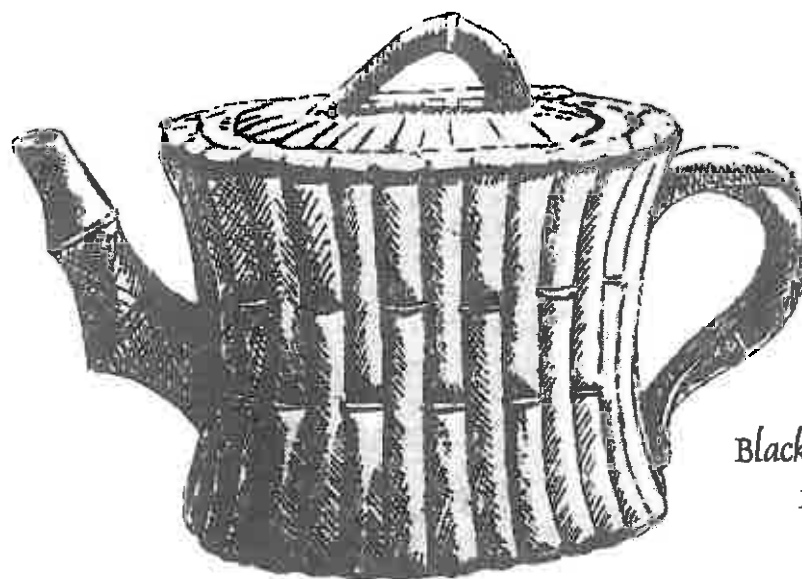


MOUNT PLEASANT'S ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE



Black Basalt Teapot
1750-1820

PROCEEDINGS OF A SYMPOSIUM HELD AT LYNCH HALL, DUNES
WEST, MOUNT PLEASANT, SEPTEMBER 21, 1996

Edited by Amy Thompson McCandless for
The Town of Mount Pleasant

STARVE GUT HALL AT DUNES WEST

Lucy B. Wayne

The property once identified as "Starve Gut Hall" originally extended from Wagner's Creek across State Road 41 to the Wando River. Dunes West currently owns the portion east of State Road 41, bounded by the river on the northwest and Wagner's Creek on the southeast (Figure 1). Three archaeological sites were identified within this peninsula: the prehistoric Wagner Creek site (38CH1399), the prehistoric and postbellum Hopton Cabins site (38CH1398) and the antebellum Starve Gut Hall site (38CH1400). The Wagner Creek site was a thin scatter of ceramics and shell which probably resulted from occasional hunting-gathering expeditions. No extensive excavations were completed at this site.

History

Table 1 provides a history of the ownership of the Starve Gut Hall tract. The property seems to have been initially developed as a brickyard at the Starve Gut Hall site during the Chalmers-Logan ownership of the first half of the 18th century (Chalmers 1742). Charleston merchant and public servant William Hopton continued to operate the brickyard, but he and his heirs only occasionally lived on the property at the main house west of State Road 41 on the Wando River. It is probable that bricks from this plantation were used to construct the Nathaniel Russell house on Meeting Street in Charleston, since Mrs. Russell was Hopton's daughter and co-owner of the property at the time the house was built (Wayne and Dickinson 1996:58-63).

James Gregorie, Jr. inherited the property from Hopton's daughters, one of whom was his stepmother. The brickyard apparently continued to be used during the ownership of Gregorie and his son, although their primary interests seem to have been truck farming and operation of a ferry across the Wando to Cainhoy (Surles 1966:16; Gregorie n.d.). After the plantation was sold to John O'Hear in 1853 (Gregorie 1858), it appears that no one was living on the property. Dr. O'Hear may have continued to operate the brickyard since he was a large-scale brickmaker who also owned and resided on a plantation on the opposite side of the Wando River during this period (O'Hear, personal communication, 1995).

The O'Hear family owned the plantation until the early years of the twentieth century, but still did not reside on this property. Apparently they did allow tenant farmers to settle at the Hopton Cabins location and leased portions of the tract to timber companies. After its sale in 1908, the property was primarily used for timber production until it was acquired by Henrietta Hartford as part of her Wando Plantation estate (Wayne and Dickinson 1996:69). She apparently did not use this peninsula and maintained it as a wildlife refuge. After she sold her estate in 1947, it reverted to timber management (Pignatelli 1947).

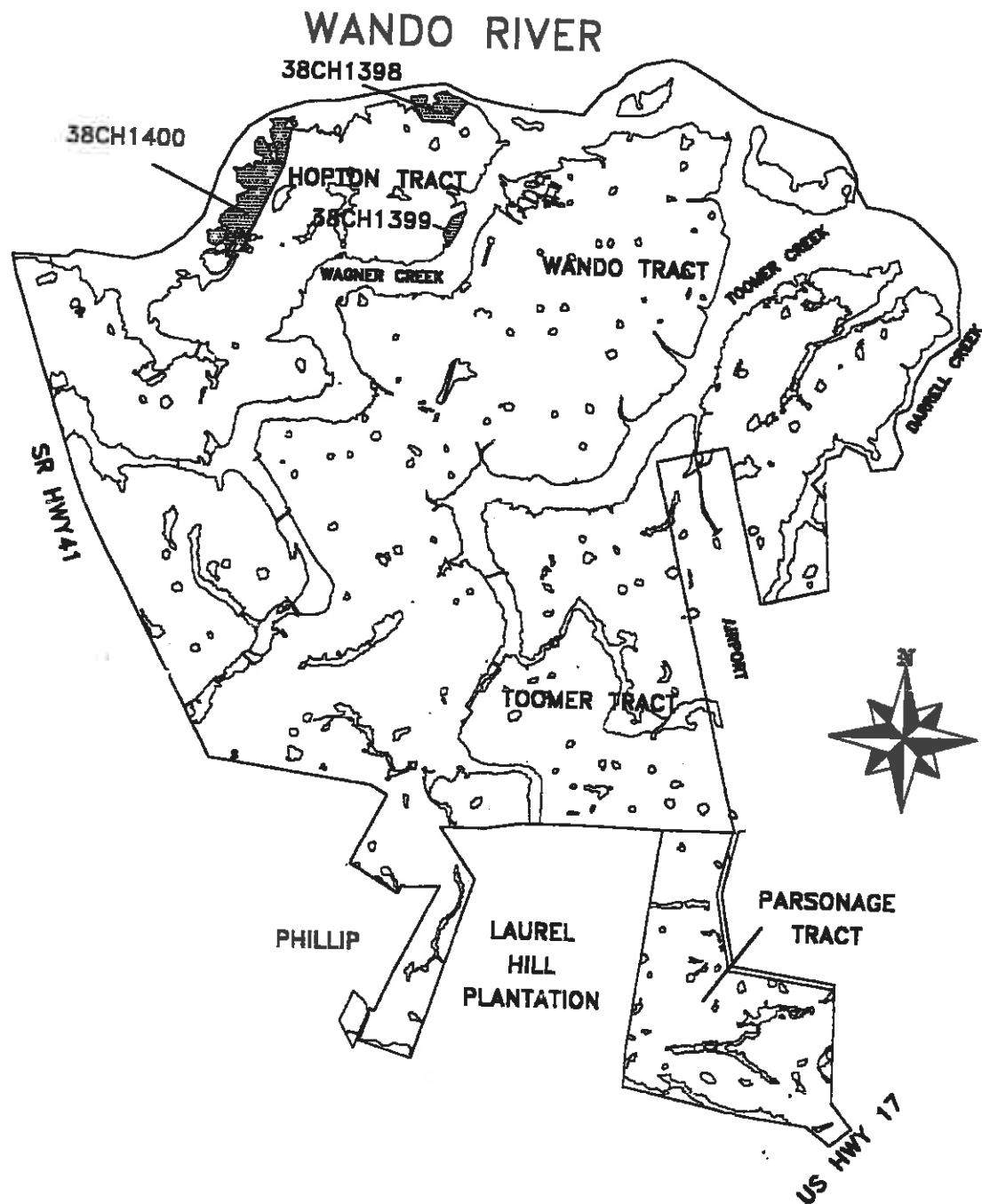


FIGURE 1. LOCATION OF STARVE GUT HALL PLANTATION SITES

SouthArc, Inc.

