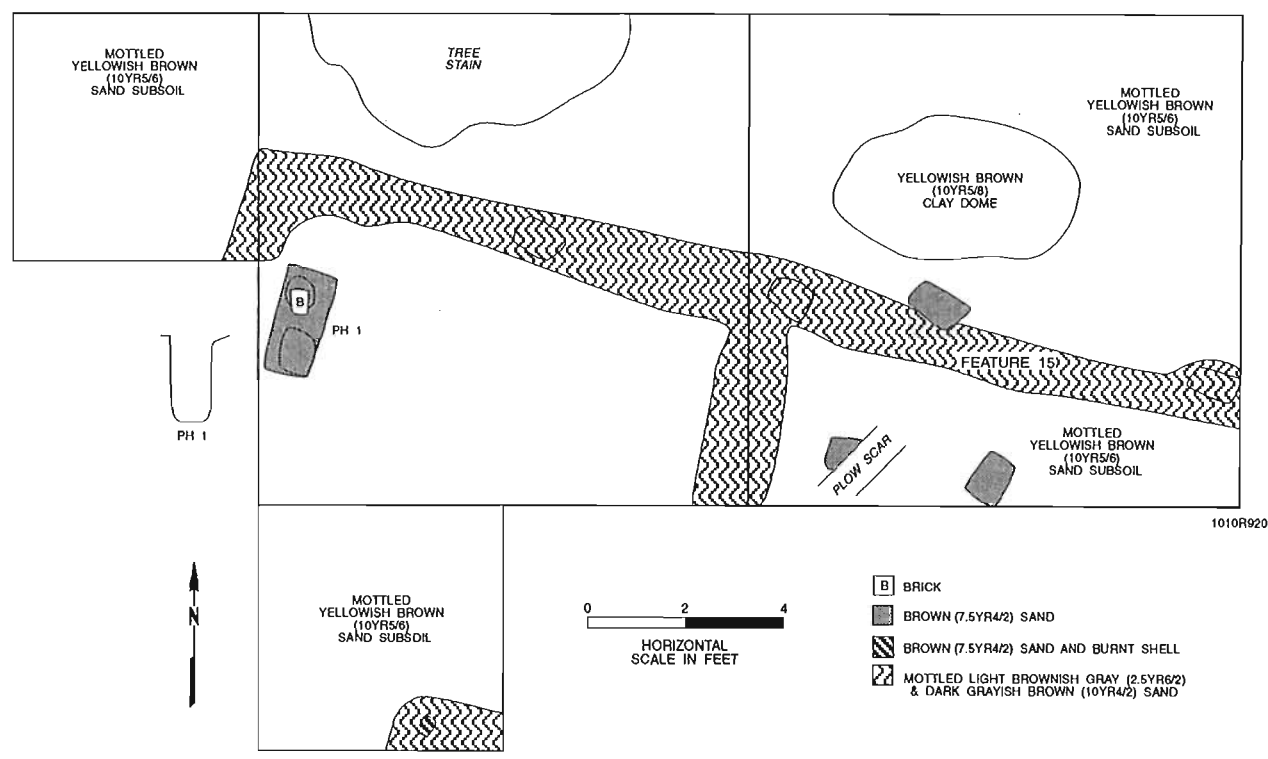


Figure 41. Plan and profile of Block 4 in Area 7, 1015R900, 1005R905, 1010R910-920.

association extension.³ While this arrangement is unusual, it might reflect a corner of a flanker joining onto a main building core. What is far more unusual is the presence of the posts at all. In tabby/coquina/brick construction there should be no need for wooden posts. Although these may represent a wood porch, no such feature is shown on the historic drawings of the building. It seems more likely, therefore, that the post holes represent scaffolding used in the construction of the house. Although not consistently found, such scaffolding has been documented often enough for us to be confident that it was frequently used. This seems far more appropriate use for deeply set posts than anything associated with the actual house.

No features were encountered in Block 3, although there were several vague and amorphous stains in the unit. These appear to be either associated with old trees or to represent ill-defined agricultural staining. None, however, exhibited increased artifact density or other attributes of a cultural feature.

Area 7, Block 4

This block was opened up based on our review of the plantation sketch map, which suggested that the servant's quarters might be in this general area. A total of 250 square feet were eventually opened northwest of Block 3 (Figure 41), revealing a wall trench structure, but no clear evidence for the nineteenth century structure we were seeking.

Excavations revealed a dark brown loamy plowzone about a foot in depth overlying a mottled yellowish-brown sandy clay subsoil. Like elsewhere on the site there were occasional clay domes or pockets naturally occurring in the subsoil. Since these units



Figure 42. Feature 15 after excavation, view to the east.

were just beyond the old agricultural fields, on the edge of the woods overlooking the marsh, we found that a portion of the area was covered with old plowzone that had been thrown out of the field as plows turned, creating a particularly deep area of plowed soils along the western edge of the units. We also found that the area north of the current agricultural fields had also been plowed in the past, suggesting that the current agricultural field had grown slightly smaller as some land on the marsh edge was taken out of cultivation. This is confirmed by the relatively recent age of many of the trees in the area, few of which are older than perhaps 40 years.

The excavations found the plowzone considerably reduced levels of both rubble and shell when compared to block 3. Unit 1010R910 yielded only 104 pounds of rubble, largely brick and coquina

³ The similar post holes include PH2 in 980R980, PHs 1, 4, and 5 in 990R980, PH 2 in 990R990, and PH 1 in 990R1000. Not only are all of these post holes similar in diameter and depth, but those containing materials all appear to date from about the same time period.

fragments, and 7 pounds of shell. Unit 1010R920 produced 127 pounds of rubble and 5 pounds of shell. This, combined with the relatively steady artifact density, suggested to us that we had failed to identify the servant's quarters since they appeared to be of similar construction as the main house.

In troweling the units we discovered that although few post holes were present in this area, we had uncovered another wall trench structure, exposing the north wall, a central partition wall, and what we thought might be a portion of the northwest corner. As a result two additional 5-foot units were excavated, one at 1015R900, which served to fully expose the northwest corner, and another at 1005R905, which revealed a small section of the south wall, including a clearly defined post in the wall trench.

This stain was designated **Feature 15** and was excavated by hand to reveal a trench about 0.3 foot in depth. The central partition was more shallow, about 0.15 foot, where it joined the main wall trench, but appeared to have been intruded by a tree to the south, where it became considerably deeper. A series of four well defined post holes were excavated as part of the trench — two in the center of the trench and two just on the trench edge (Figure 42). The south wall was less well defined, but this is likely because of both more aggressive plowing and also because the unit fell in the farm road where it probably suffered additional damage from leaching and

compaction. Nevertheless, this southern wall also revealed a post hole and similar mottled light brownish gray and dark grayish brown sand fill. The post hole in southern wall trench section was the only one to contain shell in the fill.

Based on the available information it is likely that the structure measures about 24 feet in length and between 12 and 13 feet in width. Each compartment would have measured about 12 feet square, providing 144 square feet of floor space.

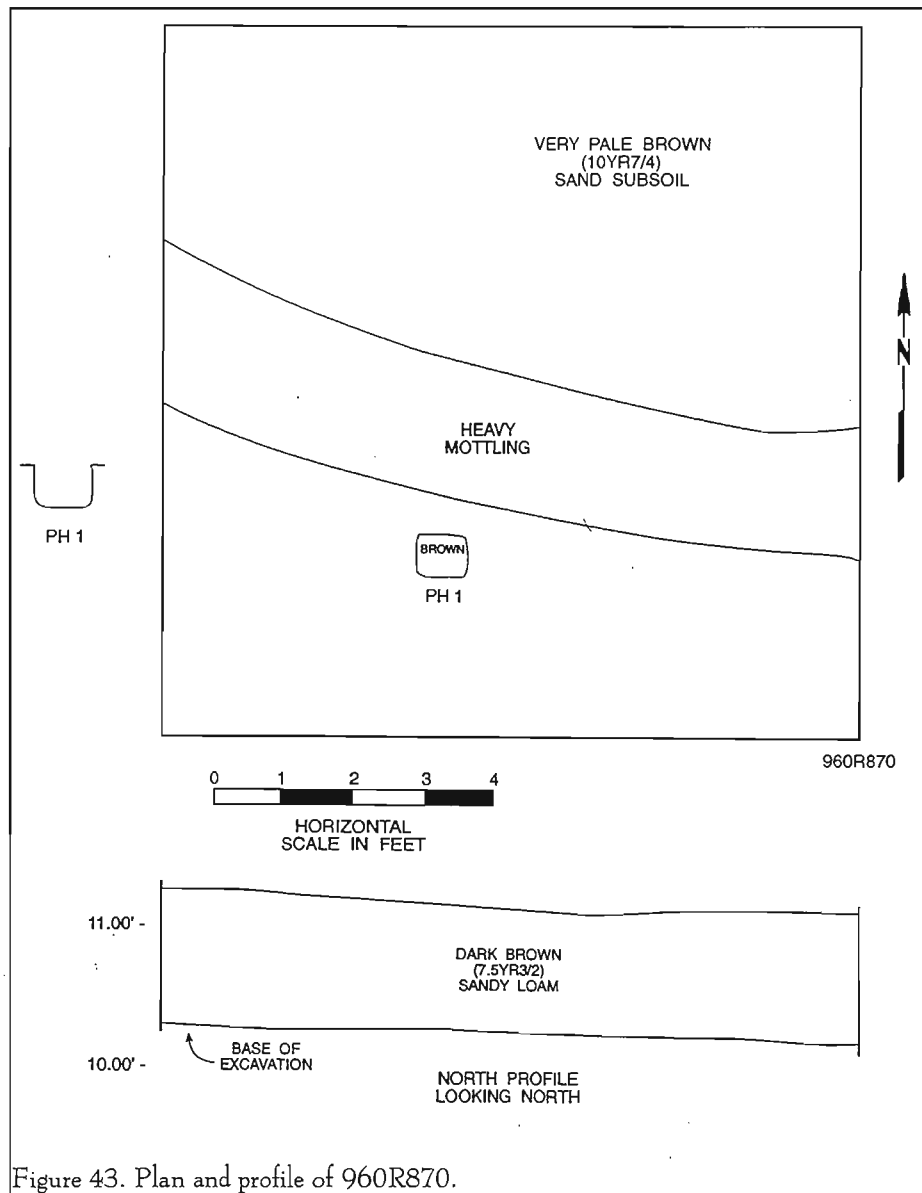


Figure 43. Plan and profile of 960R870.

When we were unable to identify the servant's quarters in this block we re-evaluated the sketch plan of the plantation and wondered if they might actually be situated further inland and to the west — at the “crest” of the marsh cut.⁴ As a result we opened one last unit, 960R870, administratively lumped with Block 4.

This unit, a single 10-foot square, revealed a dark brown sandy loam plowzone about a foot in depth overlying a very pale brown sand subsoil (Figure 43). The unit produced modest amounts of shell (24 pounds) and brick rubble (68 pounds) and the artifacts failed to suggest any definite association with a structure. Nevertheless, the unit did reveal a single post hole and an enigmatic stain running roughly east-west which appears to be another wall trench structure. Unfortunately there was not enough time to investigate this stain.

Area 7 Summary

At first glance Area 7 appears to have provided considerably less information about the main plantation than Area 8 provided for the slave settlement, but that is not actually the case. We were not fortunate enough to actually identify any of the main settlement buildings, although we did uncover a large quantity of architectural rubble and probably a portion of the scaffold used to create the main house.

These findings provide us with some information on the main house. For example, we know that tabby, coquina, and brick were used in its construction. The combination of these materials suggests that the house may have been built at several different time periods — the tabby and coquina being used initially when financial resources were limited, but slave labor was readily available. This earlier structure was stuccoed or parged, then scored to make it resemble

ashlar construction. Later, as financial resources were more abundant, some additional features were added in brick.

The excavations also fail to reveal any evidence of burning. This suggests that while the main plantation was certainly targeted by Confederate gunners, it is unlikely that the house was gutted or seriously damaged as a direct result of the Civil War. This helps confirm the cartographic evidence, which indicates that at least one large plantation building stood throughout the late nineteenth century. The archaeological work also suggests that this building was probably extensively salvaged — leaving very few architectural artifacts to find their way into the archaeological record.

It seems most likely that the house was intentionally removed from the landscape to allow easier plowing. Large amounts of debris were hauled or pushed to the edge of the field and this activity may have helped reduce plowing at the edge of the field. The disarticulated materials seen in the woods today are the result of this activity.

The presence of what we think may be scaffolding post holes almost certainly supports construction using durable materials such as tabby or brick. Frame construction likely could have taken place with ladders, but the setting of forms or the need to lay brick would probably require the placement of a scaffold.

The archaeological investigations also reveal that wall trench structures were also constructed in the main plantation area. These eighteenth century buildings were probably used by the slaves serving the main house, although they may also have been used for other plantation support buildings, such as the kitchen or storage buildings.

While we certainly did not encounter the diversity in the main house area that we found in the slave settlement, considerable information was recovered. Moreover, it is likely that much additional material remains preserved underground — hopefully in a section of the proposed school which will be preserved for future generations.

⁴ Compare Figures 14 and 24; we felt that the east-west dimension of the Stuart map (Figure 14) was slightly distorted since we had failed to identify any archaeological materials as far west as the sketch map would suggest (see Figure 3). Of course it is possible that many of the plantation structures have eroded into the marsh, creating the large mass of archaeological debris visible at low tide. Alternatively, this debris may simply reflect trash disposal into the marsh.

ARTIFACTS

Introduction

This section is intended to provide an overview of the material culture present at Roupelmond Plantation. Since the excavations were conducted by designated blocks at both the main plantation and the slave settlement, these discussions are also organized in this manner, although we have tried to combine blocks where possible since this tends to provide a better "flow" of information. A general overview of the recovered artifacts, their contribution toward architectural or feature reconstructions, mean ceramic dating, artifact pattern analysis, and exploration of status indicators (including, where appropriate, Miller's indices) are provided for each site area. The only artifacts not included in the detailed discussions (but, for example, included in the artifact patterns) are the Colono wares, which are discussed in greater detail in a following section of this study. At the conclusion of this section there is a summary, which draws together the different areas at Roupelmond and offers more generalized observations concerning the artifacts and their contribution to our understanding of the occupation at the plantation.

Laboratory Processing and Conservation

The cleaning of artifacts was conducted in Columbia, after the conclusion of the excavations. Cataloging and analysis of the specimens was conducted intermittently during 1998. Conservation treatments have been conducted by Chicora personnel at the Columbia laboratory intermittently during the same period, being completed in early 1999.

All items were evaluated for conservation needs and at the time of our study the brass items were all stable, exhibiting no active bronze disease. These items were packed in the same manner as other specimens.

The only ferrous items identified as requiring conservation treatment were tested with a magnetic and

found to consist of relatively sound metal. They were subjected to electrolytic reduction in a bath of sodium carbonate solution in currents no greater than 5 volts for a period of 10 to 40 days. When all visible corrosion was removed, the artifacts were wire brushed and placed in a series of deionized water soaks for the removal of soluble chlorides. When the artifacts tested free of chlorides (at a level less than 0.1 ppm, or 2 μ mhos/cm using a conductivity meter), they were dewatered in an acetone bath and allowed to air dry under low humidity conditions (\leq 35% RH) for 24 hours. A series of phosphoric (10% v/v) and tannic (20% w/v) acid solutions were then applied. The artifacts were air dried for an additional 24 hours and coated with a 10% solution (w/v) of acryloid B-72 in toluene.

As previously discussed, the materials have been accepted for curation by the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. The collection has been cataloged using this institution's accessioning practices. Specimens were packed in plastic bags and boxed. Field notes were prepared on pH neutral, alkaline buffered paper and photographic materials were processed to archival standards. All original field notes, with archival copies, are also curated with these facilities. All materials have been delivered to the curatorial facility.

Analyses

Analysis of the collections followed professionally accepted standards with a level of intensity suitable to the quantity and quality of the remains. Prehistoric pottery was uncommon in these investigations (and outside the scope of the research plan), so it is only briefly examined. The temporal, cultural, and typological classifications of the historic remains follow such authors as Cushion (1976), Godden (1964, 1985), Miller (1980, 1991), Noël Hume (1978), Norman-Wilcox (1965), Peirce (1988), Price (1970), South (1977), and Walton (1976). Glass

artifacts were identified using sources such as Jones (1986), Jones and Sullivan (1985), McKearin and McKearin (1972), McNally (1982), Smith (1981), Vose (1975), and Warren (1970). Additional references, especially for the Colono wares, will be discussed in the following section.

The analysis system used South's (1977) functional groups as an effort to subdivide historic assemblages into groups which could reflect behavioral categories. Initially developed for eighteenth-century British colonial assemblages, this approach appears to be an excellent choice for the Roupelmond collection. Although criticized for problems in sample comparability (see, for example, Joseph 1989), even the system's detractors note that:

whatever its flaws, the value of artifact patterning lies in the fact that it is a universally recognized method for organizing large collections of artifactual data in a manner which can be easily understood and which can be used for comparative purposes (Joseph 1989:65).

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

Another important analytical technique used in this study is the minimum vessel count, as both an alternative to the more traditional count of ceramics¹

¹ Although counts are used in this, and virtually every study of historic wares, we know that they are biased as measures of the proportions of types. Simply put, the proportion by number of sherds of a particular type reflects two things — first, the proportion of that type in the population, and second, the average number of sherds into which vessels of that type have broken (known among some researchers as their brokenness) in comparison with the brokenness of other types. In general, however, brokenness will vary from one type to another and also from one size

and also as a prerequisite to the application of Miller's cost indices. The most common approach for the calculation of minimum number of vessels (MNV) is to lay out all of the ceramics from a particular analytic unit (such as a feature), grouping the sherds by ware, type, and variety (e.g., floral motif vs. pastoral). All possible mends are then made. Body sherds are, from this point on, considered residual and not further considered. Remaining rim sherds, which fail to provide mends, are examined for matches in design, rim form, colors, and other attributes which would indicate matches with previously defined vessels. Those which fail to match either mended vessels or other rims are counted as additional vessels. Where there were multiple units or proveniences from a block, all were combined for this analysis, using a minimum distinction method for the MNV, which tends to provide a relatively conservative count. This also seems appropriate since all of the block excavations were relatively dispersed and there seems to be little likelihood that frequent cross-mends would occur over large portions of the site.

Although no cross mend analyses were conducted on the glass artifacts, these materials were examined in a similar fashion to the ceramics to define minimum number of vessel counts, with the number of vessel bases in a given assemblage being used to define the MNV. Attempts were made to mend and match vessel bases in order to ensure the accuracy of the count. If a glass artifact exhibited a different color and/or form not represented by the counted bases, then it was designated a separate vessel or container.

Two methods were used to determine the occupation span of the various excavation areas at Roupelmond. The first method is South's (1977) bracketing technique. This method consists of creating a time line where the manufacturing span of the various ceramics are placed. The left bracket is placed by

vessel of a particular type to another size vessel of the same type. Usually, types with a high brokenness will be over-represented in comparison to those with a low brokenness. More importantly, this bias not only affects the study of a single assemblage, but may affect the study, or comparison, of different assemblages which may have a different level of brokenness.

determining where at least half of the ceramic type bars touch. The right bracket is placed the same way, however, it is placed far enough to the right to at least touch the beginning of the latest type present (South 1977:214). We have chosen to alter South's bracketing technique slightly by placing the left bar at the earliest ending date when that ending date does not overlap with the rest of the ceramic type bars.

Since South's method only uses ceramic types to determine approximate period of occupation, Salwen and Bridges (1977) argue that ceramic types which have high counts are poorly represented in the ceramic assemblage. Because of this valid complaint a second method was used to determine occupation spans. The second method used is a ceramic probability contribution chart. Albert Bartovics (1981) advocates the calculation of probability distributions for ceramic types within an assemblage. Using this technique an approximation of the probability of a ceramic type contribution to the site's occupation is derived. This formula is expressed:

$$P_j/\text{yr.} = \frac{f_j}{F \times D_j} \quad \text{where}$$

- P_j = partial probability contribution
 f_j = number of sherds in type j
 F = number of sherds in sample
 D_j = duration in range of years

One reviewer wondered why we had not made use of pipe stem dating. These are several reasons. One is that pipe stem bore diameters are frequently not consistent throughout their length. There are also lingering concerns over the adequacy of various sample sizes — Noel Hume (1967), for example, argued that a minimum sample of 900 to 1,000 stems was necessary, while Hanson (1971) suggested that 30 stems were adequate. We are inclined to believe that the larger figure is likely more viable.

There are similar questions concerning when the dating technique begins to break down, with dates ranging from 1744 through 1800 having been offered. Since Roupelmond clearly dates from at least the early eighteenth century through the mid-nineteenth century, use of pipe stem dating becomes problematical.

Moreover, there are actually a variety of dating techniques — at least six variations having been proposed in the past. Binford's (1971) last proposed dating formula requires so much time to calculate that this effort, we believe, outweighs its usefulness as a dating device *when more accurate methods are available* — as they were for this study.

Pfeiffer (1978) offers a review of the problems inherent in using pipe stems for dating. Readers who nevertheless would like to calculate pipe stem dates can do so, since we have provided the number of each bore diameter for the various blocks.

Although we provide some brief comments concerning the temporal placement of collections during our discussions of the different blocks, far more detailed information is available in our concluding sections for each block. Readers with particular questions concerning dating issues may want to review these sections first.

The observant reader will also note that both metric and English units of measurement have been used in the analysis. We recognize that this departure from consistency may be troubling, and may require some conversion back and forth. We have, however, tried to ensure an internal consistency. Where the artifact was likely described by its maker or user in English measurements, they have been retained. The only exception to this is when there has been extensive research on the artifact class which uses metric measures (one example being the work on English "wine" bottles by Olive Jones). When the maker or user of the object probably had no reason to refer to a specific measurement (such as the length or diameter of a pencil), we have used metric units.

In the following discussions, the first time a particular artifact type, or class, is encountered, it will be discussed in greater detail than it is when found in subsequent contexts. While this may cause some difficulty for those interested in only one particular area of the site, it will reduce the sheer volume of text and will make these discussion flow in a more readable fashion.

We have also attempted to reduce the "jargon"

in these discussions, although readers should be aware that some degree of technical discussions are occasionally essential to ensure accuracy and understanding among other professional archaeologists.

The Slave Settlement

Block 1

Block 1, originally selected based on initial site testing which identified a concentration of material in this area, produced 11,231 artifacts from 1,400 square feet, yielding an artifact density of 8 artifacts per square foot.

Kitchen Group Artifacts

A total of 9496 Kitchen Group artifacts was recovered, most representing ceramics (6194 or 65.2%) or glass (3035 or 31.9%). Recovered were a wide range of early eighteenth through mid-nineteenth century ceramics, including porcelains, white salt glazed stonewares, lead glazed slipwares, delft, clouded wares, creamwares, and pearlwares. Also present were a few ceramics typically considered to be early eighteenth century wares, such as Westerdale (although no North Devon Gravel Tempered was recovered from this block). As discussed below, the latest ceramics recovered, which provide the TPQ date for the block, are the whitewares. Other materials, however, provide a TPQ as late as 1870-1890.

The major types of ceramics are shown in Table 6, revealing that tablewares, such as the porcelains, white salt glazed stonewares, delft, creamwares, and pearlwares, account for 90.0% of the ceramics. Utilitarian wares,² such as the brown and blue/white stonewares, account for about 10.0% of the collection. This is very close to the proportions found in the eighteenth century Broom Hall slave settlement (Trinkley et al. 1985:163, 169).

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

Table 6.
Major Types of Datable Pottery in Block 1

Porcelain	223	3.6%
Stoneware	544	8.8%
Brown	124	
Blue/Gray	93	
White	282	
Other	45	
Earthenware	5427	87.6%
Redware	55	
Slipware	715	
Refined	52	
Coarse	303	
Delft	321	
Creamware	1564	
Pearlware	1451	
Whiteware	843	
Yellowware	56	
Burnt	67	

The most common eighteenth century ware is lead glazed slipware, accounting for 711 examples. Slipware was a traditional eighteenth century form of pottery decoration in which a white or cream-colored slip is trailed over an buff or red earthenware body. A clear lead glazed slip is then applied before firing. Examples of pink and buff fired-clay bodies were encountered. Cushion observes that most slipware potters, "were primarily concerned with producing the everyday necessities for the more humble table" (Cushion 1976:79).

During the eighteenth century utilitarian slipwares made in Staffordshire and other parts of England were exported to the colonies in huge numbers. These were often offered for sale in newspapers and while no examples are immediately available from Charleston, Miller cites several examples from elsewhere:

in 1757 a New York merchant offered for sale ". . . Crates Common yellow Wares both cups and Dishes . . ." Another New York vendor, in 1768, advertised "yellow Dishes by

the Crates . . ." (Miller 1974:2).³

It seems likely, therefore, that the slipwares were a common, and very inexpensive, commodity imported into the colonies.

A total of 24 slipware vessels were identified, with the bulk of these representing pie pan forms (MNV = 16) which were smaller and more shallow than milk pans or baking dishes. All of these specimens had a pie crust or notched rim form. The prevalence of this form is a little surprising, but we haven't been able to locate any research into how common the different forms were, or exactly how each was tended to be used during the period. Nevertheless, we assume that the pie pan form, being somewhat midway between a bowl and a plate, was useful in serving up the spoon meals which comprised the bulk of the African American diet. There were, in addition, two conventional milk pans, ranging in diameter from 14 to 16 inches in diameter. The next most common slipware form was, in fact, the bowl. Seven of the eight examples ranged in diameter from 5 to 6 inches, while a seventh specimen, 12 inches in diameter, was probably used for food preparation. Six examples are slightly larger than mugs, but smaller than bowls, ranging from 4 to 4½ inches. Only one plate form (with a diameter of 8 inches) and one mug (with a diameter of 3½ inches) were recovered.

Tin-glazed delft is the next most common eighteenth century ceramic recovered from this portion of the slave settlement, accounting for 321 specimens. All of the specimens are typically English and include either plain white delftware, delft with a cobalt blue decoration, or delft with a purple or manganese splatter. Cushion indicates that, like slipware, the bulk of the delft until sometime in the eighteenth century was utilitarian, intended for the table. By the eighteenth century there were merely decorative forms, although none were encountered at Roupelmond.

The recovered delftware includes 12 bowls, ranging from 5 to 9 inches in diameter. The one plate,

³ Pringle, on several occasions, does mention crates or hogsheds of "earthenwares," although he doesn't specify the type (Edgar 1972:I:147, 403).

an undecorated form, had a diameter of 6 inches. This later example, given its size, may have been a saucer to a tea service.

White salt glazed stoneware accounts for 282 fragments. These wares were more durable than the earlier style delft, which they replaced, and the development of block molds allowed the creation of such intricate relief patterns as "dot, diaper and basket" and "barley." In Block 1, 284 undecorated examples were recovered, representing 23 vessels. These included seven cups, 10 bowls, and six plates. One of bowls and four of the plates exhibit molded patterns.

In addition, the collection included five scratch blue bowls, and one scratch blue saucer.⁴ Another use of cobalt was as a slip decoration, without the use of scratching, which resulted in the stoneware's decoration taking on a somewhat smeared or flowed blue color. The slave settlement area produced one example, a cup, with this decoration. Also recovered were one cup and one plate of polychrome hand painted white salt glazed stoneware.

The next most common eighteenth century pottery was Chinese porcelain. Of the 183 fragments identified, 180 (98.4%) were underglazed blue and three (1.6%) were overglazed enameled. Until the early nineteenth century Chinese porcelain was an expensive, very fine, thin ware usually associated with the tea ritual (and therefore most commonly found in tea forms).⁵ Its

⁴ Scratch blue is white salt glazed stoneware which was incised and filled with cobalt prior to firing, resulting in a white body with thin blue lines. These examples are typical of early (i.e., prior to ca. 1760) examples where the lines ornament cups, saucers, and bowls. Later the style expanded onto chamber pots and mugs, in a effort by the English potters to take the market held by German utilitarian wares.

⁵ James Deetz (1977:60-61) observes that at least by 1780 the porcelain found in colonial inventories is largely limited to "tea sets, and probably demonstrates the adoption of the full-blown English tea ceremony for the first time. This custom can be considered a good indicator of the re-Anglicization process that was at work at the time." He points out that porcelain is therefore a socio-technic artifact and therefore less likely to be broken, and enter the archaeological

presence is considered an indicator of high status (Lewis 1985; Stone 1970:88). During the nineteenth century the quantity exported into the United States increased and the quality declined dramatically, making it a poor indicator of status or wealth during this later period. It is likely that this, along with other more expensive wares, such as the white salt glazed stoneware, had originally been purchased for use by the owners of Roupelmond and subsequently found their way into slave houses — perhaps as styles changed and the owner acquired new sets, or as the individual pieces were damaged, or perhaps even as theft.

The forms recovered are dominated by tea service pieces and include nine cups (ranging from 2½ to 4 inches in diameter), seven bowls (ranging from 4 to 7 inches in diameter), one saucer, and six plates (ranging from 6 to 8 inches).

Other predominately eighteenth century wares found in the slave settlement include nine specimens of

record, than more technomic artifacts. Henry Hobhouse (1987) describes this ritual, as well as the ceramics associated with it, "The eighteenth century Europeans, like the Japanese but unlike the Chinese or the Russians, regarded tea making as a ceremony. There was the boiling water, not boiled for too long. There was the specially warmed pot. There was the infusion time. There was the pouring, a little bit of a ceremony all on its own" (Hobhouse 1987:111).

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

Nottingham stoneware, 37 fragments of Westerwald, seven pieces of Jackfield, and 18 specimens of clouded wares.

Nottingham is a type of red and brown stoneware which has a metallic-looking, semi-matte surface comprised of an iron oxide and salt glaze yielding a faintly metallic luster (Feild 1987:53, 90). Although some quite strange designs were produced, far more common in America are the posset-pots, mugs, jugs, and bowls (Blacker 1980:244). Westerwald is a gray salt glazed stoneware with incised, stamped, sprigged, and cobalt painted decorations. Although mugs and jugs are most common, there are examples of chamber pots (Noël Hume 1978:280-285). The one example from Block 1 is an 8 inch diameter crock (or storage jar). Noël Hume describes Jackfield as a "class of thinly turned wares" with a purple to gray body coated with a deep black glaze (Noël Hume 1978:123). Of all the forms produced, most seem to be tea and coffee ware, often tea or milk pots (Feild 1987:95). The last of the eighteenth century wares, which bridge into the creamwares (themselves transitional between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) are clouded wares. These have a cream body with a dip glaze resulting in wares with purple, blue, brown, yellow, green, and gray colors (Noël Hume 1978:123). In effect, we see a creamware body being decorated with colored glazes (Walton 1976:73).

Eventually this cream bodied ware would be transformed into the creamware so well known at sites spanning the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Developed in the 1750s by Josiah Wedgwood, this cream colored earthenware was considered a revolution in ceramic production. It provided a fine glazed ware at a relatively inexpensive cost, and came in sets with a wide variety of vessel forms and styles. In Block 1 creamwares are the most common ceramic, accounting for over a quarter of the total collection. Of these, the vast majority are undecorated (1504 or 96.1%), although 16 annular creamware sherds, nine polychrome hand painted creamwares, and one cable creamware fragment were also identified.

The creamwares represent 12 cups, 27 bowls, one saucer, 34 plates, and four chamber pots. Not surprisingly, the annular creamware consists entirely of

bowl forms, ranging from 5 to 6 inches in diameter. Cups range from 3 to 4 inches in diameter, while plain or beaded (a molded decoration) bowls range from 4 to 11 inches in diameter, representing a range of both individual bowls and those probably intended as serving pieces. Plates range from 8 to 11 inches and chamber pots range from 8 to 10 inches.

As potters continued to experiment with creamware, in an effort to imitate the Chinese porcelains, pearlware was eventually produced. By 1779 Wedgwood had produced pearlware, what he called an "improvement" on the creamware (Walton 1976:77; see also Noël Hume 1978:129-132). By 1790 the ware was further "improved" by Spode who added a small trace of cobalt to the formula to serve as a "blue whitener" (Feild 1987:54). Today pearlwares are recognized by the blue puddling of the glaze and over-all bluish cast.

In Block 1 we recovered 1,405 sherds of pearlware, with the assemblage being dominated by the undecorated specimens (49.2%, N = 691). Polychrome hand painted (N=140), blue hand painted (N=122), blue transfer printed (N=178), edged (N=129), and annular/cable (N=142) occur in nearly equal amounts in the assemblage. In general these decorations become more expensive (and hence we often assume they are used by individuals of greater wealth) as the amount of hand work increases. Consequently, plain (after its initial introduction), annular/cable, and edged are the least expensive of the wares — and they (because of the dominance of plain wares) account for 68.5% of the collection. This might suggest that, unlike some of the eighteenth century wares which began their life in the main plantation settlement, these pearlwares were purchased specifically for slave use.

It is also thought that the vessel forms may often provide a clue to wealth and status. Plates and more complex pieces tending to be associated with more wealthy individuals and bowls tending to be found in greater frequencies on slave sites. At first glance the MNV analysis suggests that the vessel forms contradict the evidence offered by the frequency of simple decorations. Although there are 101 bowl forms in Block 1, there are nearly as many (90) plates. Yet, when we look at these plates we find that 76 are edged and an

additional three are plain. In other words, although there are 90 plates, 88% of them have inexpensive decorations.

This could suggest that the planter had fallen on hard times and was using inexpensive plates — which eventually found their way into the slave settlement. Or it might just as easily suggest that the owner was prosperous and was purchasing inexpensive plates for his slaves in order to "upgrade" their foodways. Of course, these competing explanations can only be evaluated as we look at the faunal remains (to understand what the slaves were eating) and the ceramics found in the vicinity of the planter's house (to see what he and his family were using on their table).

The whitewares represent yet another development or stage in the effort to produce a truly white ceramic. Whiteware is a fine bodied earthenware developed by C.J. Mason in 1813. It was patented under the name of "Mason's Patent Ironstone China," yet distinguishing ironstone from whiteware presents a challenge. South (1974:247-248), for example, used an "ironstone-whiteware" category, while Price (1979:11) uses only a "whiteware" category which includes both "types." Both researchers point out that differentiating between whiteware and ironstone using vessel hardness (or degree of vitrification) is an uncertain or even invalid approach. For the purposes of this study, the term whiteware encompasses both categories of ceramics. In general, however, there are very few examples of ceramics which might be potentially classified as "ironstone" at Roupelmond.

There are 843 fragments of whiteware recovered from Block 1. Of these 68.5% (N=577) are undecorated. The next most common motif is annular (N=141). Also present are 38 specimens of edged ware, and two examples of a sponged decoration. More expensive motifs include 13 specimens of polychrome hand painted, 45 examples of blue transfer printed, and six specimens of non-blue transfer printed.

Like the pearlwares, this collection seems dominated by less expensive motifs (plain and annular) which may have been purchased specifically for slave use. When vessel forms are examined, 66 of the 105 vessels (62.9%) are plates, although the bulk of the

Table 7.
Shape and Function of Ceramic
Vessels From Area 8, Block 1

Shape	#	%
Tableware	426	81.6
Plates/saucers	210	49.3
Bowls	216	50.7
Serving	0	0.0
Tea & Coffeeware	57	10.9
Utilitarian	39	7.5

remaining vessels (N=34) are bowls. But, also like the pearlwares, almost all of these plates are either plain (N=36) or edged (N=23). In other words, although plates are the predominant vessel form, most of them (89% N=59) are inexpensive forms. Again, is this because the planter had fallen on hard times in the nineteenth century, or was it because he was prosperous enough to purchase ceramic sets for his slaves?

The last of the ceramics identified from Block 1 of the slave settlement is yellowware. This ceramic was made from primarily New Jersey and Ohio clays that, when fired, take on a dark yellow color. Sometimes wheel-thrown, it was more often mold-cast, with the subsequent application of an alkaline glaze to intensify the yellow color. Best known are bowls, often with decorative color bands. This collection yielded only 57 examples, representing six vessels. These vessels were all bowls, with diameters ranging from 5 to 8 inches.

Looking at the collection from Block 1 as a whole, it is just barely dominated by bowl forms (N=216), with plates ranking second (N=205). Table 7 provides a complete list, revealing dominance of tablewares, and (within this category) hollowares. Teaware accounts for just under 11% of the collection, while utilitarian wares, such as pans, crocks, jugs, and jars, account for 7.5%.

Although this portion of the site produced a large number of fairly early eighteenth century ceramics, only 180 fragments of Colono ware pottery were recovered. If these are included in the ceramic group, they would account for 2.8% of the total, suggesting a

weak contribution by these local, low-fired earthenwares. They are further described in a following section of this report.

Container glass accounts for 3035 fragments or 32% of the Kitchen Group total. The most prevalent glass type is that commonly called "black," which is actually dark green in transmitted light, comprising 71.9% of the glass found in this portion of the slave settlement (N=2181). These represent "wine" bottles commonly used in Europe and North America. Olive Jones (1986) has conducted extensive research on this bottle style, discovering that the cylindrical "wine" bottle represents four distinct styles — two for wine and two for beer — linked to their size and intended contents. These four styles, however, were not just used for wines and beers. Other products, such as cider, distilled liquors, vinegar, and mineral waters might also have been sold in these bottle styles. In addition, they would have been used by private individuals as containers for decanting, storing, and serving beverages either bought in barrels or made at home.

At Block 1, 31 "black" bottles were identified: two are case bottle bases, 14 are case bottle bodies, five are blown in mold bases, and 24 are blown bases. The case bottles, of course, are square because they were frequently packed in cases or "cellars," according to Noël Hume (1978:62). Frequently ascribed to the Dutch, these bottles were likely produced by any number of different countries and in this case, they are most likely English. This style was most popular in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Free-blown bottles, especially the so-called "wine bottles," were common prior to 1730. After this date a demand for greater standardization began the transition to bottled blown inside contact molds (Jones and Sullivan 1985:21-23). The collection from Block 1 contains both, indicating that there are bottles in the assemblage which probably predate 1730 (although glassware tended to be curated during this period and the bottles may have been deposited much later). In fact, it is likely that at least some of the bases identified as blown were contact molded, but there simply wasn't enough base present for the determination to be made with certainty.

The blown (and mold-blown) bases range from 6.5 to 18.0 cm in diameter. Those under about 9.0 cm are below the range⁶ discussed by Jones (1986) and those over about 12.6 cm were likely non-cylindrical styles from the seventeenth century⁷ (which Jones also did not study). There are two example of bottles with basal diameters of 9.0 cm, probably representing wine bottles from the period 1790-1850; 11 with diameters of 10.0 cm, described by Jones as Imperial wine bottles, post-dating about 1825; six with diameters of 11.6 cm, identified as beer styles and dating from about 1750 through 1810; and one bottle base with a diameter of 12.6 cm, probably representing an undersized beer bottle, dating from 1730 into the 1770s.

However these bottles began their lives, it seems likely that containers were valuable enough to be reused for relatively long periods of time. It doesn't seem to be until the mid-nineteenth century that bottle glass became inexpensive enough to be considered a consumable or disposable commodity.

The next most common container glass was aqua — represented by a paultry 271 fragments. These fragments represent only 10 bottles, including six that were probably free blown (nine with basal diameters between 2.5 and 3.3 cm and one with a diameter of 15.2 cm) and three that were blown in a mold. These represent two panel bottles and a square bottle. These small bottles were likely all medicinal. Also included in this assemblage of aqua glass was one fragmentary South Carolina Dispensary bottle. Although the exact form could not be determined, these bottles were only produced from 1891 through 1905 (Huggins 1971).

Clear glass, accounting for 197 fragments (6.5% of the glassware assemblage), has a MNV of only four bottles. One is another South Carolina Dispensary bottle and the other three have blown based ranging from 1.8 cm to 5.1 cm. The smaller bottle is likely medicinal, while the function of the other two larger

⁶ These include three with basal diameters of 6.5 cm and thee with diameters of 7.6 cm.

⁷ These include one with a basal diameter of 15.2 cm and another with a diameter of 17.7 cm.

examples is uncertain.

We identified 157 fragments of manganese glass, representing 5.2% of the entire glass collection. Two of the four bottles represented in this assemblage are dispensary bottles, while the remaining two have pharmaceutical or flanged lips, suggestive of medicine bottles. Although manganese glass is most commonly associated with glassware from the last quarter of the nineteenth century through the beginning of World War I, it does occur in specimens dating to as early as the eighteenth century (Jones and Sullivan 1985:13). The flanged lips, for example, are most commonly found on medicinal bottles of the eighteenth and early to mid-nineteenth centuries (Jones and Sullivan 1985:80).

Brown is the next most common color, accounting for 83 specimens. The MNV for this glass includes two blown-in-mold bottles. Sixty-eight specimens of green glass were identified, although only one MNV was identified — a bottle with a blown base about 2.5 cm in diameter. There were 64 fragments of dark aqua glass, although only one identifiable bottle — a blown-in-mold example with a basal diameter of 7.5 cm. The remaining specimens included blue and milk glass, as well one very small fragment of clear glass with a red coating on the interior surface. Although small, this does not seem to be what Jones and Sullivan (1985:14) identify as marbled or “slag” glass, most popular in the late nineteenth century, but rather some type of earlier “superimposed” glass (see Jones and Sullivan 1985:50-51).

Although the discussion of container glass is rather sparse, this is the result of the tremendous plow damage and the very small size of the resulting pieces. What we have been able to ascertain, however, is that bottles primarily used for alcohol and medicine were the most common on the site. It seems that the medicinal bottles, because of their size, would have seen relatively little re-use. On the other hand, the beer and wine bottles might have been used for any number of purposes once the alcohol was consumed, either by the planter or his slaves.

