



Frequently Asked Questions Regarding Slavery and Enslaved People at the Aiken-Rhett House Museum

American slavery is a topic that is being discussed with increasing frequency and openness at historic sites.¹ It is important that we discuss this topic with our guests in a very respectful, sensitive, and accurate manner. This document is a resource for HCF's museum interpreters. If you need further information or have a difficult question, please do not hesitate to contact your House Manager.

Hundreds of enslaved people lived on Governor and Mrs. Aiken's several properties: Jehossee Plantation south of Charleston, the railroad complex downtown, and at the Aiken-Rhett House. Because the Aiken-Rhett House site features such rare outbuildings directly related to the institution of slavery—the original kitchen and laundry building with upstairs quarters and the carriage house and stable—it should be anticipated that additional questions will arise from our guests that the audio tour does not address. There are several books and other documented research that discuss the lives of African-Americans during the antebellum and Reconstruction periods that can be found in the Foundation archives and library. Additional documents and resources can also be found behind the ticket counter in a binder entitled *African-American Research*.

The history of enslaved individuals in the Americas is obscured by the fact that most were illiterate, and often the only archival records that remain relate to their legal status as slaves (e.g. Bills of Sale, letters by their owners, and census records). As such, much of the information in this document are inferences and suppositions, and it is entirely possible that some answers will remain incomplete.

Much of this information was compiled from the work of Bridget O'Brien, a former HCF employee, on enslaved African Americans in the Aiken Rhett House and their experiences post-Emancipation, entitled *Aiken-Rhett House: Enslaved Africans and Post-Civil War Servant Research*. Please ask the House Manager for access to this binder. The following are a list of common questions asked of museum interpreters and HCF staff about slavery at the Aiken-Rhett House.

Q: How many slaves lived on the Aiken-Rhett property?

¹ An important note on word choice: when referring to the individuals who were owned when the institution of slavery was active in the United States, we have used the terms "slave" and "enslaved African American" interchangeably. We identify non-slave African Americans during the same time period as "free persons of color." When discussing the post-Emancipation period, we use the terms "African-American" or "black." During much of the 19th century in Charleston, many different terms were applied to African-Americans. There is no rule on terminology other than being respectful and accurate.

A: Identifying the enslaved people associated with 48 Elizabeth Street is slightly challenging since the census only lists them by ward, not by individual house. However, it appears that the lowest number recorded was seven individuals in 1850 while the highest was twenty-one in 1840 (see Appendix IV).²

Q: How did Governor Aiken treat his slaves?

A: This is almost impossible for us to know. However, in many ways, the question misses the point. Whether or not people living at the Aiken-Rhett House had above average food or clothing is irrelevant; these individuals remained enslaved. This meant they had no legal rights, and any improvements in material comfort could be removed for any reason at any time. As the historian and writer Afua Cooper observed, conversations centered on the ‘mildness’ of the enslaved experience denies that person’s humanity and “further compounds their degradation.”³ Although the Historic Structures Report for the outbuildings documents that some rooms were better equipped than others, this reality merely reinforces that there existed a hierarchy of enslaved people and it must be acknowledged that these improvements could be taken away indiscriminately. Furthermore, while some rooms above the kitchen may have evidence of comforts such as a mirror, they did not have glazed windows, reflecting the arbitrary nature of these benefits.⁴

Q: Did enslaved families live at the Aiken-Rhett House?

A: Yes. From the enslaved families which have been identified in Bridget O’Brien’s research there are two families identified: Tom and Ann Greggs, and their son Henry Greggs; and Sambo and Dorcas Richardson, and their children Rachel, Charles, Victoria, Elizabeth and Julia. Although these people were related, there was no legal protection for enslaved families, and they could be split up entirely at the owner’s whim.

Q: Did all of the enslaved African Americans sleep in the slave quarters?

A: This is not known with any degree of certainty. The Historic Structures Report suggests that it may have been possible that temporary or more makeshift sleeping arrangements may have been present in other parts of the property, including areas of the main house, but this is uncertain.⁵ Up to 15% of those enslaved did not live on their owner’s property and it is possible that some lived away from the Aiken-Rhett House.⁶

Q: Were Aiken’s slaves allowed to learn to read and write?

² The listing of seven slaves in 1850 is unusually low: excluding entry that, the average number at the property was 19.

³ Afua Cooper, *The Hanging of Angélique* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2006), 99.

⁴ Willie Graham, Carl Lounsbury and Orlando Ridout V, *An Inventory of Architectural Features: Service Buildings, Garden Buildings, and Perimeter Walls - Draft* (Charleston, SC: Historic Charleston Foundation, 2013), 77.

⁵ *Ibid.* 8.

⁶ Powers, *Black Charlestonians*, 24.

A: *Voyage of the Paper Canoe*, written by Nathaniel H. Bishop in 1874, suggests that Governor Aiken, during the antebellum years, organized schools for the enslaved workforce on Jehossee Island.⁷ However, under the 1740 Slave Code of South Carolina, which formed the legal basis of South Carolina's slave society, teaching an enslaved person to read or write was illegal.⁸ Nevertheless, some enslaved people did learn how to read and write, and it is possible that Aiken carried out illegal schooling. The planter class feared enslaved people gaining literacy skills, for it permitted them to analyze, critique and reject the constructs of slavery.⁹ In 1834, South Carolina passed a new law outlawing literacy amongst its black population, a law which would suggest that there was at least a perception that the state's enslaved individuals were learning how to read and write.¹⁰ A WPA narrative from a former slave who grew up in Charleston related that being caught with a pencil and paper was a serious crime, as serious as attempting to kill your owner.¹¹ However, the enslaved were able to obtain literacy through churches and illegal schools set up by both free and enslaved African-Americans.¹²

Q: We know that Governor Aiken allowed his slaves to work outside of the property in town; what skills did they have and how were their wages handled?

A: There were two main processes for enslaved individuals to be employed outside the property they were assigned to, although it was not until 1850 that people in the Charleston Neck could be legally hired out across the City of Charleston.¹³ Theoretically, all enslaved individuals working away from their owners were required to have a badge in order to be hired out (see appendix VI for an 1843 newspaper advertisement detailing how to purchase a badge), although this was frequently ignored.¹⁴ Enslaved individuals were either required to stand at assigned positions until they were engaged to work or they could seek out work, arranging the pecuniary aspect of their work more informally.¹⁵ In either case, enslaved individuals rarely were able to keep more than a token amount of what they earned, with all the money they did earn legally belonging to their owners. Skilled and unskilled workers could be hired out, although the hiring out of skilled labor was more common.¹⁶ Two enslaved people at the Aiken-Rhett House have been identified as carpenters—Will and Jacob—so it is possible that they were hired out prior to Emancipation.¹⁷ Additionally, Dorcas Richardson's subsequent employment as a nurse after the

⁷ Nathaniel H. Bishop, *A Geographical Voyage of 2500 Miles from Quebec to the Gulf of Mexico, during the years 1874-5* (Boston, MA: Lee and Shepherd, 1878), accessed 8th August, 2016, <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/1082/pg1082-images.html>.

⁸ Walter J Fraser, *Charleston! Charleston! The History of a Southern City* (Colombia, SC: The University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 67.

⁹ Edward A Pearson, *Designs against Charleston: The Trial Record of the Denmark Vesey Slave Conspiracy of 1822* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Press, 1999), 121.

¹⁰ Edward Ball, *Slave in the Family* (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998), 312.

¹¹ Elijah Green, "Interview," in *Slave Narrative: A Folk History of Slavery in the United States from Interview with Former Slaves*, Volume XIV. Accessed 16th June, 2016, URL: http://www.gutenberg.org/files/21508/21508-h/21508-h.htm#Page_97, page 195-9

¹² Powers, *Black Charlestonians*, 15-6.

¹³ Harlan Greene, Harry S Hutchins, Jr, and Brian E Hutchins, *Slave Badges and the Slave-Hire System in Charleston, South Carolina, 1783 – 1865* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2004), 66.

¹⁴ Pearson, *Designs against Charleston*, 74.

¹⁵ Ibid, 67-8.

¹⁶ Ibid, 70.

¹⁷ O'Brien, *Enslaved Africans*, 3.

Civil War could suggest she was a skilled nurse hired out prior to Emancipation.¹⁸ Please see Harlan Green, Harry S Hutchins, Jr, and Brian E Hutchins, *Slave Badges and the Slave-Hire System in Charleston, South Carolina, 1783 – 1865* for more details on precisely how this system worked.

Q: Did the Aiken slaves work in the present-day Gift Shop area, and what did they do there?

A: The present gift shop area and ancillary spaces were used mainly for storage. As members of South Carolina's political and social elite, Governor and Mrs. Aiken entertained lavishly. The space under the art gallery was used as a cistern, added prior to the art gallery,¹⁹ while the large space under the east wing, added in 1835, was a "servant's hall" which provided space for slaves to gather and to keep food warm.²⁰ See Appendix V for the relationship between the modern visitor spaces and the property after the 1857-8 additions.

Q: Are there any slaves buried on the property?

A: There are no burials on this property. Like most plantations, Jehossee had a slave cemetery which was investigated by the Chicora Foundation in 2002; through those excavations and research they believe it contains about 1,800 graves, and was probably in use from the first half of the eighteenth century until the last documented burial in 1886, although it may have been used into the first quarter of the twentieth century.²¹ Bridget O'Brien identified gravesites of the Aiken's slaves: these sites include the Bethel Burial Ground, the African Burial Ground, the Trinity Burial Ground, the Field of Rest, the Trinity Coloured Cemetery and the St. John's Coloured Cemetery (see Appendix IX for a list).²²

Q: Did slaves travel to Flat Rock, North Carolina, with the Aiken family in the summer months? How many? How many would have stayed at the house in their absence?

A: Flat Rock, North Carolina, had a substantial slave population, the result of the number of Charlestonians who summered there.²³ Typically they would travel ahead of their owners for a few days to prepare the summer residences and stay a few days later than their owners to ensure the residence was closed up for winter.²⁴ The book *Flat Rock of the Old Time* includes a quote from a previously published document.²⁵ It notes that "The vast majority of mountain residents

¹⁸ Ibid, 7.

¹⁹ Willie Graham, Carl Lounsbury and Orlando Ridout V, *Architectural Investigations of the Aiken-Rhett House Volume I* (Charleston, SC: Historic Charleston Foundation, 2005), chapter III, 72.

²⁰ Graham, Lounsbury and Ridout, *Aiken-Rhett House*, 42.

