

Unearthing the Past, Learning for
the Future:
Archaeology at Drayton Hall, 2005

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Archaeological Contributions 37
The Charleston Museum
April 2006

Prepared for
National Trust for Historic Preservation
Drayton Hall

Abstract

A second season of archaeological testing was conducted by The Charleston Museum under grants from the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Additional testing was conducted at locus 22, building upon results of the 2003 testing program and the 2004 ground penetrating radar survey. Excavation of 29 units in the lawn northwest of the main house revealed additional post stains, interpreted as dwellings for enslaved African Americans. The testing also revealed the remains of two brick foundations. The first, measuring approximately 24' by 44', is interpreted as a barn. Only a portion of the second building was revealed, but it also appears to be non-domestic. Artifacts recovered from the site span the 18th century and first quarter of the 19th century. Excavations were conducted by students enrolled in the Archaeological Field School at the College of Charleston, co-directed by Barbara Borg (College of Charleston), Martha Zierden and Ronald Anthony of The Charleston Museum.

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Acknowledgements

The Drayton Hall project was a group effort in every sense. Many people, from a number of institutions, made this project possible. First are the staff members of Drayton Hall. Dr. George McDaniel, Director, embraced a broad approach to preservation and interpretation of the historical fabric at Drayton Hall, including the archaeological record. His emphasis on interpretation of the lives of all Drayton Hall residents led to investigations of the 18th century slave community, and ongoing interpretation of the many lives represented by the historical remains. We thank him for his vision and guidance. Mr. Craig Hadley, then Director of Education, served as our guide and secured funding for the project. Mr. Craig Tuminaro joined the Drayton Hall staff late in the project, and we appreciate his guidance. Mr. John Kidder, Buildings and Grounds Superintendant, helped with many logistical issues and advised us on previous efforts at the property. His insight was invaluable. Mr. Tim Chesser, Assistant Director of Education, kept us straight on details of Drayton Hall history, recommended helpful documents and sources, and generally boosted morale. Greatest thanks go to docent Elizabeth Laney, a former archaeological field school graduate, who enthusiastically and unfailingly led the coordination between docents and archaeological crew, took countless photographs, and kept us cool with ice pops.

Staff at The Charleston Museum provided logistical support and the time to complete the project. Dr. John Brumgardt, Director, and Mr. Carl Borick, Assistant Director, made it possible for the Museum to work with Drayton Hall on this important project. Ms. Vickie Styles kept the books straight. Ms. Rachel Giesy Chesser, Events Coordinator, worked with us to promote the project and to incorporate archaeology into ongoing joint programs offered by The Charleston Museum and Drayton Hall. Finally, Mr. Sean Money, Exhibits Designer, enhanced this report with computer graphics well beyond our abilities.

The Field School in Historical Archaeology, offered by the College of Charleston and The Charleston Museum, was directed by Dr. Barbara Borg, Martha Zierden, and Ron Anthony. Barbara kept all of the students straight and supervised the transit work that resulted in site grid and field maps. We always appreciate her professionalism, her skills, and her comraderie. We were fortunate to have an exceptional group of students this year, and they provided excellent fieldwork and good company. They include Ansley Bradley, David Callenberger, Dawn Chitty, Julia Deckman, Jessica Downs, Theresa Kennedy, Greta Moose, Will Murray, Brooke Nicholson, Louisa Pittman, Melody Robertson, Red Roseneau, Rebekah Sease, and Jennifer Schork. Other students volunteered or registered as interns: Ashley Cain, Jennifer Mannarino, and Kenny Richards. Thanks to former student Margaret Harris, who volunteered in the field.

Thanks are also due the many colleagues who visited and advised during the fieldwork. Mr. George Neil, former Assistant Director of Drayton Hall, visited and reported on previous remote sensing efforts. Dr. Elizabeth Reitz, zooarchaeologist at the University of Georgia, spent a day working with the students. Mr. Ashley Chapman, director of Colonial Dorchester State Historic Site, visited the site and instructed students

in survey methodology during their weeks at Dorchester. Ms. Kate McKinley of General Engineering Geophysics, LLC coordinated additional remote sensing so that she provided on-site training and lectures to the students. Special thanks go to Trust Senior Archaeologist Lynne Lewis for her on-site visit with Trust intern Regan Furrow, as well as her lectures to the students and her guidance throughout the project. One of the highlights of the project has been the opportunity to work with Lynne on this special site.

The laboratory work is the less visible and less glamorous part of a project, but it is by far the largest. All of the washing was done by three field school students enrolled in laboratory internships: Red Roseneau, Brooke Nicholson, and Theresa Kennedy. The Drayton Hall artifacts are the cleanest ever. Identification was done by the above students, and long-time volunteers Lee Stevens and Barbara Aldrich. Dr. William Turner conserved the metal artifacts recovered during the projects, thereby ensuring their long-term survival. Mr. Andrew Agha advised on artifact patterning and prepared the Surfer 8 density maps central to landscape interpretation.

To all of our friends and colleagues, heartfelt thanks!

Foreword

The 2005 Archaeological Field School project represents a return to the site by The Charleston Museum. Excavations were conducted in locus 22, the northwestern quadrant of the lawn surrounding the main house. This fieldwork follows, and builds upon, a long list of archaeological research at Drayton Hall. Most pertinent are the 2003 testing at locus 22 by the authors and the 2004 ground penetrating radar survey by General Engineering Geophysics. The 2005 project presented an opportunity to target features, or anomalies, revealed by the remote sensing, and to compare the results of the two methods. The results were encouraging.

The documentary evidence, particularly the diaries kept by Dr. Charles Drayton between 1784 and 1820, were also important in interpreting the archaeological evidence. This was particularly true for determination of a date of abandonment for locus 22. The artifacts recovered suggest an occupation that spans the 18th century, while a lack of post-1830 ceramics suggests the area was abandoned by 1830. This is in agreement with Drayton's recorded construction of new quarters and abandonment of the old slave community in 1804.

Based on previous archaeological and documentary research, locus 22 (as defined by the Brockington survey in 1991) was tentatively identified as the 18th century slave community. This was based on the date of artifacts, the type of artifacts (principally colonoware), and the identification of posts that are likely structural. With the discovery of two additional structures, the 2005 data has broadened this view to suggest that locus 22 was a general work area for the plantation. This includes non-domestic structures, possibly a barn and an office, with brick foundations, as well as earthfast dwellings. Research issues explored during the present project include study of the cultural landscape of the 18th century, definition of the built environment, and exploration of the material goods made and used by African American residents.

The 2005 project presented a variety of opportunities for learning and for teaching, resulting in a unique, multifaceted educational project. The ultimate goal of the project was to provide data for interpretation of this National Trust property. At the core of the project was training of senior-level college students in the methods and theory of archaeological fieldwork. They received this training from college professors, from museum curators, and from administrators and docents from both the Drayton Hall staff and National Trust headquarters. The Drayton Hall docents, in turn, interpreted the developments of the dig to visitors on a daily basis, as well as to a host of special groups. Third grade teachers enrolled a summer education program, "Choices of Freedom," spent time on the dig, introducing archaeology as another tool for teaching the past. The students themselves became educators, as they took turns interpreting the dig to visitors. The result was a powerful, inclusive program of education and interpretation.

The project attracted attention of a number of special groups and individuals, as well as the media. Special visitors included the Drayton Hall Governing Council, the

“Brown Bag Lunch” consortium of preservation colleagues, and South Carolina First Lady Jenny Sanford. The results of this project will be translated into new interpretation of Drayton Hall and its occupants in a variety of ways. The buildings discovered, and the materials owned and used by site residents, can be discussed in tours, presented in signage, and discussed in a variety of media. Artifact types recovered may be incorporated into a range of educational programs. Drayton Hall provides a variety of mechanisms to make the results of this dig available to researchers, visitors, and students of the past.



Students, volunteers, and instructors from the Archaeological Field School with Drayton Hall Director George McDaniel and South Carolina First Lady Jenny Sanford



Left: Trust Senior Archaeologist Lynne Lewis explains archaeology to a reporter
Right: Student Jennifer Schork works with 3rd grade teachers while a visitor observes

Chapter I Introduction

Drayton Hall, owned and operated by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, is an important Charleston landmark for many reasons. Built by John Drayton in 1738, the house passed through seven generations of the Drayton family before sale to the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The principal physical feature of the property, the plantation main house, was completed in 1742 and is the oldest and finest surviving example of Georgian Palladian architecture in the southern United States (Lane 1996: 70-72; www.draytonhall.org). The Drayton family owned several cash-crop-producing tracts throughout South Carolina, but Drayton Hall served principally as a country seat for the family. Early 19th century owner Charles Drayton left detailed records that attest to his efforts as a horticulturalist and physician. The only Ashley River plantation spared during the Civil War, the house remained largely unaltered after 1875. The discovery of phosphate as a commercially viable material in 1870 provided family income that paid for much-needed repair, but mining operations on the property compromised certain portions of the archaeological fabric even as it added new features to the historic landscape. Following the collapse of the phosphate industry, the house was used sporadically as a summer retreat. The African American population of the property dwindled, as families searched for other labor opportunities. The last owners, Charles and Frank Drayton, determined that private, non-profit ownership was in the best interest of the property. The house has been preserved, rather than restored, and has been operated as an historic house museum since acquisition by the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) in 1974.



The economic toll on the 1: View of Drayton Hall from locus 22 during the 2005 field project

Drayton Hall landscape. All but two dependencies have disappeared from the property. The two-story flanker buildings, the colonial slave village, and the antebellum slave community, as well as most of the work structures and the gardens no longer exist. These buildings, and indeed all of the features of the Drayton Hall landscape, have been researched and interpreted since the 1970s. Archaeology has always been part of the research at Drayton Hall, and indeed the initial study by National Trust archaeologist Lynne Lewis is considered a pioneering work in the field of historical archaeology (Lewis 1978; 1985). Her work, and subsequent archaeological research, has been incorporated into the interpretation of the site.

Archaeological research and mitigation by Lewis, and others, have continued to inform on the site, and to alter interpretation of the property in the ensuing three decades. The archaeological testing project by The Charleston Museum is the latest in a long line of significant research projects at Drayton Hall. The 2005 testing conducted at locus 22 builds on the results of testing conducted in 2003 and reported to the National Trust for Historic Preservation (Zierden and Anthony 2004)

The Charleston Museum Project

Initiation of archaeological research by The Charleston Museum began in January 2003, when Director of Education Craig Hadley contacted the Museum. Drayton Hall was involved in a broad-based study of the historic landscape to result in a Landscape Master Plan. Implementation of this plan proposed the planting of shade trees, lost to Hurricane Hugo in 1989, to protect the historical azaleas along the riverfront allee. Archaeological mitigation of the areas to be impacted seemed prudent. After detailed discussions with Dr. George McDaniel, Director of Drayton Hall, Mr. Craig Hadley, and Ms. Lynne Lewis, Trust Senior Archaeologist, it was determined that two areas would be tested during the summer of 2003, with work conducted by Museum archaeologists Martha Zierden and Ronald Anthony, along with Barbara Borg of the College of Charleston and anthropology students enrolled in the Archaeological Field School (ANTH 493). The first was the area impacted by landscape planting, and the second was the suspected location of the 18th century slave settlement, on the front lawn northwest of the main house. The latter area was designated locus 22 during a survey by Brockington & Associates in 1991, and this designation was retained during the present project.

The 2003 study of the western portion of locus 22 included excavation of twenty-three 5' x 5' test units. Intact subsurface archaeological deposits were observed throughout the site, and several features were encountered. Of greatest interest were a group of post stains in the northwest portion of the area. The features were interpreted as evidence of 18th-century structures, possibly slave residences. Material culture recovered from the excavations suggested the area was occupied throughout the 18th century, and abandoned shortly after 1800. While relatively sparse, the materials suggested a domestic occupation. Analysis revealed that the area exhibits horizontal variability, and that definition of discrete activity areas may be possible.

At the invitation of Drayton Hall, The Charleston Museum returned to locus 22 in the summer of 2005, again with students from the College of Charleston archaeological field school and professor Barbara Borg. The project was designed to further explore features encountered during the 2003 dig, and those revealed by a ground-penetrating radar survey conducted by General Engineering Geophysics, LLC in the fall of 2004. This latter project revealed a number of anomalies and concentrations worthy of further investigation.



2: Remote sensing conducted by General Engineering Geophysics

The 2005 project proposed the excavation of approximately 30 additional test units over a 4-week period. Two broad goals were proposed. First was to expand the area around the posthole concentration in the northwest (N705 E205) area of locus 22, to identify the dimension and function of any structures in that location. Second was to explore the anomalies noted by the ground-penetrating radar and determine the features represented by these readings. Many of the anomalies noted by the radar were located beside, or between, test units excavated in 2003.



3: Kate McKinley of General Engineering Geophysics explains the total station to Field School students and Drayton Hall staff.

Drayton Hall secured grant funding from the National Trust for Historic Preservation and elsewhere to fund a four-week field project. The archaeological crew arrived at Drayton Hall on May 17 and departed on June 20. The five calendar weeks included orientation tours, educational lectures, initial field training for new students, down-time from excessive rain, and laboratory work, resulting in four full weeks spent in excavation.

The 2005 project also provided an opportunity for several educational endeavors. The fieldwork provided data pertinent to the mission of Drayton Hall, to interpret the significance of the property to the history of the Carolina lowcountry. The site provided an excellent venue to train anthropology students in the proper methods and practices of historical archaeology. This training included learning how to explain the process and results of archaeological research to the general public. Students worked with the Drayton Hall docents to discuss the project with visitors on a daily basis. A group of 3rd grade teachers enrolled in “Choices of Freedom” joined



the students for a day of training in the methods and contributions of archaeology. Visiting scholars included zooarchaeologist Elizabeth Reitz from the University of Georgia and Trust senior archaeologist Lynne Lewis. Trust intern Reagan Furrow also visited the site, obtaining video footage of the field school that appears in an archaeology exhibit at Decatur House, a National Trust site in Washington, DC. Kate McKinley and other staff members from General Engineering Geophysics provided a lecture and training on the methods and results of remote sensing, and conducted additional ground-penetrating radar investigations, in consultation with Lynne Lewis. Colleagues from the preservation community visited the dig as part of the “Brown Bag series”. The Drayton Hall Site Council visited the site on two occasions, and the project concluded with a visit from South Carolina First Lady Jenny Sanford.

Research Topics

The Charleston Museum has conducted archaeological research on South Carolina lowcountry historic sites for over three decades. Studies have included both urban sites, principally in the city of Charleston, and rural plantation sites, with a dual focus on the planter families and the African American workers on those plantations. Since 1980, archaeological

research by The Charleston Museum has been guided by a series of long-term research topics, integrating data from urban and rural settings. These topics address a number of issues, both descriptive and processual. This unified approach gives weight to individual sites, as each project has a place in a growing comparative database. The authors have been researching the topics considered at Drayton Hall for the past two decades. As is often the case with archaeological research, the Drayton Hall loci both conform to emerging patterns noted throughout the lowcountry, and exhibit some characteristics not seen before, leading to more questions and more research.

An initial consideration of all archaeological research is site formation processes, the physical actions that result in the transformation of a living culture into an archaeological site (Schiffer 1977, 1983). An archaeological site consists of a natural setting altered by the humans who occupied that site. Artifacts are introduced into the ground by a variety of methods, including discard, loss, destruction, and abandonment. Once in the ground, artifacts can be redistributed or they can be removed. Specifically of interest are those activities that introduce materials into the ground and reorganize them after deposition. Understanding the site formation processes is an essential first step in site interpretation.

The focus of research in the past decade has been the evolution of the lowcountry landscape. This broadly-based study (Zierden 1996, Zierden et al. 1999) encompasses topics previously considered separately, such as terrain alteration, spatial patterning, horticulture and ideology, diet and subsistence strategies, and health and sanitation. This approach embraces the idea of a cultural landscape, the modification of land according to a set of cultural plans, embodying often- inseparable technological, social, and ideological dimensions. People created and used the landscape in a planned and orderly manner for everything from food procurement to formal design to explicit statements about their position in the world. The built environment includes the main house and a range of services buildings, such as kitchen, washhouse, homes for servants, stable and carriage building, privy, and a number of other buildings. The built environment is seated in a cultural landscape that includes the creation and maintenance of formal gardens, work areas, fields, and pastures. All of these features are part of the overall manipulation of the natural landscape.

Moreover, a property may incorporate multiple cultural landscapes; features and changes made by a planter family may be viewed and used differently by the enslaved people who occupied the same site. A landscape approach thus allows a study of the property as envisioned and maintained by the Drayton family through several generations. It simultaneously encompasses a distinct, and overlapping, study of the people, both slave and free, who lived and labored in the same spaces under different circumstances. Drayton Hall has been a leading institution in the study of African and African American people on lowcountry plantations, and those residents left a distinctive signature in the ground. Continuing the search for the 18th-century slave community builds upon previous work at Drayton Hall, as well as on the broad database from work throughout the lowcountry. Likewise, study of the work yards and formal gardens builds on recent archaeological investigations of Charleston gardens and work area (Zierden 2001a, 2001b, 2006a), as well as studies of plantation gardens (Cothran 1995, 2003; Rosengarten 1998).

An important aspect of the study of African residents of the Carolinas has been the discovery and analysis of colonowares recovered on plantation, and urban, sites throughout the lowcountry. Colonoware is unglazed, low-fired earthenware of local manufacture. Distributed within the mid- and south-Atlantic states, the ware was first identified, and is still concentrated, on sites in coastal South Carolina. Based on their recovery at slave communities on plantation sites, scholars suggest that the majority of these ceramics were produced and used during the 18th century by enslaved African Americans and historic period Native Americans. Decades of study by Ron Anthony and others have suggested that some of these ceramics may have been manufactured specifically as a result of African American and Native American interaction (Anthony 2002; see also Ferguson 1980, 1992; Noel Hume 1962; Zierden et al. 1999). Colonoware expresses the dynamics, complexities, diversity, and energy of cultural encounters in the colonial South. The colonowares recovered at Drayton Hall add an important, and unusual, set of data to this ongoing study.

Previous Research

Drayton Hall has been the subject of numerous archaeological studies since acquisition by the National Trust in 1974. The present project attempts to build on the many fine studies previously conducted at Drayton Hall. The majority of these have been conducted, or supervised, by Trust senior archaeologist Lynne Lewis, well known for her work at Drayton Hall (Lewis 1978, 1985). Lewis is currently completing a synthesis of archaeology at Drayton Hall (Lewis, personal communication, 2003). Only the projects most relevant to the present study are discussed below. A complete inventory of archaeological investigations is on file at Drayton Hall.

In 1974, Lewis began a 19-month field study of the main house at Drayton Hall. The area around the main house and the house interior were investigated. The south flanker was excavated to determine its use. The ornamental mound and drive were tested to confirm the 20th-century date of construction. Some refuse deposits north of the main house were also tested. This study was documented in a book published by the National Trust (Lewis 1978). This study suggests that the south flanker was used as a kitchen.

In 1980, a field school from New York University, directed by Dr. Bert Salwen, conducted survey and limited testing on the east lawn and garden. The students documented serpentine beds bordering the central walk and defined concentrations of refuse north of the house. Field notes from this project were loaned to The Charleston Museum and re-examined during the 2003 project.

In 1981, Lynne Lewis investigated the north flanker and the privy structure. Current interpretation is that the north flanker served as laundry and servants' quarters. The north flanker appears to have been constructed later than the house and the south flanker. There is tentative evidence for a structure pre-dating the main house in this area. Ms. Lewis generously provided a working copy of her synthesis of archaeological work at Drayton Hall for

comparative data.

In 1989, Thomas Wheaton of New South Associates tested the brick concentration on the Ashley River's edge, suspected to be the 1740s orangerie. This brief project concluded that the site is the orangerie, that the site is intact, and that further research and preservation are warranted (Wheaton 1989).

In 1990, Christopher Espenshade and a crew of four archaeologists from Brockington & Associates of Charleston conducted a systematic survey of the entire (115 acre) Drayton Hall tract. The survey was prompted by heavy damage to the property, particularly the wooded tracts, by Hurricane Hugo in September 1989. The survey entailed complete tract coverage with shovel tests excavated every 20 meters. Twenty-two loci, dating from the prehistoric period to the 20th century, were identified (Espenshade and Roberts 1991). These loci definitions were used during the present project.

Archaeological work by The Charleston Museum in 2003 utilized the site grid established by Lynne Lewis in 1974, with some adjustments. The loci definitions proposed by Espenshade in 1990 were also utilized during that project. Archaeological testing in 2003 focused on the waterfront area (locus 20) in the vicinity of the azalea garden as well as the area defined as locus 22 (Zierden and Anthony 2004). This grid was reestablished in 2005, and locations for grid points and excavation units in locus 22 were aligned with those from the 2003



excavations.

Archaeology and Historic Preservation

Archaeology's role in the preservation of a property such as Drayton Hall is two-fold. First, the archaeological record - the layers of soil and artifacts - is part of the total historic fabric, worthy of preservation. All standing structures have an associated archaeological component, whereas not all archaeological sites have extant architectural components. Further, the archaeological component is non-renewable, and is damaged or destroyed by any ground-disturbing activity. At the same time, the ground-altering activities of today, just as those of the 18th and 19th centuries, are part of the ongoing changes and additions to a continually occupied archaeological site.

Secondly, archaeological research is an additional source of broad interpretive data for an historic site, ranging from tangible artifacts and foundations to abstract ideas. The key word is interpretation, for current anthropological theory suggests that all types of data are subject to interpretation, to be read by many viewers. Archaeological data, like architectural data, documentary information, maps, plats, oral history, etc., contribute to a clearer understanding of a historical question, but archaeological answers do not supercede those from other disciplines. This site report, along with numerous other documents, artifacts, and reports, is one contribution to the multifaceted exploration of the evolution of Drayton Hall.

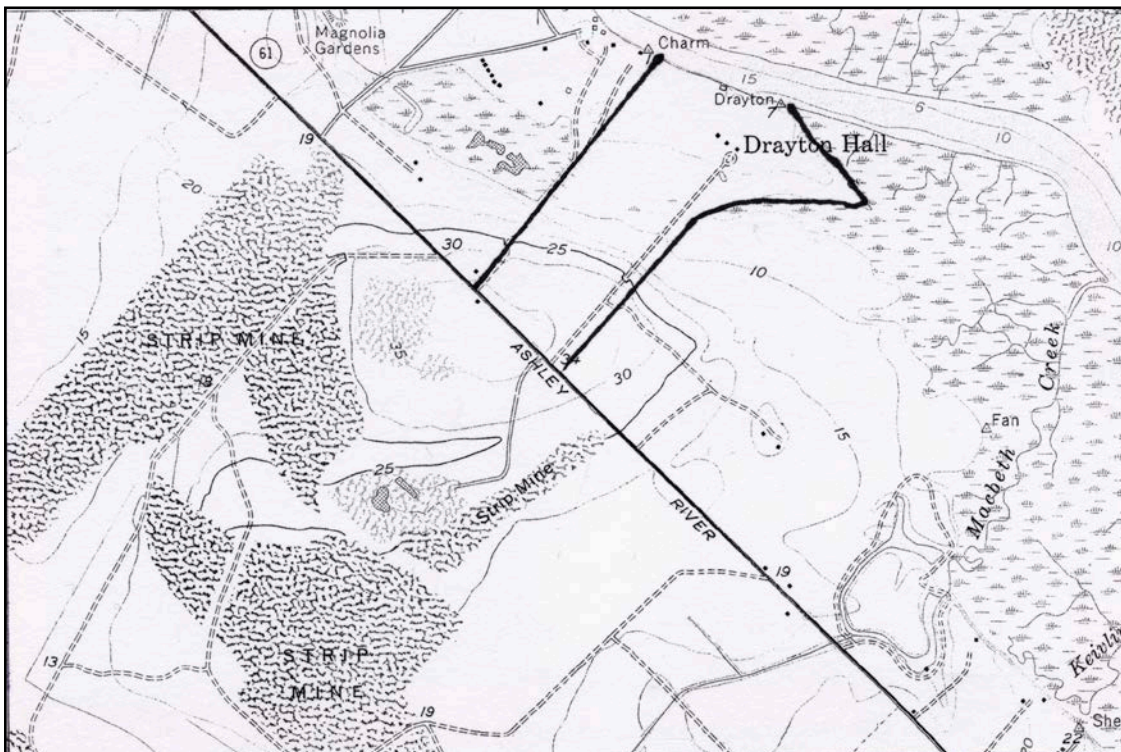


6: Students Louisa Pittman (left) and Melody Robertson (right) explain archaeology to Drayton Hall visitors. Interpretation of the archaeological project was coordinated by docent Elizabeth Laney (assisting with mapping).

Chapter II Project Setting

Site Description

The current Drayton Hall tract occupies 115 acres of the original 750 acres deeded to John Drayton in two separate tracts in 1738. The long, narrow tract fronts the western side of the Ashley River, about 12 miles northwest of the City of Charleston. The present western boundary of the property is Highway 61, known as Ashley River Road, a historic thoroughfare that runs along a ridge of high land from Charleston to Summerville, between the Ashley and Stono Rivers. From the entry on Highway 61 to the bank of the Ashley River, the land drops rather precipitously, from nearly 30' above sea level at the highway to 11' above sea level at the riverfront (USGS Drayton @ 10.96' msl). With the exception of approximately 10 acres around the main house, which is maintained as lawn, the remainder of the tract is wooded. Hurricane Hugo had a tremendous impact on the wooded areas, prompting the 1990 survey, among other mitigation measures. While a few large trees of some antiquity are to be found, the majority of the wooded areas consist of volunteer regeneration from the 20th century, characterized by pine and mixed hardwoods with a dense understory of ferns and vines. Much of the high land at Drayton Hall, particularly the tracts west of Highway 61 and south of the central avenue, was mined for phosphate in the late 19th century.



7: Topographic map showing location of the current Drayton Hall tract. (U.S.G.S. Johns Island).

Halfway down the main entry road, on the north side, is a large reserve pond. The pond, plus the marshes and fields on either side of the remaining entryway, are remnants of the diked marshes and fields laid out in the 18th century for growing rice. The extent of rice growing at Drayton Hall is unclear; Charles Drayton's 1790s sketch of the property shows an extensive system of fields, dikes and ditches. Yet family accounts suggest that commercial crop production was not a priority for Drayton Hall.

From this point, the original centrally-located drive has been altered for visitor flow, bending sharply to the left, and circling the main house complex to the north. Visitor and support buildings are nestled in wooded tracts in the area north of the drive. The area around the main house, currently maintained as lawn, contains only one other standing colonial structure. This is the brick privy building, located north of the house. Colonial ditches that surround the house and drive, as well as a few large live oak trees, also survive from the 18th century. The



landward side of the house contains two dominant features, added to the landscape in the last century. The first is a three-tiered ornamental mound, in the center of the former drive, adjacent to the west facade of the house. Fill for this mound came from the second feature. The reflecting pond, located southwest of the house, was created by excavating a stream bed in the

late 19th century.

8: View of Drayton Hall from the reflecting pond, facing northeast. The mound created from the fill of the pond is visible behind the oak tree. The large oak on the right dates to the early 18th century

The lawn on the river side of the house is highlighted by a central walk, the axis mundi, terminating in a wooden footbridge that crosses the 18th-century ha-ha, or ditch. The area between the ha-ha and the river is currently lawn interspersed with azaleas planted by Ms. Charlotta Drayton in the early 20th century. In the ensuing century, this area was heavily

overgrown, but significant loss of trees in 1989 (Hurricane Hugo) opened the area to sunlight. This has resulted in a great deal of stress to the shade-loving azaleas, and the current landscape plan calls for deliberate placement of new shade trees.

The banks along the Ashley River are actively eroding, and exhibit pronounced topography. Drayton Hall has taken active steps in the last decade to stem this erosion. Remains of the 18th-century orangerie are located on the riverbank, on the north side of the lawn and axis mundi. Remains of ditches and docks relating to the phosphate industry are located north of the orangerie remains.