Fifty-four tableware items were recovered from Block 1, representing about 0.6% of the Kitchen Group

artifacts. Included are 27 fragments of clear glass, 23 fragments of manganese glass, and four utensil fragments.

The clear glass includes an interesting array: one plain goblet stem, one air-twist goblet stem, one example of cut glass, two examples of etched glass, four goblet bases, two goblet rims, one tumbler fragment, six tumbler rims, two glass bowl rims, and the base of an unidentifiable glass vessel. Taken together these represent, as MNV, four goblets, six tumblers, one bowl, and the one unidentified vessel.

Concerning the plain goblet stem, Noël Hume observes, "although molded stems continued to be made at least until the mid-eighteenth century, they were never common, perhaps indicating a lack of popular acceptance of the austerity of straight lines in an essentially plastic medium" (Noël Hume 1969:19). The air-twists (called "wormed" in the period) were far more common, especially from about 1740 through 1750 or 1760. After that time the stems became more elaborate and color began to be added to the twists (Noël Hume 1969:20).⁸ The example from Block 1 is rather complex, consisting of seven-ply spirals.

The distinction between cutting and engraving is sometime difficult to understand, and both types of decoration may occur on the same vessel. Using the approach of Jones and Sullivan (1985:56), cutting actually removes fairly large areas of glass, creating panels, flutes, and miters. After cutting the glass has a dull matte finish, which is subsequently polished. Engraving, on the other hand, is finer, typically being done with copper wheels and some form of abrasive. The engraved areas have a frosted appearance, which is usually (but not always) left. Engraving allows more flowing designs, including naturalistic scenes, curved lines and motifs, and inscriptions. Both are common to British glass in the last half of the eighteenth century.

Glass bowl forms had a number of functions,

⁸ Some authors, such as McNally (1982) suggest dates one to two decades later than Noël Hume, bringing popularity of the air-twists just to the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

although many were associated with wine — either as wine glass coolers or wine bottle stands (see, for example, McNally 1982:58-59). The size and form of these specimens, however, more closely resembles finger bowls, ranging from 11.5 to 13.0 cm. As McNalley observes:

Finger bowls were part of the table setting at genteel dinners during the Regency period, although a French observer is on record as finding the custom of washing hands and rinsing out mouths at the table "extremely unfortunate" (McNally 1982:120).

It is likely that the specimens from Block 1 date to the first half of the nineteenth century.

The manganese glass includes 17 fragments of pressed body pieces, three fragments of a pressed lid, two tumbler rims, and one bowl rim.

Although small press-molded items were being made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the techniques used did not allow the creation of entire hollowware vessels. It wasn't until the first quarter of the nineteenth century that tableware began to be made of pressed glass, with the items manufactured including tumblers, salts, cups, and plates (McNally 1982:34). These early examples, however, were almost always of clear glass. The specimens encountered in Block 1 suggest a date from the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The utensils include one two-tine iron fork, two fragments of iron knife blades, and one fragment of a brass tang. Stone aptly points out that two-tine forks, "have little utility for dating purposes since they have been found on . . . sites which date from the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries" (Stone 1974:177). It is, however, unlikely that the form was still popular by the mid-nineteenth century. The knife blade handles are too fragmentary to offer any dating assistance. The brass tang (the portion which extends from the bolster into the handle) probably came from a silver plated utensil, most likely either a knife or fork.

Although 33 Kitchenware items were recovered from Block 1, all of them are kettle fragments. Iron kettles were designed to either hang over the fire, if the weight could be supported, or to actually sit in the coals of the hearth (Feild 1984:93). By the eighteenth century the kettle was firmly established in kitchens and, being costly, would be "passed down from generation to generation and were highly valued" (Lantz 1970:15). By the late nineteenth century kettles, at least in urban areas, were on their way out of fashion, being replaced by the iron stove and more manageable pots (Lantz 1970:31). This decline is clearly evidenced when period catalogs are examined. For example in the mid-nineteenth century there were two full pages of different types of iron kettles (Russel and Erwin 1980 [1865]:392-393), but by the end of the century, they had been reduced to but one entry with seven different sizes (Israel 1968:130). In spite of this gradual decline in popularity, the kettle fragments from Block 1 offer no real assistance in dating since it is clear that kettles, in rural South Carolina, were used well into the first several decades of the twentieth century.

Architecture Group Artifacts

A total of 1,117 architectural fragments was recovered from Block 1, representing about 9.9% of the total artifact assemblage.

The single largest category is that of nails, with the 792 specimens accounting for 70.9% of the collection. Of these 765, or 96.6%, can be discounted since they could not be either measured or identified by type. Twelve nails were identified as hand wrought, meaning they were individually forged by blacksmiths, either in America or England.⁹ The wrought nail shank can be distinguished from machine cut nails (introduced about 1780) by their taper on all four sides, instead of only two (see Howard 1989:54; Nelson 1968). These nails, while largely replaced by machine cut nails at the beginning of the nineteenth century, continued in specialized use far longer. Two head styles are present in

the collection. Rose heads (accounting for four of the eight wrought nails) have a distinctive head created by four strikes of a hammer, giving it the form of a four-leaf clover. Lounsbury (1994:412) notes that this style was most commonly used in rough framing and attaching exterior cladding. The other style present in Block 1 is a clasp head (sometimes called a "T-head"), accounting for four specimens (50% of the wrought nails). This style was produced like the rose head, but was struck two additional times on either side of the head, to form the characteristic T-shape. These nails were usually used in trim work where the holding power of the larger head was not needed and the head would distract from the appearance (Lounsbury 1994:412).

Fifteen cut nails were also found in Block 1. These were produced by a machine that cut each shaft from a sheet of iron, tapering the nail along its length on only two, instead of all four, sides. Although this machinery was invented in the 1780s, nails produced by machine were slow to reach the South, not becoming widely available until the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Lounsbury (1994:107) suggests that the most widely available variety from the 1790s through the early 1820s were those whose heads were still hand forged (that is, a machine cut nail with a hand forged head). After about 1815 machines capable of both cutting and heading the nails were introduced and hand forged heads gradually declined in significance. Of the machine cut collection, all have forged heads, suggesting their use during this earlier period.

Because different size nails served different self-limited functions, it is possible to use the relative frequencies of nail sizes¹⁰ to indicate building construction details. Unfortunately with only eight identifiable and measurable specimens this effort would have little validity. It is worth observing that seven of

⁹ Lounsbury (1994:239) notes that while nails were certainly manufactured locally in the South, "a sizable proportion of the nails used in buildings through the late 18th century were imported from England."

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

the eight cluster in the 6-8 penny (2-2¼-inch) range. These would be the sizes typically used for applying sheathing and siding.

The next most common Architecture Group artifact is that of flat glass (all of which appears to represent window glass), accounting for 28.9% of the group (N=323). Until the modern period window glass was either crown or cylinder, with crown glass dominating the eighteenth and early nineteenth century market. Regardless, it is usually difficult to distinguish the two unless certain, usually large, parts of the glass are present (Jones and Sullivan 1985:171). At Roupelmond all of the fragments are small, reflecting considerable fragmentation of the panes, probably during plowing. Both green-tinted glass, common to eighteenth century specimens (Noël Hume 1978:233), and colorless glass (suggestive of nineteenth century use) were found in the assemblage.

The final two items in the assemblage were an iron drive pintle and a brown glass doorknob. The pintle (called a "hook" during the period) was forged and about 7.8 cm in length. The pivot was about 5.0 cm in height. This size might have been used for a door, but more likely was intended to support a window shutter. While typically used in eighteenth century construction there seem to be many examples of them continuing to be used well into the first quarter of the nineteenth century, especially in more rural areas. Although lock boxes have received considerable attention, there has been very little research into door knobs. It is likely that this example is from the mid to late nineteenth century.

Furniture Group Artifacts

The only furniture artifacts recovered from Block 1 are four brass tacks, with heads ranging in diameter from 9.9 to 12.5 mm. Tacks were a very common item throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, being used both to attach fabrics and leathers to wood frames and also for purely decorative purposes. Their presence in the slave settlement might suggest the use of scavenged furniture, or it may be that it was only the tacks which were being used.

Arms Group Artifacts

Arms artifacts are uncommon in Block 1, with only five being recovered (accounting for 0.04% of the total assemblage). These include one lead shot, one gunflint (gray-black in color), one brass percussion cap, a .22 caliber shell casing, and a .32 caliber shell casing.

The two shell casings are likely not associated with any aspect of the site and were probably discarded by local hunters. The brass percussion cap, however, is a "top hat" variety, commonly used with military arms. Percussion caps were developed between 1808 and 1816 and were adopted for military use by 1845. The copper cap, containing a minute amount of priming compound, was placed on a nipple pierced with a hole leading to the powder charge. The cap was struck by the hammer, mounted above and behind it (Johnson and Haven 1943:33-35). The recovered example had been fired and probably relates to the Union military occupation of the site during the Civil War.

A review of research concerning gunflints is provided by Davis (1986). In general, however, both Emery (1979:37-48) and Noël Hume (1978:220) agree that English flints tend to be gray or black, while French flints tend to be brown or honey-colored, with the majority of flints found on colonial sites coming from France because of their superior quality.

The specimen from Block 1 was examined by Dr. Jack Meyer, a noted authority on arms. He concurs that the specimen is most likely English, but also notes that, based on its size, it was likely used in a pistol or small rifle.

The single lead shot has a diameter of 0.577 inch. This size suggests that it was probably not used during the Civil War, when most round shot was 0.525, 0.638, 0.640, or 0.650 inches (for .54, .67, .64 or .69 caliber weapons). Thomas notes that during the Revolution, American forces used weapons with calibers ranging from .54 to .75 (Thomas 1997:99) and Hamilton (1980:127) points out that shot 0.58 inch in diameter would have been well suited for the many .60 to .63 caliber weapons used during the Colonial period. In addition, the French apparently were using muskets of this caliber on the eve of the American Revolution.

These observations suggest that while it is certainly possible that shot comes from a weapon retained and used into the nineteenth century, it was more likely used by an eighteenth century musket.

Tobacco Group Artifacts

Block 1 produced 519 tobacco artifacts (representing 4.62% of the total assemblage), including 424 pipe stem fragments, 87 pipe bowl fragments, and three strike-a-lights.

Of the 87 bowls, 77 were plain, six had vertical ribs, one had vertical ribs only at the rim, one had slashes at the mold seams, another had leaves at the seam, and one was the classic "TD" bowl. The "TD" pipes have been discussed by Hopkins (1937), Humphrey (1969), and Walker (1966). Originating in the eighteenth century,¹¹ this pipe style continued to be made well into the mid-nineteenth century.

The most common diameter pipestem is 5/64-inch, accounting for 65.8% of the collection (N=279), followed by 4/64-inch (N=119, 28.1%). There are 17 with a 6/64-inch bore diameter and one with a 7/64-inch diameter. An additional eight are fragmentary and cannot be measured. Most have no decoration or information on their manufacturer.

Of the 5/64-inch specimens, three are decorated, one has a foot with a 3-leaf clover, and one is marked "McDOU[GALL]." The McDougall Company of Glasgow was the largest export manufacturer of pipes in the mid-nineteenth century. The firm opened in 1846 and continued business until 1867 (Humphrey 1969:17-18). Of the 4/64-inch specimens, two have feet (one with T.D.). One 6/64-inch

specimen exhibits a foot.

The function and nature of flint strike-a-lights are discussed in greater detail with the Block 2 artifacts. The three specimens from Block 1, however, include one black, one gray, and one honey-colored example. All are 25 to 30 mm in length by 20 to 25 mm in width with at least one edge exhibiting extensive wear.

Clothing Group Artifacts

This category includes 17 buttons and three other clothing items, accounting for 0.2% of the total assemblage from Block 1. The buttons, classified by South's (1964) types, are listed in Table 8. These styles span the mid eighteenth through mid-nineteenth centuries, with most (10 of the 15 identifiable buttons) dating from the first third of the nineteenth century. Only the Type 7, 8, and 9 buttons are eighteenth century. Likewise, only the Type 27 button is clearly mid-nineteenth century, likely dating from the Civil

Table 8.
Buttons Recovered from Block 1

Type	Description	#	Other (measurements in mm)
7	spun brass/white metal with eye cast in place	2	16.9, 17.1
8	molded white metal with eye boss	1	-
9	brass flat disc, band stamped face, no foot	1	10.5
18	stamped brass	1	13.4
21	iron, with fiber center	1	7.7
23	porcelain, convex, with dots on edge	1	13.4
23	porcelain, convex	7	2-10.7, 13.8, 13.9, 14.1, 14.5, 14.9
27	brass, domed, machine embossed, back only	1	-
--	black glass, molded	1	15.2
--	brass "drop" button	1	8.1 x 11.0

War.

¹¹ One of the earliest references we have found is a Williamsburg, Virginia context of about 1750, reported in Atkinson and Oswald (n.d.:46).

The other clothing items include two brass grommets, a brass buckle tongue, and a brass thimble.

The grommets are relatively large for clothing items and so may be associated with more utilitarian items. The buckle tongue was not decorated and cannot be specifically identified to function. The thimble is a very ordinary style, about 15 mm in diameter and 17 mm in height. There is no remnant silvering.

Personal Group Artifacts

The seven artifacts comprising the Personal Group represent only 0.06% of the total assemblage. Recovered were three coins, a fragment of an iron key, a delicate fragment of brass of uncertain function, and two beads.

The three coins represent a range of dates. The earliest dated coin, although heavily worn, is a silver Spanish 8 reales. It has a diameter of 16.2 mm and is probably from the 1770s, although with the wear it may well have been used far longer. Solomon notes that "the milled peso duro of eight reales, known as *dos mundos* or *columnaria*, authorized in June 1728, first minted in Mexico in 1732, was called the Spanish milled dollar by the American colonists. It and its fractions became the most important coins to circulate in Colonial America" (Solomon 1976:31).

The latest coin is an 1863 Army & Navy token. Yeoman (1990:259) reports that coins of this nature began to privately minted during the Civil War to meet the public demand for small copper change and went out of service as soon as the bronze coins of 1864 began to meet this demand.¹² The Army & Navy coins were one type of patriotic coinage, although Yeoman points out that approximately 10,000 different varieties were minted.

The third coin is copper, measuring 27.4 mm, but both surfaces are completely worn. It may be British, suggesting an eighteenth century date, but this is speculative.

The surviving portions of the iron key include the button, the upper portion of the bit, and a short length of the stem, for a total overall measurement of 6.5 cm. This, however, is adequate to estimate the length of the key at somewhere around 18.0 cm originally. More importantly, since lock boxes were built around keys using a relatively set formula, its possible to estimate the size of the lockbox with which this key fragment was used (Streeter 1974). The width of the lock box was typically four times the height of the bit and stem, or in this case about 5½ inches, and the length of the lock box was between 7 and 8 times this same height, or somewhere between 9½ and 11 inches, suggesting a 10 or 11 inch rim lock, which would have been a fairly substantial lock for the period.

The brass item is stamped, consisting of a ring with an oval attachment. It is marked "PAT. FEB 1, 1870" surrounding the circular portion. Although its function is unclear, the material seems too fragile to be an architectural or furniture item — so it is placed in the Personal category by default.

The two beads include one black glass variety (Type IIa6, using the Kidd and Kidd [1970] typology) measuring 6.6 mm in diameter and 5.0 mm in length, and one opaque blue glass example (also Type 11a) measuring 7.7 mm in diameter and 7.9 mm in length. Beads are frequently associated with slave settlements.

Activities Group Artifacts

This final artifact group includes a total of 63 specimens (or 0.56 % of the total Block 1 assemblage). The category is broken down into a variety of classes — construction tools, farm tools, toys, fishing gear, storage items, stable and barn items, miscellaneous hardware, and a rather general class called simply, "other" (South 1977:96). The collection includes two clay marbles; two triangular file fragments; four fragments of strap metal; six items listed under miscellaneous hardware, including two brass nails, one length of chain, two screw fragments, and one nut; 50 items incorporated into the "other" category, including 12 fragments of slate, 21 fragments of unidentifiable iron, one fragment of unidentifiable white metal, one fragment of unidentifiable brass, one brass tag, six fragments of flat brass, one piece of folded lead (possibly a fragment of a

¹² It wasn't until 1864 that laws were passed prohibiting the minting of private 1 and 2 cent pieces and abolishing private coinage of all types.

flint wrap), one fragment of melted lead, and one piece of worked (carved) stone.

Clay marbles were produced from at least the eighteenth century and continued to be made at least to 1928, although their popularity declined as glass became more common and affordable. Baumann (1991:138-147) briefly reviews the various games of chance which used marbles. Although we commonly think of marbles as a child's game, it is important to realize that they were just as often used by adults in gaming. Games such as "ringer" and "spanner" were likely played for cash wagers and formed the nucleus of urban backlot gaming. In rural contexts, their function may have been more benign, but there is little information (Noël Hume [1978:329], for example, barely mentions marbles, saying nothing about their use).

Triangular files, also known as tapers or three-squares, are typically used for sharpening saws and other fine work. They seem to be frequently found on slave settlements and they may provide indirect evidence of the amount of woodworking (sawing) which was taking place by slave carpenters.

The strap metal is typical of barrels and boxes and tends to be more common on nineteenth century sites. The hardware items are all bits and pieces that might be found in any agricultural context, except for the brass nails. These were most frequently used on boats and tend to be found in many low country slave contexts.

The "other" category includes a broad range of primarily identifiable materials. The slate, for example, was all highly fragmented. They may have been writing slates, slate roofing salvaged for writing, or simply bits of material which found their way into the slave settlement to serve other purposes, perhaps as shims or to insulate places where hot pots were set.

The one brass tag identified in Block 1 is of special interest. Measuring 5.2 cm by 1.0 cm with a thickness of 1.3 mm, it has rounded corners and a hole at one end. Neatly stamped on the tag is the word, "Savannah." There is very little research on how commodities, parcels, and baggage was marked for

shipments. It seems that frequently destinations would be stenciled on wood boxes and other items might have seals attached to them. This tag, however, doesn't seem to indicate an owner, only a destination or perhaps a boat.

Also of interest is the worked stone. Consisting of a relatively soft, unidentified material, it appears to have been ground flat on two faces with beveling on the two intact sides. The stone measures about 4.0 by 4.5 cm and is about 1.2 cm in thickness. Although it is tempting to attach some significance to this item (likely with a focus on African cosmology), it may just represent idle or idiosyncratic behavior.

Block 2

Block 2, selected based on the metal detector survey and the broad scatter of material exposed during the process of removing pines, produced 10,191 artifacts from 800 square feet, yielding an artifact density of 12.7 artifacts per square foot.

Kitchen Group Artifacts

A total of 7,479 Kitchen Group artifacts was

Porcelain	206	4.3%
Stoneware	375	7.8%
Brown	33	
Blue/Gray	89	
White	200	
Other	53	
Earthenware	4210	87.9%
Redware	5	
Slipware	789	
Refined	100	
Coarse	232	
Delft	247	
Creamware	1179	
Pearlware	1139	
Whiteware	378	
Yellowware	27	
Red earthenware	14	
Burnt	100	

recovered, most representing ceramics (4791 or 64.1%) or glass (2001 or 26.8%). Like Block 1, excavations in this area revealed a wide range of early eighteenth through mid-nineteenth century ceramics. Somewhat more common in this area, however, were ceramics typically considered to be early eighteenth century wares, such as Westerwald and North Devon Gravel Tempered. As discussed below, the latest ceramics recovered, which provide the TPQ date for the block, are the whitewares.

The major types of ceramics are shown in Table 9, revealing that tablewares, such as the porcelains, white salt glazed stonewares, delft, creamwares, and pearlwares, account for 91.5% of the ceramics. This leaves utilitarian wares accounting for 8.5% of the collection. These proportions are very similar to Block 1.

Here, like in Block 1, the most common eighteenth century ware is lead glazed slipware, accounting for 664 examples.

A total of 42 slipware vessels were identified, far more than from Block 1. In addition, while plate and mug forms were rare in Block 1, they account for 9 and 5 vessels respectively in Block 2. However, the biggest difference is that, in Block 2, the most common form is the bowl, accounting for 28 vessels, and the pan form is entirely absent, being replaced by the plate form (nine vessels). The differences are fairly pronounced for such a small spatial separation that we are inclined to suggest that there were intra-household differences.

The bowl forms, accounting for fully two-thirds of the collection, range in size from 5-inches to 8-inches, with most being 5-inch forms. The plates range from 7 to 11 inches and all but two examples have the characteristic pie crust rim form. The mugs range from 3 to 5-inches.

Tin-glazed delft is the next most common eighteenth century ceramic recovered from this portion of the slave settlement, as it was in Block 1, accounting for 247 specimens. All are English and include plain white delftware, delft with a cobalt blue decoration, delft with polychrome decoration, or delft with a purple or manganese splatter.

Plain delft is most common, accounting for 10 vessels. Blue hand painted delft contributes an additional six vessels, with both the polychrome and purple both represented by a single bowl. Seventeen of the eighteen delft vessels, in fact, are bowls, ranging in size from 4½ up to 9 inches. There is one example of undecorated white delft cup, 2½ inches in diameter.

White salt glazed stoneware accounts for 196 fragments — putting it in third place in Block 2 as it was in Block 1. One hundred sixty undecorated examples were recovered, along with 36 specimens of scratch blue. Many of the undecorated specimens did, however, exhibit molding, including Royal, Queens, dot/diaper, and barley patterns. Also found were a very few specimens of white salt glaze with blue slip.

Of the 29 MNV identified, 11 represent plates, ranging in diameter from 5 to 10 inches. The next most common vessel form is the cup, contributing 10 specimens. There are seven bowls in the collection, ranging from 4½ to 6 inches. There is also one 4-inch saucer. Again, there are differences between the Block 1 and 2 assemblages, suggesting slight, but noticeable intrasite differences.

The next most common eighteenth century pottery was Chinese porcelain. Of the 154 fragments identified, 145 (94.2%) were underglazed blue and nine (5.8%) were overglazed enameled. The forms recovered are dominated by tea service pieces and include 15 cups (ranging from 3 to 4 inches in diameter), 17 bowls (ranging from 4 to 6 inches in diameter), one saucer, and 10 plates (ranging from 5 to 9 inches).

Other predominately eighteenth century wares found in the slave settlement include 18 specimens of Nottingham stoneware, 43 fragments of Westerwald, 16 pieces of Jackfield, and four specimens of clouded wares. But perhaps the most indicative ware of the eighteenth century are the 45 fragments of North Devon Gravel Tempered.

The North Devon wares have a pink body, often with gray core, and are immediately recognized by the large quantity of gravel temper. They have an interior light-brown to green lead glaze and Noël Hume (1978:133) notes that their forms are limited to

creampans, jugs, and jars. The materials from Block 2 include four vessels. One appears to be a plate — but might be a pan — 15 inches in diameter. The other four are clearly pans, ranging in size from 10½ to greater than 16 inches.

Also present are a few of the cream body, green glazed wares that are found in eighteenth century assemblages and often called Southern European wares. The 31 fragments yield only one identifiable vessel, a plate with a 13 inch diameter.

As we mentioned in the Block 1 discussion, eventually the efforts which produced clouded wares resulting in the creation of creamware or “Queensware,” as it was often called. In Block 2, as in Block 1, creamwares are the most common ceramic, accounting for over a quarter of the total collection. Of these, the vast majority are undecorated (1,116 or 97.1%), although one cable, 27 annular, and five hand painted creamware were also identified.

The creamwares represent two cups, 35 bowls, 33 plates, and eight chamber pots. Not surprisingly, the annular creamware consists entirely of bowl forms, ranging from 5 to 7 inches in diameter. Cups range from 3 to 3½ inches in diameter, while plates range from 6 to 11 inches and chamber pots range from 8 to 14 inches.

Two other forms span the transition between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Black Basalt, a dry-bodied black stoneware, was introduced by Wedgwood about 1750 and it continued to be used into the first several decades of the nineteenth century. This longevity, according to Noël Hume (1978:122) was at least partially because it had become fashionable to use the matte black ware during the mourning period. In Block 2 only six fragments were recovered.

Two fragments were also found of an earthenware known as Luster ware. This is another Wedgwood variation and also tends to be found on creamware-like bodies. This pottery has a metallic coating (usually silver, gold, or copper) deposited on the surface, sometimes producing a splashed or mottled effect (Feild 1987:123-124).

In Block 2 we recovered 1,139 sherds of pearlware — only a handful fewer than creamware. The collection is dominated by plain pearlware (N=462, or 40.6%). Blue transfer print is the next most common, accounting for 286 fragments (25.1% of the pearlware assemblage), followed by blue hand painted (N=120, 10.5%). Edged pearlwares account for 108 specimens, followed by polychrome hand painted (N=88) and annular/cable specimens (N=75).

Although not as prevalent as in Block 1, the less expensive plain, annular, and edged wares dominate this collection (accounting for 56.6% of the assemblage). This tends to support the idea that the plantation owner was purchasing less expensive wares in the nineteenth century specifically for use by his slaves.

There are 85 plates represented in the collection, compared to only 80 bowls. Like in Block 1 this initially causes some concern, since it is suggestive of a higher status than would normally be ascribed to slaves. Yet of these 85 plates, 54 (63.5%) are inexpensive plain or edged styles. Although this percentage is not as high as in Block 1, it continues to suggest that, given some variability intrasite, the planter may have been purchasing inexpensive plates for his slaves' use or that he had fallen on hard times and was using inexpensive plates himself, with some finding their way into the hands of slaves. With the information available from Block 2 — and the quantity of more expensive motifs present — the first scenario seems more probable.

The whitewares — the next stage of ceramic development — account for 378 specimens. Of these

Table 10.
Shape and Function of Ceramic
Vessels From Area 8, Block 2

Shape	#	%
Tableware	410	82.7
Plates/saucers	193	47.1
Bowls	215	52.4
Serving	2	0.5
Tea & Coffeeware	57	11.5
Utilitarian	29	5.8

fully two-thirds are undecorated. The next most common motif is annular (N=55). Also present are 31 specimens of edged ware and three examples of sponged ware. More expensive motifs include six specimens of polychrome hand painted, 25 examples of blue transfer printed, and four specimens of non-blue transfer printed.

Like the pearlwares, this collection seems dominated by less expensive motifs (plain and annular) which may have been purchased specifically for slave use. When vessel forms are examined, 42 of the 66 vessels (63.6%) are plates, although the bulk of the remaining vessels (N=20) are bowls. But, also like the pearlwares, almost all of these plates are either plain or edged (accounting for 38 vessels or 90.5%). In other words, although plates are the predominant vessel form, most of them are inexpensive forms. Again, is this because the planter had fallen on hard times in the nineteenth century, or was it because he was prosperous enough to purchase ceramic sets for his slaves? Unlike the pearlwares, this assemblage really doesn't help us much to answer this question.

The last of the ceramics identified from Block 2 of the slave settlement is yellowware. The collection produced only 25 examples, representing three vessels, all bowls between 5 and 6 inches in diameter.

When we consider vessel form, the Block 2 collection is very similar to that found in Block 1. It is dominated by bowl forms (N=215), but just barely, since there are 191 plates also identified. Table 10 provides the complete list, revealing dominance of tablewares, and (within this category) hollowares. Teaware accounts for just over 11% of the collection, while utilitarian wares, such as pans, crocks, jugs, jars, and chamber pots, account for 5.8%.

Although this portion of the site produced a large number of fairly early eighteenth century ceramics, only 498 fragments of Colono ware pottery were recovered. While a seemingly small number of sherds for an eighteenth century slave settlement, it is a far higher proportion than is found from Block 1. If these are included in the ceramic group, they would account for 9.4% of the total, compared to only 2.8% in Block 1. They are further described in a following section of this

report.

Container glass accounts for 2001 fragments or nearly 27% of the Kitchen Group total. The most prevalent glass type is that commonly called "black," which is actually dark green in transmitted light, comprising 73.0% of the glass found in Block 2 (N=1460). These fragments represent at least 19 bottles, including two case bottles, two blown in mold bottles, and 14 blown bottles.

As previously discussed for Block 1, the case bottles are likely English and were most popular in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The free-blown bottles were common prior to 1730, while the blown-in-mold bottles likely post-date this time. As with Block 1 there is either evidence of occupation as early as 1730, or else there has been curation of older bottles.

The blown (and mold-blown) bases range from 6.5 to 12.6 cm in diameter. Those under about 9.0 cm are below the range¹³ discussed by Jones (1986). There are three example of bottles with basal diameters of 9.0 cm, probably representing wine bottles from the period 1790-1850; five with diameters of 10.3 cm, described by Jones as undersized beer bottles, dating between 1765 and 1805; three with diameters of 11.6 cm, identified as beer styles and dating from about 1750 through 1810; and one bottle base with a diameter of 12.6 cm, probably representing an undersized beer bottle, dating from 1730 into the 1770s. Again, it is important to realize that these bottles were frequently re-used and their date range does not necessarily reflect when they were broken and discarded in Block 2.

The next most common container glass was clear, accounting for 177 fragments and 8.9% of the total glassware assemblage. These represent five bottles with blown bases, all of which were likely pharmaceutical or medicinal. A sixth bottle has a blown-in-mold base measuring 7.0 cm, which is slightly large for a medicine bottle.

Aqua glass is represented by 120 fragments,

¹³ There is only one specimen with a basal diameter of 6.5 cm.

comprising 6.0% of the glass collection. These fragments represent at least two bottles. One is a panel bottle, likely used for medicine and dating from the nineteenth century. The other is a South Carolina Dispensary bottle. Although the exact form could not be determined, these bottles were only produced from 1891 through 1905 (Huggins 1971).

Brown (including a fairly distinctive purple-brown) is the next most common color, accounting for 90 specimens. The MNV for this glass includes two blown-in-mold bottles. The purple-brown materials appear to represent only one bottle, measuring about 5.7 cm square. The other bottle is about 5.0 cm in diameter. We identified 85 fragments of manganese glass, representing 4.2% of the collection. It appears that only one bottle is represented — another South Carolina Dispensary bottle.

The remaining specimens include 49 fragments of green glass, with at least one specimen of an eighteenth century pharmaceutical vial being included; eight fragments of blue glass, eight pieces of dark aqua glass, and four fragments of amber glass.

As with Block 1, most of the containers were either for alcohol or medicines, although the two, especially in the nineteenth century, were easy to confuse. Regardless, there is relatively little diversity in the assemblage and conspicuously absent are items such as soda water, food, or food condiment containers.

There were 146 tableware items identified from Block 2, representing about 2.0% of the Kitchen Group artifacts. Except for two utensil fragments, all of these items are either clear or manganese glassware. As MNV counts, the clear glass assemblage includes one stopper, two bowls, six tumblers, four goblets, and one cordial glass. Virtually all would have come from the planter's table originally.

The single stopper was likely used with a decanter.

The bowls have rim diameters of 10.2 and 15.3 cm. The smaller was likely a finger bowl, similar to the one described for Block 1 and typical of place settings during the first half of the nineteenth century.

The rim of this vessel was engraved, adding to its cost. The larger bowl is outside the range for finger bowls, but within the range of what might be a bottle stand, frequently used when serving wine (see, for example, McNally 1982:58-59). This vessel was plain, although it has a decorative rolled rim.

Six of the tumbler bases, ranging from 5.2 to 6.1 cm, were blown and likely of leaded glass. One was also engraved with the word "Liberty" and a floral pattern. This is likely a clear reflection of a ca. 1777 time frame, although they were likely popular for several decades after the founding of the new republic.

The four goblet forms identified represent at least three stem forms. One is drawn, another is likely molded, and the third is another example of an air-twist (with a 10-ply spiral), similar to the specimen identified from Block 1. All three likely date from the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century. Several of the goblet rims also evidenced copper wheel engraving, typical of the last half of the eighteenth century.

The one example of "cordial" stemware has a rim diameter of only 5.0 cm. As Jones and Sullivan comment:

In the voluminous literature on 18th and 19th century English table glass, mention is often made of stemware forms intended for specific beverages such as ale, champagne, claret, wine, gin, mead, and so on, and it is clear from contemporary literature that there were some differentiated stemware forms. Unfortunately the definitions of these forms are not consistent (Jones and Sullivan 1985:141-142)

So, while the form appears consistent with cordials, this is only a guess at its intended original function.

The manganese glass includes only two recognizable vessels: one is a rectangular pressed glass lid and the other is footed dish with a knobbed stem. Both likely date from the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The utensils include one two-tine iron fork and one fragment of an iron knife blade. Both have long periods of use and offer little dating assistance.

Of the 41 Kitchenware items identified in Block 2, all but one are kettle fragments (including one fragment with an identifiable rim, yielding a 15.3 cm diameter). The one non-kettle specimen found was a non-diagnostic fragment of a metal can. As previously discussed, kettles have an exceptionally wide temporal spread, being used throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, especially in rural areas. The can fragment likely dates from the mid to late nineteenth century.

Architecture Group Artifacts

A total of 1,975 architectural fragments was recovered from Block 2, representing about 19.4% of the total artifact assemblage. This represents a significant increase over Block 1 and we believe this is largely the result of our excavations being in the immediate vicinity of a nineteenth century slave structure.

The single largest category is that of nails (predicted by the metal detector survey), with the 1782 specimens accounting for 90.2% of the collection. Of these 1,566, or 87.9%, can be discounted since they could not be either measured or identified by type. One hundred sixty nails were identified as hand wrought, meaning they were individually forged by blacksmiths, either in America or England. As previously discussed, these nails were largely, although not completely, replaced by machine cut nails at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Two head styles are present in the collection. Rose heads (accounting for 43, or 32.6% of the wrought nails) have a distinctive head created by four strikes of a hammer, giving it the form of a four-leaf clover. These were most frequently used in rough framing and attaching exterior cladding. The other style present in Block 2 is a clasp head (sometimes called a "T-head"), accounting for 89 specimens (67.4% of the wrought nails). This style was produced like the rose head, but was struck two additional times on either side of the head, to form the characteristic T-shape. These nails were usually used in trim work where the holding power of the larger head was not needed and the head

Table 11.
Wrought and Cut Nails Recovered from Block 2

Penny Wt.	SAE	Wrought		Cut
		Rose	T	
2d	1"	1		
3d	1¼"	14		1
4d	1½"	4	1	
5d	1¾"	3	12	2
Small timber, shingles		22	13	5
%		51.2	14.6	12.0
Combined %		26.5		
6d	2"	6	6	3
7d	2¼"		11	6
8d	2½"	7	23	3
Sheathing and siding		13	40	12
%		30.2	44.9	48.0
Combined %		40.2		
9d	2¾"	3	16	2
10d	3"		12	5
12d	3¼"	3	5	2
Framing		6	33	9
%		14.0	37.1	36.0
Combined %		29.5		
16d	3½"	1	2	
20d	4"		1	1
40d	5"	1		
Heavy framing		2	3	1
%		4.6	3.4	
Combined %		3.8		4.0

would distract from the appearance (Lounsbury 1994:412).

Twenty five cut nails were also found in Block 2. These were produced by a machine that cut each shaft from a sheet of iron, tapering the nail along its length on only two, instead of all four, sides. As has been discussed, although this technology became widely available in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, it seems there was some additional time lag in the South, especially in the South Carolina low country.

Because different size nails served different self-limited functions, it is possible to use the relative frequencies of nail sizes to indicate building construction details. Table 11 lists nails by both penny weight sizes and the Standard Average European (SAE) size, as well as the function of various nail sizes. The table reveals that the distribution of rose and clasp nails

is largely opposite what would be expected — there are more rose heads than clasp heads used in small sizes, where you would expect an effort to hide the nail and, in the larger sizes where you would expect a desire for greater holding power there are actually more clasp heads. This distribution may suggest that the nails were used indiscriminately (i.e., whatever was available was used). Perhaps the nails were left over from construction of the main house or perhaps, in slave construction, the general rules were less carefully followed.

More important, we believe, is the size distribution itself. Both the wrought and cut nails are used in very similar proportions — the most common nail size range is 6d to 8d, reflecting sheathing and siding; followed by framing nails, then shingles. The least common wrought and cut nails are those intended for heavy framing.

We believe that these nails were primarily associated with the early nineteenth century slave structure found in Block 2. The early date would account for the mix of nail types and the presence of this structure in Block 2 would also account for the greater frequency of nails in this area than found in Block 1. This distribution of nails is also consistent with a frame building — many nails for sheathing, some for both framing and shingles, and since it was likely that some craft traditions (such as pegging) were still in use, relatively few would be needed for heavy framing.

The next most common Architecture Group artifact is that of flat glass (all of which appears to represent window glass), accounting for 9.0% of the group (N=179). In spite of the proximity of the nineteenth century slave structure, this is a lower density of glass than was found in Block 1. Regardless, the quantity at both locations is so low, especially given the very small size of the fragments, that we doubt any of the structures had windows with glass lights. The openings were probably shuttered and the glass from both blocks may represent salvaged materials being used for other purposes.

This conclusion seems supported by the construction hardware recovered from the block — a drive pintle fragment similar in size to the one found in Block 1, and 10 strap hinge fragments, probably

representing about three hinges of a size that would be used on small doors or windows shutters.

Also recovered was a fragment of a slide bolt. Such devices were commonly used on both doors and shutters. The final item, a rim lock deadbolt fragment, was badly corroded and provides little insight into the size of the lock. Regardless, we aren't convinced rim locks would have been used on early nineteenth century slave houses and imagine that this represents an item salvaged from the main house or discarded in the general area.

Furniture Group Artifacts

Nine furniture artifacts were recovered from Block 2, including six brass tacks and one tack head, a brass escutcheon and a white metal escutcheon. As previously mentioned, the tacks can be associated with any number of different furniture items, either as attachment devices or as decoration. The escutcheons were likely used with drawer pulls. Like many of the items found in the slave settlement these would have been salvaged from discarded main house items.

Arms Group Artifacts

Arms artifacts are more common in Block 2 than they were from Block 1, perhaps reflecting intrasite differences or perhaps reflecting the proximity of the later slave house. Regardless, the recovered items account for only about 0.1% of the total assemblage.

The recovered materials include perhaps as many as three gunflints and five pieces of lead shot. Dr. Jack Meyer also examined these gun flints, observing that one black specimen is probably English flint and was likely used in a pistol or small rifle. Another example, although of honey-colored flint, is probably neither English or French, but more likely reflects an unfinished musket flint made using local material. The third example is problematic. It may represent a locally made and very heavily used flint, but if so it was poorly made (Dr. Jack Meyer, personal communication 1998). In other words, of the three flints, two were likely of local material and inexpertly made. Might these reflect slave-made flints? Given South Carolinians' cyclical preoccupation with the possibility of slave revolts,

especially after 1739 (as a result of the Stono Slave Rebellion), it seems that efforts would have been made to keep weapons closely regulated and out of slave hands. Yet almost every slave settlement seems to produce evidence of weapons. Of course, it is still a long reach from gunflints and lead shot to gun possession.

The lead shot in Block 2 includes a specimen about 0.58 inch in diameter, just slightly larger than one found in Block 1 and attributed to an eighteenth century musket with a caliber of .60 to .63. It is likely that this Block 2 specimen is within normal tolerance and was similarly used. The other specimens include two measuring 0.339 and one measuring 0.335. These are slightly large for the buckshot of the period, but according to Hamilton (1980:130) might be appropriate for an English carbine bore of .65 inches.

Tobacco Group Artifacts

Block 2 produced 550 tobacco artifacts (representing 5.4% of the total assemblage), including 446 pipe stem fragments, 101 pipe bowl fragments, and three strike-a-light flints.

Of the 101 bowls, 86 were plain, seven had vertical ribs, two had diagonal ribs, one had rouletting at the rim, one was decorated with a grape cluster, one had an unidentifiable molded design, one was the classic "TD" bowl, and the final example had only a "B" molded into the bowl. As previously mentioned, the "TD" pipes seem to have been first made in the eighteenth century, but continued well into the nineteenth century and so provide little chronological control.

The most common diameter pipestem is 5/64-inch, accounting for 64.6% of the collection (N=288). Two stems are stamped, one with "McDougal/Glasgow" and the other "_IN GOUDA." A McDougall pipe was found in Block 1 and the company's date range is 1846 through 1867. It is interesting to note that pipes are found with McDougall spelled with both one and two "l"s. Gouda is not a manufacturer, but a town. The Gouda industry began about 1611 in Holland and these Dutch pipes were so cheap to import into England that in 1789 Great Britain took steps to ban their importation. The pipes appear to have been introduced

into the Colonies during the American Revolution at a time when French support of the revolting colonies disrupted trade with Britain (Walker 1977:256-266). Pipes with the Gouda stamp apparently continued being produced until at least the mid-nineteenth century (Humphrey 1969:20).

One of the pipe stems has a deep black color, although the paste appears identical to others made with traditional ball clay. It is likely that this specimen was fired in a reducing atmosphere, resulting in the color.

The next most common pipestem bore diameter is 4/64 (N=126, 28.3%). Stems with a bore diameter of 6/64 account for an additional 4.3% of the collection (N=19). Stems measuring 7/64 are very uncommon, with only two examples being identified. An additional 11 specimens were too fragmented for measurements.

Also present in the tobacco assemblage are three flints which exhibit extensive wear. They are not appropriate, in either size or wear, for gunflints, so we believe that they likely represent flints used with strike-a-lights.

The principal of use is quite simple — when the edge of a flint was struck against a steel device (which had to have a high carbon content), sparks were generated. These sparks were actually small fragments of the incandescent steel, torn away by the much harder flint. White explains the process:

the steel was held at a proper distance above the tinder (usually about nine inches). When the flint was struck obliquely and downward, the impact on the steel gave off sparks, which fell into the tinder and began to smoulder. With a little delicate blowing, a glow was picked up with the dextrous application of a sulfur match. Once aflame, the march was used to light a candle or other fire. . . it usually took about three minutes to get the fire going (White 1985:32).