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Table 1. Chain of Title, Hopton Tract, Dunes West, Charleston County, South Carolina

TRACT 1--620 ac.	
1704	grant to Thomas Cary
1706	Cary to Col. George Logan, Esq.
1719	by will to George Logan, Sr.
1739	George & Martha Logan to Lionel Chalmers
1746	Lionel & Martha Chalmers to George Logan, Sr.
1749	Martha Logan to George Logan, Jr.
1753	George & Elizabeth Logan, Jr. to William Vanderhorst
TRACT II--460 ac.	
1699	grant to Francis Gracia
1708	Francis & Elizabeth Gracia to George Logan, Esq.
1719	by will to Patrick Logan
1726	by will to Helen Logan Daniels
1727	clear title: Helen and Robert Daniels to Thomas Cooper to Martha Logan
1743	mortgaged by Lionel and Martha Logan Chalmers
1747	Lionel and Martha Chalmers to Alexander Peronneau
1757	Alexander and Margaret Peronneau to William Vanderhorst
1759	William & Margaret Vanderhorst to William Hopton
1786	by will to Sarah (widow), Mary Christianna, and Sarah (jr.) Hopton, and children of Alicia Hopton Powell
1792	Nathaniel and Sarah Hopton Russell to James and Mary Christianna Hopton Gregorie
1807	James Gregorie by will to Mary Christianna Hopton Gregorie
1808	indenture by Mary Christianna Gregorie and Nathaniel Russell to Hugh Smith
1808	Mary Christianna Gregorie to James Gregorie II
1853	heirs of James Gregorie II (James Ladson, Ferdinand, and Emily Gregorie, Judith and Nicholas Venning) to Dr. John S. O'Hear
1859	Ferdinand Gregorie to Dr. John S. O'Hear -- balance of acreage (300 ac.)
1876	by death to Anna (widow), John, Mary and James O'Hear
1904	Anna O'Hear's share by will to Mary O'Hear
1905	John O'Hear's share by will to Mary O'Hear
1908	Mary and James O'Hear to William Moultrie Ball
1925	Ball to Brookland Corp. subject to timber lease to Malvern Halsey
1930	Brookland Corp. to Henrietta Hartford subject to Halsey timber lease
1947	Henrietta H. Pignatelli to O. L. Williams Veneer

Hopton Cabins (38CH1398)

The Hopton Cabins site is located on the bluffs on either side of a slough with a small tidal creek and freshwater seep (Figure 2). The majority of the occupation occurred on the higher bluff along the river with less dense material around the slough. The prehistoric component at Hopton Cabins consisted of a scatter of small individual household shell middens along the bluff edge and around the slough. The deposits may represent seasonal intermittent occupation to exploit the abundant resources of the river. Features at the site were limited to shell middens and shell lenses, primarily oyster and marsh periwinkle obtained from the marshes and near shore.

The prehistoric artifact assemblage is dominated by ceramics, primarily McClellanville simple stamped and Mt. Pleasant fabric impressed wares. One Yadkin point, one possible Badin point base and several Caraway triangular points were recovered. Radiocarbon dates indicated a late Woodland to early Mississippian occupation, with the dates ranging from ca. A.D. 1020 to 1345.

Native Americans clearly selected this site based on its proximity to the Wando River with its abundant estuarine resources. This particular location offers a bluff which has reasonably good drainage by comparison to the adjacent flatwoods. The vegetation along the bluff would have been relatively open and there is often a strong breeze which would have mitigated the heat and bugs of summer. Access to the Wando River is relatively easy as the marsh is not very wide along the bluff. In addition, the small slough would have provided marsh resources to supplement those of the river, particularly the marsh periwinkle which seems to have been an important part of the residents' diet. The small seep draining into the marsh would have provided at least a minimum amount of freshwater most of the year. This would be important since the Wando is a tidal and highly saline river at this point.

In addition to the abundant riverine and marsh resources, this location provides ready access to the freshwater wetlands and poorly drained uplands behind the site. These areas still support a large deer population as well as small mammals such as raccoons, squirrels and opossums, and a variety of birds, snakes, lizards and turtles. The flatwoods provide a somewhat limited botanical resource base which would include smilax, blackberries and occasional sources of nutmeats such as acorns and hickory nuts.

The relatively small midden deposits and the wide scatter of prehistoric material indicates a pattern of intermittent occupation of the site, probably throughout most of the Woodland and early Mississippian periods. Perhaps the area was visited seasonally or periodically throughout the year to exploit specific resources such as the periwinkles or oysters. Previous studies have suggested that during the Middle to Late Woodland, interriverine areas were exploited in the fall and winter when deer were plentiful, while the riverine areas would have been exploited in the warmer spring and summer months (Scurry 1989:4, 179, 184; Brooks and Canouts 1984:248). These areas would also have been more comfortable during the warm months due to the breezes from the water. Since this