²¹ Michael Trinkley, Debi Hacker and Nicole Sutherland, *Archaeological and Historical Investigations of Jehossee Island, Charleston County, South Carolina* (Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, 2002), 140-1, accessed 4th August 2002, <http://chicora.org/pdfs/RS61%20-%20Jehossee%20Island.pdf>; see Appendix II for relevant pages.

²² Bridget O'Brien, *Aiken-Rhett House: Enslaved Africans and Post-Civil War Servant Research* (Charleston, SC: Historic Charleston Foundation, 2013), 4-5.

²³ Linda Parramore Culpepper, "Black Charlestonians in the Mountains: African American Community Building in Post-Civil-War Flat Rock, North Carolina," *Journal of Appalachian Studies* 8 (2002), 363, accessed 9th August, 2016, http://www.jstor.org.nuncio.cofc.edu/stable/pdf/41446547.pdf?_i=1470772170315.

²⁴ Ibid, 365.

were white, but the numbers of African Americans varied widely from 2 to 25 percent, depending on the county. In Henderson County, the number was about 15 percent, but it may have doubled in the summer months when lowcountry residents arrived with their servants.”²⁵ It is most likely that the Aiken family would have followed suit as many of the other Charlestonians in their social milieu by bringing enslaved servants to Flat Rock for the summer.

Q: Do we know how many formerly-enslaved African-Americans left the Aiken-Rhett House after Emancipation?

A: Yes, likely thirteen. A petition (see Appendix I) written in 1874 by Governor Aiken seems to list the slaves “of his immediate household.” These are: Ann Greggs and her son Henry Greggs; Sambo and his wife Dorcas Richardson and her children Charles, Rachael, Victoria, Elizabeth and Julia; Charles Jackson and Anthony Barnwell; Will; and Jacob. Some of them would later be employed by Aiken, although the majority seemed to have left the house, at least, and several had left South Carolina by 1869 to move to Brooklyn.²⁶

Q: Do we know the last emancipated person who worked for the Aiken family, and when they left Aiken employment? (In this case, we’re referring to only those who transitioned from slavery to freedom).

A: Little is known about the full extent of Governor Aiken’s enslaved workforce. From Bridget O’Brien’s research, where she followed the families of enslaved people who could be identified from the Aiken-Rhett House, the last member of Aiken’s domestic enslaved staff who left his employment was Henry Greggs. He left the house, and presumably Aiken’s employment, to return later as a coach driver, dying at the house on November 15th, 1908. According to the records, the last individual who was more permanently at the Aiken-Rhett House and thus, presumably, employed by Aiken was Jacob Gaillard, a butler, who died at the house in 1896 (see Appendix III). The majority of the enslaved individuals identified by Bridget O’Brien left the house after Emancipation, with several of them going to New York. The 1870 Federal Census (see appendix VIII) lists only one domestic servant at the house in 1870: a white, Irish woman named Ann Carrole, which perhaps would suggest that initially the enslaved individuals left the house after Emancipation. Generally, enslaved domestics left their positions in their former master’s houses as soon as they were economically able to do so.²⁷

Q: How were African Americans paid after the Civil War by the Aikens?

A: This is a complicated question, and there is no straightforward answer. *Voyage of the Paper Canoe* makes reference to Saturday being the payday for workers at Jehossee,²⁸ and in 1879 Governor Aiken paid \$12,000 in wages (see Appendix VII), but it is unclear whether they were additionally paid in kind. Other former slave holders rented out their land through sharecropping,

²⁵ Robert B. Cuthbert, *Flat Rock of the Old Time: Letters from the Mountains to the Lowcountry, 1837 – 1939* (Columbia, SC: The University of South Carolina Press, 2016), 8

²⁶ See Appendix III.

²⁷ Bernard Powers, *Black Charlestonians: A Social History 1822 to 1885* (Fayetteville, AR: The University of Arkansas Press, 1994), 103.

²⁸ Bishop, *Geographical Voyage*, no page number.

a system in which rent was paid on land in form of a crop and through which white landlords sought to replicate the structure of slavery.²⁹

Q: Without the free labor of enslaved people, how did the Aiken family maintain their wealth following Emancipation?

A: The Aiken family owned large property holdings in and around Charleston which would have provided a substantial rental income; a property account for October 1894 reveals that in addition to selling off three properties, their urban holdings generated \$609.42 in rent for October. In addition, they were able to make Jehossee Plantation a profitable concern without enslaved labor: an 1880 farm census (see Appendix VII) showed that Governor Aiken was able to grow \$25,000 worth of farm produce in 1879.

Q: Have any of the descendants of the people who worked for the Aiken family tried to trace their family history?

A: We don't know the answer to this question. Tracing African-American genealogy before Emancipation is extremely challenging. Slaves had no legal identity and left very few records of their own. Their appearance in the historical record is usually a consequence of their enslavement, and they often are listed only by first name, if they are identified at all (for example, the Slave Census records for South Carolina just list the number of slaves in each age bracket). Slave marriages were not legally binding, so typically no written record survives, although it is only occasionally that their deaths are recorded in, for example, municipal records. However, there have been examples where ancestry has been traced, such as Edward Ball's book *Slaves in the Family*, in which the Ball family papers were used to track enslaved individuals. No such work has been done on the Aiken family, and it is likely that documentation has not survived. The Lowcountry Africana website (<http://www.lowcountryafricana.com/>) is a fantastic online resource for conducting genealogical research. Also, the planned International African American Museum in Charleston will include a genealogy research center to facilitate the study of African-American family heritage.

²⁹ Ball, *Slaves in the Family*, 354.

Appendix I.

Taken from:

Briget O'Brien, Aiken-Rhett
Post-Civil War Tenant



Renee

House: Enslaved Africans and
Research, ELIZABETH.048.51.

MEMORANDUM

TO: TOM SAVAGE, CARTER HUDGINS

FROM: CAROL BORCHERT ccb

DATE: MARCH 27, 1997

RE: THE AIKEN-RHETT PAPERS OF THE CHARLESTON MUSEUM

CC: RENEE MARSHALL, ROBERT LEATH

As a follow-up to the Aiken-Rhett slave ledger myth, I thought I would report some papers that do exist. There are, as most of you know, over 40 boxes of Aiken-related papers currently in the Charleston Museum Archives, and there are rumors of others in the area. Sharon Bennett, Archivist at the Museum, informed me this morning that many of the papers came into the Museum collection prior to their receipt of the Aiken-Rhett house, and that many of the documents came from Josephine Maybank.

Those papers in the collection which mention the slaves held by the larger Aiken family have been catalogued as such, and are all located in the same box. (At least, this is my understanding. This is the only box which I have gone through.) Sharon mentioned that other documents relating to Aiken slaves (and slave lists) were shown to her by Theodore Maybank several years ago. At the time, Mr. Maybank did not permit her to photocopy them, and did not donate them because he suggested that he was working on a publication involving these documents. In preparation for the Charleston Museum's 1992 exhibit relating to Charleston African American history, Sharon contacted Mr. Maybank for another look at the papers, at which time he indicated that he had given them to Josephine Maybank, who in turn said she had given them to Drayton Hastie. When Sharon called Mr. Hastie he replied that he knew nothing of the documents and asked her not to contact him again. Perhaps someone would like to get to the bottom of this paper trail in future.

Of the papers currently in the collection of the Museum are several slave lists unrelated to the residents at 48 Elizabeth Street. Two pages of yellow lined paper detail a "List of Negroes at Lanes" dated October 2, 1864. 170 individuals are named here, and a transcribed typed list was undertaken by the Charleston Museum. Another yellow lined

page details 167 individuals who represented the "North Eastern Rail Way List of Negroes." A very detailed document on numerous pages of white lined paper indicates a "Cockfield Rail Way List of Negroes." All are listed by name and are categorized as 22 Dead; 251 Field Hands; 157 Children; 32 Old and Infirm; 21 Carpenters; 8 Runaways; 3 Drivers; 7 Nurses; 3 Cooks; 1 Blacksmith and 1 "Left".

The document relating most significantly to the Aiken-Rhett house is a petition or statement made by William Aiken in July of 1874. I have attached a photocopy of the document which Sharon Bennett kindly supplied. Transcribed it reads:

"The United States of America Eastern District of South Carolina

In the matter of William Aiken

Before the Honourable Gorge S. Bryan Judge of the United States for the District of South Carolina personally comes the Honorable William Aiken, formerly Governor of the State of South Carolina in the years 1845 and 1846 who being duly sworn deposeth and saith, that he had been for many years the owner of a large number of slaves, then recognized as property by the laws and Constitution of the United States of America and of the State of South Carolina, and so continued to be up to and until the Proclamation of the President of the United States, and other then provisions of Law by the United States of America and of the State of South Carolina, and so continued to be up to and until the Proclamation of the President of the United States, and by the said State of South Carolina, by which all the slaves in the Southern States of the United States were emancipated and set free.

That at the time of such emancipation and freeing of the said slaves, this De—onen-[defendant??] was the lawful owner absolutely in his own right free from an trust or any qualification whatsoever, of all the slaves named and mentioned as living in the written Schedule of the same then and at the time last mentioned of the possession and employment of the Coal's Field Rail Road Company, a corporation in the State of South Carolina, which schedule was made and rendered to him by the said Coal's Field Rail Road Company, when the said slaves were in their possession.

That he was in like manner the owner of the slaves mentioned and named as living in the Schedule thereof then and at that time in the possession and employment of the North Eastern Rail Road company a corporation in South Carolina, which Schedule was made and rendered to this De—onen- by the said the North Eastern Rail Road company, when the said slaves were in their possession.

That this De—onen- was further the owner in like manner of the following slaves, who were of his immediate household and in and about his family constantly Ann Greggs and her son Henry Greggs, Sambo and his wife Dorcas Richardson and her children Charles, Rachael, Victoria, Elizabeth and Julia. Charles Jackson and Anthony Barnwell, and two carpenters Will & Jacob.

That all these slaves in the Schedules mentioned were very prime and valuable, and were worth as much money, in Gold, at the time of their emancipation, as any slaves in the State of South Carolina were at that time.

That those about his person and in his family were very valuable from their peculiar qualities as attendants in the service of his house and establishment and two were valuable carpenters.

That annexed hereto are the Bills of sale and mun---- of title for the slaves he purchased, part of whom are included in the said Schedules and the residue are their offspring and descendants.

That deponent [again, what is this?] was further interested in a number of Slaves amounting to ninety one owned by a private unincorporated Association of individuals constituting what was known as the West Point Mills in Charleston South Carolina, and that he owned at the time of the emancipation of the said slaves three thirty sevenths undivided shares of the same.