The flints used could be locally made, but were also, like gunflints, mass produced. White notes that the largest were about 2-inches across and might be circular, oval, horseshoe-shaped, or square (see Figure 44).

The specimens from Block 2 include two burnt examples (both apparently fragmented) and one made from a reddish-brown flint. This latter example measures about 27 by 18 mm and is rectangular in shape.

Clothing Group Artifacts

This category includes 31 buttons and 11 other clothing items, accounting for 0.4% of the total assemblage from Block 2. The buttons, classified by South's (1964) types, are listed in Table 12. These styles span the mid-eighteenth through mid-nineteenth centuries, with 11 dating from the eighteenth century, 10 from the first third of the nineteenth century, and the remaining 10 dating from the mid-nineteenth century.

The other clothing items include one white porcelain collar button, one brass aglet, a scissor fragment, and nine buckles.

By 1827 separate collars had been introduced and collar buttons were developed to attach the collars to the shirts. By the 1860s disposal collars were introduced, but these still relied on the collar button (Payne 1965:460,464). Although their popularity declined toward the end of the nineteenth century, they probably continued to be available for the first several decades of the twentieth century.

Four of the nine buckles would have been used on leather shoes, securing the two leather straps that were common during the eighteenth century. Abbitt reports that shoe buckles were declining in popularity by the late eighteenth century and are rarely found in archaeological contexts after 1815 (Abbitt 1973:30). Using her typology two distinct types of buckles are present: one is Type Ia iron buckle, the other three are Type III brass buckles.

The Type Ia buckle is fragmentary, including

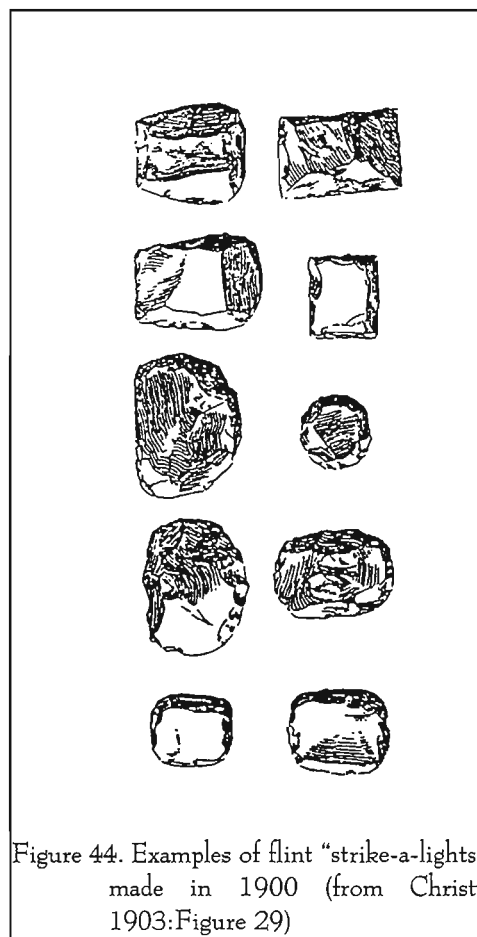


Figure 44. Examples of flint "strike-a-lights" made in 1900 (from Christy 1903:Figure 29)

only a portion of the frame and tongue. Likewise, all of the Type III buckles are also fragmentary, in each case only a portion of the frame has been recovered and no backpieces have survived.

Three of the remaining buckles are iron, ranging in size from about an inch square to about 1 $\frac{5}{8}$ by 1 $\frac{5}{8}$ inch. These single frame buckles are the type that, during the eighteenth century, might have been found on cartridge boxes or even saddle harnesses. By the nineteenth century they were common on leggings and a variety of accouterments. They are included in the clothing group since there is no way to determine their precise function.

One specimen, of white metal, is similar to buckles reported by Neumann and Kravic (1989:53) to have been used during the Revolutionary War on shoulder straps. It is, however, within the range of belt

Table 12.
Buttons Recovered from Block 1

Type	Description	#	Other (measurements in mm)
7	spun brass/white metal with eye cast in place	8	13.2, 16.5, 17.1, 22.4, 25.0, 25.4, 26.3, 27.7
8	molded white metal or brass with eye boss	2	18.3, 26.7
10	cast brass domed disc	1	15.5
18	stamped brass or white metal	2	18.6 ("W&R.S. PLATED") 24.9 ("GILT/GILT")
19	bone, 5-hole	3	17.8, 19.0, 19.9
23	porcelain, convex	4	10.2, 11.1, 11.2, 17.0
25	stamped brass face, iron back	1	26.4
27	brass, domed, machine embossed	1	12.1
28	stamped brass, concave back	1	14.1 x 10.6 (oval)
29	cast whitmetal, wire eye	2	16.7, 29.3
--	brass	1	--
--	iron	1	14.4
--	porcelain, 2-hole	1	6.4
--	black glass	1	12.6, height 5.7
--	blue glass	1	8.2 (faceted), height 4.9

specimen. The IIa specimen is opaque blue, and the Type If specimen is a clear faceted glass.

There is only a small portion of the toothbrush stock remaining, but it appears similar to those identified by Mattick (1993) as dating from end of the first half of the nineteenth century (ca. 1840-1850). Toothbrushes remained luxury items until well after 1850, so it is likely that this item was originally associated with the main house and was either salvaged by a slave or was perhaps discarded in the slave settlement.

The bone comb is a fine-tooth double-sided example and would have been used for extracting lice and other vermin from the hair (as well as to simply comb the hair). Those with teeth further apart and rounded were usually reserved for wigs. Noël Hume (1978:174) remarks that the style continued in use, at least for the "poor," into the mid-nineteenth century. Consequently this specimen provides no real assistance in dating.

buckles, so it too has been left in the clothing group.

The final buckle, of iron, is fragmentary but was probably associated with clothing based solely on its light weight.

Personal Group Artifacts

The 12 artifacts comprising the Personal Group represent only 0.1% of the total assemblage. Recovered were four beads, a bone toothbrush, a bone comb, a coin, two pocketknife fragments, a decorative brass object, a slate pencil, and a fragment of a counting slate.

The four beads include, using the Kidd and Kidd (1970) typology, two Type Ia beads, one Type IIa bead, and one type If bead. The Type Ia beads include one opaque blue glass example and one clear blue glass

The recovered coin is a "Shield Type" 5¢ piece dated 1866 — the first year the new nickel was issued. It has a U.S. shield on one side, along with the date, and on the reverse rays and stars surrounding "5" and surrounded by "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" (Yeoman 1990:98).

The pocket knife fragments include a brass body fragment and also a brass insert fragment. Both appear to represent relatively small knives, typical of those which became popular among the wealthy in the early eighteenth century. Although neither example appears to be exceptionally fine (having, for example, pearl scales), they probably weren't owned by slaves, but again represent items which found their way into the slave row.

The brass decorative object is a small stamped

device that would have been used to decorate leather or heavy fabric. It may be furniture related, or it might even be some form of very specialized horse tack. Regardless, because of its small size and delicate stamping we also believe that it may have been used on some personal possession and have included it in this category.

"Slate" pencils were common, especially among children, during all of the eighteenth century. The pencil was actually a piece of graphite which was used to leave marks on a harder slate writing board. Later in life, particularly among the more wealthy, these devices would give way to a quill pen. The pencil, lead surrounded by wood, wasn't introduced until the 1840s (Whalley 1975:116), although the slate pencil continued to be used well in the last third of the nineteenth century. Consequently, the fragment found in Block 2 may have come from main house, although it is just as likely that it was used by either one of the slaves or a freedman after the Civil War (perhaps at the nearby school).

Counting slates are occasionally found in both urban and rural contexts and appear to be a means of keeping count or track of something, perhaps cotton picked or cleaned or perhaps commodities loaded for shipment. Regardless, these small fragments are not uncommon at plantation sites.

Activities Group Artifacts

This final artifact group includes a total of 115 specimens (or 1.1% of the total Block 2 assemblage). The toy category includes two stone marbles; tools include a scythe fragment, a mill stone fragment, a chisel, two triangular file fragments, two fragments of rake heads, and a hoe fragment; and the fishing category include a lead weight. The storage category include 23 strap fragments, ranging in size from 1-inch through 1³/₄-inches. Miscellaneous hardware includes a staple, a brass screw fragment, an iron washer, a chain link fragment, and a flat headed screw fragment. Under the "Other" category are 42 fragments of unidentifiable iron, 10 slate fragments, one lead strip, four fragments of melted lead, a piece of brass with rivets, 12 flat copper sheets, a brass rivet, a piece of brass or copper wire, four quartz smoothing stones, and an engraved

rock.

Characteristic of the eclectic nature of the Activities Group, these artifacts represent a tremendous range of primarily specialized activities.

Stone marbles were often produced in Germany from limestone during the eighteenth century, although they continued to be readily available into the early twentieth century (Baumann 1991). As previously discussed, these may have been children's toys or may have been used in a variety of adult games.

The tool items represent a wide range of plantation activities. The scythe was used not only for cutting pasture grass, but also for cutting rice. The mill stone probably was used in a hand mill and wasn't intended for an industrial application. Regardless, it documents the milling of some type of grain, most likely corn. The chisel and file fragments, likely associated with woodworking, suggest that there may have been a carpenter in the slave village. The rake appears to be a nineteenth century example, cast as one piece in contrast to the eighteenth century examples which Noël Hume (1974) suggests were primarily wrought, often with the teeth individually forged and inserted into the bar. Unfortunately the hoe fragment was too badly corroded to provide much information, although it, too, seems to be a nineteenth century example.

The fishing weight is a common find at slave settlements. The recovered specimen has a diameter of 1.5 cm and a length of 1.4 cm with a central hole. These might have been used as line weights or, more likely, as net weights.

The strap fragments indicate barrels or boxes being brought onto the plantation, although considering the short lengths recovered, the collection doesn't actually imply any great number of materials. Like those from Block 1, these likely date from the nineteenth century and may, in fact, have been deposited during the Civil War.

The hardware items are all common items — screws, staples, washers, and chain probably being found in a number of contexts. The brass screw, of course, suggests something of a decorative context and may

perhaps be associated with some of the furniture hardware found in this area of the settlement.

The "other" category includes a number of sheet metal fragments which suggest that there may have been efforts to repair copper items, such as pots, pans, or buckets. Such repair efforts were fairly common since cooper and brass items tended to be expensive and worth retaining.

Three of the four quartz smoothing stones were identified in the plowzone of 480R450, while the remaining example was recovered from the plowzone of 470R430. These items may be associated with the production of Colono ware or have some other function in the African American household, although it is also possible that they are associated with the site's sparse Native American collection.

Of perhaps greatest is the worked stone. It is a relatively hard local material measuring about 17.3 by 16.5 mm and between 6.9 and 9.7 mm in height. It has had a series of lines pecked into the surfaces. Although they form no recognizable design, they are carefully applied and, given the size of the object, reflect considerable skill and effort. Although we aren't prepared to propose that this stone (or the one in Block 1) are associated with some African American cosmology, it is odd that these two worked pieces (which have no prehistoric parallel) have been found on an early African American slave settlement.

The Slave Settlement

It maybe useful to the reader to briefly draw together the information in the two blocks and review what we have learned about the slave settlement. We won't try to offer many comparisons with other slave settlements, postponing that until the main settlement has also been discussed, allowing us to consider the plantation as an entity.

Perhaps first we should consider what the collection tells us about the occupation span, and most importantly, what it tells us about when the settlement was created, possibly saw changes, and then fell into discuss.

The mean ceramic dates for the two blocks are shown in Table 13. This table also provides information concerning manufacturing date range for the various ceramics. The *terminus post quem* (or TPQ) date is that date *after which* the zone was deposited. It is based on the latest dated artifact present in the assemblage. The mean ceramic dates for the two blocks are 1790.8 and 1783.9 — only 6.9 years difference. Based just on the ceramics, the TPQ for the two blocks is 1836 — the beginning date for sponge decorated whiteware. In other words, there had to be occupation in this area at least as late as 1836 for this ceramic to have been present, broken, and deposited. In actuality, based on other materials, such as the South Carolina Dispensary bottles, it seems likely that there was some limited occupation in the area — probably by freedmen farmers — as late as perhaps 1890. However, the absence of ceramics such as decalcomania whiteware suggests that the occupation did not extend into the twentieth century. Likewise, the small assemblage of later materials indicates that the freedmen were either very few in number or that the settlement was short-lived. In fact, when the historic documentation is considered, it is also possible that the freedmen did not actually live on the study tract and their refuse is simply being scattered by plowing.

South's bracket dates and Bartovic's ceramic test (Figure 45) provide additional help. South would propose a date range for the Block 1 occupation of 56 years, from 1780 to 1836. In contrast, Bartovic would place the origin earlier — about 1762 — and terminate occupation by 1830. In Block 2, South's bracketing technique reveals an identical range of 1780 to 1836, while Bartovic's formula indicates an identical beginning date as Block 1 — 1762 — but suggests an additional decade of occupation to 1840.

The two techniques also suggest that while the occupation may have been sparse, there is somewhat better evidence for occupation prior to the proposed beginning dates than there is for a continuation past about 1840. Moreover, there seems to be a more gradual decline in the nineteenth century, beginning perhaps as early as 1820.

It helps to compare these data are compared to the historic record. The reader may recall that the

plantation was probably first developed by Samuel Prioleau in the first half of the eighteenth century and that by 1731 he and his son, Elisha, apparently were involved in business dealings based on the plantation. This frontier development, however, was not likely to leave very dramatic evidence — and that is exactly what we see, especially in Bartovic's ceramic test. There is steady, but minimal activity in Block 2 and a slight jump about 1740 in Block 1.

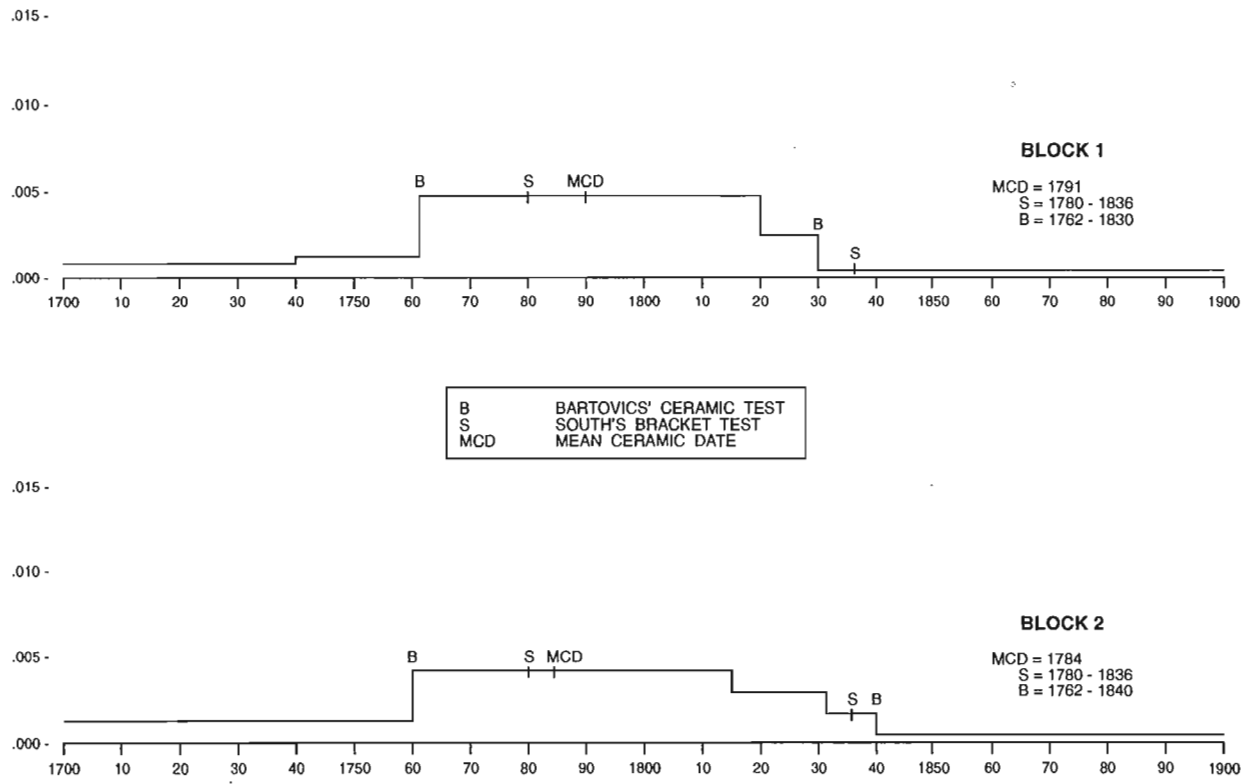
In the early 1750s George Roupell acquired a portion of the plantation through marriage and, by 1757, had consolidated his interest by purchasing the remainder. It seems likely that it was about this time that activities on the plantation dramatically increased. And, in fact, it is about this time that both South and Bartovic recognize a dramatic jump in activity. The ceramic evidence supports our historic conclusion that it was Roupell

Table 13.
Mean Ceramic Dates for Blocks 1 and 2

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	Block 1		Block 2	
			(fi)	fi x xi	(fi)	fi x ix
OG hand painted	1660-1800	1730	3	5190	9	15570
UG blue hp porcelain	1660-1800	1730	180	311400	145	250850
Nottingham	1700-1810	1755	9	15795	18	281280
Westerwald	1700-1775	1738	37	64306	43	74734
White SG ST	1740-1775	1758	248	435984	160	281280
White SG, scratch bl	1744-1775	1760	34	59840	36	63360
Black Basalt	1750-1820	1785			6	10710
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	711	1232163	664	1150712
Jackfield	1740-1780	1760	7	12320	16	28160
Green G, cream bd	1759-1775	1767			31	54777
Clouded wares	1740-1770	1755			4	7020
Luster wares	1790-1840	1815			2	3630
Decorated delft	1600-1802	1750	169	295750	130	227500
Plain delft	1640-1800	1720	152	261440	117	201240
North Devon	1650-1775	1713			45	77085
CW, cable	1790-1820	1805	1	1805	1	1805
annular	1780-1815	1798	16	28768	27	48546
hand painted	1790-1820	1805	9	16245	5	9025
undecorated	1762-1820	1791	1504	2693664	1116	1998756
PW, mocha	1795-1890	1843	3	5529		
poly hp	1795-1815	1805	140	252700	88	158840
blue hp	1780-1820	1800	122	219600	120	216000
blue tp	1795-1840	1818	178	323604	286	519948
edged	1780-1830	1805	129	232845	108	194940
annular/cable	1790-1820	1805	142	256310	75	135375
undecorated	1780-1830	1805	691	1247255	462	833910
WW, green edged	1826-1830	1828	6	10968	5	9140
blue edged	1826-1880	1853	32	59296	26	48178
poly hand paint	1826-1870	1848	13	24024	6	4088
blue tp	1831-1865	1848	45	83160	25	46200
non-blue tp	1826-1875	1851			4	7404
annular	1831-1900	1866	141	263106	55	102630
sponged	1836-1870	1853	2	3706	3	5559
undecorated	1813-1900	1860	577	1073220	252	468720

$$\text{Block 1: } 9,638,310 \div 5,382 = 1790.8 \quad \text{Block 2: } 7,340,607 \div 4,115 = 1783.9$$

OG = overglazed; UG = under glazed; SG = salt glazed; G = glazed; hp = hand painted; tp = transfer printed



ROUPELMOND PLANTATION

Figure 45. Chronological ranges of the slave settlement occupation.

that developed the plantation.

The historic evidence reveals that the plantation weathered the American Revolution and that Roupell held the tract, continuing his plantation activities until his death in 1794. His wife appears to have continued operating the plantation until her death in 1819. Her children, by then living in England, seem to have wanted no part in the plantation and sold the tract that same year to John Gibbes Barnwell.

This is of interest since both Blocks 1 and 2 reveal considerable change beginning about 1800. For example, it appears that the old wall trench structures were abandoned and replaced with "modern" frame houses. Yet, the ceramics suggest a lowering or decline during the first quarter of the nineteenth century — occurring at about the time the plantation passed from Roupell's widow to Barnwell.

Middleton Stuart became associated with the plantation toward the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century and held the tract, apparently living on the plantation, until the Civil War. While the ceramics and architecture reveal that occupation continued, it seems that there was some stagnation on the plantation, especially after about 1840 — which is when Middleton Stuart died. Although the ownership passed to Stuart's widow, Mary Barnwell, the operation passed to Henry Barnwell, Mary's brother. As an

absentee operator, it seems unlikely that he would have been as careful in operating a marginal plantation as its earlier on-site owners.

The chronological evidence, in other words, helps us interpret the historical documents and piece together a far more complete picture of activities. This approach points out how sensitive even slave settlements can be to changes in ownership and plantation reorientation or reorganization. Although it is tempting to examine evidence of African American slavery solely from the perspective of white dominance and control, the relationship was far more complex. Morgan comments on the mutual dependence:

Nothing and no one escaped the effects of slavery, an institution forged in the heat of continual, inescapable, face-to-face encounters (Morgan 1998:377).

It is also helpful to examine the slave settlement from the perspective of what archaeologists call the artifact pattern — a way of arranging the collection of artifacts in various categories. These patterns also help compare sites and have resulted in the definition of several broad or defining patterns. There are patterns representative of eighteenth century slaves, nineteenth century slaves, yeoman farmers, and of course plantation owners. The pattern resulting from an excavation depends, quite naturally, on the part of the plantation being examined. Archaeologists have realized this for years (see Joseph 1989), and it is most important when you begin to compare and contrast patterns. At Roupelmond we have excavations in several areas of both slaves and planters so we believe that enough areas of the plantation landscape have been sampled to ensure that the resulting artifact patterns are valid

Table 14.
Previously Published Artifact Patterns Compared to Roupelmond Slave Blocks
(numbers in percents)

	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern ^a	Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern ^a	Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern ^b	Roupelmond Slave	
				1	2
Kitchen	51.8-65.0	70.9-84.2	20.0-25.8	84.5	73.4
Architecture	25.2-31.4	11.8-24.8	67.9-73.2	9.9	19.4
Furniture	0.2-0.6	0.1	0.0-0.1	0.1	0.1
Arms	0.1-0.3	0.1-0.3	0.0-0.2	0.1	0.1
Tobacco	1.9-13.9	2.4-5.4	0.3-9.7	4.6	5.4
Clothing	0.6-5.4	0.3-0.8	0.3-1.7	0.2	0.4
Personal	0.2-0.5	0.1	0.1-0.2	0.1	0.1
Activities	0.9-1.7	0.2-0.9	0.2-0.4	0.5	1.1

^aGarrow 1982

^bSingleton 1980

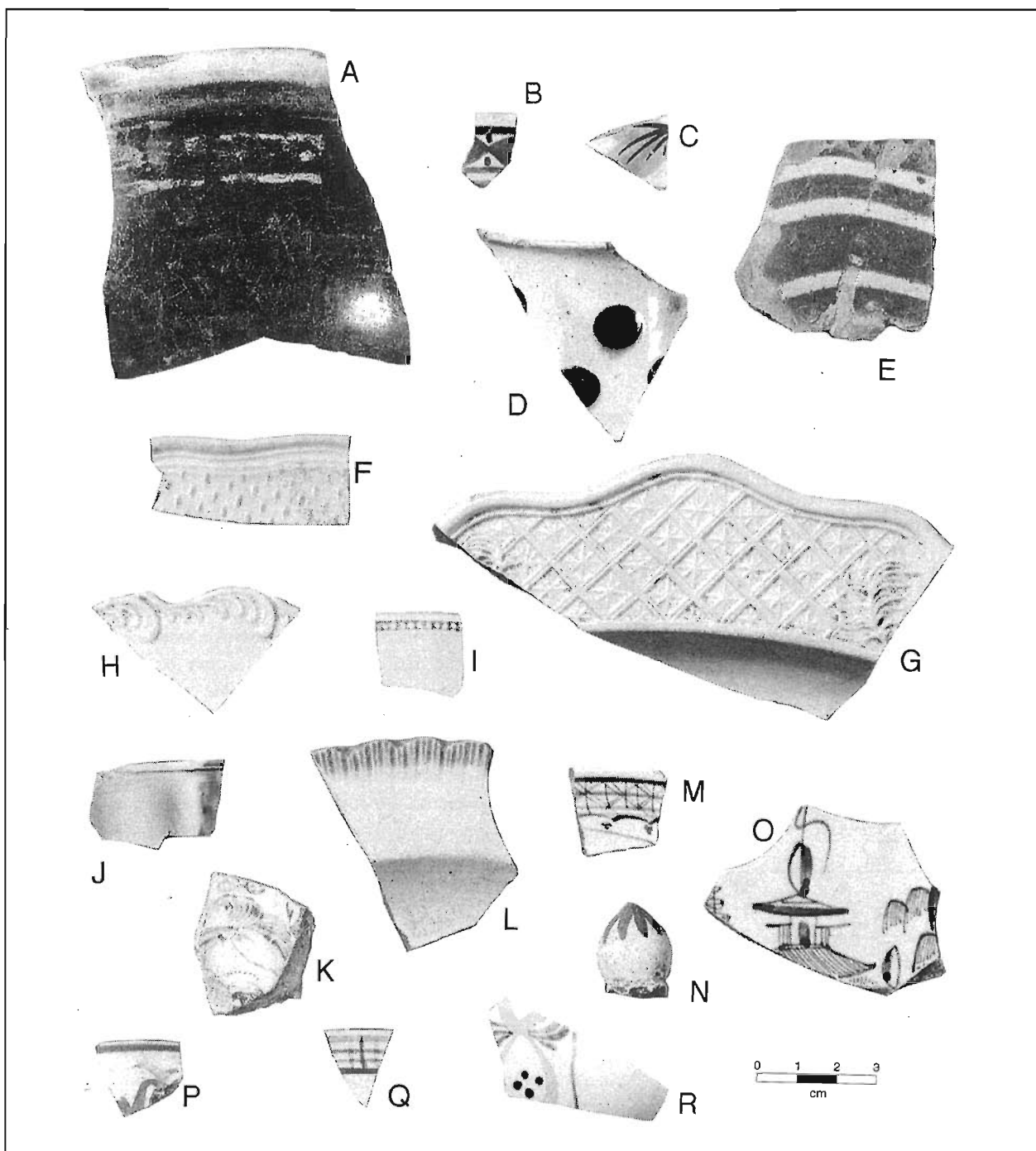


Figure 46. Kitchen Group artifacts from Roupelmond Plantation. A, delft, purple interior; B-C, delft, polychrome hand painted; D-E, lead glazed slipware; F, white salt glazed stoneware, barley pattern; G, white salt glazed stoneware, star and diaper pattern; H, creamware, feather edge; I, creamware, beaded; J, creamware, clouded; K, creamware, red hand painted overglazed; L, pearlware, green edged; M, pearlware, blue hand painted rim; N, pearlware, polychrome lid knob; O, pearlware, blue hand painted; P, pearlware, polychrome hand painted rim; Q, pearlware, polychrome hand painted rim; R, pearlware, polychrome hand painted.

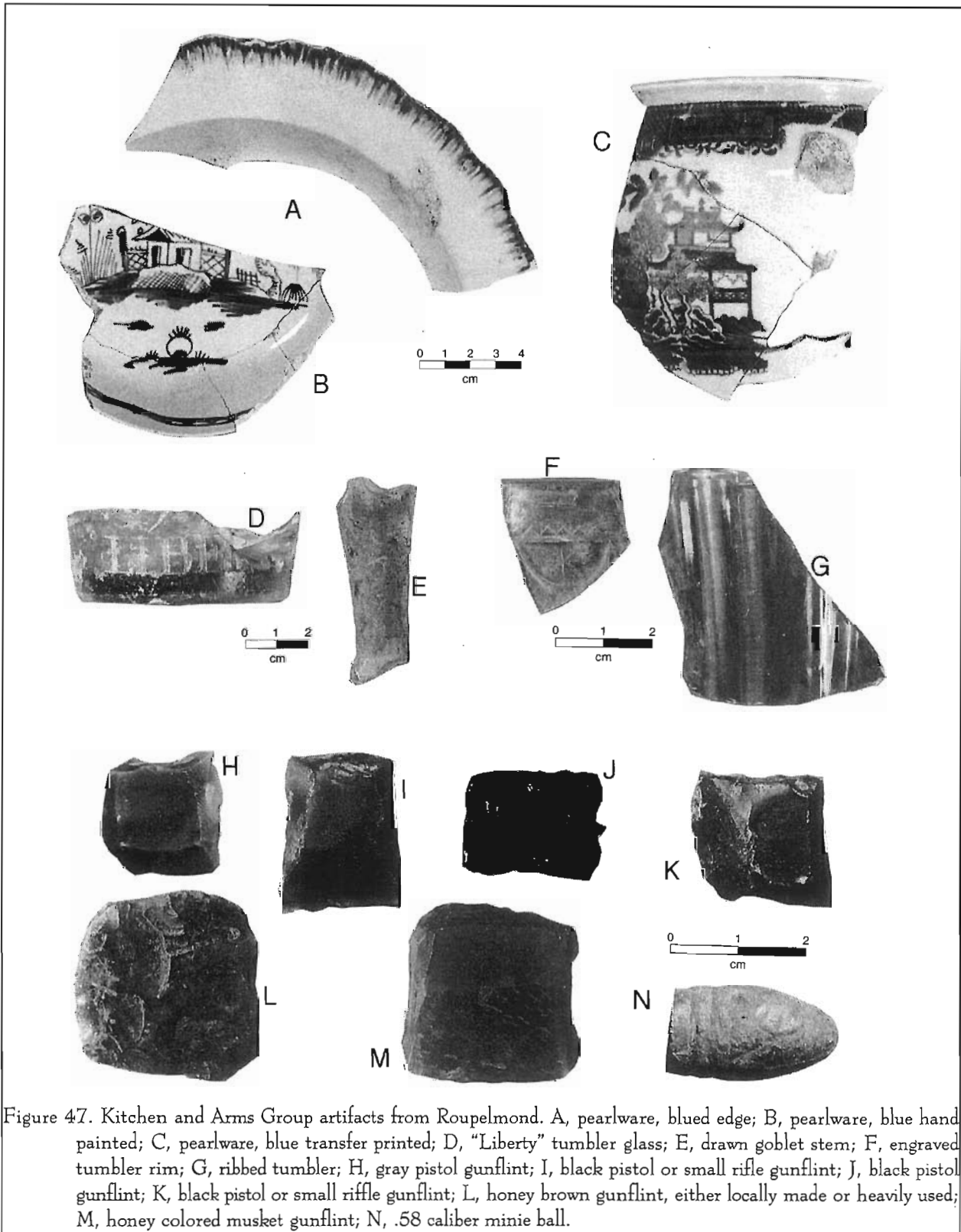


Figure 47. Kitchen and Arms Group artifacts from Roupelmond. A, pearlware, blued edge; B, pearlware, blue hand painted; C, pearlware, blue transfer printed; D, "Liberty" tumbler glass; E, drawn goblet stem; F, engraved tumbler rim; G, ribbed tumbler; H, gray pistol gunflint; I, black pistol or small rifle gunflint; J, black pistol gunflint; K, black pistol or small rifle gunflint; L, honey brown gunflint, either locally made or heavily used; M, honey colored musket gunflint; N, .58 caliber minie ball.

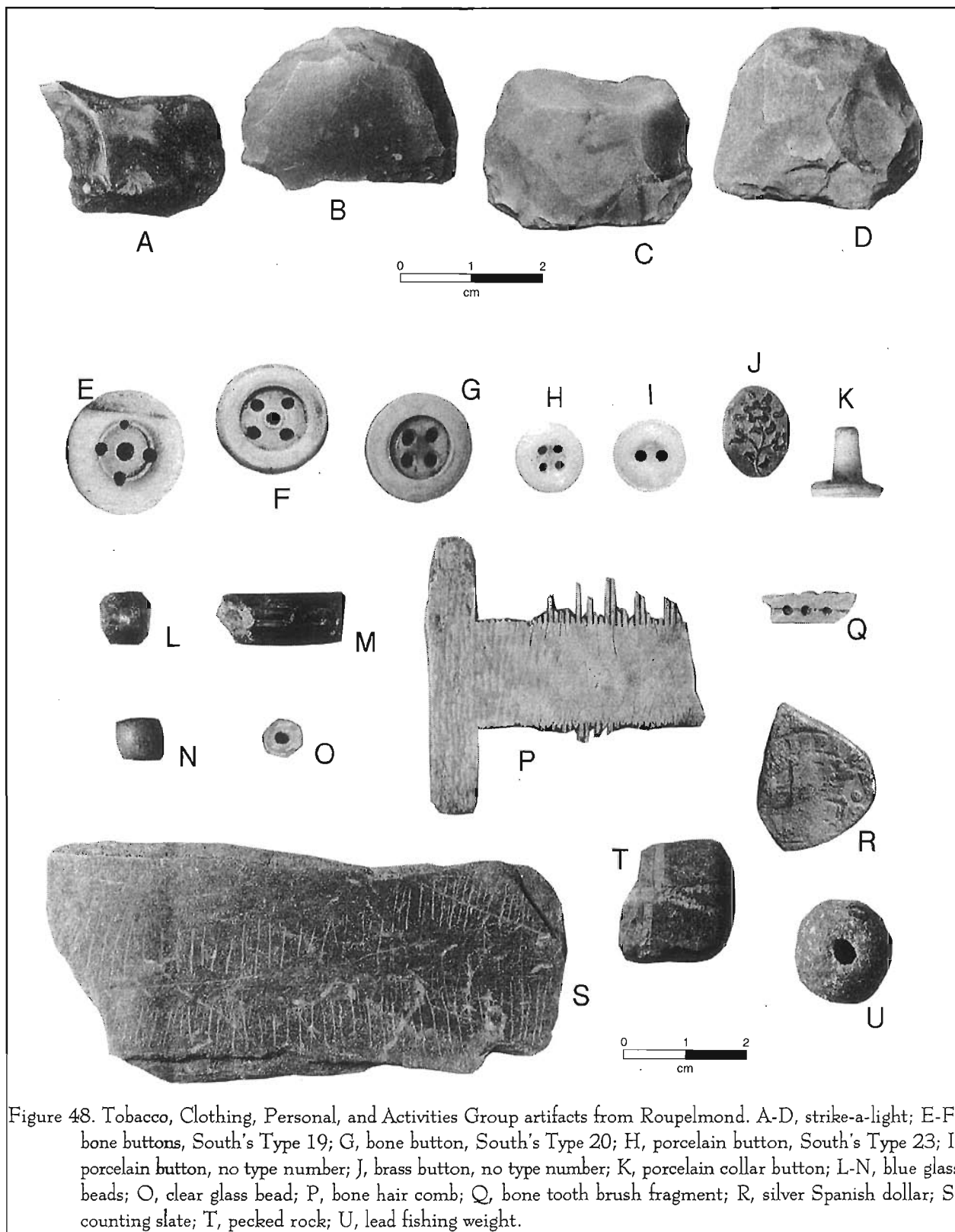


Figure 48. Tobacco, Clothing, Personal, and Activities Group artifacts from Roupelmond. A-D, strike-a-light; E-F, bone buttons, South's Type 19; G, bone button, South's Type 20; H, porcelain button, South's Type 23; I, porcelain button, no type number; J, brass button, no type number; K, porcelain collar button; L-N, blue glass beads; O, clear glass bead; P, bone hair comb; Q, bone tooth brush fragment; R, silver Spanish dollar; S, counting slate; T, pecked rock; U, lead fishing weight.

representations of the site as a whole.

These patterns are presented in Table 14, along with a comparison to other patterns. Block 2 falls into the previously established Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern, developed for eighteenth century low country slave settlements, while Block 1 is exceedingly close. There is an abundance of kitchen related material — ceramics and glass primarily — with relatively little architecture. This low proportion of architecture is related to the nature of wall trench construction. Few nails are needed, there is little architectural hardware, and there are likely no windows. The trench, wood posts, some form of weaving, and mud daub are all that are typically present.

The higher percentage of architectural material in Block 2 is the result of the “improved” slave housing which was installed about 1800. Frame construction left behind more artifactual evidence, although as we see from Roupelmond, it doesn’t always leave more visible evidence in the soil.

In all other respects the Roupelmond slaves appear to have left behind a very typical range of artifacts. Their houses had few luxuries — including even furniture. They possessed few clothes and almost no personal possessions. Clothing items are typically limited to a range of buttons reflecting hand-me-downs and cheap materials purchased specifically for slave use. Their most distinctive personal possessions were beads, which seem almost ubiquitous at both eighteenth and nineteenth slave settlements.

The evidence of weapons is especially interesting, but very difficult to interpret as previously mentioned. Morgan (1998:389-391) provides an interesting discussion of this issue, observing that there was considerable inconsistency in both attitudes and actions. For example, while there were a number of laws enacted to restrict slave access to weapons, to ensure that weapons were controlled, and provide white oversight. Yet, it was also South Carolina’s public policy to arm slaves against the threat of the Spanish and Indians (as late as 1788 border whites were arming their slaves as protection against Georgia Indians). Moreover, Morgan observes that in Charleston slaves were frequently seen carrying firearms. He suggests that

whites were largely complacent because of the “overwhelming coercive powers available to individual masters and the white community in general” (Morgan 1998:391).

Regardless, we must also realize that the recovery of lead shot and gunflints do not necessarily indicate the presence of weapons, particularly on any sort of constant basis — anymore than the recovery of furniture hardware indicates that the slaves had finely crafted end tables. We may simply be seeing cast off or lost pieces. Furthermore, lead shot may have been brought in for use making fishing weights, or perhaps even in game.

In other words, there are some issues which archaeology — like documentary sources — is hard pressed to address. There is some evidence that slaves at Roupelmond had access to weapons, but this access may have been severely limited, or it may have much freer than we realize.

Tobacco pipes are relatively common at most eighteenth and nineteenth slave settlements and Roupelmond appears to fall toward the high end of this range. The importance of tobacco to slaves can’t be ignored. There are period accounts, such as the South Caroliniana Henry Muhlenberg who noted simply, “slaves love tobacco” (quoted in Morgan 1998:374), and there are even circumstances where slaves were buried with tobacco pipes (Morgan 1998:642).

Chief among the slaves personal possessions were beads. They are so common that many have suggested that beads are virtually diagnostic (Stine et al. 1996). Although blue is a frequently cited color, and our own research suggests that these are most common, a wide range of colors and styles were actually present.

Activities artifacts, as a “catch-all” may not be particularly significant, except that they contain a variety of items which help us better understand the daily lives of the slaves. The hoes, rakes, and scythes explore the range of daily work; the marbles remind us of both the raising of children and the effort to find some escape through gambling; the chisel and files remind us that it was the African American craftsmen who created the grand plantation houses and who

maintained the far more humble slave dwellings; the fishing weights remind us of the ebb and flow of coastal life; and the strange little ground and carved stones remind us that there are many aspects of slave life which still remain a mystery to us.

We have previously discussed the prevalence of flatware (plates and saucers) at both slave blocks and how this stands in contrast to many other eighteenth century slave settlements where the dominance of hollowares has been associated with the either the need or preference of slaves to prepare stews, soups, and similar one-pot meals. For example an eighteenth century slave structure at Cotton Hope on Hilton Head Island revealed a flatware:holloware ratio of 1:2 (Trinkley 1990:98). In spite of this, deviation from this supposed norm has been noted before. At the eighteenth century Broom Hall slave settlement flatwares and hollowares were present in about equal proportions and this was explained by the slaves acquiring large quantities of cast-off wares from the owners. It was also pointed out that the owners were quite wealthy, so this “trickle-down” of European wares was not because the owners were unable to afford alternatives (Trinkley et al. 1995:180). Unlike Broom Hall, however, Roupelmond does not exhibit a large Colono ware assemblage.

This “trickle-down” included not only ceramics, but a variety of goods, including glassware, bottles, and other items — such as a pocketknife and eating utensils discarded or stolen from the main house. Of course, some items were almost certainly discarded, such as broken lock boxes (although these may be remnants of work efforts by slave craftsmen).

The Main House

Block 3

Block 3, originally selected based on initial site testing which identified a concentration of material in this area as well as the presence of dense rubble along the nearby shoreline, produced 3,602 artifacts from 400 square feet, yielding an artifact density of 9 artifacts per square foot.

Table 15.
Major Types of Datable Pottery in Block 3

Porcelain	96	5.9%
Stoneware	107	6.6%
Brown	35	
Blue/Gray	8	
White	26	
Other	38	
Earthenware	1423	87.5%
Slipware	41	
Refined	3	
Coarse	36	
Delft	3	
Creamware	610	
Pearlware	449	
Whiteware	261	
Yellowware	11	
Burnt	8	
UID	1	

Kitchen Group Artifacts

A total of 2,229 Kitchen Group artifacts was recovered, most representing ceramics (1626 or 72.9%) or glass (574 or 25.8%). As elsewhere on the site, excavations in this area revealed a wide range of early eighteenth through mid-nineteenth century ceramics. Although present, early eighteenth century wares, such as Westerwald and North Devon Gravel Tempered, are less common here than in the slave settlement. Even the white salt glazed stonewares are less common here than in the slave settlement. As elsewhere, the whitewares provide the TPQ date for the block.

The major types of ceramics are shown in Table 15, revealing that tablewares, such as the porcelains, white salt glazed stonewares, delft, creamwares, and pearlwares, account for 95.1% of the ceramics. This leaves utilitarian wares accounting for 4.9% of the collection — far less than we found in the slave settlement.

