ARCHAEOLOGICAL TESTING OF 38BU1715 ON CRESCENT PLANTATION BEAUFORT COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

CHICORA RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION 244

ARCHAEOLOGICAL TESTING OF 38BU1715 ON CRESCENT PLANTATION, BEAUFORT COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

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ABSTRACT

Archaeological site 38BU1715 was initially identified during reconnaissance and intensive surveys of the Crescent Plantation tract conducted in May and June 1997 by Chicora Foundation. Situated at the southern edge of the property, this site represented a light scatter of historic materials. It was determined to likely be the location of a late nineteenth or early twentieth century house of an individual related to the owner, but additional historical information was sketchy. Given the seemingly good state of preservation and the potential to address a broad range of significant archaeological research questions, the site was recommended as potentially eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

The additional archaeological testing recommended for the site included both shovel testing and the excavation of several formal units. This level of effort was anticipated to be adequate to verify the site boundaries, determine the range and status of artifacts associated with the site, and evaluate its state of integrity. Coupled with this, additional oral history research was also recommended. This would allow the archaeological data to be placed in a firmer historic context.

Additional oral history concerning the site was gathered in late February 1998. This work revealed that the site represents a house built by James B. Walker for his widowed sister, Emma Hubbard (later Bailey), shortly after he purchased the property in 1905. She lived in the house for a relatively short time, until her second marriage sometime in the late 1930s. After that the house was unoccupied and torn down.

Chicora Foundation archaeologists conducted additional testing at 38BU1715 on March 4 and March 5, 1998. A total of 48 shovel tests were excavated across the site area at 20-foot intervals to better establish site boundaries and also to explore artifact density and dispersion. Based on the artifact density maps created from the shovel test survey two 5-foot units were excavated in different site areas.

The shovel test survey revealed two areas where there was a clustering or concentration of artifacts, although only one was especially dense. The site has been heavily cultivated and this appears to have smeared the artifacts across the field, seemingly enlarging the site area.

Formal 5-foot excavation units were placed in the area of the two major concentrations. One unit revealed a small assemblage of architectural and kitchen artifacts. Other remains were uncommon, although the unit did yield a well defined post hole which, upon excavation, produced a small assemblage of historic materials. The second unit yielded a considerably reduced collection of materials, although the remains were generally comparable.

Based on our evaluation of the site and its integrity, this additional testing coupled with the oral history reveals that the site is eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places for the information it contains on the nature of early twentieth century settlements and the socio-economic status of occupants of limited means.

Since it is our understanding that green spacing is not possible, we have recommended a program of limited formal excavation combined with stripping to explore other features and site-patterning.

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INTRODUCTION

Background

This investigation was conducted by Dr. Michael Trinkley of Chicora Foundation, Inc. for Mr. Jay Thrower of Centex Homes, Hilton Head Island, South Carolina. In May 1997 Chicora had been retained to conduct a reconnaissance level archaeological survey of the 650 acre Crescent Plantation tract north of U.S. 278 in Beaufort County just west of Hilton Head Island (Trinkley 1997a). The parcel was being proposed for residential development and this activity would have the potential to damage or destroy archaeological sites through clearing, grubbing, road construction, utility construction, and house construction..

The reconnaissance level survey identified seven archaeological sites and compiled extensive, but complex, historical data for the property. It was not possible to evaluate the sites' eligibility for inclusion on the National Register based on this reconnaissance level study and an intensive investigation was recommended.

This second phase of the investigations was conducted by Chicora Foundation in June 1997. The additional historical research resolved a range of title problems, succeeding in tracing the property's ownership to the antebellum period. The intensive survey identified 10 archaeological sites, with eight being assessed as not eligible for inclusion on the National Register. One site (38BU1713) was recommended eligible, and another site (38BU1715) was recommended potentially eligible (Trinkley 1997b).

These evaluations were concurred with the S.C. State Historic Preservation Office, which also recommended additional study of 38BU1715 in order to collect the information necessary to make an appropriate site evaluation. As a result, Chicora Foundation proposed additional work in November 1997 which was approved in January 1998.

Before the field work could be conducted additional oral history was required and this could not be accomplished until the current owner accepted the contract for the parcel. Consequently, this background work was not completed until mid-February, with field investigations scheduled shortly therefore.

The proposed archaeological investigations were conducted on March 4 and 5, 1998. The field crew consisted of Mr. Todd Hejlik and the author. A total of 24 person hours were devoted to the study in the field, with an additional 8 person hours devoted to processing the collections and conducting the necessary analysis. At the completion of the work an updated archaeological site form was submitted to the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Goals

The primary goal of this study was to determine the eligibility of 38BU1715 for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. As will be discussed in more detail in a later section, this site was of particular importance to the survey since it was one of the few sites providing any evidence of late nineteenth or early twentieth century occupation on the property.

The site was identified on a 1934 plat but was otherwise devoid of any historical documentation. The field surveys consistently found small quantities of historic materials at the site, some of which had been burned. These materials appeared to be consistent with those found at "tenant" sites and the 1934 plat did indicate that the residents of the plantation included the "owner J.B. Walker and his mother's brother and family" with the surveyor also observing "three negro share-croppers or helps." Was this the site of a family member or one of the share croppers?

Figure 1. Vicinity of Beaufort County and the project area (base map is USGS South Carolina 1:500,000).