Development of City and Countryside in Carolina

A group of patriotic English noblemen was granted the Carolina colony as a political reward; these profit-seeking men established their colony in 1670. The earliest settlement was up the Ashley River at Albemarle Point, established by a small group of settlers from the West Indies. Agriculture and commercial prosperity demanded security, however, and this proved to be the first concern of the colonists. Although the English had laid a firm grip on the province, the colonists were still in an exposed position, vulnerable to attacks. The Spanish missions extended from St. Augustine, Florida to St. Helena, or Port Royal, South Carolina. Until these were abandoned in 1702, the area south of Charleston (known as Charles Town until incorporation in 1783) was the scene of intermittent warfare (Andrews 1937). The French, spread along the Mississippi, were a constant source of suspicion. Pirates, the scourge of the Caribbean and Atlantic seas, were another serious irritant. Neighboring Indian tribes of the Kiawah, Etiwan, Wando, Sampa, and Seewee further added to the colonists' anxiety while the constant increase in a potentially rebellious African slave population created fears that died only with the demise of slavery. By 1672, the Charles Town settlement was protected by a palisade and four pieces of artillery aimed upon the Ashley River. Indians reported to their Spanish allies that the colonists had built 30 small houses on the west bank of the Ashley and four on the east bank of Oyster Point (Andrews 1937:203n).

Intimately linked to rivalry with the Spanish was control of the Native American population, principally through trade relations. Control of the Indians was pursued relentlessly by the English, French, and Spanish as a result of the Europeans' desire for animal skins and Indian slaves. South Carolina was the most heavily involved of any colony in the Indian slave trade (Snell 1973). Although this trade was condemned by the Lords Proprietors, it was profitable for the colonists, and a large number of enslaved people were shipped to the Caribbean and to northern colonies (Gallay 2002; Bowne 2005).

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

Deerskins soon became the colonists' most profitable export. The earliest trade was a secondary, small-scale pursuit of individual planters. Some of these entrepreneurs hired an Indian hunter to supply them with skins; others traded in more haphazard fashion (Crane 1981:118). By the mid-18th century, dressed deerskins accounted for 16% of the colony's exports, and tanning was the city's most important industry (Bridenbaugh 1955:76). The defeat of the Indian alliance in the Yamasee War changed the mechanics of this trade as the defeated tribes moved inland. Those involved in the fur trade now required storage facilities to support their long-distance enterprise. Soon the trade was transformed from one operated on a small scale by individuals to a capital-intensive industry controlled and dominated by Charleston's mercantile community. These merchants established credit relations with British businessmen, enabling them to procure and finance the trading goods necessary for the (primarily) barter exchange conducted with Indian suppliers. The wealth and standing acquired by these merchants led to diversification, into commodities such as naval stores, provisions, rice, and African slaves (Calhoun 1986; Calhoun et al. 1982; Earl and Hoffman 1977:37).

Although the defeat of the Indians in the Yamasee War resulted in increased safety for all colonists, it also radically altered the fur trading network of some, as remnants of the defeated tribes retreated inland. Charleston's access to inland waterways facilitated trade with the large inland tribes - the Creek, Cherokee, Chickasaw - as did the forts and posts established in the backcountry after 1730 (Crane 1981; Braund 1992; Merrell 1989). These outposts promoted trade with the Indians, protected the frontier inhabitants, and guarded against French and Spanish encroachments (Calhoun 1986; Sellers 1970; Sirmans 1966).

The growing colony never lacked settlers. Dissenters, Englishmen, Scots, New Englanders, Jews, and African and West Indian slaves formed the core of this diverse group. The West Indies remained a source for early settlers, and these planters, merchants, artisans, servants, and slaves influenced development of Carolina's social and political environments. The Carolina policy of religious toleration also attracted a variety of settlers. French Huguenots, suffering persecution in their native land, were assimilated into the prevailing English society rather rapidly (Edgar 1998).

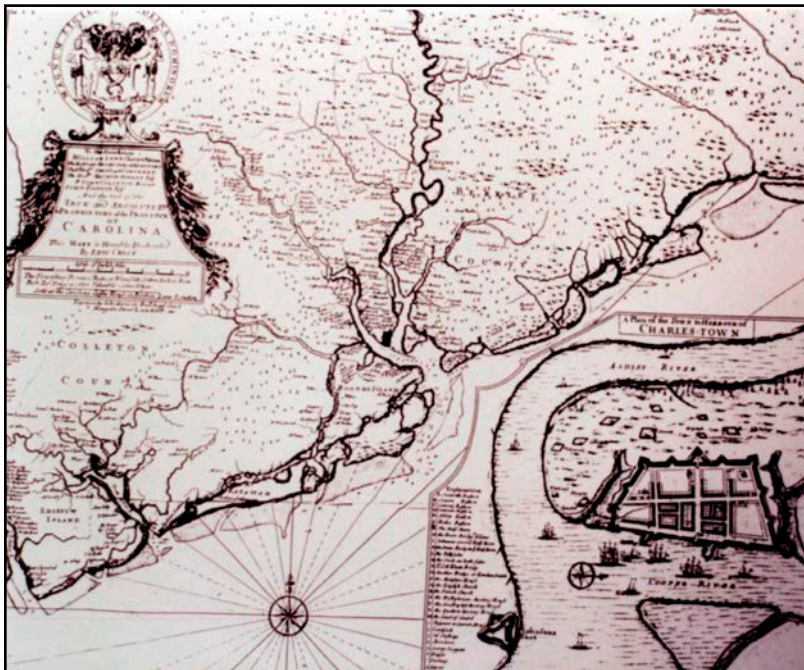
A large number of Carolina's settlers came unwillingly. The escalating cultivation of rice throughout South Carolina in the 18th century created a voracious demand for labor. Although the English settlers were unfamiliar with this crop, many Africans brought to the lowcountry came from rice-producing areas of Africa. Rice itself was introduced to South Carolina from Madagascar, and many African slaves possessed skills in rice cultivation and other tasks essential to the plantation economy (Carney 2001; Littlefield 1981; Wood 1975). Significant continuities between African and Carolinian methods of planting, hoeing, winnowing, and pounding rice persisted until these techniques were no longer economically feasible (Joyner 1984:13-14). By 1708 the majority of lowcountry residents were black. African bondsmen worked the crops in the country and provided labor for building and maintaining the city.

The area of relatively high bluffs and narrow marsh along the Cooper River was best suited for shipping, and in 1680 the settlers founded a walled city bounded by present-day Water, East Bay, Cumberland, and Meeting streets. The early threats from the French and

Spanish necessitated a fortified city, and the city walls were constructed by 1704 (Saunders 2002). This planned city, known as the Grand Model, encompassed the high land from Oyster Point to Beaufain Street (Earle and Hoffman 1977). The town was laid out around a central square and divided by wide streets into deep, narrow lots, a plan characteristic of 17th-century Irish towns colonized by the British. While the new Charleston was a renaissance city in many ways, the surrounding town wall and steep roofs gave it a decidedly medieval atmosphere (Coclanis 1985). As the threat of invasion faded and prosperity rose, the city walls were dismantled; removal began in the 1720s and was completed by the 1740s (Poston 1997:49). The major fire of 1740 destroyed most of the early city, and the medieval-style architecture was replaced by more modern, Georgian structures.

The decade of the 1730s witnessed Charleston's transformation from a small frontier community to an important mercantile center. When royal rule replaced an inefficient Proprietary government in 1729, following a revolt by the settlers, Charleston entered the mainstream of the colonial economy. The development of outlying communities, following the Township Plan of 1730, brought an influx of products from the backcountry. Meanwhile, as rice became more profitable, lowcountry plantations rapidly expanded. During this period, the

merchants emerged as a distinct group; further, they began to invest their earnings in the local economy, instead of returning to England after making their fortunes (Rogers 1980; Stumpf 1971). As the colony prospered, the merchants and planters emerged as the leaders of society; indeed, the two groups often overlapped, for planters engaged in mercantile endeavors, and merchants invested their earnings in land, becoming planters themselves. This strong tie to the country is an important theme in the city's history (Goldfield 1982).



9: The Crisp map of c. 1711, showing coastal Carolina, the Ashley and Cooper rivers, and the Charleston peninsula. The walled city is inset.

Charleston's economic expansion was matched by physical expansion. By 1739 the city had grown well beyond the city walls and development was primarily to the west. The city spread west to the banks of the Ashley River and south to the tip of the peninsula, though much of the peripheral area was only sparsely occupied. The period also witnessed a rise in imposing public and domestic architecture. Ironically, the devastating fire of 1740 cleared the way for

construction of large structures in new styles. Public architecture on a grand scale is embodied in St. Michael's church, built in 1751, the State House on the opposite corner, and the Exchange building, built in 1769 (Lounsbury 2001; Poston 1997). On the domestic front, a number of large double houses were constructed during this period, in some cases replacing earlier, more modest structures on the same lot. These changes are part of a general shift in architectural style that began in the third quarter of the 18th century (Herman 1997; Zierden and Herman 1996; Herman 2005). Some archaeologically investigated examples include the John Rutledge House (1763), the William Gibbes house (1772), the Miles Brewton House (1769) and the Heyward Washington house (1772).

Architectural expansion was matched by a rise in personal wealth. As the planters and merchants gained in prosperity, they began to demand goods more appropriate to their elevated station in life, attracting factors, merchants, and craftsmen. By the mid-18th century, Charleston emerged as one of the largest and wealthiest cities in the colonies (Weir 1983). Personal wealth poured into the colony from Europe in the form of furniture, silver, tableware, clothing and paintings; imports were augmented by locally produced wares, particularly furniture and silver. Craftspersons and their slaves produced this finery (McInnis and Mack 1999). This ascendancy of personal and collective wealth continued after the Revolution, peaking in the early 19th century (Rogers 1980:74; Green 1965).

Development of Drayton Hall *

In 1706, the Anglican-dominated colony was organized into parishes, which served both religious and government functions. Drayton Hall was located in St. Andrew's Parish, and the church building was located only a short distance away on Ashley River Road (Linder 2000). The Drayton Hall tract was first granted in 1676, but was forfeited (returned to the Lords Proprietors), and re-granted twice again, before it was acquired by Francis Yonge in 1718. Yonge kept the land about 15 years, and likely built the first house on the property (Espenshade and Roberts 1991:8). When the tract was offered for sale in 1734 after his death, a contemporary advertisement listed "296 acres all good land, with an indifferent Dwelling House and convenient Barn and other necessary out-Houses; and about 20 head of very good Cattle" (*South Carolina Gazette*, October 5, 1734; Espenshade and Roberts 1991). The property then changed hands twice more before John Greene sold a 350 acre tract to John Drayton in 1738. At this time, the property was advertised by Greene as having "a very good Dwelling-house, kitchen and several out houses, with a very good orchard, consisting of all sorts of fruit trees" (*South Carolina Gazette*, January 12, 1738). There is further suggestion in the advertisement that Greene was in residence on the land at the time of the sale (Espenshade and Roberts 1991:8; Stockton 1985:5). Archaeological evidence for a dwelling house that pre-dates the Drayton Hall mansion was recovered in the vicinity of the north flanker. There is also tentative evidence that this structure remained standing and in use after construction of Drayton Hall (Lewis, n.d.; Craig Hadley, personal communication 2003).

upland fields and without irrigation. Kovacik and Winberry (1987) report that it was later discovered that growing it under flood conditions improved yields considerably, and planters then reclaimed swamps such as those around Drayton Hall. African bondsmen cleared them of trees and stumps and built systems of dams, gates, ditches and canals to flood and drain fields at different times in the plant's growth cycle (Smith 2002; Agha 2004). Remnants of these banks and ditches still transect many lowcountry swamps, and a wooden trunk of this era has been investigated at Drayton Hall (Lewis 1996). Production of rice jumped from 8,000 barrels in 1715 to more than 40,000 by the 1730s. Inland swamp cultivation remained the major production technique through the colonial period, contributing to expanded settlement along the coast and the increased importation of slaves.

Indigo flourished on the high land where rice did not. But, like rice, it was a demanding crop, and fetid water was a characteristic. The plant needed little tending in the field. But processing indigo was more arduous than processing rice. When the leaves were harvested, slaves carried them to a series of great vats or tubs, where they fermented while laborers kept up a continuous pumping, stirring, and beating. The rotting indigo "emitted a putrid odor and attracted clouds of flies that only slaves could be forced to tolerate" (Berlin 1998:148). The leaves were later removed and the bluish liquid drained into a series of vats, where slaves beat the liquid with paddles. This was repeated several times before the liquid was set with lime at just the right moment, this evidently requiring great skill. After the sediment precipitated, the liquid was filtered and drawn off, leaving a blue mud. This was strained, dried, cut into blocks, and dried again for shipping. Berlin notes that the process was both "demanding and delicate, requiring brute strength, but also a fine hand, to create just the right texture, density, and brilliance of color" (Berlin 1998:148; see also Pinckney 1997).

Suzanne Linder further notes that the putrid waters of indigo processing also attracted mosquitoes. Malaria was a frequent and often fatal illness in South Carolina, and though the connection of this disease to the mosquito was unknown, indigo vats were always placed far away from homes. Linder further notes that a substantial investment was necessary for indigo production because of the vats. These were often of brick or wood, and well sealed. The technique of lining in-ground indigo vats with sand and pitch has been attributed to African slaves, and "they jealously guarded the secret so that the masters never discovered it. A slave who possessed this special skill was greatly valued" (Linder 1996:44). John Drayton's plantations across the Ashley, Ashley Wood and Jerico, were furnished with five sets of indigo vats and an array of indigo fields (Espenshade and Roberts 1991:19).

The third major agricultural development of the 18th century was the development of tidal rice cultivation. Richard Porcher (1985; Porcher and Fick 2005:298-299) has noted that the earliest mention of tidal cultivation is 1738, but it was another half century before the shift was complete. Tidal rice culture utilizes the tidal changes on rivers to irrigate and drain fields in floodplain swamps, though this technique can only be utilized in those parts of the river above the incursion of salt water. The swamps were diked and ditched, and the flow of water regulated by simple, yet ingenious, trunks. Although the shift to tidal culture demanded a considerable amount of labor, particularly in the reclamation of tidal swamplands, planters reaped large returns on their investments. From the mid-1760s to 1780 the population of enslaved African

Americans doubled from 52,000 to 100,000 (Kovacik and Winberry 1987:72-74). Planters utilized their older inland rice fields as well as new tidal ones. John Drayton's Ashley River lands, though, were unsuitable for tidal cultivation (Chaplin 1993:242).

John Drayton married four times and had seven children who survived infancy. His fourth wife, Rebecca Perry, was seventeen at the time she married 59-year-old Drayton. She bore him three children before his death in 1779, four years after their marriage. According to family tradition, he left the plantation to Rebecca, possibly to spite his sons for their Revolutionary-era politics, which had displeased him (Lewis n.d.). She, in turn, deeded Drayton Hall to Dr. Charles Drayton, Drayton's second son, in 1783 and moved back to Charleston, where she lived to be 80 years old, never remarrying.

At this time of transition, British forces briefly occupied Drayton Hall during their march on Charleston. In his move from James Island to Charleston Neck, Sir Henry Clinton determined to cross the Ashley River in an optimal location. Located 13 miles from Charleston, Drayton Hall was far enough from the main American position to avoid a surprise attack. Clinton moved his army overland, converging with reinforcements, while the navy's sailors traveled through Wappoo Cut and then up the Ashley to meet them (Borick 2003:96-105). John Peebles of the Royal Engineers detailed the march to Drayton Hall in March 1780, and described Drayton Hall as "One of the best houses I have seen in America, with handsome improvements" and said of John Drayton that "he was a great rebel and is lately dead & left his fourth wife a widow who lives in the house with her children. The old rascal was very rich, had 10 plantations & about 1,000 Negroes" (Abstract on file Drayton Hall, quoted in Espenshade and Roberts 1991:21). The majority of the army stayed only one night at Drayton Hall, and crossed over to the other side of the Ashley (Borick 2003:102-104). A few regiments stayed much longer to secure communications; they were evidently encamped long enough to engender criticism from Charles Drayton for treatment of the plantation.

Post-Revolutionary Prosperity

In the lowcountry, as in much of the South, slavery became synonymous with labor. The dependence upon slave labor proved detrimental to the technological and industrial development of South Carolina. In a situation where labor-intensive methods were often preferred, there was a distinct disincentive to modernize the agricultural sector. Industry suffered the same handicap, with the result that the South in general lagged significantly behind other areas in manufacturing and agricultural innovation and results. The development of Charleston as an export center for raw materials - and as a social center - had created a stable urban economy, but offered few opportunities for expansion.

By the early 19th century, prime rice lands had become so expensive that the investment in land and slaves necessary to begin a successful plantation was almost prohibitive; most successful rice planters had 'old money'. The shift to tidal rice production was principally an innovation of the elite, as only those already in the planter class could afford this expansion. The concentration of land in the hands of a few was matched by a concentration of human property

(Chaplin 1993:234-239; see also Rogers 1990; Clifton 1978; Foner 1983; Kovacik and Winberry 1987; Dusinberre 1996; Rosengarten 1986). Two-thirds of the valued property owned by planters was human (Edgar 1998:285). Edgar suggests that, despite the continued wealth of many, there were signs that the state's economic health was "illusory" (Edgar 1998:284). As a center of this economy, Charleston steadily lost ground to other southern cities (Edgar 1998:287).

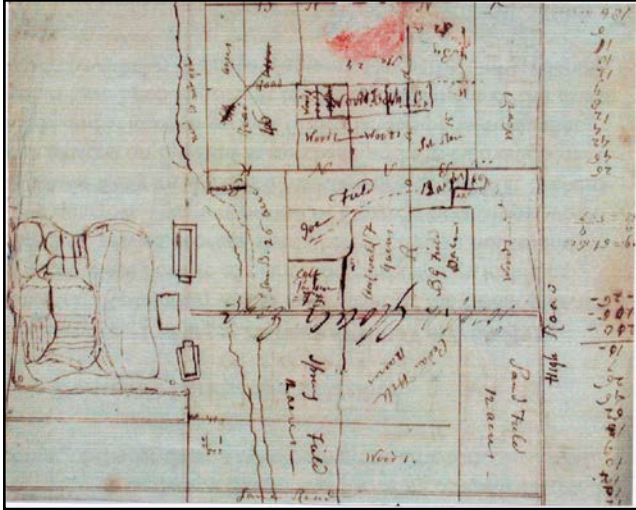
In the early 19th century, cotton replaced indigo as a crop suitable to high ground along the coastal plain, and planters reaped large profits similar to those derived from tidal rice. The first post-revolutionary cotton exported from Charleston to Liverpool arrived in 1785. In the 1780s Kinsey Burden of St. Paul's Parish began to experiment with Sea Island cotton as a profitable staple (Edgar 1998:270; Porcher and Fick 2005). Experimentation with seeds eventually resulted in the green seed (short staple) and the black seed (long staple or Sea Island) types suitable to Carolina. By 1798, Sea Island cotton was established on the islands, and short fiber cotton flourished in the middle of the state. The development of the cotton gin to remove seeds made the labor required to produce the crop manageable. The successful utilization of the cotton gin resulted in twenty years of post-war prosperity for Charleston.

The boom years of cotton from 1795 to 1819 did not last. The national depression that began in 1819 brought the commercial expansion of Charleston to a halt. Few merchants survived the 1820s (Greb 1978:18, 27; Rosengarten 1986:85). Although the economy soon stabilized, the city had begun a steady economic decline. Cotton planters and the business community of Charleston discovered that dependence on cotton and its international market made the local economy vulnerable to fluctuations over which they had no control (Rosengarten 1986:85-86). They later faced debilitating competition from newer cotton-producing areas in the American southwest (Calhoun 1986).

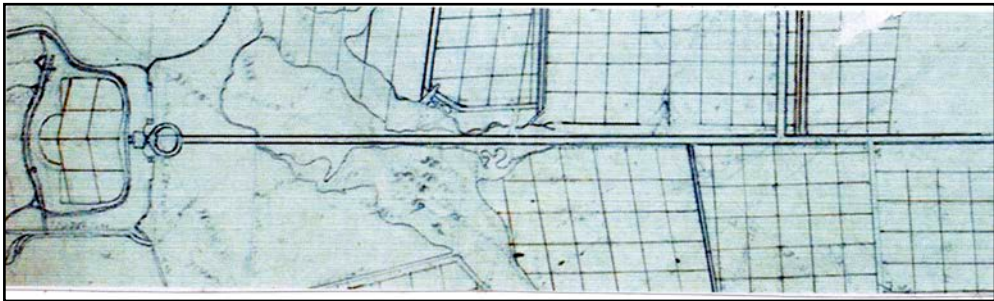
The prosperity of Charleston and the lowcountry was waning in the second quarter of the 19th century, as other ports such as New Orleans and New York usurped the position of Charleston. The expanding railroad system during these years largely bypassed the city. Moreover, City leaders stopped the rail lines at the city limit, leaving an expensive gap between the wharves and the rail terminal; this arose largely because of prohibitions on steam engines in the city and competition among wharf owners and porters (Rosengarten et al. 1987). But it was the Civil War and the aftermath that caused the economic demise of the lowcountry plantation system. Cotton prices rebounded after the onset of the war, but the Union blockade meant that crops could not reach European markets (Rosengarten 1986:86).

Sharing in the post-Revolutionary prosperity was Dr. Charles Drayton, the second owner of Drayton Hall. He assumed control of the property and took up residence in January 1784. His tenure is the best known, for he kept a detailed diary that describes construction of buildings and landscape elements. In particular, Charles Drayton was an avid horticulturalist, and a companion of noted French botanist Andre Michaux. According to Espenshade and Roberts, Charles Drayton built the bowling green near the house in 1785 and the serpentine ditches in the garden in 1799. He repaired and modified many outbuildings, and built a new barn and slave quarters. (The latter evidently replaced the colonial village in the locus 22 area, and were

constructed on the ridge beyond the reserve pond.) Charles evidently continued the family practice of using Drayton Hall as a management center for plantation business. The family holdings by this point included many plantations, both in the immediate area and as far removed as Georgia and Kentucky (Lewis n.d.). Charles traveled frequently to supervise production at the various tracts, and the crops were shipped to Charleston where the family’s agent sold and shipped them.



11: Charles Drayton’s 1796 sketch of the landscape, showing fields and gardens (courtesy Drayton Hall and van Valkenburgh 2003:16).



The number of enslaved African American people on Drayton Hall likewise increased during Dr. Charles Drayton’s tenure, from 41 in 1790 to 172 in 1800 and 181 in 1810. The next available census figures date to 1860, when 44 slaves are listed. This increase may reflect the experimentation with cotton on the plantation (Espenshade and Roberts 1991:30). Drayton’s participation in cotton production is reflected in detailed descriptions of cotton gins in his diary (Porcher and Fick 2005:198-202; Lewis n.d.).

Lewis (1985:124) notes that there are several references in Charles Drayton’s diaries to growing cotton as a cash crop until the Civil War. Edgar states that “the first cotton boom of 1794 to 1819 enriched almost all who planted cotton” (Edgar 1998:271). The development of long staple Sea Island cotton and the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 by Eli Whitney had major impacts on the state’s economy. Cotton could be grown on lands not suited to rice. South Carolina’s economy became more and more irrevocably tied to the fortunes of staple crops, particularly cotton (Porcher and Fick 2005; Rosengarten 1986).

Charles Drayton's diary details construction of or repair to many service buildings, almost all of them vanished. The number and variety of buildings supports the suggestion that Drayton Hall was a working plantation during this time. The diary contains references to the following structures (in order of appearance): dove cote, potato cellar, two offices, magazine, loom house, poultry house, garden barn, a "reveratory furnace for burning shells to lime", brick kiln, cotton barn, cotton gin house, boathouse, a "new range of Negro houses", barn, rice mill and lodge, stables, wash house, mill, and a pigeon house. Some of these were likely located in the locus 22 area.

The most pertinent document produced by Charles Drayton is his hand-drawn survey of 1796, showing Drayton Hall and its landscape setting, surrounded by the larger natural and agricultural context. Landscape planner Michael van Valkenburgh notes that the document is particularly significant for landscape reconstruction, as it includes both field layout and the outline of the ornamental garden (2003:15). The plan shows the main house and flanker buildings, fronted by a shield-shaped symmetrical layout, centered on the axis of the house and the entry road from the land side. The entry road terminates in a circular drive (replaced with the mound in the early 20th century). The shield-shaped garden on the water side is separated from the river by a curved line, presumably the ha-ha still extant in the landscape. The layout has been described as a *ferme ornee*. Between the ha-ha and the river is a smaller area, with an asymmetrical, more naturalistic, pattern. This latter area includes the 1747 orangerie and a network of serpentine paths. Van Valkenburgh suggests that the plan reflects a carefully designed and highly sophisticated landscape. Numerous diary entries indicate that Drayton was constantly updating his garden (van Valkenburgh 2003:16-17; Lewis n.d.). The 1840s sketchbook of Lewis Reeves Gibbes, a Professor of Mathematics at the College of Charleston and cousin to Charles Drayton, provides antebellum views of the house, outbuildings, and roadway, including locus 22.



12: Gibbes' 1840 sketch of the rear portico of Drayton Hall, showing the entry road and locus 22

The rectangular fields shown outside the formal landscape in Drayton's plan were used for a variety of crops. Drayton recorded corn, rice, rye, wheat, buckwheat, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, peas, Dutch and French beans, lettuce, cabbage, spinach, radishes, parsley, cucumbers, tomatoes, squash, cauliflower, asparagus, chili peppers, strawberries, nectarines, peaches, and oranges (Charles Drayton diary in Espenshade and Roberts 1991:29).

Charles Drayton died in 1820, and left Drayton Hall to his son Charles Drayton. The younger Charles Drayton increased the family's holdings by purchasing additional plantation lands. He died intestate in 1844, and the property passed to his widow, Mary Middleton Schoolbred Drayton, and his sons James S. Drayton, Dr. Charles Drayton, Thomas M. Drayton, and John Drayton. The latter two sons eventually acquired controlling interest, and they retained the property through the Civil War.

The Civil War and its Aftermath

For several months following the firing on Fort Sumter, soldiers freshly mustered into Confederate camps around the city found it hard to realize that war was upon them. The lighthearted mood did not last. After the fall of Port Royal and Beaufort in November 1861, refugees from coastal islands crowded into Charleston. The city was blockaded and placed under siege, and repeated bombardments threatened the southern end of the peninsula. Charlestonians moved to the upper wards, above John Street, or to the piedmont or mountains. Although the impact of the great fire of 1861 was more physically damaging than the bombardment, the impact of the War on the city and the surrounding lowcountry was nonetheless profound.

Despite the incessant shelling, Charleston withstood Union invasion until February 1865. With the War lost and General Sherman's troops believed to be heading for Charleston, General Beauregard ordered evacuation of the city. Horror and despair marked the evacuation, but it was cries of jubilation from the freedmen and immigrants remaining that greeted the Union troops arriving on the peninsula (Burton 1970).

Though Charleston was spared the ravages perpetrated on Atlanta, Columbia, and other southern cities, the physical effects of the war were visible across the lowcountry. The Drayton Hall house was one of the few Ashley River plantations spared the torch by Union officers; there are conflicting stories about the reason for its survival. The most persistent is that Dr. Drayton erected a quarantine sign, suggesting that the house was being used as a smallpox hospital.

On September 22, 1862 President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. All slaves in the parts of the south still in rebellion were "thenceforward and forever free." In 1865 Federal troops took control of South Carolina and enforced the declaration of freedom for all African Americans still in bondage (Williamson 1965).

The South's defeat in the Civil War created a new order of things. Former male slaves

became citizens and voters; they joined freedwomen as taxpayers, and could make their own decisions about where to live and work. While Reconstruction was revolutionary in extending political rights, it did not radically alter economic stratification. The occupations of freedmen and women followed the precedents set in slavery. In the country, most blacks earned their living as agricultural laborers; in the cities, the most were domestic workers - butlers, valets, coachmen, gardeners, handy men, housemaids, cooks, laundresses, nurses, and serving girls. The gift of land and farm equipment expected from the Union government did not materialize, as most white planters were able to eventually reclaim their lands by swearing allegiance to the Union.