Also in contrast to the slave settlement, the most common eighteenth century ware is the Chinese porcelain. Of the 57 fragments identified, 53 (93%) were underglazed blue and four (7%) were overglazed

enameled. The forms recovered include one cup (with a diameter of 3½ inches), eight bowls (ranging from 5 to 6½ inches in diameter), and three plates (from 5 to 8 inches). The porcelain (most particularly the hand painted overglazed ware), of course, is a high status item on eighteenth century sites. It is significant that porcelain was the most common early ware present in this portion of the site.

The next most common eighteenth century ware is lead glazed slipware, which accounts for 41 specimens. This pottery was far more utilitarian than porcelain, being used by the less wealthy on a daily basis. When examined in terms of vessel reconstructions there are four vessels presented — three bowls ranging from 5 to 6½ inches in diameter and a single plate.

White salt glazed stoneware accounts for only 23 fragments — putting it in third place. The bulk (69.6%, N=16) is undecorated or molded, with only a few fragments of scratch blue being recovered. Regardless, the collection includes four cups (all between 3 and 3½ inches in diameter), two bowls (between 3½ and 4½ inches), and a single 12-inch plate.

Delft is even less common, accounting for only 11 fragments — all plain. Being so small and failing to produce rims or feet no minimum vessel count is possible.

Other predominately eighteenth century wares found in the main house settlement include four specimens of Nottingham stoneware, one fragment of Westerwald, 13 pieces of Jackfield, and five specimens of clouded wares. But perhaps the most indicative ware of the eighteenth century are the two fragments of North Devon Gravel Tempered.

As previously discussed, these North Devon wares have a pink body with large quantities of gravel temper and a green interior glaze. Their forms are limited to creampans, jugs, and jars. Like the slipwares they are largely utilitarian and characterize the types of materials relied on by the yeoman farmer for his daily work and survival. At higher status plantations they are assumed to represent working kitchens or storage, rather than the tableware of the master.

The creamwares are the first ceramic to be found in any significant quantity, representing 42.9% of the earthenwares recovered from Block 3. The most common creamware was undecorated, accounting for 569 specimens or 93% of the creamwares. Identified motifs include cable, annular, hand painted, blue edged, and sponged.

The creamwares represent two cups, 15 bowls, and 18 plates. Not surprisingly the annular creamware consists entirely of bowl forms, ranging from 4½ to 6½ inches in diameter. These account for nine of the 15 bowls, with the others consisting of either undecorated or beaded (a molded decoration) specimens. Plates include examples of the Royal and Queens patterns, as well as feather and shell edges, and a barley pattern. Also present were a clouded specimen, one blue edged example, and two hand painted overglazed plates. There was, in other words, considerable variety in the creamwares.

One other form spanning the transition between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was found in Block 3 — Black Basalt. Introduced by Wedgwood about 1750, it continued to be used into the first several decades of the nineteenth century. The four fragments found in these excavations were likely examples of teaware, but they were so fragmented that no vessel form identification was possible.

Block 3 also produced 449 specimens of pearlware. The collection is just barely dominated by plain examples (N=175, 40%), with blue transfer printed comprising an additional 30.1% (N=135). Blue hand painted, also a high status motif, is the next

Table 16.
Shape and Function of Ceramic
Vessels From Area 7, Block 3

Shape	#	%
Tableware	138	91.4
Plates/saucers	75	54.4
Bowls	62	44.9
Serving	1	0.7
Tea & Coffeeware	12	7.9
Utilitarian	1	0.7

most common ware, accounting for 49 specimens (10.9%). The low status edged and annular wares are far less common (accounting for 33 and 32 specimens respectively), with mocha and molded wares together accounting for only four specimens.

In this portion of the main plantation settlement, the plain, annular, and edged wares account for 55.5% of the pearlware assemblage — not much less than was found in Block 2 of the slave row. The higher status wares, while dominated by the very expensive transfer printed wares, still account for only about 44.5% of the assemblage.

The pearlware analysis reveals that the assemblage included four cup forms (as undecorated and blue hand painted) ranging from 3 to 3½ inches in diameter. There were 22 bowls, ranging in diameter from 4 inches up to 11 inches (the latter perhaps representing a serving vessel). In spite of this one large example, seven are 4½ inches and eight are 5 inches. Seven of the bowls are transfer printed and eight are hand painted. So while the bowl form may be frequently associated with slaves, over two-thirds of the bowl forms are decorated with expensive motifs that would most likely that been used by the planter — not his slaves.

There are 35 plates in the collection, varying from 6 to 9 inches in diameter, with most between 7 and 8 inches. Only eight of these plates are transfer printed; the rest represent less expensive wares, including two plain and 25 edged. This, in contrast to the evidence from the bowls, suggests a lower status.

The whitewares — the next stage of ceramic development — account for only 261 specimens. Of these nearly two-thirds (61.3%) are undecorated. The next most common motif, as was the case with the pearlwares, is transfer printed (N=66, 25.3%). Annular is the third most common motif (N=22), followed by non-blue transfer printed (N=6), edged (N=4), and polychrome hand painted (N=3).

This whiteware assemblage appears to represent at least 27 vessels, including 11 bowls and 15 plates. The bowl forms include two undecorated, four hand painted, and five annular styles. The plates include six plain specimens, six transfer printed, and three edged

examples.

When we consider vessel form, this portion of the main settlement, unlike the slave row previously discussed, is dominated by plate forms, not bowls (Table 16). Likewise, utilitarian pieces are very uncommon. For example, chamber pots are entirely absent. This may suggest that when damaged at least some of the materials were disposed of elsewhere — perhaps the marsh or perhaps somewhere in the vicinity of the slave row. What is unexpected is that tea and coffeewares account for only 7.9% of the assemblage — which is a smaller percentage than found in either of the slave blocks. Perhaps this is evidence of the dispersion of these pieces as they became damaged, coupled with a planter who had relatively few opportunities to entertain. Regardless, it is a far lower proportion than found in the main area of Broom Hall plantation, where teawares accounted for nearly a quarter of the collection (Trinkley et al. 1995:117).

This portion of Roupelmond produced only 13 examples of Colono ware pottery. Clearly, slave made ceramics were uncommon around the main house area and likely never appeared on the planter's table.

Container glass accounts for 574 fragments or nearly 25.8% of the Kitchen Group total. The most prevalent glass type is the "black" glass (actually dark green in transmitted light) similar to that found in the slave settlement. The 365 fragments of this glass comprises 63.6% of the glass found in Block 3. These fragments represent at least five bottles, all exhibiting blown bases.

Two of the bottles likely held wine and date from about 1790 through 1850 according to Jones' (1986) research. The remaining three specimens range from about 5.1 to 7.6 cm in basal diameter — too small for wine. Blown bottles of this size, however, may have held medicines, blackening, or any number of other commodities.

The next most common container glass was clear, accounting for only 74 fragments and 12.9% of the total glassware assemblage. From this collection only one bottle, a small (3.8 cm base) bottle with a

blown base, could be identified. This was likely a pharmaceutical or medicinal bottle.

Aqua is the next most common glass found, consisting of 63 specimens (10.9% of the assemblage) and representing one bottle with a blown base 2.5 cm in diameter. This was also most likely a medicinal bottle.

Also present were 19 fragments of dark aqua, 15 examples of green glass, 14 specimens of manganese, 11 fragments of brown glass, five light green fragments, four pieces of melted glass, two fragments of milk glass, and two pieces of blue glass.

There were 16 tableware items identified from Block 3, representing about 0.7% of the Kitchen Group artifacts. These include 13 fragments of tableglass and three utensil fragments.

The tableglass include primarily tumbler fragments, identifiable as ten distinct tumblers, ranging in size from 2½ to 3½ inches in basal diameter. All but one were plain, evidencing no engraving, cutting, or molding (although in each case only a small basal portion was available for study). All of the bases appear to be of pressed glass, suggesting a date not earlier than the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The one decorated tumbler had a starburst on the base of vessel and the sides exhibited a diamond pattern.

One goblet fragment, consisting only of the base and a small section of drawn stem is also present in the collection. In contrast to the goblets, this form is likely eighteenth century.

Finally, the collection also includes one bowl with a 12.9 cm diameter. The bowl is beyond the size of finger bowls and the wrong form for use as a wine caddy. It may have simply been a serving vessel.

The utensil fragments include two bone handles, one having a "pistol-grip" shape. Each had an iron tang and would originally have been either a knife or perhaps fork. Noël Hume (1978:182) suggest the pistol grip is characteristic early eighteenth century, while the other is more characteristic of the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Also recovered was a fragment of a white metal utensil handle. These

metal handles are typical of the eighteenth century.

Architecture Group Artifacts

A total of 1,287 architectural fragments was recovered from Block 3, representing about 35.7% of the total artifact assemblage.

The single largest category is that of flat glass (all of which appears to represent window glass), accounting for 63.5% of the group (N=817). Like elsewhere on the site, all of these fragments are small, reflecting considerable fragmentation of the panes, probably as a result of the intensive cultivation the site has seen over the years. Although not quantified, the collection has produced both green-tinted glass, common to eighteenth century specimens (Noël Hume 1978:233), and colorless glass, suggestive of nineteenth century assemblages.

The next most common materials are nails, with the 469 specimens accounting for 36.4% of the collection. Of these 451, or 96.2%, can be discounted since they could not be either measured or identified by type. Seven nails were identified as hand wrought, meaning they were individually forged by blacksmiths. As elsewhere on the site two head styles are present in the collection: rose heads (accounting for two of the three nails with identifiable heads) and clasp or "T-head" nails (accounting for the remaining one identifiable nail in the wrought category). Eleven cut nails were also found in Block 1. These were produced by a machine that cut each shaft from a sheet of iron, as discussed earlier in this section.

As demonstrated at the slave settlement, it is sometimes possible to use the relative frequencies of nail sizes to indicate building construction details since these different sizes served particular functions. Unfortunately with only five identifiable and measurable specimens this effort would have little validity. It is worth observing that the recovered sizes range from 2d to 10d, suggestive of a range of different functions. The absence of nails 16d and larger is perhaps more related to the use of traditional joinery techniques than to the corrosion problems associated with sites near the marsh.

The final item in the architectural assemblage

is a butt hinge fragment. The specimen has a length of 3½ inches and a width of 1½ inches. Such hinges were invented in 1775 and were being used very shortly after the American Revolution, at least in the Mid-Atlantic and Northeast (Streeter 1973:43). Lounsbury (1994:55), however, cautions that this new hinge probably didn't replace strap hinges until the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Consequently, butt hinges at Roupelmond may have been introduced as early as 1800 or perhaps as late as 1830. Regardless, this size hinge would probably have been used on an interior door (typically 4-inch butts were used on the heavier exterior doors).

Furniture Group Artifacts

The only furniture artifacts recovered from Block 3 are two brass tacks and a lamp prism of clear leaded glass.

This latter item might have been used with a hanging device, such as a chandelier, although a somewhat more modest lamp is far more likely. Moss (1988:37) notes that brass and glass chandeliers were being imported into the America in the eighteenth century, although most were found either in churches and public places. Even as they become more common in the nineteenth century, they still tended to be found only in the private residences of the larger, more urban centers. By the 1840s, however, smaller lamps adorned with prisms were much more common, often being sold in pairs "to decorate and illuminate parlor mantels" (Moss 1988:32).

Although the prism offers relatively little in the way of temporal control, it does reflect the wealth of the Roupelmond Plantation. However modest the lamp may have been, there were far more examples of candle and oil-burning devices that lacked the frills and expense of prisms.

Arms Group Artifacts

Five arms items were recovered in Block 3, accounting for 0.1% of the collection from this site area. Three of the items are lead shot, while the other two are minie balls.

The two minie balls, or rifle musket bullets, are 0.574 and 0.581 inches in diameter. Both would have been used in .58 caliber weapons of the Civil War period. Although there was some overlap these were probably Union bullets and neither had been fired.

The lead shot includes one ball 0.47 inch in diameter, which was probably used in an early to mid-eighteenth century weapon. Another was 0.591 inch in diameter, a shot size used in weapons more common during the War of 1812, but still around at the outbreak of the Civil War. The final shot is 0.65 inch; balls of this size were used in .69 caliber weapons, such as the M1842 musket and the M1847 musketoone (Thomas 1997:100). These, too, were pressed into service during the Civil War.

In other words, of the five items found in the main house block, four are likely associated with the Civil War and only one is likely from an earlier period.

Tobacco Group Artifacts

Block 3 produced 37 tobacco artifacts (representing 1.0% of the total assemblage), including 32 pipe stem fragments, three pipe bowl fragments, and two other tobacco-related items.

Of the three bowls, two were plain and one was decorated with vertical ribs which Noël Hume (1978:303) suggests date from about 1780 through 1820. The majority of the pipe stems had bore diameters of 5/64 inch (N=17, 53.1%), typical of the other site areas investigated. The next most common size was 4/64, contributing 13 specimens (40.6%). Two specimens were recovered with bore diameters of 6/64 inch.

The other tobacco items include a flint strike-a-light and a red clay pipe stem with a bore diameter of 4/64 inch.

Clothing Group Artifacts

This category includes only three buttons. Two are South's Type 7, cast metal buttons. One of these is brass, measuring 19 mm in diameter and the other is cast white metal and is 17.5 mm in diameter.

The third button is a Type 27, but consisting only of the back piece. Regardless, it is typical of those associated with Civil War uniforms.

Personal Group Artifacts

The three artifacts comprising the Personal Group represent only 0.1% of the total assemblage. Recovered were one fragment of mirror glass, a coin fragment, and an iron key fragment.

As Jones and Sullivan (1985:171) observe, mirrors were typically manufactured from either window or plate glass and with the silvering worn off there is really nothing else to distinguish mirror glass from other flat glass. Fortunately, there was remnant silvering in this case, although the recovered fragment was only about 2.5 cm square. The item was manufactured using plate glass about 5 mm in thickness and we were also fortunate enough to recover an edge, which exhibited the characteristic beveling. This mirror was likely of relatively high status and was likely fairly large.

The iron key fragment is small and was likely associated with either a padlock or a piece of furniture. We do not believe that it was likely the size appropriate for a rim lock.

The final item is a cut fragment of a silver eight reales coin. Solomon observes that:

the milled peso duro of eight reales, known as *dos mundos* or *columnaria*, authorized in June 1728, first minted in Mexico in 1732, was called the Spanish milled dollar by the American colonists. It and its fractions became the most important coins to circulate in colonial America (Solomon 1976:31).

The portion recovered from the main house area is the size which became known as "2-bits."

Activities Group Artifacts

This final artifact group includes a total of 35

specimens (or 1.0% of the total Block 3 assemblage). The toy category includes one stone marble and a porcelain doll arm fragment; miscellaneous hardware includes a bolt fragment, a brass wing nut, a brass nail fragment, an iron ring, and a staple; in the "other" category there are 18 unidentifiable iron fragments, two fragments of unidentifiable brass, four slate pieces, one quartz smoothing stone, a brass strip, a flower pot fragment, and a piece of folded lead.

As previously mentioned, stone marbles were often produced in Germany from limestone during the eighteenth century, although they continued to be readily available into the early twentieth century (Baumann 1991). They were both used by children in games and by adults in gambling.

The bisque porcelain doll arm is 3.4 cm in length and ranges from 7 to 9 mm in diameter, representing the wrist through the shoulder. Although the hand (which tends to be very diagnostic) is broken off, the shoulder reveals a small attachment hole. This may date from either the eighteenth or first half of the nineteenth century.

Block 4

Block 4, which incorporates several excavations northwest of the main house, was thought to be in an area of servant's housing and in the vicinity of considerable erosion into the marsh. The excavations produced a total of 1600 artifacts from 350 square feet, yielding an artifact density of 4.6 artifacts per square foot.

Kitchen Group Artifacts

A total of 1,119 Kitchen Group artifacts was recovered, most representing ceramics (933 or 77.8%) or glass (257 or 21.4%). This area produced a similar range of materials as Block 3, in a very similar type distribution. Also like Block 3, this area produced fewer early eighteenth century wares. For example, no North Devon Gravel Temper ceramics were recovered and the quantities of such wares as delft, Westerwald and white salt glazed stoneware are minor. In sum, it appears to be a very late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century assemblage. This is unexpected since the excavations

produced at least one wall trench structure in this block.

The major types of ceramics are shown in Table 17, revealing that tablewares, such as the porcelains, creamwares, and pearlwares, account for 95.9% of the ceramics. This leaves utilitarian wares accounting for a mere 4.1% of the collection — far less than we found in the slave settlement.

Although the numbers are small, unlike the main house block, where the porcelains were the most abundant eighteenth century wares, in this block the lead glazed slipwares are most common, accounting for 26 specimens. This may provide some support for these excavations being in the vicinity of the servants' quarters. Only two vessels were recognizable in the collections, both bowls around 5-inches in diameter.

The next most common ware is the Chinese porcelain, accounting for 22 specimens (one fragment of overglazed enameled and 21 fragments of underglazed blue). This assemblage produced a MNV of five, including two cups, one bowl, and two plates.

Only a single specimen was recovered of Westerwald, three fragments of white salt glazed stoneware, seven fragments of Jackfield, and four fragments of delft. In addition only one piece of Nottingham and three fragments of lusterware, both styles spanning transition from the eighteenth to nineteenth century, were recovered.

As in Block 3 the creamwares are the first ceramic to be found in any significant quantity, representing 45.6% of the earthenwares recovered from Block 4. The most common creamware was undecorated, accounting for 369 specimens or 93.7% of the creamwares — almost identical to Block 3. Identified motifs include cable, annular, and hand painted. Noticeably absent are the transfer printed wares, which were found in the vicinity of the main house.

The MNV creamware count is 11, representing two cups, four bowls, and five plates. The cups include undecorated and beaded examples, both 3½ inches in diameter. The bowls are primarily undecorated (ranging from 5 to 10 inches in diameter),

Table 17.
Major Types of Datable Pottery in Block 4

Porcelain	33	3.5%
Stoneware	36	3.9%
Brown	13	
Blue/Gray	7	
White	4	
Other	12	
Earthenware	864	92.6%
Slipware	26	
Refined	15	
Coarse	6	
Delft	4	
Creamware	394	
Pearlware	303	
Whiteware	97	
Yellowware	10	
Burnt	9	

with only one annularware example (5 inches in diameter). The plates, which range from 6½ to 8½ inches, include undecorated, clouded, and hand painted overglazed examples — all generally high status wares.

Block 4 also produced 303 specimens of pearlware. As in Block 3, plain examples account for a relatively low proportion of the collection (just over a third), with blue transfer printed wares accounting for another fifth of the assemblage. Blue and poly hand painted, also high status motifs, are the next most wares, accounting for 39 and 19 specimens respectively (19.1%). The low status edged and annular wares are far less common (accounting for 21 and 24 specimens respectively), representing only 14.9%.

In this portion of the main plantation settlement, the plain, annular, and edged wares account for 53.4% of the pearlware assemblage, while the expensive transfer printed and hand painted wares still account for only about 46.6% of the assemblage.

The pearlwares account for at least 32 vessels, including three cups, 16 bowls, and 13 plates. The cups are 3½ inches with either hand painted or transfer printed motifs. The bowls, which range from 4 to 10 inches, are surprisingly not dominated by annular patterns (which account for only six vessels), but rather

by the more expensive hand painted (accounting for six bowls) and transfer printed (accounting for four bowls) motifs. There are eight edged plates, with the remaining five including undecorated (N=1), transfer printed (N=2) and hand painted (N=2).

The whitewares — the next stage of ceramic development — account for only 261 specimens. Of these nearly two-thirds (61.3%) are undecorated. The next most common motif, as was the case with the pearlwares, is transfer printed (N=66, 25.3%). Annular is the third most common motif (N=22), followed by non-blue transfer printed (N=6), edged (N=4), and polychrome hand painted (N=3).

This whiteware assemblage appears to represent at least 15 vessels, including three bowls, 11 plates, and one teapot. The bowl forms include two undecorated and one hand painted. The plates include six edged and five transfer printed. The one tea pot was transfer printed.

When we consider vessel form, this portion of the main settlement, like the main house area (but unlike the slave settlement), is dominated by plate forms, not bowls (Table 18). Utilitarian forms, such as chamber pots and storage containers, are entirely absent in this area.

This portion of Roupelmond produced only one fragment of Colono ware pottery. Clearly, slave made ceramics were uncommon around the main house area and, as mentioned previously, probably never appeared on the planter's table.

Container glass accounts for 257 fragments or nearly 21.4% of the Kitchen Group total. The most common glass is the dark green (or "black") glass (N=187, 72.8%). These represent at least seven vessels, only one of which had a measurable basal diameter. This one vessel, at 7.6 cm, is below the range identified by Jones (1986) and likely represents a beer bottle from the last half of the nineteenth century, perhaps from the Civil War.

Clear glass is the next most common (N=27), followed by aqua (N=22), and green (N=10). Manganese and a dark aqua each account for four fragments, while brown glass contributes an additional

three pieces. Reliable minimum vessel counts could not be determined for these fragments given their size and the lack of bases or lips..

The five fragments of clear glass classified as tableware represent one goblet and one tumbler. Both are simple styles lacking decoration and they probably

Table 18.
Shape and Function of Ceramic
Vessels From Area 7, Block 4

Shape	#	%
Tableware	61	88.4
Plates/saucers	32	52.5
Bowls	28	45.9
Serving	1	1.6
Tea & Coffeeware	8	11.6
Utilitarian	0	0.0

date from the nineteenth century.

The three kitchenware items are all kettle fragments.

Architecture Group Artifacts

A total of 349 architectural fragments was recovered from Block 4, representing about 21.8% of the total artifact assemblage.

The single largest category is that of flat glass (all of which appears to represent window glass), accounting for 79.7% of the group (N=278). The flat glass has been extensively fragmented, probably by cultivation. Consequently, although the quantity is high, we believe that it represents relatively little actual glass and may even be dispersed from another site area.

Seventy nail fragments are present in the assemblage, 68 of which are too corroded and fragmented to allow either determination of either their type or size. Regardless, this represents a very small assemblage, suggesting that the excavations were not placed in the vicinity of any frame structures.

The only other architectural item recovered from the excavations is a fragment of what *superficially* appears to Purbeck "marble." The stone, once "black" (today gray-black, Munsell Rock Color Chart N2), has weathered, taking of a rough gray appearance. Purbeck marble, as it weathers and loses its polish, can almost appear to be like concrete. Upon closer examination, however, the stone lacks the characteristic small fossilized gastropods which characterize the Purbeck beds (see Dimes 1990:113-114 for a description of this stone). It is possible, however, that architects were not as geologically inclined and that Purbeck marble was taken to be any marble-like stone in black or gray. Lounsbury, for example, notes only when discussing English marble that, "much of this material was the dark gray *Purbeck marble* quarried in the south of England" (Lounsbury 1994:224). The specimen appears to be a small column fragment, as might be incorporated into a fireplace mantle surround.

Furniture Group Artifacts

The furniture artifacts recovered from Block 4 are two brass tacks and a small brass butt hinge measuring 2.7 cm in height and 1.2 cm in width. This is the type of hinge that might be found on a small trunk or piece of furniture.

Arms Group Artifacts

The arms-related artifacts consist of two gunflints gray and black in color. These are most likely pistol flints (Dr. Jack Meyer, personal communication 1998).

Tobacco Group Artifacts

The tobacco artifacts from Block 4 are equally sparse, consisting of 20 pipe stem fragments, five undecorated bowl fragments, and one strike-a-light flint. Together these items represent about 1.6% of the total assemblage from this portion of the site.

The majority of the pipe stems had bore diameters of 5/64 inch (N=17, 85%), typical of the other site areas investigated. The next most common size was 4/64, contributing three specimens.

The strike-a-light flint is honey-colored and measures about 30 by 23 mm.

Personal Group Artifacts

The single personal artifact recovered from Block 4 is a fragment of a "slate" pencil, which as previously discussed is actually graphite and was used for marking on a slate tablet.

Activities Group Artifacts

This final artifact group includes a total of 19 specimens (or 1.2% of the total Block 4 assemblage). The single tool item recovered was a triangular file. Hardware items consist of three wire fragments (which may represent remnants of barbed wire from the field edge). Under the "other" category are 15 items, including two brass strips, four strips of white metal, one lump of melted lead, six unidentifiable fragments of iron, one fragment of slate, and one unidentified brass item. This last artifact may represent a part of the inner workings of a clock or similar item. However, since its identification isn't certain it has been placed in the Activities Group.

The Main House Area

Just as it was useful to briefly review some of the conclusions suggested by the analysis of artifacts associated with the slave settlement, we hope that a few comments at this juncture may help the reader understand what these artifacts are telling us about the lives of the Roupels and Stuarts. Admittedly, the assemblage is far smaller than that recovered from the slave settlement — and smaller than we would have liked under different conditions — however, it still provides us with a glimpse of how these plantation families lived during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As in the previous section we won't offer comparisons to other plantation settlements, reserving that for the following discussions.

The collection does provide us with information concerning the occupation span, as well as some additional hints at changes in ownership and operation of the plantation.

The mean ceramic dates for the two blocks are shown in Table 19. This table also provides information concerning manufacturing date range for the various ceramics. As previously explained, the *terminus post quem* (or TPQ) date is that date *after which* the zone was deposited and is based on the latest dated artifact present in the assemblage. The mean ceramic dates for the two blocks are 1809.7 and 1800.1. Based on the ceramics the TPQ is 1830 and unlike the slave settlement there are relatively few artifacts that suggest any sort of occupation past about 1860. This is consistent with the historic research which has revealed that the Stuart's left the plantation at the outbreak of the Civil War and never returned.

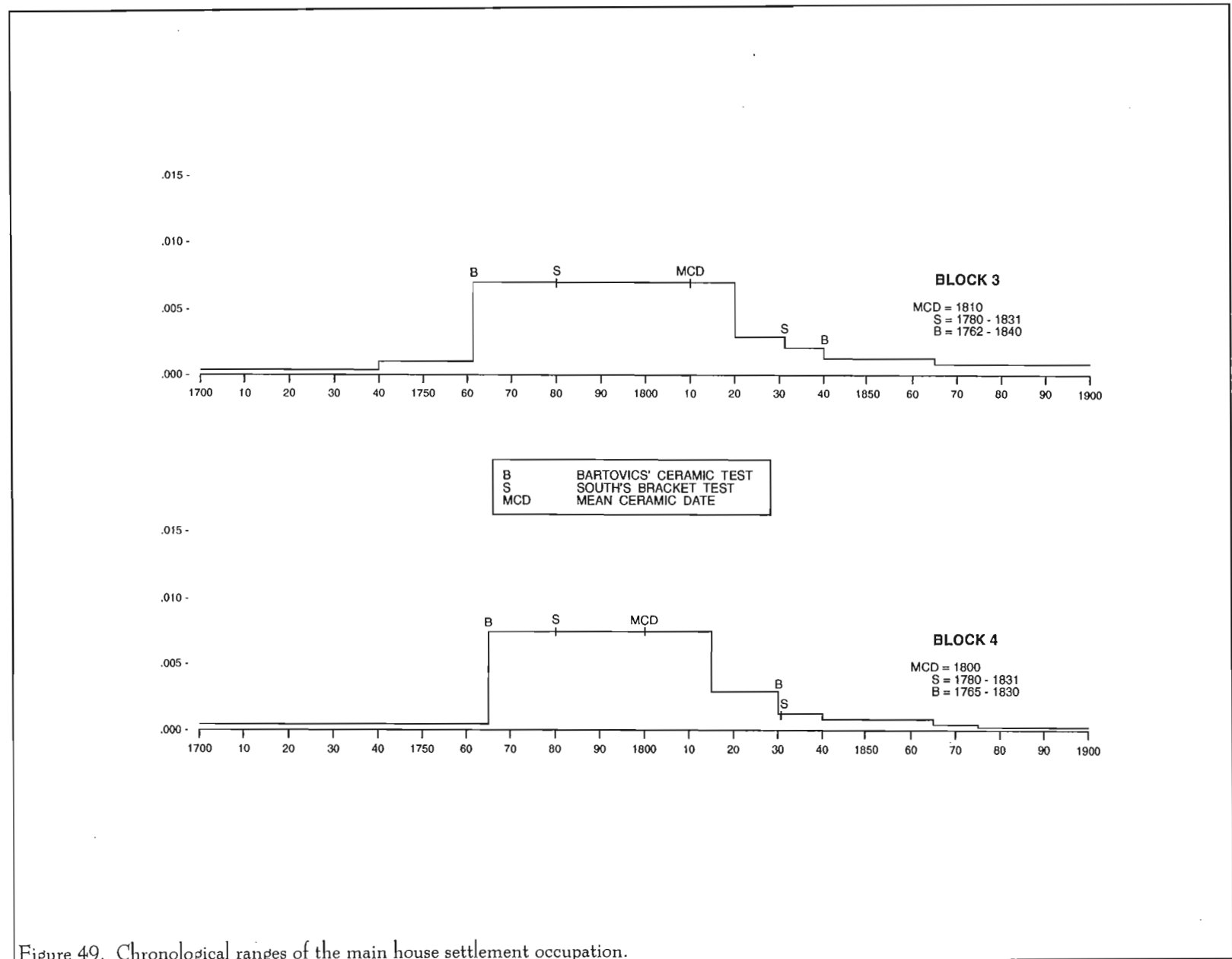
It also buttresses the historical evidence by revealing that there is no evidence for continued use of the main house after the Civil War — by freedmen, teachers, or others. We didn't, however, find any evidence that the main house was demolished and burned, as is suggested by the oral accounts and alluded to by some of the Civil War accounts. There were few burned artifacts and, just as telling, we found relatively few architectural items. This

Table 19.
Mean Ceramic Dates for Blocks 3 and 4

Ceramic	Date	Mean Date	Block 3		Block 4	
	Range	(xi)	(fi)	fi x xi	(fi)	fi x ix
OG hand painted	1660-1800	1730	4	6920	1	1730
UG blue hp porcelain	1660-1800	1730	53	91690	21	36330
Nottingham	1700-1810	1755	4	7020	1	1755
Westerwald	1700-1775	1738	1	1738	1	1738
White SG ST	1740-1775	1758	16	28128	2	3516
White SG, scratch bl	1744-1775	1760	7	12320	1	1760
Black Basalt	1750-1820	1785	4	7140	2	3570
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	41	71053	26	45058
Jackfield	1740-1780	1760	13	22880	7	12320
Green G, cream bd	1759-1775	1767	2	3534		
Clouded wares	1740-1770	1755	5	8775	3	5265
Decorated delft	1600-1802	1750			3	5250
Plain delft	1640-1800	1720	11	18920	1	1720
North Devon	1650-1775	1713	2	3426		
CW, cable	1790-1820	1805	4	7220	3	5415
annular	1780-1815	1798	17	30566	14	25172
hand painted	1790-1820	1805	9	16245	8	14440
undecorated	1762-1820	1791	569	1019079	369	705906
PW, mocha	1795-1890	1843	3	5529		
poly hp	1795-1815	1805	11	19855	19	13295
blue hp	1780-1820	1800	49	88200	39	70200
blue tp	1795-1840	1818	135	245430	83	150894
edged	1780-1830	1805	33	59565	21	37905
annular/cable	1790-1820	1805	32	57760	24	43320
undecorated	1780-1830	1805	175	315875	117	211185
WW, green edged	1826-1830	1828	1	1828		
blue edged	1826-1880	1853	3	5559	3	5559
poly hand paint	1826-1870	1848	3	5544	3	5544
blue tp	1831-1865	1848	66	121968	32	59136
non-blue tp	1826-1875	1851	6	11106	5	9255
annular	1831-1900	1866	22	41052	4	7464
undecorated	1813-1900	1860	160	297600	50	93000

Block 3: $2,655,718 \div 1,473 = 1809.7$ Block 4: $1,572,205 \div 873 = 1800.9$

OG = overglazed; UG = under glazed; SG = salt glazed; G = glazed; hp = hand painted; tp = transfer printed



ROUPELMOND PLANTATION

Figure 49. Chronological ranges of the main house settlement occupation.

suggests that the main house was extensively salvaged. We are inclined to acknowledge that it was damaged by Confederate gunners, and probably further damaged by Union pickets. During, or shortly after the war, it was probably extensively picked-over, with all useful items removed. Years later it simply collapsed and was then moved out of the field to allow cultivation.

There is less than a decade of difference between the two mean ceramic dates for the main settlement, yet they are nearly two decades later than the slave settlement. Given the intensity of the surveys conducted on the tract it seems unlikely that there was an earlier main house somewhere else; so do these dates mean that the slave settlement was perhaps established prior to the owner actually living on the plantation? Probably not.

South's bracket dates and Bartovic's ceramic test (Figure 49) provide additional help. South would propose a date range for the Block 3 occupation of 51 years, from 1780 to 1831. In contrast, Bartovic would place the origin earlier — about 1762 — and terminate occupation by 1840. In Block 4, South's bracketing technique reveals an identical range of 1780 to 1831, while Bartovic's formula indicates only a few years later starting date — 1765 — and a terminal date a decade earlier, in 1830.

In other words, the mean ceramic date is later because there was more whiteware, proportionally, at the main house than there was at the slave settlement (or alternatively, there were fewer early ceramics).

In Block 3 Bartovic's formula suggests some level of activity as early as 1740, although at Block 4 occupation began dramatically in 1765 with little, if any, earlier activity.

It is likely that the main settlement began at the same time as the slave settlements — perhaps as early as about 1730 or 1740, although it was certainly sparse. The structure was likely small and the ceramics present were likely minimal. In fact, they may even have been largely middling status as the plantation was being developed. By about 1760, however, there seems to have been a significant increase the quantity of materials.

Through time it seems that many of the main house materials were relegated to the slave row, probably to make way for new styles or fancier goods. In other words, the owners (based on the ceramics in both the main house and the slave row) were relatively wealthy and appear to have kept up with the new styles.

As in the slave settlement there appears to be a decline the occupation intensity at the end of the Roupels' tenure about 1820. And there is a second drop after about 1840 — which is when Middleton Stuart died. It should come as no surprise that if the slave settlement shows the effects of these ownership changes that the main house area would as well.

We believe that the main settlement, like the slave area, when through a period of dramatic change about 1790 or 1800. The best archaeological evidence of this is comparing the wall trench structure in Block 4 with the period sketch of the plantation as it existed during Stuart's ownership. Clearly the wall trench buildings around the main house had been replaced with "proper" formal architecture.

Although little evidence for this supposition was uncovered, we are also inclined to believe that the main house itself went through a period of extensive modification and enlargement. This would certainly fit the low country pattern, reflecting the efforts of owners to publicly demonstrate their power and wealth after recovering from the Revolution. Architectural artifacts such as the scored stucco and the finely crafted marble indicate that the owner went to considerable lengths (especially given the remote location) to reflect the style and sophistication appropriate to a planter of his standing. In addition, although the artifact assemblage is sparse, there are remains that also reflect this focus — the heavy mirror, the lamp prism, and the possible clock part, all suggest an effort to transport a little bit of Charleston to Whale Branch. Moreover, examining the artifacts (which largely wound up in the slave settlement) we see a range of very elaborate glassware — etched and cut, even painted — as well as evidence of the tea ceremony. There are wine caddies and finger bowls — both essential elements of a well set table.

Just as with the slave row, it is also useful to explore this main settlement's artifact pattern (Table

20). Blocks 3 and 4 are clearly different, especially in the categories of kitchen and architecture. Block 3, however, closely resembles the previously defined Caroling Artifact Pattern, which is characteristic of planters throughout most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The architectural remains in Block 3 are slightly inflated, but we are included to accept those figures as being inflated by the structure's demolition. Likewise, some of the categories seem low, but these have probably also been affected by the site's abandonment just prior to the Civil War and the subsequent demolition after years of salvage.

Block 4, on the other hand, much more closely resembles Blocks 1 and 2, and the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern. The pattern in the immediate vicinity of this structure is far more "slave-like" than "planter-like" — and with good reason. The block, although literally "in the shadow of the main house," revealed a wall trench structure occupied by African American slaves. It is the remains of their daily lives, more so than the planter's, which forms this artifact pattern.

seem that this was simply an outward architectural manifestation of the daily clash of the two worlds.

Comparisons — Within the Plantation and Beyond

One way to compare the lifeways at Roupelmond Plantation is to compare and contrast the ceramic collections of the owner and his slaves. Some hint of this has already been provided in the earlier discussions, but in general we would expect the ceramics being used by the slaves to be less expensive — or less fancy — than those used by the owner. One of the most powerful tools for analysis of the economic value of archaeological ceramic assemblages is Miller's (1980, 1991) CC Indices. The technique provides a rough approximation of the economic position of the plantation owner depositing the discarded ceramics.

Of course, in the case of this collection there is overwhelming evidence that ceramics were being recycled — that is, were being sent to the slave settlement, perhaps when cracked, chipped, or simply out of vogue. Moreover, the Miller indices are only appropriate on collections which date from the last two or two decades of the eighteenth century through the mid-nineteenth century. The indices have not been developed to deal with early eighteenth century assemblages such as those found at Roupelmond. So, at best we'll only really get a reconstruction of ceramic status for the nineteenth century.

In spite of these two limiting factors, Table 21 provides the raw calculations used for Miller's indices and Table 22 provides a synopsis of the findings. We can see that the indices for the owner are higher for both plates and bowls — but are lower for cups (probably because the cup sample for the owner is so small). This does reveal that, in spite of recycling, the owner's table included more expensive ceramics.

This comes as no real surprise. What is more interesting is the comparison of these results with other plantations, which is presented in Figure 50. There we

Table 20.
Previously Published Artifact Patterns Compared to
Roupelmond Main House Blocks (numbers in percents)

	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern ^a		Roupelmond Block	
	Yeoman Pattern ^b		3	4
Kitchen	51.8-65.0	40.0-61.2	61.9	74.9
Architecture	25.2-31.4	35.8-56.3	35.7	21.8
Furniture	0.2-0.6	0.4	0.1	0.3
Arms	0.1-0.3	-	0.1	0.1
Tobacco	1.9-13.9	-	1.0	1.6
Clothing	0.6-5.4	1.8	0.1	-
Personal	0.2-0.5	0.4	0.1	0.1
Activities	0.9-1.7	1.8	1.0	1.2

^aGarrow 1982
^bDrucker et al. 1984:5-47

This finding, itself, is interesting and worthy of note. At mid-eighteenth century Roupelmond, it apparently was acceptable to have a daubed wall trench structure, what some have disparagingly called a "mud hut," situated literally yards from the planter's house. Although this might assault our senses today, it would

see that the owner's assemblage is in the upper third of the chart, while the slave assemblage is in the lower third. In spite of this, when we look at the comparable collections it becomes obvious that the owner's assemblage is not especially high status. It ranks close the ceramic assemblage recovered from dwellings of house servants and free persons of color, and relatively far below that of the owner of the Stoney/Baynard mansion on Hilton Head Island. Nevertheless, the Roupelmond owner ranks above the spartan lifestyle of

of status and wealth. In the slave blocks porcelains account for 3.6 to 4.3% of the ceramics, while in the main house area this varies from 5.9 to 3.5%, depending on location. On average porcelain does comprise a larger proportion of the ceramics in the main house area, but the quantity is still toward the low end of the spectrum.

Table 22.
Comparison of Miller's Ceramic Index
at Roupelmond Plantation

Vessel Form	Slave	Owner
Plates	1.59	1.80
Bowls	1.41	1.70
Cups	1.77	1.38

At plantations of reduced wealth, such as Elfe (Trinkley 1985:27), Magnolia (Wayne and Dickinson 1990:11-10), and Green Grove (Carrillo 1980:Table 2), porcelains range from about 6% to 9%. At the early nineteenth century Oatland Plantation on the Waccamaw Neck, this drops as low as about 4% (Trinkley 1993b:43). At Drayton Hall, certainly one of the wealthier plantations along the South Carolina low country, porcelains are reported to account for about 9.7% of the European ceramic collection (Lewis 1978:199). At Archdale Hall Plantation, Zierden et al. (1985:103) report the porcelains account for about 13% of the ceramic collection. An assemblage from Crowfield plantation reveals porcelains there account for perhaps 17% of the collection (Trinkley et al. 1992:46) and at adjacent Broom Hall plantation porcelains account for an average of 20% of the ceramic assemblage (Trinkley et al. 1995:178). Even Broom Hall's slave settlement boasted a higher proportion of porcelains than Roupelmond. In other words, the porcelains certainly don't suggest that Roupelmond's owners were flaunting their wealth.

the middling status small plantation owner, represented by Whitesides. In contrast, there seem to be fewer surprises with the slave assemblage from Roupelmond. It falls in along with other slaves, tenant farmers, and freedmen.