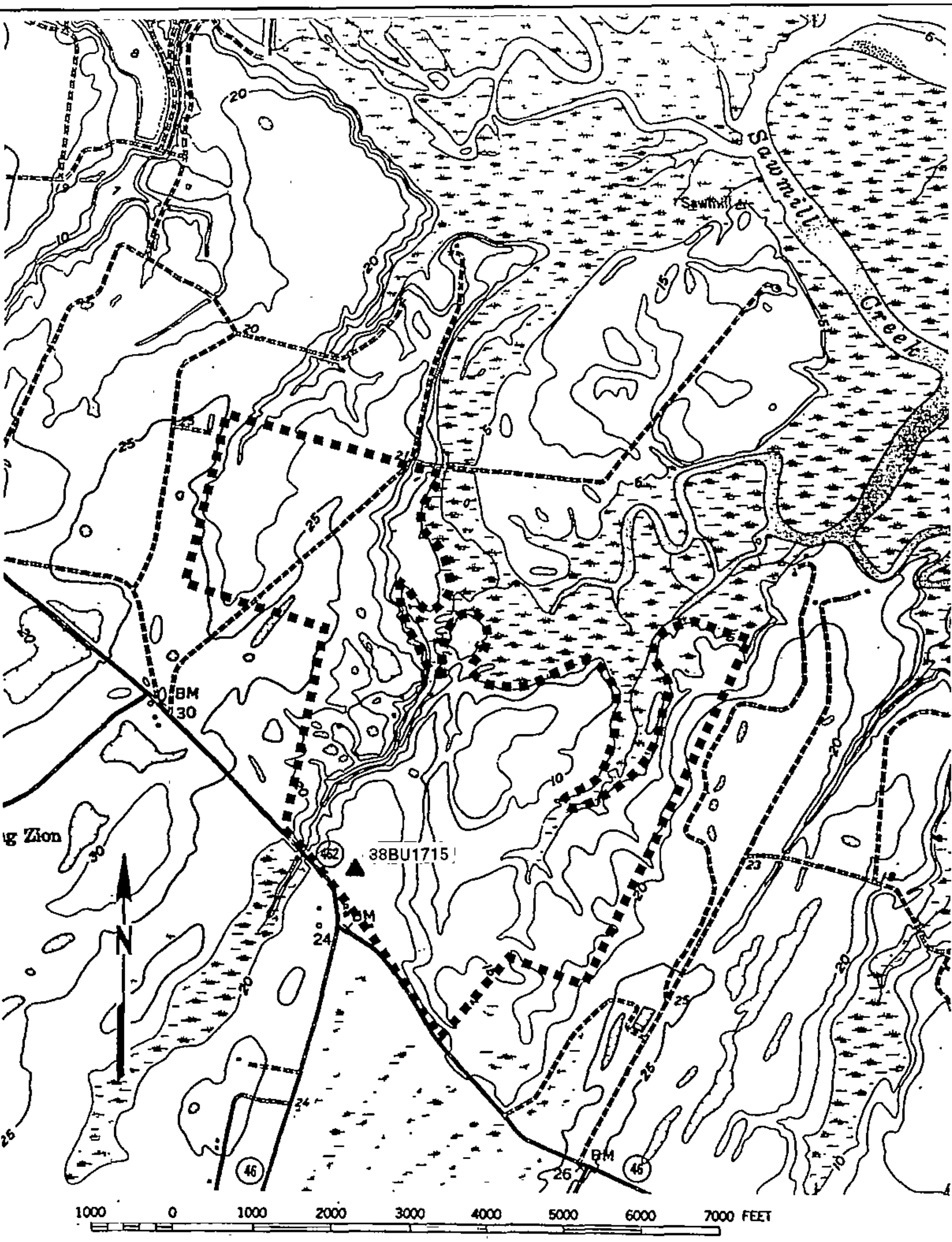

Figure 2. Crescent Plantation and the location of 38BU1715 (USGS Spring Island 7.5').

The initial survey could not provide enough data concerning the site, or its condition to either identify a specific structure location or determine the potential for subsurface remains. Although it was known that cultivation throughout the Crescent Plantation tract had been intensive, the clustering of artifacts and the correlation of this cluster with the historic plat suggested that cultivation in this area may have been less dramatic than we thought.

We believed that if individual structure locations could be ascertained, and if there was any potential for recovery of intact architectural or refuse features, or even sheet middens, then the site would be considered significant.

Its location, close to the entrance of the property suggested that it might be either a relative of Walker or perhaps an overseer or manager. We believed that it was essential to gather additional archival or oral history data on the occupants of this structure. If it did belong to a relative or overseer, further investigations might provide information on individuals of middling status who have traditionally received little attention.

A site such as this might be able to address a broad range of important research questions. Can sites of managers be discerned from those of owners and tenants? How do the artifact patterns compare and, especially, what differences are there in terms of the architecture? What types of buildings might be associated with the manager's house? In particular, might fertilizer sheds, animal barns, and tool sheds be placed nearby for security?

As the oral history research was completed and we discovered that the structure was apparently built for a widow, the focus of questions changes, but stayed equally broad. For example, was the building really as rustic as it was being portrayed? How did a widow, past her economic prime, live during the hard days of the depression? Was there any effort to ameliorate her surroundings? Would the archaeological signature of such a site be distinguishable from that of a tenant, or a single male? Do singles, especially elderly singles, exhibit a different archaeological pattern that might reflect their status (or lack of status) in society? What evidence is there of food preparation, or might food have been brought from the main house for these individuals?

Regardless of the exact nature of the site, we know it was occupied for less than 40 years. We thought that it might be possible to explore some of the consequences of this rather short settlement. For example, how will this brief occupation span affect the archaeological assemblage and, in particular, will be make the site appear more impoverished than it actually was? Can the archaeological signature of the site help us understand not only the construction process, but perhaps also the building's demolition?

For all of these questions we recognized that we would need some degree of intact architectural remains, as well as identifiable sheet midden or features. In other words, for all of these research questions we would need to better understand the integrity of 38BU1715. Are there features, such as pits and post holes? Are there architectural remains, such as structural post holes, chimney footings, or even concentrations of brick or nails? Are there discrete concentrations of artifacts, which absent other features, can be identified as structure areas?

We recommended that the additional testing at the site focus on two methodologies. First, the site area should be shovel tested at close intervals, perhaps 20 feet. This, we suggested, provides a fairly good chance of identifying specific structural locations

Second, once the site core appeared to have been identified, several 5-foot units should be excavated in order to evaluate artifact density and diversity, determine the potential for sheet middens and recovery of floral and faunal remains, examine the area for architectural features, and evaluate the potential for recovery of other features.

Once this additional data was in hand, we believed that it would be possible to evaluate the significance of the site.

Curation

The field notes and artifacts from Chicora's testing at 38BU1715 have been curated at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (SCIAA). The artifacts have been cleaned and/or conserved as necessary and have been curated using the SCIAA site numbers following that institution's provenience system. All original records and duplicate records were provided to the curatorial facility on pH neutral, alkaline buffered paper.

EXTANT ENVIRONMENT

Physiography

Beaufort County is located in the lower Atlantic Coastal Plain of South Carolina and is bounded to the south and southeast by the Atlantic Ocean, to the east by St. Helena Sound, to the north and northeast by the Combahee River, to the west by Jasper and Colleton counties, and portions of the New and Broad rivers. The mainland primarily consists of nearly level lowlands and low ridges. Elevations range from about sea level to slightly over 100 feet above mean sea level (AMSL) (Mathews et al. 1980:134-135).

The topography of the tract appears fairly level at first, but this is largely biased by most observers' failure to take into account the subtle ridge and swale topography which characterizes much of the low country. Closer inspection reveals considerable diversity, largely the result of numerous drainages. The headwaters of a small slough are found in the northwest corner of the tract and another drainage cuts through the middle, crossing US 278. Site 38BU1715 is found on a ridge at an elevation of about 20 feet AMSL on the east side of this drainage. A third drainage is found in the eastern third of the parcel, also running southward from Sawmill Creek.

The field in which 38BU1715 is situated appears generally level, consistent with the topographic map for the area (see Figure 2). Upon closer inspection, however, the ground falls away to the west, north, and east, leaving the site actually on the west side of the sand swale running along the dirt access road to the property.

Climate

In the early nineteenth century the Beaufort climate was described as "one of the healthiest" (Mills 1826:377), although Thomas Chaplin's antebellum journal describing life at nearby Tombee Plantation on St. Helena Island presents an entirely different picture (Rosengarten 1987). In 1864 Charlotte Forten wrote that "yellow fever prevailed to an alarming extent, and that, indeed the manufacture of coffins was the only business that was at all flourishing (Forten 1864:588). Even a cursory review of death certificates for the 1920s reveals that the low country was still a foreboding place. Brights disease, tuberculosis, typhoid fever, and malaria were all more common causes of death than "old age."

The major climatic controls of the area are latitude, elevation, distance from the ocean, and location with respect to the average tracks of migratory cyclones. The project's latitude of about 32° 20'N places it on the edge of the balmy subtropical climate typical of Florida. As a result, there are relatively short, mild winters and long, warm, humid summers. The large amount of nearby warm ocean water surface produces a maritime climate, which tends to moderate both the cold and hot weather. The Appalachian Mountains, about 220 miles to the northwest, block shallow cold air masses from the northwest, moderating them before they reach the sea islands (Landers 1970:2-3; Mathews et al. 1980:46).