One impact of emancipation was to give Charleston a black majority once again, through in-migration of rural freedmen. Contrary to the hysteria of many white planters, the motives of the black migration were deliberate and purposeful. Especially on very large plantations, workers tended to stay where they were until after harvest, so the massive movement of people didn't begin until the fall of 1865. Many people who came to Charleston were looking for work or lost family members, or returning to the city from wherever their masters had taken them for safekeeping (Williamson 1965).

The emancipation of the enslaved laborers spelled the end of profitable rice production in South Carolina. Planters returned to their cotton and rice plantations with contracted labor from the freedmen, but were unable to realize the prewar returns. The rice plantations were particularly damaged by neglect during the war years. The freedmen were forced by economic circumstance to work for low wages, but they refused to do the most dangerous and miserable tasks - the maintenance and digging of ditches and banks, which involved winter work in cold water. The lowcountry was still producing a significant portion of the nation's rice crop in the 1880s, but not so by the next decade. A mechanized system of rice production was successful in Arkansas and Louisiana, but the system did not work in the lowcountry. A series of severe hurricanes was the last blow. These destroyed the already fragile rice dikes up and down the coast. Hurricanes struck between Savannah and North Carolina in 1893, 1894, 1898, 1906, 1910 and 1911. The 1893 storm alone killed over 1,000 people (Edgar 1998). The last Santee River plantation to produce rice was David Doar's Harietta, in 1908 (Doar 1970).

Post-War Changes

The Civil War proved to be devastating to the owners of Drayton Hall, both financially and psychologically. Though a medical doctor, Dr. John Drayton considered himself a planter as well, and much dependent on income from his plantations. The loss of slave labor forced a new economic order, and John Drayton considered razing the house for the sale of the bricks (Galbraith 1984). But the discovery of phosphate deposits on the west bank of the Ashley River, and the utility of this soft rock for fertilizer, provided a brief, but important financial recovery for the Drayton family and many plantation owners throughout the lowcountry. Dr. John Drayton and his nephew Charles Drayton leased out the rights to mine phosphate at Drayton Hall as early as 1866. These activities continued through the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Phosphate rock, composed of fossil animal remains, lime, silica, fluorine, and carbonaceous material, could be mixed with nitrogen and potash to make fertilizer. The rock can still be gathered along the Ashley River at low tide. If the deposits were at a depth of three feet or less, it could be mined by hand. If deeper, a steam shovel was brought in to remove overburden. After excavation, the phosphate was washed to remove mud, then conveyed to a wharf or shed to await shipment. Narrow gauge railroads were often built to move the rock (Shick and Doyle 1985; Kovacik and Winberry 1987:116). Portions of Drayton Hall were mined by hand, others by machine. The leases for Drayton Hall land stipulated that the lessee could cut timber as necessary, for both the mining operations and for fuel for employees. But they were not to disturb or injure any of the “ornamental or shade trees, nor disturb the garden or the yard. They were also forbidden to cut any trees within 100 yards of the riverbank” (Espenshade and Roberts 1991:47).

The phosphate mining operations had a major impact on the Drayton Hall landscape and the Drayton Hall archaeological record. Much of the tract west of Ashley River Road was strip mined, and the area south of the house was mined by hand. Additional facilities were constructed, including washing sheds, railroads, boilers, and a shipping complex. The slave cabins were re-occupied as a barracks for convict laborers. At least 9 freedman houses were built during the 1870s-1880s. Many of the freed people remained on the property after the Civil War, and worked in the phosphate operations. Mr. Richmond Bowens recalls his father working in the phosphate operation, while his mother worked as a house servant for Miss Charlotta Drayton.

The lowcountry phosphate industry lost ground in the 1890s when a higher grade was discovered in north Florida (Espenshade and Roberts 1991:40; Schick and Doyle 1985). The economic relief provided by the phosphate industry was only temporary, and the improving economy touted in Charleston’s 1883 yearbook did not last (Waddell and Mazyck 1983). The widespread poverty of Charleston and the lowcountry into the 20th century inadvertently resulted in preservation of much of the city’s historic buildings, and of important rural structures such as Drayton Hall.



Income from phosphate allowed the Drayton Hall house to survive, though the flankers and the orangerie were destroyed by a series of natural disasters in the late 19th century (the 1886 earthquake and a series of hurricanes between 1893 and 1911). Many of the freedmen and their families remained in residence on the property, working in a more diverse, if financially limiting, economy. The depression of the 1930s meant hard times for both the tenants and the Drayton family. The younger Charles Drayton died in 1915, leaving the property to his wife and children. Controlling interest eventually lay in daughter Charlotta, who enjoyed the place as a weekend and summer retreat, living in the house without the ‘modern conveniences’ - heating, plumbing, and electricity. Charlotta Drayton died in 1969, leaving the property to her two nephews, Charles Henry Drayton III and Francis Drayton. Realizing the financial burden of maintaining the property, the brothers sold Drayton Hall to the National Trust for Historic Preserv

13: 1886 view of Drayton Hall on entrance axis; locus 22 is on the left side, enclosed by fencing



14: G.L. Cook photo of Drayton Hall, with flanker buildings and circular drive; before 1886 (courtesy, Drayton Hall)

* Historical occupation of the property is summarized below to provide a setting for the archaeological projects conducted in 2003. The summary above is neither exhaustive nor original, and is summarized from previous studies by Lewis (1978), Espenshade and Roberts (1991) and the web site maintained by Drayton Hall (www.draytonhall.org/about).

Chapter III Fieldwork

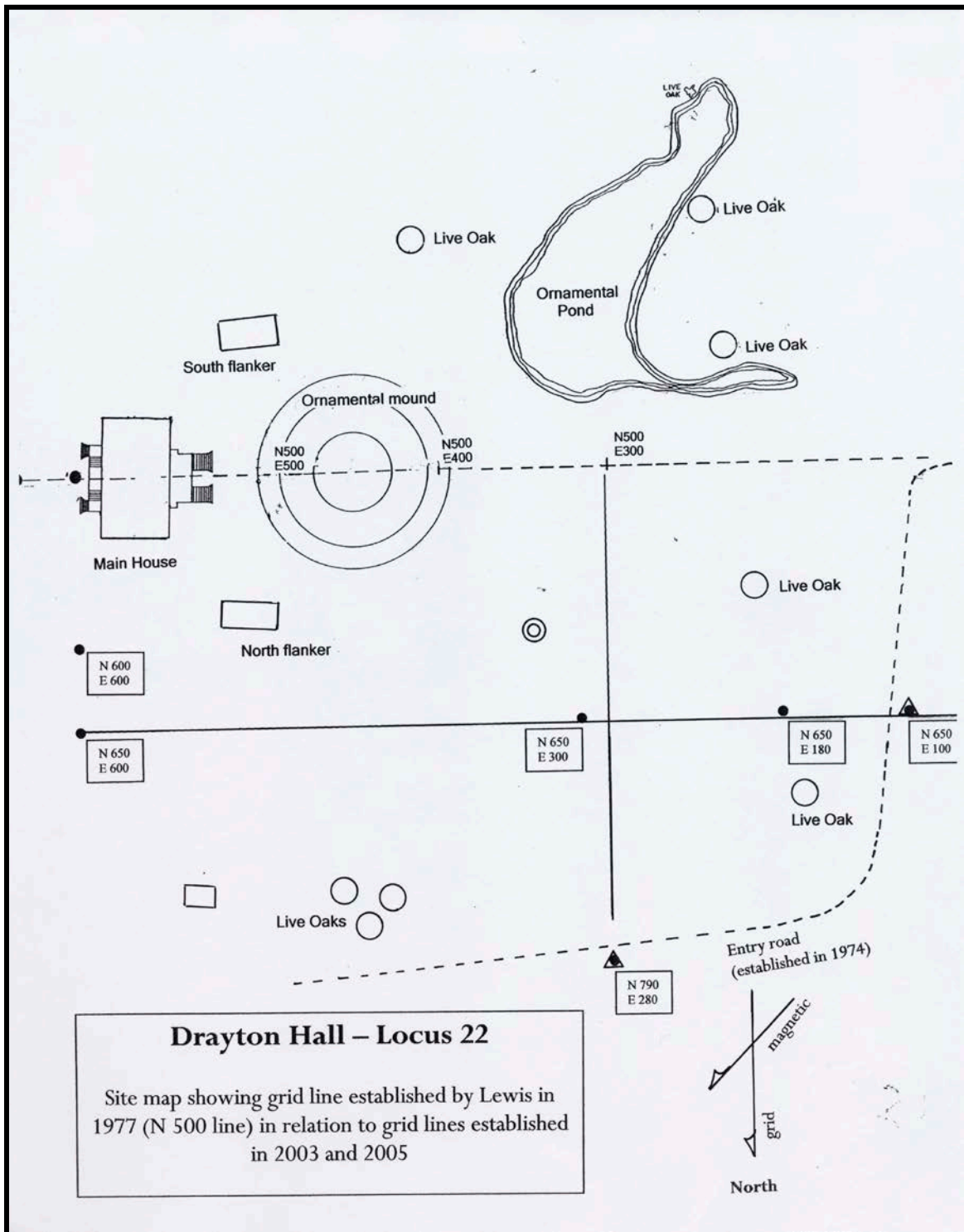
General Fieldwork Methods

The fieldwork was directed by Charleston Museum archaeologists Martha Zierden and Ronald Anthony and conducted by College of Charleston students enrolled in ANTH 493, Archaeological Field School. Fourteen students were officially enrolled in the course, while three additional students volunteered full-time, or enrolled in internship credit hours. The 8-credit-hour course included lecture, assignments, and laboratory exercises, directed by Dr. Barbara Borg, anthropology professor at the College of Charleston. All field equipment used during the current project was provided by The Charleston Museum and the College of Charleston. This equipment was transported to Drayton Hall on the first day of the project and stored in the shelter used for educational programs. This location was utilized for laboratory work, lecture, and lunch breaks, as well.

Fieldwork in 2003 began with replacement of the grid established by Trust senior archaeologists Lynne Lewis in 1975. This grid was referenced to the United States Coastal and Geodetic Survey triangulation monument (Drayton #1) located on the bank of the Ashley River, roughly centered on the allee from the main house. The monument was covered with sand when fieldwork commenced in 2003, and was relocated by John Kidder. Lewis (1978:8, 14) reports that the grid north is 43 degrees, 7 minutes west of north. The principal base line (east-west) line runs straight through the basement of the house from the Drayton #1 marker. The base point for Lewis' grid, though, is located on the western side of the entry drive. Beginning the grid from the Drayton #1 marker meant working 'backwards' in terms of grid coordinates. Based on placement of a grid mark west of the entry road and careful inspection of Lewis' field map reproduced in the 1978 report (p.16-17), the bench mark received the coordinate N500E1235.

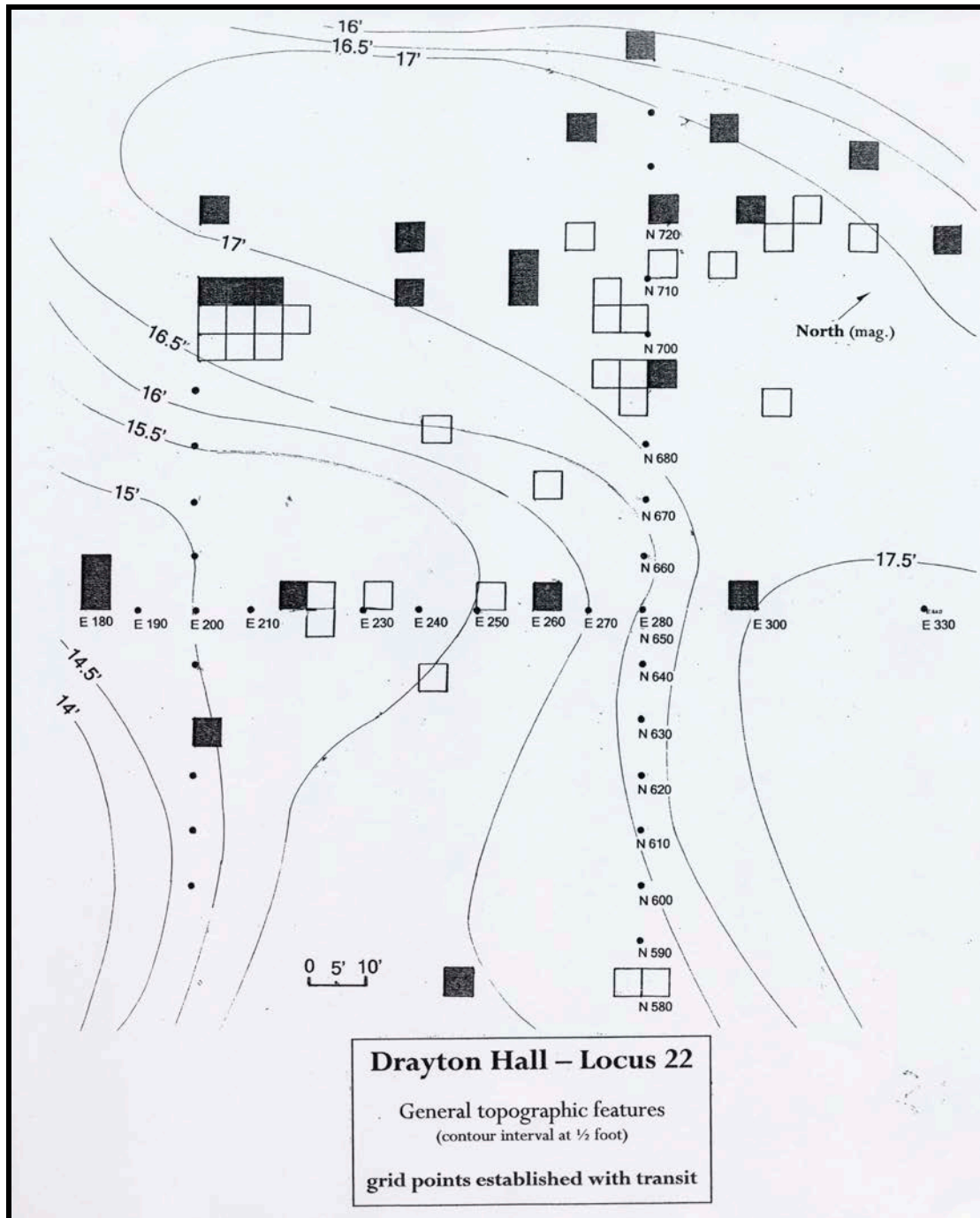
Grid points were then established west of the U.S.G.S. marker at 20 to 50 foot intervals to, and around, the main house, to N 650E600. From here, grid markers were placed at 100' intervals to the west yard (locus 22) to N650 E300. At this point, pins were located at 20 foot intervals to the edge of the entry road, at N650E E2160). This baseline was used to establish a working Chicago grid in locus 22. Permanent points were established across the entry road at N650E100 (the western edge of the locus) and at N790E280 (the northern edge of the locus). These points were marked with 3' sections of iron rebar within a sleeve of white pvc piping. At the conclusion of fieldwork in 2003, all other above-ground grid markers in the front lawn were removed.

As these grid points remained undisturbed, they were used to re-establish the grid in 2005. Transit and tapes were used to lay grid points at 20' intervals across the locus 22 lawn, working east from the N650 E100 point and south from the N790 E280 point. Alignment of these two grid points with tapes, and location of remaining 2003 grid nails, indicate that the 2003 grid in this vicinity is 41.5 degrees west of magnetic north, rather than the 43 degrees reported by Lewis. This current alignment agrees with the 2003 unit



locations, though. These points, and the outlines of the 2003 units, are still visible on the ground, and so the two systems are internally consistent. This was essential for excavation of contiguous units during the present project. The degree of error, if any, between the Museum grid and the original Lewis grid remains unknown.

A base line was established to the location of the N650 E600 point, adjacent to the privy. (This point was also used for vertical control). North-south lines were established along the east 180 line and the east 280 line, to both the north and south. The grid points were placed at 20' intervals across the site, and at 10' intervals in the areas to be tested. These grid lines were used to triangulate all subsequent excavation units.



Vertical control was maintained with the transit, and elevations were taken at the top and bottom of defined proveniences. A temporary datum point was established at

grid point N650 E600. This back sight was used for all elevations, and all measurements were taken relative to this point. During the course of the fieldwork, this was tied to the USGS marker at the riverfront, and to the steps of the main house. The absolute elevation of N650 E600 is 17.51' msl (Drayton Hall #1: elevation 10.96' above mean sea level (MSL)) at mean low water.

All excavations were conducted by hand using shovels and trowels. Excavations followed natural zones, and deeper zone deposits were subdivided into arbitrary levels. Where appropriate, deposits of fill inside large features were designated as zones within features. Munsell Soil Color Charts were used to standardize soil color description for each provenience. Soils were screened beside each of the 5' units, using a rolling hand-sifter or stationary screen. Most materials were dry-screened through ¼ inch mesh until soil moisture hampered visibility. At this point, the remaining materials were water-screened and sorted.

Sorting in the field included separation of architectural rubble and phosphate nodules from the other cultural materials (by prior agreement with Drayton Hall and Trust archaeologist Lewis). Brick and mortar were weighed by provenience and then discarded, and the weights recorded. Phosphate and other natural concretions were separated and discarded. Selected samples of architectural materials were retained, as were all diagnostic examples.

Environmental analyses are considered integral to archaeological research, even if funds are not available for immediate study. To this end, all bone was carefully collected from each excavated provenience. One-quart to one-gallon soil samples were collected from representative proveniences and all features.

Record keeping entailed narrative notes and completion of a variety of forms on a daily basis. Planview and profile maps were made for each unit, as appropriate. Munsell Color Charts were used to identify soil colors and stratigraphic changes. Photographs were taken in black and white (T-max 100) and color slide (Kodachrome 200 for warm tones and archival stability). Digital photography (Pentax Optio, 3.34mp) was used extensively for publication and presentation purposes.

Materials from each designated provenience were bagged and tagged separately. A field specimen number (FS#) was assigned to each in ordinal fashion. Field specimen numbers for the 2005 project resumed from the list initiated in 2003; the first FS# assigned in 2005 was 129, and assigned numbers continued through #320; thus 191 discrete proveniences were defined in 2005, building on 128 defined in 2003. Likewise, feature designation in ordinal fashion continued from the 2003 project; the first feature encountered in 2005 was designated feature 43; fifty new features were recorded in 2005. Twenty-nine new units were excavated in 2005, for a total of 52 5x5' units excavated in locus 22.

Fieldwork

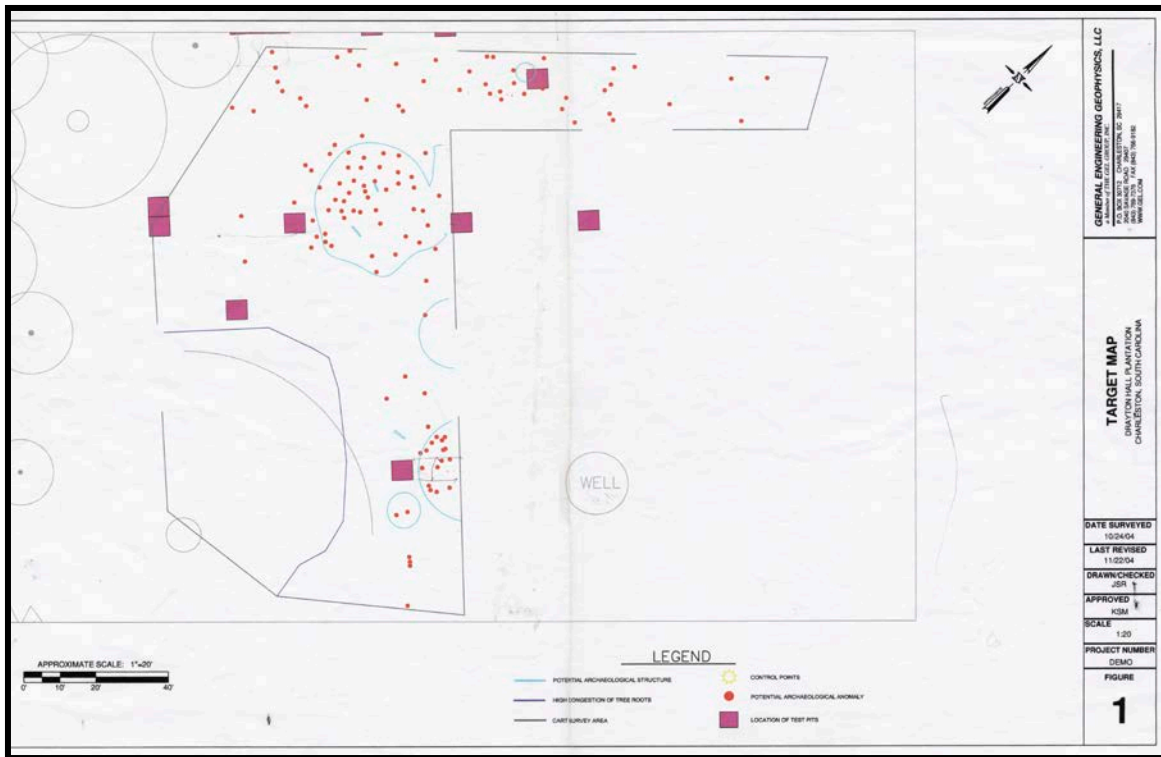
The 29 units excavated during the 2005 season were located on the basis of previous research. Units were excavated in areas that displayed anomalies in the remote sensing results. Units were also placed adjacent to previous excavations to expand visibility of features or groups of features identified in 2003. As significant features were located, additional units were placed to expand these findings. Finally, units were located to provide even horizontal exploration, and to test areas not previously explored. A detailed description of the units excavated in 2003, and features encountered during that project may be found in Zierden and Anthony 2004. These units and features will be referenced in the present text, where pertinent.

The units revealed the same soil deposits encountered in 2003. Overall, the units exhibited a homogeneous stratigraphy and artifact assemblage. Zone 1 was defined as a dark gray-brown humic layer beneath the lawn. Zone 2 was a dark yellowish-brown soil (10yr4/4), averaging .6' in depth. As noted in 2003, there was horizontal variation in artifact density; artifacts were more numerous in units located in the northeastern portion of the test area. Moreover, this artifact density varied positively with the presence of a noticeably darker zone 2 (10yr3/2, very dark grayish-brown). Sterile subsoil followed zone 2 in most units, with the exception of those in the central depression.

The ground penetrating radar survey conducted by General Engineering Geophysics revealed one small and two large concentrations of anomalies. The first set of test units were located to test the largest, suggested as a roughly circular area. This location is visible on the ground surface as a large depression. Two units were excavated on either side of this depression in 2003; N650E215 and N650E260. Unit N650E260 was particularly noteworthy, in that it was located within this depressed area, and the stratigraphy suggested that the relief was likely more pronounced in the colonial period. The unit was 3.0' deep and was excavated in four zones; the lower deposits were a gray loamy soil. Artifact density was higher in this unit, suggesting deliberate refuse disposal in a low area.

The strong signature provided by the ground penetrating radar revealed that the anomaly might be more substantial than suggested by the two units excavated in 2003. The radar image of this feature appeared to contain numerous objects, or artifacts, and to exhibit definite edges. This supported the hypothesis that the depression was a large refuse-filled pit. To explore this, several units were triangulated along the N650 grid line, bisecting the possible feature.

Units N650E230 and N650E250 revealed deposits identical to those encountered in 2003. Both units were deep, and brown sand defined as zone 2 was followed by two additional zone deposits. The upper was a brown-gray loam (10yr3/2), followed by a grayer soil (10yr3/1). Both of these zones, however, were excavated as feature 46. Artifact concentrations were higher in feature 46 than elsewhere on site, particularly in the upper level.



Feature 46 was identified in several units: N650E230 and N650E250 were coterminous with the expected edges of the deposit. The western edge was identified in N650E220 and N645E220. Similar deposits were also present in N635E240, a unit placed to intersect the southern edge of the anomaly. Here the edges and bottom were less well-defined, and so the gray soils here were designated feature 49. Upon further analysis, however, feature 49 appears to be part of the same depositional sequence as feature 46.

Deeper grayish soil was also encountered in N670E260, sloping to the south and outside the relatively well-defined circle revealed by the ground-penetrating radar. The unit does, however, fall within an L-shaped extension of the interpreted feature, located at the northwest quadrant of the circular pit. The dark mottled soil identified beneath zone 2 in this unit sloped to the south, consistent with the outline proposed by the remote sensing. These deposits were designated feature 47.

Based on the current field data, the large feature indicated by the remote sensing appears to be a natural depression or wetland, gradually filled with soil and debris. The dark gray color of the loamy soil is consistent with marsh or filled wetlands noted on other lowcountry historic sites. The feature lacked the well-defined edges and mixed soils typical



18: Feature 46 is visible in the base of N650 E250 as dark gray loam.

of deliberately-excavated pits. Only a moderate amount of lensing, indicative of an open pit, was present. An irregular shape and somewhat uneven basal level is suggested by the various features defined in the six units described above. The top and bottom elevations, as well as the horizontal locations, are in agreement with the data generated by the remote sensing, enough to assure that the archaeology and the remote sensing were investigating the same deposit. It should be noted, however, that the radar signature suggested a well-defined edge to the feature, and this was not encountered in the units excavated. Likewise, Kate McKinley of General Engineering Geophysics suggests that the northern half of the feature may contain a greater concentration of materials. The feature, therefore, may warrant additional investigation. While artifact density was higher than the surrounding area, the materials were not large enough, or dense enough, to support a deliberately filled, or reused, pit. Taken together, the data currently available suggest a natural lowlying area used informally for refuse disposal.

A second, somewhat smaller feature suggested by a concentration of anomalies was located farther south, in the vicinity of the N580 line. A single unit was excavated west of this concentration in 2003; N580E245 exhibited shallow stratigraphy, few artifacts, and no subsurface features. Unit N580E275 was located within the proposed feature. Excavations immediately revealed a concentration of brick rubble, but one exhibiting no particular pattern. A second, adjacent unit was excavated later in the field season at N580E280. Together, the two units revealed a substantial scatter of brick rubble. Designated feature 91, excavation proceeded only to the top of the brick, and the rubble was left in place. No intact brick foundations were encountered, but the linear arrangement of the rubble suggests a demolished building. The zone 2 soil above and around the brick contained a concentration of nails and window glass, and fragments of finish-coat plaster were recovered from the rubble. Field data suggests that feature 91 may represent a relatively substantial building.



19: N580 E275/E280, facing west. Feature 91 is a linear concentration of brick rubble, trending southeast to northwest.



A very small feature, as suggested by a few radar anomalies, proved to be the most interesting of the project. Ground penetrating radar detected a concentration of material just west of a 2003 unit at N690E280. An adjoining unit was excavated at N690E275, and this revealed a narrow band of brick and mortar rubble. Designated feature 45, the feature contained sections of intact brick foundation and areas of brick and mortar rubble. Two additional units were excavated here, to trace the feature. N690E275 and N685E275 confirmed that the feature was linear, though much of it was rubble that suggested robbing or demolition. The small intact section suggested a modest foundation, two bricks or .7' in width. An intact builder's trench, designated feature 71,

was present on the west side of this intact brick. Artifacts contained within the rubble suggested a late 18th- to early 19th-century date of demolition. Based on this evidence, and the presumption that the line of rubble represented a substantial colonial structure, several units were placed to intersect the feature and better define the structure.

20: Views of feature 45. Above, the total length of the west wall, as revealed in several excavation units. Right, close-up of N700 E275, showing intact section of wall.



A second group of three units, N700E275, N700E270, and N705E270 further defined the north/south wall, all designated feature 45. The northernmost of these, N705E275, revealed the likely location for the northwest corner of the structure, though the foundation was in deteriorated condition at this point. Likewise, the linear feature ends abruptly in unit N685E275. Evidence from other units suggests this is the location of the southwest corner, but no intact corner was visible. The majority of the wall was rubble, suggesting that most of the foundation was robbed for the brick. Again, artifacts contained within the rubble dated to the late 18th century.