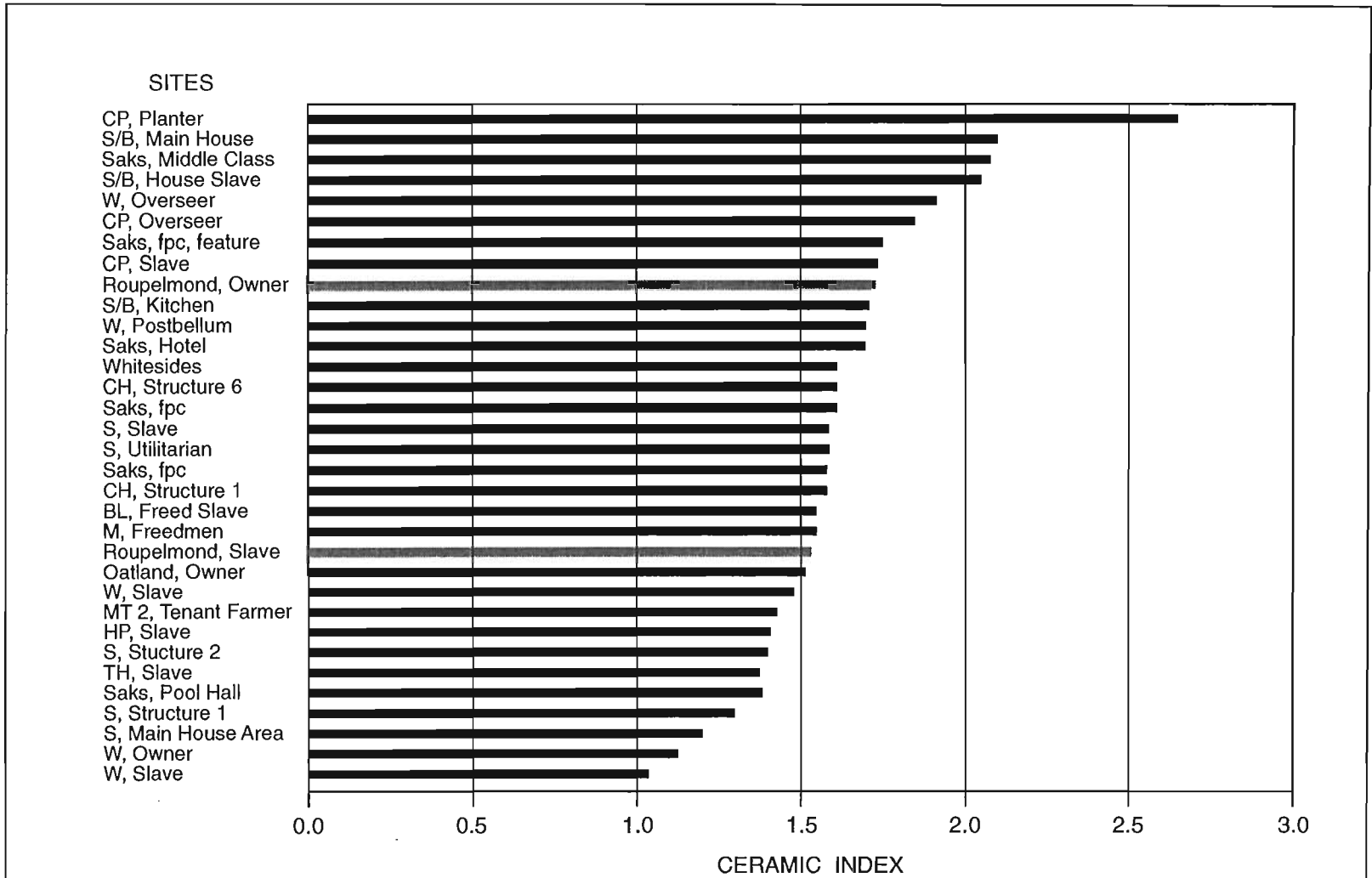
While there are fewer comparative collections, it seems that high status collections have significantly higher proportions of teaware (allowing participation in the ritualized tea ceremony) and lower proportions of utilitarian wares. Zierden and Grimes (1989:65) note, correctly we believe, that the reduction in utilitarian ware represents the increased availability of new tableware styles, not necessarily an actual decrease in the use of utilitarian wares. We anticipate, however, that wealthy owners would more quickly take advantage of these new tableware forms. Flatwares will predominate the tableware collections, especially compared to lower status sites, where "one-pot meals" dominated cooking.

These efforts to use Miller's indices are hampered by small collections and sites which have undergone a variety of transformations. Nevertheless, it may be safe to conclude that the Roupelmond slaves were neither very well off or very deprived (at least as far as ceramics). The owner, likewise, had neither extraordinarily showy ceramics nor items far below his rank in society. There isn't, however, very good evidence (in spite of the seemingly fancy tablewares, mirrors, and prisms) that the owners were seeking to display their wealth to the community.

In fact, we're inclined to suggest that Roupelmond was more of a working plantation than a country retreat or showplace.

When comparing the vessel forms at Roupelmond, we see that the tablewares are more important in the main house area (where they range

There are, however, additional ways of comparing Roupelmond and its wealth to other plantations. The proportion of porcelain in the assemblage, for example, is often taken as an indicator



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Figure 50. Comparison of Miller's Ceramic Indices for a variety of sites (BL = Black Lucy [Felton and Schulz 1983], CH = Cotton Hope [Trinkley 1990], CP = Cannon's Point [Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987], HP = Haig Point [Trinkley and Hacker 1989], M = Mitchelville [Trinkley and Hacker 1986], MT = M. Tabbs 2, Tenant Farm [Miller 1980], Oatland = Oatland Plantation [Trinkley 1993], S = Seabrook Plantation [Campo et al. 1998], Saks = Princess Street site [Trinkley and Hacker 1996a], S/B = Stoney/Baynard Plantation [Trinkley 1996], TH = Turkey Hill Plantation [Trinkley 1993], W = Willbrook [Trinkley 1993]).

from 88.4 to 91.4%) compared with the slave settlement (where tablewares account for around 82%). Moreover, there are differences in what comprises the tablewares. In the main house blocks the dominant vessel form is the plate, while the slave settlement hollowares were numerous. The only finding which is puzzling is that the proportion of teaware is fairly consistent across the site. This may be the result of recycling, which tended to even out the distribution of eighteenth century wares, while maintaining the status distinction present in the nineteenth century materials.

Zierden and her colleagues have noted that in the urban setting table glass (expressed as a percent of the Kitchen Group artifacts) is a status indicator. Late eighteenth century townhouse settings may have ranges around 1% to 2.3%, while more middling status sites have ranges under 1%. Although this has tended to be an urban indicator of wealth, it seemed reasonable to expect a similar distribution of table glass at high status rural sites. When we examined Broom Hall plantation, we found, in fact, that table glass levels ranged from about 1% to as high as 3.7%, with the site mean being 1.3%. At Roupelmond, in contrast, the levels in the main house area range from 0.7 to 0.4% — suggestive of a fairly low status plantation.

Summary

These discussions have provided many details concerning the slave settlement and the main house area. We have also provided some comparisons to help the reader better understand this plantation, in relationship to others in the Carolina low country. Here we'll try to provide a very quick overview.

There is evidence, albeit indistinct, that the plantation settlement may have begun around 1740. This reflect Prioleau's early activities on the tract, at a time when the area was clearly a frontier. Whatever activities took place were likely very rustic and this may account for the indistinct archaeological evidence we see today.

The plantation was certainly well established by 1760, reflecting the energy and enthusiasm of George Roupell. Although occupied by the British during the American Revolution, there is little evidence that the

plantation operations were interrupted and Roupell appears to have picked up exactly where he left off. The plantation continues on generally the same level of activity until the Roupell tenure ends with the death of his widow in 1819.

It was during this period, we believe, that the plantation reached its peak in terms of activity, prosperity, and probably conspicuous consumption. There wasn't enough identified of the main house to allow us to venture a guess on its construction date, but based on comparisons with other low country plantations, we're inclined to see a very early structure later expanded and elaborated on. Roupell likely built the first, relatively modest, plantation house as a central core around which the later expansions took place.¹⁴

However modest the main house, there is very good evidence that Roupell lead a refined life. His tableware was fitting his social status; his glassware was etched and cut; his house adorned with mirrors and prism glass.

Although his slaves were living in wall trench structures, they received at least some of the benefits of his prosperity. For example, the cast-off ceramics in the slave settlement suggest that during the eighteenth century the African Americans were using far more plate forms than typical for slaves of the time period.

The greatest surprise, however, was the identification of a privy feature associated with the slave settlement. Measuring about 4-foot square it was surrounded by a small wall trench wall and was wood lined. The privy must have been maintained since, through time as the wood floor rotted, it was replaced by bricks. This suggests that the privy was periodically emptied of its contents.

¹⁴ This is reflected by James R. Stuart's memories, where he reports, "The house was of wood and had been remodeled, by my grandfather Barnwell, from the original old quaint French structure of Mr. Roupel." Whether his memory of the remodeling is correct (his father died when he was only six years old) is uncertain, but the account does suggest that the plantation structure was modified.

Regardless, there was a change in lifeways that occurred at about the change of the century. Although the location of the slave settlement did not change, wall trench structures gave way to frame buildings raised on massive wood posts. This occurred at about the same time Adams (1990) reports the changing attitudes of slave owners resulted in reform in slave housing conditions.

Curiously, these improvements in the housing were accompanied by the abandonment of the privy. Like privy abandonment elsewhere, the pit was seen as a convenient repository for plantation trash and, in this case, it received a rather large collection of high status ceramics and glassware. These items, many of which may have come from the main house, were also accompanied by items almost certainly originating in the slave row, such as the heads of several cows (head cuts were frequently given to slaves, as discussed in the following section on the faunal remains). The filling of the privy also seems to date about the time that George Roupell died and his widow took over control of the plantation.

The Stuart tenure reflects a change. It might be called stagnation, but we are inclined to view it as a fundamental change in plantation philosophy. During Roupell's tenure the tract was a working plantation, but it was still a place of relatively gracious living. Stuart's plantation gives the impression of being far more farm-like, far more functional, with less evidence of refined living.

There were likewise changes in the slave settlement, based on the artifacts. While wares were still passed down to the slaves, these wares were more often low status annularware and plain types.

There was yet one more change waiting prior to the Civil War — the death of Middleton Stuart in 1840. After this point the plantation was managed by an absentee caretaker. There is a decline in ceramics probably indicating that there was little activity at the main house after this point. During the last several decades before the Civil War the plantation's evolution was completed, resulting in a purely working tract. This is reflected in James R. Stuart's memories of the plantation (in the appendix), where he reports,

My father died when I was six years old. My Uncle Henry Barnwell took charge of his affairs. He went to the place once a week to give directions to the foreman Jack. Between times Jack was in full charge, responsible for everything on the place.

While the plantation was still retained by the Stuart family for seasonal gatherings, it seems clear that their family retreated to Beaufort, leaving Barnwell to maximize profits from the land. This resulted in the drastic decline in ceramics and other evidence of occupation after about 1840.

The Colono Pottery

Unlike many low country plantations, Roupellmond exhibits relatively few Colono sherds. The sample used in this study, representing rim sherds and those fragments over 2.5 cm in diameter, includes only 154 specimens. Their analysis was conducted in a manner consistent with the exploration of the Colono wares at both Broom Hall (Trinkley et al. 1995) and Whitesides (Trinkley and Hacker 1996b). Since the sample is, relatively speaking, very small, not a great deal of explanation will be offered concerning this methodology, except to note that it very carefully explores, and documents, a number of different aspects of the Colono pottery. Readers with a broader interest should consult one of these earlier studies. More important to most readers than the methodology are the results.

The conventional interpretation is that most Colono wares, commonly called Yaughan, were produced by slaves for their own use, while a somewhat less common pottery, usually called River Burnished or Catawba, is believed to have been produced by Native Americans for sale or trade. While there are a number of attributes used to separate these two wares, thickness and surface treatment are most often stressed and appear to be of primary utility in the gross separation of the two wares (see Wheaton et al. [1983:229] or one of the previously referenced studies for a summary of the attributes).

There remains some disagreement over the use

of Yaughan and River Burnished as either types or varieties with a "type-variety" system. The problem that plagues us is that the two wares do not seem to be consistently sorted and examination of typological traits reveals some degree of overlap. Some have attempted to resolve this dilemma by creating intermediate "types." This proliferation of additional types, however, does little to resolve the basic inability to consistently separate collections or to help us better understand the cultural context of Colono ware. We have previously suggested that adoption of the type-variety approach may be the most reasonable approach, at least at the present time. Since varieties in the type-variety system intergrade, they do not necessarily have to be sortable. In addition, the varieties do not have to have the same areal and temporal distribution.

The Roupelmond assemblage is fairly uniform, although during the study we were able to single out 31 specimens (20.1%) as probable River Burnished sherds, with the remainder (123 sherds or 79.9%) representing Yaughan sherds.

As in previous studies these distinctions were based heavily on mean thickness and surface treatment. For example, at Roupelmond we found two clusters: the River Burnished appears thinner, with a mean of 5.7 mm, while the Yaughan is thicker, with a mean of 6.6 mm. The River Burnished pottery, as the name implies, was frequently (61.3%) highly smoothed, while the Yaughan was primarily (70.7%) moderately smoothed. Clearly, however, there is no clear and distinct separation of these attributes. All River Burnished sherds, for example, aren't highly burnished and thin. And all Yaughan sherds aren't thick and poorly burnished.

Moreover, although paste (particularly temper) is often considered another defining characteristic, with River Burnished having a finer paste, the Roupelmond collection exhibits considerable diversity in the pastes. For example, paste characterized by only fine to very fine inclusions represents only 11.7% of the collection. When we also include those sherds with medium to very fine inclusions, the percentage jumps to 35.7%, but now includes not only River Burnished, but also some Yaughan.

At Roupelmond there are other differences. The River Burnished vessels were noticeably larger, having a mean diameter of 11 inches, compared to a mean diameter for the Yaughan pots of 9 inches. Likewise, the Yaughan vessels typically had rounded rims, while the River Burnished examples tended to be flattened.

However important some of these differences may be, we can't overlook the possibility that the similarities are equally important. For example, when we examine firing evidence, we find that about 34% of the Yaughan pottery was completely reduced, with an additional 33% exhibiting oxidized surfaces with a reduced core. The River Burnished exhibits similar percentages — 29% and 35%. This suggests that while supposedly made by different groups, the firing (and probably cooling) practices were very similar. We wonder if this similarity might be the result of one group intentionally seeking to produce vessels which looked like the other group's. In other words, was one a copy of the other?

Moving from these typological questions to issues of use, Roupelmond, probably because of the extensive plowing, provides relatively few clues. There are only two examples of charring or sooting — one on the interior of the vessel (representing burned food) and another on the exterior (representing a pot placed in a low burning, sooty fire). There are also only two examples of vessels with a red film and both of these were found on the interior. This is puzzling, of course, since it is likely that any extensive use would have eroded this film. If we dismiss use for cooking and food preparation, this leaves us with food storage or some type of ritual or ceremonial use. Neither can be discounted.

There are also two specimens which exhibit wear marks consistent with being used as a lid on top of another Colono pot. This suggests a storage function or possibly use of the vessels as a "Dutch oven" being placed within the coals of the fire for warming.

These data don't provide us with any major advances in our understanding of Colono, although they once again demonstrate that distinguishing supposedly Indian-made pottery from supposedly slave-made pottery

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Table 23.
Native American Artifacts at Roupelmond

Provenience	Stallings	-----Deptford-----						Wilmington	St. Cath	Savannah	-Irene-		UID
	P	P	CS	CM	Net	Fab	SS	CM	CM	CS	B	C	
Block 1													
450R490				1									
450R500				1									
450R500				1			1						
470R490		1		1									
470R500		1		3									
480R490		3											
480R500				13								1	
490R490		3		2									
490R500			1	3									
500R490		1	1	2									1
500R500				2									
510R490				1					1	1			2
Block 2													
470R430		4		1				1				2	1
470R440				11	1							1	1
480R430				3						1			
480R440		2		2		1							
480R450	1	4		1									
490R430		3	1	5								1	
490R440	4			2		1							1
490R450	3	3		2									
Feature 7													1
Feature 8	1												1
Feature 10		2											
Feature 11		1											
Feature 13	1		1	1									
Block 3													
980R980			1	1									
990R980		1		1									
990R990				1									
990R1000													1
Block 4													
1010R910				1									
Feature 15				1									
Totals	10	29	5	63	1	2	1	1	1	2	3	4	8

P = plain; CS = check stamped; CM = cord marked; Fab = fabric impressed; B = burnished; C = complicated stamped; UID = unidentified

isn't likely to be easy. Added to the overlap of supposedly defining characteristics is the fact that both types of vessels seem to have been fired similarly. It's tempting to suggest that some effort was being made by one group to duplicate the other's pottery.

Although we have not identified any of the Yaughan pottery reported by Ferguson (1992:113-114) to exhibit engraved marks that perhaps are representative of the Bakongo religion, the red filming found on the interior of some Yaughan pottery is worthy of additional attention.

The Native American Collection

As previously mentioned, there is only a very small collection of prehistoric pottery and lithics at Roupelmond. In addition, these remains were not identified as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places and were not the focus of the research. Consequently this discussion is abbreviated, providing only some very basic information concerning the remains.

The recovered remains are listed in Table 23 and it can be seen that materials ranging from the Middle Archaic (ca. 5000 B.C.) to the South Appalachian Mississippian (ca. A.D. 1500) are present in the different excavation areas. In spite of the vast temporal range, the bulk of the materials (specifically the Deptford pottery) dates from the Early Woodland (ca. 300 B.C. to A.D. 500). The Deptford materials identified from Roupelmond are fairly typical, with the exception of the net and fabric impressed examples.

The only earlier ware is Stallings Plain, a fiber-tempered material dating from about 2000 B.C. to about 1000 B.C. and, at many sites, co-occurring with its sand-tempered twin, Thom's Creek. The only Middle Woodland occupation is represented by the single Wilmington sherd. Likewise, Late Woodland occupation is limited to the one St. Catherines sherd. Mississippian pottery includes a very small collection of Savannah and Irene wares, although the bulk of the lithics recovered from the site (the Caraway and

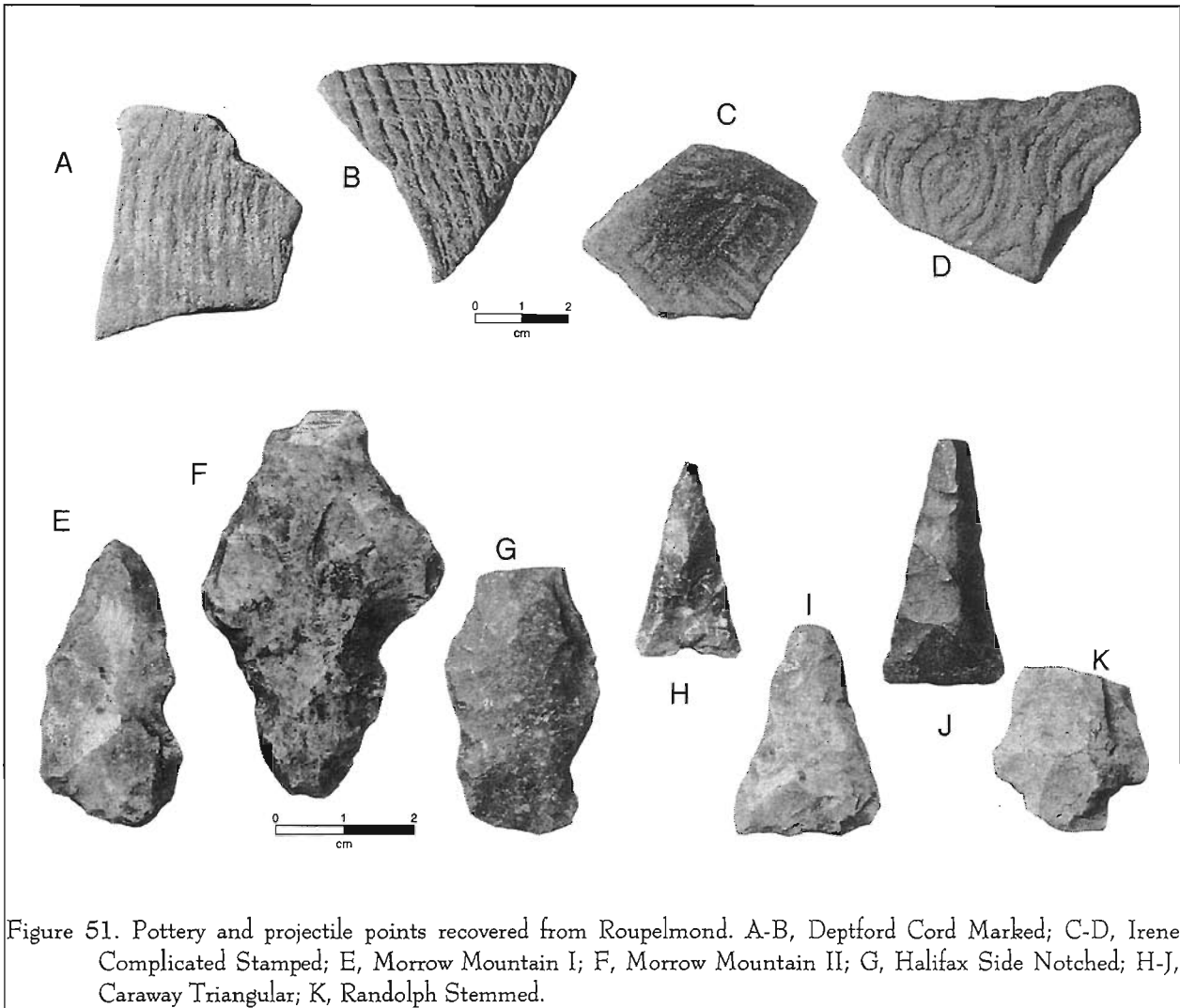
Table 24.
Metric Data for Identifiable Projectile Points (in mm)

Provenience	Type	L	W	T
460R500	Pee Dee Pentagonal		26.5	4.7
470R490	Caraway Triangular	35.0	18.0	7.0
470R500	Morrow Mountain I	41.0	17.0	10.0
490R490	Caraway Triangular	27.0	15.0	5.0
500R490	Caraway Triangular		19.0	4.5
	Randolph Stemmed		22.0	7.0
510R490	Morrow Mountain II			9.0
480R440	Morrow Mountain II	c 55.0	35.0	10.0
490R430	Lake Mohave		26.5	9.9
980R980	Halifax Side Notched	c 43.0	21.0	25.0
990R980	Savannah River		frag	

Randolph points) are likely from this same period.

In fact, this site exhibits a fairly large number of intact or nearly intact points for the low country. Basic metric information is available in Table 24, but the Middle Archaic is represented by Morrow Mountain (I and II; Coe 1964:37, 43) as well as a Halifax Side Notched point (Coe 1964:108-110). A point similar to the reputed "Lake Mohave" points found by Coe (1964:37) in North Carolina was also recovered from this work and is thought to be at least Middle Archaic in age. The Late Archaic is represented by a fragmentary Savannah River Stemmed (Coe 1964:44-45). The Late Woodland to Mississippian is represented by the Caraway points (Coe 1964:49) as well as a fragmentary Pee Dee Pentagonal point (Coe 1964:49). The Randolph Stemmed point (Coe 1964:49-50) is uncommonly found in South Carolina, but in North Carolina is typically associated with historic Indians groups.¹⁵ Consequently, the point is of special interest since it may represent what the low country tribes were producing about A.D. 1700.

¹⁵ Both the Caraway and Randolph are examples of point "types" which are frequently used in the Carolinas, but which lack formal type descriptions. The Caraway is discussed in more detail by Coe in his unpublished Poole site report, but this is little circulated.



FAUNAL MATERIALS

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Introduction

The vertebrate faunal material from Roupelmond Plantation consists of 3,912 bones and skeletal fragments which weigh a total of 16.22 kg. The material came from plowzones and specific identified features from the main house of the plantation and areas identified as the slave quarters.

For this material Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) and biomass estimates were computed for the collection. Comparisons between Roupelmond Plantation sample and similar plantation sites are also discussed.

Analytical Techniques

The faunal collection from 38BU1689 was analyzed using standard zooarchaeological procedures. Skeletal material was first sorted according to class, genus, and then species, if possible. The bones of all taxa and other categories were weighed and counted. The Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) for each taxonomic category was determined using paired bone elements, sex, and age as criteria.

Although the MNI estimate is a relatively easy quantification technique to use, there are analytical problems associated with the method (see, for example, Klein & Cruz-Uribe 1984:26). These issues are briefly summarized here:

- There is no consensus among researchers on how MNI estimates should be calculated or how material should be sorted. Different techniques include quantifying specimens according to the number of left and right sides

and taking the number of that side which is greater. Another technique is to take the total number of elements and divide by two. Yet another method is to attempt to match up elements by size (this is the most problematic technique because bone size among adult animals is relatively subtle, thus leaving the decision arbitrary and subjective). Matching elements in large samples is also impractical due to the time involved in such a method.

- MNI values are dependent on the degree of fragmentation of a collection. These degrees will vary among assemblages *and* between species of an assemblage, which hinders intersite comparisons.
- MNI values should not be applied to adjacent provenience units that have arbitrarily been defined, such as levels within squares. The logical reason being that material from adjacent levels may be associated with each other and separate MNI estimates will be exaggerated.

In light of these observations, the biomass was also computed to quantify the specimens of the collection, specifically to give the estimated meat yield for each species. This method is based on allometry, or the biological relationship between soft tissue and bone mass. Biomass is determined using the least squares analysis of logarithmic data in which bone weight is used to predict the amount of soft tissue which might have been supported by the bone (Casteel 1978; Reitz 1982, 1985; Reitz & Cordier 1982; Reitz & Scarry 1986; Wilson 1995; Wing & Brown 1979).

This relationship between soft tissue and bone is expressed in the formula: $Y = aX^b$, which is also written as $\text{Log } Y = \text{Log } a + b(\text{Log } X)$. In this equation, Y is the biomass in kg, a is the Y-intercept for a log-log plot using the method of least squares regression and the best fit line, and b is the constant of

described, but there was no such clustering. Moreover, the data from this site is very sparse and it would have been meaningfully presented in such a fragmented form.

In addition, there are a variety of additional ways of exploring the data, such as number of identified specimens present (NISP). These, however, have to do with measures of diversity, richness, and equitability — all ways of exploring data found with more complete samples than were available from Roupelmond.

In other words, the reader may find these discussions brief. The length, and depth, of the discussions are directly related to the nature of the materials present, the size of the sample, and the data analyses appropriate for the materials.

Table 25.
List of Allometric Values Utilized
in This Study to Determine Biomass in
Kilograms (kg) Based on Bone Weight
Expressed in Kilograms.

Faunal Category	log a	b
Mammal	1.12	0.90
Bird	1.04	0.91
Turtle	0.51	0.67
Shark	1.68	0.86
Bony fish	0.90	0.81
Drum fish	0.81	0.74

Derived from Table 4 in Reitz (1985:44)

Identified Fauna

Domestic Mammals

Cattle (*Bos taurus*), pig (*Sus scrofa*), and sheep (*Ovis aries*) were the main domestic mammal species discovered at Roupelmond. In his report on the faunal remains from Stoney/Baynard Plantation at Hilton Head Island, Wilson (1995:98-99) gives a useful generalization on the use and habitat preferences for many of the same species, some of which is paraphrased below.

Cattle has long been an important meat source in the history of southeastern United States. However, while hides and other products made from cattle such as milk, cheese, butter, and buttermilk are valued, raising cattle as a meat source is relatively burdensome, especially when compared to pigs. Cattle provide less meat per energy input than pigs, they must feed on a specific diet (grains and grasses), they store only 11% of the calories they consume, and yield only 50-60% of their weight in dressed meat.

Maag explains that early Carolina cattle were a mix of Spanish and English stock, and were “distinguished by their color, size, and horns” (Maag 1961:9). To this he adds that most were either black Irish or red or reddish-tan from England. This account is largely repeated by Allen, although he also notes that cattle were also being imported from the West Indies

allometry, or the slope of the line defined by the least squares regression and the best fit line (Wilson 1995:98).

Table 25 lists the constants used for a and b in the allometric formula for a given bone weight X for each taxa identified in the collection. Biomass equations were calculated for each of the taxa that contributed to the total meat consumption available for the inhabitants of 38BU1689.

Although the data were by individual provenience, they are presented by the two major site divisions — the slave settlement and the main house. Presenting the data by specific provenience assumes that the analyst knows (and agrees) with what was done in the field. That is, features, lenses, strata, levels, layers, or whatever, are arbitrary spatial assignments, called different names by different archaeologists. They can mean many different things. If there had been some clear clustering of faunal data seen in these features or other proveniences, it would have been noted and

(Allen 1868:34). Although we know nothing of the color and little concerning their size, the Roupelmond collection does provide several examples of their horns (Figure 52). All are typical of short-horn cattle.

Although it is clear that Roupelmond was raising cattle in the eighteenth century, by the time of the Civil War, when Higginson (1962:147) and his troops were encamped on the plantation the closest cattle, described as "half-wild," were found on Hall's Island, about 4.5 miles to the west.

At Roupelmond Plantation, a total of 270 identifiable cattle bones were discovered. The estimated yield from these remains was 109.34 kg of meat which was over 48% of the total biomass for the site.

Pigs represent one of the most valuable food sources for southeastern United States sites. They require little care, they can thrive on any type of food resources including refuse, they store about 35% of the calories in their diet, and they gain about 2 pounds for every 15-20 pounds of feed. An average 200 pound pig yields about 120 pounds of meat. Pork also preserves well, is tasty due to its high fat content, and is a good source of thiamin.

There were 142 identifiable pig bones from Roupelmond. The estimated meat yield was 83.94 kg - only a 4% contribution to the total biomass, despite the ease of raising this species.

Fresh pork was prohibited by Higginson's (1962:138) regimental surgeon, but his comments suggest that few pigs may have remained at Roupelmond, where fresh meat was largely limited to fish and reptiles.

Domestic sheep were essentially a minor food source for the inhabitants of Roupelmond. Besides their value as a meat source, sheep also provided wool

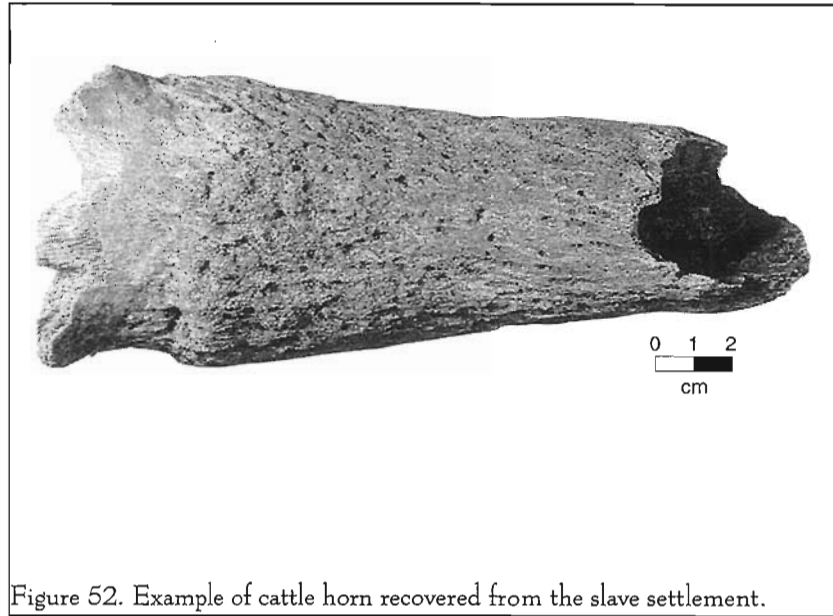


Figure 52. Example of cattle horn recovered from the slave settlement.

for fabrics.

Only 86 identifiable sheep bones were found at Roupelmond. With an estimated meat yield of almost 5 kg, sheep contributed only 2% to the total biomass.

Finally, the entire skeleton of one domestic cat (*Felis domesticus*) was discovered at the site as an intentional burial in the slave settlement. No remains from dogs (*Canis familiaris*) were observed.

While there are occasional accounts of dogs and their association with African Americans (see, for example, Morgan 1998:138), the cat seems not to be mentioned. This burial provides one of the few links between slaves and the cat (there is, however, at least one student [Alicia Paresi of Stoneham, Massachusetts] pulling together information on this topic and who believes there may be a deeper linkage than previously recognized).

Wild Mammals

The wild mammals discovered included the white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*), raccoon (*Procyon lotor*), opossum (*Didelphis marsupialis*), and marsh rabbit (*Sylvilagus palustris*). Although there is a prehistoric component at the site (including human

skeletal material), the bulk of these faunal remains are presumed to be associated with the historic component based on their condition (identical to the domesticated mammal remains and distinctly better preserved than the human skeletal remains) and/or their association (such as in known historic period features). It appears that whatever faunal materials there were associated with the prehistoric occupation have been largely destroyed by intense plowing and acid soils.

Deer usually prefer the edge of deciduous forests and open forests, although they will move to mudflats around marshes if grasses are located there. Besides being valuable wild meat resources, deer also provided hides for leather.

A total of 68 identifiable deer bones were found at Roupelmond Plantation. This species yielded an estimated 9 kg of meat and was almost 4% of the total biomass for the site.

The nocturnal raccoon is highly adaptable and has been found in any number of environments, although they prefer to be in wooded areas near water. Raccoons provided a meat and fur source for both blacks and whites on plantations.

The opossum, nocturnal and highly adaptable like the raccoon, can be found in many environments, but it prefers wooded areas near water. The opossum was generally preferred over the raccoon as a food source and they were often kept, fattened, and "cleaned out" by feeding them only milk, bread, and sweet potatoes for several days (Hilliard 1972:80).

The only rabbit species discovered at 38BU1689 was the marsh rabbit, a common wild inhabitant of the southeastern United States. This species is usually located near marshes, thickets, weed patches, and dense high grasses. Rabbits provided meat as well as fur.

Raccoon, opossum, and rabbit remains were found in very small amounts at 38BU1689 - out of 677 total identifiable mammal bones, only nine fragments were from these three species. The 2,302 unidentified mammal remains may, however, contain larger amounts of these wild animals.

Although both venison and rabbit are frequently found in cookbooks (see, for example, Anonymous 1997 [1832]:221-223, 309-311), suggesting that they made many appearances at the planter's table. In contrast, the raccoon or the opossum are rarely found in cook books, suggesting that they were most often used by those who had no need for cookbooks. Opossums are not mentioned in Chaplin's diary and raccoons are mentioned only twice — once in the context of raiding Chaplin's corn and again, disparagingly, as the result of a hunting trip (Rosengarten 1987:693, 703; cf. Reitz and Scarry 1985:74).

Birds

Turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo*) was the only bird species identified at Roupelmond Plantation (although 33 other unidentifiable bird bones were observed also). Turkey has long been an important food source for the United States, with domestication occurring as early as 450-470 A.D. in the southwestern U.S. (Olsen 1968:107).

The turkey is able to live in a variety of environmental conditions, ranging from the northern hardwood timberlands having extreme winter conditions, to the humid semitropical palmetto and pine forests of Florida. It is equally comfortable in the arid regions of the West where sufficient plant types are present. The turkey is indigenous to America and has a long appearance in the history of this country.

Chaplin's Tombee diary remarks on both wild turkey (especially those times when it was served as food) and those turkeys being raised on the plantation (for both eggs and meat) (Rosengarten 1987:390, 452, 464, 650, 684). Turkey was most commonly roasted or boiled (Anonymous 1997 [1832]: 295-296).

A total of 37 identifiable turkey bones were discovered at Roupelmond Plantation. The estimated meat yield for these bones was 0.8 kg — 0.35 % of the total biomass for the site.

One reviewer questioned whether the remains were of domestic or wild turkey. It was not possible to distinguish based on the materials present. Some

zooarchaeologists classify turkey remains from a plantation as domestic, since “they ought to be domestic.” Yet a review of diaries such as Chaplin’s pretty clearly reveals that both co-occurred on the low country plantation and the planter’s table (if not the slave’s). And while it may be possible, with adequate samples, to distinguish wild from domesticated based on bone size, it seems likely that at least some turkeys on coastal plantations were little more than wild birds tamed for the purpose of egg production. This may also relate to the difficulties encountered by some plantation owners in raising domesticated turkeys — which were susceptible to a number of diseases (Johnson and Brown 1903). Chaplin himself may have obliquely noted this problem when he commented that he wasn’t “fortunate enough to raise turkeys last year” (Rosengarten 1987:452).

Turtles

Miscellaneous turtle carapace and plastron fragments were discovered. However, the remains were not complete enough to distinguish the exact species. Turtle species found at similar ecological zones would include the Carolina diamondback terrapin (*Malaclemys terrapin centrata*), a species found in estuarine environments stretching from North Carolina to Florida. This species was such an important food source in the southeastern United States during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that it was threatened with extinction until a protective act of legislation 60 years ago prevented their permanent loss (Obst 1986:113).

Another turtle species found in similar environments as Roupelmond includes the mud turtle (*Kinostemon* spp.). This turtle is mostly found in estuarine and fresh waters and could have possibly been used as a food source by the residents of the plantation.

Chaplin briefly comments on one “hunting” episode in 1849, “went in the evening to draw the seine in Tommer’s Creek: caught a few small fish, & some terrapins” (Rosengarten 1987:467). He doesn’t however provide any information concerning their preparation, or who by whom they were eaten. Period cookbooks, however, make it clear that turtle soup was a popular dish, even on refined tables (see, for example,

Anonymous 1997 [1832]: 297-298).

Fish

Two species of fish were discovered at Roupelmond Plantation - drum (*Sciaenidae* family) and tarpon (*Clupeiforme* family).

Drum are mainly marine fishes, but are also seen in estuaries and fresh waters of Middle America. There are about 200 different species, all of which are potentially good food fishes (Wheeler & Jones 1989:24). Drum was also singled out by William Elliott in his antebellum book on sports hunting and fishing (Elliott 1994 [1846]). Although present from February through November, he remarks that they are particularly numerous in April when they congregated in Port Royal area (into which Whale Branch flows) to spawn. Caught exclusively by hook and line, they were most frequently 3 feet in length and weighed 30 to 40 pounds. The smaller were “excellent for table use,” while the larger (up to about 70 pounds) were salted. He commented that the planters around Beaufort were very skillful in taking drum and:

They succeeded in taking, during the last season, at least twelve thousand of these fish; and when I add, that except the small number consumed in their families, the remainder were salted and distributed among their slaves, not in lieu of, but in addition to their ordinary subsistence, you will perceive that this is case wherein the love of sport, and the practice of charity, are singularly coincident (Elliott 1994 [1846]:112).¹

The sample of drumfish found at Roupelmond consists of one single pharyngeal tooth and was not enough to distinguish the exact species.

¹ This is one of the few accounts that emphasizes the extensive use of fish by low country planters. Just as interesting is Elliott’s belief that providing the fish without reducing the regular rations to slaves was “charity.”

Tarpon scales were found in abundance at the plantation. Over 700 individual tarpon scales were discovered from the privy yielding a biomass of 0.68 kilograms of meat — 0.30 % of the total site contribution.

Tarpon belong to the family Clupeiformes which also includes the herring species. Tarpon are marine fish, but do exhibit a considerable tolerance to salinities, being found in estuaries and the mouths of large rivers. The tarpon is carnivorous and the young, small fish are most commonly found in small brackish creeks. As they mature and grow they tend to move into larger streams and estuaries (McClane 1965:59-60). The size of the recovered scales suggests that the fish were found in the larger bodies of water, such as Whale Branch.

Today the tarpon is considered a game fish, being taken on hooks. There is, however, no mention of the tarpon in either Elliott (1994 [1846]) or Chaplin's Tombee diary (Rosengarten 1987). Amos and Amos (1985:523) comment that it is "not regarded as good food" — making their abundance at Roupelmond something of a mystery. On the other hand, the tarpon is also found in the eastern Atlantic, ranging from Senegal to the Congo. Perhaps its abundance at Roupelmond reflects both the slave's familiarity with the fish and its habits, along with a preference for its flesh (or at least a willingness to eat it).

Results of the Faunal Analysis

Table 26 provides information on the materials recovered from Roupelmond, divided between the main settlement and the slave settlement. At the main plantation, after unidentified mammals, cattle provide the largest biomass contribution, although in terms of MNI there are twice as many pigs present. Birds are the next most common dietary source, in terms of biomass, followed by deer and then sheep (with each of the last two species accounting for only one individual).

In contrast, the slave settlement reveals considerably greater diversity (although, again, the sample is much larger). Cattle is the major food source, in terms of both MNI and also biomass, even more

significant than the unidentified mammal category. Pig ranks a close second behind cattle in terms of MNI, although its biomass contribution is one-tenth that of cattle. Deer and sheep follow in terms of biomass and MNI contribution.

In both areas of the plantation pig ranks behind cattle. Reitz (1995) has reviewed the faunal evidence from a number of southern coastal plain sites from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, finding that "pork was at best no more prominent in these contexts than beef, and may often have served a minor role in the diet" (Reitz 1995:80). She suggests that the coastal plain has been lumped into the fabled "republic of pork" either inappropriately or that the "characterization is not about cuisine, but about social relationships," reflecting either social commentary or perhaps that pork was a "special" food (Reitz 1995:85). To her analysis might be added the increasing role of pork as a major export commodity. Maag notes that, after 1760, cattle was no longer a significant export from Carolina, while "pork was being shipped at nearly a seven to one ratio over beef" (Maag 1961:75). It may be that while pork was commonly raised, its value was far greater as an export item than as a meat source for local consumption. In this sense, Reitz may be correct — pork may have been a special meal, served to impress and show the conspicuous consumption for which coastal plain planters were well known.

Reitz (1986 and 1988) has proposed a number of hypotheses about the diet of occupants at eighteenth and nineteenth century Carolina sites. In general, she suggests that urban residents used more domestic meat and a wider range of species than rural residents. Table 27 compares the MNI percentages determined for each of the general faunal categories at the Roupelmond slave settlement with the composite percentages computed by Reitz (1986 and 1988) for urban, rural, and slave contexts in the southern Atlantic Coastal Plain. The Roupelmond data are very different, reflecting an unexpected, almost single-minded, focus on domesticated mammals.

