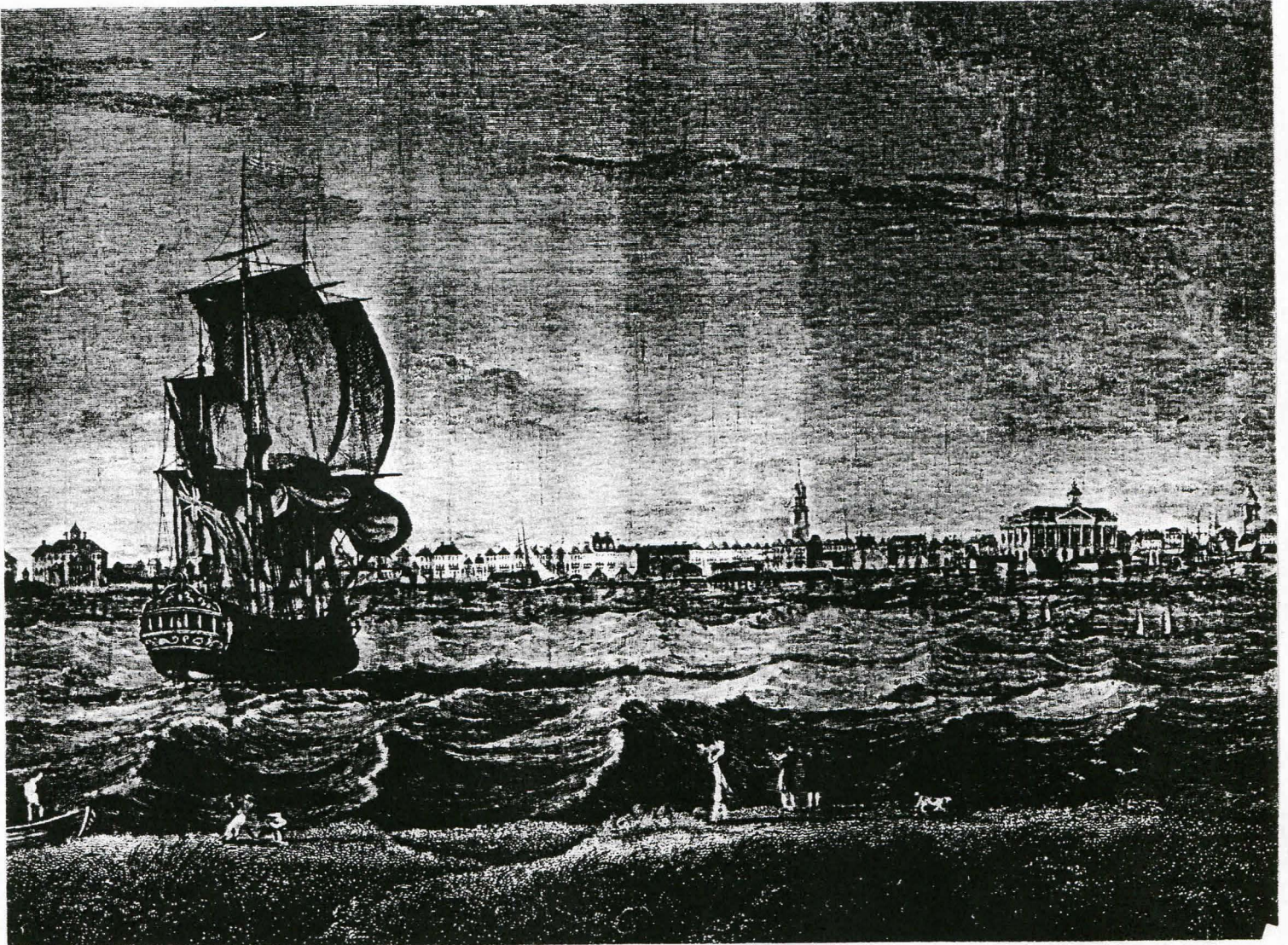


PRELIMINARY REPORT:
AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PRESERVATION PLAN FOR
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA



by

Martha A. Zierden and Jeanne A. Calhoun

The Charleston Museum

Archaeological Contributions 1

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Elaine B. Herold, Principal Investigator

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Submitted to
The City of Charleston, South Carolina
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ABSTRACT

The following report presents the preliminary results of archival research directed towards the preparation of an archaeological preservation and recovery plan for the city of Charleston. Because of the archaeological importance of Charleston, and the need for a viable city to develop, it was agreed that such a plan would be useful. On August 17, 1981, the staff of the Charleston Museum was awarded a one-year Community Development grant to study the documentary evidence of early settlement and occupation of Charleston from 1670 until 1860, and to prepare a plan for preservation and recovery of the archaeological resources of the city.

As requested, the research grant was continued for a second year. Therefore, this report is preliminary, and represents only a partially completed project. Research on many of the topics presented is incomplete, and research will continue on them during the second portion of this project. In addition, many other areas will be researched. The result of these endeavors will be a considerable amount of refinement and changes in the data presented here. The material included is a reflection of the progress made to date, and an indication of future directions. The authors hope that this report will meet the needs of both the City and the archaeological community until a final report is available.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The implementation of the research for the past year and the production of this report would not have been possible without the help and cooperation of a number of individuals. Donald G. Herold, former Director, and W.E. Freeman, Interim Director of the Charleston Museum provided Museum facilities for the Historical Archaeology program. Ms. Anita Moquin and Ms. Cynthia Commins provided clerical assistance from time to time.

Many thanks to the City of Charleston for their support and help during the past year. We especially wish to thank Mayor Joseph P. Riley for his constant support. Mr. William Wallace, Department of Planning and Urban Development, and Mr. Russ Blackburn, Community Development Administrator, also provided valuable assistance. Special thanks go to Mary Anne Sullivan, Grants Coordinator, for all of her time and effort.

The staff of the Charleston County Library, the Charleston Library Society, the College of Charleston Library, the South Carolina Historical Society, the Charleston Museum Library, and the Charleston City Archives were always helpful, and provided valuable assistance. Special thanks go to Margaretta Childs for her interest and assistance. Ms. Lisa Thomas and Dr. Theresa Singleton provided valuable insights from time to time. The efforts of these individuals, and many others, are greatly appreciated. As always, the authors accept full responsibility for any errors contained herein.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Charleston. The name is synonymous with history and historic preservation. The area encompassed by the city of Charleston was first settled by the English in 1670. Charleston grew rapidly and, by the 1730's, was the fourth largest city in the English colonies. During this period, Charleston was the southernmost port city on the Atlantic coast, the center of trade for the plantation economy of the southeast, and the home of peoples from a variety of backgrounds. Charleston continued to be a focal point of American development until technological developments and the War between the States resulted in its decline.

Charlestonians began to embrace and preserve their city's history as early as the antebellum period, with the glorification of the Revolutionary heroes (Rogers 1980). Charleston attracted national attention in 1931 when the new Zoning Ordinance provided for an "Old and Historic Area" in which "historic places and areas of historic interest would be preserved and protected" (Stoney 1976: 134). This was the first such ordinance of its kind in the United States. Since that time, public support has grown and ordinances have been strengthened, resulting in the preservation of much of Charleston's uniqueness and charm. This aspect of the city has drawn thousands of visitors to the city throughout its history.

Until the very recent past, this concentration did not extend to the protection and preservation of Charleston's vast archaeological resources. Only since the development of urban historical archaeology as a viable field of research, the enactment of protective federal legislation, and the work of Elaine Herold at the Charleston Museum have municipal authorities become aware of the importance of this resource. The preparation of this research plan represents a major step in the endeavor to identify, preserve and protect Charleston's archaeological resources.

Importance of Archaeology

Historical archaeology developed as a field of research distinct from other areas of North American archaeology because, unlike prehistoric research, written records are available for the populations being studied. These records in turn are capable of altering the methods of studying past cultures. Historical archaeology as a discipline is fairly new, as it was only formally recognized in 1965. The first historical archaeological investigations were designed to augment architectural studies and to assist in historic reconstruction projects. The classic example of such archaeological research is Colonial Williamsburg, an eighteenth century British urban

center, whose reconstruction is based entirely on archaeological research. Many historical archaeology projects are still oriented toward this goal, with valuable results. Archaeological investigations in Charleston at the Heyward Washington House (Herold 1978) and at the Exchange Building (Herold 1981a) provided important details for accurate reconstruction.

It is important to note that historical archaeology is more than simply a field technique for validating historical fact. Historical records are often incomplete, and even incorrect. Many details of daily life are simply not recorded. More importantly they are often biased towards the upper class - those with the time and ability to leave extensive written records. (An excellent example is Charleston's wealthy merchant Henry Laurens, whose papers to date comprise ten edited volumes.) Many American historical sources stress the upper class British colonial history of this country; certainly it is the British colonial history of Charleston that is stressed. But the North American continent in general and Charleston in particular were peopled by a variety of groups; British, French, British West Indian, African, Jewish, Aboriginal, German, Scotch-Irish, Spanish. An important function of archaeological research in Charleston is to legitimize the heritage of the many groups who do not have a history written from their point of view (Glassie 1977: 29). There are several examples of archaeological research in this area, including the excellent studies on plantation slavery (Otto 1975; Singleton 1980; Ascher and Fairbanks 1974; _____). Such studies in the lowcountry have focused on investigations of colono ware pottery as a possible Afro-American craft (Ferguson 1981; Anthony 1979).

In addition to augmenting and altering the historical record, recent historical archaeological investigations have addressed questions of anthropological interest. A basic premise underlying such research is that human behavior is patterned, not random, and this patterning will be reflected in archaeological patterning (Binford 1964). Furthermore, the recognition of archaeological patterning (South 1977) and the examination of these patterns in a processual perspective (Lewis 1976; Deagan 1982) will result in the elucidation of aspects of human behavior. Examples of similarly oriented research in Charleston are Elaine Herold's work at the Meeting Street Office Building (Herold 1981b) and Nicholas Honerkamp's research at the Charleston Center site (Honerkamp, Council and Will 1982). Historical archaeological research in Charleston is expected to provide information on the general anthropological issues of ethnicity, status, and adaptation to first frontier, and then changing urban, conditions.

The above discussion clearly demonstrates that historical archaeology as a discipline has great potential for providing an increased understanding of Charleston's past. The key to such studies is a thorough integration of archaeological and historical research. It therefore seems logical to begin organized archaeological research in Charleston with a thorough examination of the documentary record.

Project Methods and Goals:

Based on the age of the city and the intensity of occupation, the entire peninsular city or, at least, the area below the cross-town, may be considered a vast, contiguous archaeological site. Yet, each individual site within the city limits will not necessarily be of equal scientific value, due to differences in length of occupation, type of occupation and the nature of subsequent ground disturbance. The purpose of this project is to better define the length, density and nature of occupation of all areas of the peninsular city.

Archival research is considered the most efficient manner in which to approach the archaeological survey. By their very nature, archaeological excavations destroy the resource; vertical and horizontal relationships of the materials in the ground are more important than the materials themselves, and such relationships are destroyed by any ground-disturbing activities, including archaeological excavations. Excavations are also time-consuming and expensive. The documentary survey methodology is not without drawbacks; it is impossible to determine the condition of the archaeological record from the documentary record. Such determination is possible only through some form of subsurface investigation. In addition, the documentary record is often fragmentary and rarely reflects the entire range of activity at a given site. Despite these shortcomings a documentary survey was deemed the best method of determining historic site location for a large, urban area such as Charleston.

Phase I of the project employed an archaeologist and a historian working together to realize the project goals. Primary documentary sources were examined for information pertaining to the archaeological resources in Charleston. These resources include historic maps and plats, Charleston City Directories, censuses, city ordinances, city yearbooks, family paper collections, Records of the Secretary of the Province, the Shaftsbury Papers, and a variety of miscellaneous notes and documents. These sources are housed at the South Carolina Historical Society, the Charleston Library Society, the Charleston County Library, the Charleston Museum, Charleston City Archives, the Charleston County Register Mesne Conveyance Office, the South Caroliniana Library and the South Carolina Department of Archives and History. In addition, numerous secondary sources on Charleston in particular and the southeastern United States in general were consulted. This was done to place Charleston's history in a national, and even international, perspective, and to avoid repetition of data already compiled. All notes, maps and documents collected are on file at the Charleston Museum and all possible site locations have been recorded as accurately as possible on contemporary maps and aerial photographs.

It is outside the scope of this project to provide a chain of title for individual properties; rather, the goals of Phase I of the project were to provide a general, skeletal outline of the settlement and land use history of the city, and to pinpoint sites of special interest. A general outline of Charleston's development is contained in Chapter II. Chapter

III contains individual discussions on the location of special features. Several of these topics have not yet been completely researched; completion of these topics will be possible only after the detailed newspaper research planned for Phase II is complete. In these cases, a preliminary discussion of the topic is included. Plans for future research, as well as a summary and conclusions, are included in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER II

THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF CHARLESTON

In the seventeenth century, Carolina was a commercial battleground of the European powers. Spain considered the vast tract of wilderness an appendage of Florida and, basing her claim to possession on discovery and exploration, self-righteously destroyed a French settlement in the region. The English, who viewed Carolina as a southern extension of Virginia, proceeded to establish the first permanent colony in 1670 and subsequently claimed the area by right of occupation.

Spain, France and England were not interested in carving empires from the New World but in obtaining the raw materials available only in warm climates. England desired to free herself from dependence on the countries of southern Europe for silk and wine. She needed hemp and naval stores to support her sea power and the food stuffs which would enable her West Indian colonies to concentrate on the production of sugar. Carolina's development of rice as a staple crop was not encouraged by the mother country but was responsible for the creation of fortunes by the Carolina planters, Charleston factors, and British merchants. Indigo, the province's other major export, directly contributed to English industrial power and her domination of the European market by releasing her from reliance on the French and Spanish West Indies for the dyes needed in her textile industry (Sellers 1970: 8-9).

Although the English had possession of the province, the settlers were seldom free from apprehensions of danger. Directly south of the colony of Charleston was Spanish territory and a chain of missions, each protected by a presidio, stretching from St. Helena, or Port Royal, to St. Augustine and westward through northern Florida to the Apalachicola River. In spite of the treaty of 1670, by which the English and Spanish monarchies bound themselves to recognize the principal of effective occupation as possession, the coastal area from St. Augustine to St. Helena was the scene of persistent warfare between the two nations until the missionaries left their northern outposts in 1702 (Andrews 1937: 203). The French, spreading along the Mississippi, constituted another threat to Britain's southernmost settlement, while Charleston's large proportion of slaves and encirclement by Indians added to her anxiety. Pirates, the scourge of the Caribbean and Atlantic seas, were merely another hazard to add to an already formidable list.

The colony's early settlers realized the dangers inherent in their enterprise. Their initial colony in 1670, known as Albemarle Point, was

on a point defended by the main river (the Ashley) with a brooke on the one side and inaccessible Marsh on the other w^{ch} all at high tides is ever overflown: joyning itself to the mainland in a small neck not exceeding fiftie yards (Cheves 1897: 196-197).

Figure 1

The Coast of the Carolina Colony.

"The State of South Carolina from
the Best Authorities" by Samuel
Lewis, 1795.



Scale of American Miles 69 1/2 to a Degree.



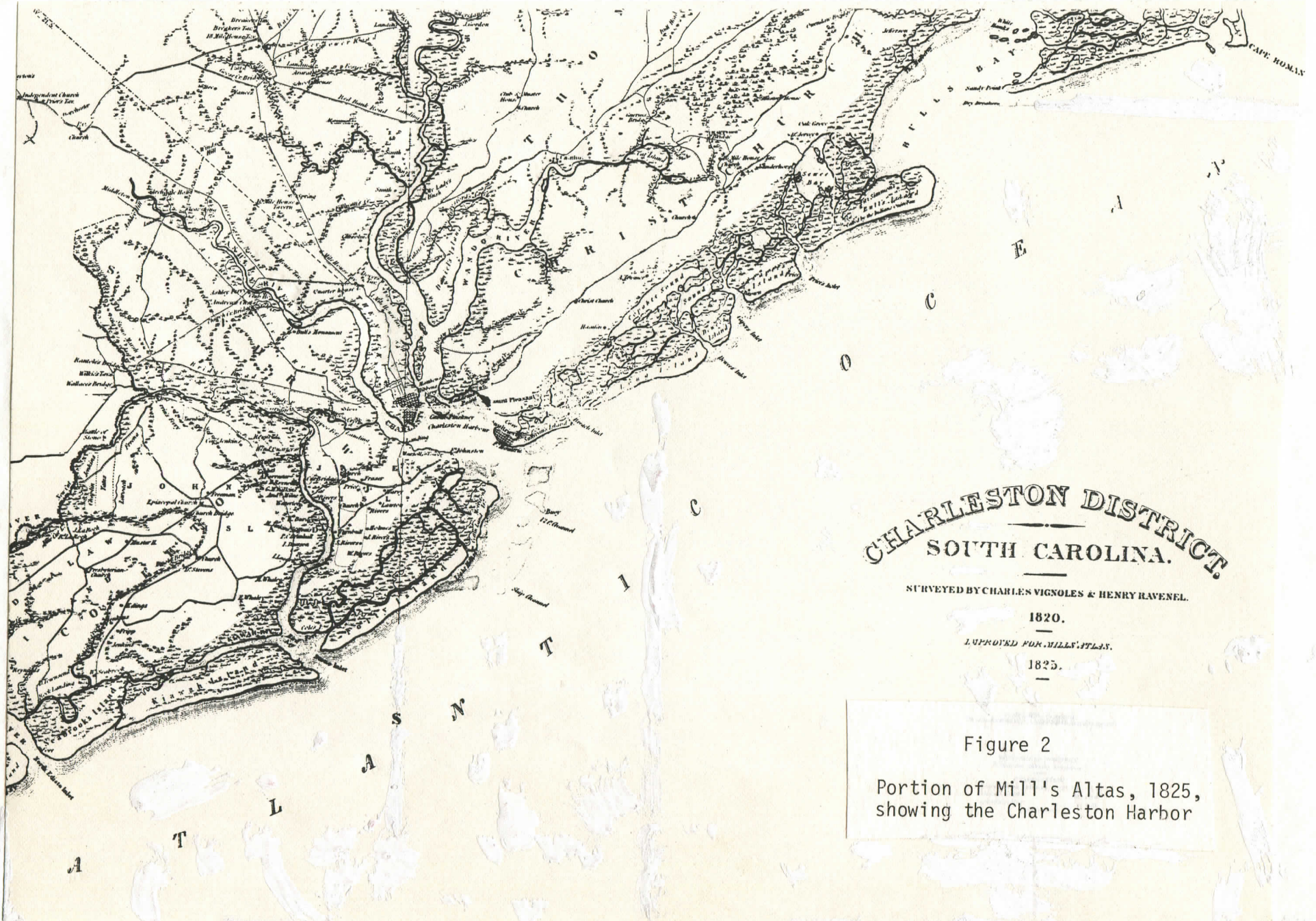


Figure 2
 Portion of Mill's Atlas, 1825,
 showing the Charleston Harbor

In 1672, the Indians reported to their Spanish allies that there were thirty small houses on the west bank of the Ashley and four on the east bank of Oyster Point. The settlement was protected by a palisade and four pieces of artillery which were directed upon the river (Andrews 1937: 203n). In 1680, the colonists moved their base to Oyster Point, a peninsula formed by the junction of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers, and renamed their settlement Charles Towne.

Charleston possessed a good, though somewhat shallow, harbor with easy access to the fresh water needed to protect colonial ships from the danger of worms which would often assault their bottoms in salt water. The Cooper River, navigable for twenty miles above the town for large ships and forty miles for smaller vessels, and the rivers flowing into Winyah Bay, sixty five miles north of the colony, provided an excellent link with the backcountry which was to prove vital for Charleston's prosperity and development as a major port (Sellers 1970: 5). Throughout both Carolinas, shoals prevented large craft from venturing very far into the interior. In addition, most of the rivers in the Carolina backcountry were navigable as far as the coast only after passing into South Carolina. The northwest flow of these rivers assured Georgetown and Charleston of the bulk of North Carolina's backcountry's goods. Georgetown's harbor, however, could only accommodate ships up to ten or twelve feet draft, thus forcing it to join Savannah as merely a deposit point for Charleston's commercial network (Brownell and Goldfield 1977: 35).