A series of units traced the northern wall of the structure. Evidence of the north wall, designated feature 54, was present in units N710E280, N710E290, and N715E300. These units varied from those discussed previously in that they contained the darker midden soil discovered during the 2003 season. Likewise, the physical characteristics of feature 54 were somewhat different than those of feature 45; the foundation here consisted entirely of fragmentary, unconsolidated brick and mortar rubble. The feature contained a higher proportion of mortar to brick, and the edges of the linear deposit were less well-defined. The top of the rubble deposit was preceded by a zone 2 that contained a concentration of crushed oyster shell in the dark zone 2 matrix.

At this point it was apparent that the units excavated had revealed portions of two walls to a sizeable structure, one that featured a modest but continuous brick foundation.



Within the limited time frame, units were placed to intersect additional walls or corners, to determine the dimensions of the building, and thus define its function. A single unit placed south and east of the exposed walls proved to be fortuitous; unit N685E300 revealed a linear feature in the northern portion of the unit, one whose orientation and physical properties suggested that it was associated with features 45/54, and a portion of the south wall. Like the north wall, this feature consisted of fragmented brick and mortar in a linear pattern. It was therefore designated feature 54. This discovery suggests that the building was roughly 22 to 25 feet wide, and that the southeast corner should have been in the southern portion of N585E275.

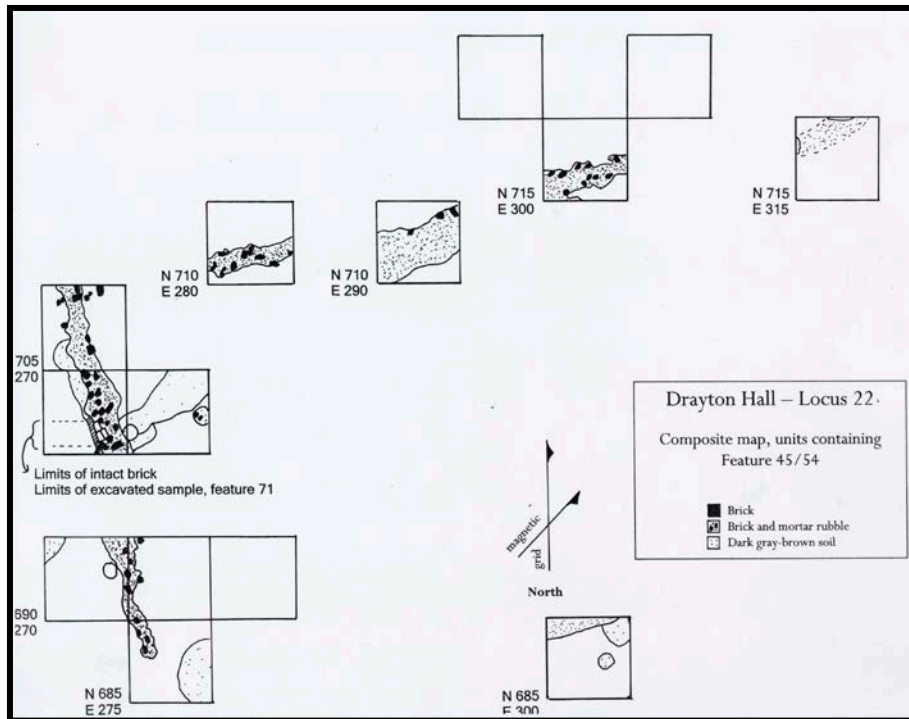
21: Feature 54 exposed in units N710E280, 710E290, and N715E315 facing east

Guided again by the discovered walls and the subtle elevation differences in the lawn, unit N715E315 was located to intersect the northeast corner of the structure. Again, the zone 2 soils were dark, and marked by a concentration of fragmented oyster shell. Though brick and mortar rubble was present in the unit, in a roughly east-west pattern, no walls were definable. The general configuration of the rubble concentration suggests that the northeast corner was contained in this unit, but the evidence is tenuous. This would make the building roughly 44' long. The long axis faces the main house.

Additional units were excavated that 'missed' the foundation. Though architectural features were not encountered here, the units were nonetheless informative. Unit 720E305 was excavated prior to those containing feature 54. The excavations



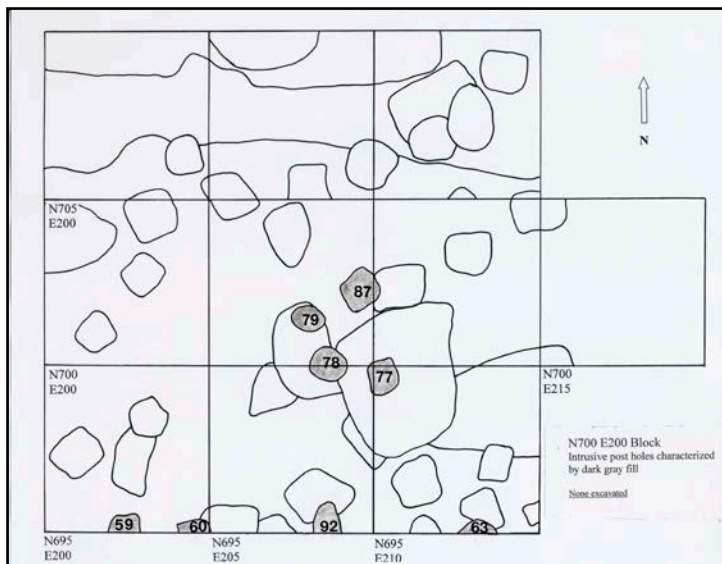
architectural features were identified, the zone deposits were marked by an increase in artifacts of all types, but particularly nails and other architectural debris. This was noted in adjoining units in 2003 (N720E280 and N720E295). Unit N715E265 was excavated in the search for a northwest corner for feature 45/54. This proved to be outside the structure, and contained only a single small post stain. This unit was also relatively shallow, but the zone 2 deposits were moderately dark (transitional between the brown soil of the majority of the site and the dark midden in the northeastern area). Unit N680E240 was located in an area of the site centered between the located structures, and



area previously untested. This unit was relatively shallow and contained no features and relatively little cultural material.

Much of the time and energy of the 2005 season was concentrated in the northwest corner of the locus, expanding a 3-unit block excavated in 2003. Units N705E200, N705E205, and N705E210 revealed a shallow ditch and a series of posts, tentatively interpreted as structural. The discovery of architectural remains in this area was relatively surprising, as overall artifact density was fairly low. Faunal remains and architectural remains were, however, somewhat more common. As most of the post stains were located in the southern portion of the 2003 units, work in 2005 began with the excavation of three adjoining units to the south: N700E200, N700E205 and N700E210. These units revealed additional posts, and a complex of features. Eventually four more units were excavated: N700E215, N695E200, N695E205, and N695E210. This created a 10-unit block measuring 15' by 15'. Contained within this block were 38 defined features. The majority consisted of post mold/post hole stains, from at least two different episodes. Centered in these was a large pit filled with charcoal, ash, and fire-hardened clay.

Forty-three soil stains were mapped in the 10-unit block, and 38 received feature designations. The majority of the stains appeared to be posts, and these appear to

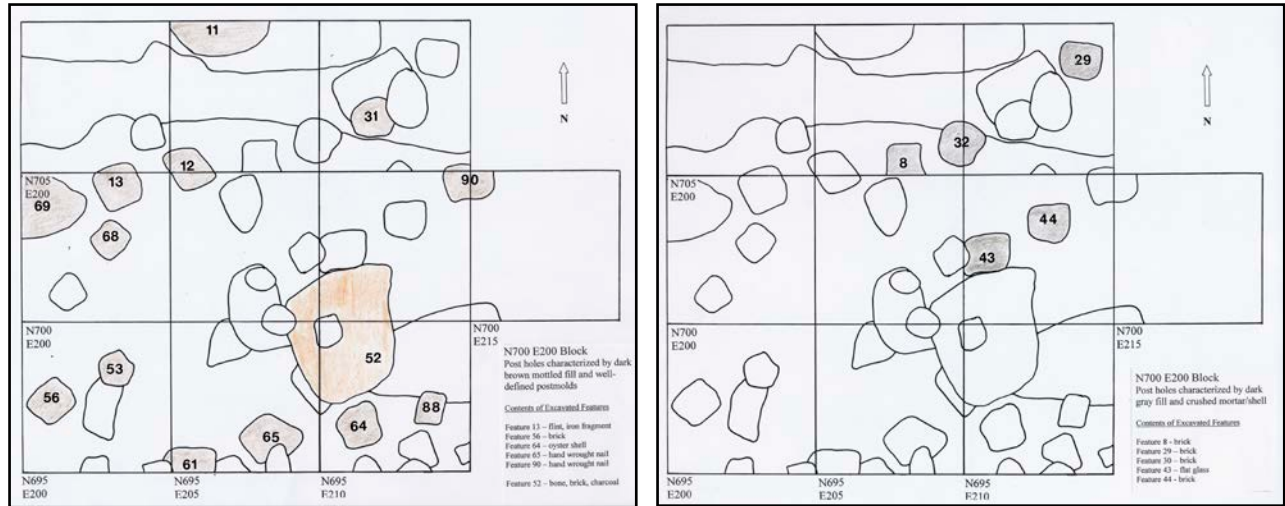


represent three events, based on the size, color, and stratigraphic definition of each. The most recent were a series of smaller stains, filled with a dark gray soil (10yr3/1). They were 1.0' or less in diameter, and intruded into other features. These clustered in and around the large clay filled pit, and along the south wall of the N695 units. The four features located near the southwest corner of N700E210 included features 77, 78, 79, and 87. Those along the south wall of the block

included features 59, 60, 63, and 90. None of these were excavated during the 2005 season. Based on size and location, these features are tentatively interpreted as fence posts.

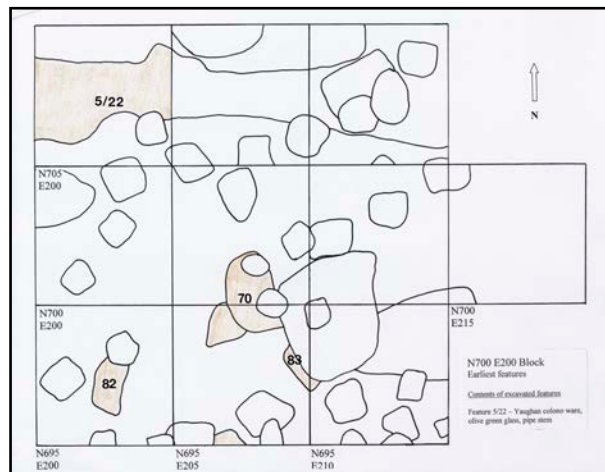
Two sets of structural posts were encountered in the field. The largest number are rectangular to oval features characterized by highly mottled fill, consisting of brown soil (10yr4/3) mottled with yellowish brown sandy clay (10yr4/6 and 10yr5/4). These features were difficult to define when first encountered, and additional excavation of overburden was necessary. For example, feature 56 in N695E200 was first defined as a

large pit measuring 3' by 4'. Continued excavation revealed that this was actually a cluster of three smaller features. When clearly defined, the features averaged 1.2' in diameter. Thirteen of the features fit this description (11, 12, 13, 31, 53, 56, 61, 64, 65, 68, 69, 88, 90), and five were excavated (13, 56, 64, 65, 90). They averaged 1.0' in depth, from the point of definition at the base of zone 2. None exhibited distinct postmold stains. These features were irregularly spaced, but were oriented along a northeast/southwest axis, in two parallel lines.



The second group of features is located along the same axis. They are fewer in number and are clustered in the northeast quadrant of the block. These are somewhat larger, 1.3-1.4' in diameter, and more regularly shaped. They are characterized by homogenous fill (10yr4/2) that contains inclusions of crushed white mortar. Five features were defined (8, 29, 32, 43, and 44) and all were sampled. All five contained brick fragments, and occasional window glass fragments, but no other datable materials.

The final group of features are less well-defined, but are considered the earliest in the block based on their stratigraphic position below others. Most significant is the ditch exposed in the N705 units in 2003. A 5' sample of feature 5/22 revealed a ditch 2.0' wide and .8' deep. The homogenous brown fill contained Yaughan variety colonoware, olive green bottle glass, and kaolin pipe stems. These materials suggest the feature is cultural, and associated with an 18th - century occupation. The other early features, 70, 82, and 83, were not sampled.



The most dramatic, and most complex, feature was a large oval to rectangular pit filled with bright orange fired clay and wood charcoal. This feature (designated feature 52) was initially interpreted as a clay-lined chimney, but excavation of the eastern half did not necessarily support this. Excavation revealed that the feature was a cone-shaped pit, 2' deep. The upper foot was filled with large pieces of wood charcoal and burned clay, with a solid lens of charcoal beneath. The second foot of fill was a dark gray loam (7.5yr3/2). Neither deposit contained any artifacts. Associated with the east side of feature 52, and indistinct from it, was a linear area of the same dark soil. This was excavated as feature 52a, and was likewise devoid of cultural materials. Excavation of the eastern half of feature 52, then, was inconclusive. The feature is currently interpreted as a fire or charcoal pit, and its structural association, if any, is unclear.



28: The N700 E200 block, facing west. Features excavated in 2003 in units N705 E200 and N705 E205 have been backfilled with white sterile sand. This includes a 5' section of feature 5/22 and feature 12

The complicated stratigraphic sequence of these features, combined with a dearth of cultural materials above and in the fill, makes dating and association of them challenging. Further, time constraints and the exploratory nature of the present project limited the number of features excavated. At the present time, it appears that there are two sets of posts that are likely structural. Predominant are rounded postholes with central molds, about 1.0' in depth. They average 1.8' in diameter and feature highly mottled soil. The second set is slightly larger, and less irregular in shape, and is characterized by crushed white mortar fill in the center of the feature (presumably in the location of a post mold). Neither group of features aligns to suggest a building at the present time. The function of the charcoal-filled pit is also unclear at the present time. Additional study will be required to interpret the features revealed in this block.



29: Left, view of feature 52 before excavation, facing south; right, feature 52 profile, facing west.



30: left, feature 65 in profile; right, feature 13 profile.

Table 1
List of Excavation Units
By Grid Coordinates

<u>2003 Units</u>	<u>2005 Units</u>	
N580 E245	N580 E275	N710 E280
N625 E200	N580 E280	N710 E290
N650 E180	N635 E240	N715 E265
N655 E180	N645 E220	N715 E300
N650 E215	N650 E220	N715 E315
N650 E260	N650 E230	N720 E305
N650 E295	N650 E250	
N690 E280	N670 E 260	
N705E200	N680 E240	
N705 E205	N685 E275	
N705 E210	N685 E300	
N705 E235	N690 E270	
N705 E255	N690 E275	
N710 E255	N695 E200	
N715E235	N695 E205	
N720 E200	N695 E210	
N715 E330	N700 E200	
N720 E280	N700 E205	
N720 E295	N700 E210	
N730 E315	N700 E215	
N735 E265	N700 E270	
N735 E290	N700 E275	
N750 E275	N705 E270	

Table 2
Summary of Units and Features, 2005

1.	N580 E280	feature 91; rubble from brick foundation
2.	N580 E275	feature 91
3.	N635 E240	feature 49; fill?
4.	N645 E220	no features
5.	N650 E220	no features
6.	N650 E230	feature 46; filled lowland
7.	N650 E250	feature 46
8.	N670 E260	feature 47; filled depression
9.	N680 E240	none
10.	N685 E275	features 45, 67, 74, 75; brick foundation, possible structural stains
11.	N685 E300	features 54, 84, 85, 86; brick foundation, possible posts
12.	N690 E270	features 45, 50, 51; brick foundation, possible posts
13.	N690 E275	feature 45; brick foundation
14.	N695 E200	features 53, 56, 59, 60, 82; posts
15.	N695 E205	features 52, 61, 62, 65, 70, 77, 78, 83; posts
16.	N695 E210	features 52, 52a, 63, 64, 77, 88, 89; charcoal pit, posts
17.	N700 E200	features 13, 56, 57, 68, 69; posts
18.	N700 E205	features 12, 52, 55, 70, 78, 79, 87; posts, charcoal pit
19.	N700 E210	features 30, 43, 44, 48, 52, 52a, 90; posts, charcoal pit
20.	N700 E215	features 66, 76, 90; posts
21.	N700 E270	features 45, 71, 72, 73; brick foundation, builders trench for fea 45
22.	N700 E275	features 45, 71, 72, 73; brick foundation, builders trench
23.	N705 E270	feature 54; wall foundation rubble
24.	N710 E280	feature 54; wall foundation rubble
25.	N710 E290	feature 54; wall foundation rubble
26.	N715 E265	feature 80; possible post
27.	N715 E300	feature 54; wall foundation rubble
28.	N715 E315	feature 54
29.	N720 E305	no features

Chapter IV

Analysis of the Materials

Laboratory Methods

Following excavation, all materials were removed to The Charleston Museum where they were washed, sorted, and analyzed. All bagged materials were sorted by the field provenience number (FS#) and inventoried. Each artifact from each provenience was then washed in warm water with a soft brush and rebagged when dry.

Washing and sorting was followed by analysis by provenience, which included identification and counting and/or weighing of each artifact by type. Washing and sorting commenced immediately after the field project, and was conducted by trained laboratory technicians, students from the College of Charleston, and experienced volunteers. College interns were those enrolled in the 2005 summer field school at Drayton Hall; they provided valuable connection between the fieldwork and the laboratory work. Students volunteered 390 hours on the laboratory analysis.

Conservation included electrolytic reduction of ferrous and non-ferrous metals. Ferrous materials were separated during analysis. Several ferrous and all non-ferrous metal artifacts were selected for further treatment through electrolytic reduction. The ferrous items were placed in electrolysis in a weak sodium carbonate solution with a current of six amperes. Upon completion of electrolysis, ranging from a few weeks to a few months, they were placed in successive baths of distilled water to remove chlorides and dried in ethanol. Ferrous artifacts were coated with a solution of tannic acid and phosphoric acid, and dipped in microcrystalline wax to protect the surfaces. Non-ferrous artifacts were also placed in electrolytic reduction, in a more concentrated solution with a current of 12 amperes. Electrolytic reduction of these artifacts was usually accomplished in one to two days. They were then placed in distilled water baths to remove surface chlorides, dried in ethanol, and gently polished before being coated with Incralac to protect the surfaces.

Faunal materials were washed, separated from other materials, and weighed by provenience. They remain in separate bags within the general provenience bag, available for faunal analysis in the future. Soil samples, ranging from one to two quarts in size, were inventoried, double-bagged, and boxed for permanent curation.

Upon completion of the analysis, all cultural materials, soil samples, and architectural samples were packed in standard-sized boxes for return to Drayton Hall, where they will remain in curation as the property of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Field notes, photographs, and catalogue cards were also returned to Drayton Hall; copies were retained by The Charleston Museum.

Analysis

Identification of the artifacts was the first step in the analysis of materials. The Museum's type collection, Noel Hume (1969), Stone (1974), Ferguson (1992), and Deagan (1987) were the primary sources used. Ceramics references included Towner (1978), Gaimster (1997); Austin (1994), Sussman (1997), and Cushion (1976). Other references were consulted for specific artifacts. Lorrain (1968), Huggins (1971), Kechum (1975), and Switzer (1974) were used to identify bottle glass. Epstein (1968) and Luscomb (1967), as well as South (1964) were used for button identification, and Fontana and Greenleaf (1962) and Sutton and Arkush (1996) were consulted for nails.

Some artifact types were subject to more detailed identification. Ceramics were separated into types, and identified by vessel form, whenever possible. Cross-mends and matches were noted, but a complete cross-sorting by minimum number of vessels (MNIV) was not undertaken. Nails were identified by manufacture type, head type, and size, where possible. Architectural rubble - brick, mortar, and plaster - was weighed by provenience.

During analysis of the 2003 materials, the artifact assemblages were initially quantified by stratigraphic position and horizontal distribution. This confirmed a lack of temporal sequencing in the stratigraphy at the site, a phenomenon noted in the field. In other words, there was no temporal difference between the zone 1 deposits and the zone 3 deposits across locus 22. The artifact assemblage from the current field season is the subject of the present discussion, and the locus 22 materials are considered a single temporal assemblage. The materials were then quantified by excavation unit, to discern horizontal patterning. These issues are discussed later in Chapter V.

For basic descriptive purposes, the artifacts from each of the temporal and locational assemblages were sorted into functional categories, based on South's (1977) model for the Carolina Artifact Pattern. South's methodology has been widely adopted by historical archaeologists, allowing for direct intersite comparison; all of the Charleston data have been organized in this manner. For nearly twenty years, archaeologists have attempted to classify the artifacts they recover by function, or how they were used in the everyday life of their owners. Artifacts are quantified in relative proportion to each other within eight broad categories. Broad regularities, or patterns, in these proportions prescribe the average retinue of activities on British colonial sites. While some have criticized this methodology as being too broad, it has been widely adopted by historical archaeologists working in the southeastern United States. In Charleston, it has been used as an initial organizing tool. Lynne Lewis has previously used this methodology for Drayton Hall (Lewis 1978).

Under Stanley South's model, the Carolina Artifact Pattern prescribes broad regularities in the daily life of British colonists. Artifacts are sorted, and then quantified,

within eight broad groups, based on function. The largest is usually those artifacts related to kitchen activities, such as food preparation, service, and storage. The Kitchen group includes most ceramics, bottle and table glass, cooking vessels, and cutlery. Food storage containers, from crocks to bottles to tin cans, are also included. The second group relates to Architecture and the buildings themselves. This group includes nails, window glass, and other architectural hardware. Smaller groups include Arms and weaponry items, and Furniture items, principally hardware. The Clothing group includes items from clothing, such as buttons and buckles, and items used to make or repair clothing, such as straight pins and scissors. The Personal group includes items of personal possession. Though small, this group can be quite varied, and includes keys, coins, jewelry, combs and brushes. The Tobacco group includes clay pipes and other items from tobacco smoking. The final group is somewhat larger and more eclectic, and includes items from a range of domestic Activities. Included in the Activities group are farm tools, toys, fishing gear, equestrian hardware, storage items, and any other specialized craft activities.

The 2005 Locus 22 assemblage contained 7213 artifacts. These were initially quantified by the eight functional categories that define the Carolina Artifact Pattern, as were the materials from the 2003 excavation. The materials discussed in this chapter are only those from the current (2005) excavation. (These are combined with the materials from the 2003 excavations for general interpretive analysis in the next chapter.) Following this exercise, the relative proportions of a variety of artifact types are examined, based on the work of King (1990, 1992), and many others in the mid-Atlantic region. This recent exercise (Zierden 1993, 1994, 2001b) has provided more details on proportions of consumer goods and how Charlestonians used them.

The Artifact Assemblage

The Kitchen Group: As is typical of most British colonial sites, artifacts from the Kitchen group dominated the assemblage (53%), though they were proportionally less numerous than in the 2003 excavations. The group included a range of ceramics typical of 18th century sites, and a number of glass vessels. Ceramics from the second half of the 18th century dominated the assemblage. Refined earthenwares, developed after 1760 and most common in the final quarter of the 18th century, are the latest artifacts in the assemblage. As with the 2003 assemblage, the predominance of creamwares and, to a lesser extent, pearlwares, was used to determine that locus 22 represents an 18th century occupation, one likely terminated with Charles Drayton's reorganization of the plantation's work areas at the turn of the 19th century. The date ranges shown for each ceramic type recovered are based on Noel Hume (1969), South (1977:210-212), and Miller et al. (2000), as well as the recovery of poorly documented wares in tightly dated archaeological deposits in the lowcountry.

The earliest European ceramic found at Drayton Hall is delft; this is a tableware common in the early colonial period that persisted in use through the later 18th century. British delft features a soft yellow-to-buff-colored earthenware paste and an opaque, sometimes chalky-textured glaze consisting of tin oxide in a lead glaze. The glaze can be

white, but often exhibits a light ‘robin’s egg’ blue background color. Individual vessels may be undecorated, or feature hand-painted decoration in blue or a range of colors, the latter classified as polychrome. Such wares were common on 17th century sites, but they were fragile. Teacups and small vessels faded in popularity after 1750, but larger vessels such as plates, bowls, platters, and punch bowls continued throughout the century (Austin 1994). The 2005 assemblage included 69 fragments of delft, the majority undecorated. These wares comprised 2.7% of the ceramics. Though French tin-enameled wares, known as Faience, are often recovered on 18th -century sites in South Carolina, none were found during the present project. Faience was imported into Charleston, and other English colonies, at the time of the Revolution, and is most common in the last quarter of the 18th century (Waselkov and Walthall 2002); a few fragments were recovered from locus 22 in 2003.

The tin-enameled tablewares of the early 18th century (1740-1775) were replaced by dinner and tea wares of white salt-glazed stoneware, developed in the second quarter of the 18th century. The fine, molded table and tea wares were first developed in the 1740s, and these largely replaced the smaller delft vessels. Plates and soup bowls, as well as tea wares, are the most common forms recovered in Charleston, reflecting the rising importance of individual place settings and matched sets. Serving vessels are also recovered in lesser amounts. While much of the salt-glazed stoneware was undecorated, molded and sprigged examples are found, as well. Typical plate rim forms include the ‘dot, diaper and basket’, the bead and reel, and barley patterns (Noel Hume 1969:116). Eight fragments of these wares were recovered during the 2005 excavations.

Two fragments of Nottingham stoneware (1700-1810) were recovered. A hard gray stoneware paste and a smooth, lustrous brown glaze over a thin white slip characterize this ware. The white slip distinguishes the Nottingham wares, and is seen by viewing a ceramic fragment from the side. Noel Hume (1969:114) notes that several potters may have produced variations of this ware. The site also yielded a few fragments of the unglazed red stoneware known collectively as Elers ware. The most common variants were produced by the Staffordshire potters between 1763 and 1775, though the ware was developed in the late 17th century, copying the dry-bodied red stoneware from China (Noel Hume 1969:120).

Three finely-made redwares were produced by the Staffordshire potters and are recovered in very small amounts in Charleston – Jackfield ware, Agate ware, and Astbury ware. The earliest, Astbury (1725-1750), are hard, red-bodied earthenwares, lead-glazed to give them a ginger brown surface. They were decorated with sprig-molded designs in white pipe clay. A common variation features a bead of white clay around the rim. Jackfield was produced from 1740 to 1780, and was made by various potters. This tea ware exhibited a fine clay body that ranged from gray to red, the latter being the hallmark of the Staffordshire potters. The common feature was a deep, shiny to oily, black lead glaze. Jackfield vessels included teawares and pitchers. Agate ware features a clay body consisting of swirled white and red clays, finished with a clearish lead glaze. The mixed clay body was visible through the glaze, with the finished product resembling agate,

hence the name. Agate ware dates from 1740 to 1775. Only two fragments of these wares were recovered from the 2005 excavations.

The most popular tea and table ware of the 18th century was Chinese export porcelain. Chinese porcelain is made from a combination of kaolin clay and a finely ground feldspathic rock, and can be distinguished from other ceramic wares by a high-gloss glaze fused to the body. The body is extremely tight-grained, and the glaze clings to it in a thin translucent line on both sides. Chinese porcelain was decorated in a number of colors, but only the blue cobalt could withstand the firing temperature and was applied under the glaze. Other colors were applied over the glaze after firing. Tea wares, particularly saucers and handle-less tea bowls, are the most common forms recovered, but plates are also recovered in large numbers. The underglazed blue wares are the most common.