We may discount the main settlement data, based solely on the small sample size, yet the collection from the slave settlement, while small, does not seem to be small in comparison with other slave row data. For

Table 26.
Number of Bones or Fragments, MNI, Weight (in kg), Biomass, and Percentage by Species

Species	Main House						Slave Settlement					
	# of Bone Frags	MNI	Weight	Biomass (in kg)	%	Rank	# of Bone Frags	MNI	Weight	Biomass (in kg)	%	Rank
UID mammal	173	-	0.49	8.71	67.3	1	2179	-	5.85	86.68	38.90	2
Cattle, <i>Bos</i>	10	3	0.17	2.88	22.3	2	260	30	7.77	106.45	47.77	1
Pig, <i>Sus</i>	16	6	0.03	0.63	4.8	3	126	28	0.51	9.23	4.14	3
UID Bird	8	-	0.01	0.34	2.6	4	25	-	0.10	1.55	0.69	7
Deer, <i>Odocoileus</i>	1	1	0.01	0.30	2.3	5	67	14	0.48	8.58	3.85	4
Sheep, <i>Ovis</i>	1	1	0.01	0.09	0.7	6	85	8	0.25	4.63	2.08	5
Tarpon							700	1	0.14	3.05	1.37	6
UID Turtle							39	-	0.08	1.37	0.62	8
Turkey, <i>Meleagris</i>							37	3	0.11	0.75	0.34	9
Raccoon, <i>Procyon</i>							7	2	0.02	0.34	0.15	10
UID Boney Fish							2	-	0.004	0.09	0.04	11
Opossum, <i>Didelphis</i>							1	1	0.003	0.07	0.03	12
Swamp Rabbit, <i>Sylvilagus</i>							1	1	0.002	0.05	0.02	13
Drum, <i>Sciaenidae</i>							1	1	<0.001	<0.39	0.02	13

reasons that are far from clear, it appears that the slaves on Roupelmond were being fed primarily beef, likely supplied by the owner. The data suggest that a large proportion of this beef was fresh and slaughtered on the plantation. These domestic meat rations were being provided primarily in lieu of fish resources, which account for only 2.2% of MNI, in spite of the plantation's location on a major estuarine waterway. Wild mammals, accounting for about 20% of the MNI, are within the general range of what is expected on a rural plantation. This confirms that the slaves were supplementing their diet with locally available resources; they were simply concentrating on terrestrial species. It may be significant that all of the species identified, except the deer, are ones which can be caught in traps — a procurement process which would not have affected the slaves work-day. Deer, with is the only wild species also found in the main settlement, may have been specifically hunted, with the better cuts being found on the planter's table and the remainder passed on to the slave settlement.

With the amount of cattle, pig, and sheep remains present, butchering and the tell-tale cut marks associated with this activity should be common occurrences at 38BU1689. Surprisingly, only two separate bone fragments exhibited these marks. One was from an isolated long bone diaphysis of one of the smaller unidentified ungulate mammals. The diaphysis had five shallow knife marks running horizontally over the bone, in a cross-sectional direction. The other example was located on a coracoid from an unidentified bird species - likely a turkey, *Meleagris*. The bone had several shallow cut marks near the medial end of the bone.

Several of the bone fragments were burned, perhaps showing evidence for cooking meat while it was still on the bone (76 fragments weighing 127 grams total = 0.0598% of the entire sample weight). Other activities may have produced the burned remains, such as accidental fire or intentional burning of defleshed bones, and should also be considered when examining burned remains.

Table 27.
Comparison of the Roupelmond Faunal Categories by MNI
Percentages with Various Faunal Category Patterns

Faunal Category	Roupelmond				
	Main Hs.	Slave	Urban ^a	Rural ^a	Slave ^b
Domestic Mammals	90.9	74.2	28.9	17.2	20.5
Domestic Birds	-	-	19.7	4.1	3.0
Wild Mammals	9.1	20.2	8.1	19.2	24.7
Wild Birds	-	-	7.6	3.0	2.1
Reptiles	-	-	5.4	13.7	10.4
Fish	-	2.2	19.7	38.4	36.6
Commensals	-	-	10.6	4.3	2.8

^a Reitz 1988

^b Reitz 1986: Table 7

Besides the burned fragments and two samples of butchering samples, no other evidence of cultural modifications were observed.

ETHNOBOTANICAL REMAINS

Introduction

Ethnobotanical remains were recovered from both feature contexts and post holes at Roupelmond Plantation. Materials were available as handpicked samples from four post holes and three features (representing a total of 15 samples) and as flotation samples from two features (representing three samples). All of the samples, except for Feature 3 (a prehistoric burial pit), date from the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries and all are from the slave settlement.

Flotation samples, offering the best potential to recover very small seeds and other food remains, are expected to provide the most reliable and sensitive subsistence information. Samples of 10 to 20 grams are usually considered adequate, if no bias was introduced in the field. Popper (1988) explores the "cumulative stages" of patterning, or potential bias, in ethnobotanical data. She notes that the first potential source of bias includes the world view and patterned behavior of the site occupants — how were the plants used, processed, and discarded, for example. Added to this are the preservation potentials of both the plant itself and the site's depositional history. Of the materials used and actually preserved, additional potential biases are introduced in the collection and processing of the samples. For example, there may be differences between deposits sampled and not samples, between the materials recovered through flotation and those lost or broken, and even between those which are considered identifiable and those which are not. In the case of Roupelmond the soil samples were each 5 gallons in volume and were water floated (using a machine assisted system) at the completion of the field investigations. As discussed, and approved, in the scope of work, flotation samples were taken only from features with dark, organic fill, judged to be the most likely to yield ethnobotanical remains.

Handpicked samples may produce little information on subsistence since they often represent

primarily wood charcoal large enough to be readily collected during either excavation or screening. In the case of the Roupelmond samples, several were taken from post holes. The identified wood will likely represent the materials used for building only if the wood is either noncarbonized (suggesting the wood post rotted in situ) or if there is evidence of the structure burning. Otherwise, the wood recovered from post holes (and post molds, for that matter) most likely represents only the charcoal specks that are incorporated in the surrounding soils.

Such handpicked samples are often most useful for providing ecological information through examination of the wood species present. Such studies assume that charcoal from different species tends to burn, fragment, and be preserved similarly so that no species naturally produces smaller, or less common, pieces of charcoal and is less likely than others to be represented — an assumption that is dangerous at best. Such studies also assume that the charcoal was being collected in the same proportions by the site occupants as found in the archaeological record — likely, but very difficult to examine in any detail. And finally, an examination of wood species may also assume that the species present represent woods intentionally selected by the site occupants for use as fuel — probably the easiest assumption to accept if due care is used to exclude the results of natural fires.

While this method probably gives a fair indication of the trees in the site area at the time of occupation, there are several factors which may bias any environmental reconstruction based solely on charcoal evidence, including selective gathering by site occupants (perhaps selecting better burning woods, while excluding others) and differential self-pruning of the trees (providing greater availability of some species over others). These factors are of particular concern at historic sites where there is evidence of wood selection being guided by heat production, quality of the fire, ease of igniting, and a whole range of other factors (for a

brief review from an urban perspective, see Zierden and Trinkley 1984). There is even evidence that some owners planted trees (such as weeping willows, *Salix babylonica*) specifically for the wood they produced through normal pruning. Consequently, at a historic site hand picked charcoal may tell us more about cultural factors than it does about the natural environment. Smart and Hoffman (1988) provide an excellent review of environment interpretation using charcoal which should be consulted by those particularly interested in this aspect of the study.

Procedures

The two flotation samples were prepared in a manner similar to that described by Yarnell (1974:113-114) and were examined under low magnification (7 to 30x) to identify carbonized plant foods and food remains. Remains were identified on the basis of gross morphological features and seed identification relied on Schopmeyer (1974), United States Department of Agriculture (1971), Martin and Barkley (1961), and Montgomery (1977). All float samples consisted of the charcoal obtained from 5 gallons of soil (by volume). The entire sample from this floated amount was examined for Feature 3, while only a sample of the light fractions from Feature 7 North Half and South Half were actually examined.

The handpicked samples were also examined under low magnification with a sample of the wood charcoal identified, where possible, to the genus level,

were selected on the basis of sufficient size to allow the fragment to be broken in half, exposing a fresh transverse surface. A range of different sizes were examined in order to minimize bias resulting from differential preservation.

Several of the samples yielded either fragmentary corn cupules¹ or cobs. The corn was analyzed using the format designed by Ford (1973:188-197). The first observation was the general morphology of each charred cob fragment. If it appeared mature, the cob was recorded as regular (R); cob with the skinny or irregular appearance of a tiller cob or nubbin was recorded as N. Other subjective observations included the shape of the cob in cross-section (circular or oval) and the portion of the cob represented. As Ford notes, the presence of glumes on a cob may alter the apparent shape; where this seemed to be a factor, the cob was arbitrarily recorded as circular (C). The portion of the cob represented was estimated by comparing the carbonized sample to a modern cob and coding it as tip (T), middle (M), or butt (B). The length of the cob fragment was measured (there were no instances of intact cobs and all, in fact, are highly fragmented). The three cupule attributes include assessment of the degree of pairing between cupule rows, the number of cupules in 10 mm of cob length, and cupule width. Cupules were regarded as paired (+) if there was only a narrow groove between the rows, as strongly paired (S) if the grooves are wide, and as weakly paired (-) if the corners of the cupules overlapped.

Table 28.
Analysis of Flotation Samples
weight in grams

Provenience	Wood Charcoal		Hickory Nut		Corn		Bone		Uncarb.		Total Wt
	wt	%	wt	%	wt	%	wt	%	wt	%	
F 3	6.45	37.4					10.42	60.3	0.40	2.3	17.27
F 7, Z 1, N½	19.22	96.6			0.03	0.2	0.02	0.1	0.63	3.1	19.90
F 7, Z 1, S½	19.03	93.4	0.22	1.1	0.59	2.9	0.12	0.6	0.41	2.0	20.37

using comparative samples, Panshin and de Zeeuw (1970), and Koehler (1917). Wood charcoal samples

¹ A cupule is a pocket on the cob in which a pair of grains is borne.

Results

The results of the flotation analysis are provided in Table 28. In all but one case the floated material was at the 20 gram "threshold" typically proposed as adequate.

It should be noted that Feature 3 is a prehistoric burial pit and therefore is not directly comparable with the other two samples. In fact, Feature 3 stands out as fairly distinct, with the most abundant material recovered being very small bone flakes. Wood charcoal is the second most common material, although it accounts for only 37.4% of the sample.

In both of the Feature 7 samples (which are taken from the slave privy) wood charcoal comprises the majority (by weight in grams) of the remains. Uncarbonized remains, primarily rootlets and similar "trash," comprises a fairly consistent 2-3% of each sample. Each sample also contains a small quantity of bone, consisting primarily of small splinters or fragments.

The southern half of Feature 7 also yielded a small quantity of hickory nutshell. There are four

hickories common to the Beaufort area — bitternut (*Carya cordiformis*), water (*C. aquatica*), mockernut (*C. ovalis*), and pignut (*C. glabra*). These species occur on a variety of soil types, from dry woods to rich or low woods to swamp lands. In South Carolina they fruit in October, although seeds are dispersed from October through December (Radford et al. 1968:363-366). Good crops of all species are produced at intervals of up to three years when up to about 16,000 nuts may be produced per tree (Bonner and Maisenhelder 1974:271). Complicating this simple seasonality is the ability of the nuts to be stored for up to six months.

While hickory nuts commonly supplemented the prehistoric diet, their use during the historic period appears limited. In the seventeenth century John Lawson (Lefler 1967:105) remarked on the tastiness of soup made from hickories. He also mentioned some hickories tasted "as well as any Almond." Yet a review of period cookbooks (see, for example, Crump 1986) fails to suggest that hickories were any more integrated into planned meals in the eighteenth century than they are today. It is likely that they provided incidental, gathered food, but were not significant to the typical diet. It may be that the nutshell is an accidental inclusion, although it has also been reported from the Broom Hall site —

Table 29.
Wood Charcoal Identified in Handpicked Collections,
by percent

Provenience	<i>Pinus</i>	<i>Quercus</i>	<i>Carya</i>	<i>Liquidambar</i>	UID Wood	Rosin	Peach Pit	Hickory Nutshell	Corn
Post holes									
470R440, ph 2	60	30				10			
480R450, ph 4	60		30			10			
480R450, pm 5	90	10							
480R450, ph 5	60	40							
480R490, ph 5	40				40				10
Features									
F 3	100								
F 7, Z 1, N½									100
F 7, Z 2, N½	100								
F 7, Z 1 S½	33.3			33.3			6.7	6.7	20
F 7, Z 2, S½	100								
F 11 (470R440)	40	50	10						
F 11 (480R440)	60	30	10						

ROUPELMOND PLANTATION

Table 30.
Roupe尔蒙 Corn Cob Fragments

Provenience	Type	Cob				Cupule		
		Row Number	Cross Section	Length (mm)	Area Measured	Pair	Number/ 10mm	Width (cm)
480R490, ph 5	R	10	C	22.0	m-t	+	2.5	13.0
F 7, Z1, S½	R	8	Q	21.6	m	W	2.5	8.2
	R	8	Q	25.0	m	W	3.0	9.5
F 7, Z1, N½	R	10	C	20.0	m-t	W	3.0	10.0
	R	10	C	17.8	m	+	3.0	10.6
	R	10	C	17.2	m-t	+	3.5	8.6
	R	10	Q	17.4	m-t	+	3.0	8.5
	R	10	C	14.0	m	+	3.0	9.4
	R	10	C	13.6	t	+	3.0	8.6-9.0

Key: Q = quadrangular + = paired m = mid-cob
 C = circular W = weakly paired t = tip of cob

The rosin fragments in several of the samples suggests the use of heart wood, probably pitch pine.

Both the post holes and the features suggest more diversity in woods used during the historic period than during the prehistoric, if

another eighteenth century plantation setting.

The only probable food remains are the cupule fragments, which were recovered from both privy flotation samples. Because the hand picked samples are far more complete, no additional analysis of the materials was conducted.

The absence of seeds in the flotation collections likely speaks more to the process of preservation than it does to either the presence or absence of seeds in the vicinity of the slave settlement. In fact, previous studies of slave settlements have produced a range of materials (see, for example Gardener 1983, 1986 and Trinkley 1983). Since the samples available from Roupe尔蒙 are from the fill associated with a slave privy, it is reasonable to assume that the debris were gathered up for secondary (perhaps even tertiary) deposit in the feature. It seems likely that this process would have significantly limited the recovery of small seed materials.

Table 29 illustrates the results of the hand picked charcoal analyses by percentage. In the post holes the most common wood is consistently pine (*Pinus* spp.), followed by oak (*Quercus* spp.), with one sample producing a small quantity of hickory (*Carya* sp.) wood.

Feature 3 is any indication. The fill associated with the Native American burial includes only pine. The historic features reveal the same species found in the post holes, with the addition of sweet gum (*Liquidamber* sp.), a genus typically associated with moist soils.

Food remains identified in the hand picked specimens include both peach and corn, with the greatest quantity of remains coming from the privy fill. The concentration of materials suggests that at least a portion of the fill may have consisted of heath debris.

The collection includes one cob fragment from post hole 5 in 480R490, five cob fragments from the north half of Zone 1 in Feature 7, and three fragments from the south half of Zone 1 in the same feature. These cobs are itemized in Table 30, which follows Ford's (1973) standard to provide a thoroughly documented comparative collection for future researchers.

Cupule rows were most commonly paired. The sample size precluded identification of poor or incomplete cross-pollination, or irregularly aligned kernels. The available sample indicated that there were usually three cupules in 10 mm of cob length (extrapolated for all the samples) and that cupule width

was about 8 to 13 mm. The range is at least partially the result of measuring cob tips. Where only mid-sections are included, the range narrows (with only one exception) to about 9.4 to 13 mm.

All of the identified fragments clearly indicated that the kernels were removed before the cob was burned. Examination of the associated fragments produced no kernels fragments or charred kernels. The failure to identify kernels precludes examinations for denting.²

Discussion

The charcoal represents woods which could reasonably be associated with a rather broad area of upland forest near a wetland. The sweetgum may be found with oaks and hickories in mesic mixed hardwoods. Pine, while suggestive of a disturbed habitat, is present naturally in the mesic fine sand ridges of many hardwood forests (Barry 1980:138). The abundance of pine, however, might also suggest a fire sub-climax pine forest.

While several different wood species have been identified in this collection, indicating that the occupants collected and/or used woods from relatively dry upland soils, more mesic soils, and even some wetland areas bordering on swamps, two species appear most significant — pine and oak. Both are species frequently found mentioned as either boundary trees or as components of broad acreage on the plats of Beaufort area plantations. Commenting on the prevalence of pines, found usually with "only a very few black-jack oaks," Edmund Ruffin observed that they were found on "the driest [sic] land" whose surface is "sandy & dry" (Mathew 1992:74).

It may be significant that both pine and oak

² Denting is caused by the extension of the starchy endosperm to the apex of the kernel, which is otherwise encased in corneous material. As the grain dries, the corneous part remains unchanged, but the starchy endosperm shrinks and the top of the kernel is drawn downward, forming the characteristic denting in the end of the grain (Burt-Davy 1914:278; Weatherwax 1954:199).

are frequently used fuel woods. On the average, a cord of air dried pine provides about 80% of the heat value of a short-ton of coal, while oak provides about 84% the value. In contrast, sweetgum typically provides about 68%. Only the hickories (which were relatively uncommon in the area) consistently provide high heat values, averaging about 97% that of coal.³ The choice of wood for fuel did not, however, depend entirely on its calorific power. Other factors likely included freedom from smoke, completeness of combustion, and rapidity of burning. Pine, for instance, gives a quicker, hotter fire, and is easier to ignite, but is consumed in less time than many other woods. Oaks provide a more steady fire and heat than pine, but are difficult to ignite and not as easy to split (Graves 1919; Reynolds and Pierson 1942). In combination they form an almost perfect union.⁴

The examination of the wood remains also reveals the use of heart pine for lining the slave privy (Feature 7, Block 2), probably because of the decay resistance of this species. Scheffer and Cowling (1966) note that the toxic extractable substances deposited during the formation of pine heartwood provide it with good decay resistance.

Although relatively little peach was encountered, it may be an indicator of the plantation's

³ The varying quality of fire wood has long been recognized. For example, Reese notes: "The heavy and dense woods give the greatest heat, burn the longest, and have the densest charcoal. To the dense woods belong the oak, beech, alder, hazel, birch, and elm: to the soft, the fir, the pine of different sorts, larch, linden, willow, and poplar" (Reese 1847:116).

⁴ Elisabeth Donaghy Garrett goes to great lengths, however, to illustrate that even the perfect combination of fire woods, blazing in the perfectly constructed fireplace, often did little to warm, or light, plantation rooms. Even with fires, water, foods, ink, and even wines, froze overnight in deep winter. Thomas Chaplin, writing from his St. Helena, Beaufort County plantation in January 1857 that his thermometer was down to 20 degrees in the house at eight in the morning and that everything was frozen hard, including eggs, milk, and ink (Garrett 1990:189).

orchard.⁵ The peach fruits, in the lower coastal plain, from April through June. Sam Hilliard observes that:

The peach was the favorite fruit in most of the South and was prized as food either fresh, dried, or preserved.⁶ If sufficient quantities were produced, the surplus was fermented to wine and distilled into brandy. Many farmers fed them to hogs, as they were considered very nutritious, and often were encouraged to plant orchards to serve specifically for animal feed (Hilliard 1972:180-181).

Ann Leighton (1976:237) also notes the popularity of peaches. In 1629 there were 21 named peaches. By 1768 there were at least 31. And by 1850 over 250 named peach varieties were published. Regardless, all belonged to one of two groups, generally described as the freestones or melting-peaches in which the pulp or flesh separates easily from the stone and the clingstones in which the flesh clings or adheres to the stone.

Locally, planters like Chaplin (Rosengarten 1987) frequently mention peach, revealing that the trees were planted using both seeds and also "slips." They seem to have been used not only in the orchards, but also to mark fence rows or otherwise interspersed across the plantation landscape.

It is likely that there were three races of corn in aboriginal eastern North America, exclusive of the pop and sweet corns: Northern Flints (also known as Eastern Complex corn), Southeastern Dents, and

⁵ It is likely that peaches, a fruit of the temperate zone, were on the edge of their natural range in the Beaufort area. Though they prefer relatively warmer areas, they also require a resting period of winter cold for at least two months, during which time they gather strength for producing leaves and flowers in the spring.

⁶ One source also documents that peach pits themselves were roasted, salted, and eaten in rural black areas, such as on John's Island and in Berkeley County (Morton 1974:118).

Southeastern Flints.

Northern Flints, found centered in the Northeast, were characterized by ears possessing 8 to 10 rows of crescent-shaped kernels (that is, kernels wider than high), short plants that were highly tillered, and ears that were frequently enlarged at the base (see Brown and Anderson 1947; Carter and Anderson 1945; Jones 1949, 1968; Brown and Goodman 1977). Cobs were large, and grooves separated the cupules.

Southern Dents, found primarily in the Southeast, were noted for plant height and rarely produced nubbin ears. Rows ranged in number from 8 to 26, and the kernels were well dented; the cob frequently had an enlarged base. This race of corn was widely grown in the Southeast during the Colonial period (Brown and Goodman 1977:77; Kalm 1974).

The last major race, Southeastern Flint, had short cobs, ears of 12 to 14 rows, and an ear that was slightly compressed at the base and gently tapered to the tip. Brown and Goodman note that this race is limited to the historic period, with earlier prehistoric materials more closely resembling the Northern Flints.

It appears, based on an admittedly small sample, that the Roupelmond corn may have been an example of Southern Dents. Unfortunately no kernels are preserved to allow a more positive identification and it remains possible that the corn reflects an inclusion of Eastern Complex traits (of which the Northern Flints were an extreme form). For example, there are two 8-row specimens and both have the characteristic quadrangular cross-section. Ford (1973:190-191) observes that these traits became more prominent through time, with a very high degree of Easternization indicative of the Contact period. We are not aware of other eighteenth century corn available for study in South Carolina, so it is difficult to speculate on how much mixing of corn species there may have been.

The Roupelmond collection, when compared to other plantation assemblages, is rather barren. Gardner (1983) found the eighteenth century slave assemblages at Yaughan and Curriboo dominated by wood charcoal (almost exclusively pine), although a variety of food materials were also represented, such as corn, rice,

hickory and walnut, peach, hawthorn, bramble, and beans. A number of weed seeds, such as *Polygonum*, goosegrass, and possibly *Setaria*, *Paspalum*, *Panicum*, and *Digitaria* were also recovered, although they were found in small quantities and were often very eroded.

At the early antebellum Lesesne and Fairbank plantations, Gardner remarked finding, "an impressive variety of plant remains" (Gardner 1986:F-9). These included corn, rice, peach, watermelon, peanuts, cotton, chinaberry, spurge, *Iva*, hickory, acorn, pecan, blackberry, grape, blueberry, hackberry, plum or cherry, persimmon, and maypops. While few were present as more than one or two examples, the variety is, indeed, impressive. Contributing to this variety, however, was the excavation of a well, which produced a number of species not found elsewhere on the plantation, such as watermelon, peanuts, cotton, pecan, plum or cherry, and maypops.

Although Roupelmond offers far less, likely a result of the nature of the features encountered, it does provide an early corn sample, documenting what was being grown in the mid-eighteenth century. It also provides evidence of peach and the woods being most extensively exploited by the plantation.

POLLEN ANALYSIS

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Introduction

Two soil samples were submitted for pollen analysis, both from the south half of Feature 7, identified as a privy. One sample was taken from Zone 1, the upper fill of the privy, and the other from Zone 2, which is thought to represent privy soil.

Each sample preparation included potassium hydroxide (KOH) treatment, hydrochloric acid (HCL) treatment, zinc chloride (ZnCl₂) flotation, hydrofluoric acid (HF) treatment, bleaching with sodium hypochlorite, and staining with Safranin O. Ten slides from each provenience were prepared and scanned for evidence of pollen grains. Regrettably, few pollen were found in any of the samples.

Results

Feature 7, S¹/₂, Zone 1

This sample contained no pollen grains or no fungal hyphae, although several fungal sclerotia (but no fungal spores) were identified.

The palynofacies debris was dominated by angular, highly oxidized, fragments. Many of these fragments were opaque, as is the case for charcoal; however, most of this debris did not have the characteristic structure of fire-produced charcoal (i.e., open network of oxidized cell walls). Also, some of the thin edges of these chips were stained by the safranin stain (something that is not a characteristic of charcoal). The lack of fungal hyphae and fungal spores would argue against "wood rot" as the mechanism for breakdown of the wood. In fact, there were so many, angular, wood fragments that one might hypothesize

that some portion of this debris was saw dust. Many of the wood chips had the characteristic structure of gymnosperm wood (probably pine). No grass phytoliths were present.

Table 31.
 Materials Identified in the Feature 7, S¹/₂,
 Zone 2 Sample

<u>Types Identified</u>	<u>No. Counted/10 slides</u>
Arboreal	
<i>Quercus</i> (oak)	2
<i>Pinus</i> (pine)	5
<i>Juniperus</i> (Cedar or Juniper)	1
<i>Salix</i> (willow)	1
Nonarboreal	
Compositae (composites)	1
Chenopodiaceae (goosefoot, etc.)	4
Nonpollen	
Unidentified Fungal spores	present
Riccia-type fungal spore	1
Fungal hyphae	common

Feature 7, S¹/₂, Zone 2

Pollen, although identified, is inadequate to reconstruct the paleoecological setting. The few palynomorphs that did occur were very highly corroded and did not take the stain well. The types identified are shown in Table 31.

The palynofacies remains were much more highly fragmented and biologically corroded than above,

but not darkened or oxidized. Some angular fragments were present, but most of the debris was finer-grained, flocculated masses, or unoxidized, elongated single cells, or clusters of cells (more typical of bioturbated soils). One unidentified leaf cuticle was present. A few gymnosperm chips (with characteristic pit-pairs of pine) were present, but most of the debris had no recognizable gymnosperm characteristics.

Discussion

The pollen samples for the feature are disappointing, although the differential preservation between the two zones may be interesting. Assuming similar soil conditions and preservation factors, recovery of pollen from Zone 2 suggests that this level was open and receiving pollen rain, while different conditions prevailed for the Zone 1 fill.

Also of interest is that the pollen and ethnobotanical record both suggest pine was common at Roupelmond. Oak has also been recovered as charcoal, although willow and cedar were not identified. Willow is characteristic of low moist soils, such as might be found adjacent to creeks in the immediate area. Cedar, of course, is a common species, frequently found on the marsh edge. The pollen from these species is consistent with the site locale.

The presence of both grass and goosefoot pollen, albeit in small numbers, is suggestive of a disturbed habitat — which you would expect to find around a slave habitation area or privy. The fungal spores and hyphae are suggestive of composting — consistent with the chemistry of privy fill. Although only one Riccia-type fungal spore was identified, this is commonly associated with fields or agricultural activity, suggesting that gardens may have been present in the general vicinity.

ANALYSIS OF PHYTOLITHS

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Introduction

Phytolith analysis was conducted on two soil samples collected at the Roupelmond Plantation — both from Feature 7, reported to be a privy from the slave settlement. The Zone 1 sample is thought to represent fill of the abandoned privy, while Zone is reported to be the composted debris found at the base of the privy excavations, perhaps representing remnant fecal remains mixed with soil.

The project goals and methods followed those stated in the phytolith study conducted earlier for the nineteenth century Seabrook Plantation on Hilton Head Island (Rovner 1998). In general, this included first "cleaning" the soil to promote disaggregation of particles. This was accomplished by centrifuging the samples, then eliminating the organic residues using sodium hypochlorite, eliminating carbonates using dilute hydrochloric acid, and finally resuspended using a deflocculant and additional centrifuging. Next the aliquot was dried and then floated using a zinc bromide solution which was again centrifuged. Finally, the phytoliths were precipitated using distilled water and additional centrifuging, at which time they were decanted to a shell vial and placed in a drying oven to remove excess liquid.

The phytolith extracts were quick-mounted in distilled water and viewed in an optical microscope. Whole slides were scanned at 100x to find clusters of particles, which were then scanned at 400x to determine the character of individual particles. Particles of interest, especially those of morphological and taxonomic significance, were recorded in videotape using a high-resolution CCD television mini-camera mounted on the microscope.

No phytolith reference database developed from phytolith extracts of living plants in the site's region was available or specifically prepared for this study. This severely limits taxonomic specificity in interpreting phytoliths present and, predictably, leaves a substantial number of morphologically distinctive (and sometimes frequent) phytolith types in the category of "unknown." Recent publications, especially Rapp and Mulholland (1992), provide substantial verification for both general and specific taxonomic assignments of phytoliths. The videotape of representative and taxonomically significant phytoliths and other biosilica bodies makes the assemblage of particles used in this current study available for re-study when local taxonomic reference work is conducted.

In the absence of a regional phytolith database, published typological information was employed for classification of phytolith types. For grasses, the three tribe classification of Twiss et al. (1969) into panicoid (lobate forms), chloridoid (saddle-shaped forms), and festucoid (trapezoids, cones, hats, sinuous-sided forms), along with elaborations by Brown (1984), was used.

Panicoid grasses favor (and tend to dominate) under warm, moist conditions. Ethnobotanically significant maize produces panicoid phytoliths as does rice and millet.

Festucoid grasses favor cooler, moist conditions, such as those found in northerly latitudes and higher elevations. Wheat, barley, oats, rye, and Old World animal fodder grasses fall into the festucoid phytolith group.

Chloridoid grasses tend to dominate in warm, dry conditions such as in short grass prairies and

deserts. They also occur in disturbed "barrens" and in any soil which rapidly drains such as on sand dunes or in coastal ecologies. I know of no obvious ethnobotanic significance for chloridoid grasses (i.e., no cereal cultigens) in this region.

For angiosperms (e.g., deciduous trees and shrubs) and conifers, Rovner (1971), Geis (1973), Klein and Geis (1978) provide some guidance for eastern woodland flora content. The most elaborate work to date in these taxa has been done by Japanese experts (Kondo 1974, 1976, 1977; Kondo and Peason 1981; Kondo and Sase 1986; Kondo et al. 1987), primarily on Asian flora. However, considerable similarity of illustrated phytolith forms at the genus level between American and Japanese plants provide confident guidance in the taxonomic assignment of distinctive phytoliths in these categories. Most recently studies by Cummings (1992) and Bozarth (1992) have confirmed and refined the typology and taxonomy of phytoliths in dicotyledonous taxa. Distinctive material can now be attributed specifically to Asteraceae (Compositae) — a dicotyledonous group well represented and ethnobotanically significant in the eastern United States. While soil phytolith studies in the general region of the mid-Appalachians and Atlantic Seaboard are few in number, general comparisons can be drawn from studies at such eastern historic period sites as Monticello, Virginia (Rovner 1988); Hampton, Virginia (Rovner 1989); Harpers Ferry, West Virginia (Rovner 1994); Jordon Site (31NH256), North Carolina (Rovner 1984); and 31MK683, North Carolina (Rovner 1995a, 1995b).

Results

Processing was essentially normal, although there was a difference in the reaction to the HCL wash between the two zones. In Zone 1 (the upper fill), was very reactive, with bits of white material — likely small flakes of the oyster shell used as fill — fizzing upon application of the acid. Zone 1 was also much darker in color, requiring two applications of bleach to fade its color to match Zone 2 (although both remain tinted through the bleach and post-bleach water rinses. Zone 1 also contained carbon residues in much greater amounts than the lower Zone 2 deposits (which reflect composted privy soil).

Zone 2

Zone 2 was not particularly dense with phytoliths. The ratio of phytoliths to the normal fine silt and inorganic quartz, which is never fully eliminated in processing, clearly favored the quartz. It was difficult to distinguish many of the amorphous biosilica particles from inorganic minerals without staining (a very toxic process which was not undertaken). However, non-grass plates and other dicotyledonous "junk" particles did dominate the sparse phytolith assemblage. Large grass particles, i.e., bulliformes, large squares, and rectangles were present. No grass short cells were observed in the first mount scanned. The second mount was denser overall, but similar with biosilica still a decided minority and grass scarce. Six short cells were observed, three each of Panicoid and Festucoid. No Chloridoid cells were observed.

Of potential significance were a small number of "water related" particles. The analysis revealed two particles (stippled polyhedral plates) of sedge (*Cyperaceae* sp.) which typically grow at the edge of watercourses, and three sponge spicules. Also observed were a number of plain, small "lozenge-shaped" spores — which may be privy-related. It is no surprise that the feature reveals an association with wet conditions or that spores are found in privy fill.

Zone 1

The relative frequency of phytoliths was higher in the Zone 1 sample, although the density level was, at best, moderate. The variety of non-grass phytoliths was greater than in Zone 2 and include large epidermal plates, hair cells, ornamented cell casts, tracheids, along with a very few black (carbonized) endodermal tissue fragments with rows of perforations (i.e., most likely wood ash). Grass phytoliths were relatively common, including especially bulliformes, rectangles, squares, elongates, etc. Short cells were present. In two mounts the study counted 10 Festucoid, 17 Panicoid, and 1 Chloridoid. In addition, a possible maize cupule phytolith was also observed. Two sedge particles were observed, but no sponge spicules.

Discussion

The lower Zone 2 phytoliths are consistent with “digested” organic residues. Unlike herbivores, whose feces are loaded with indigestible plant silica, humans tend to avoid eating plant parts that are heavily silicified. Thus, we avoid grass, leaves, etc., but concentrate on seeds, nutmeats, fruits, flowers, and roots which tend not to be silicified. Consumed vegetables tend to be fibrous, i.e., with cellulose that we “pre-digest” by cooking, which would have no effect on vegetables with high silica content. Thus, a privy deposit is expected to be low, although not necessarily lacking, in silica, much of that coming from sources other than feces.

The upper Zone 1 sample has characteristics of organic compost — both in terms of color and content. If oysters caused the reaction to hydrochloric acid in this zone, then their absence in the privy zone distinguishes their respective taphonomy. The lower zone received eaten and digested organic residue, while the upper zone received organic material removed and discarded without being consumed. In addition to possible oyster shell, combinations and permutations of leaves, stems, rinds, and corncobs, etc. easily account for the phytolith profile observed. On the other hand, distinctive squash rind phytoliths and bean hair cells were not observed — perhaps suggesting a relatively limited vegetable diet. Very few perforated black ash fragments were observed. So, while ash appears, the feature was not a major ash dump.

Taphonomically, the post-privy deposition is not likely to be rapid since rapid filling would tend to be heavily inorganic — unless, of course, the fill came from other trash deposits. If the fill was a slower accumulation of organic wastes, then the plant contribution to it did not favor heavily siliceous plants or plant parts. They occur, but not in high density to match the observed organic nature of the sample during processing. Thus, phytolith data do not fully support this model, requiring the conjecture that a higher frequency of organic trash came from non-siliceous plant material which was not eaten and/or animal

wastes.¹

The grass short cell populations are instructive. Native grasses should favor Panicoid taxa climatically, with Festucoids occurring as cool seasonal grasses and/or in wetter microenvironments. Chloridoids should occur on well-drained, sandy soils, i.e., dry soils due to poor ground-water retention.

The virtual absence of Chloridoids adds some reinforcement to presence of sedge and sponge spicules as a sign of wetness. Panicoid grass does dominate, clearly in the upper Zone 1 sample, but may not be purely native grasses for two reasons.

First, the relative level of Festucoid grass is high. This may be due to the wet nature of the local ecology, but it may also be due to the introduction of European Festucoid grasses during the historic period. Such grasses would include cereals, such as wheat, rye, barley, oats, as well as lawn grasses, fodder grasses, and accidental weeds.

Second, the Panicoid short cells observed were all of the wide bilobate form or the squarish four-lobed cross body. Maize is one of the producers of these forms. Long, thin bilobate forms and forms with long, narrow intermediate shanks that occur in many wild Panicoid grasses were absent. One exotic particle also suggests maize and, more specifically, maize cupule (or cob). It is a short cell with a round (to oval) top and a flaring “skirt” (Robert Thompson, personal communication 1998). So, while not diagnostic, the Panicoid short cells observed are consistent with maize and, given the context, are very likely derived from maize.

At the risk of building a house of cards here, if the Panicoid phytolith assemblage derives from maize and *not* from any wild grasses, then the Festucoid assemblage is likely to be derived from domesticated

¹ Editor's Note: It seems likely the fill was relatively rapid, since there were no water washed sand lenses in Zone 1. We suspect that the primary organic component of this fill was animal waste, combined with modest lenses of charcoal and shellfish.

cereals (wheat?) as well. It is unlikely that wild grass deposition in the fill would selectively favor minority Festucoid grass to the exclusion of the dominant wild Panicoid grasses.

In conclusion, phytolith evidence is consistent with a privy deposit in the lower zone and a considerable accumulation of organic material, e.g., kitchen refuse, contributing to the fill of the upper zone.

CONCLUSIONS

The Initial Surveys

The data recovery excavations at Roupelmond Plantation followed two surveys of the tract — an initial reconnaissance and an intensive survey, both accompanied by increasingly intensive historical research. Several features concerning the survey were of interest. First, the survey not only identified several components of the plantation, including a main settlement along the marsh and what appeared to be a slave settlement further inland, but also other areas of diffuse scatters. Interpretation was hampered by intensive cultivation which was well documented by the land use history. Second, the survey also documented what might be called a “thin wash” of prehistoric materials across the entire site. Although a few vague concentrations were apparent, far more material was simply present as a few specimens mixed among far more common historic remains. Third, identification of the several known historic structures was very difficult, even using very close interval testing. This difficulty was attributed to the cultivation which had taken place on the site. Fourth, although no comparable surveys took place on the adjoining property to the east, the fields were freshly cultivated at the time and were walked several times — without ever recovering any prehistoric or historic materials. The sharp delineation of the site on its eastern boundary seemed unusual.

In other words, from the very earliest surveys we recognized that the site had been subjected to intensive cultivation. Although we did not search out previous owners to document the agricultural practices in use, based on knowledge from other low country tracts, it seems likely that mule plowing gave way to mechanization by World War II and afterwards there were increasing efforts to maximize yields through about the early 1970s. During this period the habit was to subsoil plow only once every few years, sometimes less often because of excessive drainage.

This pattern seems to have resulted in considerable mixing, although it does not always result in excessively deep disturbances. By this we mean that often there appears to be considerable horizontal mixing and smearing of site areas, although there isn't necessarily complete removal of features.

We attributed the smear of prehistoric materials to the effects of agriculture — several loci of prehistoric activity, through time, had been merged, blurring across the landscape. Likewise, historic components were no longer as distinct as they might be — also being smeared by plowing. When those components might have been represented by small assemblages — such as the late nineteenth century houses on the road edge — they too were made indistinct by plowing. This serves as a good lesson that at some point, regardless of the survey interval, it will be impossible to discern faint archaeological footprints.

In spite of this, the initial surveys, combined with the information from the adjoining tracts, suggested that we had identified the main plantation complex. Historical research quickly revealed the plantation to be known by several names — Ferry being one of the first we encountered, followed by Roupelmond, and finally, after considerable additional research, Patterson Point.

One reviewer was critical that we had not devoted more attention to the prehistoric remains. As we have tried to stress throughout this study, the Native American remains, based on these surveys, were determined ineligible for inclusion on the National Register and, therefore, were not eligible for incorporation into the data recovery plan.

In a similar fashion the reviewer was concerned that the data recovery did not explore the Civil War component of the site, as well as the school house thought to be situated near Stewarts Road. Again, the

survey failed to identify any significant remains associated with these other site components and, as a result, they too were determined not to contribute to the site's eligibility. As a consequence, the data recovery plan did not devote limited resources to their further investigation.

The Historical Research

Concurrently with much of the field investigation, historical research was also taking place. Initially confined to local resources we were able to piece together much of the title and ownership, although there were several significant gaps. We found that repositories and sources which are rather uncommonly tapped provided exceptional clues. For example, at the Beaufort Library we found several fragments of Stuart family history, including a sketch plan of the nineteenth century plantation. Although drawn from memory long after the plantation had been abandoned to cultivation, subsequent archaeological research revealed the accuracy of many details. Moreover, the plan provides a sense of the plantation landscape as viewed by the white plantation owner and his family. Not only is the detail far better in the main plantation core, but so, too, is the scale. The owner's world view, according to these documents, seemed to focus on the main settlement, with their concern of the landscape reducing in concentric circles spiraling outward from this core area.

From the South Caroliniana Library we found a compendium of land restoration court cases which provided a summary of the Stuart's efforts to reclaim the plantation after the Civil War. Although few details were included, it provided a case number, leading eventually to the National Archives. Our discoveries at the National Archives allowed us to complete the title and land ownership, as well as to fill in many of the blanks during the late postbellum — when the land was still in the hands of the federal government.

Were it not for our venture into federal records, our understanding of the Roupelmond Plantation would be far less satisfactory. Whether this represents simply an unusual situation, or provides an argument for more detailed historical investigations at other low country plantations, is left to the reader to ponder. But certainly our knowledge concerning this

particular plantation would have been far less complete without these seemingly unusual efforts.

In spite of the successes, the historical documentation of the individual owners fell far short of what we might have liked. For example, we know little concerning the plantation economics during the major periods of ownership by Prioleau, Roupell, and Stuart. In fact, our characterization of early success followed by antebellum stagnation is based almost entirely on what we know was happening at a general level among other planters in the region.

And although we have been able to piece together quite a bit concerning the Stuart family, the Roupells remain something of a mystery. George Roupell, by all accounts, was a supporter of the Crown who benefited from multiple appointments. His Charleston dealings would lead us to conclude that he probably wasn't much of a planter. He might be characterized as a minor government official — a petty bureaucrat, not of the planter or even the merchant class. He married into half of the plantation, but succeeded in acquiring the remaining moiety to unite the plantation under his ownership.

Moreover, he somehow managed to maintain control of his plantation during — and after — the American Revolution, when many others were losing their property or being heavily penalized. While his children seem to have had no desire to return to South Carolina after the Revolution, Roupell seems to have sought out the privacy of his plantation and done well enough to maintain his ownership. The archaeological research contributes to this, suggesting that he managed to surround himself with the objects of polite society and live very comfortably on the edge of St. Helena Parish until his death in 1794.

Roupell's wife continued to own the plantation until her death in 1819. But we don't know if she was an absentee owner or if she actually lived on the plantation and took an active role in its operation.