Maximum daily temperatures in the summer tend to be near or above 90°F and the minimum daily temperatures tend to be about 68°F. The summer water temperatures average 83°F. The abundant supply of warm, moist and relatively unstable air produces frequent scattered shatters and thunderstorms in the summer. Winter has average daily maximum and minimum temperatures of 63°F and 38°F respectively. Precipitation is in the form of rain associated with fronts and cyclones; snow is uncommon (Janiskee and Bell 1980:1-2).

The average yearly precipitation is 49.4 inches, with 34 inches occurring from April through October, the growing season for most low country crops. Nearby Hilton Head Island has approximately 285 frost free days annually (Janiskee and Bell 1980:1; Landers 1970). This mild climate, as Hilliard (1984:13) notes, is largely responsible for the presence of many southern crops, such as cotton and sugar cane.

The coastal area is at a moderately high risk of tropical storms, with 169 hurricanes being documented from 1686 through 1972 (Mathews et al. 1980:56). The last Category 5 hurricane which hit this area was the August 27, 1893 storm which had winds of 120 miles per hour and a storm surge of 17 to 19.5 feet. Over 1,000 people in South Carolina were reported killed by this storm (Mathews et al. 1980:55). Other notable historic storms have occurred in 1700, 1752, 1804, 1813, and 1885.

Geology and Soils

The coastal region is covered in sands and clays originally derived from the Appalachian Mountains and which are organized into coastal, fluvial, and aeolian deposits. These were transported to the coast during the Quaternary period and were deposited on bedrock of the Mesozoic Era and Tertiary period. These sedimentary bedrock formations are only occasionally exposed on the coast, although they frequently outcrop along the fall line (Mathews et al. 1980:2).

The Pleistocene sediments are organized into topographically distinct, but lithologically similar terraces parallel to the coast. These terraces have elevations ranging from 215 feet down to sea level. The terraces, representing previous sea floors, were apparently formed at high stands of the fluctuating, though falling, Atlantic Ocean and consist chiefly of sand and clay (Cooke 1936).

The mainland soils are Pleistocene in age and tend to have more distinct horizon development and diversity than the younger soils of the Sea Islands. Sandy to loamy soils predominate in the level to gently sloping mainland areas. The topography is generally reflected in the soil survey for the tract.

Five soil series dominate the study tract and three — the Baratari, Polawana, and Rosedhue soils — are poorly to very poorly drained, having at least seasonal water tables within a foot of the surface. The site we are concerned with, however, is found on a broad expanse of Wando soils situated between the central and eastern drainages. These soils are excessively drained and have a dark brown (10YR4/3) A horizon overlying a C horizon of brown (10YR5/3) to pale yellow (2.5YR7/4) sand (Stuck 1980:85).

While well drained the Wando soils have generally low crop yields both because of their low inherent nutrient levels and also because they are so droughty. Less well drained soils, ditched for drainage, would often produce better crop yields. Nevertheless, an examination of historic maps and aerial photographs from the 1930s on reveals that these Wando soils formed the core of cultivation on the Crescent tract. The location of 38BU1715 on prime agricultural land suggests that its occupant had somewhat favored status.

Floristics

Originally the entire tract was likely dominated by mixed hardwoods, particularly live oak and palmetto on the higher soils. These areas would likely have been very similar to maritime forests. On the lower, inland soils there were likely areas of what today are called "Florida Scrub" — pine flatwoods which often have slight depressions and ridges characterized by a dense woody pocosin understory. There would also have been some limited areas of wetland swamps with tupelo, bay, and ash.

Robert Mills, discussing Beaufort District in the early nineteenth century, stated:

> besides a fine growth of pine, we have the cypress, red cedar, and live oak . . . white oak, red oak, and several other oaks, hickory, plum, palmetto, magnolia, poplar, beech, birch, ash, dogwood, black mulberry, etc. Of fruit trees we have the orange, sweet and sour,

> peach, nectarine, fig, cherry (Mills 1826:377).

He also cautioned, however, that "some parts of the district are beginning already to experience a want of timber, even for common purposes" (Mills 1826:383) and suggested that at least 25% of a plantation's acreage should be reserved for woods.

Although much modified by extensive agriculture, at least some of this more native vegetation is still suggested. There are areas of standing water swamp, as well as remnant areas of maritime forest.. Much of the tract exhibits very dense mixed hardwood and pine vegetation, although there are areas where the lowland forest is more open, resembling what was probably typical for much of the region.

PHOTOGRAPH NOT AVAILABLE

Dominating the causal observer's perception of the property, however, are the areas of previous agriculture which today are largely in second growth pine and grass. In a few areas previous agricultural fields have been planted in pine, creating a ecosystem with a fairly open understory.

Site 38BU1715 is situated at the entrance to the plantation in a field which, until recently, has been extensively cultivated. There is no indication of vegetation from the occupation of the structure — no remnant flowering bulbs along the roadside, no live oak or cedar trees planted around the house and ,allowed to continue growing, no evidence of rambling rose in the roadside ditches. Today the site is characterized by fallow growth — weeds and brambles, with a portion of the field to the northwest entering a pine succession (Figure 3).

BACKGROUND RESEARCH

Previous Research

As mentioned, site 38BU1715 was first encountered as a scatter of historic ceramics and glass in a fallow field just northwest of the entrance to Crescent Plantation. It was examined during the initial reconnaissance survey, with additional exploration during the intensive survey.

The site has central UTM coordinates of E513880 N3569300 and the elevation is about 20 feet above mean sea level, based on the USGS topographic map (no tract specific planning maps are currently available). The soils associated with the site as not as well drained as those found in other areas of Wando soils, suggesting that the site is actually situated on a small "island" of Seewee soils.

Surface materials were found scattered over an area of about 200 feet during the initial survey and a grab collection of artifacts produced a range of materials (Table 1). Although surface visibility was only fair at the time, the range of materials seemed impressive. By the time of the intensive survey the surface visibility had declined, although it was still possible to make a surface collection (Table 1) and base site boundaries on the distribution of material in the field. These boundaries were similar to those projected during the reconnaissance study, measuring about 200 feet north-south by 100 feet east-west (Figure 4).

The site was shovel tested on a cruciform pattern at 25-foot intervals and the results began to reveal that the site — or at least the scatter — was perhaps larger than originally projected. A total of 42 shovel tests were excavated, with six (14%) producing artifacts. These tests seemed to suggest that the site, or the distribution of artifacts, extended to the northwest, with dimensions of about 200 feet north-south by 175 feet east-west. A 2-foot test unit was excavated in the center of the site, revealing an assemblage dominated by architectural remains and a relatively thin plowzone, perhaps the result of limited plowing (unlikely) or the previous building demolition (which we have seen at other tenant sites). Most significantly, the recovered artifacts suggested that the unit was placed in the general vicinity of the original structure.