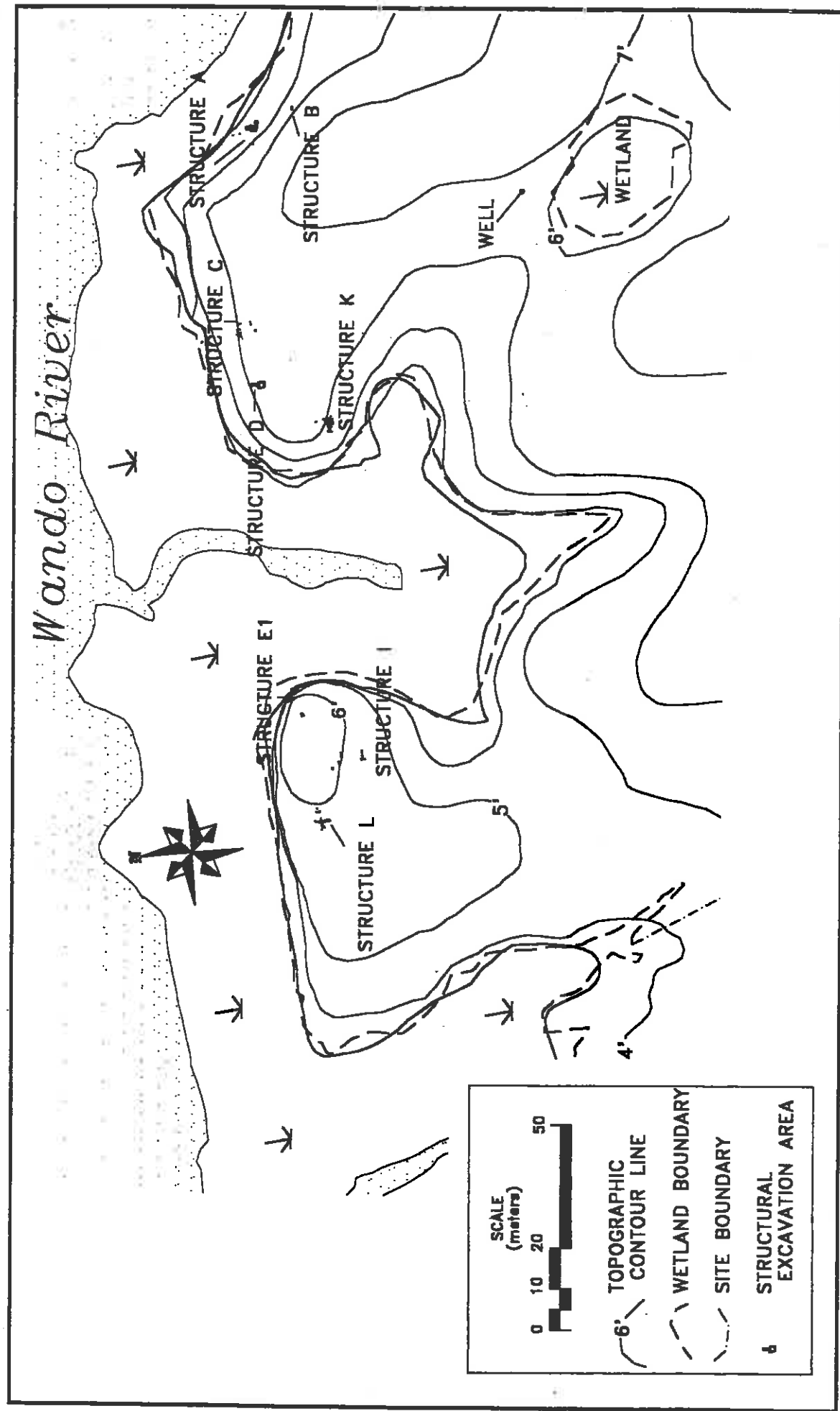


FIGURE 2. MAP OF HOPTON CABINS SITE

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is the first bluff one would encounter after rounding the point from Wagners Creek, perhaps it served as a convenient way-station during the course of travels up and down the river. It would have all the necessary requirements for a brief camp: a reasonable elevation, a modest water source, access to the river and exploitable resources.

Tenant Community

The later historic occupation dates to the late nineteenth century postbellum period. Since the historic record indicates that the owner of the property during that period did not live on the tract, but rather on the north side of the Wando, the archaeologists believe that this site represents a tenant occupation. As the site consists of two clusters of closely placed buildings on each side of the slough, it may represent what Orser (1988:192) identifies as the squad system of tenancy in which family-based groups of farmers live in clusters of dwellings within a plantation. This is a pattern of occupation with a long and widespread history--for example, similar clusters of dwellings occupied by related families occur in the Mayan villages of Central America.

The two clusters at the Hopton Cabins site share certain similarities. In both cases, some structures are more substantial than others, perhaps indicating a status differentiation (initial occupant, senior family member, group leader are all possibilities). In all cases, the structures are basically small buildings, probably frame on brick piers with brick hearths and stick and clay chimneys. Most of the structures were probably a single room or two small rooms, based on their size. The brick in all of the structures was salvaged, probably from the brickyard at the nearby Starve Gut Hall site. The buildings may have been surrounded by swept yards.

The part of the site on the west side of the slough contained evidence of three structures: one definite dwelling (E1), a possible dwelling (I), and a probable outbuilding (L). Structure E1 appeared to be the most substantial and best-constructed of these buildings; it should be noted, however, that the other two structures were badly disturbed by logging and pine planting. The structures seem to be arranged on three sides of a rectangular area. The chimney of E1 and the chimney of I are located towards the outside of the rectangle. This may indicate that the area between the three buildings would have been a primary activity zone. A small brick landing (E2) is located on the bluff edge immediately south of Structure E1; presumably this facilitated access to the slough and its tidal creek. Erosion may have removed part of this structure.

Structure E1 was probably a 12 x 18 feet frame house on piers with a clay and stick chimney. Trash middens were located to the north and northwest of the building. Structure I was another frame building on brick piers approximately 26 feet long; it may have had two rooms. Structure L was a small 8 x 10 feet building on brick piers with a trash midden to the south. Since it lacked a chimney, it was presumably an outbuilding.

The east side of the slough had a more extensive occupation consisting of five identifiable structures or activity areas and a well. These structures were distributed along the bluff in two clusters (C, D and K; A and B). Structure D seems to have been the largest and most substantial

structure on either side of the slough. It was 20 x 24 feet on brick piers with a brick foundation wall on the east end; there may also have been a porch resting on posts at this end. The brick hearth seems to have had a clay and stick chimney. There is evidence that this structure may have had a fenced area to the west. Structures C and K were small, probably single-room cabins with limited hearths and clay/stick chimneys. C seems to have been about 10 x 16 feet in size with the hearth on the long wall. Structure A was more substantial than C or K but less than D; it appeared to have had a stove on the hearth at some point in time, but it does not seem to have been as large or well-built as D. The area identified as Structure B seems to have been an outbuilding for Structure A. The brick-lined well is set further back from the bluff, perhaps in an attempt to get better water. This well also seems to have played a role in the social life of the community, perhaps as a central gathering place under the shade of the nearby large oaks.

The relatively low artifact density between the structures at this site may be evidence of the swept yard pattern typical of rural southern occupations (Westmacott 1992:79-80). The other pattern of artifact deposition apparent at this site is casual discard along the bluff edge. In some cases, this discard pattern may have facilitated small boat access to the slough and river by forming a comparatively solid surface.

The historic occupation seems to date to the period between the end of the Civil War and the beginning of the twentieth century. The site may have been abandoned either due to the low agricultural productivity of this part of the property, or a change in the owner's land use patterns, perhaps to increased utilization of the land for logging. The other possibility is that when the property was sold by the O'Hears in 1908, the tenants were evicted.

The artifact assemblage speaks clearly of domestic occupation during the late nineteenth century. The Mean Ceramic Date, datable bottles, celluloid, rubber and composite buttons, and a single coin all date to the period between the late 1870s and the first decade of the twentieth century. Based on these materials and the sale of the property in 1908, we would date the occupation to the period between the mid-1870s to 1908.

The abundance of bottle glass and tin can fragments indicates a pattern of extensive use of purchased foods, which is somewhat surprising given the abundant natural resources and the general poverty of southern tenant farmers in the postbellum period. Another consumption pattern which was reflected in the assemblage is that of alcohol and tobacco. Both categories were well-represented by tobacco pipes and liquor bottles. There also appeared to be a pattern of consumption of these items at the brick-lined well, a possible social center for the site. The proliferation of patent medicine bottles on the site may indicate two patterns: (1) use of patent medicines for their high alcohol content, and (2) reliance on readily available patent medicines for health care rather than perhaps less-accessible doctors.

The lack of wealth of the occupants is reflected in the dominance of whitewares/ironstones, yellowwares and stonewares in the ceramic assemblage. The only recovered porcelains are fairly thick, plain, less expensive varieties. Few of the ceramics appear to be types considered to be

expensive (such as gilded china or transfer printed wares). The hand-painted whiteware which was found throughout the site is very similar to inexpensive wares which can be found in discount stores today. Occurrence of the same ceramic patterns in all areas of the site indicates purchase at a common source of a common and inexpensive item, joint purchase of sets, or sharing of possessions and/or food between the occupants of the site.

The presence of stoves in at least some of the houses indicates a certain amount of at least occasional financial success for the inhabitants. At the same time, all of the structures contained fireplaces and there was evidence in the form of chimney cranes and cast-iron pots of the more traditional open-hearth cooking.

At least some of the site's occupants were probably literate, based on recovery of a slate pencil and a pen part. There were also several children, probably both male and female. Women were represented by decorative buttons, a few inexpensive jewelry items and traditional female tools such as a flat iron and thimble. Men's activities were defined by the limited presence of arms, fishing gear, a variety of tools and wagon parts.

One final pattern may be reflected in the historic assemblage. Four items recovered on site may be an indication of the practice of magic or healing. A blue-green bottle found upside down at the face of Structure C's hearth may be a *minkisi* or sacred item placed to protect the house (Samford 1994; Stine and Cabak 1994). A small *mano* and *metate* recovered from the well may have been used to prepare herbs and powders for both healing and magic. The fourth item, a quartz crystal, may also have been used for magic purposes. Structure C also had a relatively high number of pharmaceutical bottles, perhaps hinting that this was the residence of the "root doctor."