The town's new location, under the instructions of the eight Lord Proprietors who had been granted the Carolina territory, was organized into a Grand Model by Sir John Yeamans in 1679. Three hundred acres from Oyster Point to Beaufain Street were surveyed and the land laid out an arrangement utilizing the central square identified with Philadelphia and the narrow, deep lots characteristic of early seventeenth century Irish towns colonized by the English (Reps 1965: 177, fig. 7). Specified lots were reserved for a church, town house, and other "publick structures" (Bridenbaugh 1938: 10).

By 1704, the town, fortified to protect itself against the feared depredations of the Spanish, French, Indians, and pirates, was surrounded by garrisons and walls. A few scattered houses were located to the south and west of the town, but apparently no one had ventured northward. In 1717 all of the 1704 fortifications, except those on the waterfront between Granville's and Craven's bastions, were removed and the defensive lines extended to provide for inclusions of the houses which had sprung up outside the original walls. By 1780, the outer line of defense for the city was just north of Boundary, now Calhoun, Street, from the Ashley to the Cooper River, and the entire waterfront on both sides was lined with batteries.

The growing town was never at a loss for settlers. In the West Indies, large sugar planters were squeezing out those of lesser wealth, forcing them to seek opportunities elsewhere. Lured by a familiar climate and the prospect of cheap, abundant land in Carolina, Barbadians flocked to

the new colony. In 1670, approximately twenty of these Englishmen joined the fledgling settlement and, during the remainder of the decade, a total of 175 Barbadians, accompanied by at least 150 servants and slaves, came to Carolina (Dunn 1972: 112). The group which migrated was a diverse one; planters, merchants, artisans, small farmers and sailors, experienced in the ways of the West Indies, were all eager to settle in the new colony (Dunn 1972: 113). The majority of these Barbadians came equipped with the money, knowledge, and slaves needed to transplant their concept of West Indian society to Carolina. Thus plantations and slavery were brought by the Barbadians and established as an integral part of the Carolina economy even before a staple crop was developed (Blum et al 1981: 41).

The Carolina Charter had provided for religious toleration, a principal which attracted a heterogenous group. Huguenots began to arrive as early as 1680 and, following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, this group's numbers increased. The proprietors, impressed not only by the Huguenots' reputation as a hard-working people but also by their skill in silk and wine making, encouraged their immigration and sought to stifle prejudices of the English colonists. These Frenchmen, largely through membership in the Anglican Church and intermarriage with the English, were soon absorbed into the colony's population (Andrews 1937: 241). Dissenters, Englishmen, Scots, New Englanders, Jews, black slaves and many others made up the rest of the settlement. Refugees from the Santo Domingan revolt (1791-1803) were just one of the many ethnic groups which continued to diversify Charleston's population.

In order to distribute the colony's land, the Lords Proprietors devised both an aristocratic system, which was intended to become a foundation of the colony, and a headright system. Under the aristocratic system, there were four divisions, the two highest hereditary. The proprietors headed the list, and each was entitled to a seignory of twelve thousand acres in every county. Next were the landgraves, possessing four baronies each, all in one piece, which were to total 48,000 acres and then the caciques with 24,000 each. Finally there were the commoners, lords of manors and freeholders or yeomen. The lords were to have between three to twelve thousand acres and the freeholders at least fifty in order to be able to vote (Andrews 1937: 214). As a result of this planned feudal system, the proprietors were all granted offices, largely void of duties, but some of which entitled the holder to fill certain colonial posts. The aristocratic nature of the system and inefficient government due to distance and disinterest on the part of the proprietors led to a revolt. George I bowed to the wishes of the majority of the colonists; in 1719, Carolina's charter was revoked and the province became a royal colony.

The headright system provided that upon arrival, seventy or seventy five acres would be granted to any free person and fifty acres for each servant or slave. This rule was still in force after 1696 but was generally replaced after that time by the "purchase" rule, which sold land at the rate of twenty pounds for a thousand acres near the colony and ten pounds for lands two hundred miles away "near the mountains". Aside from the seignories

and baronies, for which the amount of land was stipulated, allotments ranged from six thousand acres in one tract to ten or twenty acres. After 1700 it was charged that excessively large grants were detrimental to the development of the settlement and a ceiling of six hundred forty acres per allotment was declared (Andrews 1937: 255n).

These conditions were ideal for large plantations and, by 1700, many of the white settlers had already established themselves along the Ashley, southward toward the Edisto and in the vicinity of Port Royal, westward into the backcountry, and northward along the Santee. The dual threats of Spaniards to the south and Indians outside the colony's borders served to keep eager planters from venturing too far afield. This, and the New World's economic relationship with the Old World, promoted Charleston's development into a social and economic center.

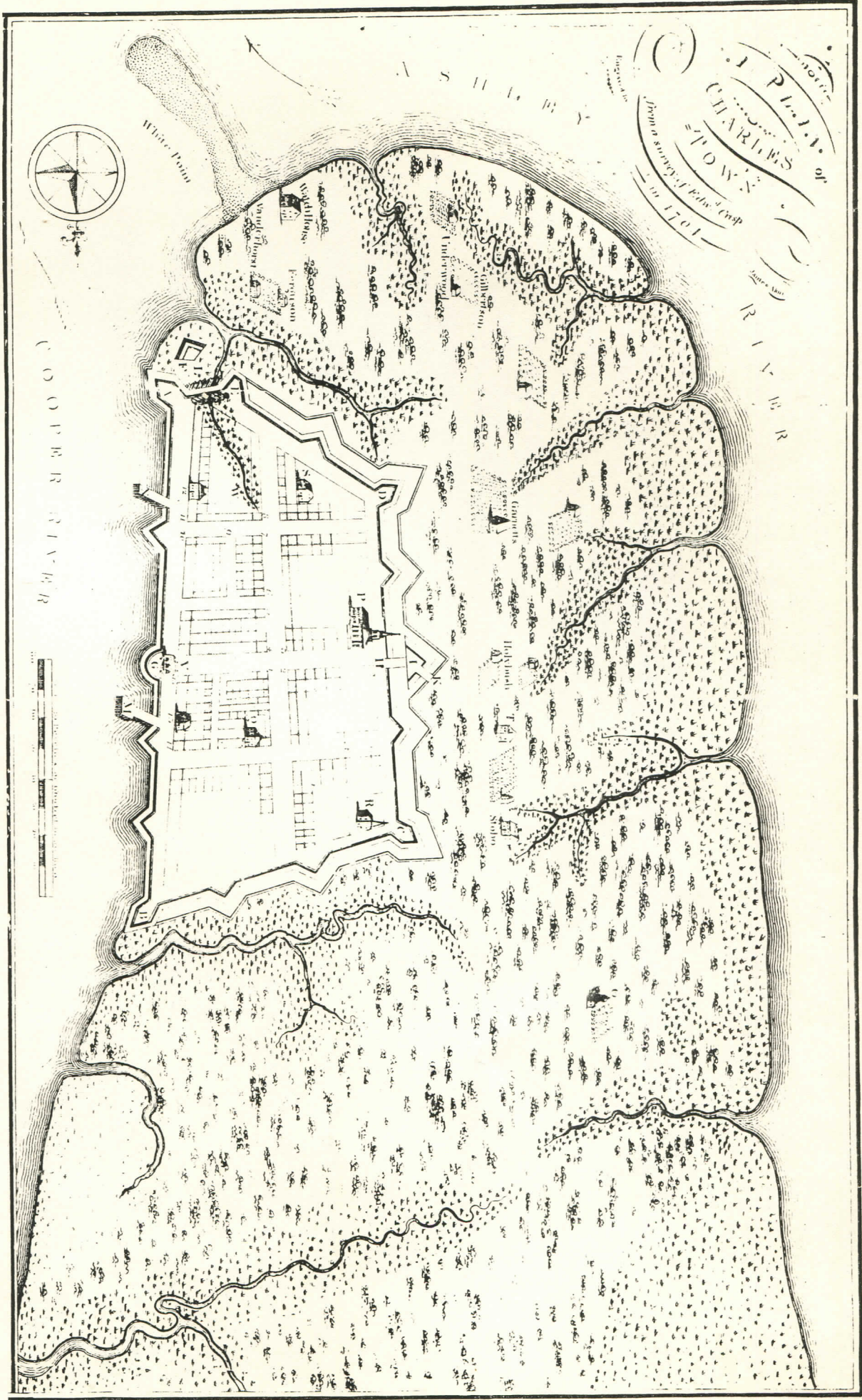
Carolina was surrounded by a variety of aboriginal groups, including the Catawba, Cherokee, Upper and Lower Creeks, Choctaw, and a number of smaller tribes such as the Yamassee and Tuscarora. Charleston's access to inland waterways facilitated trade with these Native Americans as did the forts established in the backcountry which served the multiple purposes of promoting traffic with the Indians, protecting the frontier inhabitants, and guarding against French and Spanish encroachments (Sellers 1970: 12). Mastery 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 captured in tribal wars. Although the trade in aboriginal flesh was condemned by the Lords Proprietors, it was a very profitable business for the colonists who, upon discovering that the Indians generally made poor slaves in Carolina, exported many of them to New England and the West Indies. Deer, beaver, bear, and buffalo skins were highly prized commodities in the colony's trade with Britain. By the mid-eighteenth century, dressed deer skins were sixteen percent of the colony's exports to the mother country and, prior to 1760, tanning was the only important industry in the growing town (Bridenbaugh 1955: 76). The necessity for extensive storage facilities for these furs occurred simultaneously with the inward movement of Carolina Indians in the 1720's. These developments transformed the Indian trade from a secondary pursuit of various individuals to a capital intensive industry dominated and controlled by Charleston's mercantile community. These merchants developed efficient outlets for the skins and the credit relationships necessary to finance the inland flow of trading goods. The respected and dominant position many of these merchants achieved enabled them to involve themselves in other types of South Carolina commerce, such as rice, slaves, naval stores, lumber, and food stuffs (Brownell and Goldfield 1977: 37).

Carolina's proximity to her enemies and distance from her allies made her easy prey. As a British colony, she was involved, directly or indirectly, in England's conflicts. The War of the Grand Alliance was known to the English colonies as King William's War, the War of the Spanish Succession as Queen Ann's War, the War of the Austrian Succession as King George's War, and the Seven Years War as the French and Indian War. Thus at least seventy

Figure 2

Charles Town in 1704; a stoutly fortified city fronting the Cooper River, with wide streets and regular lots.

"A Plan of Charles Town from a Survey of Edward Crisp, 1704"



of the hundred and six years of Carolina's existence as a British colony were affected by Old World hostilities. This had a direct impact on the town as her overseas trade, the foundation of Charleston's prosperity, was severely injured by frequent captures of vessels by armed French and Spanish ships (Ramsay 1858: 117).

As the major port and trade center in Carolina, Charleston was a focal point of both traders and planters. Charleston boasted not only the businesses and residences of its factors, merchants, artisans and laborers, but also the townhouses of many of the colony's large planters. The townspeople tended to locate in areas convenient for their business, resulting in an early concentration on and around the wharves, on what is now East Bay Street. The deep, narrow lots and scarcity of land in the town proper led to buildings housing both a business and residence, usually that of the proprietor. As these businessmen grew in wealth, they generally would move their family to a more spacious situation. The Broad Path, now known as King Street, was the main road from Charleston to the backcountry and ran through town and up along what was later referred to as the Neck.

On the Neck, which during the eighteenth century was primarily the site of plantations and small farms, merchants sometimes built stores outside the city gates to cater to the backcountry trade (Sellers 1970: 35). The northern region of King Street on the Neck served as the backcountry's artery to Charleston. By the 1770's, approximately 3,000 wagons came to Charleston (Earle and Hoffman 1977: 36) and, throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, wagon yards were a common sight on this section of King Street (Charleston City Directories 1790-1816). Charles Fraser (1782-1860), in his *Reminiscences*, wrote that, in his youth, all the retail business of the state was centered in Charleston. There were no purely wholesale merchants in the city and the major retail stores were located on Broad, Elliott, and Tradd Streets. Fraser recalled,

Shopping amongst the ladies, in those days, was altogether a business matter. King-street, now so attractive, with its gorgeous windows and dazzling display of goods emulating a Turkish bazaar, and inviting them to a daily fashionable promenade, was then chiefly occupied by hucksters, pedlars and tavern keepers. Hence it was not uncommon to see liveried equipages and wagons drawn up before the same store...
(Fraser 1854: 12-13).

This diversification was also characteristic of those artisans who often not only sold, but also repaired and made some of their primary items of trade.

As the center of commerce - wholesale, retail, overseas, local- Charleston attracted planters for economic reasons. This concentration of important commercial transactions in one town caused an equally centered social life to develop concurrently in Charleston. Prior to 1700, the colony developed an extensive trade in provisions for the West Indies. Food stuffs and cattle were transported to market on the rivers and along the banks. Even after plantations of rice and indigo had become common,

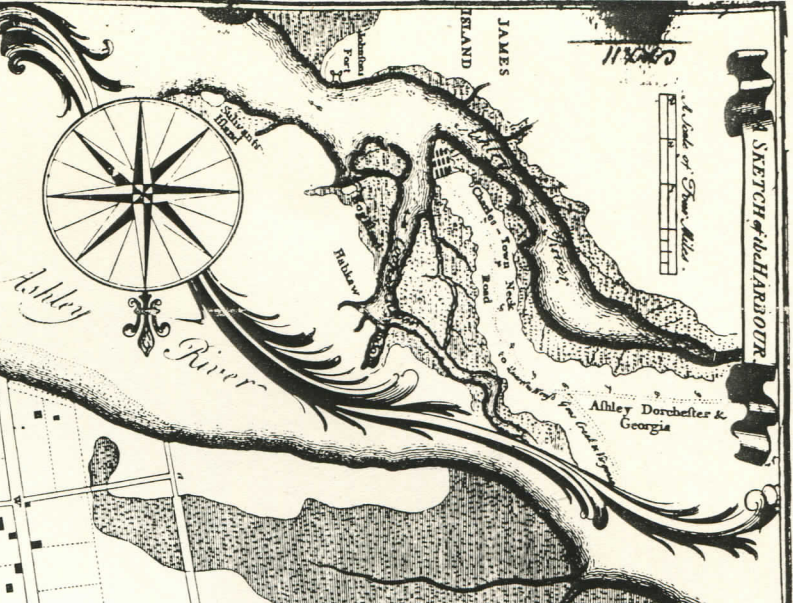
Figure 3

Charleston in 1739, showing the rapid expansion of the city in the 1730's. Development is primarily westward, towards the Ashley River. As a result of the increased shipping load, the waterfront area shows considerable development.

"The Ichnography of Charles-Town at High Water", by Roberts and Toms.

SKETCH of the HARBOUR

A Scale of Four Miles



Ashley River

Ashley Dorchester & Georgia

A Scale of Four Miles

Charleston

- Bartram's Bridge
- Logan's Bridge
- Pineknob Bridge
- Mallet's Mill
- Eliza Bridge
- Miller's Bridge
- Rhodes Bridge
- Crookan Bridge

**ICHOGRAPHY of CHARLES-TOWN
at High Water.**



HONORABILI
Carolinæ Civitati. A. MDCCLXXII.
Sicuti sacro regio adha CAROLINÆ Regiæ Illustriam pro
fuerit SERRATIONIBUS quorum tunc dicitur. Sic illorum
huc quorum Carolinæ Imperio, sequentibus, quorum a. M.
CCLXXII. carnis de velle velle. LINDORF. GALLORUM. de
homo et sacris rebus dicitur. Spiritus tunc dicitur. Sic illorum
quorum tunc dicitur. Sic tunc dicitur. Sic tunc dicitur.
Sicuti sacro regio adha CAROLINÆ Regiæ Illustriam pro
fuerit SERRATIONIBUS quorum tunc dicitur. Sic illorum
huc quorum Carolinæ Imperio, sequentibus, quorum a. M.
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CCLXXII. carnis de velle velle. LINDORF. GALLORUM. de
homo et sacris rebus dicitur. Spiritus tunc dicitur. Sic illorum
quorum tunc dicitur. Sic tunc dicitur. Sic tunc dicitur.

City of Charles Town. N. S. C.

many upcountry planters and farmers raised large herds of cattle and, although the dairy products were used to support their slaves, sold vast quantities of beef in Charleston. The plantation system also depended on easy transport to market of large amounts of raw materials in bulk for which Charleston, with its access to the interior and harbor, was the perfect depository (Sellers 1970: 5). Despite Charleston's increasing trade in provisions in the 1730's, rice soon came to the forefront as the major trading commodity, particular after a 1729 Act of Parliament which allowed the British colony to export its rice directly to ports south of Cape Finisterre. The consequent stimulus given to rice production resulted in an increased demand for acreage and slaves and a corresponding decrease in the development of foodstuffs and increase in demand. Soon Governor James Glen was lamenting that South Carolina had to import, "great quantities of bread, flour, beef, hams, bacon, and other commodities". This situation persisted until Carolina's backcountry was settled. From 1724 to 1774, rice accounted for from one half to two thirds of the total value of South Carolina's exports. Following indigo's development in the 1740's, that crop came to rank second in terms of exports and provisions; lumber, and naval stores, from Carolina's now productive backcountry, were third (Brownell and Goldfield 1977: 38).

The institutional importance of Charleston as Carolina's mercantile, judicial, and governmental center made it an important focus of colonial life. Poor inland communications and travelling conditions made it virtually imperative for a planter interested in society to reside in Charleston at least occasionally, while the danger of fevers made it desirable during the summer months for even the most resolute recluse. As a meeting center for surrounding country gentry, Charleston served to fulfill much the same purpose as London. The traditional London townhouse and absentee estate proprietorship with occasional visits to the country were emulated by the Charlestonians. Some planters were only able to rent quarters. Others indulged their taste for the grandiose and built large, striking residences for their families. Although these planters generally chose lots near the water for the reputed health benefits, they were also influenced by wealth and taste in their decisions. Some, particularly the rice planters in the mid 1700's, situated themselves along the Battery (Oakes 1982: 10) but others, preferring more spacious lots on which gardens and pleasure pavilions were possible, spread themselves along the Ashley and Cooper Rivers.

The wealth of the planters was based on black servitude. The definition of a slave as real estate was first written into law by the Virginia legislature in 1705. Despite the various seventeenth century statutes passed restricting and, in some cases, depriving, blacks of rights, this was the beginning of the institutionalization of that idea that slaves were merely another form of property and, as such, could be passed down from generation to generation along with Grandmother's china.

To many, slaveholding was an ideal; an economic aspiration often only achieved in middle age or later. Thus the slaveholding class was fluid, not static; from 1830 to 1860, at least 170,000 people in the southern

Figure 4

Charleston in 1788, at the height of its commercial glory. The waterfront is well developed, as is the King St.-Meeting St. commercial corridor. Development has now moved northward. Meeting and Broad have become the municipal core of the city.

states became slaveholders (Oakes 1982: 67). Not all "masters", however, had large holdings, nor were they all planters. If a planter is defined as possessing at least twenty slaves, there were as many women and urban dwellers among slaveholders as there planters. Black, mulatto, and Native American slaveholders were almost as numerous as those "planter aristocrats" possessing fifty bondsmen or more (Oakes 1982: 51).

Thus black servitude was confined to neither the rural nor the rich. In 1850, fifty nine percent of Charleston's adult white males either owned or hired bondsmen (Oakes 1982: 50). One observer noted,

Barbers... are supported in idleness and ease by their negroes who do the business; and in fact many mechanicks bear nothing more of their trade than the name (Sellers 1970: 102-103).

The demand for slave labor for a wide variety of work stimulated the practice of hiring out. Under this system, the slave would either be hired out by his master for a predetermined amount of money or would find his own employment and return to his owner an agreed upon sum. As this practice developed, more and more slaves began living out on their own. This allowed slaves more freedom from supervision. Owners also benefited by the subsequent diminution of housing expenses and responsibilities. Sometimes these slaves resided in shacks in narrow alleys or behind buildings. Other times, they would rent an entire house, generally small, wooden and located on the Neck, or lease a room from a free black (Wade 1964: 115).