Table 1.
Artifacts Recovered from 38BU1715 During the Previous Surveys

	Whiteware						Container Glass									
	undec	an	ps	yw	porc	stw	br	aq	blk	milk	man	clr	nails	wg	ps	other
Surface, Recon	9		2	1	1		1	8		2	4	3		3		
Surface, Inten	8	1		1	1	1	1	1			1				1	1
STs, Inten Survey	2					1	2	1	1		1	1	2			
Test, Inten Survey	1							2			1		6			
Totals	20	1	2	2	2	2	4	12	1	2	7	4	8	3	1	1

Ceramics: undec = undecorated, an = annular, ps = polychrome stamped, yw = yellowware, porc = porcelain, stw = stoneware
Glass: br = brown, aq = aqua, blk = black, man = manganese, clr = clear
wg = window glass
ps = kaolin pipe stem

We commented at the time that the site might have the potential to address a broad range of questions regarding early twentieth century settlement in the project area and recommended

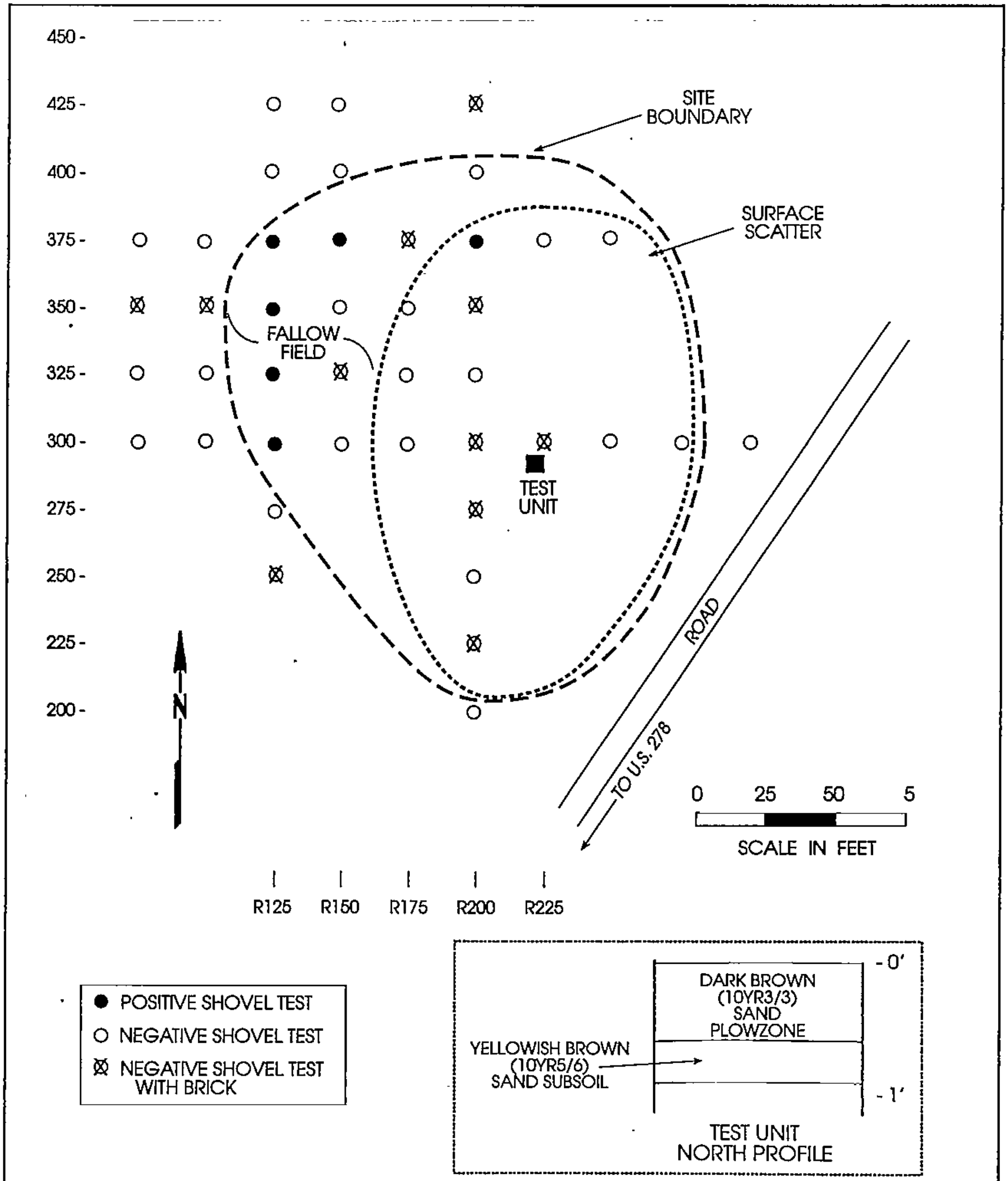

Figure 4. Sketch map of 38BU1715 produced as a result of the intensive survey (Trinkley 1997b:56).

additional testing to document the condition of the site and oral history to more fully understand its place in the tract's history.

Historic Research

The historic research reveals that the property was purchased in 1905 by James B. Walker of Bluffton from the Carolina National Bank of South Carolina for $1,500 (Beaufort County RMC, DB 27, page 307). Prior to this the plantation had gone through a number of hands and there was no clear indication that it was particularly profitable. In fact, the general appearance of the transactions and sale prices suggests that Crescent Plantation was "second tier" parcel of limited use. In the twentieth century, however, the value of the property began to climb, probably as the land use began to diversify.

In 1934 Walker had a plat of the property prepared (Figure 5). The surveyor's notation on this plat reveals the only residents on the property were the "owner J.B. Walker and his mother's brother and family and saw three negro share-croppers or helps" (Beaufort County RMC, PB 3, page 113). The plat, of particular importance to this study, shows the location of 38BU1715, providing clear evidence that some sort of structure was apparent on the site. Walker's residence appears to have been on the south side of U.S. 278, probably represented by the cluster of structures.

The 1920 Okatie 15' topographic map (Figure 6), fails to show any structure at 38BU1715, at least tentatively suggesting a construction date post-dating 1920 and predating 1934. The 1937 *General Highway and Transportation Map* confirms that the 38BU1715 structure was present in 1937 (Trinkley 1997b:Figure 18).

We know from other transactions that Walker was active in the purchase of other lands, during the late 1920s acquiring a substantial portion of the nearby Rose Hill Plantation (a tract which he eventually owned outright). Although not clear, it appears that the bulk of this land was brought under cultivation. Examination of the 1910 census reveals that Walker was living with his sister, Emma Hubbard. Walker is listed as 36 years old, while his sister, a widow, is 26. Also enumerated with her are two sons, Ruben and Dixie, ages 10 and 7, as well as three boarders. It appears that Emma Hubbard, widowed early in life, was not only taking care of her family, but also taking in boarders for extra cash.

By 1920, we find that James B. Walker, now 46 years old, is living on Bluffton Road with his mother, Margarite Walker, who is 66. There was no enumeration for Emma Hubbard.

In 1945 the property was purchased from Walker by Malcomb Johnson for $8,000 (Beaufort County RMC, DB 63, page 58) and from there passed to his widow (the daughter of William C. Walker, a brother of James B. Walker) about 1980 (Beaufort County Probate Court, WB J, page 111).

Our oral history revealed that the house at 38BU1715 was built by Mrs. Johnson's uncle, James B. Walker, for her aunt, Emma Bailey. Mrs. Johnson explained that Emma Bailey was Emma Hubbard and that after her first husband died, James B. Walker provided the house for Emma and her children. It was during her life at Crescent that she met and married her second husband, becoming Emma Bailey. After this marriage, Mrs. Johnson doesn't believe they lived at Crescent for more than a year or two before moving.

She remembers that the house was there when she was born in 1915 and was still there when she married about 1933. She left the Bluffton area after her marriage, not returning until 1945, when her husband bought the property. By then Emma Hubbard's house was no longer standing. Mrs. Johnson commented that she thought the house was torn down after her aunt died. It is likely that it was demolished to allow the land to be planted in cotton — the primary crop during this period.