At Hopton Cabins, the tenant site location and activities are close to the pattern of the Native American occupation. In many ways, the reasons for the location of this settlement may be very similar to the reasons for its occupation during the prehistoric period: relative elevation, reasonable drainage, easy access to the river and the freshwater seep. Although this site had a well, when it was initially settled an alternative water source would have been needed. The seep may have been that source.

Not only has the same location been chosen, but the occupation pattern is very similar, with the houses concentrated on the relatively high bluffs and little evidence of occupation away from the bluff. The lifeways may also have been similar. The Native Americans were practicing a subsistence pattern based on hunting and gathering of the abundant natural resources of this site. The postbellum tenant farmers, who were probably living in relative poverty in terms of financial resources, would also have relied heavily on the available natural resources supplemented by farm plots and purchased goods. Westmacott (1992:95-96) also suggests that poorer farmers have a higher concern for the sustainability of the land and the productivity of its resources due to their dependence on these resources. He ties this directly to African religious beliefs concerning the relationship of man and nature. In effect, this would be much closer to Native American land use practices and beliefs.

In terms of internal location patterns, proximity to the river seems to have been important to the tenants at this site. All of the houses are located along the bluff, and both sides of the slough have evidence of establishment of deliberate access to the water. On the west side of the slough, there is the small brick surface designated E2, and on the east side trash middens seem to have been dumped directly on the shore, perhaps to provide a hard surface for boat landings. Maps from this period do not show the road continuing as far as this site, so the river may have been the only real transportation means available to the tenants. In addition, the bluff along the river provides the highest elevation and best drainage, as well as the best access to the prevailing breezes.

Starvegut Hall

The Starve Gut Hall site (38CH1400) is located directly across the Wando River from O'Hare (O'Hear) Point and Cainhoy. The site corresponds to the "Settlement" shown on the 1783 map of the property (Purcell 1783) and the "Brick Yard" on the 1819 map (Wilson 1810). The site remains are on a series of small peninsulas stretching for approximately 650 meters along the river. The peninsula furthest to the southwest is comprised primarily of a series of clay pits which extend to the southeast behind the site's structural remains. The next peninsula to the north contains the remains of the brickyard itself. The remaining peninsulas to the north and east contain foundations associated with the overseer and slave laborers (Figure 3).

Archaeological excavations at this site identified three groups of remains: (1) the brickyard, (2) an overseer's complex of five buildings, and (3) a series of outlying slave quarters scatter along the peninsulas to the northeast. With one exception, all of the buildings appeared to have been occupied at the same time; the furthest slave cabin seems to have continued to be used after the rest of the site was abandoned (Wayne and Dickinson 1996).

The Brickyard

Although the kiln remains were not excavated at this site, a topographic map demonstrated that they were certainly large enough to allow for the "double-brick kilns" described by Hopton (1783b). The 1810 map (Wilson 1810) shows two structures in this area, either two kilns or a kiln and drying shed. The shoreline adjacent to the kiln remains is extensively filled with waster bricks and the point of the peninsula has been modified by this fill to provide a landing for the brickyard. It is also easy to land anywhere along the shore of the peninsula, since there is little or no marsh between the upland and the river. A series of berms across the marshes once connected this peninsula to the claypits to the south and southeast. These claypits are distinguishable by their relatively straight sides with little slope and a frequently rectangular shape. At the present time, most of them are two to three feet deep and seasonally water-filled.

One structure was identified next to the southeastern berm on the peninsula containing the brickyard. No artifacts were recovered in the area around the foundation, although a few came from the excavations of the building itself. This building was approximately 10 feet square and had

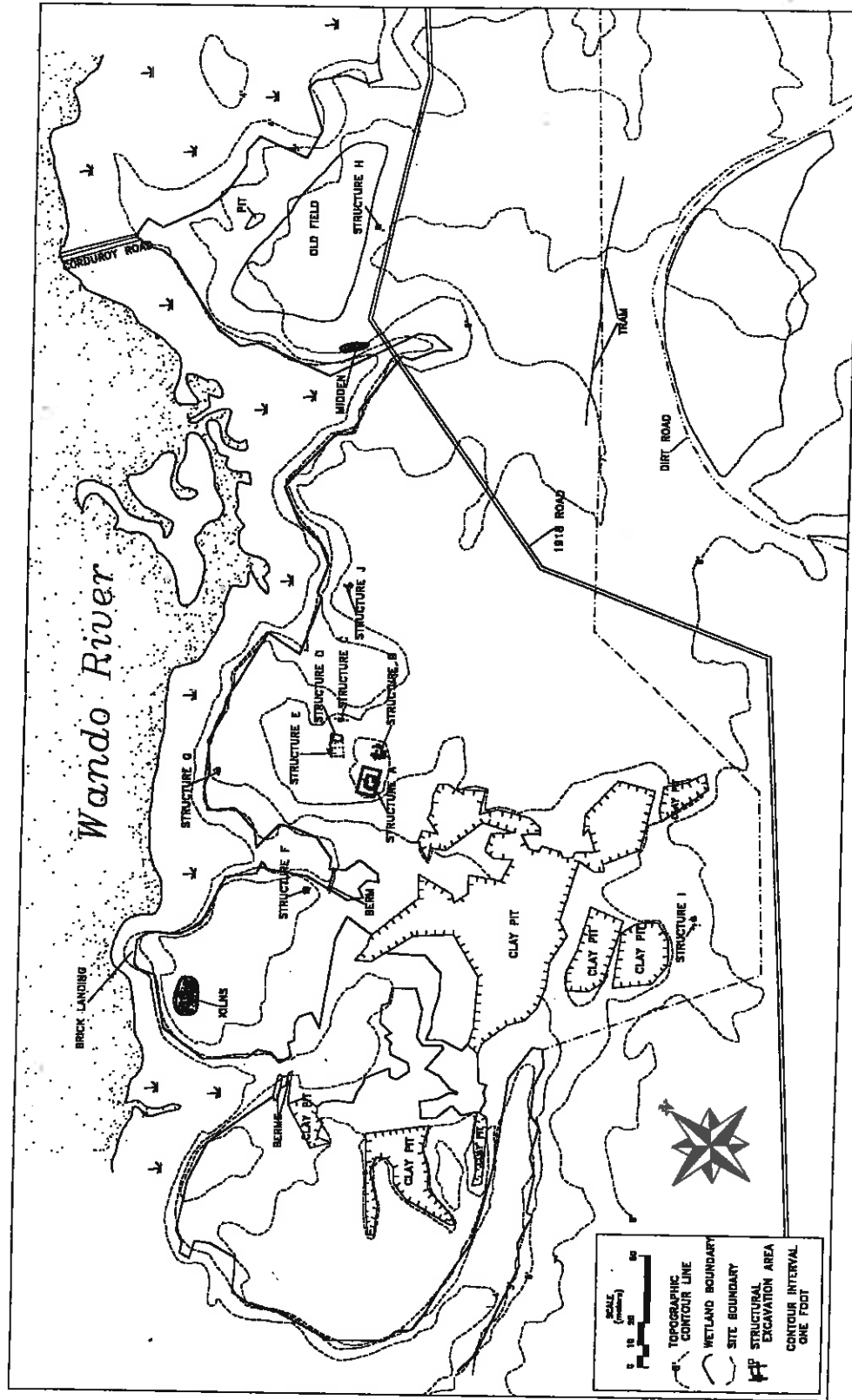


FIGURE 3. MAP OF STARVE GUT HALL SITE

foundation walls three-brick wythe¹. No evidence of an entry was present in the extant foundation. There appears to have been a laid brick floor within the structure. No nails were recovered from any of the excavation units. Along with the lack of artifacts, this may suggest that the building was an open platform with wood stairs. If it was a platform, it seems likely it would have been roofed, given the hot summers of South Carolina. A roof, however, could be constructed on corner posts with thatching and thus, no nails.