Free blacks were an anomaly in Charleston's society which many whites felt should not exist. In 1783, a city ordinance was passed requiring every free black over fifteen years of age to obtain, for a fee of five shillings, a badge from the city treasurer which was to be worn "suspended by a string or rabband, and exposed to view on his breast" (Sellers 1970: 102). In the town's judicial system, the free black was an undesired nuisance. Although blacks were unable to prosecute or testify against a white, in matters of property free blacks dealt with whites on terms of relative equality. This opportunity was thoroughly understood and some free blacks came to own considerable amounts of real estate. By the 1850's, approximately seventy five whites rented their homes from free blacks and one street, Dereef's Court, was named for the wealthy freeman who owned the houses that lined both sides of the block (Berlin 1974: 344; Charleston City Census 1861).

In addition to real estate, free blacks also had the right to own slaves. This privilege was recognized as early as 1654 but, until the early nineteenth century when manumission laws became prohibitively strict, most bondsmen owned by blacks were quickly released. By the 1830's, the restrictions which had been increasingly placed by southern legislatures on manumission had made it virtually impossible for black owners to free their property without moving to a free state. Thus, by 1830, there were approximately 3,775 free black slaveholders throughout the South with eighty percent in the four oldest slaveholding states - Louisiana, South Carolina, Virginia and Maryland. Of this number, nearly half lived in cities, primarily Charleston and New Orleans (Oakes 1982: 47).

Figure 5

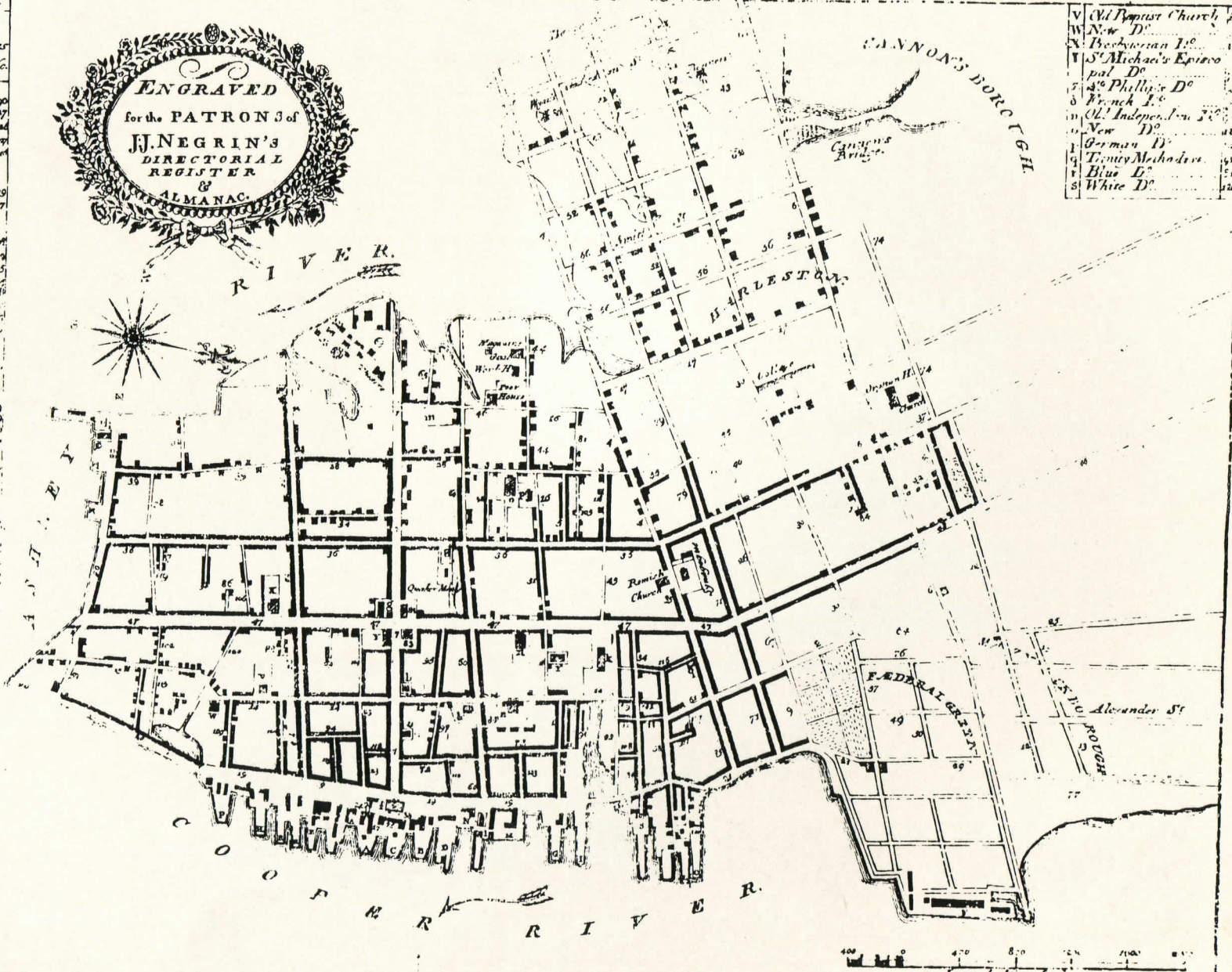
Charleston in 1802; the Harleston Village area has developed, growth to the north is marked by intensive development along Meeting and King Streets.

"Plan of the City of Charleston, South Carolina" by G. Bonner.

REFERENCES

To the Streets, Avenues, Squares, Wharves
PUBLIC BUILDINGS, &c. of the City of Charleston

Street Name	Page	Street Name	Page
1. Arden Street	12	18. Water Street	12
2. Anson	13	19. Water Street	12
3. Archdale	14	20. Water Street	12
4. Beaufain	15	21. Water Street	12
5. Beverford	16	22. Water Street	12
6. Boundary	17	23. Water Street	12
7. Broad	18	24. Water Street	12
8. Bull	19	25. Water Street	12
9. Carolina	20	26. Water Street	12
10. Chamberlayne	21	27. Water Street	12
11. Charles	22	28. Water Street	12
12. Charlotte	23	29. Water Street	12
13. Chapel	24	30. Water Street	12
14. Church St. West	25	31. Water Street	12
15. Church St. East	26	32. Water Street	12
16. City	27	33. Water Street	12
17. Com. St.	28	34. Water Street	12
18. Cornhill	29	35. Water Street	12
19. East Bay	30	36. Water Street	12
20. East Bay West	31	37. Water Street	12
21. Eglow	32	38. Water Street	12
22. D. Com. St.	33	39. Water Street	12
23. Elizabeth	34	40. Water Street	12
24. Federal	35	41. Water Street	12
25. D. Green	36	42. Water Street	12
26. Friend	37	43. Water Street	12
27. Front	38	44. Water Street	12
28. Grove	39	45. Water Street	12
29. Grafton	40	46. Water Street	12
30. Grier	41	47. Water Street	12
31. Gillen	42	48. Water Street	12
32. Guignon	43	49. Water Street	12
33. Harrell	44	50. Water Street	12
34. King	45	51. Water Street	12
35. D. Com. St.	46	52. Water Street	12
36. Lamb	47	53. Water Street	12
37. Liberty	48	54. Water Street	12
38. Ligonier	49	55. Water Street	12
39. Lowndes	50	56. Water Street	12
40. Lynch	51	57. Water Street	12
41. Madras	52	58. Water Street	12
42. Market	53	59. Water Street	12
43. Mazyck	54	60. Water Street	12
44. Marino	55	61. Water Street	12
45. D. Com. St.	56	62. Water Street	12
46. Middle	57	63. Water Street	12
47. Ministry	58	64. Water Street	12
48. Moore	59	65. Water Street	12
49. Montague	60	66. Water Street	12
50. New St.	61	67. Water Street	12
51. S. Phillips St.	62	68. Water Street	12
52. P. S. R. Green	63	69. Water Street	12
53. Pinkney St.	64	70. Water Street	12
54. Queen	65	71. Water Street	12
55. Quince	66	72. Water Street	12
56. Rutledge	67	73. Water Street	12
57. Savage	68	74. Water Street	12
58. Scarborough	69	75. Water Street	12
59. South St.	70	76. Water Street	12
60. Soverey	71	77. Water Street	12
61. South Bay	72	78. Water Street	12
62. T. Lacey	73	79. Water Street	12
63. T. Lacey	74	80. Water Street	12
64. T. Lacey	75	81. Water Street	12
65. T. Lacey	76	82. Water Street	12
66. T. Lacey	77	83. Water Street	12
67. T. Lacey	78	84. Water Street	12
68. T. Lacey	79	85. Water Street	12
69. T. Lacey	80	86. Water Street	12
70. T. Lacey	81	87. Water Street	12
71. T. Lacey	82	88. Water Street	12
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98. T. Lacey	109	115. Water Street	12
99. T. Lacey	110	116. Water Street	12
100. T. Lacey	111	117. Water Street	12



V	Old Baptist Church	77
W	New D.	78
X	Presbyterian P.	79
Y	S. Michael's Episco	80
Z	pal D.	81
1	S. Phillips D.	82
2	Branch 1.	83
3	Old Independence	84
4	New D.	85
5	German D.	86
6	Trinity Methodist	87
7	Blue D.	88
8	White D.	89

PLAN OF THE CITY OF CHARLESTON SOUTH CAROLINA.
Engraved by G. Benson.

Most free black owners either purchased their families or were motivated by humanitarian impulses. James Harrison Holloway (1849-1913), a member of a Charleston free black family, cited three instances in which his family acted out of benevolence. Mrs. Mary Jane Benford, daughter-in-law of Charles Benford, a slave who had belonged to Richard Holloway, James' father, gave the following account of how her father-in-law gained his freedom.

In 1832, his owner, Mary Shubrick died and her childred, Mrs. Sarah A. Trapier and Edward Shubrich as Administratrix and Administrator gave him Charles Benford, the privilege of purchasing himself for the nominal sum of 300. (Three hundred dollars) and gave him three years to pay the money without interest.

But it was necessary for him to get someone to hold him as his property, as the law would not recognize him as free and so he having confidence in Mr. Richard Holloway, got him to assume the obligations while he, Charles Benford, paid the money.

The transaction was not of any financial benefit to Mr. Holloway, he being actuated only by brotherly love in the matter they both being Leaders in the Methodist Episcopal Church,

My Father-in-law delighted to tell this as evidence of the Christian character of Mr. Richard Holloway (Holloway Papers).

It is as difficult, however, to generalize about black slaveholders as it is for white. The few large black slaveholders were generally at least half white and were treated hostilely by both black and white. As secession and battle neared, there were increased efforts to restrict black ownership of slaves due to nervousness on behalf of whites as to how far free blacks could be trusted. Slaves were equally disturbed, though for different reasons. A Texas slave complained,

One nigger's no business to sarve another. It's bad enough to have to sarve a white man without being paid for it, without having to sarve a black man (Oakes 1982: 48-49).

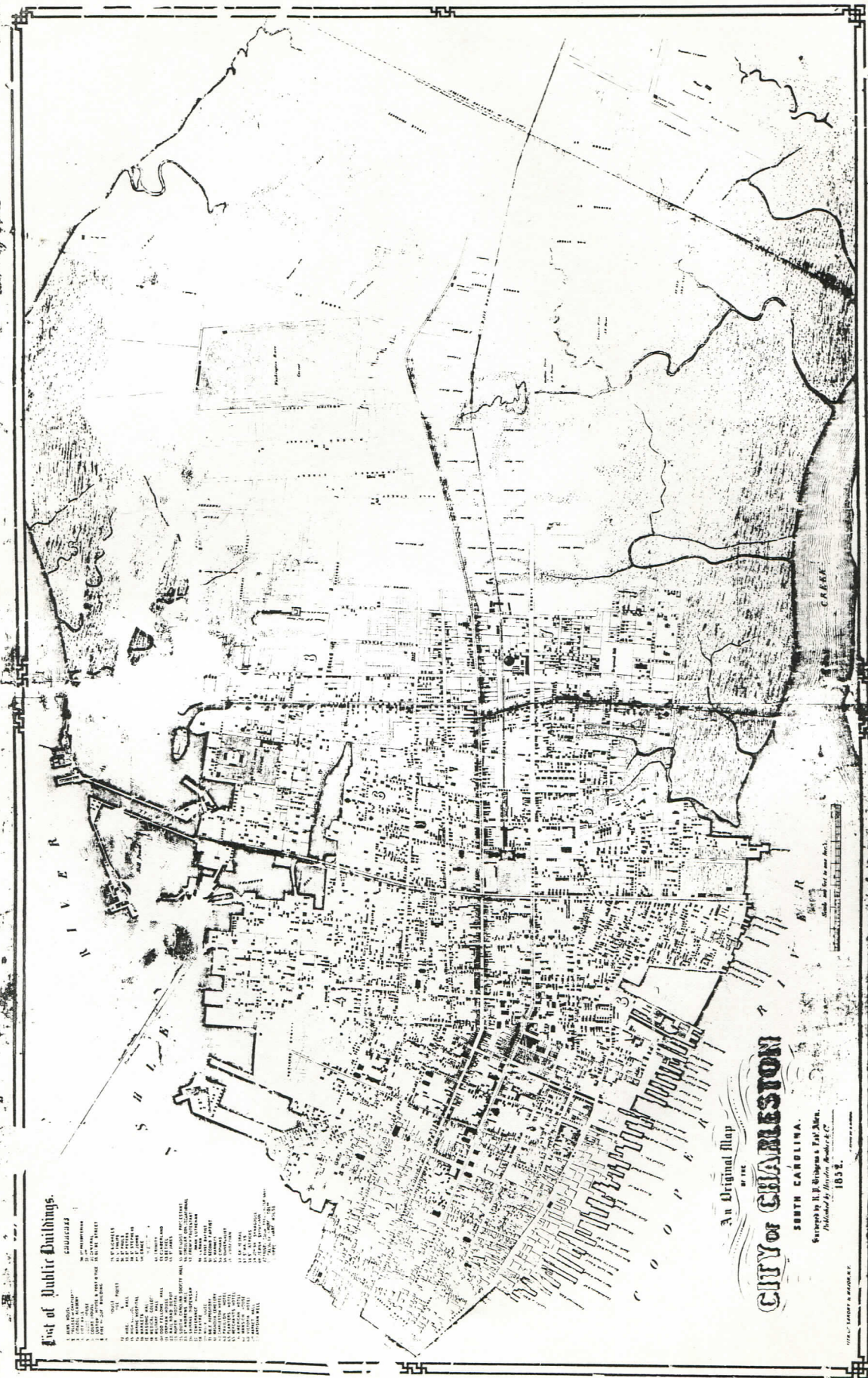
There was a distinct tendency for Charleston's free blacks to live at more of a distance from whites than slaves. In 1861, the index of dissimilarity between whites and free blacks was more than twice that between whites and slaves (Berlin 1974: 257). Several factors account for this variation. Many free blacks undoubtedly preferred to maintain a discrete distance from whites. Wealth and position were no guarantee of immunity from harassment by any white, regardless of age, sex, influence, or affluence. A letter informing a friend or relative of a family's intended emigration to Liberia declared that,

we have a fine country where we may better ourselves & call it our own there... according to the dictates of our own conscience under our own Vine and Fig tree and none to molest us or make us affraid. (Holloway Papers).

Figure 6

Charleston in 1852; development and annexation of the Neck, considerable growth to the north.

"An Original Map of the City of Charleston, South Carolina" by Bridgens and Allen.



Foot of Public Buildings.

- 1. CITY HALL
- 2. COURTHOUSE
- 3. STATE HOUSE
- 4. CITY CLERK'S OFFICE
- 5. CITY ENGINEER'S OFFICE
- 6. CITY COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE
- 7. CITY RECORDS OFFICE
- 8. CITY TREASURER'S OFFICE
- 9. CITY CLERK'S OFFICE
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- 198. CITY TREASURER'S OFFICE
- 199. CITY CLERK'S OFFICE
- 200. CITY ENGINEER'S OFFICE

An Original Map
 of the
CITY of CHARLESTON
 SOUTH CAROLINA.
 Surveyed by R. H. Stephens & T. A. Allen.
 Published by Stevens, Smith & Co.
 1852.



1774 - 1775 - 1776 - 1777 - 1778 - 1779 - 1780 - 1781 - 1782 - 1783 - 1784 - 1785 - 1786 - 1787 - 1788 - 1789 - 1790 - 1791 - 1792 - 1793 - 1794 - 1795 - 1796 - 1797 - 1798 - 1799 - 1800 - 1801 - 1802 - 1803 - 1804 - 1805 - 1806 - 1807 - 1808 - 1809 - 1810 - 1811 - 1812 - 1813 - 1814 - 1815 - 1816 - 1817 - 1818 - 1819 - 1820 - 1821 - 1822 - 1823 - 1824 - 1825 - 1826 - 1827 - 1828 - 1829 - 1830 - 1831 - 1832 - 1833 - 1834 - 1835 - 1836 - 1837 - 1838 - 1839 - 1840 - 1841 - 1842 - 1843 - 1844 - 1845 - 1846 - 1847 - 1848 - 1849 - 1850 - 1851 - 1852 - 1853 - 1854 - 1855 - 1856 - 1857 - 1858 - 1859 - 1860 - 1861 - 1862 - 1863 - 1864 - 1865 - 1866 - 1867 - 1868 - 1869 - 1870 - 1871 - 1872 - 1873 - 1874 - 1875 - 1876 - 1877 - 1878 - 1879 - 1880 - 1881 - 1882 - 1883 - 1884 - 1885 - 1886 - 1887 - 1888 - 1889 - 1890 - 1891 - 1892 - 1893 - 1894 - 1895 - 1896 - 1897 - 1898 - 1899 - 1900 - 1901 - 1902 - 1903 - 1904 - 1905 - 1906 - 1907 - 1908 - 1909 - 1910 - 1911 - 1912 - 1913 - 1914 - 1915 - 1916 - 1917 - 1918 - 1919 - 1920 - 1921 - 1922 - 1923 - 1924 - 1925 - 1926 - 1927 - 1928 - 1929 - 1930 - 1931 - 1932 - 1933 - 1934 - 1935 - 1936 - 1937 - 1938 - 1939 - 1940 - 1941 - 1942 - 1943 - 1944 - 1945 - 1946 - 1947 - 1948 - 1949 - 1950 - 1951 - 1952 - 1953 - 1954 - 1955 - 1956 - 1957 - 1958 - 1959 - 1960 - 1961 - 1962 - 1963 - 1964 - 1965 - 1966 - 1967 - 1968 - 1969 - 1970 - 1971 - 1972 - 1973 - 1974 - 1975 - 1976 - 1977 - 1978 - 1979 - 1980 - 1981 - 1982 - 1983 - 1984 - 1985 - 1986 - 1987 - 1988 - 1989 - 1990 - 1991 - 1992 - 1993 - 1994 - 1995 - 1996 - 1997 - 1998 - 1999 - 2000

By 1861, the practice of hiring out had become common. These slaves were often attracted to the Neck by the lower rent and the distance it would place between them and their masters. Relative affluence and the practice of hiring out enabled some free blacks and slaves to choose their place of residence. Others, however, were not so fortunate. Numerous slaves were compelled to reside with their master, or wherever he might choose. Many free blacks, thrust into competition with their enslaved brethren, were forced to accept equally low wages and found it exceedingly difficult to allow any consideration other than financial to determine their place of residence.

Not all of the slaves' competitors, however, were black. Quite a number of white mechanics were thrown into daily conflict with their black brethren. The widespread employment of slaves in a variety of services for his master and others prevented any real development of the mechanic arts among whites. The psychological conflict in white and black artisan competing for, and performing, identical tasks often led to a deep aversion between the two groups. Frederick Douglass, himself a participant at one time in this economic and, on occasion, physical warfare, declared that,

The slaveholders... by encouraging the enmity of the poor, laboring white man against the blacks, succeeds in making the said white man almost as much of a slave as the black man himself... The slave is robbed, by his master, of all his earnings, above what is required for his bare physical necessities; and the white man is robbed by the slave system, of the just results of his labor, because he is flung into competition with a class of laborers who work without wages... The impression is...made, that slavery is the only power that can prevent the laboring white man from falling to the level of the slave's poverty and degradation (Douglass 1969: 309-311).