That these last mentioned negroes had been obtained from time to time specially for the work of the Mills, and were very prime and were worth more than the average value of the gangs of negroes engaged in agricultural pursuits in South Carolina.

That at the time of the commencement of the late War and for several years before he had been entirely withdrawn from politics and had retired into private life after he left Congress of which he ceased to be a member in the year 1856. That being in private life he did not in any way participate in the proceedings which led to the secession movement in this State. That he did not concur in them, and indeed as far as he could, did all in his power to prevent the same, for they were entirely against his judgment and desire.

Sworn before me at Charleston the ninth day of July 1874

William Aiken"

I am not familiar with this type of document and am a bit uncertain about some of its implications, but perhaps you are more familiar with these types of records. Attached also is a similar one-page document which is a bit more difficult to read, but which I believe relates to the one above.

I look forward to any input you have regarding these papers at the Charleston Museum. One of our Russell house docents, Hayden Smith, has been asking be about a thesis topic relating to one of our sites. Perhaps we should suggest to him investigating these 40 or so boxes a bit further.

Appendix 11
JEHOSSEE ISLAND

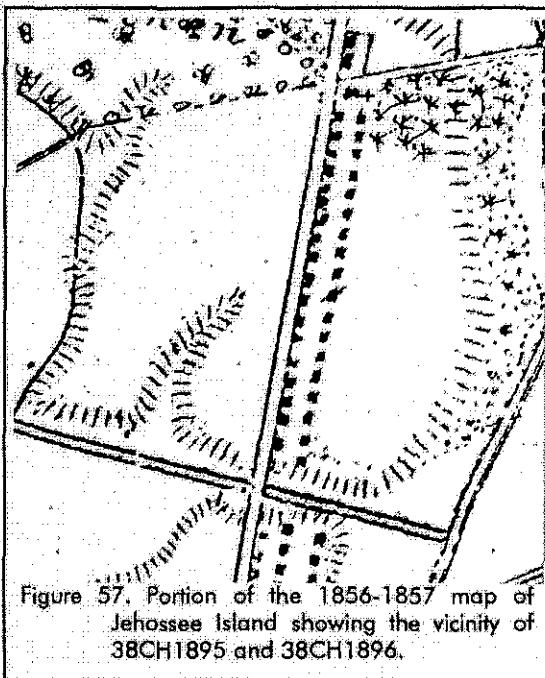


Figure 57. Portion of the 1856-1857 map of Jeossee Island showing the vicinity of 38CH1895 and 38CH1896.



Figure 58. Fence posts marking the yard at Structure 3, 38CH1895, view to the northeast.

to better understand life on a remote sea island. Since the sites have not been looted, or even in most cases, even cleaned up, they offer the opportunity to examine near and far yard trash deposits. Additional historic research may even be able to ascribe particular occupants to some structures, further expanding research possibilities.

Given the data sets, site integrity, and range of significant research questions, we recommend this site as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

38CH1896

Site 38CH1896 (Figures 35 and 59) is an African American cemetery on Jeossee Island. It is situated on the eastern edge of the island on generally low, somewhat poorly drained Hockley loamy fine sands at an elevation of 5 feet AMSL. The topography is level, with a slight slope to the east, toward the marsh.

The cemetery is well known to those who

have worked on the island, as well as the USFWS. As a result, it was not difficult to locate the few marked graves. More careful pedestrian survey, however, revealed that the cemetery is defined to the north and south by dikes with shallow (now largely filled in) ditches. The eastern boundary is equally well defined by the marsh, although we were not able to determine if graves extend to the marsh edge. The western boundary is not well marked and has been established by this reconnaissance based on the gradual decline in clearly identifiable sunken grave shafts. Overall we

SURVEY RESULTS

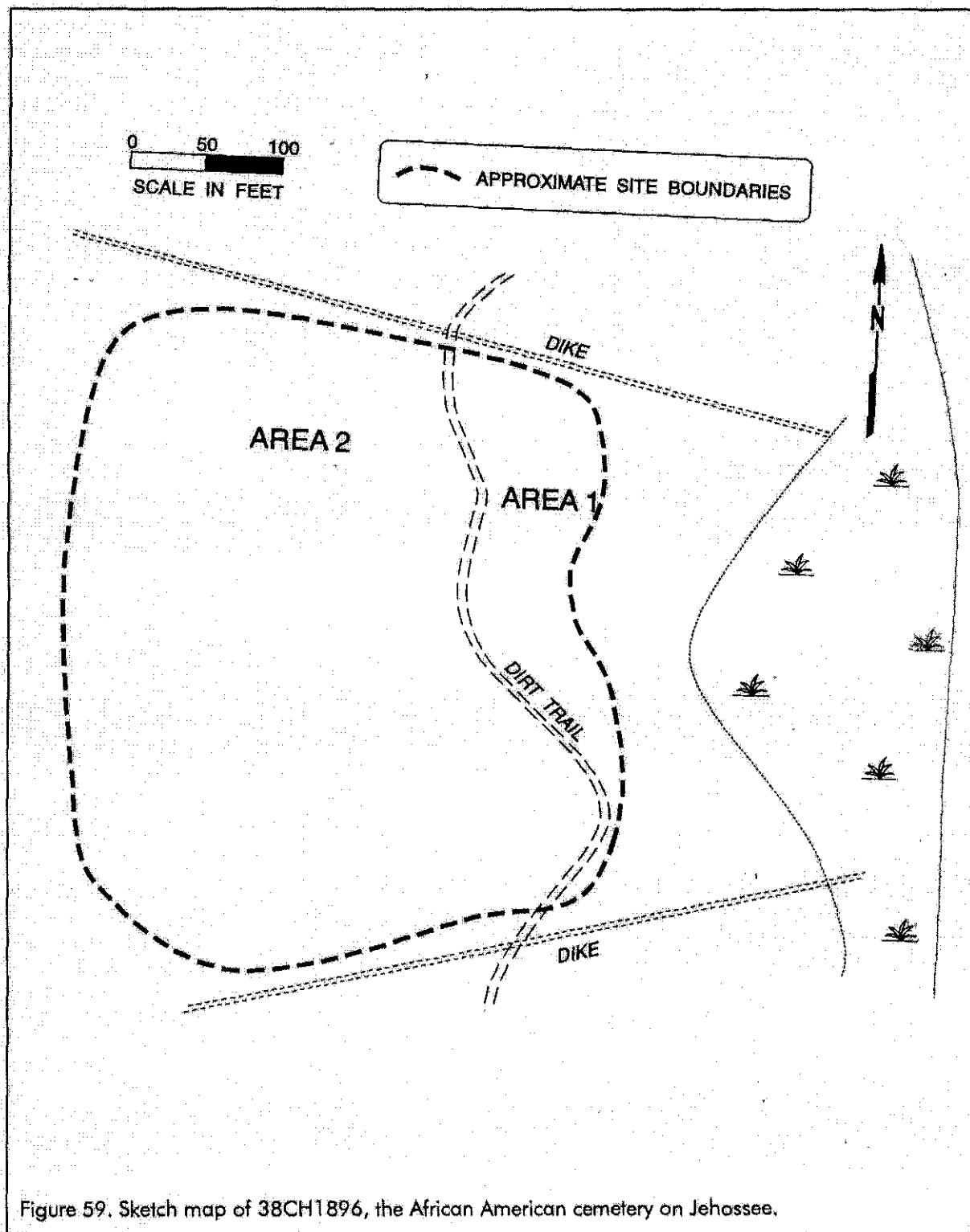


Figure 59. Sketch map of 38CH1896, the African American cemetery on Jehossee.

estimate the cemetery measures about 350 feet east-west by 450 feet north-south, or an area of 3.6 acres. During this survey we counted 200 obvious graves in about 0.4 acre, suggesting that the entire cemetery may contain around 1,800 graves.

This investigation identified four markers in Area 1 (Figure 60). Two are marble footstones, one marked, "N.G. / 1886" and the other "MM". There is also a broken marble tabletstone. The only readable portion states, "Died June 12 / --- / Rest in peace". The one complete marble tabletstone reads, "IN MEMORY / of / NANCY GREEN / Wife of / Jackson Green / Died July 12th 1886 / In her 25. Year of Age. / --- / The memory of the just / is blessed / their works do follow them / ---". Clearly, while not today associated, the footstone marked "N.G. / 1886" goes with this marker.

In Area 2 we found one marked stone, a marble tabletstone, "IN MEMORY OF / ANNA LAURA / RICHARDSON / Born Sept. 15th, 1858 / Died March 13th, 1874 / --- / 'Suffer little children, / and forbid them not / to come unto me; / for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.'" Nearby to the

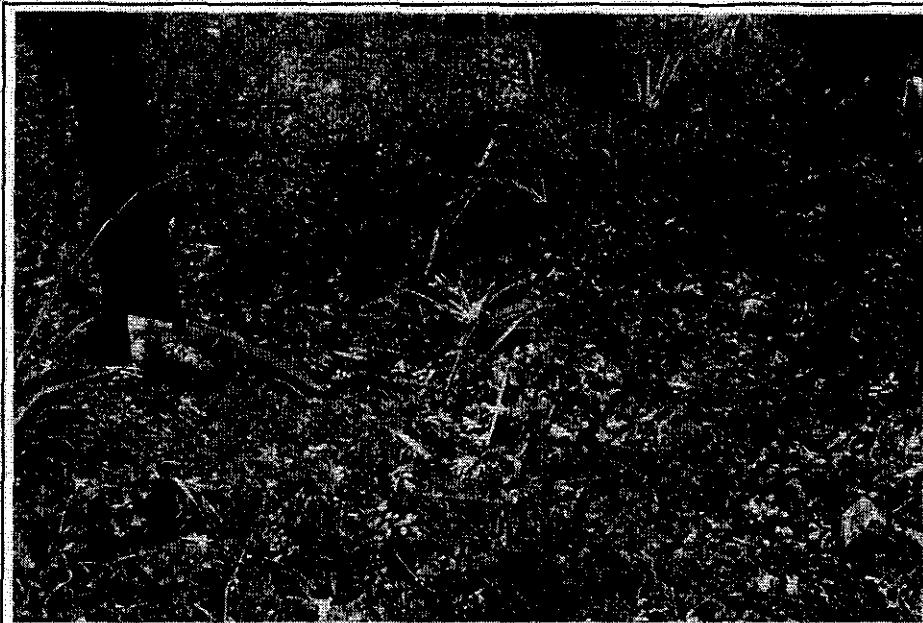


Figure 60. Area 1 at 38CH1896, showing the broken stone, Nancy Green stone, and footstones, view to the north-northeast.