Relatively rare and expensive in the late 17th to early 18th centuries, Chinese porcelains were increasingly popular and available as the 18th century progressed. Too, the increasing wealth of the lowcountry planters meant that more people were able to afford these wares. Robert Leath suggests that porcelain had become fairly commonplace in South Carolina by the 1730s, and a decade later was advertised regularly among merchandise in the *South Carolina Gazette*. Merchant David Crawford, for example, advertised "...a large assortment of China ware as breakfast cups and saucers, dishes, plates and bowls of all sorts, tea and coffee cups and saucers, also 3 compleat sets of color'd china for a tea table" (Leath 1999:50). Porcelains often comprise over 20% of the ceramics in late 18th century townhouse assemblages (Zierden 2002, 2006b). The majority of these are blue-on-white underglaze decorated, but most sites yield examples of the more expensive overglazed (or enameled) porcelains. The 2005 assemblage from locus 22 contained 107 fragments, or 4% of the ceramics; the vast majority was the underglazed variety. Several fragments of enameled, or overglazed, porcelain exhibited



elaborate decoration, suggesting relatively expensive wares. The assemblage also included the thin, whitish vessels with minimal enameled decoration typical of the Federal period (Leath 2006). A few fragments of a vessel with an unusual light green exterior were recovered, as well. Lynne Lewis recovered similar fragments in her excavations near the house (Lewis n.d.:76).

31: Examples of Chinese Export Porcelain recovered from locus 22

Taken together, tablewares produced in the early 18th century comprised only 7.7% of the locus 22 ceramics. Far more numerous, in fact dominating the 18th-century ceramic assemblage, were the refined earthenwares developed by the Staffordshire potters in the third quarter of the 18th century. The most important development was the gradual perfection of a thin, hard-fired cream-colored earthenware that could be dipped in a clear glaze. The ware fired at a lower temperature than the white stonewares, and is thus classified as refined earthenware. Potters Thomas Astbury and Thomas Wieldon pioneered this venture, but it was Josiah Wedgwood who ultimately perfected these wares and marketed them successfully. The original cream-bodied ware was introduced in 1740 and featured a clouded or swirled underglaze design in purple, brown, yellow, green, and gray. In 1759, Wedgwood produced a wholly-green ware. All of these are loosely categorized as Whieldon ware by American archaeologists. The Whieldon wares were manufactured until 1770 and are consistently present in 18th-century lowcountry contexts, but in small numbers. Locus 22 yielded eleven fragments.

Far more numerous, and actually dominating the 18th-century European ceramic assemblage, were creamwares, which comprise 12% of the locus 22 ceramics. This is in keeping with the almost universal popularity of cream-colored earthenware in the late 18th century. After Josiah Wedgwood ventured into business on his own in 1759, he found the green glazed ware was not so popular, and he turned his attention to refinement of the cream-colored ware, later called Queensware (after a set given the queen of England). Wedgwood appears to have perfected this ware by 1762, although diverse archaeological sites have produced nearly irrefutable evidence of earlier use (cf. Deagan 1975). Regardless of the initial manufacture date, by the 1770s these wares could be found in the four corners of the colonial world, and are ubiquitous on archaeological sites of the period. In her study of 18th-century consumerism, Ann Smart Martin (1994b:169-185) has commented that Wedgwood himself marveled at how quickly creamware “spread over the whole Globe and how universally it is liked.” What is remarkable in Martin’s view is that Wedgwood managed to compress the cycle of luxury-to-common consumption into a very short period. By continually bringing out new styles, Wedgwood satisfied both the middle class consumer eager to display their knowledge of manners and the fashionably wealthy who sought to distance themselves from the middling sort (Martin 1994a, 1994b, 1996). Creamware came in highly decorated and expensive styles, and in relatively plain and affordable patterns. Like other colonial residents, Charlestonians evidently flocked to the new ware, and purchased it in



32: Fluted creamware bowl

quantity through the early 19th century. The 2005 excavations yielded nearly 350 fragments of creamware, including a fluted serving bowl. At least one-third of this vessel was recovered from N685E275.

The creamwares that flooded the colonial market in the 1770s were augmented a decade later with another Staffordshire product, pearlwares. Throughout the 1770s, Wedgwood continued to experiment with production of a whiter ware, the creamwares having a yellowish, or creamy, color. In, 1780, he introduced a new ware, which he termed “pearl white”. Thus 1780 marks the beginning of the era when British refined earthenwares feature a bluish tint to the glazing and blue pooling in the cracks and crevices. It was not Wedgwood’s intention to replace the earlier creamware, and the two wares were manufactured concurrently; however other potteries produced the new ware in quantity, and pearlwares gradually supplanted the creamwares in archaeological assemblages. In general, pearlwares are 17% of Charleston ceramic assemblages, compared 25% creamware (Zierden 2002). Pearlwares comprise 6% of the 2005 ceramic assemblage.

As with other Charleston sites of the late 18th century, pearlwares from locus 22 come in a wide range of decorative styles, compared to creamware. Earliest (1780-1810) were hand-painted designs under the glaze in blue, often in chinoiserie. Hand-painted tea wares in a polychrome palette (brown, sage green, cobalt blue, orange-rust, and yellow) often feature delicate floral designs. Twenty-eight fragments of hand-painted pearlware were recovered in 2005.

Perhaps the most readily-recognizable historic ceramic is shell-edged pearlware. This ceramic features rims molded in a feathery design, which was hand painted in blue or green. Most shell-edged pearlwares are flatwares – plates, soup bowls, and platters. The earlier pieces feature careful, individual brush strokes, accenting the individual feathers. By the early 19th century, the hand painting had deteriorated to a single swiped band around the rim. The early 19th -century wares also featured rims molded in designs other than feathers. Nine fragments of shell edged pearlware were recovered in 2005.

Two additional decorative styles were applied to pearlware after 1795, and they dominate early 19th -century ceramics. Transfer or bat printing involved the creation of detailed designs in a myriad of patterns. The North Staffordshire potters, led by Josiah Spode, successfully produced this blue-on-white ware in 1784. This development, coupled with a significant reduction in the importation of porcelains from Canton after 1793, resulted in a large market for the new wares (Copeland 1994:7; Miller 1991). Transfer-printed wares, the most expensive of all the decorated refined earthenwares, are usually recovered in a wide variety of forms; plates of all sizes, bowls of all sizes, tea cups and coffee cups, with or without handles, mugs and saucers. The list of service pieces is equally lengthy, including platters, tureens, and tea wares. These wares were evidently not used in the locus 22 area, as only six fragments were recovered.

Far more common at locus 22 were the much cheaper annular wares. Also developed in 1795, this pearlware features machine-turned stripes in a range of colors on

small low-shouldered bowls and mugs. The range of vessel forms is limited, compared to the other pearlware styles, and this ware was the least expensive (Miller 1980). The bowls were suitable for one-pot meals, such as soups, stews, and pilaus. Variants of annular ware include mocha ware, with dendritic patterns in the wide stripes, and cabled ware, featuring swirls and dots in heavy colored slips. Forty-three fragments of annular pearlware were recovered at locus 22 in 2005.

The British potters, including Wedgwood, continued to refine their glaze formulas so that by c. 1820 the blue tinge had been removed from the wares, leaving a white china. The same decorative motifs continue from pearlware onto whiteware, with a fashionable change in color palette after 1830. Whiteware is recovered from sites occupied after 1820, and dominates ceramic assemblages through the 19th century. Fourteen fragments of whiteware were recovered during 2005, principally from N705E270, along the north side of the possible barn.

The locus 22 proveniences also yielded numerous fragments from utilitarian ceramics. European earthenwares comprised 5% of the ceramic assemblage, while stonewares contributed another 5%. The earliest ceramic types were represented by a few sherds each. North Devon gravel tempered ware consists of a smooth red and gray clay with heavy quartz inclusions, hence its name. The interior of the vessel is coated with a thick apple-green lead glaze. The lowcountry examples are usually cream pans or one-gallon pots. Eight fragments were recovered from locus 22. The North Devon wares were manufactured from 1650 until the Revolution. Also manufactured in the Devon region was Sgraffito slipware, which features the same clay body as the gravel-tempered ware, but without the gravel. The result is a smooth-bodied ceramic with thick walls. The interior of the open vessels was covered with a white clay slip, which was incised to reveal the red clay beneath in a range of patterns. A yellowish lead-glaze was applied over the slip. A single fragment of sgraffito slipware was recovered in 2005. Sgraffito is a much earlier ceramic, manufactured from 1650 until 1710. Buckley ware features an agate-like body of red and yellow clays, but the heavy vessels are ribbed on the interior and/or exterior and covered with a thick, black lead glaze. Two fragments were recovered from locus 22. Charleston forms include cream pans and bowls, glazed only on the interior, and large storage jars glazed on both sides (Noel Hume 1969:135).

The most common utilitarian ceramic on 18th-century sites in Charleston is the body of wares known collectively as combed-and-trailed slipwares. Noel Hume attributes most of these wares to factories in Staffordshire and Bristol, but British archaeologist David Barker suggested Buckley or Liverpool as a source for much of the slipware imported to Charleston (Barker, personal communication 1991; Barker 1999). Most of these wares feature a buff- to yellow body and are decorated with combed lines in iron oxide or manganese under a clear to pale yellow glaze. The simplest were trails of brown glaze over the buff body, sometimes combed into elaborate designs. Other variations occur with light trailed stripes over a black slip, or with "...skillfully marbled blend of white, dark, and light-brown slips." Noel Hume (1969:136) declines to date these variants with accuracy, but the dark-based variety is more common in early 18th century proveniences in Charleston (Zierden and Reitz 2005). Noel Hume further

suggests that the importation of slipwares ended with the American Revolution, though they were produced through the 1790s.

Slipwares are recovered in large numbers on Charleston sites, and average 10% of the ceramics for this period in Charleston. They are not so common at locus 22, however, as they comprise less than 2% of the ceramics recovered in 2005. The slipwares recovered at Drayton Hall are large flatware pieces – shallow bowls of all sizes – that feature an unglazed exterior and molded rim reminiscent of piecrust. The interior features slips and spriggles of white, dark, and brown clay, often combed in elaborate designs. The hollow wares, most often mugs or cups of various size but also pitchers and candlesticks, are thinner and glazed on both sides. They are most often decorated with a series of brown dots near the rim and combed trailings around the exterior.

Red-bodied slipwares trimmed with trailings of white clay are also common in 18th -century lowcountry contexts. Some of these vessels feature splotches of green or brown glaze. All of these are attributed to potteries in the North American colonies, likely Philadelphia and, to a lesser extent, Salem, North Carolina. Carl Steen has recently suggested that the many Philadelphia potters were the source of these wares, and the *South Carolina Gazette* regularly advertised ships arriving from that port. The most common Charleston examples are called Trailed Philadelphia Earthenwares by Steen (1999), and match the description above. Cream pans and heavy, small bowls are the predominant common vessel forms recovered in Charleston. They are most common in the third quarter of the 18th century (Zierden and Reitz 2005), and provide archaeological proof of inter-colonial trade, a venture rarely discussed in the documentary record (Steen 1999:68). Twelve fragments were recovered from locus 22.



A second ceramic product of the Philadelphia potters common to the lowcountry is a series of medium-sized bowls, with or without handles. The exteriors of these vessels feature solid lead glaze in either brown, rust, or black, and an interior with swirled slips or powdered glazes that run to the bottom of the vessel, on a white-to-yellow background slip. Steen terms these Clouded wares; in Charleston they have been loosely catalogued as “Mid-Atlantic earthenwares”. Two fragments were recovered in 2005.

33: top, lead-glazed earthenwares; bottom, Buckley ware

Finally, the 18th-century earthenware assemblage featured a number of lead-glazed earthenwares, in a variety of forms and glazes. At locus 22, the most common examples featured a dark brown or black lead glaze. A few examples of greenish or yellow lead glaze were also recovered. Lead glazed earthenwares comprised 1.5% of the ceramics; 47 fragments were recovered.

Other utilitarian ceramics were stonewares. Noel Hume suggests that these wares were manufactured in the Rhineland and imported into England; they were then shipped to the colonies in large numbers in the 17th and first half of the 18th centuries. After 1760, the Rhineland's virtual monopoly was broken by the potters of Staffordshire (Noel Hume 1969:276). The most common ware recovered in 2005 was brown saltglazed stoneware. While the 17th-century "bellarmine" jugs decorated with a bearded face are the best-known, the undecorated bottles of the 18th century are the most common in Charleston. Numerous fragments of these bottles were recovered in the dark midden soil north of the large structure. Seventy-two fragments of brown salt-glazed stoneware were recovered during 2005.



34: Fragments of brown saltglazed stoneware

Somewhat less common were fragments of Westerwald stoneware. This ceramic is gray-bodied and decorated in blue. Vessel forms for the mid-18th century include chamber pots, small crocks, and mugs of various sizes; earlier 18th century sites contain jugs with bulbous bodies and reed necks, and porringers. Twelve fragments were recovered in 2005.

The 2005 excavations yielded a broad range of European ceramics associated with the 18th century, but it is the locally made colonowares that dominate the assemblage. Taken together, the varieties of colonoware comprise 63% of the ceramics recovered at locus 22. This assemblage includes a number of wares produced by Native Americans of the historic period, as well as the more commonly-defined wares associated with African American sites in the lowcountry. The Drayton Hall colonowares were subjected to detailed analysis by Ronald Anthony, and are discussed in depth in Chapter V; thus they are not discussed further here, except to note that they are the dominant artifact type in the locus 22 assemblage.

Olive green bottle glass comprised the majority of the other kitchen wares. These English glass wine bottles became common after 1650, and were hand-blown until the 1820s. During the 17th and 18th centuries, the bottles gradually became narrower and taller, compared to the original squat 'onion bottle'. These bottles, which were often

refilled from larger barrels or otherwise reused, are ubiquitous in fragmentary form on 18th century English colonial sites (Noel Hume 1969). Locus 22 contained over 1,100 fragments. The brick debris that characterized feature 45/54, in particular, contained several large bottle fragments. These exhibited formal attributes suggesting manufacture in the last quarter of the 18th century. Feature 46 (the filled low-lying area), on the other hand, yielded a large bottle base typical of the first quarter of the 18th century. Taken together, these bottles cover the span of occupation proposed for the site.



35: Late 18th-century bottles recovered from feature 45



Other, smaller, condiment and medicine bottles included those in clear and aqua glass. Particularly distinctive were the small aqua vials for holding medicines. These were also hand-blown until the 1820s. Nearly 100 fragments of these were recovered at Locus 22. These included two necks and a large basal fragment from aqua glass vials.

36: top, medicinal vials; bottom, drawn wine glass

Far less common at Locus 22 were fragments of leaded glass, or decorative table glass. Only 26 fragments could be identified as table glass. The largest was a drawn stem typical of the mid-18th century. The final kitchen items were three fragments of iron kettles and three cutlery items, including the bowl and handles to pewter spoons.



37: Pewter spoon bowl

The Architecture Group: The architecture group comprised 40% of the site assemblage, a larger amount than noted in 2003. The group was dominated by window glass and iron nails. The majority of the window glass was pale green or aqua in color, and thus typical of the hand-blown glass common through the first quarter of the 19th century. Crown glass began as a bubble of hand-blown glass, gradually worked into a

disc. These discs featured a thick edge, which was trimmed away and wasted, and a central pontil scar, or bulls-eye, which could be up to one inch thick. The circles of glass were known as ‘crowns’ and were shipped to America in crates, to be cut to size by the purchaser (Noel Hume 1969:234). The Locus 22 assemblage included 826 fragments of aqua-tinted flat glass, and only a few fragments of clear flat glass. As will be discussed in Chapter V, the majority of the glass was recovered from units on the southern edge of the study area.

Nails were the other common component of the architecture group. Though corroded, the majority of the nails from Locus 22 could be identified as to method of manufacture. Most were hand wrought, with either a pointed or spatulate end, and thus dating before 1780. Nearly 1,300 wrought nails were recovered, and 162 machine cut nails (shank after 1780, head after 1805) were identified (Sutton and Arkush 1996). Several (62) were unidentifiable, meaning that they were too corroded to identify shank or head style. Portions of unidentifiable nails lacking a head were categorized as ‘fragments’; the site yielded nearly 700 such nails. The final architectural item was a blue-painted delft fireplace tile.

The Arms Group: Relatively few arms-related materials were recovered from Locus 22, and they comprised 0.3% of the assemblage. Twelve lead shot were recovered in 2005, along with a .32 caliber bullet. The remainder of the Arms group consisted of flakes of English flint. The most distinctive item was a possible ramrod holder.

The Clothing and Personal Group: Clothing items were equally sparse at Locus 22, comprising only 0.5% of the assemblage. Buttons were the most numerous, but these were relatively few. Four bone discs, with a central hole, were recovered. More significant was the recovery of bone ‘blanks’, or a section of bone from which the disc



has been cut. These reflect on-site manufacture of the bone buttons. Most common were plain brass discs, known as “type 7” in Stanley South’s (1964) button classification. These are common throughout the 18th century. Thirteen brass buttons were recovered. Two fragmentary pewter or white metal buttons were recovered, as well; these date to the same time period. Most curious was a pewter button in pristine condition, including the soldered eye. As it was recovered from zone 1, it was deemed to be from the coat of

38: Clothing buckles, brass button

a Revolutionary-era reenactor; the dig commenced a day after occupation of the site by these historical actors. A single iron button was recovered.

Also recovered were two white porcelain, or prosser, buttons, typical of the 19th century. These buttons have typically been identified as white porcelain, or china, but Sprague (2002:111) suggests that all were manufactured after 1840, by the prosser method. This involves the preparation of fine clay with the addition of quartz to create a 'dust'. The buttons have a very smooth surface, and sometimes a pebbly back. This prosser button is one of only a few artifacts from Locus 22 that postdate the first quarter of the 19th century. Three fragments of brass buckles were recovered, but were too fragmentary for full identification.

Several beads, of types commonly recovered in the 18th century, were found. Most common were wire-wound bead of dark blue glass. Two were spherical, while the third exhibited the bumpy surface typical of a 'raspberry bead.' This was produced by paddling the molten glass with a pierced tool (Deagan 1987:167-170). The most



distinctive bead was a barrel bead of blue glass with narrow white stripes. The second bead type was a barrel-shaped bead of plain white glass; several fragments were identified. A tiny blue glass 'seed bead' was also recovered. More distinctive was a light blue paste jewel, likely mimicking aquamarine. Paste jewels, set into cuff links and shoe buckles, are commonly recovered on colonial sites (Fales 1995). The final artifacts were a fragment of iron scissors, again too fragmentary for full identification, and a brass thimble.

39: Glass beads and paste jewelry (center) recovered from locus 22

No artifacts of Personal Possession were recovered during the 2005 field project.

The Furniture Group: Furniture items were also sparse, comprising 0.36% of the assemblage. Most common were the brass tacks associated with upholstery in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Nineteen tacks, featuring a square shank with pointed end and a domed head, were recovered. Also appropriate to the 18th century were five curtain rings. These flat rings measure about 1" in diameter, and file marks are visible on



40: Curtain ring, tacks from locus 22

the edges. Such rings are found consistently on Charleston townhouse sites. Two brass wood screws completed this group.

The Tobacco Group: White kaolin tobacco pipe fragments, associated with tobacco smoking in the 18th century, comprised 3.7% of the assemblage. The pipe group



41: examples of kaolin tobacco pipes

was equally divided among stem fragments and bowl fragments. Tobacco pipes average 5% of the assemblage in Charleston for the late colonial period. They are more common in the early 18th century, averaging 10% of these assemblages. The locus 22 assemblage, therefore, contained an unusually small number of pipe fragments. Most significant, however, was the recovery of six fragments of colonoware pipes, likely made on site.

The Activities Group: The final group, termed Activities, comprised 1.5% of the assemblage. Included here were fragments of iron barrel straps, representing storage containers, and fragments of melted lead, from a variety of activities. Two lead net weights were recovered. Four possible tools were found, as well.

The most unusual finds, in fact those that make the project memorable, were a number of decorative brass adornments associated with horse tack and carriages; it was the recovery of these items, as well as horse shoes in 2003, that support interpretation of the feature 45 structure as a barn. The equestrian artifacts include two elaborate brass



42: brass harness buckle from locus 22

buckles in a rococo design. These are a matched set, but of different sizes. Two smaller buckles were 2.25" long, while a matching buckle was 4" long and 3" wide. Two excavation units revealed fragments of decorative hardware likely bolted to the top of an enclosed carriage. The hardware featured alternating scallops and fleur-de-lie shapes on a solid base. A series of basal holes at 90-degree angles provided a surface for nails or screws to anchor the pieces. Another fragment of decorative brass featured

a leaf-and-vine pattern running the length of a substantial brass rib. The final item was a heart-shaped bridle ornament.

43: brass hardware, possibly from carriage and bridle



One, final artifact worth mentioning was a cow rib that appeared to be cut and polished along the sides. The distal end was rounded, as well. It is possible that this animal bone was altered for use as a tool of some sort. Coiled sweetgrass baskets are often sewn with the use of a “bone”, traditionally made from bone or a broken and sharpened spoon handle (Rosengarten 1986:13), and a few examples have been recovered from archaeological sites (Agha 2004). The locus 22 example, though, appears to be too large for this function. Alternately, it may have been used with a loom, for weaving.



44: rib bone from locus 22, polished and possibly shaped on the end

Artifacts recovered during the 2005 excavations are listed in the table below. The assemblages from the 2003 and 2005 excavations are then tallied together and discussed in further detail in Chapter V. For individual numbers and descriptions of the 2003 materials, the reader is referred to Zierden and Anthony 2004.

Table 3
Artifacts Recovered from Locus 22

	<u>2005</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>Total</u>
<i>Kitchen artifacts – ceramics</i>			
Porcelain, b/w oriental	94	58	152
Porcelain, overglazed	13	7	20
Brown saltglazed stoneware	72	27	99

Westerwald stoneware	4	8	12
Misc. gray saltglazed stoneware	35	13	48
White saltglazed stoneware	8	8	16
Scratch blue stoneware	0	2	2
Nottingham stoneware	2	2	4
Elers ware	6	2	8
Black basalt stoneware	0	2	2
Misc. stonewares	5	13	18
Whieldon ware	11	0	11
Creamware	344	329	673
Pearlware, undecorated	58	42	100
Pearlware, shell edged	9	16	25
Pearlware, hand painted	28	11	39
Pearlware, transfer printed	6	9	15
Pearlware, annular	43	28	71
Whiteware, undecorated	14	3	17
Jackfield ware	1	3	4
Astbury ware	0	2	2
Agate ware	1	0	1
Faience	0	2	2
Delft, undecorated	54	44	98
Delft, blue on white	14	9	23
Delft, polychrome	1	1	2
Slipware, combed and trailed	47	141	188
Slipware, American	12	13	25
Mid-Atlantic earthenware	2	14	16
Lead-glazed earthenware, misc	21	48	69
Lead-glazed earthenware, black	18	17	35
Lead-glazed earthenware, green	0	2	2
Unglazed earthenware	8	11	19
Buckley ware	2	3	5
North Devon gravel tempered ware	8	3	11
Sgraffito slipware	1	0	1
French green-glazed coarse earthenware	2	0	2
Olive jar	1	0	1
Colonoware, Yaughan	587	843	1430
Colonoware, lesesne lustered	92	111	203
Colonoware, River burnished	17	1	18
Historic Native American	76	76	152
(prehistoric pottery)	196	120	316
(lithics)	35	11	46

<i>Kitchen – other artifacts</i>			
olive green glass	1134	653	1787
clear container glass	41	46	87
aqua container glass	98	68	166
table glass	26	13	39
cutlery	3	2	5
iron kettle frag	3	3	6
<i>Architectural materials</i>			
Wrought nail	1270	662	1932
Cut nail	61	138	199
Unidentified nail	62	178	240
Nail fragment	694	230	924
Window glass, aqua	826	473	1299
Window glass, clear	7	1	8
Misc. hardware	1	2	3
<i>Arms materials</i>			
Flint/flint fragment	11	11	22
Lead shot	12	3	15
Lead bullet	1	0	1
Musket part	0	2	2
Ramrod holder	1	0	1
Shotgun shell	0	2	2
<i>Clothing artifacts</i>			
Button, 1-hole bone	4	1	5
Bone button blank	2	0	2
Prosser button	2	1	3
Brass button	13	11	24
Pewter button	2	4	6
Iron button	1	1	1
Buckle	3	3	6
Glass bead	9	2	11
Paste jewel	1	0	1
Scissors fragment	1	1	2
Iron buckle	1	0	1
<i>Personal items</i>			
Microscope part	0	1	1
Lead seal	0	1	1
Key	0	1	1
<i>Furniture hardware</i>			
Upholstery tack	19	5	24

Curtain ring	5	2	7
Finial/decorative	1	3	4
Misc, wood screw	2	0	2
<i>Tobacco pipes</i>			
Pipe bowl fragments	133	89	222
Pipe stems	134	80	214
Colonoware pipes	5	0	5
<i>Activities</i>			
Misc. strap metal	8	6	14
Misc iron fragments	80	44	124
Misc lead	8	8	16
Misc tool	4	3	7
Horse/carriage equipment	6	4	10
Net weight	2	0	2

Aboriginal Artifacts

Aboriginal materials recovered during the current project were limited to low fired earthenwares, lithic debitage, and three lithic tools. Twenty eight units out of twenty nine units excavated during 2005 yielded aboriginal artifacts. As depicted in the figure below, aboriginal artifacts tended to cluster near the center of the area excavated (near N670 E260). It is possible that erosion of higher surrounding landscapes has contributed to this concentration of Native American material in this specific locale. The 2005 aboriginal artifact assemblage is composed of 223 ceramic vessel fragments (including 99 residual sherds), seventeen secondary flakes (2 are utilized), and a probable historic period triangular biface. Most of the secondary flakes (n=16) are of coastal plain chert; several examples reflect the “heat treating” of chert cores. The biface, from unit N690 E270, closely resembles a projectile point referred to by Coe (1964) as a Caraway point. Coe (1964) states that the Caraway Triangular was first described on the basis of



several hundred points excavated from Keyauwee Town in Randolph County, North Carolina. The Caraway projectile is associated with historic aboriginal occupation of the early 18th century (Coe 1964). The triangular biface from locus 22 was encountered in a disturbed context which yielded Woodland period pottery as well as late 18th -century European American material culture.

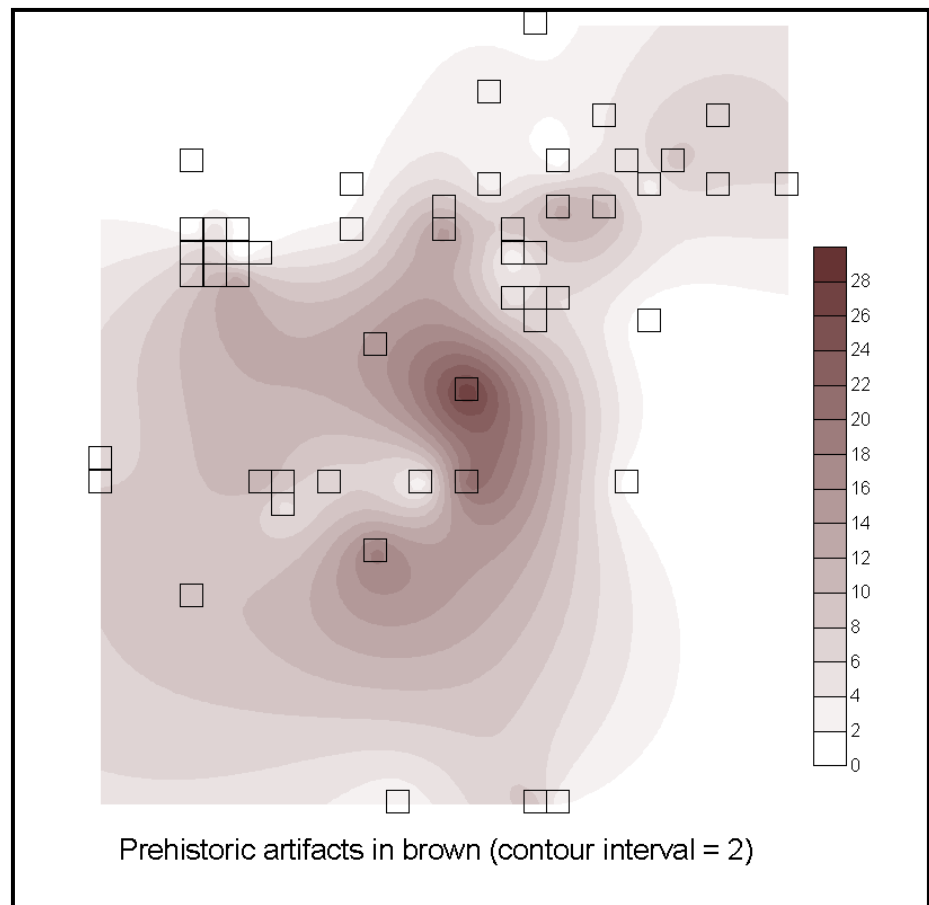
45: Chert flakes and triangular point from locus 22

About 75% (N = 124) of the (non-residual) aboriginal pottery dates to the Woodland Period. This cultural period dates from approximately 2,000 B.C. to about 1,000 A.D. (Trinkley 1990:iii). According to Trinkley:

The Woodland period is traditionally defined by the introduction of fired pottery, the gradual introduction and use of agricultural crops, increasing social complexity, and the eventual occurrence of a burial mound complex.