When asked about the house, Mrs. Johnson explained that it was like "a sharecropper's house," saying that it was "just a shack." It was of frame construction on brick piers (not wood or concrete block) and had four rooms

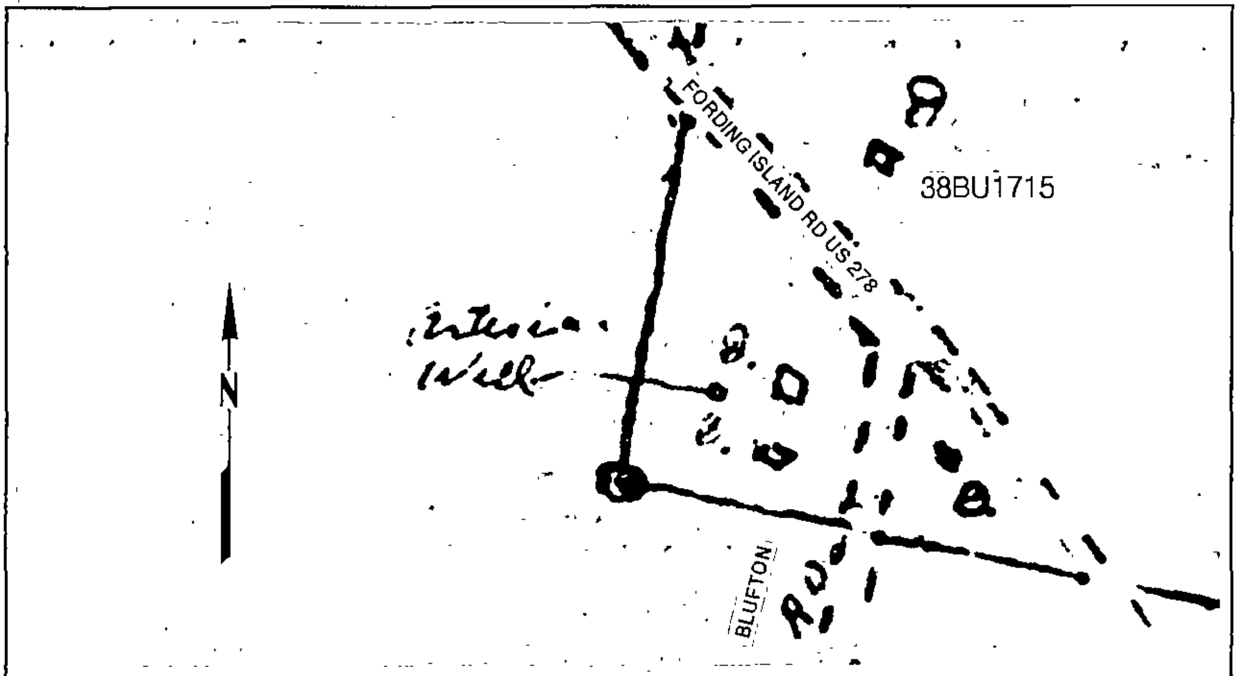

Figure 5. Portion of the 1934 plat of Crescent Plantation showing the vicinity of 38BU1715.

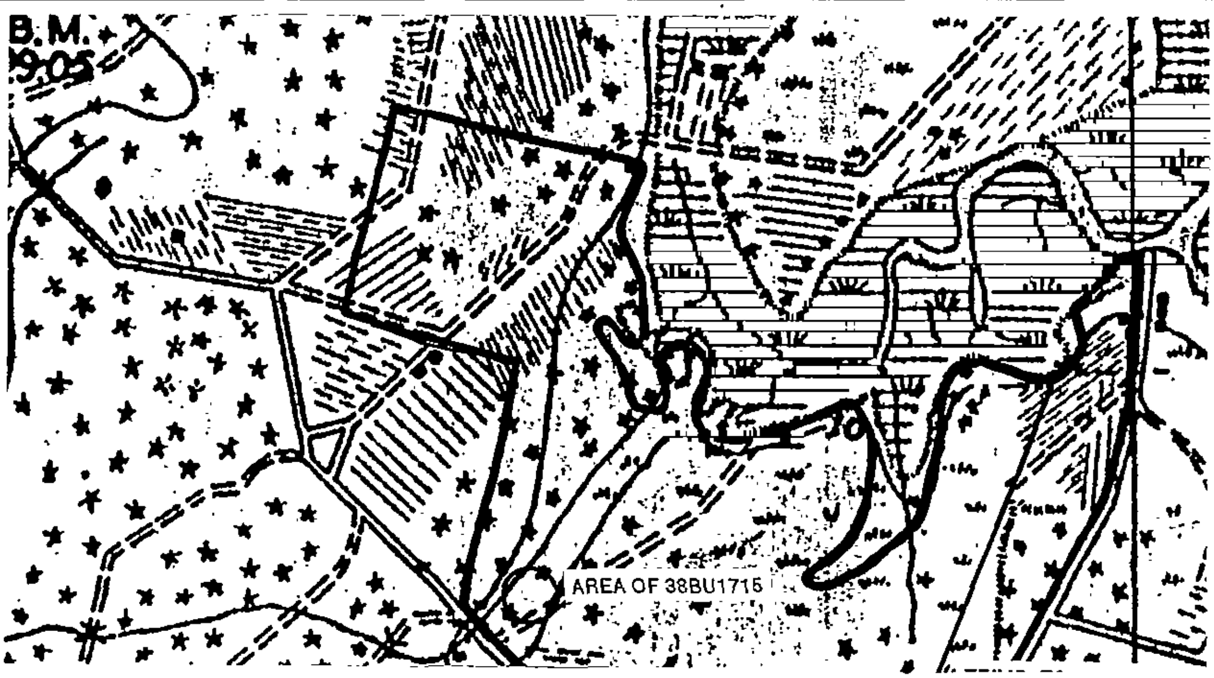

Figure 6. Portion of the 1920 Okatie 15' topographic map showing the vicinity of 38BU1715.

with two shed rooms on the back, comprising the kitchen and an eating area. She also mentioned that it had a tin roof, although these memories may be more inspired by typical "tenant" housing than any specific memories.

This information suggests that James B. Walker, who apparently was either being cared for by a sister or caring for a mother, built a separate house for his widowed sister — Emma Hubbard — sometime after 1905, when he purchased the property and probably after the 1910 census. This was probably an effort to provide a home for Emma and her children, helping her financially.

By the 1930s the house was apparently unneeded or not worth salvaging, and was torn down to plant cotton. This suggests that it was standing for, at most, 20 years — probably consistent with Mrs. Johnson's comments that it wasn't used long.

It also appears that the house was a very minimal structure. It's tempting to suggest that her aunt's house was very ephemeral, built quickly and not intended to provide much luxury. We can suggest that Walker showed no special consideration to his sister's position. On the other hand, what style of housing was typical for a widow of Anna Bailey's age and position with children? At this time period what was her status both in society and also within the family? The oral history takes us, unfortunately, only so far and going further requires us to make a variety of assumptions for which there is little evidence.

While this historical information provides important background and context, it leaves unanswered a broad range of other questions. At least some of these, specific to this one site and one individual, may be addressed by archaeological research.

FIELD STUDY AND RESULTS

Field Methods and Results

Although the original survey at 38BU1715 hinted at the site core and the 2-foot test unit was placed in what appeared to be a structural area, additional testing was needed at the site to evaluate artifact densities and better define structural areas. In addition, given the additional growth in the field during the time since the original surveys, we determined that additional testing was also going to be necessary to relocate the site core.