Figure 61. Area 2 at 38CH1896, showing the Richardson stone and whelk, view to the west.

SURVEY RESULTS

northwest is another grave marked only with a whelk shell (Figure 61).

There is a winding road, which appears relatively recent, that runs from north to south through the cemetery and continues for some distance further along the marsh edge. It is likely a hunting road and has no historic significance. The cemetery is in an area of hardwoods, although few appear older than perhaps 100 years, suggesting that some logging may have taken place (although none has been documented in the historic record). There is not, however, any indication of rutting and graves throughout the cemetery are generally well defined and distinct.

While almost all of the land around the various slave settlements is shown clear of vegetation — and likely being cultivated — the vicinity of the cemetery is shown in woods on the 1856-1857 chart of Jehossee Island (Figure 57). Robinson, in 1850 (just a few years before the publication of the chart) told readers that, "wood is becoming scarce on the island." Yet this one area of the plantation is represented as densely wooded. One explanation is that the wooded area on the chart represents — at least in part — the cemetery. If so, it may be that the cemetery is actually larger than currently identified, extending further to the west than realized.

Based on the limited information, we believe that this cemetery is intimately associated with the African American presence on the island and, as such, includes burials of both enslaved and free. While its origin is uncertain, a date as early as the first half of the eighteenth century is not unreasonable. Use of the cemetery is not documented beyond 1886, although it may have been used into the first quarter of the twentieth century. By the mid-twentieth century, however, the Jehossee community was broken apart and there were no blacks living on the island.

Cemeteries are most often viewed in the context of historic places, design and workmanship, landscape, or historic people (National Register Criteria A, B, and C). Prior to the last decade in South Carolina relatively few cemeteries were

recorded or evaluated as archaeological resources. *National Register Bulletin 41* (Potter and Boland 1992) clearly indicates that cemeteries can, and should, be assessed under criteria D; that they yield, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Unlike cemeteries eligible under Criteria A, B, or C, those evaluated under Criterion D (except of the graves of significant persons) do not need to meet the special requirements of the Criteria Considerations. As a result, the assessment process may actually be simpler and more straightforward.

An important issue is assessing integrity. Under Criterion D, integrity of location, design, materials, and association are essential, with integrity of setting often assisting in the evaluative process. Location refers to the actual physical place. In the case of 38CH1896, there is integrity of location — the cemetery has not been moved and the place is as it has been for the past 100 or more years. Design, in reference to archaeological sites, means the patterning of features and areas. That individual graves are still clearly distinct and identifiable documents a high degree of design integrity. Integrity of materials generally refers to the completeness and preservation of the assemblage. We have found no evidence of disturbance, rutting, erosion, soil removal, or even plowing — this all indicates that the assemblage is well preserved. Integrity of association, under Criterion D, means only that there is a clear connection between the research questions and the data sets, which we'll discuss below. Finally, integrity of setting includes the total landscape, including both natural and man-made features. At 38CH1896 there has been no significant alteration of the landscape and integrity of setting is clear — this is one area of the island which appears much as it would have in 1900, or perhaps even earlier.

Cemeteries are exceptional data sources, even if they are never excavated. There are a number of research questions appropriate to archaeological investigation that do not require destructive techniques. The use of a penetrometer,

for example, can help document the exact location and orientation of graves. Mapping a cemetery to reveal its size, complexity, and nature of above-ground features may provide information on socioeconomic status and social organization (particularly when combined with documentary research). The markers, their materials, and their execution may provide information on trade and business patterns (which may tie into consumer choice studies being conducted using strictly archaeological material at nearby sites).

Excavation at a site such as 38CH1896 offers even more potential, allowing the biocultural study of diet, health, and disease; examination of grave goods and ethnicity; recordation of coffin hardware and investigation of socioeconomic status; and searching for information on slave burial rites and practices.

Of course, eligibility does not require excavation — any more than the eligibility of any archaeological site makes excavation either a priority or necessity. The assessment only documents the information and data potential likely to occur at a specific cemetery.

We recommend 38CH1896 as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

38CH1897

Site 38CH1897 (Figure 35) includes an industrial site (the rice threshing and milling operations on Jehossee), as well as a possibly associated slave settlement. The milling operations took place at the edge of the high ground on the southeast edge of the smallest northern island, and extended northwestward to a probable milling and warehousing area. This is also an area where some have suggested there may at one time have been diamond gates controlling water flow and boat access to the canals in this area of the island (see Doar 1936:10-13 for a discussion of gates and, in particular, a drawing of diamond gates). The slave settlement was to the west of this operation, along the northern edge of the island. These two site areas are spread over an area measuring about 900 feet northwest-southeast by 500 feet southwest-

north. Throughout the area the elevation is about 5 feet AMSL. As would be expected, the topography slopes to both the east and north, toward the marsh areas. Both sites loci are in areas of generally low, poorly drained soils.

Vegetation in the vicinity of the industrial site is second growth hardwoods, with much understory scrub — all from within the past 50 years. This is in an area of extensive hurricane damage and subsequent logging, so the vegetation is not a reliable indicator of what was present during the historic operation of the site. In the area of the slave settlement there is a partially open pasture with an overstory of large, old live oaks — a setting which is likely more consistent with the original vegetation.

The industrial site was investigated initially by a series of five transects (T60 through T64) with a total of 22 shovel tests. Of these only one (T60, ST4) produced artifacts. This, however, seems appropriate for an industrial site being tested at 100-foot intervals.

While few artifacts were encountered in shovel testing, there are a variety of above grade features, many of which have been mentioned in various historic accounts (Figure 62). Perhaps the most distinctive feature is the chimney associated with the threshing operation (Figure 63). This structure measures 7 feet square at the base and tapers upward to a height today of approximately 32 feet. The chimney is laid up in a variation of common English bond, usually called Liverpool bond, consisting of the alteration of one header course with three courses of stretchers. McKee (1973:50) notes that while this bond was occasionally used before the middle of the eighteenth century, it was often found from that time well into the nineteenth century — suggesting that the chimney dates from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. The mortar includes very soft lime paste, as well as much harder portland cement mortar, indicating a late repointing repair effort. At the base of the chimney on its east side is the top of a just barely visible arch (Figure 64), likely intended to provide access to clean cinders out of the stack.

Dorcas Richardson

This search revealed the Freedmen's Bank Records of Dorcas' children, Rachel (b. 1831), Victoria Ann (b. 1840), Charles (b. 1852), Elizabeth (b. 1852) and Julia (b. 1853). On all the bank entries, Dorcas signed her name as depositor, suggesting she could write, and this was later confirmed in census records. Fortunately, the bank records also provided the spousal names of Dorcas' children, and where each individual was living at the time of deposit. Elizabeth Richardson lived with her sister Rachel and her brother-in-law, Edward Singleton, in Brooklyn, NY in 1869. The bank records also show that Sambo, Dorcas' husband, was dead by 1869, the date of the first bank entry. Dorcas Richardson is also listed in bank records for Tom and Jane Crutchfield and Phoebe Ann Greggs as an "aunt." These individuals are discussed further in this document.

One interesting discovery was a "D Richardson" working at the Colonel Shaw Colored Orphan Asylum in 1870, but there was no evidence to confirm that this was Dorcas Richardson. Around the time of this research a student in Robert Weyeneth's public historic graduate course at the University of South Carolina, Evan Kutzler, asked to supplement HCF's research for a class paper. Evan traced the lead at the Orphan Asylum and discovered that the "D Richardson" listed at the Asylum was, in fact, the Aikens' former slave. The research also revealed additional documents from state records including receipts of the Asylum that listed money owed to Dorcas, a nurse, her daughter Elizabeth, a seamstress, and Ann and Nancy Singleton, both cooks—no relationship between the latter two and Dorcas is yet known. Of the more interesting documents is sworn testimony by Dorcas Richardson during an investigation of the misuse of funds at the institution. Dorcas' account not only tells of daily life at the Asylum, but also of her role as matron from 1870 until 1877, when the institution was moved to Columbia. She recounted,

I reside in Charleston, and was connected with the Orphan Asylum at the time it was organized. It was first a charity, supported by a benevolent society in Boston. The establishment was gotten up by Redpath. I was Assistant Matron until 1870. The institution was turned over to the State by the Freedman's Bureau in 1869. Miss Bowen, of Salem, Mass, was Matron until 1870, and I was an assistant. In 1870 I became full Matron, and took general management of the institution, the care of the children, moral and personal, acted as nurse and general drudge, and had the

assistance of an old woman. The children had a sufficiency of good, wholesome food, except in part of the years 1872 and 1873, when it was impossible for the Chairman to get supplies and provisions. I raised some money by having a fair among the colored people and contributed it to the support of the children, and this was no cost to the State. The management of the institution under Bennett was as good as under Gaillard, and the children were as well taken care of. The Asylum was kept in Miss Elliott's mansion, on George Street, and during my occupancy of it no repairs were made on the building except some little in the school room. After 1869 I stayed permanently in the building, night and day. The beef furnished the Asylum was not always of the best quality. The average of pupils under Bennett was larger than under Gaillard—never over one hundred. About seventy-five came to Columbia. I usually allowed the children one suit for Summer and one suit for Winter, until the Winter of 1874, when I had two suits apiece. The clothing was good but cheap. We used coal and wood for fires. I received \$25 per month as Assistant Matron up to 1870; then \$35 per month up to June, 1873; then \$50 per month until the removal of the Asylum to Columbia, when the Board offered me \$25 per month. I was full Matron from 1870. The usual food of the children consisted of bacon, grist, meal, molasses, fresh meat and vegetables. No money was left with me for expenditure, and such vegetables as I got were bought by me individually and charged against the Asylum. For my services I was paid in full except the sum of \$45, which is still due.¹³

As is shown in this testimony, Dorcas was earning a substantial amount of money per month during her tenure as assistant matron and matron, and it was at this time that her children's bank accounts were opened. Furthermore, records from the Orphan Asylum survive and show payments made to Dorcas Richardson and other staff of the Asylum from 1869 through 1875.¹⁴

Receipts noting payment to Dorcas Richardson, Ann Singleton, and Nancy Singleton.

December 31/1869—Dorcas Richardson, nurse, \$25.00
January 31, 1870—Dorcas Richardson, nurse, \$25.00
March 1st, 1870—Dorcas Richardson, nurse, \$25.00
April 8, 1870—Dorcas Richardson, nurse, \$25.00

¹³ SC Assembly, *Report on the Public Frauds*, 818-819. Researched by Evan Kutler, University of South Carolina. April 30, 2012.