After the Roupell tenure the plantation was acquired by John G. Barnwell, perhaps to provide as a dowry to his daughter, Mary Howe Barnwell, since she brought the plantation to her marriage with Middleton

Stuart. The Stuarts, although a part of Beaufort society and land owners in their own right, were probably less wealthy. Middleton Stuart's father, Dr. James Stuart, was apparently an overseer or manager of at least one Barnwell tract. With the acquisition of his own plantation, Middleton Stuart became a modest planter on the fringe of St. Helena, in an area not known for particularly good soils or high yields. Unfortunately, the historical accounts provide us with little information concerning his plantation activities. At his death in 1840, his brother-in-law took control of the plantation and apparently a somewhat patriarchal role in the Stuart clan.

No matter how little we know concerning the owners of the plantation, we know far less concerning the African American slaves. In fact, the only real voice they are given comes from some of the Stuart family histories, which provide a glimpse of slave life on the eve of the Civil War.

Even the Civil War history of the property is not perfectly documented. Local legend had the plantation house largely destroyed by Confederate batteries — yet, the historical accounts and the archaeology dispute this, suggesting instead some damage, but a structure which stood, albeit abandoned and deteriorating, until the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Finally, the historic record also provided us with two views of the main house, both from the artist James R. Stuart. While perhaps from memory, the two views are very similar and reveal something of both the architecture and plantation landscape.

The Excavations

The excavations at Roupelmond focused on the slave settlement, where 2,200 square feet were opened in two blocks. Here a broad range of artifacts and features were identified — all apparently associated with the African American population of Roupelmond during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Perhaps most significant, we found the remains of multiple slave houses called “wall trench structures” by archaeologists. Initially encountered by

Wheaton and his colleagues at Vaughan and Curriboo plantations in Berkeley County (Wheaton et al. 1983), they were further discussed by Adams (1990). These dwellings were built by first excavating a trench, into which posts would be set, some just to the depth of the trench, some set deeper in individual post holes. Branches or wattle were then woven between the posts which outlined the structure, creating the walls. At times these walls would be covered in mud, which of course is best revealed archaeologically if the structure burns, baking and hardening the clay.

The structures at Roupelmond have rounded corners and the most complete reveals a structure at least 13 feet in width and minimally 18 feet in length. Previous work suggests that these wall trench dwellings form two clusters. One cluster consists of structures measuring about 9-11 feet by 13-16 feet, while the other ranges from 12-14 feet by 18-22 feet. The best preserved of the Roupelmond examples fits this second cluster nearly perfectly. Five additional wall trench structures were observed in the two blocks, although none were sufficiently intact to allow measurement — all having been affected by the site's cultivation. All of the structures have a very similar orientation, roughly northwest-southeast, but do not appear to be aligned. They seem, instead, to form a cluster or clump of structures, all with an identical orientation, but not necessarily forming any sort of strict alignment. This finding suggests that in the early eighteenth century at Roupelmond the slaves were left to create a landscape fitting their world view — not their master's.

A range of additional features were present, although most represent only basal levels — the upper portions having been lost to cultivation. Included in the assemblage of features are several that are of special interest. A pair of wagon ruts were found at the southern edge of one block, suggesting that a road led into the slave area from the south. We were not able to discern hearths and, in fact, are even reluctant to venture guesses about yard areas as opposed to structural areas, given the amount of plowing loss. But, we did encounter a cat burial which was almost certainly associated with these eighteenth century wall trench structures.

Another odd feature — at least for a slave

settlement area — is a wood lined privy. Measuring about 4-feet square and about 5 feet in depth, the privy hole itself was encompassed on at least two, and probably three, sides by a wall trench structure. The east-facing side may have been open or had a door. This privy had seen considerable use, with its floor largely decayed and replaced with brick. Zone 2, at the base of the feature, is interpreted to be remnant “nightsoil” — a mixture of fecal material, other organics, and soil, all heavily composted. The mean ceramic date for this zone — presumably telling us about when the last deposit was made — is 1779. Zone 1 represents upper fill deposited after the abandonment of the feature, about 1791.

When other functions were considered a well was rejected since the hole does not penetrate the water table. A cellar was rejected since the feature is smaller, and far deeper, than cellars found further north in the Mid-Atlantic. One reviewer suggested that the feature might be an indigo vat, but this must also be rejected. The feature is far too small and lacks the ability to be easily drained.

In an effort to either identify alternative explanations or to better document our interpretation that the feature represents a privy, we examined the feature soils. Although soil data from the feature reveal heavy leaching of the macronutrients, there are clear peaks (especially of phosphate) in Zones 1 and 2, when compared to both the area under the feature and also the plowed soil surrounding the feature (Table 32). In particular, phosphate is a nearly universal indicator of decayed organic material. The problem, of course, is that bases are required to fix the phosphoric acids as an insoluble; otherwise, phosphates may readily leach from sandy soils and chemical tests often fail to detect any appreciable amounts. Cornwall observes that:

the critical pH is close to 5.6, well on the acid side. Thus, if the pH of a soil is below this figure, its phosphate-content in the long run will be negligible (Cornwall 1958:195).

Table 32.
Soil Analysis of Feature 7 (% calculated on a dry basis)

Provenience	Phosphate	K	N	Mg	pH
Outside feature (480R450, PZ)	0.49	0.07	0.07	0.07	7.71
Privy fill (Zone 1)	0.70	0.09	0.08	0.08	7.62
Composted “nightsoil” (Zone 2)	0.56	0.09	0.05	0.06	7.88
Base of feature (Cleaning)	0.27	0.11	0.05	0.05	7.89

Consequently, while the peaks in Zones 1 and 2 seem modest, they must be examined in the context of the acid soils.

Although nitrogen, in contrast to phosphate, tends to be more tightly bound up in acid soils, it is also quickly leached out of sandy soils. Consequently, it is no surprise that the levels are low. The peak in Zone 1 is so ephemeral it may actually represent the downward movement of nitrogen in soil, rather than an actual peak induced by the archaeological deposit.

The results of the pollen and phytolith studies are both consistent with a privy function. Zone 2 includes relatively few phytoliths since, as Rovner points out, humans ingest relatively few plant materials which are heavily silicified. Likewise, the Zone 2 pollen sample was suggestive of a composting function and that the material was open to receive pollen rain. In contrast, the quickly deposited Zone 1 fill has few pollen grains and did not display evidence of composting. The phytolith research, however, suggested that the Zone 1 fill contained evidence of both corn and other domesticated grass at the site, perhaps wheat.

In sum, although we are not wed to the privy interpretation, it is consistent with all of the available evidence.

If Feature 7 is, in fact, a privy, we might ask what it was doing in the slave settlement. Unfortunately, we have no clear answer since it is not only anomalous, but unique. We can only speculate that, for whatever reason, George Roupell saw to it that

his slaves had the dubious benefit of a privy. Perhaps this was his way of "civilizing" his African slaves. Perhaps it was his way of ameliorating their condition. We are inclined to associate the privy with George Roupell's tenure since it appears to have been abandoned about the time of Roupell's death, suggesting that whatever its reason for existence, it was no longer thought important once Roupell was no longer at the plantation.

The excavations also suggested a fairly dramatic change at the plantation at the turn of the eighteenth century. The wall trench structures (along with the privy) seem to have been abandoned and were replaced by more conventional slave row architecture. In fact, Adams comments that this change was occurring in the Berkeley County area between the American Revolution and 1830 — earlier at some plantations, later at others. But, the general tendency was for the wall trench structures to be replaced with clapboard structures raised off the ground on piers. Whether in response to pressure from abolitionists or as "self-interest," plantation owners improved the condition of their slave housing. This improvement, of course, is from a Euro-American perspective and there is some evidence that the earlier slave housing was preferred by the slaves themselves. Regardless, at Roupelmond, the new type of structure seen in the slave row was post and beam construction. Unfortunately, even less of this structure remains for study than the wall trench buildings, so it is impossible to compare size or make observations concerning chimney or internal arrangement.

The orientation of the slave settlement does not seem to have changed significantly, although its exact placement may have shifted slightly, perhaps to avoid the landscape modifications resulting from 60+ years of occupation.

Turning to the main settlement, less is known because of our conscious decision to focus on the slave settlement. The main house was identified in an area which would face less development pressure and might represent an area where future work would be possible. The slave settlement, in contrast, would be entirely destroyed. Moreover, during our initial clearing efforts, we came slowly to realize that the large quantity of

architectural materials (coquina, tabby, and brick) found along the marsh edge were not in situ. We came to suspect that they had been deposited there as the ruins of the main house were removed for easier cultivation.

These debris, nevertheless, did contribute to our understanding of the main house. The locally available coquina¹ had been mined from the marsh, not necessarily as a replacement for tabby, but rather to supplement tabby's use. Both appear to have been stuccoed or parged and then scored to resemble ashlar block.

Excavations in the field revealed dense deposits of brick and mortar rubble, indicating that we had to be near the remains of the original house. In addition, we discovered what appears to be patterned post holes which we have interpreted as perhaps scaffolding for building construction. Of course, there may be alternative explanations. It may be the post holes are not related to one another. We dismiss this because of the similarity of the post holes in diameter and depth. Or it may be, given the nature of the construction (the oral history suggests the building lacked a basement or ground level construction common to much low country architecture and was actually situated about one step above the surrounding ground level) that the post holes actually represent some portion of the main house. It is more difficult to dismiss this explanation.

When we look at the architecture of the Roupelmond house we are confronted by questions and uncertainties. In spite of several drawings, oral history accounts, and the archaeological remains of the plantation house, it is difficult to reconstruct both the nature of the house and its possible evolution. At a general level, the at-grade construction is reminiscent of other early (pre-Revolutionary) houses, such as Old House and Retreat. This is consistent with a house built by George Roupell in the 1760s. Likewise, the grand columns and portico are suggestive of a later, neoclassical, addition. They could easily have been added

¹ Although coquina is often associated only with the materials found off the Florida coast, it is more generically a partially consolidated shell limestone which is found in a number of coastal South Carolina areas (Murphy 1995).

by either Barnwell or Middleton Stuart in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The question remains, however, what other additions may have been made to the house during the period.

Perhaps the most significant finding here is the historical and archaeological documentation that has become clear. The Roupelmond house is of a style that is not very clearly revealed by such classic works as either Stoney (1938) or Lane (1984), who tended to focus on higher style architecture. The Roupell plantation house is far more likely to represent the common vernacular among low country planters prior to the American Revolution.

The main settlement, however, also produced evidence of additional wall trench structures, revealing we believe, the presence of African Americans in close proximity to the main house during the plantation's early period, dating to Roupell.

Indian Remains at Roupelmond

The early surveys, as previously mentioned, found a thin "wash" of prehistoric materials over much of the tract. Although interesting, these materials were not sufficient by the State Historic Preservation Office to warrant additional archaeological attention or modification of the data recovery plan. Although the subsequent excavations recovered the basal portions of a single Native American burial — a female perhaps 20 to 40 years of age — they did little else to contradict the earlier survey results. This basal portion of a burial was the only distinctly Native American feature encountered. The prehistoric ceramic artifacts recovered span a considerable period of time, ranging from about 2000 B.C. to about A.D. 1500, with a concentration of materials spanning the period from about 300 B.C. to A.D. 500. The lithic remains found at the site range from the Middle Archaic (about 5000 B.C.) to the Mississippian (about A.D. 1500 or perhaps later). There seems, in fact, to be an unexpectedly high density of lithic materials at this site, at least when compared to other areas of the stone-poor low country. This is briefly discussed further below.

It seems likely that the one burial dates from the Mississippian (based solely on the condition of the

bone — no temporally distinct artifacts were found in the fill) and may represent an individual buried under the floor of her house. This is consistent with what is known for the time period — some individuals were buried at home, others were taken to specially prepared mortuary areas. The difference, although not certain, seems associated with one's clan or status.

It is unfortunate that so little remained of the burial at Roupelmond. It seems to be the only Mississippian burial documented for this area of the low country from a non-ceremonial area. Regardless, it was badly disturbed, could not be linked with a recognizable structure, and appears to be isolated. Perhaps the Native American site at that time was little more than a seasonal camp. The remains of this individual are curated with the remainder of the materials from Roupelmond and await repatriation should a Native American group care to claim her.

Exploring the Historic Artifacts

The collection of historic artifacts is greatest from the slave settlement. There our previous discussions have revealed a fairly tight correlation between the historically documented events, most especially ownership changes, and Bartovics' ceramic formula. There is reasonable evidence of the plantation's slave row being established by at least 1762 and likely by 1750. There seems to have been a change — already discussed in the context of the shift from wall trench to post and beam construction — about 1800.

The pattern analysis of the historic artifacts is consistent with that seen at other eighteenth century low country slave settlements. Kitchen materials (primarily ceramics and glass) dominate. The low incidence of architectural remains is indicative of the wall trench structures which contributed few artifacts to the archaeological record. We were, however, delighted to see that in Block 2, where we encountered a mix of both "old" and "new" architecture, the proportion of architectural remains was higher. Even without the preserved post holes, this would have been sufficient to suggest a change in housing style.

We see considerable "trickle down" of goods from the owner to the slaves at Roupelmond. For

example, the eighteenth century slave settlement is replete with fancy ceramics and leaded crystal. One explanation is that any serviceable item was finding its way to the slave quarters. As a result, we see more flatware forms being used by the slaves than hollowwares. This doesn't necessarily reflect a different diet (for example, less use of one-pot stews), but only different practices in serving and consuming the foods. During the nineteenth century it seems likely that less material was coming from the main settlement, although it is likely that the Stuarts were specifically purchasing whitewares for use by their slaves.

Turning to the main complex we have been able to document settlement at least by the 1760s — consistent with the information found in the slave settlement. Consistent with the historic evidence, there seems to be some decline in the main settlement during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, probably coinciding with the death of Middleton Stuart.

Considering the materials which were passed from the main settlement to the slaves, along with the materials found at the main house, it seems likely that Roupell — and Stuart after him — sought to surround himself with the material possessions of the elite. The fine ceramics, the teaware, the heavy mirror, the lamp prism, finger bowls, stemware, decanters, clocks — all are items that would help transport a little of Charleston's refinement to Whale Branch.

In spite of this, we found evidence that the late Roupell and, more clearly, Stuart ownership does not reflect particularly high status or wealth. In fact, while the ceramics in use by the Stuart family were clearly more costly than those they acquired for the use of the slaves, the Stuarts' ceramics do not rank particularly high when compared to other low country planters. Porcelains were less common at Roupelmond than at almost all other low country plantations for which we have comparable data. Even the amount of glassware is low at Roupelmond. Taken together this provides some of the best evidence that by the nineteenth century Roupelmond was not a particularly profitable plantation and that the Stuarts were curtailing their outward display of wealth.

The Plantation Diet

Excavations at the main settlement did not yield sufficient quantities of faunal remains to allow any convincing statements concerning the owner's diet. At the slave settlement, however, we found a diet that was generally consistent with what might be expected at a rural plantation site. Cattle appear to have been the most significant source of meat, although the low incidence of butchering marks suggests that much of this may have been salted and brought into the plantation for the use of the slaves. This, however, was supplemented by fresh beef, typically less desirable cuts — as evidenced by the finds in the slave privy fill. Moreover, the slaves supplemented their owner-supplied diet, although most of the supplement came from terrestrial sources, most of which could be easily acquired by untended traps. There was very little reliance on the abundant resources of the nearby marshes, creeks, and rivers.

In other words, there is some evidence that Roupelmond's slaves were forced to supplement their provisions by setting traps and were not provided the time necessary for use of the water resources.

The meat, however, probably represents a small fraction of the actual slave diet. Far more bulk would likely have been provided by other sources. The ethnobotanical remains and the phytolith record suggest that this bulk was likely corn, probably ground to yield corn meal. This is further supported by the archaeological record, which yielded a fragment of a grinding stone and the oral history that identifies a corn mill house on the plantation. In addition, the ethnobotanical remains indicate that peach — probably from a small plantation orchard — was being used. A wild resource found in the collections, which may have been gathered by the African American slaves, is hickory.

The phytolith record also suggests that wheat, or some similar grass (barley, rye, oats), was grown on the plantation. None of these are particularly common in the Beaufort area, although small quantities were apparently grown by a range of planters, primarily for

animal fodder.² Chaplin, for example, mentions the planting of both oats and rye, but seems to never have produced more than a few bushels. Often the grasses were planted either in the orchard or even in his yard area (Rosengarten 1987:512, 548, 563, 706).

Reviewing the Proposed Research Questions

Prior to the investigations at Roupelmond, and based on the evidence from the two surveys, we proposed four broad areas of research. The first was an **examination of the plantation's architectural style**. We wondered if Roupelmond, seemingly a somewhat isolated plantation, on the very edge of the St. Helena Parish, might evidence a more vernacular architectural style than plantations closer to Beaufort and the Sea Islands. It certainly seems to be the case that the early plantation house was unusual, at least when compared to the high-styles commonly discussed by architectural historians today. Whether its vernacular appearance is the result of its isolation or perhaps simply its early age cannot be determined without far more comparative research. At present, however, the three plantations from more inland areas — Roupelmond, Rose Hill (Adams et al. 1995), and 38BU1289 (Kennedy and Roberts 1993) — are all far more vernacular than might have been expected.

We also wondered what architectural evidence we might be able to identify at the slave settlement. Again, we were not disappointed. As previously discussed, we were able to document the shift from wall trench to post and beam construction, and tie this change to a very specific period of ownership. We also found that while the architecture changed, we aren't as certain that the settlement's basic organization changed — in both periods the orientation of the settlement is similar. What did change, besides the basic architectural style, is the landscape arrangement. While the earlier wall trench structures were loosely clusters, the later post and beam houses took on a more rigid alignment, probably imposed by the owner. This seems to be a very basic alteration of the fundamental landscape theme.

Another broad research interest was associated with the **artifact assemblage at Roupelmond and how it might relate to other low country plantations**. Here, too, we found considerable data, particularly in the slave settlement. The artifact pattern was precisely what might have been expected, yet there were a number of unusual features: the prevalence of flatware, the change in ceramic provisioning between the Roupell and Stuart tenures, and the range of items which may reflect African American spiritualism.

A third research topic involved the **landscape and what it might reflect about the owner and slaves**. We found, for example, relatively little evidence of the formal organization of the landscape which might be associated with the Georgian world view. Although the archaeological assemblage suggests to us that George Roupell sought to replicate the comfort and status he claimed in Charleston, the plantation itself lacked formal organization and does not seem to have been designed to exhibit power and wealth. Instead, it seems to more closely resemble a working farm. Even the early antebellum alterations can't be considered to have produced a grand plantation. Instead, at best, they grandized a rather plain facade. Moreover, Roupell doesn't seem to have been concerned that next to his plantation house was a wall trench structure. There doesn't seem to have been any serious effort, prior to about 1800, to present a particular view of the plantation from the river (in spite of the many who would have seen it as they ferried from one side to the other). Nor does there seem to be a grand entrance from the south or from Shell Road.

On the other hand, the modifications of the plantation which occurred at the turn of the century do suggest that the landscape changed. Slave houses became more European looking, the main settlement became more organized, and there may have been a ditch placed between the slave and main settlements as a psychological barrier.

This may tie into our fourth research topic — a **search for evidence of alienation**. Of course, the idea of alienation is predicated on the idea that as the owner became more wealthy and the slaves saw no more or possibly less of their labor returned to them, there was increasing alienation. At Roupelmond it seems that

² For example, in 1850 the Beaufort agricultural census revealed only 2,465 bushels of wheat, 29,943 bushels of rye and oats, and no barley (DeBow 1854:305).

the status of the owner declined from Roupell to Stuart. And it may be that the well-being of the slaves similarly declined, in spite of "better" housing. The faunal assemblage, for example, suggests limited time for supplementing the diet and a reliance on salted meat with only a few poor cuts of fresh meat. The ceramics of the main plantation were of relatively low status and fewer items were passed into the slave settlement.

In other words, as the planter's wealth and apparent status were reduced, there seems to have been a greater effort to both distinguish, and separate, the two worlds. It may be that alienation increased not only as the planter's wealth increased, but also as it declined.

Alienation, however, is difficult to demonstrate, although the prevalence of items possibly representing "magic and empowerment" may suggest considerable tensions.

African American Magic and Religion

Archaeologists have recently become far more interested in attempting to discern evidence of African American cosmology. Ferguson, for example, suggests that scratched designs in Colono bowls are sacred symbols (Ferguson 1992) and Stine and her colleagues argue the ritual and spiritual importance of beads, particularly blue ones (Stine et al. 1996). Most recently Wilkie (1997) has urged archaeologists to better explore the context of artifacts at African American sites, looking for artifacts, perhaps previously ignored, which might indicate something of the magical-religious practices of slaves. Since there are a number of artifacts, such as bottles, pins, and buttons, which can have multiple functions and meanings, she cautions restraint, while at the same time encouraging exploration of meaning.

There is a vast body of literature, only briefly explored by even the detailed research of scholars such as Stine and Wilkie, concerning the beliefs and practices of low country African Americans. Among the Gullah there is a blend of herbalism, spiritualism, magic, and religion. Called in some places "ubia," or "voodoo," or "santeria," or "hoodoo," it seems most often to be called simply, "the root," among elderly low country blacks still willing to talk about old ways (see,

for example a recent discussion by Pinckney 1998). Wilkie chooses to distinguish mid-wives, root doctors, and conjurers, although she does note that at times the distinctions blur. It seems that Denmark Vesey's co-conspirator, "Gullah" Jack Pritchard, combined the functions of ritual expert and conjuror (Pearson 1999:124-127). This was also the case with Stephaney Robinson, probably better known as "Dr. Buzzard," and his son, "Buzzy," who died as recently as 1997. Regardless, there is a very rich body of lore and information concerning the use of various objects among African Americans.

Wilkie is also correct in noting that many simple artifacts may have multiple meanings. Consider, for a moment, the small quantity of window glass at the Roupelmond slave settlement. The glass is quite unspectacular, being consistent with window glass from any eighteenth to nineteenth century assemblage. Yet it is found at a site where the architecture makes it seem unlikely that glassed windows were in use. And it is found in such small quantities that even if used for a window, it would have amounted to at best one or two panes. If not used for glazing, then what? In the absence of gemstones or crystals — both of considerable importance in some African American magical contexts, might broken glass accomplish the same goal?

Several brass nails were recovered from Roupelmond — and in fact occur at almost all low country slave settlements. Their origin were the boats which plied coastal waters. They would likely have been fairly common items, salvaged from abandoned or sunk vessels and used for repair of the current vessels, but why are they found in the slave settlements? Are we to assume that African Americans were collecting these nails simply because they were shiny? On the other hand, there are numerous accounts of the power of nails, as well as the power of bright, shiny objects. Perhaps these nails, so common to the low country slave settlements, served a function in the magical practices of the slaves?

Likewise, there are a number of small, cut copper fragments at the slave row. Are these simply the trimmings from the repair of a brass kettle by a slave craftsman, or might they represent items intended to go into charm bags?

Although the skeptical reader may dismiss one or more of these examples, their co-occurrence at one settlement may make repudiation more difficult. In addition, the Roupelmond offers us six beads — four of which are blue. The documentation of beads as spiritual objects seems too convincing to ignore. And there is also the one silver coin. Although not pierced for wearing, it is heavily worn and there are numerous accounts which focus on the use of silver in various rituals (see, for example, Wilkie 1995:144).

We have previously mentioned the two unusual stones found in the slave settlement — one with ground edges and another with pecked designs. Both are smoothed. Again, both could be dismissed as idle, idiosyncratic behavior. Yet, there is good evidence that such pieces were often used in various root rituals. Moreover, Wilkie (1995:145) comments on the frequency of ground sherds found at Oakley Plantation in Louisiana, suggesting that the Roupelmond stones may have been used in divining or might have been incorporated into charm bags. Wilkie (1995:145) also comments on the importance of smoothed or polished stones and their occurrence at other African American sites. Thompson (1983) explores Bakongo water spirits, remarking on the importance and power of water smoothed stones and the significance of materials from waterbeds. Perhaps the four water-smoothed quartz stones found in the slave settlement of Roupelmond — an area where quartz is uncommon — aren't simply "smoothing stones," but may perhaps represent a different manifestation of Ferguson's Bakongo designs found in Colono ware.

African American spiritualism would also help us explain why the thin smear of Native American material at the slave settlement produced 16 pieces of worked stone (12 identifiable points, one biface, two point midsections, and one unidentifiable point). We have previously commented that this seems far too large an assemblage of stone for a sparse site on the stone-poor coast. In addition, when we look at the strike-a-lights, far more are found in the slave settlement than at the main house. Is this simply because slaves required more, or is there perhaps a deeper meaning?

Wilkie, for example, suggests that such specimens may be "power objects." She observes that

African American slaves, because of their work cultivating the plantation fields, would have been in a position to find, collect, and curate these objects in the slave settlement — which would certainly seem to be the case at Roupelmond.

Finally, there are several personal items at the slave settlement — a fragment of a tooth brush and a hair comb — which we have largely waved aside, suggesting that similar bone combs were frequently used by the lower classes, often for removing head lice and that the toothbrush was such a high status item that it almost certainly was discarded from the main house. These explanations may be entirely correct. Alternatively, might these very personal items — perhaps originating in the master's bed chamber — have been used to cast spells? Such "black magic" should not be so unthinkable, especially considering the fear associated with the 1739 Stono Rebellion and the charismatic power of "Gullah Jack," reputed at the time to be a "conjureman."

Is the limb bending under the weight of supposition, coincidence, and speculation? Possibly. But if so it is largely in response to our too frequent acceptance of simple explanations that ignore the richness and depth of the African American culture. Moreover, what we see at Roupelmond is a convergence of many different types of artifacts. We aren't making a case of magic based on one rock, or one silver coin, or one arrowhead. Any of these items, in isolation or small numbers, may easily be discounted. At Roupelmond the weight seems more overwhelming. As many other colleagues have urged, it is time to explore alternative explanations and meanings which may be inherent in the materials found at African American settlements such as Roupelmond.

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APPENDIX 1: "COUSIN JIMMIE" CHRISTMAS ON THE PLANTATION

This typescript document was found in the local history collection (Beaufort County — Stuart Family) of the Beaufort County Library and was marked, "A gift to the Beaufort Township Library from Mrs. Ruth Holmer). It is reproduced below in full, without editorial corrections. Editorial observations, typically relating the account back to historical or archaeological findings, are provided in footnotes.

As boys we passed only two months of the year in the country--December & April. During the other ten months we passed in Beaufort going to school.

During the summer and autumn months before vegetation was checked by frost the climate was almost deadly to the white man from Malaria and bilious fever. The Negro was immune. Most of the Planters lived on their plantations from November to May. My father died when I was six years old.¹ My Uncle Henry Barnwell took charge of his affairs. He went to the place once a week to give directions to the foreman Jack. Between times Jack was in full charge, responsible for everything on the place. Negroes were not allowed to leave the plantation without a pass, but they did it of course. We knew of our coachman walking 10 miles with a bushel or two of corn on his head to trade it off at a little Jew store. Christmas Holidays was therefore a great boon to the Negroes, looked forward to thro' all the rest of the year. They had three free days to go anywhere they wished which always had Sundays added making it four days. Most of them had relatives on other plantations. Some had wives and even husbands. So that there was somewhat of an Exodus from our place and an incoming of visitors to fill up. We did not kill the fatted calf for the

people. We killed several head of beef Cattle.² The meat to be distributed to the families. We boys took turns to shoot the cow--to walk up to the animal among its mates and put a bullet into its forehead. It is really the most merciful way to kill cattle. Then we thought it fun to see them hang up the beef, skin it & hang it up. Then we always got the bladder to treat it in hot ashes & strip the outside until we could insert a joint of cane & blow it up, tie it to a stick & use it as the mountebanks used to.

Christmas was always the time too for other gifts. A barrel of molasses was distributed. Winter clothing looked after, shoes, woolen caps for the men. Head H'dk's for the women (turbans), sometimes prizes for well done work--sometimes these gifts were bestowed also on some of the visitors who were old family Negroes. It was a cheerful season. We often had visitors to stay with us. My grandmother and two maiden aunts were always there, my mother's sisters--Sarah & Emily Barnwell. Christmas presents however were not given us. Our chimneys were large enough really for Santa Claus to have come down foot foremost easily & the fireplace wide with its brass fire dogs and wood fires. We had been up generally at 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning. The negroes never went to sleep on the night before Xmas. They held prayers all night in the largest house of the settlement. This was Daddy January's house. Jack (foreman) could read and also August Baker, our house servant.³ Our mother

² There is archaeological evidence of beef production on the plantation, although much of the meat provided to the slave community seems to have been salted.

³ In 1834 South Carolina passed a law which forbade the teaching of slaves to read or write. Nevertheless, there were still many owners and religious leaders who continued to teach African Americans to read the Bible. This may have been the case at Roupelmond.

¹ Middleton Stuart died in 1840.

had given both of them Testaments and prayerbooks. I can still recall very distinctly the scene. The benches had all been taken outside to make a clear floor. The table with the books was shoved into a corner. A brilliant fire of lightwood (pitch pine) was blazing in the chimney and a torch of the same hung in a tin bucket in a corner. Under this bucket the leader stood. She was a visitor. She was 50 or 60 years old, black and scrawny, only a few teeth left in her head. She had been singing for hours but still went on like one possessed. Gleaming with perspiration from head to heel--her dress at the bosom thrown wide open, her head thrown back, eyes closed, teeth prominent, head-kerchief loose & hanging arms bare, clapping and shouting with a shrill ringing voice. I can recall in most of the other Negroes, each with a different step, individual & characteristic. Some very much in earnest, almost reverential, some heavy & stupid and some enjoying the fun. My grandmother's coachman "Sam" particularly, very black, good looking, smart & mischievous. I can recall the gleam of his eye as he grinned at us in passing & improvised some peculiar contractions for our special benefit. As to the air in that room. Anyone who has been in an assembly of Negroes may imagine it after so many hours of violent exercise & perspiration. But we endured it until daylight. The meeting then broke up & those who had no call elsewhere came in a body over to sing on our piazza. A woman's voice would strike in with a clear minor note & go ringing away & away up, up, as it were, clear & distinct & yet in perfect accord with the rest of the congregation. The singing went on for half an hour and then each woman would bring out from her pocket or in her hand from under her wrap, two or three eggs, as a morning Xmas gift for us children. We would bring out a big basket, which would be filled with eggs for egg nog that night. The Negroes would all go to their homes and we boys would be ready for the next move. Fire Crackers! Grandmother and Aunts had given each of us days before, a quarter apiece. Christmas & Fourth of July were the only days when we saw any money and it was always spent on fireworks. The beautiful packs of crackers were brought out with their red rice paper covers and Chinese inscriptions. Some firebrands brought from the kitchen & the din began. Some of the Negro boys generally were around to help. Altho' we were never allowed to play with any but the house boy, who was looked after & kept clean by his mother, also a house servant. The packs were

generally gone. The singing here consisted of hymns and Spiritual songs brought to them by the Methodist Circuit riders.

The ladies of the household at that early hour would all be in bed & generally asleep. It was a delightful sensation to be waked up by the full-toned music of men's & women's voices singing always with perfect accord & in some way full of the expression of the happy season. I can recall one or two--"Come along--Come along, an let us go home--Oh glory--Halleloo." The manner of keeping the Christmas Holiday varied of course somewhat as it does here in the North in different families. But ours would stand fairly for all of our near relatives. To show how pleased the temper, the spirit might be at Christmas among the slaves let me say that I had three Uncles on whose plantations I constantly visited as a boy and I never saw one Negro whipped on them or on ours in my life. It was done of course. It was a police regulations as it were, but I never saw it done once! It was breakfast time, but meanwhile, the dogs sneaked off into corners, the chickens ran wildly about, the turkeys gobbled and the geese chanted.

Breakfast was good and we were hungry. Pig killing time had just passed.⁴ There were sausages and spareribs and pigs feet and buckwheat cakes with plenty of black treacle thick and sweet. No one ever made such buckwheat⁵ cakes as our old Daddy Moses. He had learned it when a boy in my Grandmother Stuart's house. But breakfast merely primed us. We were thinking of Dinner which would not come until three o'clock. Meanwhile the time passed pleasantly. Christmas was in the air. I cannot remember rainy Xmas. It was always sunshine. The whole plantation was astir and all dressed in their "Sunday-go-to-Meetin!" Singing, gossiping, the voice of the children also up at the settlement ringing happily--and from time to time

⁴ Actually, it seems that most planters began butchering their hogs in December and continued through early February.

⁵ Although little buckwheat was grown in Beaufort District, it was one of the types of grass for which pollen evidence was encountered.

a passing boat full of Negroes going to visit their friends, would strike up a boatsong with full chorus in time with the stroke of the oars. We never went out to shoot Christmas. We were generally putting the finishing touches to our bonfire. This pile we had been working on for weeks before. It was built of cornstalks with old rails and bits of lightwood--a pile 10 ft. high or more.

On the top we piled branches of the wild myrtle and evergreen shrubs with light blue waxy seeds among the leaves. The foliage was very fragrant when rubbed in the hands and when placed on the fire burned brightly with a crackling sound and the smoke from it was aromatic. To build this needed some really hard work in cutting and hauling. It was done all with our own hands and the use of the teams when off plantation work. We also after awhile used a boardsled for the hauling--somewhat like stone-boat. The dinner time came and we all went to our rooms to clean up and dress for dinner. There was calf head soup, turkey, ham, oysters, turnip, tenyah, sweet potatoes, for dessert plum pudding and mince pie--no wine--some of our family were teetotalers.⁶

When that dinner was over we boys felt like anacondas with an antelope inside. We went out and lay around on the grass too full for utterance. As the sun set perhaps we would go off to the cattle pen to see them come in.⁷ Dick, my grandmother's houseboy, was generally allowed to go with us. He was older than we were. Ready for any kind of good natured mischief. The calves and yearlings would be in a separate pen. Dick would jump in and back a big yearling, which would go prancing and bellowing around with fright until perhaps he would be pitched over on his head and jump up smiling as ever. I knew Dick all his life and I never saw him angry. His mother was a privileged character in my grandmother's house and family. Sent for when any of them were sick--even up into the middle

⁶ There is, however, evidence for wine consumption in the archaeological record.

⁷ This provides some additional evidence concerning the importance of cattle on Roupelmond, at least during the antebellum period.

of Georgia--she had one of the sweetest of voices and a most tremendous temper--which Dick caught sometimes. Dick had to be home to hand the bread-waiter at tea. We had no supper table. Tea was handed in the parlor by the house-servant on a large waiter and a smaller waiter by the houseboy with wafers, toast and teacakes. This was soon over and then for the bonfire which was soon ablaze with a crowd dancing around it like wild Indians. It always burned out too quickly. It was about 200 yards from the house so there was no danger and it made a splendid blaze while it was going. Then into the house again to make a big bowl of egg nog. Plenty of eggs and sugar but only a little of nog. The yellow of the eggs beaten up in a large bowl with the sugar until it was almost white. The white beaten in a large platter until they formed a firm mass and then thrown in with the other, and then old Madeira wine added, enough to flavor it.

James R. Stuart

Rouplemonde

While thro the deep shadows we're sweeping along. In time with the music of both boat and song.

But see! In the fast falling twilight appear those lights in the windows. They look for us there. This is home! This was home--Ah, never again shall we find such another, for now we are men.

But while years roll on and their seasons renew. Let us still to old home and each other keep true.

How little we can foresee in one's lives, fortunately. In 1866, Allen and Henry were dead, killed in the Civil War and the old Home was completely swept away.⁸ The house (my grandfather's) all of outhouses, the settlement, gardens, trees, magnificent old live oaks hundreds of years old, all gone and a cotton field planted upon the spot. That part of

⁸ Evidence suggests that some portion of the house actually remained standing after the Civil War and probably wasn't so much "swept away," as just gradually collapsed.

the plantation we sold since to a Scotchman for a truck farm.⁹ Our Negroes own the rest.¹⁰

"Rouplemonde" is the name given by the old Frenchman from whom my grandfather bought the place.¹¹

James R. Stuart

⁹ This is a reference to the property passing to the McLeods, who still today have a truck farm at neighboring Seabrook.

¹⁰ This is a reference to the large portion of Roupelmond which had been sold by the U.S. Government to freedmen. The comment suggests that many of the purchasers were freed slaves from Roupelmond, although the term "our" may be generalized.

¹¹ This comment is incorrect. His grandfather, Dr. James Stuart, did not purchase the plantation; it appears to have been passed to Middleton Stuart through his marriage to Mary Barnwell. Moreover, the previous owner, George Roupell, was British, not French.

APPENDIX 2: JAMES R. STUART AUTOBIOGRAPHY

This typescript document was found in the local history collection (Beaufort County — Stuart Family) of the Beaufort County Library without any additional source information. An additional copy, with handwritten margin notes was obtained from Mr. James R. Stuart, Jr. The margin notes, where legible, have been added into the text in bold type. It is not clear, however, whether these notes are those of the author or James R. Stuart, Jr. No editorial corrections have been made.

I write this for my children--
Should they ever wish to know something of my own life and of their family and ancestry on their father's side of the house.

James R. Stuart (1834-1915)
1907

MY ANCESTRY

My great grand father Francis Stuart came from Inverness in Scotland. In 1745 the family were out with the rest of the Clan for Prince Charles. His brother John, who was 19 years old at the time, fought in the battle of Culloden. My great-grandfather was only lad and too young to fight, but he witnessed the battle and afterwards fled with his brother to America. They came straight to South Carolina, which was a royal colony ruled by a Governor appointed by the King. They went into business of some kind and were successful. John became a Lieutenant Colonel in the Colonial forces and special agent among the Cherokee Indians and acquired great influence among them. There was a tradition that, in some great Indian massacre, he was protected by his Indian friends and spirited away to a place of safety.

Francis Stuart was a merchant in Beaufort. I

don't know when he died, but, at the time of the Revolution, my grandfather, his son, was only 15 years old and a minor. Francis Stuart had married a Miss Reeve daughter of Dr. Ambrose Reeve of Beaufort. He was successful, for he left my grandfather a good Estate. Hence comes my middle name of Reeve.

My Grandfather remained at home during the war, but he became involved among the patriots of the State before its end and was confined in the British prison for a long while. I have heard my old grand aunt, Miss Charlotte Bull, tell of how the prisoners were starved and ill treated. And how old Stepney (young then) would take a canoe at night and paddle out under the bulwarks of the prison ship and hand up food to him thro' the port hole.

John Stuart was a royalist, a Tory, and stood fast by the King. There he was given a Colonelcy in the British Army as a reward for his fidelity. His only son John was educated as a soldier. He entered the Army also and rose steadily. He became a Brigadier General during the war with France, won the battle of Maida in Italy and was made Sir John Stuart and Count of Maida. He never married so that the line of the family ended with him.

My grandfather studied medicine and became Dr. James Stuart. He married Miss Anne Middleton and had nine children. Seven boys James, Thomas, John, Henry, Allan, Francis, Middleton and two daughters Anne, Charlotte. Of these I knew only James also a physician like his father after whom I was named. ~~John, Henry, Middleton, Anne, Charlotte.~~

Anne married Rev. Dr. Christian Hanckel, Episcopal. Charlotte married Rev. Richard Fuller, Baptist. My mother Mary Howe Barnwell was the third daughter of John Gibbes Barnwell and Sarah Bull. John Barnwell, the first of the name, was a younger son

in the family who were earls of Trimblestone in Ireland. He came over in 1705, when a very young man, but won position and was put in command of an expedition against the Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina. He left one son, Nathaniel, and nine daughters who were all afterwards married. Nathaniel's son was again John and John's son John Gibbes my grandfather.

My grandmother was the daughter of General William Bull, whose father and Grandfather had been Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the Colony of Carolina. Both of my Grandmothers lived beyond 80 years and I knew them well. Grandmother Stuart died when I was 14. Grandmother Barnwell at the beginning of the Civil War. I never knew either of my grandfathers. My great grandfather Thomas Middleton was the brother of Arthur Middleton a Signer of the Declaration of Independence.

My father, **Middleton**, died in 1840, when I was six years old, leaving my mother a widow at 28 with six children - my brother Henry being born after his death - I cannot recall his face very distinctly. But I have an ivory miniature of him. He was six feet high and a handsome man in form and face. I can recall however, on different occasions, his quick active step, his hearty laugh and the tones of his voice. He was quick and active and a fine rider. Brave as Julius Caesar, one of his old friends told me once. He was also very much loved and respected. Although he was only 32 years old when he died, he had been a member of the Legislature, Captain of the Beaufort Guards and Colonel of the State Militia on the old Establishment.

I can remember the funeral and the grief of my mother, the long procession of carriages and the minute guns fired by the Artillery. But I can remember also too distinctly being taken to view his body in the coffin. Religion in those days was very grim and lugubrious. I was only six years old and my brother Allan four and a half. I can remember the room and the three men who stood there, his friends Rev. Stephen Elliott, George Elliott, and Richard Reynolds. It is a distinct picture in my mind still, after 67 years have past, each man, where he stood and how he looked, for they were weeping.

My mother died in 1876 after I came to Madison, **Wisconsin**. I had been down to visit her 6

months before. Her children were Middleton, John, James, Allan, Sarah, Henry. John died in Charleston when 18 years old. Allan died during the war from injuries suffered in our first battle, the bombardment of Port Royal. Henry was killed at Averysboro, North Carolina at the end of the war. Middleton married Miss Emma Stoney and is now in Terrill, Texas with children and grandchildren. Sarah married our first cousin Dr. Henry M. Stuart now still living in Beaufort. **Buried in St. Helena Churchyard in Beaufort.**

My children are with their mother's relatives. I write this to give them knowledge of their father's.