Since a relatively short time was allotted for the testing, we chose to implement a normal shovel testing program. Work at plantation settlements throughout the low country (which we felt could be extended to post-reconstruction tenant sites) with intervals ranging between 10 and 50 feet reveal that tests spaced at 50 or more feet provide very little structure specific data, allowing only gross site boundaries to be established. Intervals of 25 feet or less generally tend to provide adequate definition of structural remains, although decreasing interval distance tends to increase the definition capability. The 20-foot interval was selected as the closest interval possible in the time frame provided. We anticipated that it would be more than adequate to help establish site boundaries and evaluate the distribution of archaeological remains on the study tract.

Absent any above ground evidence of structural remains (fireplaces or brick piers, for example), we chose to orient the site grid with magnetic north-south, which is at a slight angle to the dirt access road. An instrument error, however, resulted in the grid actually being N6°E (Figure 7). Shovel test points were laid out at 20 foot intervals forming a 100 by 100 foot block as the initial test area. This central block was based on a pedestrian survey of the site, noting where possible the denser concentrations of artifacts and bricks.

Individual point were numbered using a modified Chicago technique running from a 0R0 point off the site area. Thus, point 100R200 would be 100 feet north of the 0R0 point and 200 feet east (or right). The southwest corner of the site grid was designated 500R100. Eventually we expanded this grid an additional 40 feet to the south, so that the southwest corner was 460R100 (Figure 7).

This grid was tied into a survey datum established by Centex Homes on the east side of the Crescent Plantation drive on the north side of U.S. 278, within the highway right-of-way. Vertical control was maintained using this same point and assigning it an assumed elevation (AE) of 10 feet.

Each shovel test was minimally one-foot square and was excavated at least 0.2 feet into the yellow subsoil sand. All soil was screened through 1/4-inch mesh and all remains, including shell, brick, and mortar, were collected. Each shovel test was backfilled immediately after excavation.

Materials from these tests were sorted in the field laboratory, with brick, mortar, and shell weighed and discarded. Historic artifacts were counted. No attempt was made to distinguish between artifact classes for the purpose of the density map (Figure 8).

Brick and mortar weights were so small, and infrequent, that they were not helpful in establishing densities and are therefore not further considered. It is likely that the structure present had only minimal quantities of brick associated with the chimney and piers. After abandonment it is also likely that the brick was salvaged for use elsewhere. This, coupled with plowing, may help to explain why brick is so widely scattered in the field.

Figure 8 reveals two concentrations, both along the eastern edge of the grid, toward the Crescent Plantation access road. One is in the east

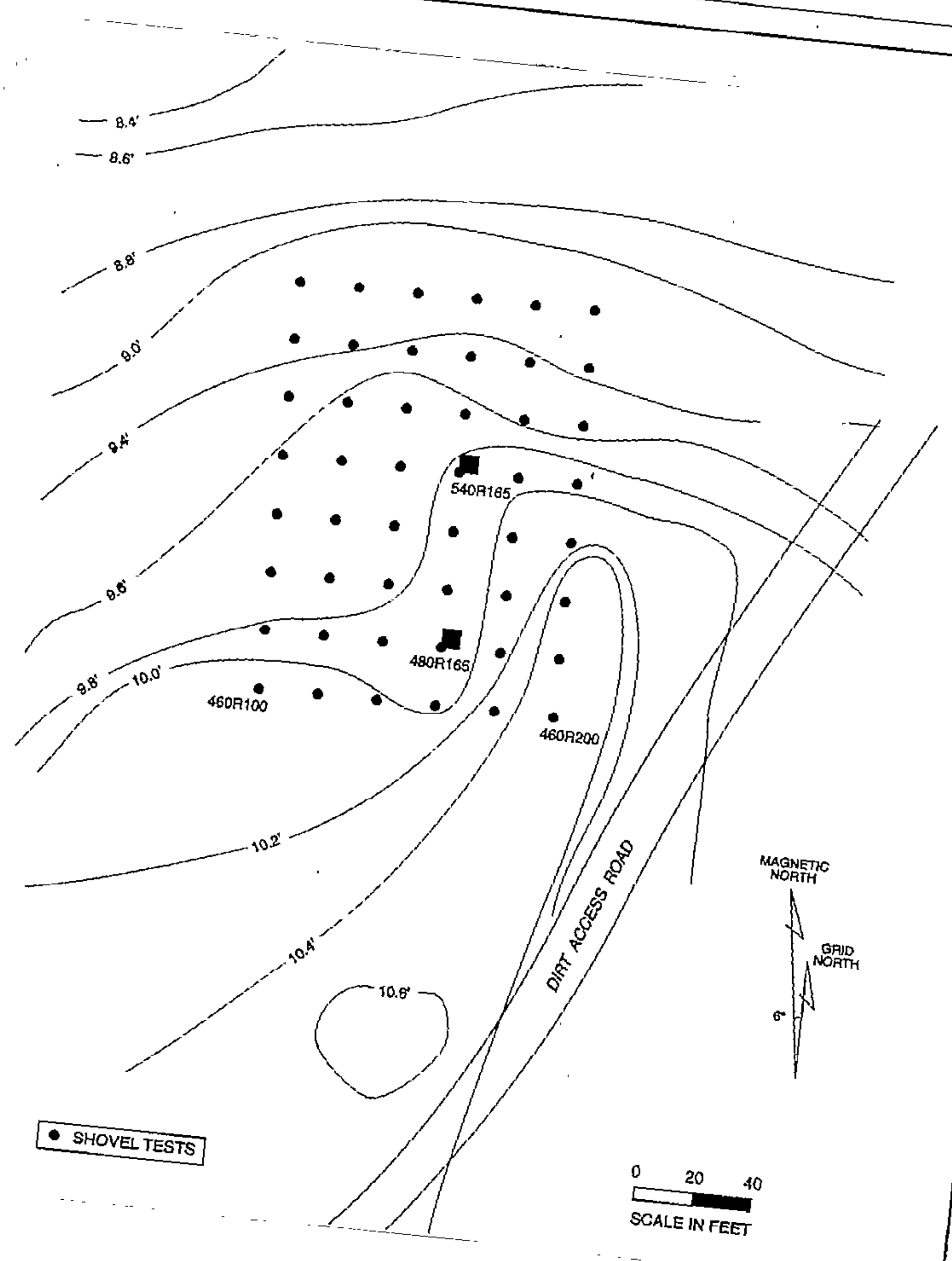

Figure 7. Topographic map of 38BU1715 showing the shovel test grid and excavation units.