¹⁴ State Treasurer, "Receipts of the State Orphan Asylum Account, 1869-1877," S218066, SCDAH. Researched by Evan Kutler, University of South Carolina. April 30, 2012.

May 4, 1870—Dorcas Richardson, nurse \$30.00
June 7, 1870—Dorcas Richardson, nurse, \$30.00
July 7, 1870—Ann Singleton, cook, \$10.00
July 11, 1870—Dorcas Richardson, nurse, \$30.00
August 9, 180—Dorcas Richardson, nurse, \$30.00
September 9, 1870—Dorcas Richardson, nurse, \$30.00
September 9, 1870—Ann Singleton, cook, \$20.00
October 31, 1870—Dorcas Richardson, nurse, \$70.00
October 21, 1870—Ann Singleton, cook, \$20.00
[Skips several months]
March 31, 1871—Dorcas Richardson, nurse, \$105.00
March 31, 1871—Nancy Singleton, cook, \$30.00
April 14, 1871—Dorcas Richardson, nurse, \$70.00
April 14, 1871—Nancy Singleton, cook, \$20.00
June 15, 1871—Dorcas Richardson, nurse, \$35.00
June 15, 1871—Nancy Singleton, cook, \$10.00
June 30, 1871—Dorcas Richardson, nurse, \$35.00
June 30, 1871—Nancy Singleton, cook, 10.00
Skips several months
December 5, 1871, Dorcas Richardson, [a/c?], \$75.00
December 5, 1871, Nancy Singleton, [a/c?], \$35.00
February 5, 1872—Ann Singleton, cook, \$30.00
June 24, 1872—Dorcas Richardson, [a/c?], \$100.00
February 8, 1872—Nancy Singleton, cook, \$50.00
February 13, 1873—Dorcas Richardson, nurse, \$345.00
[Account section Ends]

~[new section of account book]~

[first entry] June 12, 1873—[Paid by S E. Gaillard Ch] Dorcas Richardson, matron, \$32.40. Notes
“Pitchie/Richie?”
June 21, 1873—Dorcas Richardson, \$210.00
June 21, 1873—Nancy Singleton, cook, \$60.00
June 21, 1873—paid by S E Gaillard Ch.—Dorcas Richardson, Making Garments--\$156.00. Notes,
“hirehands?”
June 28, 1873—Gaillard church—D Richardson, a/c, \$55.35
June 28; 1873, Gaillard church—D Richardson, cutting suits, \$12.00
December 24, 1873—Gaillard Ch—D. Richardson—Sancey Matron, \$60.00
December 25, 1873—Gaillard Ch—Nancy Richardson, cook, \$40.00
December 24, 1873—S. E. Gaillard ch—D. Richardson, benefit of children, \$25.00
January 31, 1874—S. E. Gaillard Ch.—D. Richardson, Sewcey reader--\$340.00
January 31, 1874—S. E. Gaillard Ch—E. Richardson, seamstress, \$48.00
January 31, 1874—N. Singleton, cook, \$40.00
[Hereafter all are S. E. Gaillard Ch”]
March 31, 1874—Dorcas Richardson, matron, \$150.00
March 31, 1874—Eliz Richardson, seamstress, \$24.00
May 7, 1874—D. Richardson, matron, \$50.00
May 7, 1874—Nancy Singleton, cook, \$10.00

May 7, 1874—D. Richardson, matron, \$100.00
June 10, 1874—D. Richardson, [illeg. "No cause ocraca?"] \$345.00
June 30, 1874—Eliz Richardson, seamstress, \$16.00
June 30, 1874—Nancy Singleton, cook, \$20.00
Sept 1/1874—Dor Richardson, matron, \$100.00
September 1, 1874—E. Richardson, seamstress, \$16.00
September 1, 1874, Nancy Singleton, cook, \$20.00
October 3, 1874, D. Richardson, matron, \$50.00
October 3, 1874, E. Richardson, seamstress, \$8.00
October, 3, 1874, Nancy Singleton, cook, \$10.00
November 10, 1874, D. Richardson, matron, \$50.00
November 10, 1874, E. Richardson, seamstress, \$8.00
November 10, 1874, Nancy Singleton, cook, \$10.00
December 24, 1874—Dorcas Richardson, matron, \$50.00
December 27, 1874—N. Singleton, cook, \$10.00
December 24, 1874—E. Richardson, seamstress, \$8.00
February 1, 1875—D Richardson, \$100.00
February 1, 1875—E Richardson, \$16.00
February 1, 1875—N. Singleton, \$20.00
March 31, 1875—D. Richardson, matron, \$100.00
March 31, 1875—E. Richardson, seamstress, \$16.00
March 31, 1875, Nancy Singleton, cook, \$20.00
May 29, 1875—E. Richardson, a/c, \$11.00
May 29, 1875, E. Richardson, seamstress, \$16.00
[Account section ends]

~[new section of account book]~

Payments by G. S. Cunningham [treasurer]
August 7, 1873—D. Richardson, Payment on sew[ing] machine, \$10.00
August 27, 1873—D. Richardson, payment on sew. Machine, \$10.00
August 30, 1873—D. Richardson, sundries, \$6.75
February 13, 1874, Dorcas Richardson, a/c, \$9.55
February 13, 1874, Dorcas Richardson, a/c/ \$313.95
April 24, 1874—Dorcas Richardson, sundries, \$123.50
June 30, 1874—D. Richardson, for Bill Rev[?], \$345.00
December 8, 1874—D. Richardson, \$25.00
January 4, 1875—D. Richardson, \$360.00
January 27, 1875—D. Richardson, \$184.00

From 1880-1882 Dorcas was living at 289 Meeting Street and kept a store, sold fruit, and wood.¹⁵ After 1882 she was not found in Charleston City Directories or census records. There is an 1887 death certificate recorded for a Dorcas Richardson, who lived in Charleston her entire life, was

¹⁵ Also listed on the 1880 census at this address are George Ansley (son-in-law) and his family, Charles (son) and his family and Betsy Crutchfield (relation not fully understood) and her family. Also living there are William and Julia Fox, although their relationship to Dorcas is unknown.

widowed and worked as a servant at 131 Nassau Street. She died of cancer and asthma and was buried at Monrovia Cemetery.

Edward, Rachel Ann, and Rebecca Singleton

Rachael Ann Richardson (b. 1831) was the eldest child of Dorcas and Sambo Richardson and she was married to Edward Singleton (b. 1835), also born in South Carolina. Rachel Ann's Freedman's Bank record on November 15, 1869 reveals that she lived with her husband in Brooklyn, NY. The 1870 census for Brooklyn, New York reveals Rachel Ann, Edward, and their daughter Rebecca living in Ward 4 among other blacks and mulattos. Further city directory research for the family revealed Edward Singleton living at 101 Nassau Street in Brooklyn, but did not mention Rachel Ann. No other positive identification can be made for any member of this family.

George and Victoria Ann Ansley¹⁶

Victoria Ann Richardson (b. 1840) is the second oldest child of Dorcas and Sambo Richardson and she was married to George Ansley (b. 1842), also born in South Carolina. Victoria Ann is found in a November 15, 1869 Freedman's Bank record and has a daughter, Julia (then 10 months), with her husband, George Ansley. George Ansley does not appear in the Freedman's Bank records, yet he appears in seven directories between 1872 and 1899 as a carpenter and lives at 289 Meeting Street¹⁷ from 1872 to 1882. He also appeared in the 1880 Charleston census as George Anully and lived with his four children William (b.1865), Julia (b.1870), George Samuel (b. & d. 1873), Victoria (b.1874), Eliza (b.1877) [Henrietta Eliza]¹⁸ and a stillborn George (7 October 1877, stillbirth). Victoria died a day after George, on October 8, 1877 at 289 Meeting Street. One month later, George (Anzerley) is recorded in the *City of Charleston Voter Records of 1877*. It appears that George remarried around 1885. His second wife, Mary (Mamie) gave birth to Wilhemena in was born in August of 1886 and died at 6 Robbins Court 15 months later. Mary died in July 1902 at 46 Nassau Street.

Elizabeth Richardson

Elizabeth Richardson (B. 1852), the middle child of Dorcas and Sambo Richardson, was living at 110 Nassau Street in Brooklyn in an 1869 Freedman's Bank Record. The same account records that

¹⁶ Ansley also appears as Anseley, Anully, Anzerley, and Anzeiley in Charleston census and directory records.

¹⁷ This address appears as the residence of Dorcas and Charles Richardson and his family, as well as the Crutchfields.

¹⁸ Henrietta Eliza died of typhoid fever in 1883, at 7 1/2 years old.

she was living with her sister, Rachel Singleton. The 1870 census for Brooklyn that includes the Singleton family does not list Elizabeth as living in the same house. An 1880 census for Brooklyn lists an Elizabeth Richardson, from South Carolina, working as a servant on Sterling Street for Samuel Edgar and his family, although her age does not correspond with what is recorded for Elizabeth Richardson in the Freedman's Bank Record. No other positive identification for Elizabeth can be found in Charleston or New York.

Charles Richardson and Harriet(a) Whyrop¹⁹

Charles Richardson (b.1852) was the only son of Dorcas and Sambo Richardson and married Harriet(a) Whyrop sometime between 1872 and 1874.²⁰ While living at 149 Coming Street in 1877, Charles is listed in the City of Charleston Voter Records of 1877 for elections that took place in November of that year. He lived for several years with his family at 289 Meeting Street, where he worked as a fisherman and laborer. He had three children listed in the 1880 Charleston census, Dorcas (b.1874), Mary (b.1877) and Alexander (b.1879),²¹ and lived at 289 Meeting Street along with George Ansley and his children and Betsy Crutchfield and her family. At this time his mother, Dorcas, lived at the Colonel Shaw Colored Orphan Asylum, although she appears in Charleston City Directories between 1880 and 1882 as also living at 289 Meeting Street.

Alexander and Julia Whyross²²

Julia Richardson Whyross (1852/1853) is the youngest child of Dorcas and Sambo Richardson and appears in a November 15, 1869 Freedman's Bank record. She was married to Alexander Whyross (1844/1845), also from Charleston, who appears in a February 16, 1869 Freedman's Bank Record. In the record he is listed as a waiter at Mrs. Butterfield's Pavillion Hotel and he signed his own name suggesting he could write. His name also appears in two other Freedman's Bank records; a record for Susan Whyrop on April 29, 1869 had "money deposited by her grandson, Alexander Wyross" and another of Edward Diley on August 3, 1869 had money deposited by "Alexander Whyross, his nephew by whom the above record was given." A record for

¹⁹ Possibly related to Alexander Myross. She has the same last name as Susan Whyrop, the grandmother of Alexander Whyross.