In a society where slavery was synonymous with labor, many artisans came to scorn their work and hired or bought slaves to carry on their business (Nevins 1947: 491). Others migrated to the northern colonies where wages were lower but their social status higher (Sellers 1970: 103). This led to a dependence on slave labor which proved detrimental to the technological and industrial development of Carolina. In a situation where labor intensive methods were often not merely feasible but actually desirable, there was a disincentive to modernize the agricultural sector. Industry suffered from the same handicap with the result that the South in general lagged significantly behind other areas in manufacturing techniques and results. Thus the withdrawal of mercantilist laws following the Revolution, which had governed the productive capabilities of the colonies, had little effect on the economy of Charleston. Instead, the city continued to rely heavily on raw materials, at this point primarily agricultural, for its prosperity. Charleston's development as a social center had stabilized its urban economy but offered few opportunities for expansion. The economic well-being of the town

depended on the monetary success of the country society for which it was the center (Powers 1972: 15). The removal of the capital from Charleston to Columbia in 1788 contributed greatly to the institutional decline of the older city, while the success of railroads and steam exacerbated her economic recession. By 1826, one observer was writing,

It (Columbia) has engrossed much of the trade which...Charleston formerly enjoyed; the produce of the backcountry stopping here, to be transported by water to that city, instead of proceeding as formerly, by land (Mills 1972: 699; see Lewis 1976: 26).

Charleston's economic and social decline occurred as the city was growing increasingly defensive of its "peculiar institution". The city sullenly withdrew into itself, eschewing the present and glorifying its past. The disastrous fire of 1861 destroyed much of downtown Charleston and the War Between the States, although sparing Charleston the ravages perpetrated upon Atlanta, Columbia and many other areas, set the seal on an era.

CHAPTER III

INDIVIDUAL RESEARCH TOPICS

Following the development of a general outline of the land use history of the city, a number of individual topics were researched, in an attempt to pinpoint the location of particular archaeological sites. This chapter contains the results of research on these topics to date. Each topic will be discussed separately.

Subdivisions and Charleston's Northern Development

When Charleston's settlers moved from Albemarle Point to the peninsular area, they settled along the Cooper River in the area enclosed by present-day Water Street, East Bay Street, Cumberland Street and Meeting Street. The Grand Model encompasses the high land in this area (See Figure 8). From this nucleus, settlement soon spread westward, and then northward, to present day Beaufain Street, the city limit until 1783.

Prior to intensive settlement, the areas of the peninsula above Beaufain Street were a series of plantations and small farms. Many tracts began as large landholdings, often later divided between children. Many of these tracts were not improved upon, but were purchased simply for land speculation purposes (see Oakes 1982: 10). As urban development spread northward along the peninsula, these tracts were subdivided and developed. Research was undertaken to determine when areas were subdivided, and what structures, if any, were present prior to subdivision. Both city-wide maps and property-specific plats were used for the research.

Figure 7 demonstrates the general patterns of growth for the peninsular city, based on historic maps of the city (Bridgens and Allen 1852; Bonner 1802; Petrie 1788; Roberts and Toms 1739; Crisp 1704). The illustration clearly demonstrates that initial growth was to the west, filling all available high land. Growth then moved north and west, gradually filling the peninsula. Growth to the east indicates the development of wharves and gradual infilling of associated marshland.

Figure 8 indicates the boundaries of each subdivision, and the date of the subdivision. Figure 9 indicates the location of any previous structures. Each subdivision will be discussed separately, in chronological order by date of subdivision. The discussion will outline a general history of each subdivision, and indicate possible archaeological sites of particular interest. Where none were located, only a general history of the area is given.

Figure 7

Patterns of growth and development
of Charleston, based on historic
maps of the city.

-  1704
-  1739
-  1788
-  1802
-  1852

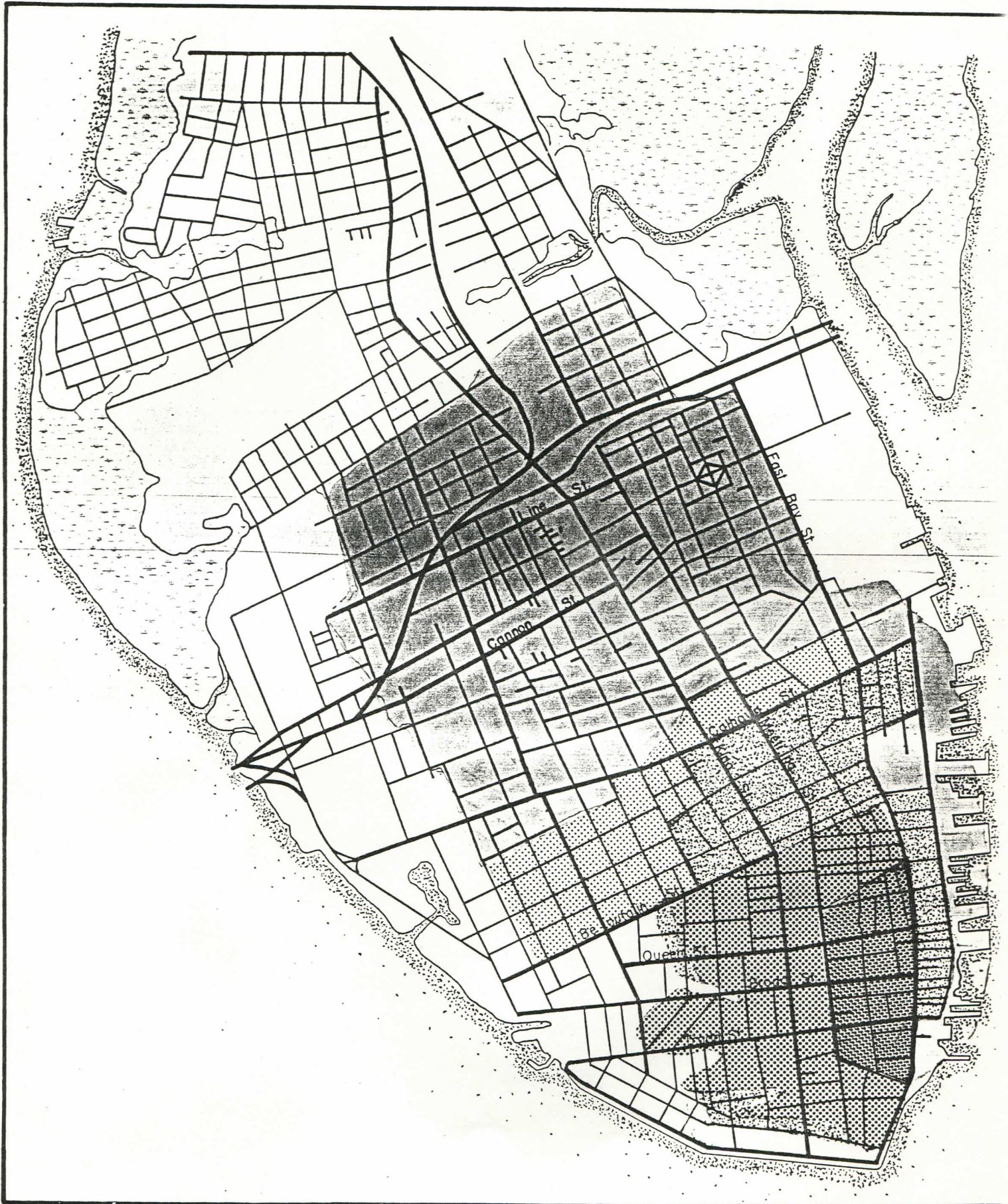


Figure 8

Area encompassed by the original
Grand Model, and subsequent sub-
divisions.

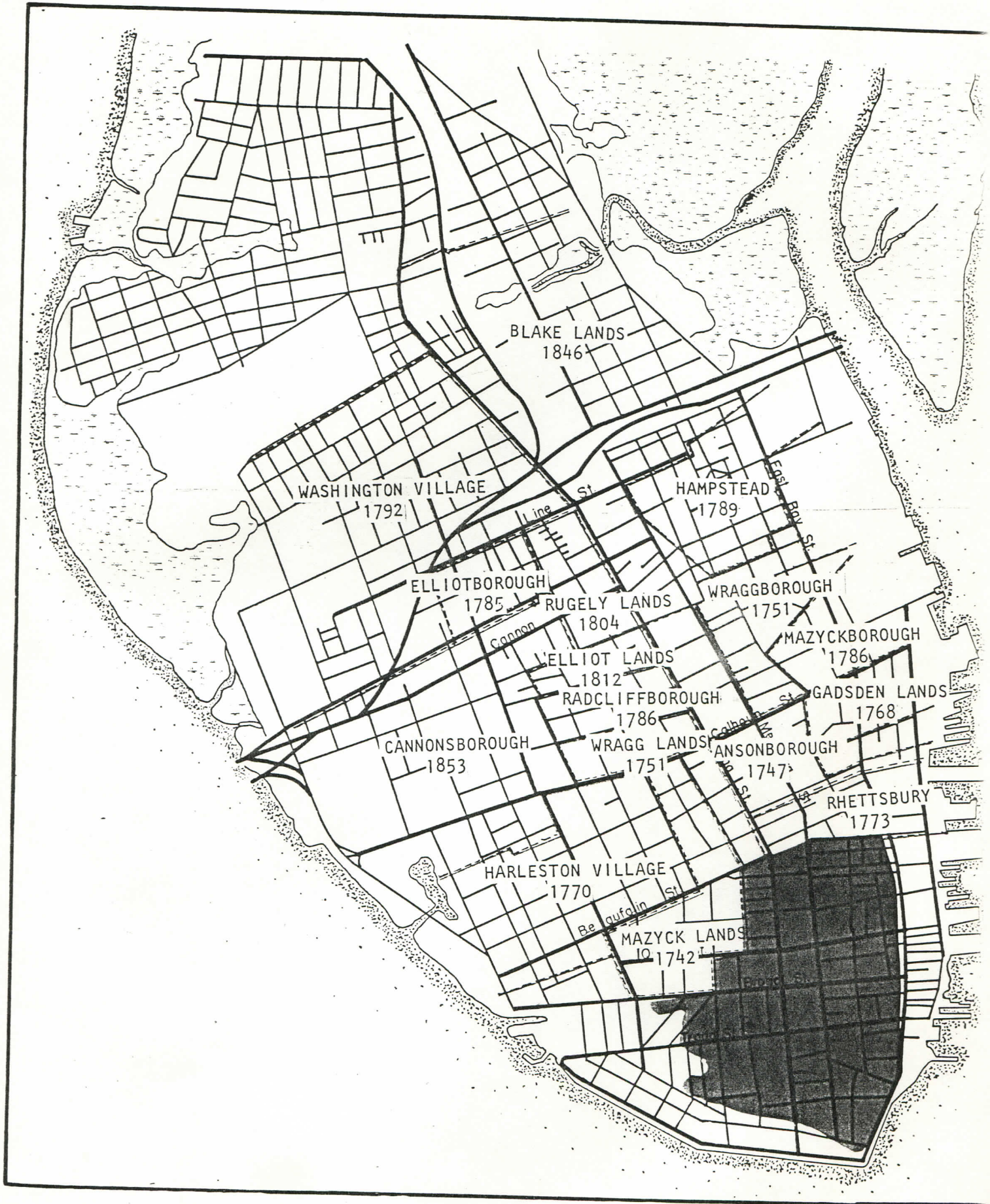
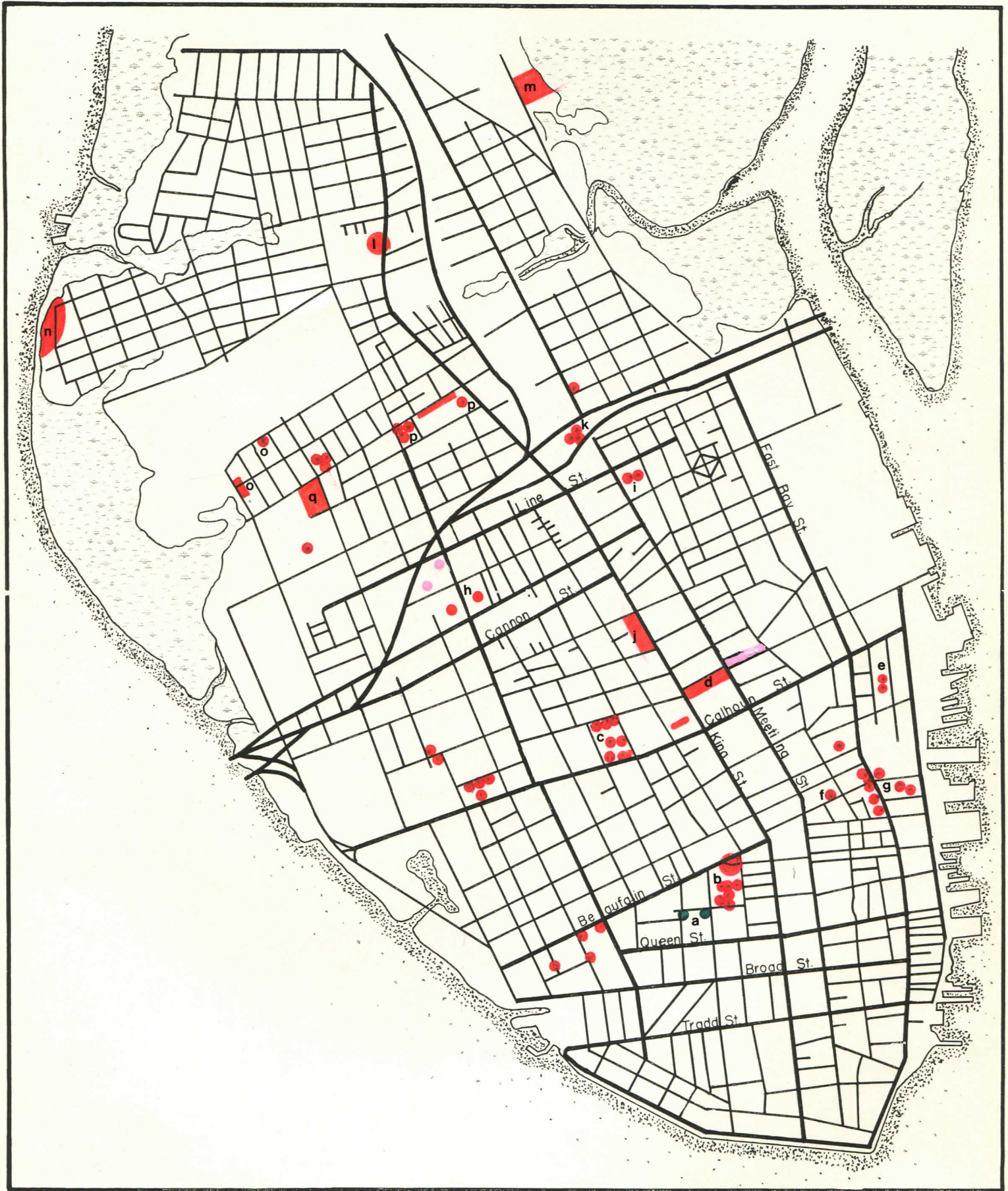


Figure 9

Location of structures present
prior to subdivision of areas
outside of the original city.



Ansonborough: The earliest subdivision venture was undertaken by Captain George Anson in 1747. This land was part of an original grant to Isaac Mazyck in 1720. Sixty three acres of this were sold to Thomas Gadsden in 1726. Gadsden sold a small tract to Francis LeBrasseur, and George Anson acquired the rest in 1747. Subdivision and construction began immediately (RMC0 CC-161; BB-137; RR-522; McCrady Plat 486). All of the original structures were of wood. Anson's home was of cypress, at present-day 79 Anson Street.

No plats could be located showing early structures; the area appears to have been undeveloped prior to Captain Anson's subdivision. The 1739 map of Charleston shows no structures in this area; the 1788 map of the city indicates fifteen structures in the subdivision.

Mazyck Lands: The Mazyck Lands are the only body of land below Beaufain Street not included in the original Grand Model area. The tract was originally claimed by John Vanderhorst by virtue of a grant to Joshua Horton in 1689 (McCrady Plat 174-01). Following legal complications, the land was re-granted to James Moore in 1698 (Stoney 1944: 126). The land was willed to Isaac Mazyck in 1712, and was partitioned among Mazyck's sons in 1742 (RMC0 B3-468).

The 1739 map indicates a large cemetery ("Old Burial Ground"), the new powder magazine, and the work house in this area. The map suggests that the work house was located at the southwest corner of Logan and Magazine Streets, while the powder magazine was at the southeast corner of Franklin and Magazine. The burial ground was contained within the block bounded by Magazine, Queen, Logan and Franklin (Fig. 8, #a).

The tract was laid out into individual lots in 1786 (McCrady Plat 174); by this time several structures were extant in the northeastern portion of the tract (Fig. 8, #b). These structures were probably constructed by the Mazyck brothers. Developers should be aware of possible evidence of pre-revolutionary occupation in these two blocks of the tract.

By 1788 the tract was well developed and there were several structures in the area (Petrie 1788). The block containing the work house now also contains the jail and poor house. The powder magazine is still present, but is shown one half block south of its indicated 1739 location. All four structures are indicated on the 1802 map (Bonner 1802). By the mid-nineteenth century the block was the site of several large municipal buildings. The block bounded by Magazine, Queen, Logan and Franklin Streets should contain evidence of several interesting eighteenth century structures. Care should be taken during any future ground-disturbing activities in this area.

Wragg Lands, Wraggsborough: Wraggsborough and the other tracts of Wragg land were originally owned by the Wragg family. An extensive grant composing the Barony of Wraggsborough was made to the brothers Joseph and

Samuel Wragg for their services in bringing out large numbers of emigrants (Smith 1971). The lands were partitioned among heirs of the Wraggs in 1751 (Stoney 1944: 128; RMC0 B3-233, 241). Development of the areas began in the nineteenth century (RMC0 Y10-45; A7-415; McCrady Plat 1135, 549, 514).

By 1798 several structures were located within Wragg lands in the two blocks bounded by Calhoun, Vanderhorst, Coming and Pitt Streets (McCrady Plat 517, Figure 8, #c). The Orphan House was present at the site of the Sears Building by 1792. Within Wraggborough an extensive warehouse for the inspection of tobacco was constructed in the 1790's (McCrady Plat 549; Figure 8, #d). In 1822 these buildings were converted to an arsenal to patrol the Charleston Neck area. The tobacco warehouses are beneath the Old Citadel building. Wraggborough and the Wragg Lands developed rapidly in the early nineteenth century.

Gadsden's Lands or Middlesex: Gadsden's Lands were part of the original grant to Isaac Mazyck in 1720. After successive owners, twenty acres of high land and twenty acres of marsh were sold to Christopher Gadsden in 1768 (RMC0 Q5-251; McCrady Plat 354). He divided the property into six wharf lots and 197 back lots (Stoney 1944: 127). Gadsden's "stupendous work" (Bridenbaugh 1955: 138) was a tremendous commercial success, especially his wharves, which inspired other merchants in similar ventures. By the turn of the nineteenth century Middlesex was well developed (See Fig. 8 #e) (McCrady Plat 3544; RMC0 Q5-251; 13-414).

Harleston Village: Harleston Village was part of a grant to John Coming in 1675, which ran from river to river. The east part passed from the Comings, but the west part remained in their possession and passed to Mrs. Coming's nephews, the Harlestons. In 1767 the will of John Harleston indicates that he had agreed with his brothers to lay out the tract into lots. No structures prior to this date have been located. The area developed slowly, but by the turn of the nineteenth century many houses were located in the subdivision. Harleston is shown as a name only on Petrie's 1788 map, but Bonner's 1802 map shows a thriving community.

Rhettsbury: This land was originally granted to William Rhett in 1714, and was known as Point Plantation. In 1716 Rhett built a substantial house, which survives today and is located at 54 Hasell Street (Fig. 8 #f). Mr. Rhett's house is shown on the 1739 city map (Robert and Toms 1739), along with several other structures along East Bay Street (Fig. 8 #g). Documents indicate that these structures were "several large storehouses of brick and other buildings as part of a wharf" (RMC0 Y-484-495). The land was divided in 1773 among his great granddaughters (McCrady Plat 3614). Early occupation of Rhettsbury is well-documented and is probably well preserved. The site at 54 Hasell and the area of East Bay Street are considered highly significant.