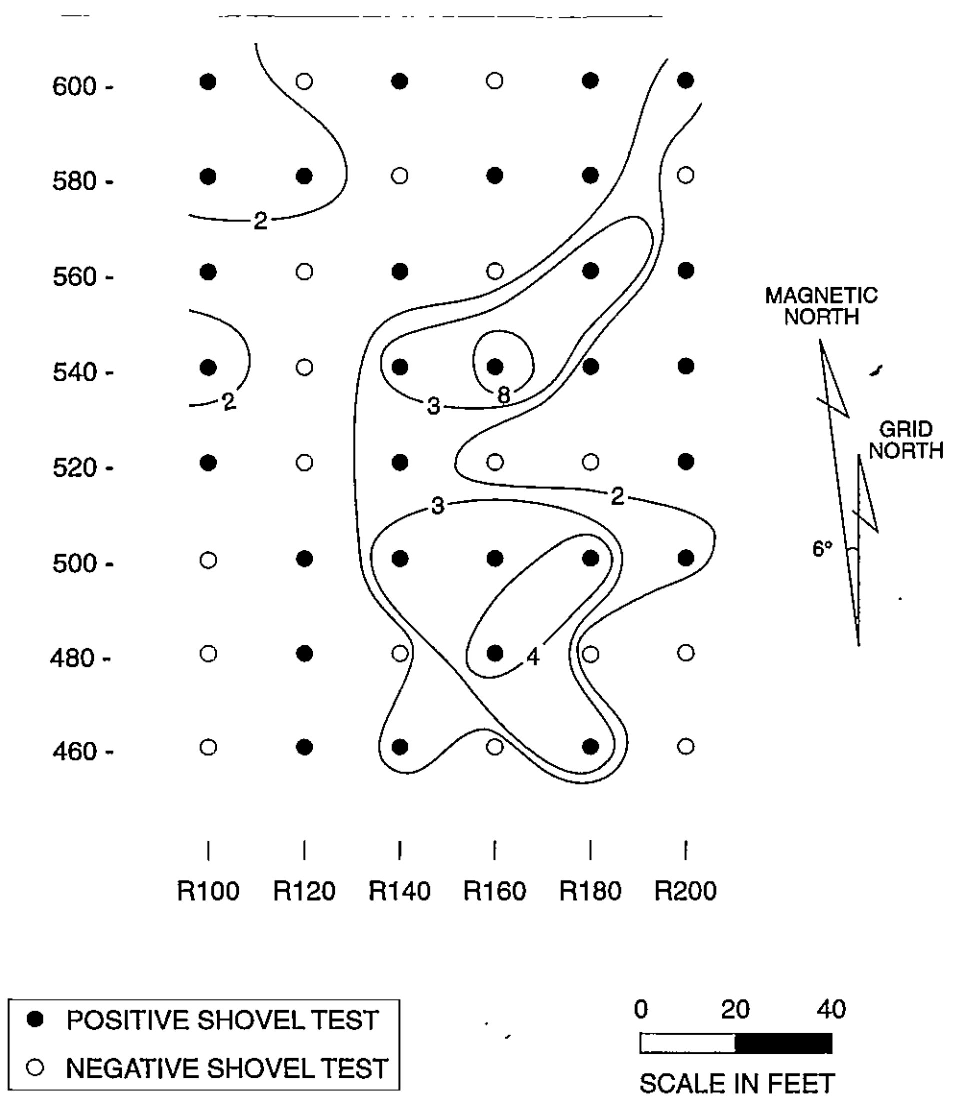

Figure 8. Density of artifacts at 38BU1715 recovered from shovel testing.

central portion of the grid, and focused on a shovel test at 540R160 which produced eight artifacts. The other concentration is somewhat broader, incorporating two shovel tests, at 480R160 and 500R180, which each produced four artifacts.

Surrounding these two areas (which may actually be one area spread north-south), the study revealed dramatically declining densities. Along the west edge of the survey we encountered several tests producing two artifacts. These seem to correspond to the intensive shovel test discoveries of a site smear extending out in this general direction.

For the most part, however, the shovel test data reveal consist quantities only along the east edge, rapidly declining to the south and north. This suggests that the shovel test block fairly well defines the site core.

To explore the densities suggested by the close interval shovel testing, the two major concentrations were examined using 5-foot units., designed by their southeast corners. A unit was excavated at 540R165 in order to examine the area which produced the heaviest density of remains. A second unit was excavated at 480R165 to examine the secondary concentration to the south.

Each unit was excavated by natural zones, and in each case these consisted of a plowzone overlying subsoil. No sheet midden or other strata were encountered. The plowzone was found to be a very dark brown (10YR2/2) sand. Consistent with earlier observations this soil was very moist, almost certainly representing a soil with less adequate drainage than Wando. The soil was difficult to screen, although no clay was present. Below the plowzone was a yellowish-brown (10YR5/6) fine sand subsoil.

Plowscars were particularly abundant in 540R165, revealing plowing parallel and perpendicular to the access road at different times. The plowzone varied from 0.7 to 0.85 foot in depth. Unit 480R165 revealed no such plowscars, although the plowzone itself was about the same depth (Figure 9). It may be that the deeper plowing in 540R165 is a result of plows bogging in moist soils on the slight slope or alternatively may be an effort to eradicate structural remains through deeper, more aggressive, cultivation.

Like the shovel tests, all fill was screened through ¼-inch mesh. The units were troweled at the base of the excavations and photographed. At the conclusion of the work both units were backfilled (Figure 10).

The excavations failed to identify any features, although 540R165 did yield a well defined post hole. Situated along the R165 wall, this post hole was the same color as the overlying plowzone and was oval, about 1.0 foot in diameter. Upon excavation it was found to be 0.9 foot in depth, tapering to a rounded bottom (Figure 11).

Unit 480R165 revealed dark mottling in the northwest corner, possibly representing erosional disturbance or possibly related to non-cultural activities, such as tree staining. No artifacts were present in the stain during either flatshoveling or subsequent trowelling, so it is likely that the stain is non-cultural (Figure 12).

Artifacts

This section is intended to provide an overview of the material culture present at 38BU1715. Although the collection is sparse, the materials allow us to address at least some of the research questions posed previously.

Laboratory Processing, Conservation, and Analysis

The cleaning of artifacts was conducted in Columbia, after the conclusion of the excavations. Cataloging of the specimens was conducted immediately after the field work, using the system adopted by the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. Specimens were packed in plastic bags and boxed. Within each bag is an acid-free card indicating the site number, unit number and provenience, date, excavator, and catalog number. A minimal level of analysis, suitable for the purpose of this study, was conducted during the cataloging process. Artifacts were evaluated for conservation needs, but none

FIGURE NOT AVAILABLE

Figure 9. Plans and profiles of excavated units at 38BU1715.

FIGURE NOT AVAILABLE

Figure 10. Excavated unit in the process of being cleaned for a photograph.

were judged to be worthy of treatment.

Field notes were prepared on pH neutral, alkaline buffered paper. Photographic material consisted only of non-archival color prints, which are maintained in Chicora's project files. All original field notes are curated with the collections, while duplicate field notes have been curated with the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Analysis of the collections followed professionally accepted standards with a level of intensity suitable to the quantity and quality of the remains. The temporal, cultural, and typological classifications of the historic remains follow such authors as Cushion (1976), Godden (1964, 1985), Miller (1980, 1991a, 1991b), Noël Hume (1970), Norman-Wilcox (1965), Peirce (1988), Price (1970), South (1977), and Walton (1976). Glass artifacts were identified using sources such as Jones (1986), Jones and Sullivan (1985), McKearin and McKearin (1972), McNally (1982), Vose (1975), and Warren (1970).

The analysis system used South's (1977) functional groups as an effort to subdivide historic assemblages into groups which could reflect behavioral categories. The functional categories of Kitchen, Architecture, Furniture, Personal, Clothing, Arms, Tobacco, and Activities provide not only the range necessary for describing and characterizing most collections, but also allow typically consistent comparison with other collections.

Unit 540R165

This unit produced 17 ceramics, representing only 18% of the Kitchen Group artifacts. These included primarily a small collection of undecorated whitewares (n=13), although two stonewares (an alkaline glazed specimen and a brown saltglazed fragment) were also identified. Curiously, the collection also produced one undecorated creamware ceramic — clearly dating well before the bulk of the materials on the site.

Those whitewares which could have their forms identified included two cups (about 4-inches in diameter) and one bowl (with a diameter of about 6-inches). The stonewares were utilitarian forms, probably storage vessels.