My Life self written.

"I remember, I remember
The house where I was born
And the little window where the Sun
He never came a wink too soon
Nor brought too long a day
For I was never tired then
For all my work was play."
"I remember, I remember
The fir trees tall and high
I used to think their slender tops
Were up against the sky.
It was a boyish fancy
But now 'tis little Joy
To know I'm farther off from heaven
Than when I was a boy."

In fact I don't remember the house where I was born except the outside for I have never been in it since but once. It was the house of Mr. Frederick Fraser in Beaufort, South Carolina [511 **Prince St.**]. It still stands in good condition altho' of course in other hands and sadly altered surroundings.

But I do remember very distinctly the window where the sun came peeping thro' at morn, on our old Plantation, "Rouplemonde". And I don't remember any fir trees, but I do remember the old live oaks with their drapery of grey moss and the pine trees, the yellow pine with their foliage of long pine needles, and how I used to lie on the clean pine straw covering the ground below and gaze up at the blue sky through the branches and

the white clouds drifting by and listen to the sea breeze as it swept through them uttering strange cries and calls and distant almost human shrieks. No other tree is such an aeolian harp as the long leaved Southern pine.

But to go back to our window - our place was on Coosaw River [now called **Stuart** or **Stewart Point?**] abutting directly upon Port Royal Ferry, the only bond of connection between the Sea Islands and the main land. The house, with the settlement, stood about a quarter of a mile from the causeway. It was on the Island of Port Royal, ten miles from the town of Beaufort. It was on the bank of the river facing North and from the balcony we could, with a spy glass, recognize our friends when crossing the Ferry. The river was about a mile wide where the salt tide flowed and ebbed down to Saint Helena Sound about fifteen miles away. So that the sun rose practically, for us, out of the ocean.

The dining room occupied the whole front of the house on the lower floor, only one step above the brick pavement of the front porch. Above the porch on the 2nd floor was a balcony supported by four columns of brick, which rose up to the roof -- or rather, the entablature. The drawing room was above the dining room, occupying the same space and opening by a door and two windows on the balcony. The brick columns were plastered and whitened. The dining room had windows on three sides, to the North, East, and South, this last one opening on to the lobby, which was unenclosed except by a heavy balustrade, which separated it from the back porch, which had a colonnade of six pillars of brick, which supported the long cross section of the second storey. The house was of wood and had been remodeled, by my grandfather Barnwell, from the original old quaint French structure of Mr. Roupel. Outside one of the East windows of the dining room volunteer orange tree had sprung up and been allowed to grow up to the roof, filling the window with its pleasant green foliage. An opening trimmed thro' this gave a vista Eastward down the river beneath a couple of grand old live oaks which stood on a little promontory three hundred years yards away. A few small cedars were scattered about beneath them. But otherwise the view was perfectly unobstructed down the Coosaw and it was there that I sometimes saw the sun rise clear and directly out of the ocean.

My earliest memories are of being dressed and taken down to the parlor with my brothers before breakfast, where a bright wood fire was burning in the wide chimney with its brass and irons. There we sat on the rug and looked at pictures until breakfast time. But we had already stayed our stomachs with corn bread or cold waffles.

I can remember two of our favorite books -- A great heavy old English Geography, illustrated, and a history of England also profusely illustrated with what I know now to have been wood engravings from well known paintings. Of these I recall "King Alfred in the peasant's hut", "Cardinal Wolsey and Henry the VIII", "The murder of the Princes in the Tower", "The Execution of Mary Queen of Scots", "The Death of General Wolfe", and "The Battle of Waterloo". The last was the last picture in the book. It was all ancient history to us. And yet that was before 1840 and Waterloo was only 20 years before. And now our own Civil War, in which I served all thro' the 4 years, ended more than 40 years ago.

My memories of that time of my life center a good deal around the fireplace. For it was there at night in our nursery, before we went to bed, that we sat with Dorcas, a girl of 15, and listened to the stories of Brer rabbit and Brer Wolf. It was a wonderfully secure life, that old Plantation life in the days of Slavery. No one ever used the name of slave then. They were "the negroes" or "our people". They were part of us. They themselves used that expression habitually our plantation, our cattle, our horses, our family or our white folks. We went to bed at night with a feeling of perfect security and yet our house was never locked up. The house servant closed the window shutters and went to his room in the Negroes' Quarters some distance away from the house. Only one young girl, as a rule, slept in the house near her mistress ready for a call. If the others were needed, they were sent for, or else we went to the back door and hollered. My mother sometimes sent us to the back door to holler. It was a great trial for me. I was afraid. The stars overhead, bright and clear, blinked very solemnly. The old oaks by the dairy on the edge of the river loomed up dark against them. Distant dogs barked, or an owl hooted, or the echo of my own voice came back clear and distinct from the Cotton and Gin houses a few hundred years

yards away. The plantation burying ground lay in that direction and I thought the voice came from there to mock me from the ghosts of dead negroes.

And it was not surprising. The negroes were full of superstition and we heard many ghost stories. This burying ground was a clump of woods on a peninsula jutting out into the salt marsh to the rear of the Plantation half a mile away. No axe was ever heard in that wood. It was a dense thicket, except where the graves were. Every three was shrouded in the grey Southern moss. The wind through the tall pine trees overhead sang weirdly "nature's eternal requiem". And, as evening gathered toward dusk, the furtive call of the cat bird came up from the bushes, or the hoot of the owl and the cry of the whip-poor-will. At this time of evening it was a very eery and solemn place for a small boy to be caught in.

A small creek of salt water would close up under the shore, in which the tide constantly rose and fell. And some large live oak trees hung over the water, their long limbs extending over to the salt marsh grass beyond, the lower ones sometimes dipping under the water at high tide and the moss trailing in festoons into the flood. We were very fond of this spot, for it was clear and sunny and we could climb out on branches and sit dangling above the stream. There were other wild sights too, and sounds. ---The shriek of the fish hawk, the squawk of the great blue heron and the cackling cry of the marsh hens, the clapper rail---while on the beach were many tracks of the raccoon, among the countless holes of the little fiddler crabs, his prey. And under the great massive gnarled roots, the home of the mink and the otter. This was my mother's favorite walk with us all on a sunny Sunday afternoon in the winter.

Such surroundings must leave an impression on a child. In broad daylight and sunshine it was cheerful enough. But I kept clear of it in the twilight until I was well in my teens.

"The night never ends. The bittern's scream
Ghostly echoes awake on that sluggish stream
And the moss swings low on the night's high noon
And shades of Josie's grave by the deep Lagoon."

The planters never lived on their plantations in

the summer, on account of the malaria. From may to November, to pass a single night there might bring on a high bilious fever, which was apt to be fatal. The negroes, however, were immune to this, but a great many died of pneumonia in the winter.

As boys, we spent only two months in the country, December and April, our two holy days. The rest of the year we were in town going to school. December was our month for hunting and shooting, April, for fishing. We rode horseback all the year round in town or country. In shooting duck among the marshes we used an ordinary dug out canoe. There were always several of them on the place, owned by some of the negroes and free for all to use. We had a rowboat of our own which was also dug out, that is, carved from parts of two trees clamped together.

Boats built in this way were the rule in the early days of our country. My Uncle John Barnwell had one, which was a barge rowing twelve oars. In those days and, in fact, at the present time, communication between the Islands could be carried on only by boats. This big boat was used between my Grandfather's several plantations, among them, the main one, Coosaw Island. This Island of 3000 acres was twelve miles from our plantation down Coosaw river just where it widened into St. Helena Sound.

We were very happy when we were invited down there to shoot ducks in the ponds in the winter and alligators in the Spring. This barge was used, of course, to move the family to and from the Island. They were known in the old days as periaguas, Piroque, in French.

The stern seat was very large and between it and the stroke's oar was a platform ten feet long and seven or eight feet wide. This was covered by an awning of wood, like the northern storm door, when the family were to move, and a mattress laid upon it for the ladies and children. The old nurse also sat there, while the other women had places at the bow?. This move on the "Eliza Woodward" was great fun for us boys. There were no piers outside of Beaufort wharves. In a tide that rose and fell 6 to 8 feet twice in twenty-four hours, they were almost impossible under the conditions. The boat was brought as near as possible to the shore and held in place by some of the oarsmen standing in the

water while the others loaded the boat. The ladies and children were carried on a chair between two of the oarsmen. The master and we boys pick a back unless we chose to wade out also. The negro women were treated more unceremoniously. Each man would pick up a woman in his arms and march off with them, often hugging hard on to their necks.

Then came the long row of 2 or 3 hours. And a jolly time it always was. A constant chaffing and joking among the boatsmen and with the women. And every now and then a boat song. The leader singing a line and the whole boatfull joining in the chorus, women and all. We boys generally sat on the awning and joined in everything. Sometimes we met another boat and then there was a race and more fun. The landing on the Island was in the same manner, no matter what the time of tide, the only difference being in the distance from the water's edge to the shore proper. And the boat songs! We could sympathize perfectly with Moore's Canadian boat song. Only ours were not hymns to the Virgin but rousing old Methodist camp meeting choruses and sung with a wild rhythm and tone peculiar to the negro race:

"Roll Jordon roll! Roll Jordon roll!
Oh m soul's arisin to heaben Lord
For to see dem Angel march"

or else a genuine boat song, snot a spiritual:

"Riley, Riley, Riley is a bad man
O my Riley ho!
He work on a Sunday same like a Monday
O my Riley ho!"

The moon and the tide--We always, if possible, travelled with the tide, choosing our time to suit it. At the full moon, the moon and the sun are pulling the waters of the Ocean in opposite directions, and so at high water, it is a foot or two higher than at the neap tide. The marshes are then covered so deep that one can paddle freely over the tops of the salt marsh grass. Then is the time when we boys could hunt for marsh hens. The poor birds had no cover, but floated helplessly about on little rafts of dry sedge and were an easy mark for a boy on a boat with a gun. Sometimes we would come upon a mink or a raccoon. The raccoon was easily killed, but

Mr. Mink was a swimmer and a diver. It was a hard paddle to overtake him. And then he would dive and perhaps change his course. But we watched the bubbles rise from his breath and could follow his course by these until he was obliged to come to the surface again to get air, and then the blow of a paddle settled it. We sometimes also met an otter. But he could dive too far and easily escaped.

Sometimes in April, Uncle John took us fishing in the "Eliza Woodward" down on Port Royal harbor. The drum fish come into those waters at that season to spawn. They are a large fish, weighing from 40 to 70 pounds. The name comes from a sound produced by the male, which is exactly like the stroke of a bass drum and very loud and distinct. We would camp out on some hammock or convenient place, a favorite one being surrounded by saw palmettoes. The boat hands had a fire to themselves and did their own cooking. At ours, Stepney, the house boy, did the cooking and served our coffee and drum steaks.

The Drop, or fishing ground, was in the middle of the harbor and there were generally a group of boats meeting there. They were more or less acquainted and it was often quite cheery out there. The fish were split, cleaned, and salted each evening and at the end of the week we had a good load of salt fish to take home to the people of the plantation.

But December was the month of the year for us, with guns, dogs and horses. And Christmas was the culmination of it. It was the year's jubilee also for the negroes. They had then a holy day of three days, besides Christmas, when they were free to go where they would. They visited freely on the neighboring plantations. Nearly half of our people would go away and their places be filled by others, relative of those on our place. On the day before Christmas some beavers were killed and divided out to the different families, also molasses and other extra provisions. Clothing had already been given out early in the month, but at this time, caps and shoes and handkerchiefs, or rather, headkerchiefs (Turbans) for the women. And a Negro woman looks much more statuesque and handsome in a turban tastefully folded about her head than in any other headwear.

All of this had been attended to on the day before Christmas, so on Christmas Eve there was a grand celebration in the Negroes' Quarters. They gathered together in the largest house and held religious services, some who could read, reading chapters from the New Testament and giving out the hymns. Afterward began the shouting, a kind of holy dance, one of them, generally a woman, standing in a corner and singing in the refrain, while the others shuffled around clapping their hands and shouting the chorus. The effect of this mass of black people sliding, swinging, and dancing around and around and the volume of the sound rolling up from so many voices, the shrill treble of the women and the bellowing of the men, was indescribable.

This went on without cessation all thro' the night. At daylight we boys would be up and dress and go over to the settlement to see the last of it. We could hear the shouting from our bedrooms. Just before sunrise the meeting would break up and most of the people would then go over to our dwelling house and sing a number of hymns and spirituals as a Christmas greeting to the family. I can recall much of this music as being really beautiful in its way.

I can remember that when they had sung one or two spirituals, Old Daddy Moses, our old house servant, would step out and begin "While Shepherds watched their flock by night all seated on the ground, The angel of the Lord came down and glory shone around". (Chorus) "Don't you hear the ArchAngels rejoicing? Halle! Halle! Halleluiah?!!"

Old Moses had a clear sweet baritone voice and a perfect ear for music. I have cause to remember Daddy Moses, for I fell into a well once when just 5 years old and he jumped in after me without hesitation and rescued me. He had grown up with my father and uncles as a boy. He could not read, but he had many tales for us as children about Old Bony (Parte) and others. He had only one weakness--He would get tipsy sometimes. But I never heard him abuse anyone, never use any improper word, never swear. in all of this and in his consideration for others he was always a gentleman. He was a pure blooded negro except that his family claimed some Indian blood in their veins and there was a certain alertness about the whole family that

seemed to warrant the claim. And the family was as true to us as steel. All thro' the war of Secession, two of his nephews were with my mother and each of us four brothers had one of his grandnephews in the field with us as body servants.

They remained true to us also after the war for more than a year, in fact, as long as we could have them under the new conditions.

But to go back to the old time Christmas--The negro women when they came to sing, had each in her hand two or three eggs for us children. We would bring a basket and they filled it. This gave the eggs for Egg Nog that night with which Christmas always ended. We were full by that time of the Christmas dinner, Turkey and Ham, plum pudding, and mince pie, almond sand raisins. Our dinner hour was 3 o'clock with a light tea handed in waiters at about 7 o'clock.

We seldom went to shoot on Christmas day but amused ourselves on the premises with firecrackers and a bonfire at night, English fashion. Sometimes, however, on Christmas day we went Raccoon Hunting. On that day, Dick was free to go, Carpenter Dick, the son of my old nurse Maum Martha. "He was a great hunter before the Lord". He sometimes passed the night in the woods. If it were in the graveyard and he was sleepy, he would use a grave for a pillow. He said he was not afraid of ghosts. Ghosts had no body and so could not hurt you.

We would start out afoot amid a great blowing of horns and yelping of dogs. Our favorite drive was through Cockedhat wood about three miles from home. Coons feed at night. They seldom walk during the day, but climb up into some great oak or gumtree and find a good crotch in the sunshine, where perhaps there is a bed of dry moss and coil up for a good snooze. So in our tramps the dogs seldom started anything but a rabbit or squirrel. We did hunting with our eyes. Spreading out in a skirmish and scanning carefully every likely tree we passed. The sleeping coon was not easy to find, only a small bit of his fur being visible. When he was found, we examined the tree trunk for the scratches of his nails to make sure we were not fooled by a bunch of dead moss.

Then we gathered around the tree and called in the dogs. Dick pulled out his coat and began to climb. It was no easy feat to climb one of those great trees of the aboriginal forest, 60 to 80 or 100 feet high. But Dick almost never failed. He sometimes climbed a smaller tree close by and crossed over. he was an athlete, a Hercules. As he climbed up and began to approach Mr. Coon, the latter would wake up and begin peering down at all of us with his quizzical, keen mug of his. And then he would begin climbing for the end of the limb which would begin climbing for the end of the limb would take him farthest away and then stand looking and watching until the climber was almost on him. Then he would throw himself into the air with all of his legs spread out and drop to the ground flat on his stomach and then instantly up and away. But the dogs were instantly upon him and there was a furious fight for a few minutes. The coon is a fierce fighter and always battled bravely until his strength gave out. Then I can recall distinctly his pitiful cry of despair when he gave up the struggle, to die. Hunting is a cruel sport.

As I said before, we lived in Beaufort from the end of April to the end of November and again from the end of December to the end of March, to go to school. Our summer was very long and hot. Out of school, we then amused ourselves quietly and every afternoon about 4 or 5 p.m., we went to swim, about 30 or 40 of us together.

Sometimes our family would go down to Bay Point for 2 or 3 weeks, where there were a number of Pest Houses, very plainly built of wood. No sashes, but shutters in case of a storm. Here we went bathing in the surf. It was at the mouth of the harbor looking right out to sea. The light ship on Port Royal Entrance faintly visible at night. We caught turtles on the beach and terrapins and found their nests in the sand with from 70 to 100 eggs in them. We had a royal time and went back to school well tanned and our faces and arms peeling. We boys generally slept in a tent. The mornings and forenoons were very hot and glaring among the white sand hills. But at noon every day the sea breeze began to blow and continued to blow until about 9 p.m. This salt breeze was very bracing and invigorating.

Our school hours were from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m.

with the afternoon free to study or play. Our games in the winter months were those of all boys--Prisoner's base, town hall, or batball from which baseball has been developed, and football, the Rugby game--one could not touch the ball, only kick it.

I left school to go to College [S.C. College in Columbia, S.C.] in 1852. I was then 18 years old. I was born February 9, 1834. I was a freshman and just as I rose Sophomore at the end of the year, the whole college, except the graduating class, took their dismissals and went home. It was called the belly Rebellion. For years the students had been protesting against Steward's Hall. This was a general Refectory where the feeding of the Students was let out by contract and was a very poor antiquated arrangement. We were billeted at table by classes. We had no choice of our table mates and I recall several of mine with horror. The system was decidedly injurious to the manners of the whole college. It was changed the next year by the trustees who had refused us a great change for the better in every way inaugurated. My brother Allan had gone there then. Meanwhile I went home at Christmas time, got tired of my dog and gun in a month, so got my mother to let me go to the University of Virginia until the end of that term in June, 1853. I had a number of cousins and friends there and the system allowed me to attend lectures and recitations without a previous examination. I piled up some knowledge there in Geology and Physics. But there was a clean broad wall in my room and some good charcoal in the open wood fireplace. The temptation was strong, so I made some big cartoons on it, my own conceptions--Milton's falling Archangel and a mailed horseman. My chum, Bill Allan, was a splendid athlete and friend of D'Alphonse, who taught athletics, drawing and French. Allan showed these to him. He was very enthusiastic and lent me some models to copy. This was the first instruction I had ever had in drawing, altho' I had drawn as early as I can remember.

The country around Charlotte was very beautiful and I enjoyed it. I had never seen a field of wheat before, nor clover and timothy, not a haystack. I remember one memorable ride on horseback with Ralph Elliot, three or four miles out to Monticello, Thomas Jefferson's old home.

In the end of June, we all went home, where I remained until the next September, when I went North to Harvard and entered the Scientific School. My cousin Rob Barnwell--we had been chums in Columbia--was already there in the undergraduate department, having gone there when I went to Virginia. My other cousin, Hal Stuart, went with me.

I was in Harvard for two years. I did not make the use of my opportunities that I ought to have done. And yet the environment, the men I came in contact with, the atmosphere of the college, have been a pleasure and an advantage in my life. Also it was in Boston that was first in a studio.

My bent towards Art was always so evident that my friends were thoroughly impressed with it. I had never had a lesson in drawing, but every Saturday I would go into the City to the Atheneum and draw from the casts and pictures. Washington Alston's "Belshazzar Feast" was there, a huge unfinished canvas. And he was a Carolinian.

Pinckney Alston, my friend, asked me why I did not get my Uncle Robert Barnwell to give me a letter of introduction to Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, his old classmate, and get him to introduce me to some artist in the City. And I did so. I called on Mr. Winthrop with the letter and he took me over at once to the studio of Joseph Ames, who had just made a hit with a portrait of Daniel Webster, painted from memory after his death. Think of the huge formality of the thing. But I called afterwards once on Mr. Winthrop and have always treasured the impression he made upon me, a mere lad, as a perfect type of a highbred, scholarly gentleman.

Ames did not want any pupil, but let me put an easel in his outer room. He was not a good draughtsman himself, but a fine colorist, and he gave me a hint on the true principle of color upon which all my work all my life has been based and which my observation since has to me proved true.

There are no secrets in color--only find those that will not fade. There are three primitive colors, those of the prism, blue, red, yellow. With Black for dark and white for light. Study the object carefully and

mix the tint with the brush and lay it on. That is all. And yet only one out of many thousands of artists become masters. I have never met Ames since. He was then 35 years old and died many years ago in New York City. And, I have heard, he dropped behind in the race with the new men coming on.

I went home in December, 1854, to the family at "The Ferry"--Ste. Elliot (afterwards General Elliot) married Charlotte Stuart, Uncle Henry's daughter. He (Uncle Henry) lived at Page's Point, a plantation two miles up the river. We had a number of young people with us. The wedding was at home and at night. We all went up in the "Eliza Woodward", rowing ten hands. The girls were in their ball dresses, but we had the awning up and the mattresses spread on the platform, which was wide enough for them to sit flat down with their backs against the sides and their feet towards the middle. The boat hands sang all the way about. it was a jolly time, and we were young. Relatives from Charleston were there and from plantations miles around. The return home in the morning was quite jolly. Uncle Henry had some old madeira that he had been keeping for such an occasion for 30 years. But I will say positively we were merry perhaps, but no one of our party was tipsy. The negroes had had their share of the good thing and were all also in a good humor--"Sic transit gloria mundi"--our youth!

For the month of January, I had good sport with my horse, gun, and dog. But idleness was irksome. No one suggested to pack up and go to Europe. It was no easy undertaking then. But Andrew Wardlaw, an old college acquaintance, was English Assistant in the Beaufort College with old Fielding. His health failed, and he had to leave for a while. Everybody, pupils and all, admired him very much and wished him to return. And my Aunt Emily suggested my taking the place as a "Locum tenens". Uncle Robert was trustee, and gave me the job, which I held until the next June, when Wardlaw returned.

It was a little queer to find myself assistant to Old John Fielding. We had always detested him. He was an Episcopal Clergyman, a reformed Irish Catholic Priest, but rarely was ever in the pulpit. He was a good teacher of Latin Grammer and prosody, but he seemed to know little else. Only he made the boys study by the

use of the rod, a stick a foot and a half long, and he loved to whip and sometimes very unjustly. There was hardly a boy in the school who was not at some time black and blue from his floggings.

After Wardlaw's return, I went to Savannah to take a position in a counting house. I was living with my uncle, Bishop Elliot. I was just beginning to get an idea of the work of a Counting House clerk. But the Bishop offered me a place as assistant in Chatham Academy and seemed to think I ought to accept it. So I did, and held it for a year.

Meanwhile, my bent towards Art continued stronger than ever. Whatever my employment, I found time to draw. Uncle Elliot said, "You will never be satisfied except as an artist". I had saved enough from my salary to take me to Europe and keep me for a year there. So I decided to go. My cousin Rob Barnwell decided to go also.

We decided not to go to new York, but to go to Le Havre direct from Charleston in a sailing vessel. The steamer from New York would have been more comfortable, but much more expensive, and being salt water boys, we thought we would like to see something of real life--and we did. We had berths in a cotton Packet, Captain Sturgis, a Maine man and an old Whaler. He was a fine specimen of his class--a tough, sturdy old sea dog. We were the only passengers. The boat was crammed with cotton bales, even in the cabin, leaving just enough room for the dinner for us four, Captain, Mate, Rob and myself. Our stateroom opened right into the Steward's Pantry, so we had all the smells of the cooking. I was sick for a day or so as usual, but soon got over it. On the second day out, as we were crossing the Gulf Stream, a tremendous gale struck us, and for two or three days were flying, running before the wind with only a storm jog and a foretopsail. I say flying, for when the captain was able to take an observation, he found we were off the coast of Massachusetts. He had intended to take the Southern route by the Azores, but here we were swept by the wind and the Gulf Stream into the North. For the first time I understood the term, "waves mountain high". Our spars often dipped into the wave as we rolled over it. We had no more heavy storms and we made a quick passage for a sailing vessel, 22 days from Charleston to Le

Havre.

Rob was going to the Polytechnic School in Carlruhe, Baden, Germany. I intended to go straight for Munich. We stayed only one day in Paris, and we thought we could come back there later. Neither of us could speak a word of French or German. When we reached Karlsruhe, I found that there was an excellent Art School there, so I settled down for the winter there. As spring came on, we made several short travelling tours--to Baden Baden and Alleheiligen in the Black Forest, and later up to Munich and into the Bavarian Tyrol. In this way I had an oversight of the Munich School and returned there in the Autumn. But in the Spring, I returned to Karlsruhe to Professor DeCoudre, whom I found much superior to those of the painting class in Munich at that time.

Rob now got homesick and decided to return. We took a tour down the Rhine as far as Cologne. Then thro' Hanover, Brunswick, and Saxony to Berlin, saw the Picture Gallery of Dresden and Old Fritz's Palaces at Sans Souci and Charlottenburg. And then to Leipzig, where we parted, Rob to go to Hamburg and so home, I, back to Karlsruhe.

I remained in Karlsruhe all winter until the Spring. The troubles at home meanwhile had been brewing. Sumter was fired on and captured. So I packed up and left for America. A companion, Henry Brewerton, joined me. I had another day in paris at the louvre, then to Le Havre, Southampton, Liverpool, where we took steamer for Boston. We were two weeks at sea, landed, and the same night reached New York. Brewerton's father was a Major of Artillery in the old Regular Army and the old man had a commission ready for him.

The war had begun, and the lines were closed in Virginia so I had to make a detour to get home thro' Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville, Nashville, Chattanooga, Atlanta, Charleston. I went on the Charleston and Savannah Railroad to Pocatigo Station, then by stage 25 miles to Beaufort.

When I got there, I found that our Artillery Company was already enrolled and in camp. My brothers and all my friends were there. In fact, there

was no one in town but women and children and old men and the negroes. And this was the condition of all the towns in the South all through the war. The whole male population was in the army.

I remained in town with my mother for two weeks and then I joined the company which was camped down at bay point on Port Royal harbor. We drilled and worked there all through the Summer. In November a fleet came down on us--14 ships of the line headed by the Wabash with 450 guns and a fleet of transports bringing several thousand troops. We really had nothing to resist them with but a few Columbians. They closed in on the fort on the opposite side and then we could not reach them at all, for the harbor is 4 miles away. They shelled that work out, but did not come over to our side. So at 4 pm we began to evacuate. I have written elsewhere my experience on the retreat that night. When we reached Beaufort, there were no white people there and all had left. We went out to the Ferry that night and next morning joined my mother on the main land on one of my Uncle Robert's plantations. The next day, the company, all who had horses, rendezvoused at Port Royal Ferry and that night crossed over to Port Royal Island and burned all the cotton which was stored on the plantation.

A few days after the company rendezvoused at Pocotaligo and went down to Hardieville. The next day we took charge of a small battery at Red Bluff. Here I was advanced to Orderly Sergeant and held that position until the end of the year. All of our troops had been enrolled for one year. At the end of it there was a reduction all thro' the regiment (11th, Go. Ca.) and almost all the officers were thrown out and new ones elected. The change was not for the better. Our Colonel, William C. Heyward, an old West Pointer, was superseded by an ignorant ordinary farmer, and the company officers fared about the same. I lost my Sergeancy. Our company, being artillery, was then detached from the regiment. I held the place of Corporal and gunner for some time. Then I was detailed into the Engineer Department and set to surveying and mapping the seat of war, which left me much more independence and was much pleasanter than company duty. Still, whenever there was an expedition against the enemy on the Islands, I always volunteered and took my place in the company.

In this way I led a scouting party over to our plantation. We came upon pickets, a few shots were fired, and one of the enemy killed. We, our company and another, an infantry company, afterwards made a raid down on Pinckney Island close to the enemy's Headquarters at Hilton Head, and captured a whole company which was stationed there.

Several times during the next three years the enemy landed forces of 6- or 8000 men and tried to reach the Charleston and Savannah railroad, once crossing Port Royal Ferry. We defeated them and blowed them up. One of our guns was run down to the head of the causeway on the channel and threw some shells into our old Residence to drive out the Picket stationed there. The old house was soon in ruins and from time to time, when we happened to be opposite, we could see the fragments disappear, being used by the pickets for firewood. The grand old live oaks, too, were all pollarded--that is, the branches lopped off close to the trunk. That was too large and tough to be cut down. The last time that I was there, in 1876, after the war, the very bricks of the chimneys of the house were gone and the spot planted in cotton. The old oaks stood like massive gnarled giants, with a mere tuft of green on the top.

The enemy again advanced, landing 6000 men on McKay's Point, just 7 miles from Pocotaligo. We met them with less than 500 cavalry, infantry, and artillery, and after an all day's fight drove them back with a loss of 1100 killed and wounded. My brother Middleton was shot through the arm and got a furlough. He was a Lieutenant of Sharpshooters.

Again, when Sherman had begun his march thro' Georgia, they threw a force of 9000 men on shore within 8 miles of Grahamville of the railroad. We met them at some earthworks at Honey Hill where the road crossed a bit of swamp and a slash of water. They had brought this time some negro troops. These they formed in a column by fours behind the wood and brought them down at a double quick expecting to rush our works. But the artillery piled them up in the water and stopped the charge. They then deployed and fought until afternoon and then retreated. Their forces in that battle was 9000. Ours was less than 2000, partly Senior and Junior reserves, that is, men up to 45 years

and boys 15 or 16. It is terrible to think what those negro troops would have done had they got through our lines, considering what Sherman's white troops did on their march thro' the State afterwards. Immediately after that battle, Sherman got down to the coast and we gradually withdrew, evacuating Savannah, then Charleston and the whole sea coast.

At Averysboro, N.C., we fought to protect our baggage train. My brother Henry was killed there and buried on the field by the enemy. Then General Joe Johnston joined us with 12000 men, the relics of Hood's army in Tennessee. (Harder was our commander on the coast and at Averysboro).

Johnston attacked Sherman's column at Bentonville, N.C., and fought him two days. Here George Stoney was killed, my brother's brother in law, and buried in the earthen floor of an outhouse on a farm. Edward Guthbert, his cousin, read the burial service of the Episcopal church above the grave, with our artillery company and his old boyhood friends and schoolmates standing around. We then retreated thro' Raleigh to Greensboro. At Raleigh, we heard of Lee's surrender. At Greensboro, we halted to treat with Sherman and within a week disbanded under parole and returned to our families.

My mother and my brother's family were in Georgia. I had two horses and my boy Flanders. The roads were full of our men travelling home, on foot, in wagons, on horseback. My sister was in Camden, S.C. My first day brought me there. All along the way we were on Sherman's tracks, where he had not left a dwelling house standing. Next day, I was again on his track and again only stacks of chimneys. At Columbia, S.C., we passes on the outskirts to cross a ferry on the Saluda. No houses were visible again, only stacks of chimneys.

That night we stopped at a farm house. Flanders had a high fever. So I got the people to give him a bed inside and slept myself on the ground by the horses, as there was danger of their being stolen. The next day we reached Edgefield, S.C., where my Aunt Annie lived with her family, her husband, Rev. Edward Wallen, being Rector there. Here, too, were my two Aunts Sarah and Emily Barnwell and with them, Jack,

our former driver, Flander's father. So I left Flanders there and next day joined my mother in Georgia.

I tried to get a country school, but failed. So I went into Augusta, Ga., and opened a studio and, queer enough, made about \$1500 in six months. But everything was going to confusion and ruin. My brother was put in charge of a plantation 20 miles away, by an old college mate, Mr. Tom Neely, and we all gathered there---His wife and six children, my mother and two Aunts Sarah and Emily and our servants who had been with us all thro' the war, Jack and his wife, August and others. I managed to get some orders for portraits over here. But at the end of the year, Neely had to give up the place, so we all went down to our old place, Beaufort, S.C. The old place swarmed with carpetbaggers and negroes. Our own house [in Beaufort] stood there, but in the hands of others. Uncle Henry Stuart had bought back his old residence, which was being used as a guard house and full of negro soldiers. He obtained funds from his old Factors, the Ravenels in Charleston, and set up a Steam Cotton gin. All of his old negroes crowded in to work for him and he was very successful. There were a number of these gins running and ginning on toll, an altogether new method in that section where the planters had always ginned their own cotton. Uncle Henry had therefore ad much experience. He had his own old fireman and engineer and the women to handle the lint. In a few years, he had the field to himself, with one exception; made a good income, and left his wife and four daughters well off. He died in 1870, 70 years old.

My brother got the management of another plantation. His own was on Hilton Head, and had been confiscated like ours and sold to the negroes in 40 acre lots. Thro' Uncle Henry's influence with the Coast Survey Commissioners, I got charge of a party surveying on Bay Point. It was on our old time camping ground for fishing. I had a party of six, all old confederates and schoolmates. We were there until June, when the malaria became dangerous. I then got a place in the office in Beaufort, drawing and plotting out the surveys. These surveys were done in carrying out the practical confiscation of the land of all of our people who held property on the Sea Islands.

It had been during the war, and was carried out

to the bitter and afterwards. A few places and town houses were brought in by their former owners. But most of them were sold in small lots to negroes and carpet baggers.

Our work finished the job and so I had to look for other work. My cousin Barnwell Stuart was in Memphis practicing law. We wrote to him and he got me a place with the engineer of the City Water Works which were just begun. I did some plotting out of levels for the Reservoir and other work, but the finances of the whole South were going to smash and the City of Memphis became bankrupt. Every single bank in the City failed. Our work stopped. I set up a studio again and got one or two orders. But I decided to move to Saint Louis and took a steamer up there. I arrived with just \$30 in my pocket. I found there Major Frank Lee of Charleston, an architect whom I had known in the army. He and his wife and baby were boarding with a Mrs. Bowen, widow of General Bowen, C. S. A. There were a dozen or two old Confederates there, chiefly from South Carolina, looking for work. I paid \$20 right out for a studio down town, hung my shawl across the lower part of the window and furnished it with my old easel, two chairs and a table and went to work. That was in the year 1868.

I found work and friends in St. Louis, but it was the most uncomfortable place I ever lived in. Damp, dirty, smokey, and smudgy in winter, hot, windy, and dusty in summer. I lived there five years, but one summer I spent in Iowa City painting portraits, another in Lexington, Kentucky. In 1872, I came up to Madison for the same purpose. I was fascinated by the place, so returned to St. Louis, went from there home to Carolina to see my mother, then, early in January, 1873, I came back to Madison and have never been sorry for it a moment.

In January, 1876, I married my first wife in Elizabethtown, Kentucky. She was the widow of Mr. Jacob of Louisville. I met her here in Madison. She came up two summers in succession with Mrs. James Clay, her sister in law, who had with her her grown daughter and two sons, lads. My wife had two nieces, Fannie Samuels and Katie Jacobs. Katie's mother died when she was a week old and she never knew any mother but her aunt. She always called her "mamma". Fannie

was 4 years old when her mother died. Katie afterwards returned to her father's name, Kathryn Samuels. The two lived with us as our own. Their father had married a second wife.

Fannie was married from our house. She married Chauncy Abbott, son of Mrs. M. E. Fuller, and moved out to Schuyler, Nebraska.

My wife's health began to fail, and she died the last day of January, 1886. Fannie had had one little boy, Chauncy Jr. This summer she had another. She begged me to send Katie to her, and I did, breaking up my housekeeping and storing my furniture. Fannie died soon after and Katie took charge of her family, where she remained until Chauncy and Wells went to the University.

Chauncy Abbott married a second time, and since then, Katie has lived to herself, having adopted a little girl from a home in St. Louis. Katie was 14 years old when I married her "mamma". We lived together, she and I, for ten years, and during all that time I cannot recall a single word of impatience from her.

I was adrift then for seven years. I was living with Professor Freeman and taking my meals with Mrs. Gram, then in Professor Kerr's house. She had been one of my earliest friends in Madison. Dora [Grandmother — Theodora Antill Tappan 1860-1902] had been for years a friend for Katie, and, in fact, was in our house with Katie on the night that her mamma died.

And so, after seven years, the idea occurred to me that Dora needed a home of her own and might be willing to share one with me. And so it came about. [Married 6 Dec 1893] We were together more than thirteen years and they were the happiest years of my whole life, not excepting my childhood and early life.

[Children - Frances Tappan Stuart 1894-1976 Janet Maclindoe Stuart 1896-1905 Rachel Beomby Stuart 1898-ca. 1968 James Reeve Stuart 1898-1962 -- My father - He dropped the "Jr." and I now use it instead of "III" - JRS]

James R. Stuart

Madison, Wisconsin--Sept. 19, 1907 [Died
29 Dec. 1915]

His track I see and I'll pursue, Chorus.

Old Coosaw--a Boat song--written by Rev. Wm.
Barnwell about 1830.

Blow, blow ye breeze and flow on swift tide
And bear me to Coosaw, the land of my pride
Row jolly boatmen, bend to the oar
And soon the dear haunts of my youth I'll explore.
Row me as gaily as when in your pride
You rowed my dear father, with mother his bride.

Now far in the distance I view the loved scene.
How oft in our childhood we've played on yon green.
How oft neath yon live oaks delighted we've swung.
While with our laughter the orange groves rung.
Short be your labors, our boat nears the shore
We've come to old Coosaw, old Coosaw once more.
Thanks freshening breezes, thanks those swift tide
Thanks jolly boatmen, we've reached Coosaw's side.

A Spiritual

I have no friend but Jesus, he is my all in all
He gives me grace to comfort as he lead me home to
God.
Sinner, a few more days trial, de Lord will take us home
To walk de golden streets of dat New Jerusalem.

Shout, belieber, shout, oh do Belieber, shout
Beliebin yeddy de organ roll
He roll for de judgement day
Moan, sinner, moan, oh do poor sinner moan,
Sinner yeddy de organ roll
He roll for de judgement day.

When Shepherds watched dere flocks by night
All seated on de ground,
De Angel of de Lord came down
An Glory shone aroun.
Don't you head de Archiangles rejoicin,
Glory be to de new born King.

Master Jesus gone along before me.
His track I see an I'll pursue
Paul an Silas gone along before me

APPENDIX 3: ANALYSIS OF HUMAN SKELETAL MATERIAL

Suzanne Coyle
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida
and
Ted A. Rathbun, Ph.D.
University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

The skeletal remains recovered from Roupelmond Plantation, Beaufort, South Carolina (38BU1689), represent material from only one individual, recovered from Feature 3.

Due to the relatively small amount of bone present, many observations on the identification of the human individual are not possible. It is certain, however, that remains are from an adult as all the epiphyses of the long bones are completely closed. The overall smallness of the bones and teeth suggest that this was a female.

No evidence of advanced age (osteophytes) was found on the remains, thus suggesting an age in the young to middle adult years (20-40). Extreme dental wear on the occlusal (chewing) surfaces of all the teeth point toward an age around 40-50 years (Lovejoy 1985). Occlusal wear is a common feature of coastal cultures who experience frequent grit or sand in their diet. Such a diet erodes the surfaces of teeth quicker than what is normally experienced, and sometimes gives an age older than what is expected. Two interproximal crown-root caries were noted between the 2nd and 3rd maxillary molars. No shoveling was observed.

Moderate tendon sheath hypertrophy was observed on the carpal phalanges, or finger bones, and is indicative of considerable strength and use of the hands during this individual's lifetime.

Certain skeletal elements such as teeth, hand, and foot bones were found more frequently than others (please see attached tables). These bones especially were in a good state of preservation.

Lovejoy, C. Owen
1985 Dental Wear in the Libben
Population: Its Functional Pattern
and Role in the Determination of
Adult Skeletal Age at Death.
*American Journal of Physical
Anthropology* 68:47-56.

ROUPELMOND PLANTATION

38BU1689 Skeletal Materials	
Fea 3 W ½	-proximal 1/3 of left rib #1 - Human
Fea 3 W ½	-2 proximal carpal phalanges - Human -1 proximal 1/3 of a carpal phalanx - Human -1 distal ½ of a carpal phalanx - Human -1 middle 1/3 of a carpal phalanx - Human -2 distal carpal phalanges (one from thumb) - Human -1 distal pedal phalanx - Human -1 carpal (lesser multangular, left) - Human -1 right metacarpal #4 - Human -12 teeth fragments - Human -24 small bone fragments - Unidentifiable
Fea 3 E ½	-41 small bone fragments - Unidentifiable -3 teeth fragments - Human -1 right patella - Human -2 carpals (lunate, left & right) - Human -1 carpal (capitate, right) - Human -1 carpal (hamate, left) - Human -8 carpal phalanges (1 prox., 5 middle, 2 distal) - Human -2 pedal proximal phalanges - Human -8 small carpal/pedal phalangeal fragments - Human -1 proximal ½ metacarpal #3 - Human

38BU1689 Dental Inventory	
MAXILLARY	MANDIBULAR
left & right central incisors	left lateral incisor
right lateral incisor	right canine
left & right 1st premolar	left & right 1st premolar
left 2nd premolar	left 2nd premolar
right 2nd molar	
right 3rd molar	

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Michael Trinkley received his undergraduate training at the University of South Carolina and a doctorate in anthropology from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He served as the senior staff archaeologist with the S.C. Department of Highways and Public Transportation before joining the foundation in 1983. Dr. Trinkley is a noted expert in both prehistoric and plantation period archaeology. He has worked at a variety of sites throughout South Carolina, including a number along South Carolina's coast and inland as far as Greenville. He has also conducted research at sites in neighboring North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. He is a member of the Register of Professional Archaeologists.

Debi Hacker received her undergraduate training at Tulane University and served as an Archaeologist and Laboratory Supervisor at The Charleston Museum, before joining the S.C. State Museum as their Conservation Administrator in 1987. In 1990 she joined Chicora Foundation, where she is responsible for laboratory processing, analysis, and conservation. Ms. Hacker has worked on collections from a wide variety of prehistoric and historic archaeological sites from throughout South and North Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee.

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