²⁰ No wife is listed on his Freedman's Bank Record, yet Harriet is his wife in the 1880 census. Probably, Charles and Harriet(a) were married before the birth of their first daughter, Dorcas, in 1874.

²¹ Alexander was born on March 14, 1879 at 289 Meeting Street. His mother and father are both listed, and his birth was recorded by Elizabeth Fiall. Dorcas Richardson had a sister, Betsy Fiall.

²² Whyross also appears as Myross and Viross in Charleston census and directory records.

a marriage between an Alexander Whyross and Julia Richardson on October 6, 1865 in Portland, Maine cannot be confirmed as being of this couple because most of the general information, i.e. color, birthplace, and age are missing. No other records from Maine have been found to mention the couple. In the 1870 census Julia (Viross) is living in Ward 4 with Sue Manigault and William Crutchfield. The relation between Julia and Sue Manigault is unknown, and William Crutchfield will later live with members of the Richardson family.

The Crutchfield Family

Betsy Crutchfield

In the 1870 census there is a Betsy Crutchfield working as a nurse at the Asylum and her two children Thomas and Jane Crutchfield residing there. The 1846 Deed of Trust from Harriet Aiken to her husband, Governor Aiken, lists a Betsy among the slaves. Perhaps, Betsy Crutchfield is the same Betsy mentioned in this earlier document, and might explain why Dorcas is a depositor on the children's bank accounts. Betsy may have been sent to work at Jehossee which might explain why she is not in the 1876 petition document. There is a death record for Elizabeth Crutchfield who resided in the city for [illeg]6 years, 6 months and 14 days, was born in Virginia, and died in 1889 of paralysis and exhaustion at 86 Reid Street.²³ Although there is an obvious relationship between the Crutchfield and Richardson families, the fact that Betsy and her children (see below) were born in Virginia suggests that they were probably not blood relatives.

Thomas and Jane Crutchfield

Thomas and Jane Crutchfield resided at the Orphan Asylum with their mother and Dorcas Richardson in the 1870 Charleston census, and both had Freedman's Bank accounts opened on the same day as Julia Ansley, and the accounts were deposited and signed by Dorcas Richardson. The record also mentions a brother, "Billy," and refers to William Crutchfield. Jane appears in the 1880 Charleston census with her mother and younger brother, William, at 289 Meeting Street. Thomas is not included in the 1880 census and it is not clear where he was living or whether he had already died by this time. Neither Jane Crutchfield, nor Thomas, appears in records beyond 1880 and 1870, respectively.

William Crutchfield

William Crutchfield (b. 1862/1868-2 Feb 1918), the youngest son of Betsy Crutchfield, was probably born in Virginia and married Charlotte Jane Turner (Dec 1861-11 Jan 1938). William first appears in the 1870 Charleston census with Julia Viross,²⁴ a dressmaker, in Ward 4. The document further reveals that he was "at school" and was born in South Carolina, although this is probably incorrect

²³ The same address as William Crutchfield.

²⁴ Probably refers to Julia Whyross, Dorcas' daughter.

as other documents list his birthplace as (W) Virginia. By 1877,²⁵ William Crutchfield is living at 289 Meeting Street with Charles Richardson and George Anseley—Dorcus' son and son-in-law. He is also recorded in the 1880 Charleston census at the same address with his mother, Betsy, and his sister, Jane. Additional records reveal that William and Charlotte had seven children, Sarah Jane (26 December 1880- 12 November 1882), Male (b. 26 June 1882), Anne Elizabeth (b. 27 Oct 1883), Daisy (20 August 1885-26 June 1893), William W.J. (1895- 19 Feb 1924), Samuel W. (Irene) (25 November 1896), Ethel C. (b. April 1898), and John (Jan 1903- 1 May 1903).

Ethel C. Scott

In 1930 Ethel, the daughter of William and Charlotte Crutchfield lived with her mother at 68 Warren and she worked at Snelgrove's French Hat Shop. David Scott lived at 60A Warren and worked as a shoe repairer. Ethel and David were probably married in 1932/1933 and the couple lived at 35 Elizabeth in 1940 with their two daughters Irene (b.1933) and Felicia (b.1935) and their niece Frederick Ladson. David Scott died on February 12, 1978 and Ethel on June 29, 1977. They are survived by their daughters Irene (Hassell) and Felicia (Breeland) and well as grandchildren.

²⁵ 1877 Charleston City Directory.

The Greggs Family

Tom, Ann, Henry, and Phoebe Greggs

One piece of information related to the Greggs family is the 1880 census which lists Henty Gregg and his wife, Kate, living at 24 Elizabeth Street, the same address as Governor Aiken and his grandchildren.²⁶ It was difficult to find Henry Greggs on *Ancestry.com*, in census and directory searches, and it was by chance that a search for the address “289 Meeting,” the known address of Charles Richardson and George Ansley, revealed a Henry Clegg. Subsequent searches using close spelling of Greggs revealed more information, as did searches using other addresses, including “18 Elizabeth,” “48 Elizabeth,” and “Rear 48 Elizabeth.”²⁷ What this revealed is that the surname Gregg also appeared as Clegg, Creggs, Craig, and Craggs.

Henry Greggs (1848-15 Nov 1908), was the youngest son of Tom and Ann Greggs, he married Sarah Catherine Rebecca (Mar 1853- 23 Jan 1939) sometime between 1896 and 1900. In all but two Charleston City Directories he listed as a coachman or driver and he periodically returns to the Aiken-Rhett House.²⁸ Interestingly, Henry also lives on Mary Street, at 26 and 52, and at 4 Judith and works as a coachman. By 1901 he and Catherine are living at 29 Percy and he still works as a coachman and driver. By 1908, Henry was back at 48 Elizabeth working as a house servant, and it was there that he died on November 15, 1908.

A query on *familysearch.org* for “Dorcas Richardson” resulted in a Freedman’s Bank Record for Phebe [sic] H Macguin Greggs.²⁹ According to the account, Phebe had a brother, Henty Greggs, an aunt, Dorcas Richardson, and was brought up in Charleston by Governor Aiken. Phoebe signed her own name, suggesting she could write. The document also reveals that she was at some point married to Edward Macguin, although this name is not found in directory or census searches. Directory searches then revealed a Phoebe Creggs, dressmaker, living on Market and then Mazyck Street in the 1870s, with the last recording at 26 Ann Street in 1906. Census data suggests that Phoebe was born around 1845, and therefore, she is probably the Phoebe Ann listed in the 1846

²⁶ Although the house is later listed at 48 Elizabeth Street, the house numbers in this census list the Aiken’s, and several domestic servants at 24 Elizabeth Street. Directory searches list William Aiken living at 18 Elizabeth in 1877, 1878, 1879 and 1884 directories and the 1961 Census of the City of Charleston. It is not until 1886 that the house is consistently recorded at 48 Elizabeth.

²⁷ These addresses are those in the directories for the Aiken-Rhett House. See footnote 5.

²⁸ In 1878-1879, 1881, 1908 he is living at the ARH.

²⁹ United States, Freedman’s Bank Records, 1865-1874. <http://familysearch.org/pal/MM9.1.1/NSYB-SQP>; accessed 7 June 2012.

Deed of Trust. Why she is not listed in the 1874 document is still unclear, but perhaps she too, like Betsy Crutchfield, was sent to work elsewhere and for this reason was not listed as being an intimate servant of the Aiken-Rhett family.

As of this report, there is no evidence to determine what happened to Tom or Ann Greggs after the Civil War. There is also no definitive evidence that tells the exact relationship between the Richardsons and the Greggs, or why Dorcas is listed as Phoebe's aunt.

Jacob Gaillard

The first evidence we have of Jacob Gaillard is the 1870 census that lists a Jacob Gaillard living with Thomas Polite (among others) in Ward 5, the same ward as the ARH. Jacob is recorded as a coachman and Thomas a hostler. The 1880 census records a Jacob Gaillard, servant, living at 24 Elizabeth Street. This name was searched on *Ancestry.com* and revealed that Jacob worked as a butler for the Aikens and lived in the rear of numbers 18, 24, and 48 Elizabeth, all addresses of the ARH in directories and census records.³⁰ An 1896 Certificate of Death from the Charleston Health Department found on *ancestry.com* recorded that Jacob died at age 75³¹ at 48 Elizabeth Street of apoplexy (stroke).

³⁰ See footnote 17.

³¹ The 1870 census data records Jacob as 40 yrs and the 1880 census as 60yrs.

Tom and Patsey Polite

Also discovered on *Ancestry.com* was the 1872 Freedman's Bank record for Patsey Polite. Patsey's bank account records that she was born in 1853, married Thomas Polite, grew up on Jehossee Island, worked for Governor Aiken, and lived on Mary Street. It also revealed that her father was Tom Judge³² and her mother was named Amelia. Thomas Polite and Jacob Gaillard lived in Ward 5 in 1870, which is the same ward as the Aiken-Rhett House. Beyond this date, the only credible evidence places Thomas and 'Patsie' Polite at 48 Nassau Street in 1916. A search in the Charleston death records revealed a certificate of death for Paty Polite, a domestic servant living at 43 South Street. Although the age recorded on the document is 50 years old, Paty would have been 80, the other information matches what was recorded in the Freedman's Bank record. Her father is listed as Thomas Judge, and her mother, Amelia Brown. Also, the informant on the document, D.P. Alston, probably refers to Dora P. Alston, the daughter of Isaiah Judge. In Patsy's bank record, a brother, Isaiah, is listed, and it is possible that the D.P. Alston in the death record is Patsy's niece.

³² Tom Judge also appears in an 1866 Freedmen's Bureau document of men that were granted 40 acres of land on Jehossee Island after the Civil War, "the parties holding these grants formerly belonged to Gov. Aiken and have always lived on Jehossee." Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of South Carolina Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1870. National Archives Microfilm Publication, M869 Roll 44, "Other Records 1865-1867" <http://freedmensbureau.com/southcarolina/sclandfrants.htm>: accessed 24 July 2007.