The function of this structure remains somewhat of a mystery. Perhaps, based on the few artifacts recovered (colonoware pottery, bottle glass, cast-iron pot fragments and tobacco pipes), it served as a shelter and eating area for the workers tending the kilns during firing. It is far enough from the kilns to avoid the heat and smoke which would be generated, but close enough to provide easy access. Alternatively, it may have provided a supervisory station for the overseer. Again, it is close enough to the kilns to provide access and it is also about midway between the kilns and the overseer's house. It is also adjacent to the causeway across the marsh.

The Overseer's Complex

The overseer's complex consisted of a group of five buildings loosely arranged in two rows (Figure 4). They were identified as: (1) the overseer's house--Structure A, (2) a possible office--Structure B, (3) a slave cabin--Structure C, (4) a storage building--Structure D, and (5) a kitchen--Structure E. Although the buildings all generally dated to the late eighteenth century based on the artifacts recovered, variations in the construction, alterations to the buildings and the general layout indicated that they were probably not all built at the same time. The space between the buildings may have had a road leading to the brickyard or simply an open yard area which was probably maintained as a swept yard based on the small volume of artifacts recovered in this area. There was also evidence of a fence row behind Structures C, D and E, possibly indicating an animal pen or garden area. Structures A and B are located on the highest ground on the peninsula, perhaps befitting the status of the overseer. These two buildings appear to have been connected by a covered walkway, with a foundation planting area along the walkway side of Structure A. The kitchen (E) and storehouse (D) may also have been connected by a walkway at one time.

The overseer's house, appears to follow the raised house pattern typical of the Charleston area (cf. Dean Hall in Baldwin *et al.* 1985:62). It consisted of a substantial well-built brick lower story 22-feet square with a 12-foot wide piazza delineated on three sides by a continuous brick foundation. The house foundation probably supported a frame upper level which may have extended out to the limits of the piazza walls based on the very substantial size of the three-wythe piazza walls which rested on a five-wythe footer. The lower four-wythe brick walls of the house could certainly support a 1-1/2 to two-story frame structure with ease. There was a single entry into the existing lower story, which was once flanked by two windows. At some point the lower story was modified by closure

¹ A wythe is a single-brick thick wall.

STARVEGUT HALL OVERSEER COMPLEX

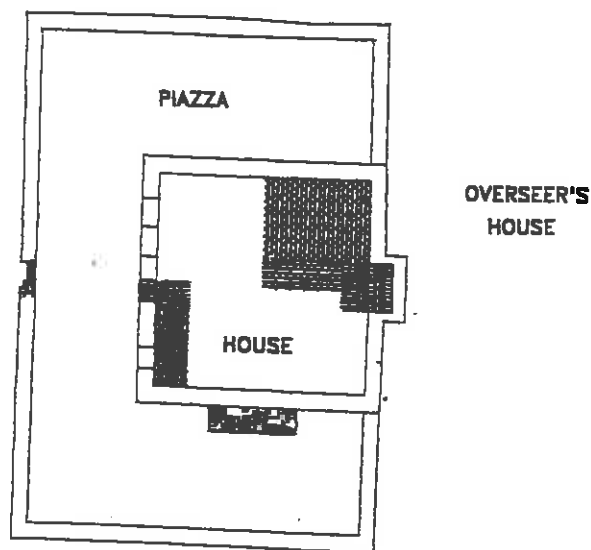
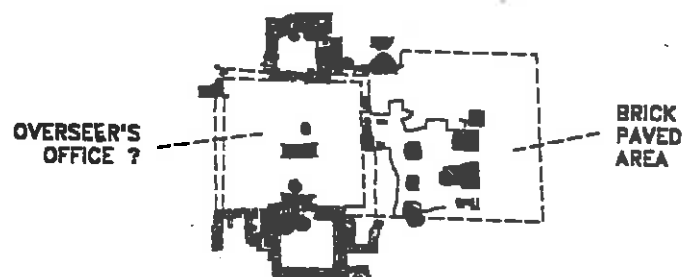
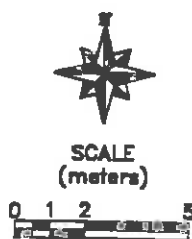
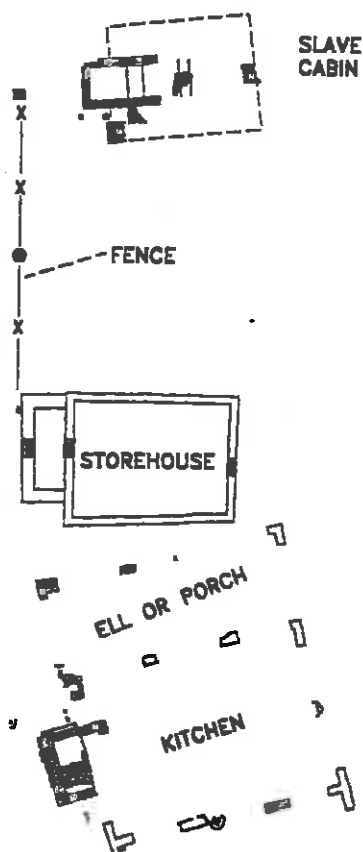


FIGURE 4. OVERSEER'S AREA AT STARVEGUT HALL SITE

of these windows and the addition of a dry-laid brick floor and a hearth. Support for a second chimney and hearth which served the upper levels is located on the southwest wall of the existing foundation. There would have been at least one hearth in the upper level of the house, perhaps two if it was a two-story house. It should be noted that there was no apparent access from the lower brick story to the probable upper floors; however, this is not unusual in raised foundation houses.

The Mean Ceramic Date calculated from the artifacts recovered from Structure A is 1784 to 1791, approximately 20 to 30 years later than that of the other buildings in this complex. The presence of artifacts in the builders' trenches and below construction rubble confirm that the building post-dates initial occupation of the site, or was modified at a later date. These dates should be used carefully, however, since the difference in dates between Structure A and the other buildings in this complex may also be a factor of the higher status of the overseer. All of the dates remain within the period during which the Hoptons owned this plantation.

The artifact assemblage of Structure A was dominated by architectural items (50 percent), with the kitchen group providing the majority of the balance at 37 percent. The artifacts are consistent with a domestic occupation of a somewhat higher status than that of the slaves. Although colonoware is present, this structure also contained the majority of the higher status pearlware and whiteware, as well as a number of pieces of white salt-glazed stoneware and Oriental Export porcelain. Other artifacts include a 1795 half-penny, tobacco pipes, buttons, bottle glass, a gunflint flake, a faceted glass bead and a wire-wound glass bead.

Structure B was a rather puzzling building which seems to have been a small (15 x 24 feet) frame structure on a brick foundation or piers. Although neither of the larger square brick foundations in this structure is very convincing as a hearth, it is possible that one of them served that function. Neither contained an apparent hearth surface or evidence of burning, but both have one slightly narrower wall, although on the southwest foundation this wall is on the exterior of the structure. The presence of postholes inside these features adds to the uncertainty of their function, as do the flanking brick areas on the southwest structure which might be interpreted as the base of stairs leading up to the main foundation. In addition, neither structure projects into the building interior as would be expected with a hearth. In addition, the extensive midden adjacent to the southwest feature implies an exit or exterior area of the building. There were evidently foundation walls or piers connecting the two brick squares, although these have been severely impacted by the large trees located along both sides of this structure.