The Woodland period is generally comparable to the Neolithic, in “Old World” contexts, which is characterized by new innovations such as textiles and fired clay pottery. The more sedentary life ways of the Woodland period are associated with a horticulture subsistence base, supplemented by hunting and foraging. Neolithic period groups, as well as Woodland societies, were likely egalitarian, reflecting a tribal level of socio-political complexity. In a society without formal social status(s), social and economic decisions were probably made by integrative kinship groups, such as lineages. These aggregated, at times, into semi-permanent villages, in the case of Woodland populations. This life style is in contrast to the more mobile life ways of preceding Archaic period band level societies whose subsistence was based on increasingly efficient hunting and gathering strategies.

The majority of the Woodland pottery recovered from locus 22 during the current effort can be described as simply “undecorated sand tempered pottery”. However, several examples can be safely assigned to the Early Woodland and the first of the Middle Woodland phase, based on surface decoration and paste characteristics. For example, a few specimens of undecorated Stallings Island pottery, seventeen Deptford check and simple stamped sherds, and twenty-three Deep Creek cord and fabric marked pottery fragments were recovered from



locus 22. Two examples of Middle Woodland Hanover/Wilmington pottery are also represented in this collection.

Stallings pottery, primarily made by hand modeling and tempered with plant fiber (likely Spanish moss), is believed to be the earliest Woodland period pottery (c. 2000 – 1100 B.C.) (Claflin 1931; Trinkley 1990; South 2002). Most researchers believe that the Stallings culture began in the Savannah River drainage (Trinkley 1990). Stallings pottery has been found as far north as eastern North Carolina. Trinkley notes that Deptford sites (c. 800 B.C to 500 A.D.) are often small and while, containing shell at times, normally are not characterized by relatively large shell mounds/middens. Several investigators believe that Deptford sites reflect both coastal as well as inland occupation with inland sites frequently being situated adjacent to swamp terraces (Milanich 1971; Trinkley 1990). Milanich (1971) suggests a trans-humant subsistence pattern for Deptford populations, with inland sites being occupied during the fall for the exploitation of deer and various floral resources. Deptford phase occupations are usually evidenced by the occurrence of fine to course sandy past pottery with a paddle stamped motif. Surface decorations produced by check stamping, simple stamping, and geometric stamping are common designs. Trinkley (1990:17) states,

Although the Deptford phase is discussed as part of the Early Woodland , many authors place the phase intermediate between the Early and Middle Woodland ... The Deptford phase, however is still part of the early paddle stamped tradition which is replaced by the posited northern intrusion of wrapped paddle stamping during the Middle Woodland.

Although Deep Creek ceramics are considered to be Early Woodland in eastern North Carolina (Phelps 1983), this pottery is characterized by cord, fabric, and, at times, net impressed surface decorations; clearly reflecting a northern influence. Also, its paste normally contains a medium to coarse sand. Trinkley (1990:16) notes that Deep Creek "... strongly resembles Deptford both typologically and temporally."

The Middle Woodland at locus 22 is reflected by the presence and recovery of two crushed sherd tempered pottery fragments. Middle Woodland sites reflect short-term occupation and associated settlement mobility, which characterized the earlier Deptford culture as well (Trinkley 1990). Inland sites are believed to have been extraction areas for acorns, hickory nuts, and deer. Settlement patterning, and probably subsistence, seems to have changed little from Early to Middle Woodland with many occupations located on low elevation well-drained ridges overlooking swamp zones. Middle Woodland crushed sherd tempered pottery is associated with the Wilmington phase along the south coast of South Carolina and with the Hanover phase along the northern coast. Trinkley (1990:18) states that, "Sherd tempered Wilmington and Hanover wares are found from at least the Chowan River in North Carolina southward onto the Georgia coast."

Twenty five per cent (n = 31) of the aboriginal ceramics recovered from locus 22 during the current investigation bore surface decorations produced by complicated stamping. Because of sherd size, eroded surfaces, and poor execution of surface decoration, the complicated stamped pottery encountered from locus 22 is difficult to classify. Complicated stamped decoration is one hallmark of Mississippian (c. 1,000 A.D. to European contact) and subsequent historic aboriginal pottery. Ranked Mississippian groups were chiefdom level societies whose subsistence was rooted in maize agriculture. Large Mississippian sites often were socio-religious centers located in the floodplains of major drainages. They were frequently economically and politically linked to smaller vassal-like satellite settlements. Historic Native American settlements are poorly known archaeologically. Due to acculturation, post contact aboriginal culture change was extremely dynamic. Thus, archaeologists currently know more about pre-contact than post contact Native Americans in South Carolina. However, researchers are beginning to note substantial interaction and cultural exchange between historic period aboriginals and other colonial residents of the lowcountry (Anthony 2002, 2005; Joseph 2004). Such encounters likely happened at Drayton Hall.

Chapter V Interpretations

The 2003 testing at locus 22 revealed that the area was occupied through the 18th century, and likely abandoned after 1810; all the artifacts recovered dated to that period. The features encountered, particularly in the northwest corner of the site, indicate that locus 22 may be the location of the colonial slave settlement, as suggested from previous archaeological and documentary research. While relatively sparse, the materials recovered are consistent with a domestic occupation. The recovery of large amounts of colonoware, particularly the Yaughan variety, compares favorably with other slave villages in the lowcountry. The data suggested that more extensive excavations could reveal evidence of structures in this area.

This was supported by the ground-penetrating radar study conducted by General Engineering Geophysics, which revealed a number of large features and concentrations of brick rubble in the area. Excavations in 2005 focused on these subsurface anomalies, and further exposure of features encountered in 2003. The resulting project exposed the remains of two structures with brick foundations, additional posts that may represent earthfast buildings, and an expanded assemblage of 18th-century artifacts. The general interpretations discussed in this section combine the data from the 2003 and the 2005 field season. This is particularly true for artifact totals and horizontal distribution figures.

Interpretation of the archaeological data from locus 22 focuses on four interrelated issues:

1. The form and function of structures revealed.
2. Analysis of site function through artifact patterning.
3. Evolution of the landscape as revealed through horizontal distribution.
4. The presence of African American or Native American residents as revealed through colonoware.

Two zone deposits were defined across the site. Zone 1 included some historic materials in a modern (post-occupational) accumulation of topsoil. The underlying zone 2 is associated with a living surface that accumulated during the most intensive period of site occupation. Analysis of materials from both the 2003 and 2005 projects indicate no temporal sequencing for this site. All of the materials recovered date to the 18th century. More significant, then, was horizontal variation in artifact type and quantity, and so analysis was conducted by excavation unit, rather than by zones. Certain diagnostic artifact categories were then selected for distributional analysis using a computer-generated mapping program (Surfer). Surfer 8 is a 3D statistical contour modeling program used to create maps of terrains and landscapes. Archaeologists have utilized this program to create artifact density diagrams for many years; these have proven useful in revealing discrete activity areas, as well as change in land use patterning through time. The

even horizontal distribution of excavation units across locus 22, coupled with the field observations of horizontal variation, indicated that this computer analysis would be productive.

For our purposes, the X and Y values correspond to northing and easting lines of the archaeological site grid. These have remained constant since inception of the archaeological project, and can be relocated on the ground at any time. The Z coordinate is traditionally an elevation, but for our purposes it can be an artifact count, weight, or any other quantifiable entity deemed appropriate. The Microsoft Excel program is used to create a database by columns, with the first two corresponding to the X and Y values. Multiple columns of Z can then be listed. Once all of the data files are set, they can be used to generate contour maps that show positional artifact data across the grid. Surfer also predicts artifact densities around the units. These are used for general site interpretation, and do not necessarily reflect true artifact patterning. Only the grid points entered into the database, and the artifact data attributed to these points, should be considered actual representations of how the artifact assemblage was recovered from a site. Like the ground penetrating radar, though, this predictive modeling can be useful for guiding future excavations, and for interpreting site patterning from data retrieved. The Surfer 8 maps were generated by Andrew Agha of Brockington & Associates. These use the site grid coordinates, unit locations, and artifact totals from the 2003 and 2005 field projects to reveal artifact patterning at locus 22. The distributional data are relevant to each of the four issues discussed below.

The Built Environment

The 2005 project supported the interpretation of locus 22 as an area of 18th to early 19th century occupation. The initial interpretation of the area of the 18th century slave settlement has been expanded to include use of the area as a work yard, with a number of work buildings. Two structures with brick foundations, albeit in damaged condition, were located during the present project.

Most substantial was the building defined by features 45 and 54. This consisted of a narrow brick foundation, intact in only a few locations and robbed (represented by a line of brick rubble) elsewhere. The north and south walls, designated as feature 54, were even more fragmentary than the east and west walls, and were represented only by a linear concentration of rubble in a midden soil. Based on exposure of the entire west wall in units N685E275 through N705E270, the width of the building was roughly 20 feet (bearing in mind that intact corners were not encountered in any units). Based on exposure of a small section of the south wall in N685 E300 and the north wall in N710E290, the structure could be as wide as 24 feet. The length is a bit more difficult to determine. Most of the north wall was exposed during excavation, though the corner locations were particularly disturbed. The north wall is likely located in unit N705E270, while the northeast corner may be just beyond the limits of N715E315. This suggests the length is between 45 and 48 feet.

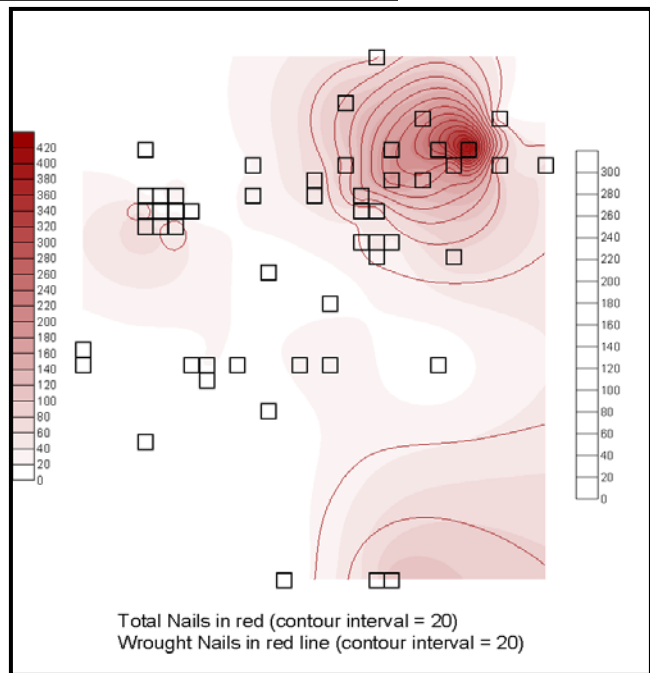
These dimensions are tantalizingly close to those recorded by Charles Drayton in an 1806 diary entry. Drayton refers to a barn built in 1804, measuring 24' by 44'. This building had a brick foundation and was roofed with cypress shingles. The 1806 entry in Drayton's diary indicates the barn was painted with white lead paint tinted in yellow ochre (Legare 2003:6). There is no mention of the precise location of this barn.



47: Aerial view of features 45 and 54, foundations to a barn

The overall location of this building is marked by a concentration of nails, as well as brick. Nails were concentrated in the 2003 units directly north of feature 45, and this concentration continued in the matrix of feature 54. The large number of nails north of the actual foundation suggests the building may have decayed or collapsed in place. While brick and nails are concentrated in the area of features 45/54, window glass is less common. This would suggest a building with few, if any, windows, again supporting an interpretation as a barn.

Designation as a barn is further supported by the relative absence of



48: A concentration of nails is evident on the north side of feature 54

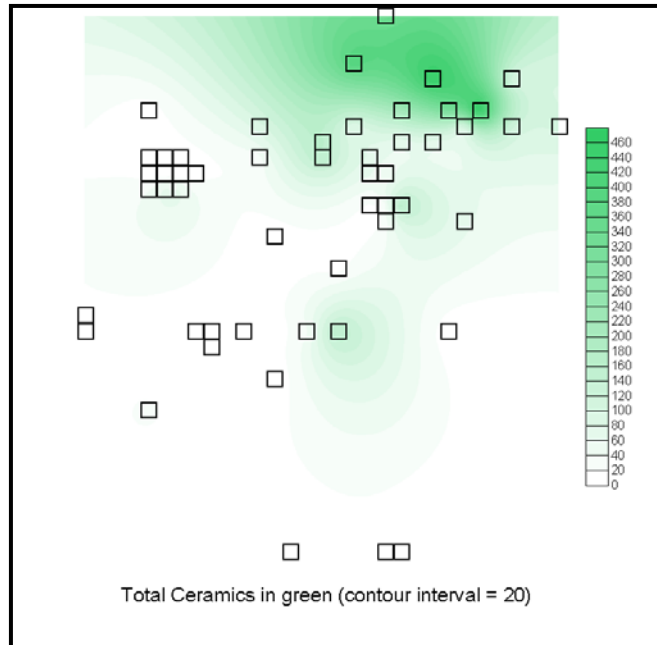
kitchen or domestic debris, particularly bone. The overall paucity of artifacts at this location argues against a dwelling, a kitchen, or other domestic use structure. Interpretation as a barn, or possibly a stable, is further supported by the recovery of horse equipment. Inference of function based on individual artifacts must be made with caution, but the recovery of bridle and carriage hardware, as well as horseshoes, in this location support an association of the structure with horses. Artifacts associated with equestrian activities are rare, and the amount recovered here may be considered a 'concentration.' Further, the brass hardware -- buckles, bridle ornament, and ornamental edging -- is unusual in quality as well as quantity.



49: set of harness buckles (left) and bridle ornament (above) recovered from the area of feature 45/54.

Discovery of the feature 45/54 structure resolved a related issue of interpretation, one unresolved after the 2003 project. The initial excavations revealed a gradation of soil color and texture from brown to dark gray-brown in the northeastern quadrant of the site. This was associated with a dramatic increase in artifact quantity within the dark soil. There was no physical evidence of soil disturbance in this area, and so the difference was interpreted as natural. The position of the brick foundation represented by feature 54 within the dark midden on the northern portion of the site and through the brown soil along the southern half of the structure suggests that the soil color and artifact density gradation noted in 2003 is historical, and not the result of post-depositional disturbance. The continuation of the foundation into the black soil suggests these soils have not been disturbed since the early 19th century, and that the dark area represents organic midden soil integral to the historic landscape. The concentration of artifacts, particularly those from the late 18th century (figure 62), beside and behind (north of) the building indicates that this was an area used for refuse disposal. Based on the orientation of the barn, and its relation to the main house, this debris would have been behind the barn, and thus out of view from the house and drive.

Artifacts from the late 18th to early 19th century were recovered in the fill of the architectural rubble features, and were concentrated along the north side of the structure. The physical condition of the foundations (as rubble) and the mixing of artifacts and rubble in the features themselves suggest that the materials recovered reflect destruction of the building, rather than construction. The recovery of pearlwares and a few fragments of whiteware within features 45 and 54 suggest the building was abandoned by the second quarter of the 19th century. An intact builders trench was only revealed in one location, and a small sample (feature 71) yielded no datable artifacts. Based on the available data, it appears that the large building (tentatively referred to as a barn) was a late 18th -century addition to the landscape.



50: Ceramics and domestic debris were concentrated on the north side of the barn represented by features 45 and 54.

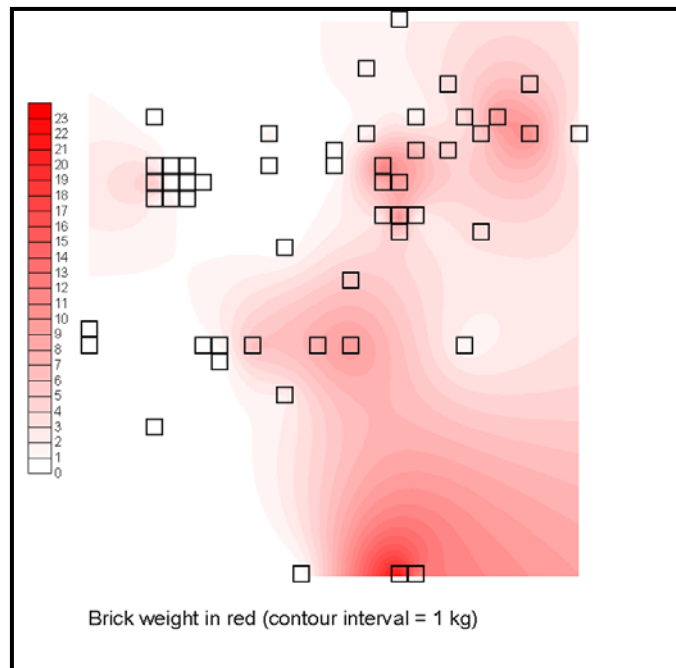


51: above, excavated sample of feature 71, builders trench associated with the intact portion of feature 45, N700E275
Below, linear area of brick rubble defined as feature 91, N580E280



Though excavations were less extensive, a second brick structure was indicated in the vicinity of N580E275 and N580E280. The heavy concentration of brick rubble in feature 91 was linear in orientation, trending grid northwest/southeast and roughly parallel with feature 45/54. No intact brick was encountered during the present project, but the overall greater concentration of brick fragments (as revealed by the Surfer maps, figures 56-64) suggests a structure more substantial than the larger building to the north. Further, finish-coat plaster was recovered from the feature, as was a concentration of window glass. Taken together, this suggests a substantial structure, one with sash windows and finished walls. Without rough dimensions, it is difficult to attribute function, but it is possibly one of the “offices” described by Charles Drayton in 1791. Relatively few artifacts were recovered around this building, lending further support to interpretation as a building whose function did not generate domestic debris. Finally, the concentration of pre-1760s ceramics in this area suggests an earlier use for this building. The absence of refined earthenwares in the feature 91 fill, and in the zones above support the interpretation of this building as a colonial structure. Further excavations will be required to date both the construction and the abandonment of this structure with certainty. However, the lack of later materials in the rubble itself suggests the building may have been demolished prior to construction of the barn.

An alternate attribution for this structure is the “loom house” described by Charles Drayton in the 1790s. Like the office, this structure would be non-domestic in function, and associated kitchen refuse would not be expected. Late 18th -century references to the loom house indicate that it was a substantial structure, one with two chimneys, and at some point was also used as a “grainery.” These multiple activities would be expected to generate identifiable artifacts, and none have been recovered to date. Therefore, the loom house attribution seems less likely than the office attribution, based on current data.

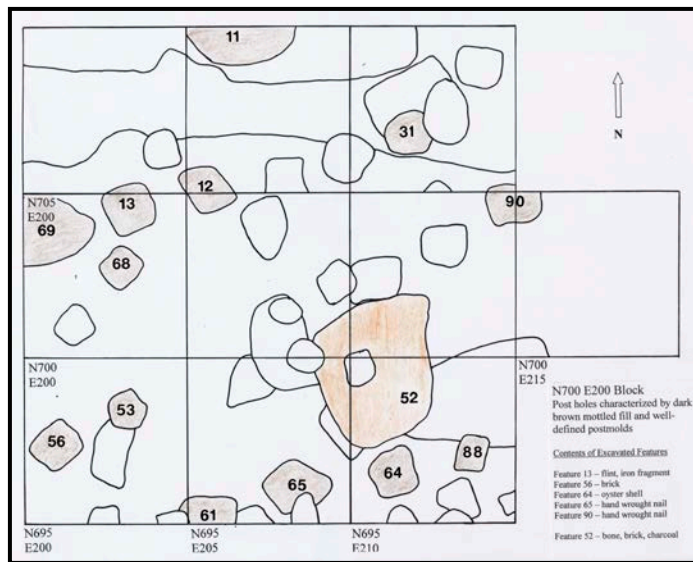


52: brick is concentrated in the locations of the three identified structures, but is particularly dense in the vicinity of feature 91.

More problematic was interpretation of the series of post stains in the northwest corner of the site as a structure or structures. Excavation of three units in 2003 revealed a series of posts interpreted as foundation for modest earthfast structures, likely the homes of enslaved residents. Artifacts in this area were sparse, and the posts were not located in the dark midden soil. Nonetheless, early 18th-century artifacts and colonowares were recovered in the overlying zones, and a concentration of architectural debris was noted, as well. Expansion of this excavation block was deemed a priority for the 2005 project. Seven additional units were excavated, and the three original units were re-opened, to expose an area 15' by 20'. These excavations revealed a number of new post stains, but these proved difficult to sequence and associate.

Based on appearance and size, it seems that there are two sets of posts that are likely structural. Predominant are rounded postholes with central molds, about 1.0' deep. They average 1.8' in diameter, and feature highly mottled soil. Thirteen such features were defined in the 10-unit block. Though the spacing and alignment are irregular, there appear to be at least two parallel lines, approximately 10' apart and trending northeast/southwest for nearly 15'. Six of these features were excavated or sampled, but none yielded temporally diagnostic materials. Features 65 and 90 contained hand-wrought nail fragments, while the others contained brick, mortar, and shell fragments.

While none of these materials provide firm dates of construction or abandonment, they do indicate that the features are associated with the historic period, an important consideration given the preponderance of prehistoric materials in this area. Tentatively associated with this occupation is feature 52, the large pit filled with burned clay and charcoal. No artifacts were recovered from the portion excavated. Function and association of feature 52 remains unclear.



53: predominant post hole pattern noted in the N700 E200 block

The second set of posts is slightly larger, more regular in shape, and characterized by crushed white mortar in the center, presumably the location of the post mold. Six such features were identified, and five were sampled. Feature 53 yielded a fragment of green bottle glass, and the other features contained brick fragments. These posts are

concentrated in the northeast quadrant of the block, but they appear oriented along the same plane as the larger group of posts.

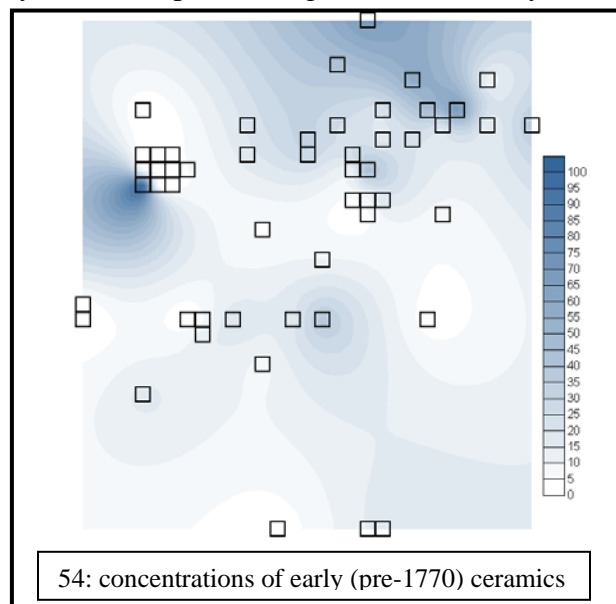
Given the lack of datable material in both sets, it is not yet possible to sequence these features, nor date them precisely. Neither group aligns to form a building at the present time. Further, none of the features excavated contained datable artifacts. Most contained no material at all, while a few contained a single nail or nail fragment, or a bit of brick or mortar. These materials, though, were enough to associate the features with the historic occupation. An overall lack of artifacts in a post feature may reflect a date of construction shortly after the site was settled, before refuse was present to be cycled into the feature.

A third group of smaller posts (at least 4) are aligned along the southern edge of the present block, and are clustered around feature 52. As these intrude into feature 52 and some of the larger posts, they appear to be a later event. Because of time constraints, none of these features were excavated or sampled; they therefore contribute little to the issue of dating. The posts may represent fences or pens, rather than structures.

Finally, a series of somewhat amorphous features is present beneath the sets of posts, and likely represent earlier activities. These include the ditch or depression located along the north side (feature 5/22) and a series of amorphous rectangular stains. Feature 5 was the only such feature sampled, and it yielded Yaughan colonoware, pipe stems, and green glass, again suggesting an historic association.

While the overall artifact count was low, and datable materials were lacking, the horizontal distribution reflected in the Surfer 8 maps lends support to the interpretation of the posts as structural, and to the buildings as early 18th-century structures. There is a moderate concentration of nails in this area, and a slightly less robust concentration of brick. There is no window glass, suggesting structures without finished openings. Early ceramics and colonowares are concentrated here, however, in contrast to the dense deposit of later ceramics in the dark midden behind feature 54. This suggests the buildings are associated with the early to mid-18th century. Recovery of a few fragments of refined earthenware suggests that they were occupied through the 18th century. Further, the succession of posts, in close proximity, suggests multiple rebuilding episodes. All of the features trend northeast/southwest, and this alignment is reflected in the density maps, as well. Such an alignment is in agreement with that of the two brick foundations, and again supports interpretation as structures.

Attribution of the post structures as dwellings remains



problematic, however, given the lack of associated domestic artifacts. This is particularly true for food remains and kitchen artifacts, usually the signature of domestic structures. If the buildings were residences, then debris generated in those houses was deposited elsewhere. The concentration of colonowares in this vicinity, combined with the earthfast architectural style, lends the strongest support to interpretation of these posts as foundations for slave dwellings. Additional excavation will be necessary to fully expose buildings represented by the current feature pattern. Excavations to the south and west are warranted.



55: close-up aerial view of post hole pattern, facing west. Distributional data suggest additional excavation to the south and west is warranted.

Site Function and Artifact Patterning

In 1977, Stanley South published the seminal work *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*. In this work, South proposed an analytical method which classifies artifacts by function. The eight groups – kitchen, architecture, arms, clothing, personal, furniture, pipes, and activities – cover the range of domestic activities at typical British colonial sites. South went on to note that there were broad regularities in the relative proportions of these artifact groups across colonial, and possibly Federal, America and that these proportions reflect the “typical” range of activities on domestic sites. He termed this regularity the Carolina Artifact Pattern. Any deviation from the pattern could reflect different activities at the site.

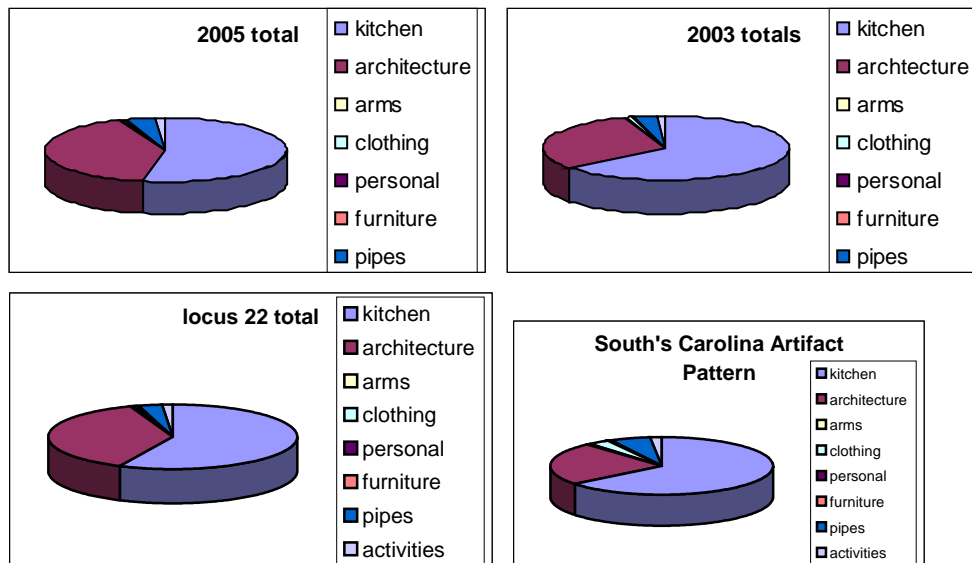
Since 1977, South’s pattern recognition approach has been widely used, and in some cases abused, by historical archaeologists. South himself (1988) has argued that pattern recognition should be simply a first step in studying cultural processes responsible for the behavior reflected in artifact patterning. Subsequent researchers have suggested changes in the placement of certain artifact types (Garrow 1982). Others have named a variety of patterns, designed to elucidate variation in the material culture on rice

plantations, cotton plantations, yeoman farm sites, urban, public, and industrial sites (see Jackson in Zierden, Drucker, and Calhoun 1986).