1830 United States Federal Census for William Aiken

South Carolina > Charleston > Charleston Neck

1830 United States Federal Census

South Carolina → Charleston → Charleston Neck

SAVE ✓

1840 United States Federal Census for William Aiken

South Carolina > Charleston > Charleston Neck

SAVE ✓

6-41

SCHEDULE of the whole number of persons within each division allotted to each election

1840 United States Federal Census

[South Carolina](#) > [Charleston](#) > [Charleston Neck](#)

SAVE ✓

1850 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules

South Carolina > Charleston > St Michael and St Phillip

 SAVE

Schedule 2. Slave Inhabitants in the Parish of St. Michael in the County of Dist. of Charleston, State of South Carolina, enumerated by me, on the 9th day of November, 1850. Attest, Wm. H. C. [Signature]

NAME OF SLAVE OWNER	DESCRIPTION				Distr. & Rank Milit. Service or Grade
	1	2	3	4	
William Dickey	162	7	13		
	118	11	13		
	150	7	13		
	145	7	13		
	128	7	13		
	130	11	13		
	128	11	13		
W. J. Waring	123	11	13		
	113	11	13		
	122	7	13		
	132	7	13		
	111	7	13		
	135	7	13		
	150	7	13		
	150	11	13		
Thomas W. Morris	150	11	13		
	145	11	13		
	135	11	13		
	111	11	13		
	150	7	13		

NAME OF SLAVE OWNER	DESCRIPTION				Distr. & Rank Milit. Service or Grade
	1	2	3	4	
Isaac Parkside	116	11	13		
	113	7	13		
	18	7	13		
Ann Bonneau	139	7	13		
	135	7	13		
	130	7	13		
	118	11	13		
	17	7	13		
	14	7	13		
J. G. Harris	161	11	13		
	153	7	13		
	150	7	13		
John Maynard	187	11	13		
	180	7	13		
	152	7	13		
	146	7	13		
	139	11	13		
E. J. Postell	135	7	13		
	133	7	13		
	129	7	13		

1860 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules

South Carolina > Charleston > Charleston City Ward

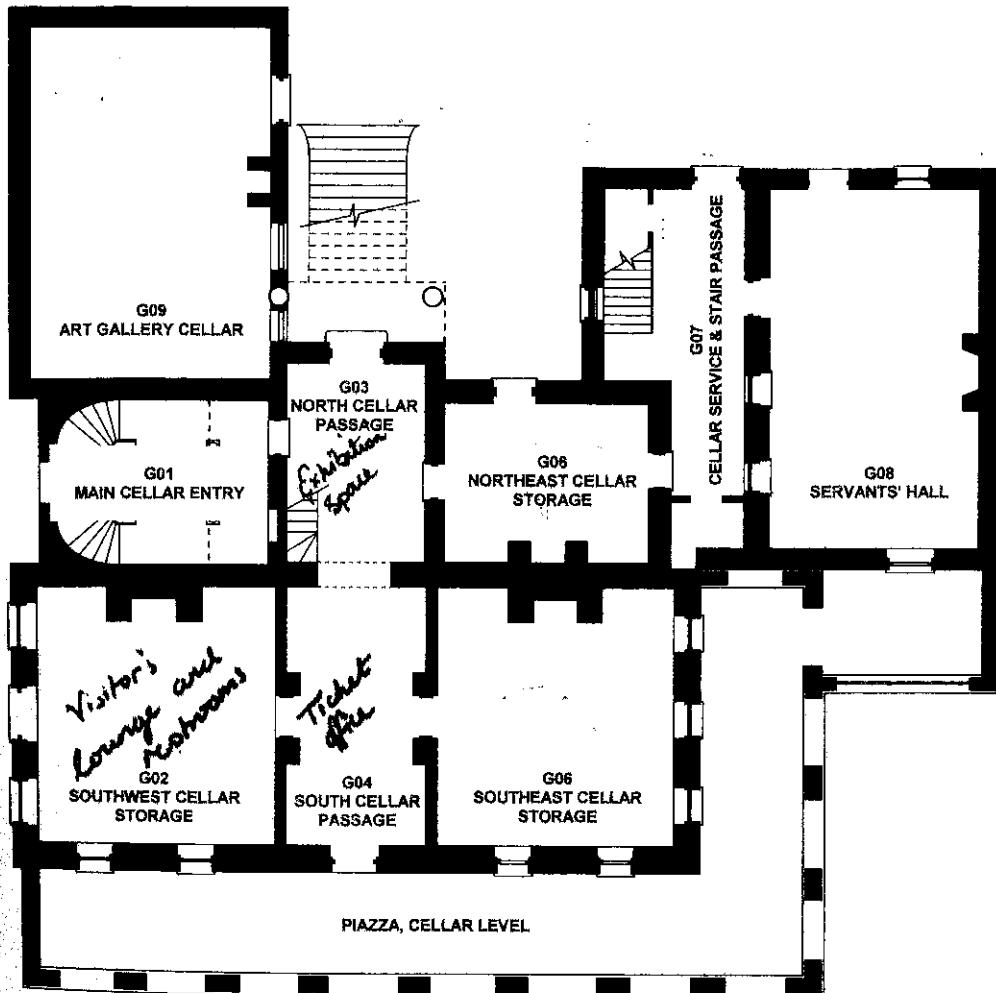
SAVE

16	1 21 d B	1 50 d B
17	1 11 d B	1 21 d B
18	1 18 d B	1 28 d B
19	1 9 d B	1 4 30 B
20	1 1 d B	1 1 d B
21	1 25 d 0	William Aiken
22	1 7 d B	1 40 M B
23	1 11 d B	1 58 M M
24	1 12 d B	1 50 M M
25	6 P. Leman	1 10 M M
26	1 16 M B	1 1 M M
27	1 12 M B	1 10 d B
28	1 4 M B	1 45 d B
29	1 7 M B	1 10 d B
30	W. P. Green	1 20 d M
31	1 50 d B	1 12 d M
32	1 40 M 0	1 10 d M
33	1 30 M B	1 11 d M
34	1 16 M B	1 12 d M
35	P. G. Duruf	1 10 d M
36	1 32 d B	1 12 d M
37	1 24 d 0	1 10 d M
38	1 22 d B	1 12 d M
39	1 17 d B	1 10 d M
40	1 12 d B	1 50 d B
41	1 5 d B	1 28 M B
42	1 1 d B	1 20 M B
Total number 31		
No. of males 31		
No. of females 49		
No. of slaves 80		
Total slaves 80		

Taken from:

Appendix V.

Julie Graham, Carl Lounsbury and Orlando Ridout, Architectural Investigation of the Stein-Rhett House Volume I (Charleston, Historic Charleston Foundation, 2005), no page number.



CELLAR PLAN

1000

20

8

Supervisor's Dist. No. 1

Supervisor's D.M. No.

Examination Date: No.

NOTE A:—The right dotted perpendicular lines, which divide the spaces intended for signatures on this instrument, are intended to intersect the lines, from above each other, so that the Signer or Signers should be enabled to write across them. The dotted lines are to be used only when the several signatures are written across them.

NOTE 2—Make an offensive entry by shooting (see *line 12*) in one of the three columns 2, 3, and 4, according as the line is to the sum of each share in column 2, if the company is the center of the firm; in column 3, if it is to be treated as a fixed money rental; in column 4, if it is assumed it has a share of the profit.

NOTE D.—**REMEMBER** that there are 304 questions relating to each form, which are arranged in four successive divisions of each subject.

SCHEDULE 2.—Productions of Agriculture on Cliffs Island in the County of Charleston, State of South Carolina,
enumerated by me on the 14 day of June, 1880. E. D. Gribble

E. D. Lachowicz

Appendix VIII 1880 United States Federal Census

Page No. 40

Note: Inquiries numbered 1, 16, and 17 are not to be asked in respect to infants. Inquiries numbered 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 20 are to be answered (if at all) merely by an affirmative mark, as .

SCHEDULE 1.—Inhabitants in City of Charleston, in the County of Charleston, State of South Carolina, enumerated by me on the 9 day of July, 1880.

Post Office: Charleston, S. C. W. W. Tunner, Asst Marshal.

Number of dwelling number and number of family	Name of head of family	Age in years	Sex (M. for Male, F. for Female)	Color (C. for Colored, W. for White)	Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male or female	Value of real estate owned	Value of personal property owned	Place of birth, native State or Territory of U. S., or the Country, if of foreign birth	Place of birth, native State or Territory of U. S., or the Country, if of foreign birth	Population		Population		Population		Population		Population		Population										
										1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
1	— Blake Attard	26	M	C	Laundress			South Carolina	South Carolina																					1
16	— McAllister	19	M	C				"	"																				2	
3	— Dwyer William	16	M	C				"	"																				3	
4	— Knight Anna	77	F	C				"	"																				4	
5	— McElroy Anna	43	F	C				"	"																				5	
6	— Elford Georgia	32	F	C				"	"																				6	
7	— Eliza	15	F	C				"	"																				7	
8	— Justice	5	F	C				"	"																				8	
9	— Henry J. Brown	60	M	C	Wood Coyer			"	"																				9	
10	— Walter	55	M	C				"	"																				10	
11	— Sarah	30	F	C				"	"																				11	
12	— Campbell Joe	35	M	C	fisherman			"	"																				12	
13	— Murray	22	F	C				"	"																				13	
14	— Mitchell Mary	18	F	C				"	"																				14	
15	— Susan	15	F	C				"	"																				15	
16	— Shar Daniel	50	M	C	Shoe Craher	700		Ireland	Ireland	1	1	1																16		
17	— Charles	46	F	C				South Carolina	South Carolina	1																		17		
18	— Harry	19	F	C				"	"	1																			18	
19	— Vincent	40	M	C				France	France																				19	
20	— Leaderly Edward	37	M	C	Salver			"	"	1																			20	
21	— Eugenia	27	F	C				"	"	1																			21	
22	— Mary	16	F	C				"	"	1																			22	
23	— Gibson Holland	37	F	C				"	"	1																			23	
24	— Anna	14	F	C				"	"	1																			24	
25	— Ada	12	F	C				"	"	1																			25	
26	— Lizzie	8	F	C				"	"	1																			26	
27	— Jeff. J. Maynard	20	F	C	Domestic Servt			"	"	1																			27	
28	— Green Charlotte	44	F	C	Laundress			"	"	1																			28	
29	— Nelson basal	22	F	C	Domestic Servt			"	"	1																			29	
30	— Linda	30	M	C	Daywoman			"	"	1																			30	
31	— John	18	M	C				"	"	1																			31	
32	— John William	62	M	C	Planter			"	"	1																			32	
33	— Harriet	57	F	C				"	"	1																			33	
34	— Carroll Anna	35	F	C	Domestic Servt			Ireland	Ireland	1																		34		
35	— Bluff Burritt	36	M	C	Planter			"	"	1																			35	
36	— Henrietta	30	F	C				"	"	1																			36	
37	— William	19	M	C				"	"	1																			37	
38	— Rockwell Anna	30	F	C	Laundress			South Carolina	South Carolina	1																		38		
39	— Barker Ellen	55	F	C	Cook			Ireland	Ireland	1																		39		
40	— Walker Edward	35	M	C	Domestic Servt			South Carolina	South Carolina	1																		40		
					No. of dwellings, 14	No. of white females, 18	No. of males, foreign born, 2			No. of houses, —	1																8			
					No. of families, 1	No. of colored males, 6	No. of females, 2			No. of houses, —	1																			
					No. of white males, 5	No. of colored females, 10	No. of blind, 1			No. of houses, —	1																			