An extensive paved area adjacent to this structure consisting of dry-laid half-bricks probably served multiple purposes, including a possible stable area for the overseer's horse. Two on-edge bricks on the east side of the structure seem to indicate a door providing access to the paved work area. This area apparently had a roof supported by a series of closely spaced posts. Wear patterns on the brick surface indicate that the heaviest activity occurred on the side furthest from the structure.

In terms of artifacts, Structure B produced one of the largest assemblages on site and one of the most diverse. Although colonoware was abundant, the structure also yielded fine thin overglaze painted and gilded Oriental Export porcelain, creamware, thin agate redware, delft, slipwares, stonewares, and a large quantity of creamware. These ceramics produced a Mean Ceramic Date of 1769. In addition to the ceramics and a variety of bottle glass, the structure yielded a piece of crystal stemware, a brass musket butt, a number of gunflints, shot and lead sprue², a wrench, two chisels, building hardware, an iron ball gate weight, a copper bucket or pot handle, a stirrup, three beads, a possible locket or brooch, a possible jewelry or watch frame piece, three buckles, several brass buttons, lamp glass, several utensil handles and a pewter or plated spoon, and a number of tobacco pipe stems and bowls. Kitchen items represented 44 percent of the assemblage and architectural items constituted 28 percent.

Based on the artifact assemblage, which seems to indicate a relatively high status occupation, as well as the presence of numerous arms items and the location of this structure, this building seems to be associated with the overseer rather than the slaves. Its small size, similarity in orientation and possible connection by a walkway to Structure A may indicate that this was the overseer's office. It certainly seems to have been a high activity area with a number of functions. There is some indication that it may have been altered or partially rebuilt, based on a group of postholes, piers and a trench adjacent to the northeast square, as well as the differences in the construction of the major brick features. The archaeologists also speculated that this may have been an earlier dwelling for the overseer or a home for a house slave or driver. If this is the case, one of the brick foundations probably was a hearth; the smaller one on the northeast seems more likely. If it was the overseer's first dwelling, it probably continued to be used for other activities after the larger house (Structure A) was built.

Structure C was apparently a small single-room slave cabin 10 x 13 feet in size with a clay floor. We assumed, due to the lack of brick or foundations, that the house was frame, although the relatively low volume of nails may indicate a log cabin. The front area of the elongated 4 x 7 foot brick hearth was used as a hard-packed clay working surface by the cook. At some point during its occupation, this space was further delineated by bricks which extended from the hearth walls. The relatively small quantity of brick associated with this structure argues for the presence of a clay and stick chimney with a brick foundation. Since fragments of possible window glass were recovered from the units at this structure, it may have had glassed windows, although this seems unusual considering its size and otherwise crude construction.

Kitchen items dominated the assemblage at this structure at over 68 percent of the material. Architecture was the next largest group at 17 percent. Other than the usual ceramics, nails and bottle glass, Structure C yielded a rather limited range of artifacts. This did include a partial pair of scissors and a piece of chain; the chain could be related to later logging in this area. The Mean

² Sprue is lead left from making shot or bullets.

Ceramic Date calculated for this structure was 1772, with colonoware and delft representing the largest numbers of ceramics.

Structure D was a clay-floored structure with a continuous brick foundation 12 x 16 feet in size with a porch on the northwest end. It seems to be one of the original structures on the site. It was apparently closely associated with the adjacent kitchen, Structure E. Based on the lack of a hearth and the clay floor, this structure was regarded as a probable storehouse. The relatively low artifact density on the interior may indicate that storage was in bags or barrels, with few artifacts present. The building was probably frame resting on the brick foundation. The thick clay floor, which causes the side walls to lean out, may have been resurfaced at least once. Based on the structure's plan, it probably had a gable roof with the peak on the long axis of the building. The porch at the northwest end could have been a later addition, based on the difference in the wall construction and its offset position. The offset may also indicate that the porch was accessed by steps on the side adjacent to the kitchen. The trash midden and postholes between Structures D and E indicate a heavy activity area which may have had fences, gates, or posts for clotheslines or other functions. The small size of the midden artifacts indicate heavy traffic in this area.

The kitchen, Structure E, was probably a 16 x 24 feet frame building raised on brick piers. Based on the height of the extant hearth and chimney foundation, the house was probably raised two or three feet above ground, not an unusual pattern in this region (cf. Pinckney House at nearby Snee Farm). The extensive brick rubble, the size of the chimney/hearth foundation and the mortar on the exterior of much of the brick indicates a brick chimney which may have been stuccoed. Examination of the hearth showed that it had been rebuilt and enlarged at one point. The piers associated with the second hearth are larger and a 9-foot ell and/or porch was added on either long side of the building. This brought the southwest corner of the building almost into contact with the adjacent storehouse corner. The extant remains indicate a structure which probably had a gable roof with the chimney at one end and with an ell or porch on either side. Although there is no central row of piers in this building, the substantial size of the rectangular side and T and L-shaped corner piers would certainly support large structural members which the builders may have felt did not require central support.

In terms of function, the structure clearly seems to have been a kitchen, based on the substantial hearth and the abundance of kitchen-related artifacts. Fifty-four percent of the artifacts from this structure were classified as kitchen category, with 48 percent of these ceramics. The units also yielded a fairly high percentage of animal bone and shell. Other artifacts from these units could typically be found in a kitchen, including buttons, a bead, a jewelry setting, a thimble, gunflints and numerous tobacco pipe stems and bowls. A small triangular file and a small hoe blade found next to a pier were the only identified tools, although one possible tool handle was also recovered. Since the tools were found in the trench units along the boundaries of the building, they were probably stored under the structure or carried under it at some point. The final argument in favor of a kitchen is the evidence of rebuilding. Kitchen buildings often burned and had to be rebuilt. Perhaps at the time it was rebuilt the activity level and population at this site had increased, requiring a larger kitchen.

Outlying Slave Cabins

Four slave cabins were identified outside of the overseer's complex. Cabins G and I were single-pen cabins while H and J were double-pen. Each structure was different in size and construction and there was no particular pattern in the location of these cabins. This may indicate relatively unregimented management of the slaves as far as use of their personal space was concerned. As one visitor to the South observed, when slaves were given the opportunity to build their own houses "they wanted their cabins in some secluded place, down in the hollow, or amid the trees, with only a path to their abode" (Vlach 1993:14). This could also result in a row of similar structures, enforced by the owner, but arranged at irregular angles by the slave builders (Vlach 1993:14). Although an 1810 map of this area suggests a row of slave quarters beyond the brickyard (Wilson 1810), the archaeology indicates that the reality was a more casual use of space.

Structure G appears to have been a small slave cabin perhaps only 11 or 12 feet square. There is a possibility, given the elongated shape of the hearth, that the structure was similar to the nearby Boone Hall slave cabins which have the hearth on the long wall and are 11 x 30 feet in size. Based on the relative lack of brick in the vicinity of this structure, it probably had a clay and stick chimney. The low number of nails recovered from the units (n=22) argues that the cabin was probably log. The excavations indicate that it had a clay floor with possible rudimentary brick and clay piers to support the sleeper portion of the walls.

Structure G yielded relatively few artifacts. The majority of the recovered material was categorized as kitchen related (67 percent); 49 of the 58 ceramics in this category were colonoware. Other ceramics included slipware, Westerwald stoneware, salt glazed stoneware and three pieces of Oriental Export ware. Other artifacts included bottle glass, a cast iron pot fragment, tobacco pipe stems and bowls, one possible piece of lamp glass, one piece of lead, a possible tool blade and unidentified metal hardware. One lithic flake, probably prehistoric in origin, was also recovered. Due to the dominance of the colonoware, the Mean Ceramic Date for this structure was calculated as 1774.