Mazyckborough: Mazyckborough, like other areas of the city, was granted to Isaac Mazyck (Proprietary Grants v. 38: 316). It was subdivided in 1786 by Alexander Mazyck (McCrady Plat 479, 514). The area

developed during the nineteenth century. No structures are indicated in the area prior to the 1786 subdivision.

Radcliffborough: To date, very little information has been located on Radcliffborough. The tract was developed by Thomas Radcliff in 1786. Plats of this subdivision show no structures in the area (McCrary Plat 538, 571; RMC0 13-509). The area was developed in the early nineteenth century and appears to have been a racially and socioeconomically mixed neighborhood.

Elliotborough: Elliotborough was the estate of Barnard Elliot, which was divided between his four daughters in 1785. A plat of this subdivision (McCrary Plat 6675; RMC0 R4-67, E6-453, X7-409) shows an old tomb and the foundation of a structure in the eastern portion of the tract (Fig. 8 #h). Nineteenth century plats showing further subdivision of the tract do not show these foundations (McCrary Plat 6737, 6707). Perhaps they were destroyed by this time. Like other areas of the Neck, this area was developed slowly in the antebellum period.

Hampstead: The property which became known as the village of Hampstead was purchased by Henry Laurens from George Austin in 1769. This plantation was known as "Austin Field". Laurens had the tract resurveyed, and divided into 140 lots. William Bampffield became Henry Laurens' partner in the Hampstead venture when he purchased one half interest in the property; Laurens, however, acted as sole proprietor of the sales.

Fortunately for researchers, Henry Laurens left extensive records of all his transactions, including the sales of the Hampstead lots (Papers of Henry Laurens, vol. 7). His records suggest that the venture was only moderately successful before the Revolution. More importantly, Laurens sold only 68 lots during the twenty one months he actively promoted the venture (November 1769-July 1771), and of those, 38 were sold to Bampffield. He apparently retained the title to the remaining unsold lots which passed at his death in trust for his granddaughter, Frances Eleanor Laurens (Papers of Henry Laurens, vol. 7). A complete list of the sale of the Hampstead lots is on file at the Charleston Museum.

As indicated by Laurens' unsuccessful sales, the Hampstead area was developed slowly. The area was not developed until the nineteenth century. No records of structures prior to this time have been located. Further subdivision of the Hampstead area occurred in the late antebellum period (McCrary Plats 467; 908; 6789).

Rugley Lands: Very little documentation is available on this tract. The area is located in the center of the Neck, which was not intensely settled until the nineteenth century. The Rugley tract was subdivided in 1804, and developed gradually (RMC0 Y8-223; McCrary Plats 6723; 6732). No structures were located prior to this date.

Elliot Lands: Like the adjoining Radcliffborough, the Elliot Lands in the Neck were surveyed and subdivided in 1786. Further subdivision took place in 1812. At this time a number of structures are shown along King Street (McCrary Plat 571)(Fig. 8 #j). This is not unexpected; King Street was the main thoroughfare into the city and commercial growth crept up the highway ahead of subsequent residential development. Thus the areas along King Street should contain earlier sites than the remaining areas of the tract.

Cannonsborough: The area encompassed by Cannonsborough belonged to Daniel Cannon from 1762 to 1800. It remained intact until 1853, when it was subdivided by Jonathan Lucas. The eastern portion of the area was already well developed by this time; the western portion embraced three large mill ponds, extending from Calhoun Street north as far as Spring Street and east of President street (Stoney 1944). Cannon's mills were an important industrial enterprise for nineteenth century Charleston. The earliest structures in the area were located on Mill Street and are present on a 1796 plat (McCrary Plats 6901; 6917; 6929; 604).

Blake Lands: In 1700 a grant was made to George Logan for 210 acres. Days later George Logan conveyed to Joseph Blake, Landgrave, the same tract. Blake sold portions of the tract leaving in 1733 152 acres, which encompassed a large tract of land east of King Street and north of the crosstown. This land remained in the hands of the Blake family for many years, and was not divided until 1846. The 1852 map of the city (Bridgens and Allen 1852) shows the area divided between several Blake heirs. Four structures are shown in the southwest corner of the tract, adjacent to the railroad; it is likely that these structures were associated with the railroad (Figure 8 #k). The rest of the area appears uninhabited.

Above the Blake lands, two structures are shown on the east corners of King Street and Rumney Street. One is listed as the Rumney Coffee House and probably served as a tavern for those coming to Charleston from the upcountry (Fig. 8 #l). (Research was not conducted for the areas north of the city limits.) This area was known as Rumney Village, and was laid out into streets and squares in 1823. The thirty acre parcel was originally the property of Daniel and Hannah Gale. Development centered around the Rumney Distillery, and was the project of Nathaniel Russell, among others. Above this was the village of Magnolia Umbra, which contained a large cemetery present on the 1852 map (Fig. 8 #m)(McCrary Plats 6805; 6834; 6853; 6876; 1135; 1088; 6820; 6928; 6952).

Washington Village: Unlike some of the smaller tracts, considerable information is available on the evolution of the Washington Village area. The land was originally granted to Patrick Scott in 1701 (Proprietary Grants, vol 38, p. 414). This was part of the land originally granted to Joseph Dalton. The land passed eventually to Richard Cartwright in 1710, who willed it to his three sons. Except for tracts acquired by Thomas Gadsden, the land remained in the hands of Cartwright's descendants until it was divided up into lots and sold.

The area immediately north of Washington Village was acquired by John Gibbes in the mid-eighteenth century, and was known generally as "The Grove" plantation or farm. The Washington Race Course was built upon a portion of this tract. Several mid-nineteenth century plats of Grove farm show a cluster of structures along the Ashley River (Fig. 8 #n). The Grove played a significant role in the Revolution, and is considered an important site (McCrary Plats 6805; Bridgens and Allen 1852).

Washington Village was laid out in 1792, and the area developed gradually during the nineteenth century. The earliest documented site is a small farmstead on the Ashley, including a settlement, Negro cemetery and "chimney" (Fig. 8 #o). The 1838 plat of the area indicates that the site is much older (McCrary Plat 6688). As with other areas of the Neck, the commercial strip along King Street was the first to develop. An 1804 plat (McCrary Plat 6684) shows structures fronting on King Street (Fig. 8 #p). Structures are also shown on Congress Street at this time. A city cemetery is located at the southwest corner of Congress and President (Fig. 8 #q) (Bridgens and Allen 1852). The rest of the area developed slowly (McCrary Plats 6728; 6869; 6687; 6774; 6908).

An examination of specific tracts and specific neighborhoods demonstrates a general settlement plan for the Charleston peninsula. From the core area of Broad and East Bay Street, settlement moved first west and then north. The areas above the developed city were a series of plantations and small farms, which were gradually subdivided and developed. As a result, many areas of the Neck have archaeological sites which predate much of the areas. The above discussion represents an effort to pinpoint sites in these areas of the city. This project is but the beginning of an ongoing effort in this direction.

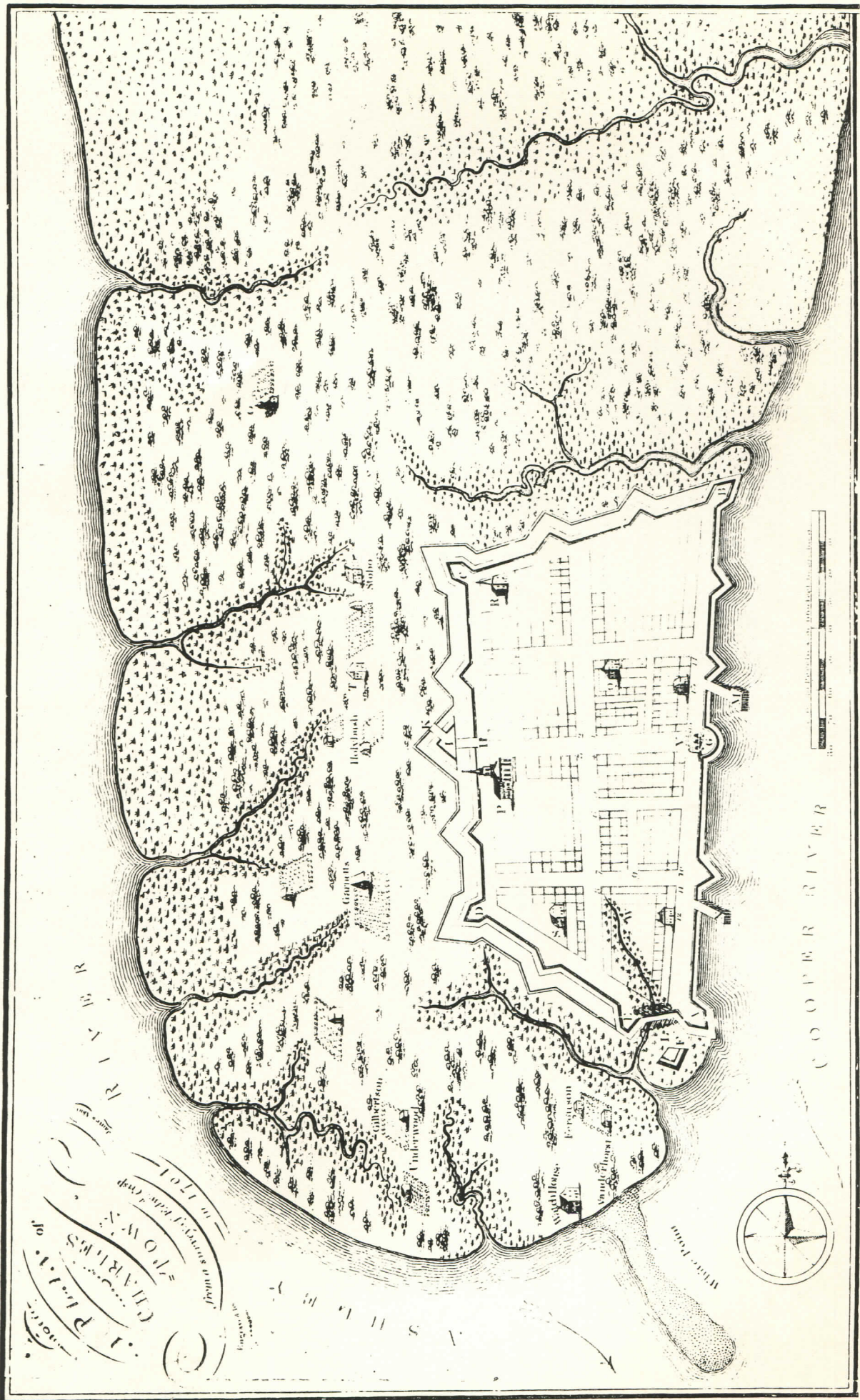
Early Eighteenth Structures in Charleston

The earliest surviving map of the city of Charleston is Edward Crisp's map of 1704. This map shows a well-fortified town; the new settlement is surrounded by walls along present-day East Bay Street, Water Street, Meeting Street and Cumberland Street. Outside the walled city are a number of small farmsteads (Figure 10). In an attempt to pinpoint the location of these farmsteads, a photostatic copy of Crisp's map was enlarged to the scale of modern aerial photographs and printed on transparent film. The map was then superimposed on the aerial photograph and the approximate location of the structures noted.

A problem to be aware of here is that the farmsteads on Crisp's map are highly stylized; furthermore, when the map was enlarged, several irregularities in measurement were noted. Nonetheless, the approximate

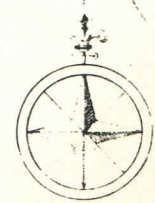
Figure 10

Edward Crisp's map of Charleston
in 1704, showing the fortified
city and outlying farmsteads.



1. Plan of
Fort Mifflin
in 1701
from a survey by
John W. N. S.

Scale of Feet
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000



COOPER RIVER

location of these early farmsteads was noted in relation to known landmarks. The approximate locations of these sites is shown in Figure 11. They are:

- a: Holybush's farm - Southeast corner King and Orange.
- b: Garrett's farm - Northwest corner Tradd and Orange.
- c: Unnamed farm - East side Legare St., between Broad and Queen
- d: Unnamed farm - Tradd St., between Legare and Lenwood.
- e: Stobo's farm - West side of King St., between Princess and Clifford
- f: Unnamed structure - West side of King St., between Clifford and Jacob's Alley
- g: Watch house - White Point gardens, Church St. and South Battery
- h: Ferguson's farm - South of Water St., east of Church St.
- i: Vanderhorst's farm - South of Water St, west of East Bay St.
- j: Underwood's farm - Northwest corner King and South Battery
- k: Gilbertson's farm - Northwest corner King and Lamboll
- l: Unnamed farm - Legare St, below Tradd St.
- m: Minister's house - Intersection of Wentworth and St. Phillips
- n: Quaker Meeting House - Queen St., west of King St.

The seventeenth century farmstead locations are, in general, in a corridor in the blocks immediately west of King Street, extending from Beaufain Street to South Battery. A second locus of seventeenth century occupation is below Water Street, between Meeting and East Battery (Fig. 12). Special attention should be paid to ground-moving activities in these areas, and the presence of any seventeenth century materials should be noted.

Planters' Residences

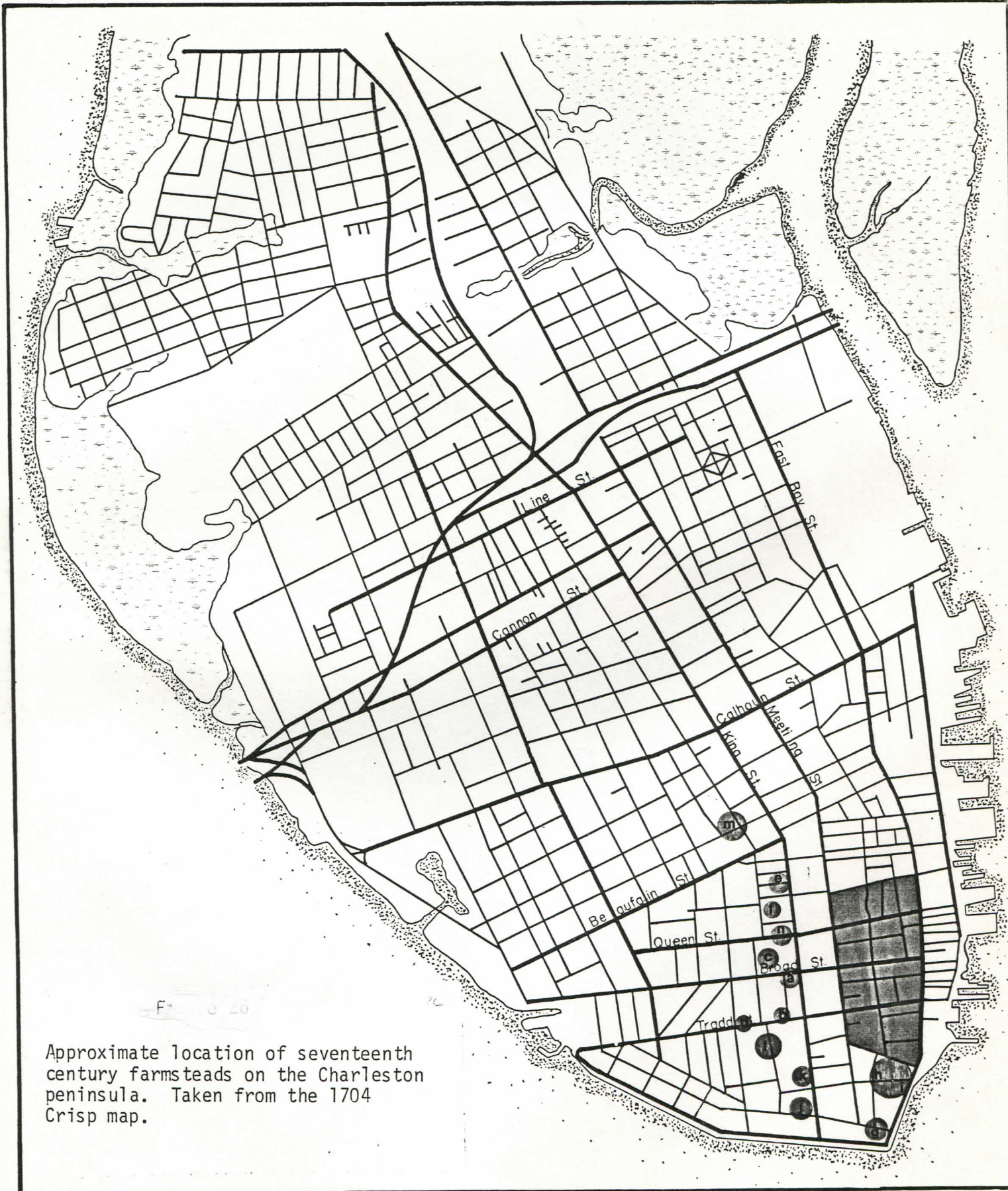
In addition to being the commercial center of the lowcountry, Charleston was also considered a social center. Planters with numerous ties to the city often built townhouses to display their newly acquired wealth.

For the later antebellum years, there are three major clusters of planters' homes; south of Broad Street, including most of the southern tip of the peninsula, the northwestern portion of the city, including Harleston Village and Cannonsborough, and scattered up the eastern portion of the Neck, from Rhettisbury to Hampstead. This pattern is in contrast to the general late antebellum pattern of a decline in the social gradient outward from the center of town (Meeting and Broad Streets). Paradoxically, while parts of the Neck were filling up with cheap houses, other sites, most of them near to the rivers, were being developed as luxury residences for a largely seasonal population (Radford 1974: 210).

Planter sites were located using the Charleston City Directories, the Federal Census, tax rolls, and the 1852 Bridgens and Allen map of the city of Charleston. Only those sites which appeared in more than one source are shown in Figure 13. Many of the sites shown in Figure 13, especially those in the Neck area, have not been pinpointed

Figure 11

Approximate location of farmsteads
present on Crisp's 1704 map.



Approximate location of seventeenth century farmsteads on the Charleston peninsula. Taken from the 1704 Crisp map.

Figure 12

Areas of the city expected to
contain seventeenth and early
eighteenth century sites.