South's methodology has been used by the authors as an organizing tool for both urban and rural sites in the Carolina lowcountry for the past two decades, allowing for direct intersite comparison. In the past decade, it has become apparent that a variety of factors influence artifact patterning, ranging from human behavior, to physical archaeological site formation processes, to technological developments and marketing trends in the material culture itself. A further refinement, proposed by Julia King (1990, 1992), is to consider domestic artifacts and architectural materials separately.

Table 4
Comparison of Assemblages to Carolina Artifact Pattern

	2005		2003		Site	<i>Carolina</i>
	#	%	#	%	Total(%)	<i>Pattern (%)</i>
Kitchen	3464	53.0	3587	64.5	57.0	63.0
Architecture	2921	40.5	1689	30.3	37.3	23.9
Arms	25	.34	18	.32	_.3	_.5
Clothing	37	.51	24	.43	_.5	3.0
Personal	0	0	3	.05	_.02	_.2
Furniture	26	.36	10	.17	_.29	_.2
Pipes	272	3.77	109	3.04	3.0	5.8
Activities	108	1.49	65	1.16	1.3	1.7



For the purposes of this analysis, the materials from 2003 and 2005 were tabulated separately (as discussed in Chapter 4), and then combined for an overall site total. The two projects together produced 12,358 artifacts from 315 discrete proveniences.

The materials excavated in 2003 generally conform to the Carolina Artifact Pattern. Architectural materials were slightly more common, while items of clothing and personal possession were relatively sparse. A relative lack of clothing, personal, and furniture items has often been interpreted as an overall signature of material poverty, while an increased presence of these items signals a wealthier occupation (Zierden 1999; Zierden and Calhoun 1990).

Architectural materials were slightly above the mean for the Carolina Artifact Pattern in the 2003 assemblage, averaging 30% of the assemblage; the Carolina Pattern averages 23%. Architectural materials were even more prominent in the 2005 assemblage, comprising 40% of the assemblage. This is partially a result of excavations on building foundations. When the two seasons are combined, architectural materials comprise 37% of the total assemblage. This supports the interpretation that non-domestic structures form a significant part of the locus 22 landscape. Alternately, the increased presence of architectural materials may be the result of site formation processes; buildings that have been abandoned (burned, demolished, or simply collapsed) leave more artifacts in the ground than those that are removed or are still standing.

Kitchen materials, proportionately, are less common at locus 22. They average 64% of the 2003 assemblage, comparable to the Carolina Pattern at 63%. The relative proportion of kitchen materials drops in the 2005 assemblage to 53%. Overall, the total assemblage is comprised of 57% kitchen materials. This is slightly less than the Carolina Pattern, with a mean of 63%. These figures again suggest that domestic affairs were not the only activity at locus 22.

Another measure of site habitation has been the relative density of artifacts on sites, and within various site proveniences. This has been calculated simply by measuring the number of artifacts, or weights of bone or brick, against the volume of soil excavated. Measurements have been presented as amount of material per cubic foot of excavated soil. In Charleston, where refuse is often denser overall than on dispersed rural sites, artifact density has ranged from 10 artifacts per cubic foot to 25 artifacts per cubic foot (with materials such as brick, mortar, slate, charcoal, and bone not included). Density at locus 22 varies across the site, but ranges from .6 artifacts per cubic foot in the N580 units to a high of 23 artifacts in the dark midden area. This again supports the idea that the dark soil was an area of deliberate refuse disposal. There is also a relative increase in artifact density in the low area (the N650 line; 5 artifacts/cubic foot). This may reflect deliberate discard in a swampy area, or may reflect post-depositional movement of soils through natural causes.

Interpretation of the dark soil as midden, and indeed of the entire locus as a habitation area is tempered somewhat by the overall lack of faunal remains (animal bone) recovered at the site. Faunal remains are an integral component of colonial domestic

sites, and their absence here is noteworthy. Faunal remains were evidently more numerous in the area of the main house and flanker buildings (Lewis 1978:99). Only 803 grams were recovered in 2003 and an additional 1,200 grams were recovered in 2005. The bone that was recovered came primarily from the midden area. Smaller concentrations were noted in the low area and in the vicinity of the post structures. But the overall signature of the site was a very small amount of bone.

One possible reason for the lack of faunal remains may be preservation. Preservation of bone is usually good on historic sites in the lowcountry, due to the alkaline nature of most midden soil. High pH for bone preservation is enhanced by the presence of calcium in the soil. On historic sites this is often provided by oyster shell fragments, and by lime mortar, made from oyster shell. Almost all lowcountry sites are marked by a scatter of crushed oyster shell, but shell was noticeably sparse at locus 22. Mortar was somewhat more common in the vicinity of the brick structures, though, and the bone was only slightly more common here. The lack of bone, then, cannot be completely attributed to lack of preservation.

A relative lack of material variety, or diversity, is another aspect of the locus 22 assemblage. The relative paucity of clothing and personal items has already been addressed in terms of the socioeconomic status of site residents. Personal items, in particular, were noticeably absent. They comprise .05% of the 2003 assemblage, and none were recovered in 2005. Such items as coins, keys, and seals average .2% of British colonial assemblages, as reflected in the Carolina Artifact Pattern. Though slightly more numerous, clothing items were also infrequent, compared to the Carolina pattern. They comprise .4% of the 2003 collection and .5% of the 2005 assemblage, averaging .43% of the total assemblage. The Carolina Pattern suggests that British colonial sites average 3.0%. Furniture items were slightly more numerous, averaging .3% of the total assemblage. Most of these were brass upholstery tacks, however. Given the attribution of the large building as a barn or stable, and the concentration of equestrian items, it is possible that some of the tacks came from saddles or harness leather, rather than furniture.

Tobacco pipes averaged 3.0% of the assemblage, which is slightly lower than the Carolina Artifact Pattern at 5.8%. Tobacco pipes are consistently less common in Carolina than they are in the tobacco-growing Chesapeake, and they further decline in numbers as the 18th century progresses. However, locus 22 contained an unusually small number of pipes. The Activities group is highly variable, and reflects a range of possible site activities, from food storage to entertainment to hunting and fishing. Activities items average 1.3% of the materials in the Carolina Pattern, and a comparable amount were recovered from locus 22. The majority of these were iron strap fragments from barrels and equestrian items. Both are in keeping with the possible function of feature 45 as a barn or stable.

Relative proportions of individual artifact types, as well as artifact classes and groups, have been used to measure the material wealth of site residents; this has been a particular focus of archaeological research on urban sites in Charleston. For the purposes

of this discussion, the locus 22 materials are compared to the Charleston average for two general periods, 1720-1760 and 1760-1820. A contemporary rice plantation on the Edisto River, owned by James Stobo and excavated by the authors, is also used for comparison (Zierden et al. 1999). The Stobo plantation assemblage largely reflects the possessions of the white owner, and includes a number of highly curated materials, suggesting the site was abandoned suddenly.

An obvious area of comparison is the proportion of colonowares to the total number of ceramics. Scholars have noted variation in the amount of colonoware present on plantation sites relative to the distance from Charleston (Anthony 1989; 2002). Colonowares sometimes comprise more than 50% of the ceramics on outlying plantations; closer to the city the ware can be as little as 10%. In early 18th century Charleston, colonowares comprise an average of 17% of the ceramics. By the late 18th century they are only 5%, and by the 19th century less than 1%. Colonowares dominate the locus 22 assemblage, and comprise 62% of the total ceramics. By comparison, the more remote Stobo plantation ranged from 25% colonoware in the early 18th century to 14% in the early 19th century.

By contrast, Chinese export porcelain has been considered a marker of elite socioeconomic status, particularly for the 17th and early 18th centuries, and this is reflected in the wealthy city assemblages. Porcelain jumps from 10% of the ceramics in Charleston during the early 18th century to 18% in the late 18th century. James Stobo's household ceramics included 26% porcelain in the early 18th -century and 32% in the latter part of the century. The locus 22 ceramics, in contrast included only 4.2% porcelains. The fashionable, if middle-range, creamwares average 19% of James Stobo's ceramics, and they are 20% of Charleston's late 18th -century assemblage. They are slightly less common at locus 22, averaging 13% of the assemblage.

The presence of table glass, such as wine goblets, decanters, and drinking glasses, has also been used as a measure of wealth and refinement. These wares average 5% of the kitchen wares at James Stobo's plantation. They are less than 1% of the locus 22 kitchen wares (.9%). Finally, the proportion of the 'luxury' items – clothing, personal, and furniture items – may be used to measure relative status. Again, these items comprised .66% of James Stobo's possessions, and they average 1.2% of the early Charleston assemblage and 1.8% of the city's late 18th -century assemblage. They average .8% of the locus 22 assemblage.

If we presume that the materials recovered throughout locus 22 were generated by historic activities at that location, then the data indicate that at least some of the site occupation was domestic in nature. The materials retrieved, particularly from the northeastern portion of the site, conform to the Carolina Artifact pattern. The relatively large amount of architectural material, compared to kitchen material, suggest that at least some of the structures were not dwellings, nor were they the site of kitchen activities (this is consistent with the tentative interpretation of feature 45 as a barn and feature 91 as an office or other administrative building). The relative proportions of artifacts traditionally used to measure social status indicate the occupants were relatively impoverished.

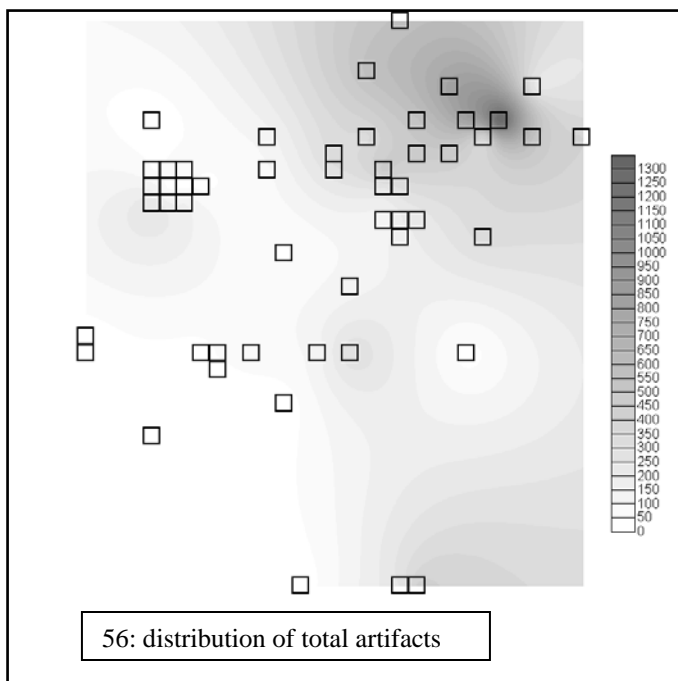
Finally, the predominance of colonowares in the ceramic assemblage suggests the residents were African American.

Landscape Patterning

While a primary goal of the 2005 project was to explore particular features revealed by earlier testing and by remote sensing, a secondary goal was to provide even site coverage. The size of the sample, plus the phased approach to fieldwork (including the remote sensing survey) suggests that the horizontal trends observed to date have some validity, and can be used to guide future studies, as well as current interpretation.

Principal features explored during the project include the three structures discussed above, plus a large pit feature revealed through remote sensing that appears to be a natural depression. It is important to note that almost all of these are suggested by the present ground surface. Though the site likely exhibited greater relief during the 18th century, the circular depression excavated as feature 46 is visible on the ground surface. Too, the outline of feature 45/54 generally presents as a raised area. A close-interval contour survey may be useful in predicting the location of additional subsurface features.

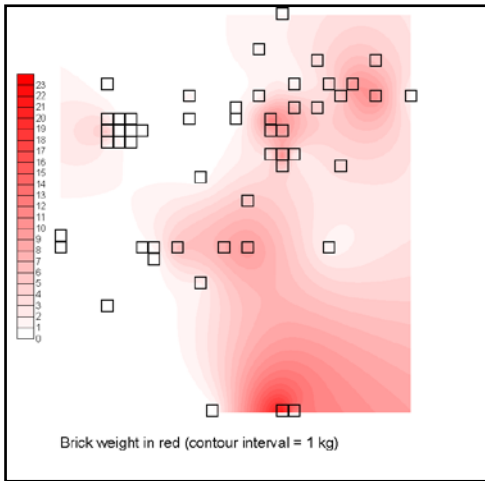
To explore variations in structure and activity locations across the historic landscape, a series of seventeen distribution/density maps were generated using the Surfer 8 program. Various artifact categories and combinations of artifact categories were used to produce these maps for visual comparison. Together, the maps suggest that individual activity areas can be isolated in the landscape. Further, the maps suggest differences between the features of the early 18th century and those of the late 18th century.



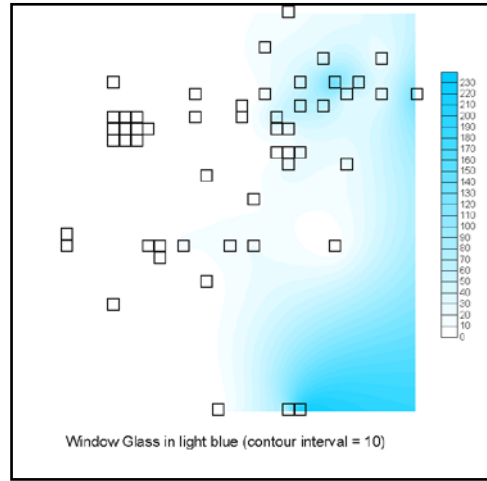
Distribution of the total assemblage shows that the greatest concentration of material is north of feature 45, in the area of dark midden. This confirms the observation made in the field, and is not particularly revealing. But the maps also suggest concentrations of material in the areas of the three structures, as well as an increased artifact presence in feature 46. When the architectural materials are isolated, they correlate more strongly with the three structures, and less so with the depression and the yard area in general. Architectural materials are concentrated in the

footprints of the three buildings. In particular, they decline in frequency in the dark midden north of the brick foundation.

A similar pattern is revealed with the tabulation of brick rubble, by weight. This includes all of the brick retained in screening, as well as the large amounts weighed and discarded in the field. Again brick is concentrated in the footprint of feature 45. There are lesser amounts associated with the post features, and at least some brick is included in the filled depression. The heaviest concentration of brick is in the vicinity of the building represented by feature 91, suggesting a substantial structure.



57: distribution of brick rubble



58: distribution of window glass

The distribution of window glass mirrors this trend, and differences are even more pronounced. Window glass is concentrated in the N580 units, associated with feature 91. Lesser amounts are found along the north wall of feature 45. Glass is absent from the N700E200 block. This again suggests that feature 91 is a substantial, finished building, while the earthfast structures likely were without windows.

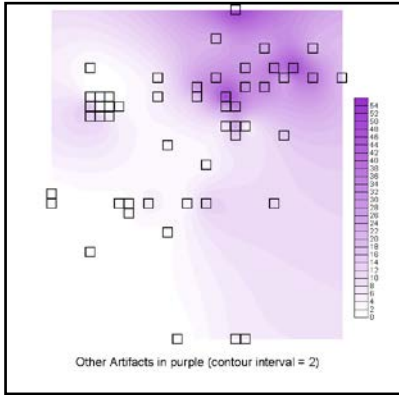
Nails, particularly the hand wrought nails typical of the 18th century, followed the footprints of the structures. They are clustered around feature 91, along the south and west sides of the N700E200 block, and along the north wall of feature 45/54. They are virtually absent from other areas of the site. Taken together, the nails, brick, and general architecture maps suggest that the post features continue to the west, and that further excavations in this direction are warranted. Unfortunately, a substantial oak tree is located adjacent to the western edge of the current excavation block. The strong



59: distribution of nails (total)

correlation between nail concentration and foundation location provides further evidence that the site is intact, and has not been subject to extensive post-occupational disturbance.

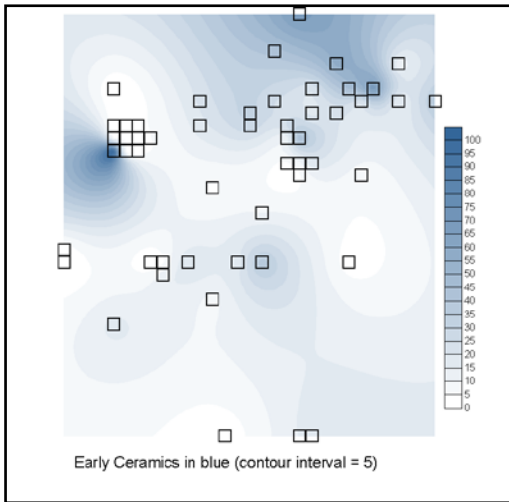
Though recovered in relatively minor amounts, the clothing and other personal artifacts were examined for horizontal variation. Clothing artifacts clustered in the dark midden and in the vicinity of feature 45/54. Smaller concentrations were noted around the post features. None were present in the vicinity of feature 91. A similar pattern was noted when all artifacts, excluding kitchen and architecture, were tabulated. Here, the concentration around feature 45, and thus in the dark midden, was even more pronounced. So, too, was the concentration southwest of the N700E200 block. This again supports the interpretation of feature 91 as a structure used for activities other than food preparation or daily living.



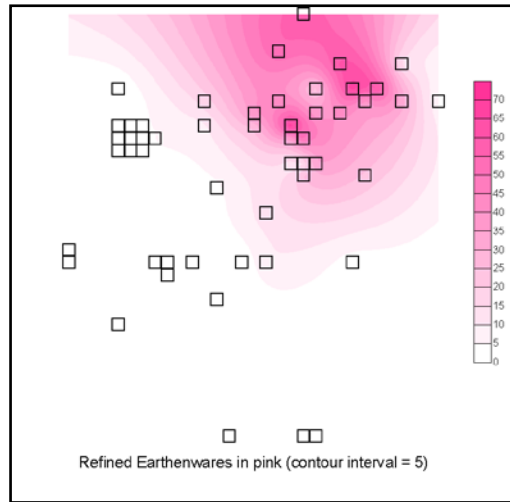
60: distribution of artifacts other than kitchen and architecture

Artifacts in the kitchen group were subjected to the widest range of analysis, with interesting results. Tabulation of the entire kitchen group revealed a concentration in the dark midden, and smaller clusters in the depression (feature 46) and in the vicinity of the post structures. Relatively few kitchen materials were recovered around feature 91. The ceramic assemblage exhibited similar trends, with an overwhelming concentration in the midden north of feature 54 (in units excavated in 2003). Ceramics also clustered in the depression and, to a lesser extent, in the N700E200 block.

But when the pre-1760 ceramics are separated from the refined earthenwares, an interesting divergence is revealed. The later ceramics (creamware, pearlware, and whiteware) that dominate assemblages from the last quarter of the 18th century were recovered almost exclusively in the dark midden, in and around feature 45/54. They were absent from the N700E200 block, and from the feature 91 units. Quite the opposite was the case with the early 18th-century ceramics. Here, there was a strong concentration at the N700E200 block, and weaker ones in the depression and around feature 91.



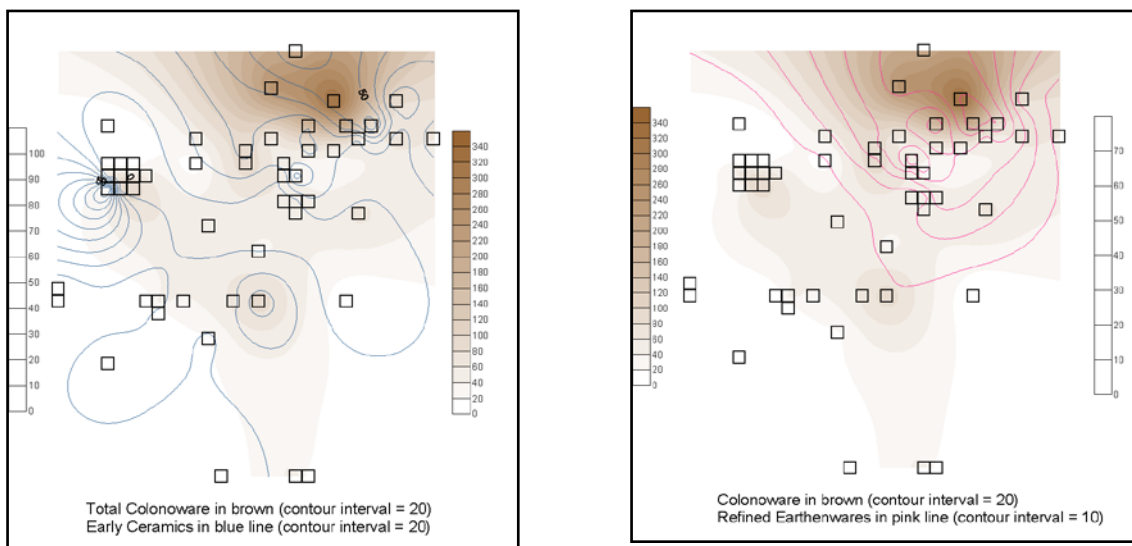
61: distribution of pre-1760s ceramics



62: distribution of post-1760s ceramics

Relatively moderate amounts were recovered from the midden soil north of feature 45. This, combined with dates of deposition for the features, provides strong evidence that the structures represented by the posts and by feature 91 were constructed relatively early, while the large building represented by feature 45/54, and much of the associated midden, was a much later addition to the Drayton Hall landscape.

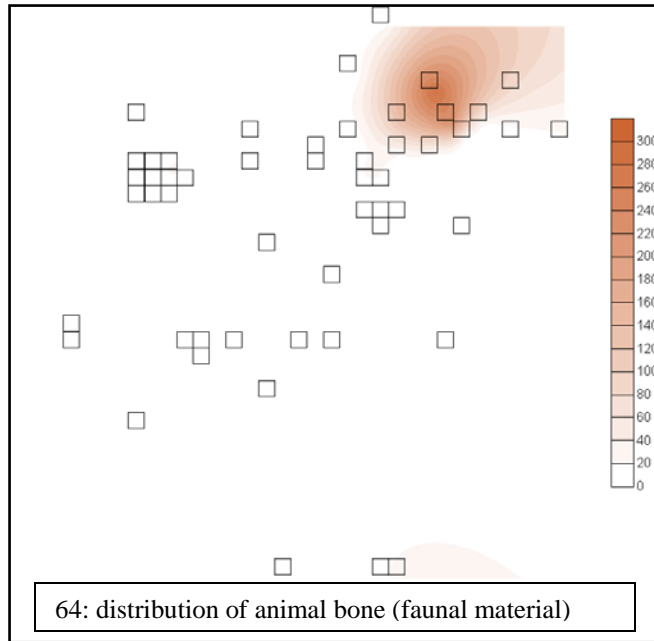
This scenario is enhanced, and complicated, when the distribution of colonowares is considered. Colonoware is concentrated in the dark midden area, with lesser concentrations around the N700E200 block and in feature 46. An alternate calculation, where the relative percentage of colonoware compared to other ceramics is considered, reveals a stronger presence in the area of the post features, along with the footprint of the large building. Lesser concentrations are found in feature 46, around feature 91, and, for the first time, in the southwestern portion of the site. Moreover, two overlay maps – colonoware with early ceramics and colonoware with later ceramics – show that the colonowares do not trend perfectly with either group. Early ceramics are more strongly represented in the N700E200 block than are colonowares, while these local wares are more pronounced further east, in the dark midden. Likewise, colonowares are concentrated in the same location as the refined earthenwares, but they are also located outside of this concentration.



63: distribution of colonoware, relative to early ceramics (left) and later ceramics (right)

A tentative interpretation of site use derives from consideration of the density maps, particularly the group discussed above. The maps provide strong support for interpretation of the post concentration as an early 18th-century feature, one likely representing slave dwellings. The overall lack of domestic debris and the absence of midden soil over the post stains tempers this interpretation – unless the household refuse was discarded elsewhere, some distance from the structures themselves. If colonowares

are associated most strongly with people of African descent, then it appears that the dark midden soil began as an area of refuse deposition for the residents of the earthfast structures. Refuse accumulation, and concentration, accelerated after construction of the barn. Whether or not the earthfast structures were still occupied at this time, and whether or not the later refuse behind the barn comes from these structures, is less clear. But it's possible. Finally, this interpretation is muted somewhat by the overall lack of faunal remains. Bone concentration is extremely light,



but the density map suggests that bone concentrations mirror that of the colonowares and the overall kitchen group. Bone is densest in the dark midden, but smaller clusters are found in feature 46, in the N700E200 block and around feature 91.

Analysis of Colonoware

Since the late 1970s the accelerated interest in plantation archaeology has grown in concert with an increasing interest in what many refer to as African American archaeology. Indeed, some scholars would argue that the continuing popularity of South Carolina plantation archaeology has actually been the result of an ever-increasing interest in African American archaeology. Singleton (1999) notes that most studies in African American archaeology have concerned themselves with classic anthropological interest in cultural interaction and change. Early anthropologically oriented plantation archaeology studies in South Carolina focused on the results of interaction between African Americans and European Americans. Recently, however, more attention has been given to the role of Native Americans in the formation of “Southern Society” by investigating the cultural interactions among African Americans, European Americans, and Native Americans (cf. Anthony 2002; King 2002).

In an effort to be objective, several scholars have used the concept of *creolization* when discussing culture change and formation as a result of encounters by different cultural groups in colonial and early ante bellum America. Creolization, “... the building of a new culture from diverse elements.” (Ferguson 1992:150), emphasizes creativity and expresses mutual exchange and contribution by all cultures in contact. The use of creolization embraces another traditional anthropological concept, that of *syncretism*. Syncretism, a result of acculturation, is a term that refers to “... the blending of indigenous and foreign traits to form a new system.” (Haviland 2003:728).

A product of culture contact, colonoware reflects the emergence of new cultural systems; new systems forged as African Americans, European Americans, and Native Americans adapted to unfamiliar physical and social settings. Colonoware perhaps is our best and, to date, our most studied material expression of syncretism from colonial and antebellum South Carolina archaeological contexts. Distributed within the mid- and south Atlantic states, this unglazed, low-fired earthenware was primarily manufactured during the 18th century, although some examples have been recovered from early 19th - century rural contexts (Trinkley et al 1995; Espenshade 1996). Originally called Colono-Indian ware (Noel Hume 1962) by Virginia archaeologists, these ceramics were first thought to have been exclusively manufactured by historic period Native Americans as a “market ware” for sale to European Americans. Recognizing that much of this ware found in South Carolina exhibited certain formal, decorative, and manufacturing characteristics atypical of the market wares produced by Native Americans during the 18th and 19th centuries, and also noting the high frequency of occurrence of this pottery at plantation sites, Leland Ferguson (1980) hypothesized that much of this ware found at plantation sites was produced and used by enslaved Africans and/or African Americans. He suggested that the term colonoware, rather than Colono-Indian, be used to refer to this low-fired earthenware, a broad classification analogous to a term such as British ceramics. Thus, the modified name of this hand-built pottery refers to unglazed low-fired earthenware, likely manufactured, used, and sold, by both African Americans and Native Americans (Anthony 1979, 1986, 2002; Wheaton et al 1983; Joseph 2002, Hamby and Joseph 2004).