Structure J was a double-pen slave cabin approximately 13 x 26 feet in size based on the location of possible dripline/sleeper features. As mentioned in the discussion of Structure C, although a 13 foot square cabin is small, it is within the range identified at eighteenth century South Carolina sites (Ferguson 1992:73). Like Structure G, this cabin had wide, shallow hearths of very basic construction, although the side walls of this double hearth were more substantial than those at G. Based on the paucity of nails (n=25), this cabin, like C and G, was probably a log structure with a dirt floor. The area in front of the hearths was evidently brick-covered, perhaps to expand the cooking space.

This structure also yielded relatively few artifacts (n=155), the majority of which were colonoware (n=71). A single Oriental Export porcelain bowl and single sherds of delft, redware, earthenware, Jackfield ware, and creamware were recovered. These wares yield a Mean Ceramic

Date of 1778. Surprisingly only a single tobacco pipestem was found; not only are these artifacts common in other areas of this site, they are usually prolific in slave cabins. The structure was interesting in terms of items in the activities category. These items included a flat iron, padlock, spout and several pieces of hardware which appeared to be horse tack or harness parts. Perhaps the slaves residing in this cabin had responsibility for livestock at this complex. The flat iron, a buckle and several buttons may indicate the presence of a seamstress or laundress.

Structure H was the furthest away from the overseer's compound, located on a peninsula to the northeast and across a small marsh slough from the area containing Structure J (Figure 3). It is located adjacent to the old road which used to provide access to this peninsula (USGS 1918). Traces of the road bed are located between H and an historic shell midden at the marsh edge. This road continues as a berm across the marsh running to the south. A small pit, perhaps used for road fill, is located west of H and beyond that remnants of a corduroy road extend across the marsh at the point of this peninsula. The corduroy road may be related to late nineteenth century logging on this property, since a logging tramway rail head was located on the north side of the Wando River almost directly opposite the corduroy road. Logs may have been hauled out to the river at this point and rafted across to the tram. An old field was also located in this area to the northwest of the structure.

Structure H was a double-pen cabin, perhaps frame, since abundant nails were recovered from the excavation units. Many of these nails were cut rather than wrought, perhaps indicating that the cabin was later in date than other buildings at this site. Alternatively, it could indicate rebuilding or repair of an existing structure. The abundance of brick surrounding the hearth may indicate a brick chimney rather than the clay and stick chimneys which seemed to be the norm for the other cabins. The front part of each hearth, approximately one foot, seems to have been added on to the major portion of the foundation. The soil stratigraphy indicates that the structure may have once had a dirt/clay floor with a hearth at floor surface. This lens contains very black soil and numerous burned nails and melted glass, indicating that the structure may have burned. Based on the hearth construction and the soil stratigraphy, the building probably burned and was rebuilt; the rebuild apparently included alteration of the hearth and installation of a raised wood floor. It is possible that the original structure was a log cabin with a dirt floor similar to C, G and J. •

Piers located on the southwest side of the hearth indicate that the structure was probably about 11 feet wide. Features identified opposite the hearths seem to indicate that the outer limits of the structure form a building about 18 feet long. Although this is again a small structure, it should be noted that of 20 South Carolina slave cabin rooms shown in Ferguson's room dimensions table, 9 are less than 12 feet wide; several of these appear to be less than 12 feet long as well (Ferguson 1992:73).

The artifact assemblage also indicates that this cabin was unlike the others on the site. It apparently had at least some glassed windows, based on the flat glass recovered. Portions of a door lock were found, suggesting that the cabin or something in it could be locked. The kitchen assemblage (47 percent of the artifacts) was also different at this cabin. Bottle glass was the largest category in this group. This included amethyst glass and South Carolina Dispensary bottle glass,

indicating that the cabin may have been occupied at least occasionally into the late nineteenth century. Ceramics included the usual large quantity of colonoware (n=189 of 300 ceramics), but pearlwares and creamware comprised the balance of the ceramics. It should be noted that the ware classified as creamware was a relatively light cream color with a fairly hard paste. It is possible that this is a later ware than the creamware found at the other structures on site. Assuming the usual creamware median date, the Mean Ceramic Date for this structure was 1788, slightly later than the other cabins. We were inclined, however, based on the increase in cut nails and pearlwares, to believe that this cabin may date to the early nineteenth century when the O'Hears owned this property. Perhaps O'Hear had only a few slaves actually living at this site and brought most of his labor across the river from his home plantation. Further evidence for later use of this area is visible in the form of furrows in the woods to the north and south of the cabin remains.

The later bottle glass such as the South Carolina Dispensary glass may be a function of this structure's location next to the old road and near the corduroy road. Perhaps the remains of this cabin, even if it was just the brick hearth, provided a convenient place for travellers on the road or loggers working in the area to stop and drink. All of this more recent glass was recovered from the upper two levels of the structure; the lower levels contained the older olive/"black" glass and portions of a case gin bottle.

Structure I is a somewhat isolated brickfall located in the claypit area southeast of the overseer's compound (Figure 3). Although separated from the other structures at this site, the cabin is closer to the old access road shown on the 1918 map of this area (USGS 1918) than the overseer's compound and other slave structures (except H). This structure was identified as a single hearth in a very poorly drained part of the site dominated by sweetgums, cabbage palms and yaupon holly. Almost no cultural material was recovered from test units surrounding this cabin.

Structure I appears to have been small, possibly 10 x 16 feet in size, but still larger than the postulated sizes of C, G and J. The substantial hearth foundation may indicate a brick chimney, although no evidence of a chimney fall was found. Based on the hearth construction, the house probably had a wood floor resting on the front wall of the hearth and low piers, perhaps consisting of a single course of brick. The relative lack of nails at this structure does seem to indicate that like the other cabins, Structure I may have been constructed of logs. Alternatively, the location of most of the excavation units adjacent to the hearth and within the interior of the cabin may simply have failed to recover nails from the walls. The size, probable wood floor and substantial hearth indicate a possible status difference between the occupants of this cabin and those of Structures C, G and J. This difference might also be supported by Structure I's location in a different, somewhat isolated part of the site, closer to the old road.

In general the artifact assemblage from Structure I was similar to that from Structures C, G and J. Fifty-seven percent of the assemblage was kitchen related and 18 percent was architectural. The dominant ceramic was colonoware, with slipwares providing the next largest group. Two fragments of a North Devon sgraffito vessel were unique to this structure. The ceramic assemblage was consistent with that of the other slave cabins, in that it was dominated by the cheaper, utilitarian

wares. The Mean Ceramic Date was 1764, the earliest of any of the structures; this is probably due to the lack of pearlwares or whitewares in the assemblage for this building.

The excavations did yield some artifacts which further hint at a different status for the occupants. Unlike the other structures identified as slave cabins, Structure I contained a gunflint, as well as a piece of lead sprue. A bone-handled pocket knife was also found adjacent to the hearth. The most interesting artifact, however, was a "black" glass bottle seal marked "B. Hug. . .", probably Benjamin Huger. The Hugers were prominent Georgetown planters and Charleston merchants in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; Benjamin was a family name carried through several generations (Zierden, personal communication, 1996). A researcher working on one of the earlier Georgetown Huger properties thinks that the late eighteenth century Benjamin Huger was a Revolutionary War hero (Schlasko, personal communication, 1996). If so, he may have been active in the Wando Neck and visited the property at that time. William Hopton undoubtedly knew the Hugers and members of this family may have visited his Wando plantation. Zierden (personal communication, 1996) says that bottle seals are relatively rare on Charleston-area sites and may represent gift bottles. Noël Hume (1969:61) says personal seals date from the mid-seventeenth century into the early nineteenth century, while Oliver (1977:126) says these seals were used by tavern keepers and merchants. We have no explanation as to why this seal was found in what appears to have been a slave cabin located almost two miles from the main house of this plantation. Perhaps one of the overseers on this property was a Huger or a relative of the Hugers, or perhaps the bottle was purchased from a Huger who was a Charleston merchant.