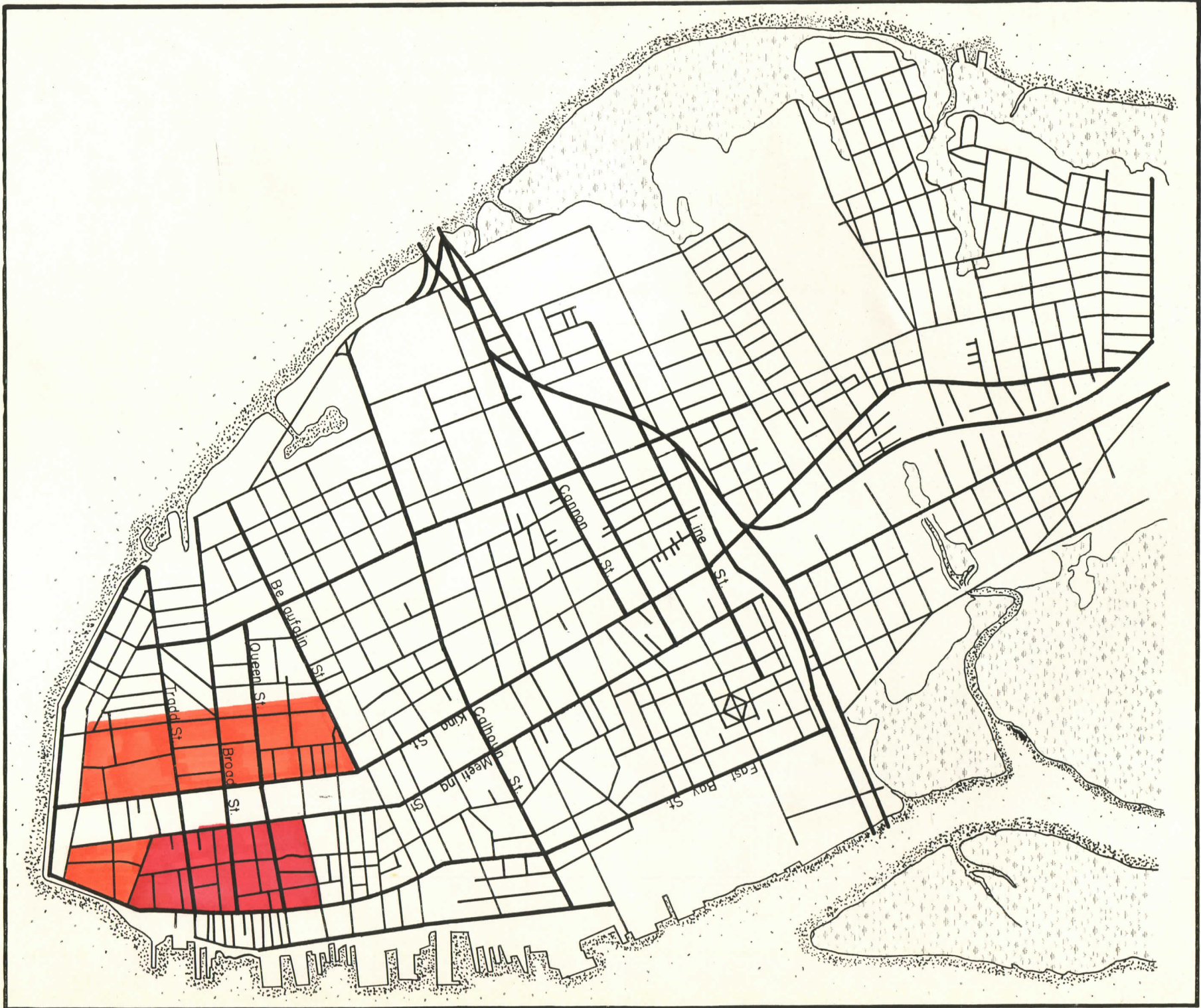
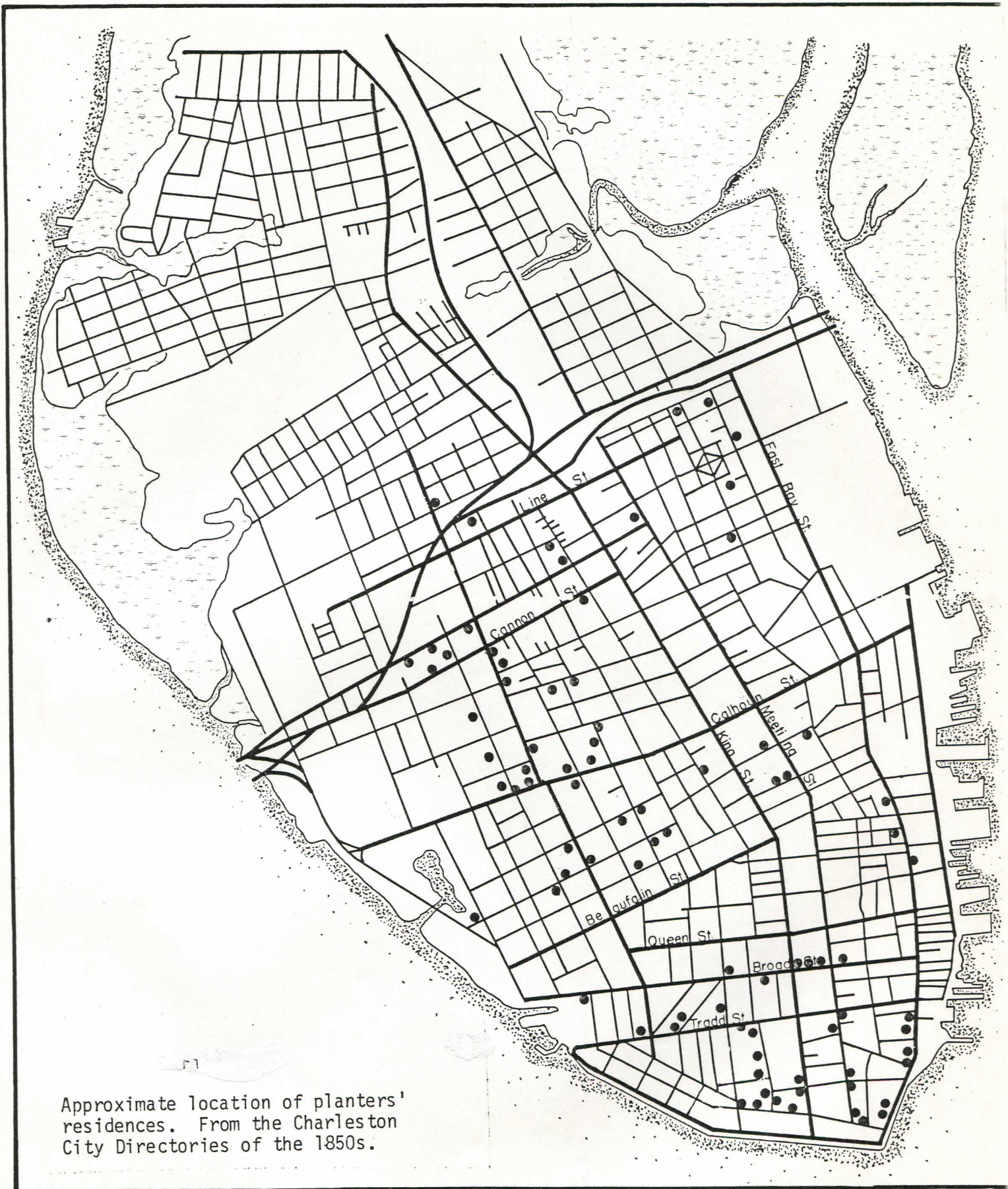


Figure 13

Approximate location of planters' residences in the late antebellum period.



exactly as to location; such precision awaits further research. Pinpointing individual sites in the Neck area is especially difficult because prior to 1860 no street numbers were assigned to structures in this area. For the areas of Charleston with assigned street numbers, research is equally difficult, for the numbers were subject to constant, and seemingly arbitrary, change. Nonetheless, the site locations shown in Figure 13 may be considered accurate for planning purposes, and planners should be aware of these sites in terms of future development.

The planters' home sites shown are only those of the 1850's. Future research will focus on locating planter sites of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, and documenting changes in the residence pattern of Charleston's upper class.

Charleston's Wharves and Waterfront:

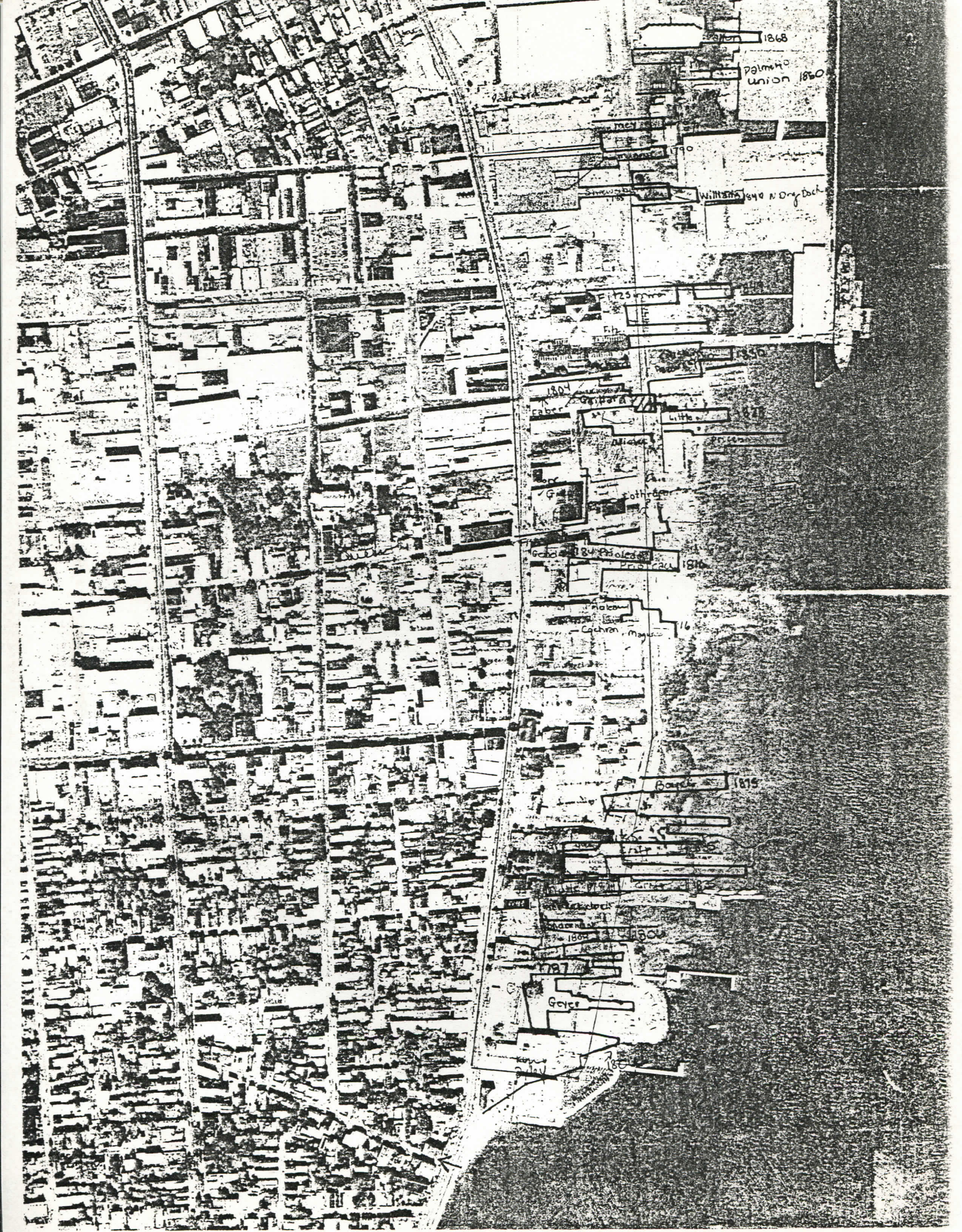
Charleston's growth as an urban center was due to its location on one of the best natural harbors on the southeast Atlantic coast. Following the development of a profitable staple crop and the settlement of the hinterlands in the 1730's, Charleston became the major port and trade center of the southern colonies. When the early town was moved to the peninsula in 1680, the settlement focused on the bluffs along the Cooper River. As the city developed, commercial activity focused along the Cooper, and wharves were soon built to accommodate the port's trade. The townspeople tended to locate themselves in areas convenient for their business, resulting in an early concentration on and around the wharves, on what is now East Bay Street. As the development of the city moved west and then north (See Figure 7), the waterfront - East Bay Street area remained the commercial core of the city.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the wharves and waterfront along East Bay Street underwent constant improvement and expansion. The resulting settlement pattern was one of a gradual development eastward, with new wharves and docks being built into deeper water, and the land being filled behind them. An examination of Figures 2 - 6, as well as Figure 14, demonstrates this general trend. All land east of East Bay Street is man-made.

After examining city maps of the waterfront area (Crisp 1704; Roberts and Toms 1739; Petrie 1788; Bonner 1802; Bridgens and Allen 1852), the McCrady Plats on file at the Charleston County Register Mesne Conveyance Office, and plats on file at the South Carolina Historical Society were examined systematically, and all plats showing wharves along the Cooper River were superimposed on modern aerial photographs (Figure 14). The figure included here shows only the outline of the docks and wharves; however, additional information on the structures located on the wharves is contained in the plats, and is on file at the Charleston Museum (McCrady Plats 1219; 7021; 3331; 3367; 3362; 3396; 7014; 7164; 481; 7071; 3317; 3316; 565; 7204; 618; 1215; 7009; 7226;

Figure 14

Location of eighteenth and nineteenth century wharves, based on cartographic research and superimposed on an aerial photograph.



7227; 7185; 342; 3458; 3621; 7199; 7448; 7215; 7220; 3557; 3349; 7241; 3533; 7472; 260; 67; 624; 512; 7211; 7076; 462; 209; 622; 523; 7083; 500; 570; 541; 372; 3616; 7073; 79-01; 578; 530; RMC0 V8-372; SCHS 32-31-15; SCHS 32-29-1; SCHS 32-46-8).

An examination of Figure 14 suggests that research on the waterfront is by no means complete. No individual plats of the area between Chalmers Street and Elliot Street have been located to date. Additional research is planned on both the physical features of the waterfront and the commercial and social activities which were centered there.

The area of the peninsular city encompassed by East Bay Street, Pritchard Street, Concord Street and Vanderhorst's Wharf is considered one of the most important archaeological resources in the city. Archaeological investigations at the Exchange Building (Herold 1981b) revealed extremely deep (Circa 16 ft.) intact cultural deposits, dating from the mid-eighteenth century to the present. It is expected that the entire waterfront area will contain equally rich archaeological resources. Testing and mitigation should be implemented prior to any ground-disturbing activities, and archaeological investigations should be well integrated with all future development activities along the waterfront.

Charleston's Fortifications

Throughout the eighteenth century Charleston faced a number of external threats. To protect itself against the feared depredations of the Spanish, French, Indians and pirates, the city was surrounded by garrisons and walls. Series of fortifications were built in 1700, 1740, 1780 and 1812.

The original fortifications of the city were commissioned in 1700 (McCord 1844: 16), and were designed to protect Charleston's waterfront as well as her land sides. The small frontier settlement was surrounded on four sides by brick fortifications (Crisp 1704; Herbert 1721). The city boundaries at this time were roughly East Bay Street, Cumberland Street, Meeting Street and Water Street. These extensive fortifications included a number of bastions (Figure 15). In 1717 all but the eastern wall between Granville's Bastion and Craven's Bastion was destroyed to make way for the rapidly expanding town. Several eighteenth century maps and plats show portions of this eastern wall, and portions of it have been exposed during twentieth century construction.

The half moon battery, located at the foot of Broad Street, is the only visible remnant of these original fortifications. During John Miller's excavations inside the Exchange Building (Herold 1981b), the half moon battery was exposed and the fill between the battery and the east wall of the Exchange was excavated (Figure 16 shows the half moon in relation to the Exchange building). The excavations suggest

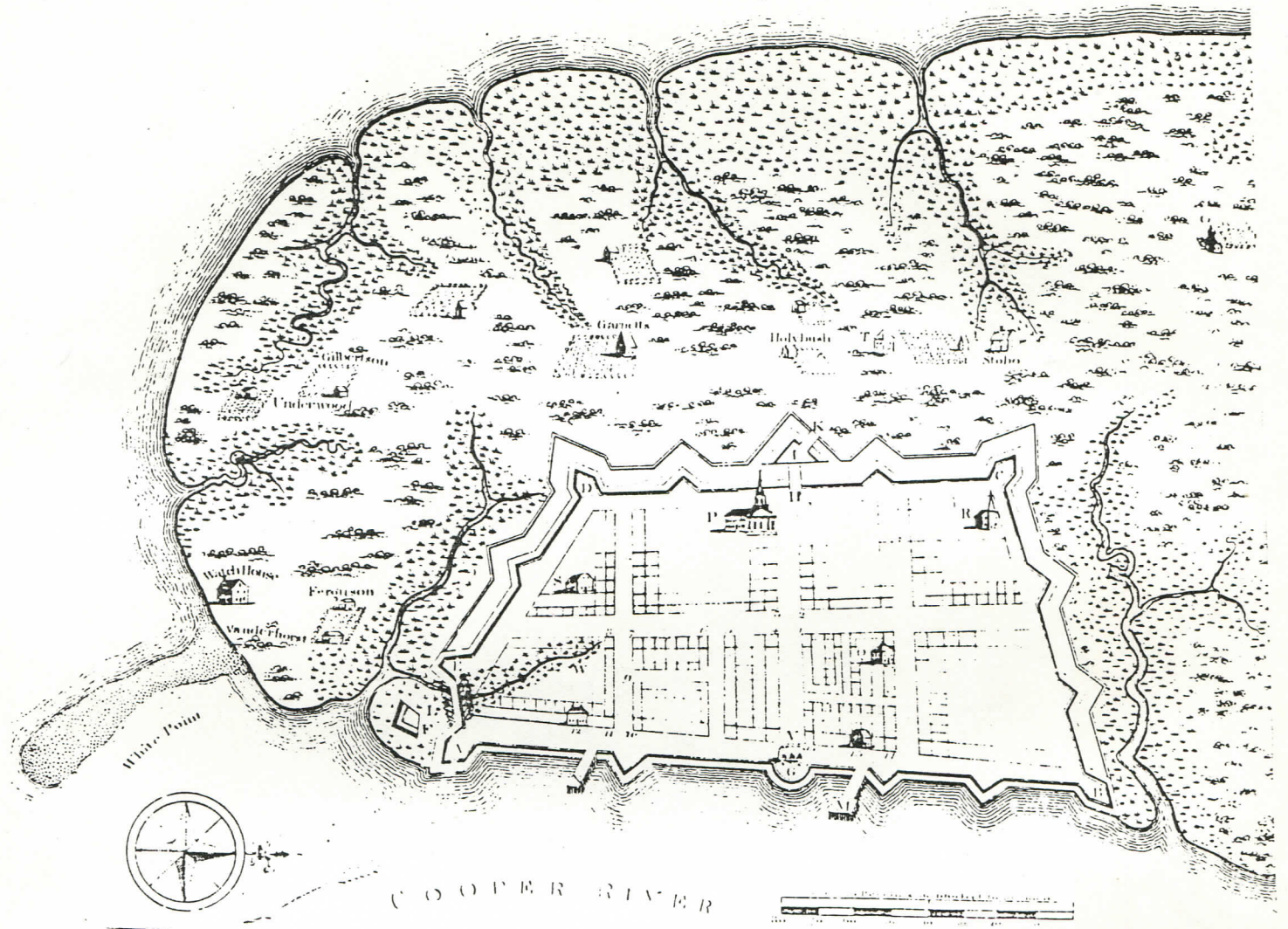


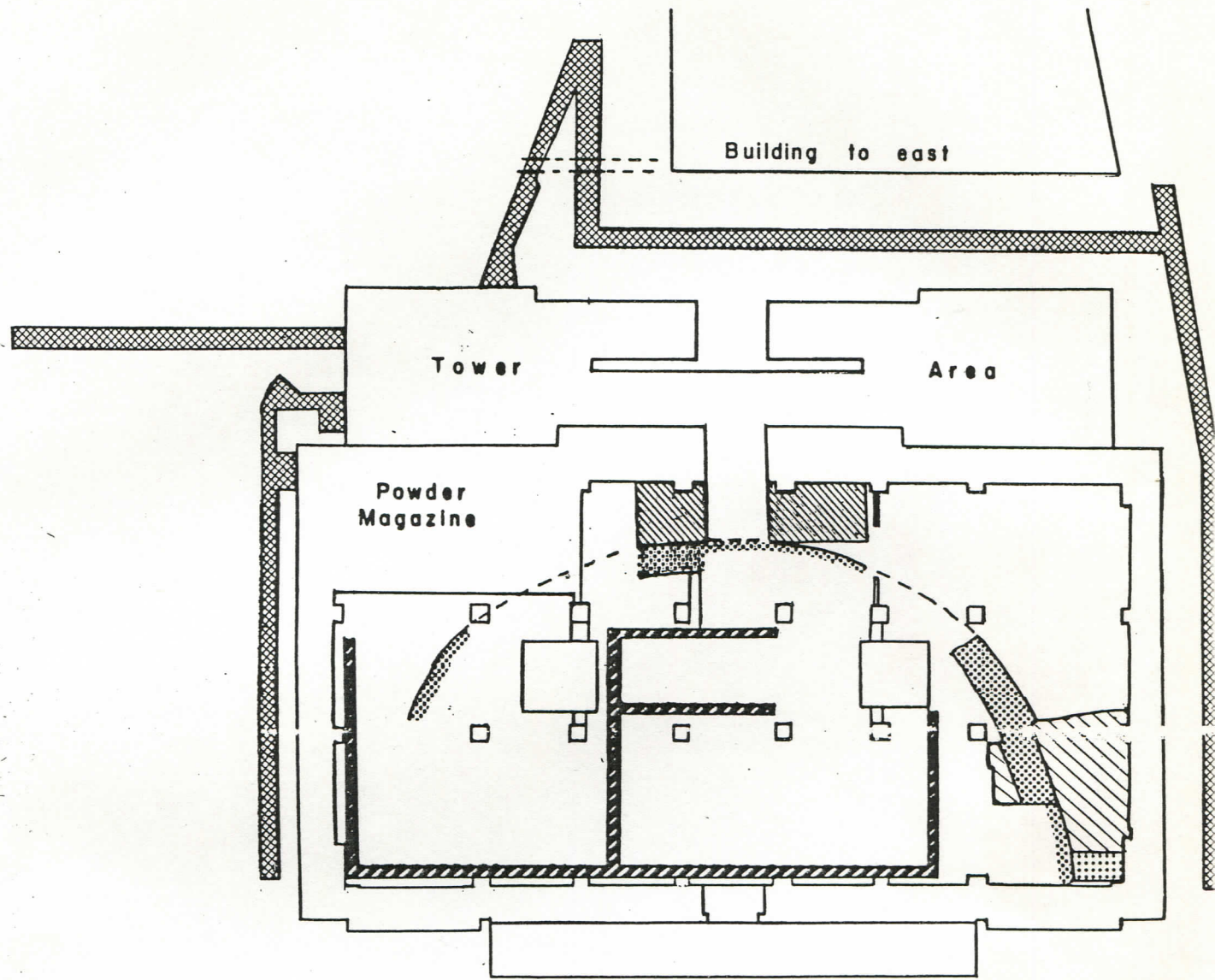
Figure 15

The 1700 fortifications, showing the bastions and city gate.