Appendix IX Bridget O'Brien, *Brown-Rhett House: Enslaved
Africans and Post-Civil War Research, Elizabeth* 048.51

Death Records for Slaves of Governor William Aiken⁶

Date of Death	Place of Interment	Name	Age	Place of Birth	Place of Residence	Disease
12-19 May 1833	Bethel Burial Ground	Janney	9	Charleston		
19-26 Nov 1843	African Burial Ground	Abby	20	Charleston		Cancer
23-29 Jan 1853	Trinity Burial Ground	Isaac	40	Charleston	Anne St ⁷	Cholera
3 Feb 1853	Trinity Burial Ground	Corsa	70	Africa	King & Ann	Diarrhea
7 Sept 1853	Trinity Burial Ground	Nancy	30	So. Carolina	Anne St	Consumption
30 Sept 1853	Trinity Burial Ground	Jacob	1	Charleston	King St	Teething
29 April 1853	City Burial Ground	Hetty ⁸	23	Charleston	Elizabeth St	Hepatitis
23 July 1854	Field of Rest	Martha	1	Charleston	Ann St	Cholera Inft
6 Sept 1854	Field of Rest	John	30	Charleston	Ann St	Illeg
22 Sept 1857	Field of Rest	Mary	8	Charleston	Ann	Convulsions
14 April 1857	Field of Rest	Charlotte	37	Charleston	R.H.	Illeg
12 July 1857	Field of Rest	Chloe	7	Charleston	King	Maramus ⁹

⁶ From the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, *South Carolina Death Records, 1821-1960*.

⁷ The residences of those at Anne, King & Ann and cor King & Ann St suggests that these slaves worked at the South Carolina Railroad Depot.

⁸ Hetty is one of the slaves listed in the Deed of Transfer from Harriet Lowndes to William Aiken in 1846.

⁹ Severe malnutrition characterized by energy deficiency.

11 Jan 1858	Trinity Burial Ground	Phillis ¹⁰	16	Charleston	Elizabeth	Consumption
15 Dec 1861	Trinity Col Cemetery	Paul	7	Charleston	King & Ann St (2 wks) ¹¹	Fever, Typhus
19 Dec 1861	Trinity Col Cemetery	John	14	Charleston	Cor King & Ann St (2 wks)	Fever, Typhus
23 Dec 1861	Trinity Col Cemetery	Sam	75	So Carolina	King & Ann St	Balaub, Senile
28 Dec 1861	Trinity Col Cemetery	Santeo	55	So Carolina	Cor King & Ann St (5wks)	Pleuro-pneumonia
30 Dec 1861	Trinity Col Cemetery	Harry	15	So Carolina	Cor King & Ann St (1 mo)	Fever, congestive
1 Jan 1862	Trinity Col Cemetery	Buffy (male)	60	So Carolina	Cor King & Ann St (1 mo)	Dropsey
4 Jan 1862	Trinity Col Cemetery	Harry	8	So Carolina	Cor King & Ann St (1 mo)	Fever, Typhoid
9 Jan 1862	Trinity Col Cemetery	Rose	80	So Carolina	Cor King & Ann St (2 mos)	Debility
6 Feb 1863	Field of Rest	Lizzy	30	Charleston	Wragg Square	Consumption
6 April 1863	St. John's Col Cemetery	Edwin	57	So Carolina	King St (2 mos)	Angioleucitis ¹²
5 Dec 1864	Field of Rest	Peggy	58	Charleston	Ann St	Cancer

¹⁰ Phillis is one of the slaves listed in the Deed of Transfer from Harriet Lowndes to William Aiken in 1846.

¹¹ A few of the reports tell how long the slave was residing on site before their death. It is not clear whether these slaves were sick before their residence in Charleston or contracted the diseases on site.

¹² Inflammation of lymphatic vessels.

STATEMENT OF RENTS COLLECTED

For Estate WILLIAM AIKEN, for the month ending 30th of November 1894

Appendix X

No.	PROPERTY—Where Located.	Date.	BY WHOM RENTED.	RENT.		AMOUNT.	
				Per Month.	Per Annum.	Due.	Paid.
48	N. E. Cor. Judith and Elizabeth st. (Family Mansion.)		Miss F. A. Tolson Pebal			00. 00	
	Judith Street,					00. 00	
8	"		Exchange of House			10. 00	
23	Mary		Rent paid in advance			10. 00	
25	"	Nov. 3	J. G. Blackman			10. 00	
2	Wragg	"	1/2 9 G. Marshall			30. 83	
4	"						
6	"		1/6 H. G. Tolson				
8	"		1/12 Miss Wm. Lawrence			31. 25	
10	"	1/2	1/12 T. P. Campbell			20. 83	
12	"	1/2	1/6 W. Motter			22. 50	
14	"	Quarterly	1/12 Maiden County			125. 00	
214	Meeting Street	"	1/12 Finch Compt.				
216	"	"				00. 00	
173	Calhoun	"				24. 00	
275	"	"				17. 00	
177	"	"				16. 00	
14	College	"	1/12 Mrs. Wm. Lawrence			00. 00	
16	"		1/12 Mrs. Wm. Lawrence				
8	Green	"	1/12 J. G. Blackman			35. 00	
10	"		1/12 G. Marshall			35. 00	
43	Market	"					
45	"	"					
47	"	"				20. 00	
49	"	"				110. 00	
51	"	"				00. 00	
53	"	"	1/12 J. G. Blackman				
55	"	"	Do				
57	"	"	Do				
59	"	"	Do				
61	"	"	1/12 G. Marshall			15. 00	
63	"	"	1/12 F. Thistle			16. 00	
65	"	"	1/12 F. Thistle			40. 00	
166	Church	"	Quarterly Octo 1/12 J. G. Blackman				
	Lot Lingard Street	"	1/12 G. Marshall			20. 00	
	1/12 G. Marshall	"	Octo 1/12 J. G. Blackman				
	1/12 G. Marshall	"	Octo 1/12 W. Motter			37. 50	
	1/12 G. Marshall	"	Octo 1/12 J. G. Blackman				
12	Wragg St.	1/2	Nov 1/12 J. G. Blackman			22. 50	
	1/2 Lingard St.	"	Nov 1/12 G. Marshall			25. 00	
			Carried over			155. 41	

Chas m
AR papers
Box 33Rent Account book for the Estate of William Aiken, 1894.
ELIZABETH. 43. 1. 2 folio 10.

30	Amount of Rent collected last 6 months	1,554.44
30	Witt Rent Paid out from Kennedy	23.08
30	Witt Rent from Student St from Kennedy	29.00
30	To Commission on \$554.44 Rent collected 5/1	37.72
8	New tiles, new paint & Brush Painter, and Paint to Garage shelves all cleaned at No 1 Green St	13.75
	Paint Tickets for time & material in Repainting & New Paint Garage St	
	After Repaint of Aug 7	116.00
	Repainting Garage 2 & 6 + 12	7.50
10	Repainting Front of Garage	14.75
	Repainting Garage Middle building 16 Station 3 1/2 hours	29.55
20	Repainting exterior brick from No 1	1.50
26	Paint balance of brick front house	
	City Tax for 1877	241.00
27	Paints for No 1. No 14 Green St 1899	
	Paints for Repaint Garage St	36.75
	Glazing Windows No 1899	1.00
8	To Dept. Store - 1899	13.50
	Paints for No 1. No 14 Green St 1899	226.97
	600.00 449.84 1046.49	
	<i>Total for 1899</i>	

There were a number of cemeteries utilized for burials of Charleston's slave population. Some of those used for burial of the Aiken slaves were as follows:

The African Burial Ground, also known as the Field of Rest, Beersheba, and First Presbyterian Colored Cemetery was located at the northeast corner of Reid and Hanover Streets. The land was purchased by the African Society in 1818 but served as a burial ground for a number of groups and churches. Eventually the cemetery was expanded north to all the land along the east side of Hanover between Reid and Amherst Streets, subsuming a Hebrew cemetery located there. Known in the early 20th century as the Beersheba or Bathsheba burial ground it was one of the largest black cemeteries in Charleston. At least some of the land was owned by the Presbyterian church by 1917 and in the 1920s there was a land ownership dispute that resulted in some graves being dug up and thrown into the street. In 2009 archaeologists from Brockington and Associates excavated and relocated 437 graves from a part of this burial ground located at present day 46 Reid Street in preparation for development of the property by the Housing Authority of Charleston.

The Bethel Burial Ground was located first at Pitt and Calhoun Streets where the white and "colored" cemeteries were co-located. The Bethel Burial Ground was located south of the church structure. In 1882, the wooden church was moved to 222 Calhoun Street and became Old Bethel, the church used by the black congregants. A new church was built on the old site for white congregants and it is likely that the old cemeteries lie under the newer church and adjoining parking lot. The land for Old Bethel Church Cemetery, also known as Colored Bethel, was acquired in 1873 and is located at the northeast corner of Cunningham and Skurvin Streets (adjacent to the Brown Fellowship burial ground).

St. John's Colored Cemetery was used as a burial ground for the "colored Roman Catholic population of the City of Charleston and Charleston Neck..." It was in use before 1856 and was located on the south side of Shepherd Street near Coming Street. By 1883 it was being maintained by the St. John's Burial Association and listed as the "colored Catholic cemetery" in city directories. The property was adjacent to the first Immaculate Conception Church and was later encroached upon by St. Peter's Church (demolished 1974) and by the 1960s was impacted by the construction of the Crosstown expressway. Some efforts were made in 2005 -2008 to preserve the remaining burial grounds.

The Trinity (Colored) Burial Ground was in place as early as 1818 when a plat was drawn that referenced the conveyance of land from R. Holloway to trustees of the Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church. These burial grounds were located on the east side of Pitt Street south of Calhoun Street. Between 1865 and 1871 there were at least 68 burials there.

This information is largely contained within:

Chicora Research Series 67. The Silence of the Dead: Giving Charleston Cemeteries A Voice.
Michael Trinkley, Debi Hacker, and Nicole Southerland.