The difference in construction, isolation and the unusual artifacts recovered at Structure I may indicate that this was the home of a slave driver or craftsman. It should be noted that the apparent isolation of this cabin from the other structures on the site could be deceptive. Although today it is surrounded by claypits, it is possible that the area once contained other cabins which were moved or abandoned as the search for brick clay expanded.

Summary

The structures and artifacts from the Starvegut Hall site strongly reflect a mid- to late-eighteenth century occupation. The presence of this complex of buildings in proximity to the brickyard and almost two miles from the owner's residence and main slave row stresses the important role of brickmaking to the economy of this plantation. This settlement and the lands surrounding the brickyard were the only cleared areas shown on the 1783 map of this peninsula (Purcell 1783). It is likely that much of the clearing was done to excavate clay and cut wood to feed the brickyard. Based on the acreage of the claypits and the placement of the overseer's complex and slave cabins in proximity to the brickyard, this must have been an extensive occupation critical to the economy of the plantation.

This brickyard may date as early as the Chalmers period of ownership in the 1740s, since Chalmers described the property as suitable for brickworks (Chalmers 1742). William Hopton was certainly operating a brickyard here which included double-kilns, an overseer's house, a brick store

and slave cabins (Hopton 1783). During James Gregorie's early nineteenth century ownership of the property, a plat map continues to show two structures at the brickyard and a row of structures to the northeast, indicating that the brickyard was still active at that time (Wilson 1810).

The archival record indicates that there is a strong possibility that the site was essentially abandoned after the O'Hears acquired the property in 1853. Although O'Hear may have continued to operate a brickyard at this location, his slaves and overseer probably lived on his home plantation on the north side of the Wando. There is some evidence in the archaeological record of continued occupation of Structure H during this period, indicating that O'Hear may have left one or two slave families in residence, perhaps functioning as caretakers, or stockkeepers, if he was using this property for livestock. Thus occupation in most of the site reflects a 100-year period dating from approximately 1740 to 1853.

One very interesting aspect of this site is the apparent informality of the building arrangement. Although the 1810 map shows a line of structures in an area which may correspond to Structures G and J, there is no formal building arrangement such as that shown for the owner's house and slave row to the southwest (Wilson 1810). There is some linearity of arrangement within the overseer's compound, but neither the structures (with the exception of the somewhat later overseer's house) or the building placement reflect the symmetry frequently seen on plantation sites. This may be a function of several factors. First, the owners of this property were generally absentee owners, residing in Charleston or on other properties. When at the Wando plantation, they would have been at the main house and may have spent little or no time at the brickyard. Thus careful arrangement of the buildings in this area may not have been a concern. Second, this was primarily an industrial area inhabited by the workers and their supervisor. Since it would only have been seen by visitors to the brickyard (buyers and shippers) and would have been a strictly functional area, site pattern would be tied to these functions rather than some aesthetic ideal. Third, since this area was inhabited primarily by the slaves and built by them, this may be a case where the slaves' preferences in terms of siting may have dominated (Vlach 1993:14). And finally, the apparent lack of order may be a result of post-abandonment changes and obliteration of the original site features, although this does not seem to be the case based on the scattered locations of Structures G, H and I, the lack of symmetry in the overseer's compound, and the variations in size and construction of the structures.

One other aspect of this site should be considered. The artifact assemblage may reflect age and gender aspects of the site population. The lack of items identified as potential toys could indicate that few children were present at this site. At the same time, it could also mean that the toys which slave children had are not recognized or preserved in the archaeological assemblage. The second item is beads, often considered to be characteristic of slave sites, but limited at this site to a very few beads within the overseer's compound. Smith (1975:159-161) postulates that a lack of beads in known slave sites indicates that female slaves may not have been present. Perhaps the female slaves at this site were limited to the overseer's servants and the balance of the Hopton-Gregorie slave women and children lived at the cabins near the main house. This may also be supported by the large kitchen and adjacent storehouse which may have served as a communal kitchen for the brickyard workers who were primarily able-bodied laborers or skilled brickmakers.

In summary, the artifact assemblage at this site seems to date primarily to the second half of the eighteenth century and the very early nineteenth century, with the exception of Structure H. The assemblage speaks clearly of variations in status and relative wealth between the overseer and the slaves, as well as a possible status distinction within the slave community between the residents of Structure I and the other slave cabins. In fact, there are indications from the ceramics and glassware that the overseer may have been a person of some wealth, perhaps a son of another planter or a slaveholder himself. There are also hints that there may be an imbalance in gender and perhaps age at this site; there seem to be relatively few items which can be associated with women or children. The presence of arms, pocket knives and horse/wagon-related items in the slave areas may speak of a greater degree of freedom within this somewhat isolated community. By the same token, the abundance of beverage and food-related items in Structure B may indicate that the overseer entertained guests relatively often, perhaps another indication of a superior social standing as well as the functional independence of this part of the plantation.

Conclusions

One factor which must be considered in terms of interpretation of these sites is the anonymity of the residents. Since these were not the sites occupied by the property owners, we know very little about the people who lived here. We do not even know how many people lived at each site. In 1764, Hopton had 50 slaves on this property (Hopton 1764), but there were also slave cabins at the main house to the southwest. His 1786 estate probate listed 23 adult slaves and 10 children on his Wando property (Legare 1786). Hopton, however, owned several plantations in addition to his in-town property and it is possible that he brought slaves to the Wando tract periodically to work at the brickyard or complete other tasks, thus increasing the population on site. We have no information as to Hopton's overseers, although he presumably had an overseer on this property since he spent little time on the Wando.

The information on the Gregorie period is not much better. In the 1800 census Gregorie listed only 20 slaves, 5 of them under age 12, on his Christ Church property (U.S. Census 1800). The census also lists two overseers, Jacob Cherry-Tree and a McIntosh; Cherry-Tree may have been older since he listed four children in his household. Perhaps Gregorie had one overseer at Starvegut Hall and one at the main-house complex. Twenty slaves are listed under Cherry-Tree; presumably these were the Gregorie slaves, although overseers sometimes owned slaves themselves. If we assume that the 20 slaves were divided between the two complexes, this may mean that only 10 or so slaves lived at Starvegut Hall. The 1810 map of the property shows a main house and five outbuildings, presumably a slave row, on the Wando River on the west side of the plantation (Wilson 1810). This implies that at least some of the slaves still lived in proximity to the main house. At the Starvegut Hall site there is a row of three definite structures, perhaps double cabins, and possibly two other buildings at the edge of the river, in addition to two structures identified as the brickyard. Assuming the buildings shown are all slave cabins with an average of five slaves to a cabin, this could translate into as many as 40 slaves at the brickyard. Like Hopton, Gregorie owned several properties and may have moved slaves between them. Thus, in the winter and early spring when the

brickyard was probably in full operation, the slave population at Starvegut Hall may have been higher than at other times of the year.

By 1850, James Gregorie and his son, Ferdinand, listed 39 slaves between them on their Christ Church Parish property (U.S. Census 1850). Presumably, these were the slaves on the Hopton tract. After O'Hear purchased the property, we have even less information about its occupants. Since O'Hear did not live on this tract, he is not listed in the 1860 Christ Church Parish census. No overseer was listed as working for O'Hear and it is not possible to tie any of the O'Hear slaves to this property. After the Civil War the census records have long lists of tenant farmers, but it is rarely possible to identify the tract of land on which they were living.

This lack of information on the population size, demographics and socioeconomics restricts the conclusions we can draw about the architectural and material remains within the sites. What is apparent is the importance of brickmaking during the 1740 to 1860 period, and the subsequent relative abandonment of the property after that period.

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