- A - Granville's Bastion
- B - Craven's Bastion
- C - Carteret's Bastion
- D - Colleton's Bastion
- E - Ashley Bastion
- F - Blake's Bastion
- G - Half Moon Battery
- H - Draw Bridge
- I - Johnson's Bastion
- K - Draw Bridge

Figure 16

Position of the remains of the Half
Moon Battery in relation to the
foundation of the Exchange Building.



0 10 Ft.

← Z

- ▣ Service trenches outside building
 - ▤ Service trenches inside building
 - ▥ Half Moon Battery
- ▧ Miller's excavated area
 - ▨ Other excavated area
 - ▩ Recent wall

Fig. 16

Plan view of the archaeological remains of the Half Moon battery in relation to the Exchange building. The Half Moon battery is visible in the basement of the Exchange (from Herold 1981b).

that the sea wall was a massive brick structure approximately seven feet high, sloping outward (see Figure 17). The brick structure rested on a foundation of planks (Herold 1981b). The presence of a coffer dam on the east side of the sea wall, and analysis of the fill inside this coffer dam, suggests that extensive repairs were necessary following the hurricane of 1752 (Herold 1981b).

The visible portion of the half moon battery provides an anchor to the locations of other portions of the 1700 fortifications. Measurements were taken from known landmarks, and the features were located on modern aerial photographs. Measurements indicate that the east wall of the fortification lies beneath present-day East Bay Street. The street, once bordered to the east by the curtain line, was widened in 1787 (Beckman 1789) to 66 feet. The widening apparently took place to the east, covering the curtain line. The condition of the curtain line below the street is unknown.

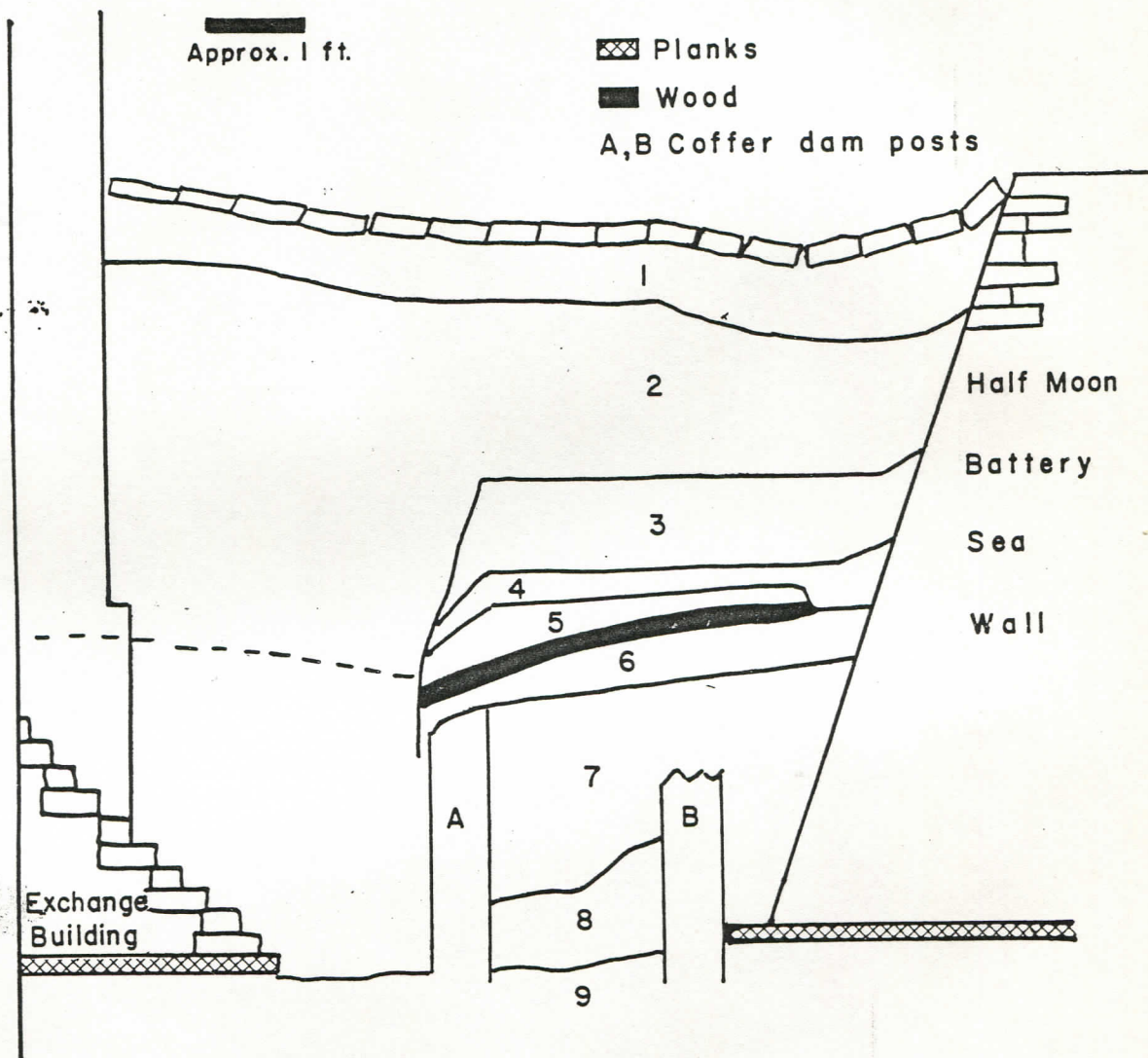
Considerable information on Granville's bastion was recorded in 1925, when the Masonic building was enlarged. Excavations for this construction revealed a considerable portion of the Granville bastion. The excavations were reported by Samuel Lapham in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (1925: 221-227). The excavations revealed portions of the original bastion, some 1752 additions, and a number of associated features, including a well and a possible powder magazine. A cross section of the bastion suggests a construction similar to that recorded by Miller at the half moon battery. The brick sloped outward on the east side, and was constructed on a platform of cypress planks and palmetto logs. The absolute location of the half moon battery and Granville's bastion will allow us to locate errors in cartographic sources.

The northeast corner of the fortification, Craven's bastion, is shown in several eighteenth century plats, relative to a number of existing landmarks (McCrary Plats 596; 532; 471; 2865; 197; 7420; 619). Careful measurement of each plat placed the bastion in a slightly different position each time, with a total error of thirty feet. Craven's bastion is located in a northeasterly direction, directly beneath the front steps of the U.S. Customs building, extending from the Customs building steps west to the center of East Bay Street, just below the Market.

Many of these same plats provide at least some information on the northern wall of the fortifications, indicating the angle of said wall from a fixed point. Four such measurements were extrapolated from various maps and plats, with a resulting wide margin of error. These measurements indicate that the western end of this wall, or the Carteret bastion may be as far north as the Southeast corner of Meeting and Cumberland, or as far south as the southern edge of the Circular Church. Monitoring of ground disturbing activities at the Cumberland

Figure 17

Profile drawing of the Half Moon
Battery (Herold 1981b).



Profile of the Half Moon battery, showing the outsloping wall, the coffer dam used to repair the wall after the 1752 hurricane, and the subsequent layers of fill (from Herold 1981b).

Street parking garage and at the Meeting Street Office building (Herold 1981a) failed to reveal any evidence of the Carteret Bastion. It is suspected that the bastion is located south and east of these two locations. Any earth-moving activities in these vicinities should be closely monitored for evidence of the 1700 fortifications.

The above features are the only portions of the 1700 fortifications for which specific cartographic data has been located. Additional research is needed in this area. Evidence located to date suggests that the following areas of the city may contain evidence of the original fortifications:

- a) Meeting Street from Cumberland Street to Water Street
- b) Lots on the northern side of Water Street from Meeting to East Bay
- c) East Bay Street from the Masonic Lodge to the U.S. Customs House
- d) A straight line from East Bay Street in front of the Customs House, north of the old Powder Magazine, to Meeting Street between Cumberland Street and the Circular Church.
- e) Any excavations in the vicinity of Meeting Street and Broad Street should be carefully monitored for evidence of the Town Gate, whose size and position is as yet undetermined.

Additional information on the specific locations of portions of the 1700 fortifications is on file at the Charleston Museum.

1740: Charleston soon expanded beyond the original boundaries. In 1717 all but the eastern wall of the original fortification was destroyed, and the city moved westward across the peninsula. Secondary sources indicate that a fortification, probably of earth and wood, was constructed in 1740 along the western and northern boundary of the city. This fortification ran from a bastion at the corner of Market Street and Meeting Street, west along Market Street to Archdale Street, southwest to the intersection of Franklin and Magazine (no doubt enclosing the powder magazine discussed on pg. 34), and then south along Franklin Street to Broad Street (Charleston City Yearbook 1884). To date, the cartographic evidence of this fortification includes only the eastern portion from Archdale Street to Meeting Street. Plats indicate that the easternmost bastion lies directly beneath the present United Daughters of the Confederacy Museum and market stalls, while the fortification line lies below Market Street between Meeting and Archdale Streets (McCrary Plats 465; 195). During excavations in the Charleston Center block, immediately north of Market Street, no evidence of these fortifications was encountered (Honerkamp Council and Will 1982; Zierden n.d.)

1752: In the 1750's, William de Brahm was hired by the Commissioners of Fortifications to repair and expand Charleston's fortifications. DeBrahm's plans included surrounding the town with walls and bastions, and a fortified canal across the neck several miles north of the town. Within ten months, deBrahm reported that the ramparts on the south and east were

raised. It is doubtful that the remainder of the fortifications, much less the fortified canal, were ever begun (Charleston City Yearbook 1944). Those constructed included repair of the existing seawall, and construction of a seawall along East Battery, around White Point, and along South Battery to Legare Street.

1780: As the Revolutionary War approached, Charlestonians began to fortify their city once again. The major feature of these fortifications was a wall above Calhoun Street. The city gate was moved from Meeting and Broad to what is now King and Calhoun. A remnant of the Hornwork which enclosed the gate is still visible in Marion Square (McCrary Plat 600). The fortifications extended from East Bay Street to approximately Smith Street. Other bastions were located on high land adjacent to the marsh along the Ashley River.

Very little primary documentation could be located for the 1780 fortifications; additional research is planned in this area. No portions of the hornwork could be pinpointed, except for those between Coming and Smith Streets (McCrary Plat 490). The 1796 plat describes these features as "old fortifications" and suggests that they were earthen. This, plus the feature in Marion Square, suggests that the major fortification runs through the blocks north of Calhoun Street.

A small bastion, Fort Mechanic, has been located by Mr. Charles Bayliss (personal communication). This bastion is located below East Bay Street, south of Atlantic Street (McCrary Plats 206; 1195; 1211; 1224). An accurate location is on file at the Charleston Museum.

1812: Charleston was once again fortified prior to the War of 1812. A series of fortifications was constructed along present-day Line Street, just below the cross town. Several plats show portions of this fortification (McCrary Plats 6949; 6957; 7634; 7567; 8123; 4160; 7673; Bridgens and Allen 1852). Plats of the entire fortification were located and are on file at the Charleston Museum.

The major portions of the fortification were between Rutledge Avenue and America Street, with the major bastion between St. Phillips and King Streets. Despite the pleas of its citizenry (SCHS 33-46-3), this portion of the fortification seems to have been removed shortly after the threat of war had passed. Small bastions and fortifications on either riverfront remained, however, and were present as late as 1852 (Bridgens and Allen 1852). Fort Washington was located within the block of Cooper Street, America Street, Drake Street and Blake Street. A similar bastion was located at the southwest corner of Ashley Avenue and Fishburn Street. A final bastion remained on the high land just south of Line Street and west of Ashley Avenue.

Except for portions impacted by construction of the crosstown, much of the 1812 fortifications should be intact. Any construction activity in the vicinity of Line Street should be monitored for evidence of these fortifications.

Charleston was also extensively fortified during the War Between the States, but such research at present is beyond the scope of this project. All fortifications researched have been located to the best of our ability on modern aerial photographs. More research needs to be done on Charleston's early fortifications. Figure 18 shows the approximate location of these fortifications and areas in which evidence of these features might be expected.

Disasters in Charleston

Throughout its history Charleston has been devastated by a number of natural disasters. The most destructive of these are fires and hurricanes. The results of such disasters are very visible in the archaeological record; such disasters serve to seal archaeological deposits. Research has been completed on the fires of 1740, 1778, 1788, 1796, 1800, 1810, 1819, 1826, 1835, and 1838, and the hurricanes of 1700, 1713, 1728, 1752, and 1804. The precise limits of the destruction from these has been recorded from newspaper accounts and is on file at the Charleston Museum. Extensive research was also done on the movement and behavior of individuals following these disasters. This information was extracted from newspaper advertisements. Such research allows us to gauge the effect of these disasters on the commerce of the city; the effect seems to have been small. The extensive information on the disasters is currently being sorted and filed systematically. Such information will be useful in interpreting activities on archaeological sites.

Upon completion of research on the general topics outlined above, work was begun on pinpointing the sites of special activities. None of the research on these topics is complete at this time. Research on these topics initiated with an examination of the Charleston City Directories. At this time the directories from 1782 to 1816 have been examined, in addition to a number of secondary sources. Future plans for research on these topics will be discussed in the next section.

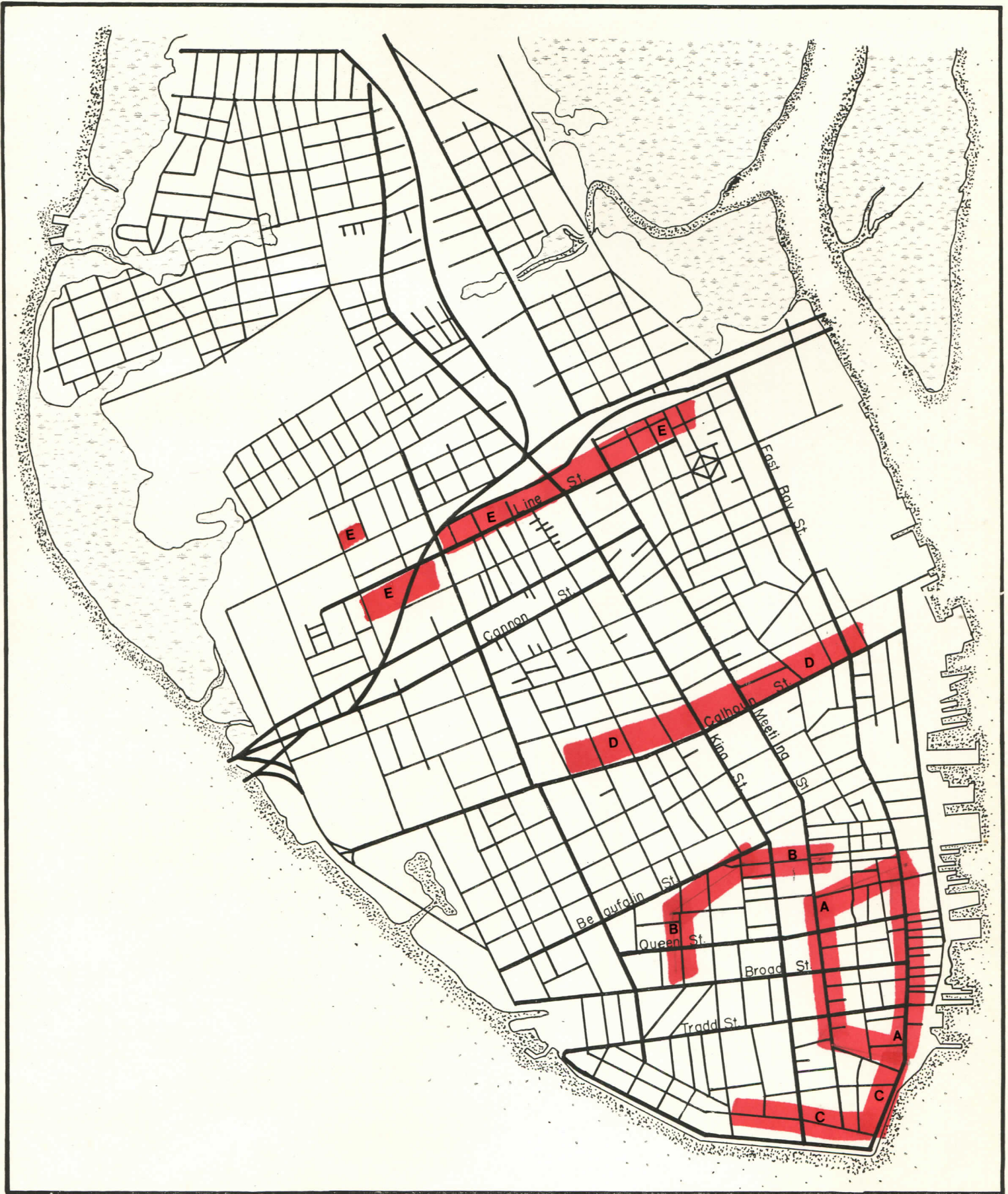
Taverns

Research on the location of Charleston's taverns is in the preliminary stages. Taverns have been researched only for the years 1782 to 1816, utilizing the City Directories. Nonetheless, a general settlement pattern for the period can be discerned. Taverns tend to be clustered

Figure 18

Areas of the city expected to
contain evidence of Charleston's
fortifications.

- A - 1700
- B - 1740
- C - 1752
- D - 1780
- E - 1812



near the Cooper River waterfront and along the main thoroughfares, King Street and Meeting Street. Figure 19 shows the approximate location of taverns for this period. Additional research is needed for the periods preceding and following to determine changes in this settlement pattern.

Hotels

Research on Charleston's hotels has just begun, and has been conducted only for the years 1782-1816. Hotels as a commercial enterprise appear to be a phenomenon new to the nineteenth century, gradually replacing the eighteenth century tavern as a place of overnight habitation. Hotels are generally located on major thoroughfares. Many hotels were built in Charleston by the mid-nineteenth century; these have not yet been researched. Hotel sites offer many interesting possibilities for archaeological research. A privy related to the Waverly House was excavated during the Charleston Center excavations (Zierden n.d.). Figure 20 shows the approximate location of early nineteenth century hotels.

Race Courses

Horse racing was an extremely popular, "gentleman's sport" in Charleston during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and several race courses were constructed on the outskirts of the city.

The earliest race course was constructed in 1734, "opposite Bowling Green House and east of the Big Path extending across the Little Path", now King and Meeting Streets. There is no indication of how long this course was used. At this time this area was just outside the city limits, near Col. Rhett's property (City Archives File).