In South Carolina, early support of Ferguson’s hypothesis regarding the makers and users of colonoware was provided by the archaeological investigations of the slave site at Spiers Landing (Anthony 1979; Drucker and Anthony 1979) and by the work at Yaughan and Curriboo plantations in Berkeley County, South Carolina (Wheaton et al 1983). Investigations at Yaughan and Curriboo revealed the presence of several colonowares with spalling marks. This observation, along with the possible occurrence of unfired colonoware sherds at these sites provided early evidence for on-site manufacture of colonoware within a plantation context. Further support for on-site plantation production of colonoware has been found at Drayton Hall. Lewis (1978) recovered a basal fragment of a colonoware bowl, near the planter residence, with the initials “MHD” incised into the bowl before it had been fired. The initials may stand for Mary Henrietta Drayton who resided at Drayton Hall plantation from the 1780s into the 1840s (Lewis n.d.; Ferguson 1992). Another find supports the on-site production of colonoware at Drayton Hall plantation. During the 2003 exploratory excavations of locus 22, a small, very crudely made colonoware bowl was recovered from midden deposits in unit N735 E290 (Zierden and Anthony 2004). Based primarily on its size and other physical characteristics, initial interpretation is that this vessel was made by a child, possibly while learning from an elder (Zierden and Anthony 2004).

During the last two decades, the investigation of colonoware has been performed at varying scales of analysis. Joseph provides an excellent summary of lowcountry colonoware research as part of the archaeological investigation of the Charleston County

Judicial Center site (Hamby and Joseph 2004). Some researchers have studied collections of essentially “whole” vessels, attempting interregional comparative analysis. Others, using data from large-scale compliance investigations, have explored intra-regional study of these wares (e.g. Anthony 1979, 1986; Wheaton et al 1983; Crane 1993; Trinkley et al 1995; Ferguson 1992). Those who have studied colonoware intra-regionally have for some time noted considerable morphological variability in lowcountry colonoware. Traditionally, variation has been most evident in vessel form, surface treatment, and paste characteristics.

Advocating intra-regional colonoware research, Cooper and Steen (1998) have cogently presented the pitfalls associated with excessively broad-scaled studies. Their position acknowledges colonoware variability and diversity. Cooper and Steen (1998:1) warn that many of the “macro scale” or interregional studies have “... removed colonoware from its context of manufacture and use.” In other words, data gleaned from large-scale studies of colonoware have been used to investigate local assemblages, an exercise that often does not appreciate notable intra-regional variability. This decontextualizing of colonoware will obscure cultural meaning found only through the study of localized cultural processes, as reflected in this low-fired earthenware. Relatively recent work at Stobo plantation in southern Charleston County supports this stance. Investigation of the colonoware and aboriginal pottery from Stobo Plantation (Zierden et al 1999; Anthony 2002) near the historic town of Willtown, strongly suggests that much of the paste variation often noted in lowcountry colonoware assemblages may be explained by the presence of previously unrecognized historic aboriginal- inspired or made pottery within these assemblages (Anthony 2002).

Information derived from descriptive analysis continues to provide baseline data on colonial and early antebellum lifeways and adaptations. The focus on plantation sites has expanded recently to include colonowares from urban archaeological contexts dating to the colonial period (Crane 1993; Hamby and Joseph 2004; Isenbarger 2002, 2006). Until Crane’s research, virtually no sizeable study had been conducted on colonoware from a downtown Charleston context. Crane (1993) examined over three thousand colonowares from the Heyward-Washington house and concluded that the assemblage was produced using a number of different clay sources. This suggested that the colonoware was acquired or purchased from diverse sources, rather than manufactured in Charleston.

Recent investigation at the Charleston County Judicial Center supports Crane’s findings (Hamby and Joseph 2004:253). Joseph states, “Colonoware was the most ubiquitous ceramic found in the Judicial Center site’s colonial deposits.” Fortunately, much of the Judicial Center’s colonoware was recovered from dateable deposits. The analysis of these contexts revealed that higher frequencies of colonoware occurred before the 1770s (Joseph 2004:254). Joseph states with some confidence that, “In Charleston, colonoware truly is a colonial ceramic, as its name suggests.” Furthermore, he notes that this finding is somewhat at odds with data derived from some rural sites where colonoware popularity seems to have peaked in the late 18th century (Trinkley et al 1995; Hamby and Joseph 2004). This likely attests to different cultural processes operative in

rural and urban areas. Based on previous studies, (e.g. Anthony 1979,1986, 2004; Wheaton et al 1983; Crane 1993; Trinkley et al 1995), Joseph believes that most of the colonoware recovered from the Charleston County Judicial Center site was purchased or traded through the urban market system (Joseph 2004:257). He states:

The Colonowares found at the Judicial Center Site were obviously made for trade at market. There is no evidence that Colonoware was made on the Judicial Center Site, and the majority of the Colonowares found by the project were most likely purchased, probably from Charleston's markets...

As a result, Joseph suggests that lowcountry colonowares be classified as either *Market* Colonoware or *Village* Colonoware. Village colonoware is currently represented by Yaughan wares (Wheaton et al 1983). It is found most often in association with rural slave residences where it was used primarily within the rural slave community, a utilitarian pottery.

According to Joseph, most of the colonowares found at the Judicial Center site are Lesesne Lustered (a variety described by Anthony in 1986) and other burnished wares, which likely represent most of the marketed colonowares in Charleston. These types were likely manufactured on rural plantation sites. A number of the associated burnished wares are somewhat similar to River Burnished colonoware, as described by Ferguson in 1989. River Burnished colonoware dates to the late 18th/early 19th centuries. The burnished wares from the Judicial Center were found in earlier contexts and do not evidence painted surfaces. Joseph suggests that these often thin burnished wares "... be classified as Colonial Burnished Wares to distinguish them from the late 18th to early 19th century River Burnished Wares made by the Catawba Indians." (Hamby and Joseph 2004:260) These Colonial Burnished Wares also appear similar to burnished coarse-sand-tempered pottery observed at Stobo and other lowcountry plantations (Anthony 1986, 2002; Zierden and Anthony 2004). This burnished coarse-sand-tempered colonoware is believed to be inspired or made by Native people of the historic period. Joseph states that, "Colonial Burnished ware may have been made by enslaved Native-Americans..." (Hamby and Joseph 2004:261).

The 2005 excavations at locus 22 recovered 772 non-residual colonoware container fragments. Also, six colonoware pipe bowl and stem fragments were encountered (figure 67). None of the colonoware pipe fragments exhibited surface decoration. It is likely, with the exception of a few red painted River burnished colonoware sherds, that most of the colonoware recovered from locus 22 was made on site.

Ferguson (1992:84) states that, "The most obvious evidence that pottery was made on plantations in South Carolina is the sheer quantity of artifacts found on these sites." Other types of evidence for on-site manufacture of colonoware have been observed at several lowcountry plantations. Yaughan and Curriboo plantations in Berkeley County, Lesesne plantation on Daniels Island, and Hampton plantation on the Santee River have produced colonoware sherds that exhibit spalling marks (Wheaton et

al. 1983; Anthony 1986; Ferguson 1992). Spalling normally occurs during the initial firing of a vessel, when air and/or moisture is trapped in a vessel wall. The intense heating of the vessel causes a rapid expansion of the air or moisture, resulting in an ‘explosion’ that leaves a distinctive break. Lowcountry colonoware vessels that exhibit spalling have also been characterized by fire clouding over the mark, indicating that the spalling occurred during the initial firing of the vessel and not after subsequent use. Another line of evidence, again from Yaughan and Curriboo plantations, was the recovery of unfired colonoware pottery fragments (Wheaton et al. 1983).

At Drayton Hall, Lynne Lewis reports a basal fragment of a colonoware vessel exhibiting the initials “MHD”, likely for Mary Henrietta Drayton, in residence during the late 18th to early 19th centuries. More significantly, the initials were incised into the vessel base before firing (Lewis 1978; Ferguson 1992). Archaeological investigations at locus 22 in 2003 recovered a very small, very crudely-made colonoware bowl (figure 68). It is possible that this small bowl was made by a child, or an unskilled potter. Surely it was not intended for use, much less sale or trade to a resident of Drayton Hall, or elsewhere. Ferguson states, “Most Colono ware from South Carolina is well-made, but the occasional example of poorly crafted pottery provides further evidence of plantation manufacture” (Ferguson 1992:87)

This assemblage contains all the colonoware types aforementioned. It is quite possible that the classification of Historic Aboriginal colonoware used in this study and in the previous archaeological investigation of locus 22 (Zierden and Anthony 2004) is basically the same pottery referred to as Colonial Burnished by Hamby and Joseph (2004). Table 5 shows the frequency of colonoware by type found during the present study while Table 6 depicts the counts from 2005 combined with the colonoware frequencies from 2003 (Zierden and Anthony 2004).

Table 5
Colonoware From Locus 22 (2005)

<u>Classification</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Yaughan	587	76.0
Lesesne Lustered	92	12.0
River Burnished	17	2.2
Historic Aboriginal Colonoware	76*	9.8
TOTAL	772	100

* includes two red-filmed sherds

Table 6
Colonoware From Locus 22 (2003 & 2005)

<u>Classification</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Yaughan	1,430	79.3
Lesesne Lustered	203	11.3
River Burnished	18	1.0
Historic Aboriginal Colonware	152*	8.4
TOTAL	1,803	100

*includes three red-filmed sherds

Yaughan colonoware dominates the locus 22 assemblage while Lesesne colonoware accounts for only about 11% of this collection. Lesesne colonowares have been most numerous at planter residences while Yaughan pottery has been recovered most frequently from slave settlements. Thus, the preponderance of Yaughan suggests that Locus 22 was indeed an area of slave occupation.

At locus 22 most of the virtually temperless Yaughan ceramics were recovered from midden deposits in the vicinity of N735 E290. Although the highest frequency of Yaughan pottery was encountered in this locale, it should be noted that Yaughan pottery was the most frequent colonoware type throughout Locus 22. A second cluster of Yaughan pottery was observed near N650 E260, perhaps indicating the nearby location of a structure or specific activity area.

Analysis of 109 Yaughan rims sherds (69% of the 157 colonoware rim sherds recovered in the present study) indicate that most Yaughan vessels observed (73%) were hemispherical bowls. Most of these bowls were characterized by slightly rounded bases, convex sides, and surfaces crudely smoothed to relatively well-smoothed, sometimes crudely burnished with an inflexible tool such as a stone or bone. These bowls were characterized principally by rounded lips. Only 22% (n = 24) of the Yaughan bowls had intentionally flattened lips. Six Yaughan rim sherds were large enough to determine a vessel orifice diameter; these ranged from 5 to 9 inches in diameter and averaged 6.8 inches. Twenty-nine Yaughan vessels from the current study are classified as jars. All feature characteristic everted rims and most have rounded lips. Surface treatment for Yaughan jars is the same as for Yaughan bowls. Interestingly, most Yaughan jars

recovered from locus 22 appear to be relatively small, perhaps no more than 5 or 6 inches tall. This suggests that the large Yaughan cooking/storage jars found on many lowcountry plantations were not being used in this locale. Further, soot remnants were observed on only four Yaughan rims. Together, this suggests that most colonoware vessels found at locus 22 were not being used as cooking vessels and that most of the food preparation must have occurred elsewhere on the property, perhaps in a central location.

Lesesne, River Burnished, and Historic Aboriginal colonowares from locus 22 were also dominated by bowl vessel forms with rounded lips. About half the 21 Lesesne colonoware rim sherds recovered during the present study had flat lips. One exhibited a bulbous lip characteristic of this type. Of the 21 Lesesne colonoware vessels encountered, all but one were bowls. Several had straight sides. None exhibited appendages such as handles, podes, or legs.

All Historic Aboriginal and River Burnished rim sherds observed from the current project represent bowl forms. Several of these were characterized by straight sides. Flat bases, straight sides, and painted surfaces, often in black or a “day-glow” red are commonly found on River Burnished ceramics. Designs observed include dots, lines,



65: examples of historic aboriginal pottery with painted rims

and floral motifs (Anthony 2002). Four River Burnished rim sherds recovered during the present effort exhibited red paint remnants on their interior lips. One motif appears as a “wavy” line remnant. Historic Aboriginal colonoware exhibited no surface treatment other than well-executed burnishing.

Several rim sherds, however, exhibited clear evidence of soot remnants suggesting that these may have functioned as cooking vessels. These colonowares were further distinguished by a coarse sand temper and well finished interior and exterior.



66: coarse sand temper evident in Historic Aboriginal pottery

Besides River Burnished colonoware and Historic Aboriginal colonoware, another category was encountered at Locus 22. Three historic earthenwares (body sherds) are referred to as *red filmed*. The surface treatment is basically a slip,



67: examples of red filmed colonoware

unlike the painted surface treatment found on some River Burnished colonowares. Red Filmed colonoware has been recovered from several Lowcountry sites, including Lesesne plantation on Daniel Island, Stono plantation on James Island, Fort Moultrie, and downtown Charleston (Anthony 1986, 2005; South 1974; Zierden et al 1986). Most familiar to lowcountry scholars are the wares of the Yamasee or, further south, Apalachee; that is, Altamaha and Mission Red Filmed ceramics respectively (Anthony 2005; Cordell 2002; Vernon 1988). Most of the Apalachee and Yamasee vessels that are red filmed include brimmed plates/bowls, cups, and small jars (Vernon 1988; Southerlin et al 2001). At Stono plantation, identifiable red filmed vessels (N = 24) are exclusively hemispherical bowls and have been found primarily (85%) within the 18th-century slave settlement area (Anthony 2005). Red filmed colonowares from Stono (N = 151) are relatively thin and characterized by a fine to medium coarse paste, often containing mica and medium sand (Anthony 2005). No intentional temper was observed. The physical attributes of much of the red filmed pottery recovered from Stono plantation are generally reminiscent of River Burnished colonoware, although a laminar paste is common within this assemblage. Interestingly, the three red filmed sherds from Locus 22 at Drayton Hall appear more similar to Yaughan than to River Burnished colonoware. They are very low fired and crudely made, with relatively thick vessels walls. Also, they have a somewhat coarser paste with inclusions and an overall appearance not normally associated with River Burnished colonoware. Without the red filming, they likely would have been quickly classified as Yaughan colonoware. Is this a reflection of syncretism, where enslaved 18th-century African American potters used a learned Native American decorative technique? It appears likely that researchers will encounter variability among red filmed colonoware assemblages. This should not be surprising, given that colonoware is a product of cultural interaction.

As noted during the 2003 project, the most striking characteristic of the colonoware from locus 22 is lack of variability and diversity relative to the colonoware recovered from the Drayton Hall planter residence area, as well as to other 18th- to early 19th-century lowcountry plantation assemblages. This is reflected in a narrow range of vessel forms and sizes, as well as homogeneity in paste characteristics, color, lip treatment, and surface treatment. These data, together with the occurrence of the small (potentially child made) colonoware bowl, supports the contention that much of the colonoware found at locus 22 was manufactured on-site. Moreover, much of the colonoware variety and diversity observed by Lewis (n.d.) in the collection she recovered from areas near the Drayton Hall main house, may very well be explained by the presence of “market wares” – specific vessels produced by historic period Native Americans and/or African Americans for the particular tastes of their clients.



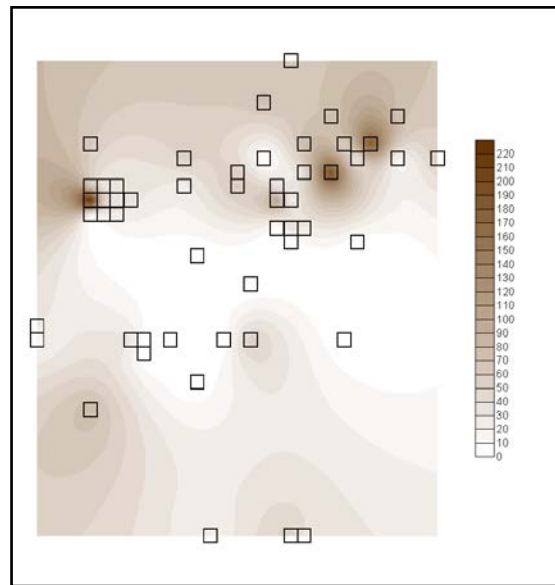
68: colonoware pipe fragments recovered from the 2005 project

86



69: small pot recovered in 2003

The homogeneity of the colonoware types observed at locus 22 and the diversity evident in the colonoware assemblage from the main house area underscore the need for continued research on the temporal, social, and economic dynamics of colonoware manufacture, marketing, and use. Recent investigations of urban colonoware assemblages also support this contention (Crane 1993; Hamby and Joseph 2004; Isenbarger 2001, 2006). As a product of culture contact among people of widely divergent cultural backgrounds, colonoware provides tangible evidence of the emergence of new cultural systems (Anthony 2002). Drayton Hall plantation and other similar sites offer invaluable opportunities to explore syncretism and other cultural processes in the 18th - and 19th -century lowcountry.



70: distribution of colonoware as relative percentage of total ceramics

Summary and Interpretation

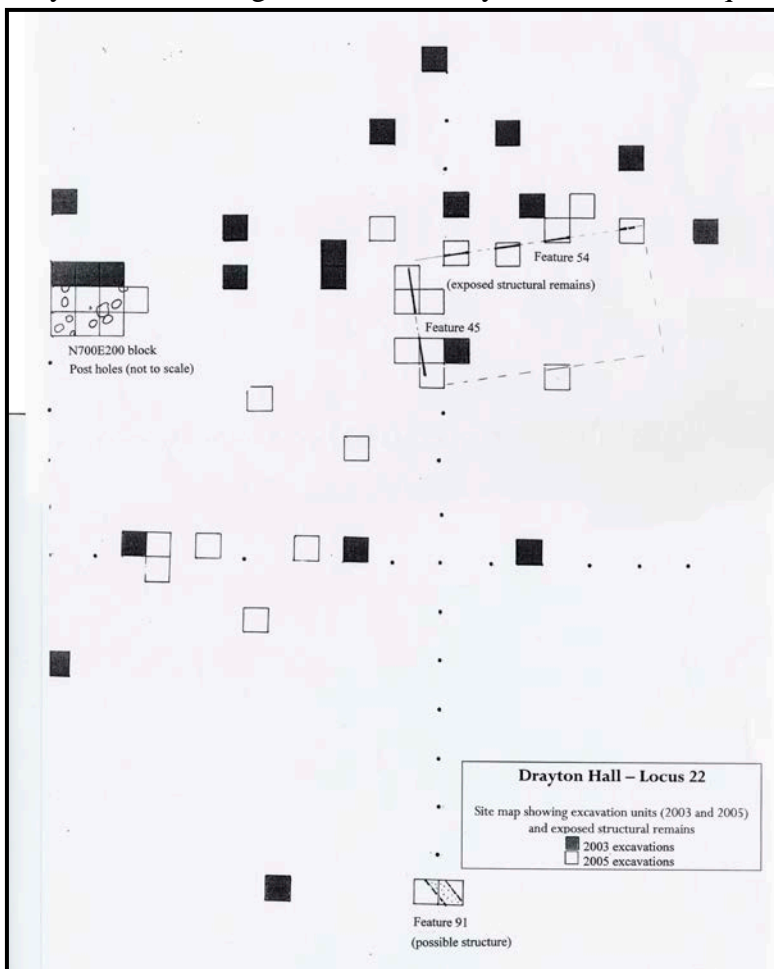
The 2005 archaeological project builds upon the testing conducted in 2003 and the remote sensing survey conducted in 2004. The present project provided an opportunity to compare the results of remote sensing and traditional excavation. The result was a good, but imperfect, fit. The radar revealed a number of anomalies, most of them located between or beside units excavated in 2003. These anomalies were targeted successfully in 2005, but the archaeological data did not match precisely. The most impressive feature revealed by the ground penetrating radar was the low area, designated feature 46. This left an impressive radar signature, but a more muted archaeological signature. The anticipated well-defined edges and concentrations of objects did not materialize. Instead, the present testing confirmed the location and definition as a low area, predicted from the 2003 testing. On the other hand, the anomaly that eventually became the building known as feature 45/54 appeared as a very small, somewhat random, concentration of brick. This was selected for excavation only because adjacent units were dug in 2003. The regular, well-defined foundations revealed archaeologically were not apparent in the radar results. Perhaps the best fit was feature 91, which was signified by a large, if somewhat sporadic, concentration of targets in the ground penetrating radar survey. The limited testing revealed a linear concentration of brick rubble on axis with other structures, suggesting a substantial building. Additional excavation should better define the building and measure agreement between the remote sensing and the

archaeological evidence. In sum, the ground penetrating radar was extremely useful in targeting areas for below-ground exploration, but it does not yet replace archaeology as a method of site discovery.

Equally helpful in understanding the archaeological features was the documentary evidence, particularly the detailed records kept by Dr. Charles Drayton. This was particular true for determining a date of abandonment for locus 22. The recovered artifacts suggest an occupation that spans the 18th century, while a near-absence of post-1830 ceramics suggests that the area was abandoned by 1830. This is in agreement with Charles Drayton's recorded movement of the slave community in 1807.

The 2005 project supported the interpretation of locus 22 as an area of 18th - century occupation. The initial interpretation of the area as the 18th -century slave community has been expanded to include general use as a work yard/support structure location. The building represented by features 45/54 is probably not a domestic structure, based on size and lack of kitchen debris. Tentative interpretation as a barn or stable is based on overall dimensions, presence of architectural debris in the form of nails and very little window glass, and recovery of a number of equestrian artifacts in the general vicinity, as well as

descriptions of a comparable structure in Charles Drayton's diary. A second structure with a brick foundation is suggested by feature 91 to the south. Though work on this structure was much more limited, the presence of finish-coat plaster and window glass suggests a more finished, or formal, structure. An absence of domestic debris suggests an administrative building of some type. Materials recovered suggest the building was constructed by mid-18th century. An absence of 19th century artifacts suggests the area was abandoned by the second quarter of the 19th century.



71: structures revealed during the 2005 excavation project

The locations of buildings corresponded with areas of higher land. The subtle variations in elevation noted across the northeastern lawn appear to be a relic of the colonial landscape, and relate to features below surface (see figure 16). Careful consideration should be given to close-interval contour mapping. The rise in the vicinity of feature 45/54, in particular, appears to be generally rectangular and conforms to the dimensions of the structure. Other buildings and activity areas may be detected through visual enhancement of the ground surface.

The position of the brick foundation represented by feature 54 within the dark midden on the northern portion of the site and in the brown soil throughout the center of the site suggests the soil color and artifact density gradation noted in 2003 is historical, and not the result of post-depositional disturbance. This was a subject of some interpretive concern prior to the present project. The relatively intact nature of the foundation suggests these soils have not been disturbed since the early 19th century, and that the dark area represents organic midden soil integral to the historic landscape.

Interpretation of the complex of post features discovered in the N700E200 block is more challenging. Both the features excavated and the zone deposits above them contained very few artifacts, particularly those that could be ascribed to a certain period. This makes dating the features, and determining sequence and association, problematic. Computer-generated density maps have enhanced the modest assemblage from this area, and lend support to interpretation of these posts as domestic structures, constructed in the early 18th century.

The predominance of colonoware in the ceramic assemblage, particularly the Yaughan variety, supports interpretation of locus 22 as an area inhabited by African American residents in the 18th century. This variety of colonoware dominates slave assemblages from other colonial plantations in the lowcountry, and stands in contrast to the more varied assemblage recovered around the main house. The recovered colonowares characteristic of historic Native American pottery may reflect the presence of Native American slaves in the early 18th century, or may reflect cultural interaction between Native and African residents. The homogeneity of the assemblage and the recovery of the small, crudely-made bowl provide evidence of on-site manufacture.

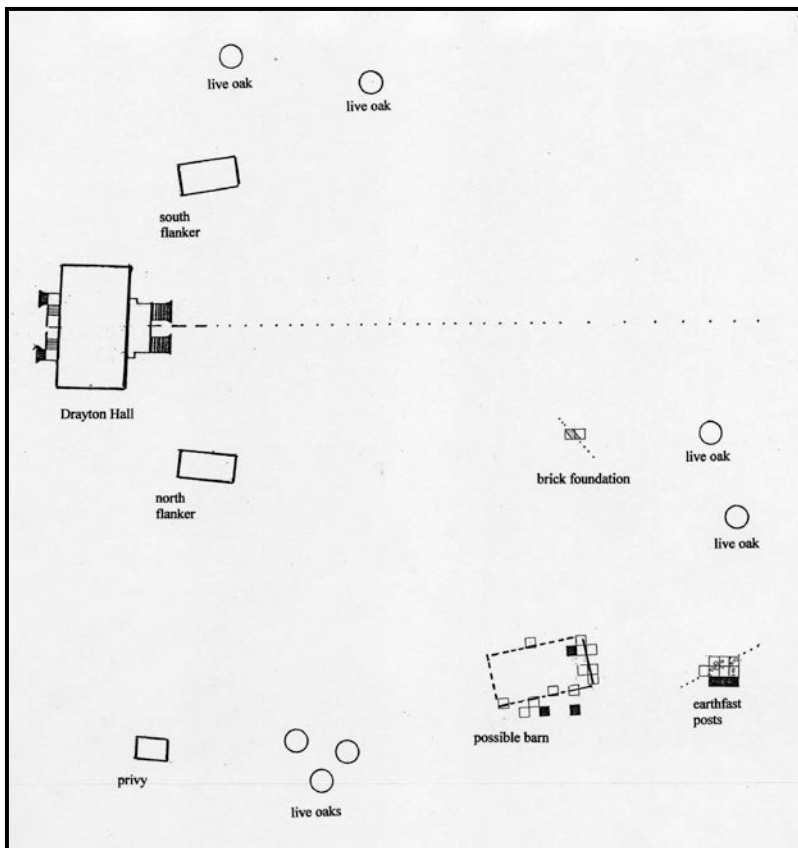
The 2005 project provided unparalleled opportunity for a multi-layered education project, ranging from college-level field training, to teacher training, to docent-led site tours for visitors and guests. The project was successful in presenting new data, that may be used to interpret Drayton Hall through a variety of media, including site tours, educational programs, and publications. But because the project was limited in scope, there are limits to the scope and detail of interpretations presented here.

Generally, the data recovered firmly establishes locus 22 as an integral portion of the 18th century landscape. Evidently, a series of outbuildings and work structures were located here, on the landward side of the main house. The outline, dimensions, and location of the possible barn are clear, and can be interpreted on the ground and on site maps. While the precise function of this building is still in question, both the size and the date of the

structure fit well with Charles Drayton's barn. The equestrian artifacts may be used to support this interpretation. The size and function of the brick foundation to the south is less clear, and suggestion of office or loom house must be made with caution. Likewise, the size and orientation of the structure is less certain. Though the combined data support interpretation of the posts as earthfast dwellings for resident slaves, this is also far from certain. At present, the exposed posts do not yet reveal a complete structure, so size, orientation, and function remain less clear. All of the architectural data should be reviewed by a team of historical architects.

The overall paucity of domestic debris, particularly in the vicinity of the earthfast dwellings, has led to the tentative conclusion that this was not a locus for cooking. This conclusion is tentative, and will require additional documentary, archaeological, and inter-site research to verify. Additional excavation in this area is necessary to further explore the nature of this occupation. While the present data fit well with a general interpretation of the posts as 18th century slave dwellings, this finding should be presented with caution until additional data is available.

Position of the exposed structures, or portions of structures, relative to the main house and other service buildings, is shown below. The overall footprint suggests that all structures were oriented to the house, in a somewhat radial fashion. Again, this layout should be reviewed by architectural historians. The current project has made significant progress in situating this work area on the historic landscape, and lays a firm foundation for further archaeological and documentary research on the 18th century landscape.



72: The Drayton Hall historical landscape, as revealed through archaeology. The main house and the privy are extant. The flankers and the privy were explored by Trust Senior Archaeologist Lynne Lewis in 1974 and 1981. Archaeological remains encountered in 2005 are shown to

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