The second race course was laid out at a considerable distance from town, near the Quarter House Tavern. The race course, called the York Course, operated from 1734 to 1760, and was located at the junction of Old Dorchester and Old State Roads. An historic marker was erected to commemorate this event by the Rebecca Motte Chapter of the D.A.R. at the intersection of Old Meeting Street and Success Avenue. The present commercial and industrial use of the area makes it doubtful that these sites are left intact.

The York Course was inconvenient due to distance so the New Market Course was laid out "about a mile from Charleston" in 1760. The New Market course was used until 1791. This course included the whole of the unenclosed ground between King Street and what was then low ground. The starting post was fixed at the northwest corner of the field on King Street Road, "halfway between Mr. Payne's farm and the Lines" (The 1812 fortifications at Line Street). Race Street, which begins at King Street and runs west obviously got its name from the race course.

Figure 19

Approximate location of Charleston's
taverns, 1783-1816 (Charleston City
Directories).

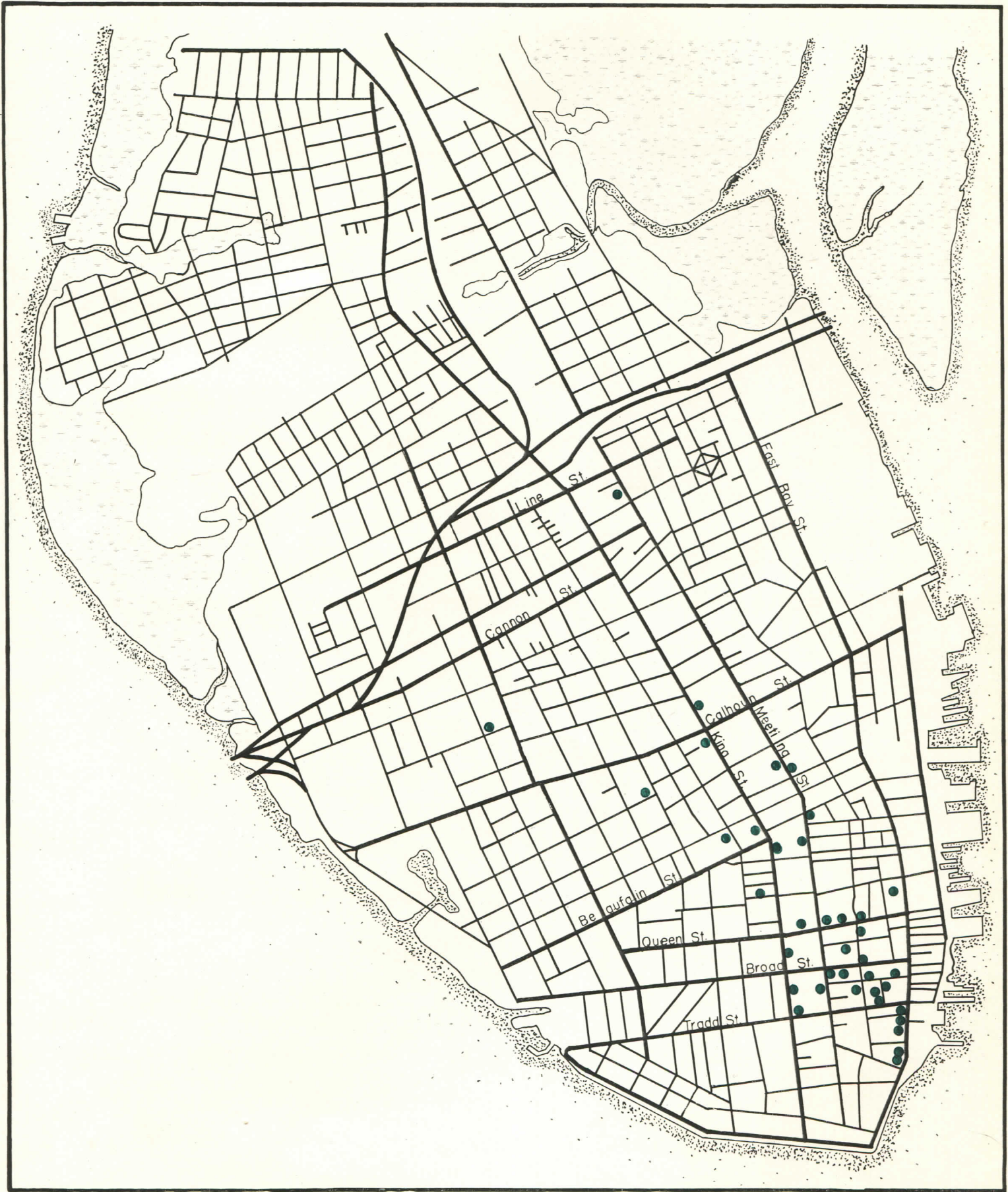
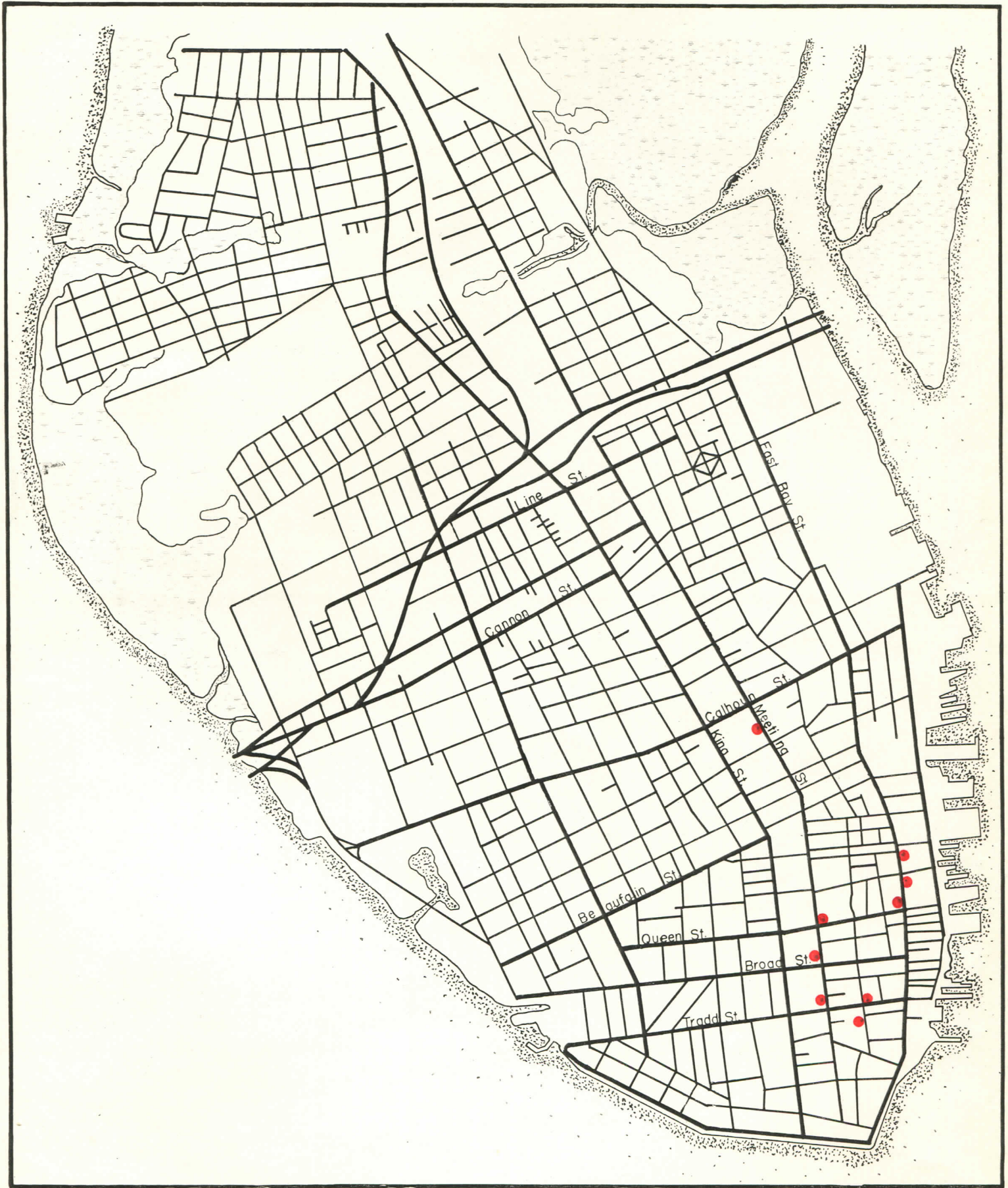


Figure 20

Approximate location of Charleston's
hotels, 1802-1816 (Charleston City
Directories).



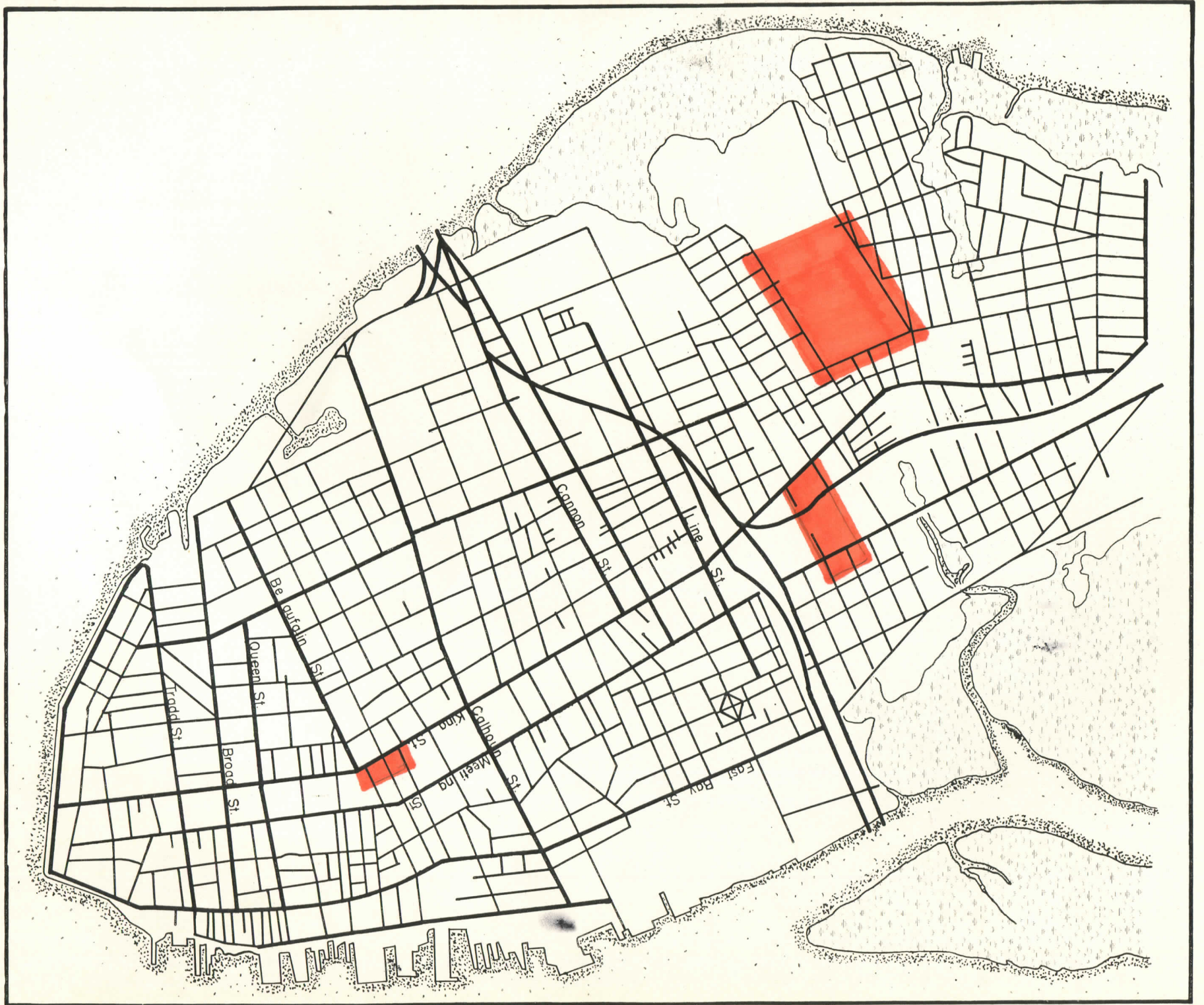
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

The last, and most famous of Charleston's race courses was the Washington Race Course, located on the west side of Rutledge Avenue between Moultrie and Grove Streets (present day Hampton Park). The track was owned and controlled by the South Carolina Jockey Club. The main entrance was near Grove Street. Adjoining the track was a large farm known as the Grove (see pg. 38). On this farm were numerous stables which were used by Jockey Club members. These buildings, and those on the race course itself, were destroyed in the 1804 hurricane. (City Archives File).

Race Courses such as these are expected to leave little archaeological evidence. Yet they played an important role in the social life of the city, and their presence should be noted. It is also possible that some small structures such as stables were associated with the courses. Attention should be paid to such areas in the event of construction activities. Figure 21 shows the locations of these race courses.

Figure 21

Location of Charleston's Race-
courses, 1730-1880.



CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

During the year long Phase I, research has focused on two goals:

- 1) Ascertaining on a general level the length and type of occupation for all areas of the peninsular city.
- 2) Pinpointing the location of specific features, and the remains of specific activities in the city.

The product of this research is a skeletal outline of the land use history of Charleston, containing general information on the length and density of occupation for all areas of peninsular Charleston, and specific information on certain activities in the city. As a result of this research, preliminary recommendations have been made to the City concerning the probable nature and extent of archaeological resources at certain sites.

Plans for Future Research

For this skeletal outline to serve as a basis for sound archaeological research, as well as for planning recommendations, it must be refined considerably. The research will continue for an additional year. As indicated in the introduction and is apparent in Chapter III, this report is preliminary in nature. Research is continuing on several of the topics discussed in Chapter III, and will be expanded to include many new topics. Phase II research will focus on, but will not be limited to, the following areas:

- 1) A systematic investigation is in progress of eighteenth century newspaper advertisements. This particular project is being partially funded by an Historic Preservation Grant administered by the South Carolina Division of Archives and History. A primary result of this research will be a more complete definition of the commercial areas of the city, both retail and wholesale, and a documentation of changes in the location and focus of these areas. The data will also facilitate a greater understanding of early crafts in the city, and allow us to pinpoint the location of these activities. An additional result will be an increased understanding of the range of material culture for colonial Charleston, basic to sound archaeological research.
- 2) Newspaper sources of the nineteenth century will be examined in a manner similar to those of the eighteenth century. Unlike the colonial

period, a variety of primary sources are available with site-specific information. These include Charleston City Directories and Censuses. For the nineteenth century, comparison of these sources with the newspaper sources should provide an anchor for the newspaper research, and expose biases and possible errors in the newspaper sources, thus making the proposed research more accurate for both centuries.

3) Charleston is unique in that the majority of its population during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was Black. Both the urban slave and the urban free Black are poorly understood historically. Charleston offers considerable potential for archaeological and historical research on Afro-Americans. More documentary research is needed on these groups to pinpoint sites appropriate for such studies. An examination of the Censuses, City Directories, Slave Schedules, Tax lists, Parish records and family paper collections of free Black citizens will be utilized for this study.

4) To refine the newspaper advertisement research, and to serve as a basis for further material culture studies, shipping records will be examined. Such sources are housed at the South Carolina Historical Society and the South Carolina Ports Authority. The Tobias Papers at the South Carolina Historical Society will also be examined. Such data will be invaluable to archaeological research along Charleston's waterfront.

Research conducted during Phase II of the project will greatly enlarge the preliminary outline presented in this report. The goals of Phase II research will be to further expand our understanding of Charleston's history and its reflection in the archaeological record. The final product of Phase II research will not be a chain of title for each lot in the city; prior to all subsequent archaeological research in Charleston, a title search will be necessary. However, the research for Phase II will considerably streamline such processes by providing a general occupational outline for the city on a neighborhood-specific level. A major result of this research will be an increased knowledge of specific site locations in downtown Charleston. This in turn will facilitate a more efficient integration of archaeological research with municipal planning and development.

Ultimately, the continued refinement of our understanding of the history of the city, and the dissemination of this information to the public is important to the promotion of tourism in Charleston. Phase II research should be an excellent source of new information of general public interest, which can be disseminated through a variety of sources.

An anticipated goal of Phase II research is the formulation of long-term archaeological research goals. Charleston's vast archaeological record is an important data base, and is useful for studying a number of issues pertinent to Charleston in particular and the southeast United States in general. Discussed below are a number of research questions which might be examined through future archaeological research in the city:

Proposed Research Topics

1) Charleston contained a large, cohesive population of free Blacks in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This class played a significant role in many of the affairs of antebellum Charleston. Free Blacks occupied an extremely precarious position in Charleston society. Maintaining distance from both the slave society and the dominant white society was considered a primary survival technique. Free Black society, then, was distinct in many ways. Archaeological research on this unique group will provide additional insights into Charleston's society, and provide new information on the Afro-American heritage of the city.

2) From the first days of the colony, "desirable" land was perceived as being scarce and at a premium. The deep, narrow lots of Charleston provided numerous buildings with the street frontage necessary for a business. The formation of the lots and the scarcity of premium land encouraged multi-storied buildings. This fact, plus the economic stagnation of Charleston in the nineteenth century, resulted in several developmental aspects of the city which are preindustrial.

One characteristic feature of a preindustrial settlement is the interchangeable character of its buildings. This information suggests that many structures in eighteenth and nineteenth century Charleston served both a residential and commercial function. This dual function has been associated with structures in certain locations in nineteenth century Charleston. It is expected that a high percentage of seventeenth and eighteenth century structures as well will reflect this dual nature. Future archaeological investigations in certain areas of the city should reveal evidence of both commercial and domestic activities.

3) As a result of considerable archaeological research, a new picture of plantation slave life is emerging. However, close to twenty percent of the North American slave population lived and worked in urban areas. Urban slavery is a poorly understood phenomenon. Charleston's Black majority offers an excellent data base to study this aspect of Afro-American slavery. In the city, slaves were often able to hire out their own time and live away from their master's compound. The ability to hire out one's own time resulted in an increased incentive for individual initiative and expression. Because of this greater degree of individual freedom afforded the urban slave, urban slave sites are expected to show more intersite variability than plantation slave sites. Such research should expand our knowledge of slave life in the southeastern United States.

4) In addition to being the commercial center of the lowcountry, Charleston was also considered a social center. Planters with numerous ties to the city often built townhouses to display their newly acquired wealth. The wealthy planter had extensive contact and ties with the city and would spend part of his time there. Archaeological examination of the planter's townhouse site, and comparison with plantation sites, will offer an enlarged understanding of Charleston's upper class.

Summary

Charleston is a special city, and the city's archaeological resources deserve special attention. A number of external political, economic and social phenomena combined with local geography to produce an unusual urban center. Charleston's development as an urban center was rapid, and her role in British colonial activities major. Charleston played an integral role in the development of the United States, but followed a divergent path from other urban centers, such as New York, Boston and Philadelphia. During the colonial period Charleston was the only urban center located in a semi-tropical environment and the only major port supported by a slave-based plantation economy. Early and sustained ties to the West Indian colony of Barbados further enhanced her tropical features. Following the Revolution the other major Atlantic ports quickly developed into industrial centers; Charleston did not. She remained a slave-based, agricultural economy and, as a result of this failure to industrialize, began to decline economically in the antebellum period.

One reason for this decline was Charleston's continued dependence on her large slave population. This cheap and readily available labor supply continued to provide incentive for labor-intensive methods and to discourage technological innovations. The slave population was in the majority, which resulted in several aspects of development different from other urban centers. The urban environment encouraged intermingling and miscegenation. Thus a cohesion of Afro-American society not found in other North American cities was able to develop, resulting in a distinct culture in the lowcountry, which is still reflected in the city's diet, speech, and architecture.

Charleston is an unique and important city historically. Archaeological research has much to offer to an enlarged understanding of the city's growth and development. Proper protection and examination of the city's archaeological resources is essential to such studies. The research for this project represents a major step in that direction.

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