The collection fails to offer much assistance in dating. The whitewares, lacking decoration, have a very long span of production. The creamware, while having bracket dates of 1762

FIGURE NOT AVAILABLE

Figure 11. 540R165, base of plowzone, view to the north.

FIGURE NOT AVAILABLE

Figure 12. 480R165, base of plowzone, view to the north.

to 1820 is most likely not associated with the modern occupation of this site. Alkaline glazing was first introduced in 1810, but production continued into the postbellum period (Greer 1981). The saltglazed stoneware is wheel thrown and characteristic of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While take together the assemblage as a very late nineteenth century feel, it could just as easily date from the first quarter of the twentieth century.

Glass dominates the Kitchen Group artifacts, accounting for nearly 80% of the collection. Identified are one fragment of brown glass, two fragments of blue glass, 34 aqua glass fragments, nine pieces of manganese glass, and 26 examples of clear container glass. None of the specimens are particularly large or revealing, although one is clearly molded. The manganese glass typical dates from about 1880 through 1918 (Fletcher 1976:57-58). The clear glass all likely post-dates 1890, about the time that it became possible to produce large quantities of clear glass inexpensively (Fletcher 1976:57).

The only other kitchen artifacts are two fragments of milk glass canning jar lids. These specimens post-date 1896, but otherwise offer relatively temporal sensitivity.

The Architecture Group artifacts included only nails. Of the 111 specimens, 82 (or 73.8%) are fragmentary and unidentifiable to type. Of the remainder 19 are cut nails and five are cut nail fragments. These nails were first manufactured in the 1830s and exhibit uniform heads and shanks with burrs on the edges (Nelson 1968:7). Their use continues until today, so they are not considered especially temporally sensitive.

Identified machine cut nails sizes range from 5d to 16d, with a cluster at 6d (11 of the 19 measurable examples, 57.9%) — the size often used for sheathing and siding. The range, however, is consistent with shingling, siding, and framing, representing the entire range of construction activities.

Also present are four wire nails and one modern roofing nail. The wire nails were first widely available in the 1850s, but were apparently not common until the 1870s (Nelson 1968:9-10). It has been suggested that their use was further delayed in the rural south.

The Furniture Group includes one specimen, a metal caster with a porcelain wheel. The size suggests use on a rather substantial item, such as a bed or large bureau.

The Tobacco Artifact Group is represented by one kaolin pipe stem fragment. The stem reveals the partial stamp, ". . . SGOW," probably an example of the pipes produced by the D. McDougall Company of Glasgow. The company was the "largest export manufacturer" of pipes in the mid-nineteenth century. The firm opened in 1846 and continued in business until 1967 (Humphrey 1969:17-18). As a result, this pipe provides relatively little dating information, although its presence (and the absence of other examples) may provide interesting cultural information.

The last items present in the unit are brass grommet from a tent or large canvas item and an unidentifiable iron fragment. Both have been placed into the "Other" category of the Activities Group.

480R165

This unit produced only five ceramics, representing only 9% of the Kitchen Group artifacts. These include two undecorated whiteware ceramics, consistent with the findings from 540R165 as well as three creamware ceramics — two undecorated and one polychrome handpainted. As before, these creamwares are clearly inconsistent with the remainder of the assemblage. While they may be heirloom pieces, it is also possible that there is an earlier assemblage present on the site which has been "swamped" by the twentieth century component.

As in 540R165, glass dominates the Kitchen Group artifacts, accounting for 85.5% of the collection. Identified are two fragments of brown glass, one fragment of blue glass, 13 aqua glass fragments, five pieces of manganese glass, 23

Table 2.
Artifact Pattern at 38BU1715 Compared to Previously Defined and Published Patterns (numbers in percents)

	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern[a]	Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern[b]	Piedmont Tenant/Yeoman[c]	38BU1715
Kitchen	51.8 - 65.0	70.9 - 84.2	45.6	51.2
Architectural	25.2 - 31.4	11.8 - 24.8	50.0	47.1
Furniture	0.2 - 0.6	0.1	0.4	0.3
Arms	0.1 - 0.3	0.1 - 0.3	-	-
Tobacco	1.9 - 13.9	2.4 - 5.4	-	0.3
Clothing	0.6 - 5.4	0.3 - 0.8	1.8	-
Personal	0.2 - 0.5	0.1	0.4	0.3
Activities	0.9 - 1.7	0.2 - 0.9	1.8	0.7

[a] Garrow 1982
[b] Wheaton et al. 1983
[c] Drucker et al. 1984

examples of clear container glass, and one fragment of melted glass. As with the assemblage from 540R165, the manganese glass may pre-date 1916, while the clear glass likely post-dates 1890.

The only other kitchen artifacts are two fragments of a milk glass canning jar lid. These specimens post-date 1896, but otherwise offer relatively temporal sensitivity.

The Architecture Group artifacts included nails (representing 77.8% of the group) and window glass. The nails include 11 unidentifiable fragments and 10 wire nails. Also present are six fragments of a slightly aqua-tinted window glass.

The Personal Group includes one specimen — a 1916 penny. This, obviously, provides a TPQ date, indicating that it could not have been deposited prior to that date.

Pattern Analysis

There is considerable variability in the assemblages from the two units, although both represent very small collections from what are likely specific site areas (540R165 appears to be in an area of structural remains, while 480R165 is more likely from a yard area). We have chosen to combine the collections, dealing with the combined assemblage of 293 specimens shown in Table 2. This same table includes several common previously defined patterns.

The assemblage does not specifically fit any of the previously defined patterns. Nevertheless, in general it resembles that established for tenants and yeoman farmers in the Carolina Piedmont (Drucker et al. 1984). This same pattern has been replicated at low country sites (see, for example, Kennedy et al. 1991:59,100). Its major difference is in the proportion of artifacts found in the two principal artifact groups — kitchen and architecture. The tenant pattern is typically dominated by architectural remains, documenting the heavy use of nails in modern construction and emphasizing that in comparison with architectural remains tenants had relatively few kitchen goods. In contrast, the collection from 38BU1715 has proportions of these two groups switched. Architectural remains are slightly less common than Kitchen Group artifacts.

While this may reflect the nature of the building, indicating substandard construction even for tenant houses, it seems more likely that it relates to the slightly higher economic status of the occupant. Clearly, Walker's sister was not provided with anything approaching a grand house, but perhaps we should remember that the structure appears to have been intended to provide her with some degree of economic independence, allowing her to raise her children while perhaps finding a second husband. It was not intended to impress or to allow social entertaining.

Social Status and Lifeways

In a similar manner, the excavations at 38BU1715 are suggestive of very modest surroundings.

There are no thorough studies of late nineteenth and early twentieth century ceramics such as Otto's (1984) work or Miller's (1980, 1991a, 1991b) indices. Nevertheless, at a general level plain whitewares continued to be among the least expensive of early twentieth century wares, and the site at 38BU1715 was clearly dominated by these plain specimens.

Where decorated specimens exist, they represent the least expensive varieties available — annular ware or stamped. Totally absent from the site are transfer printed or even hand painted wares. There is also no indication of well made, delicate, expensive porcelains. The few specimens recovered are all heavy, clumsy wares just slightly removed from "hotel wares."

Stonewares, typically utilitarian in function, comprise almost 10% of the collection. Compared to an assemblage from a small black land owner of the same time period on Hilton Head Island, where stonewares comprise 27.6% of the ceramics, the Crescent stoneware collection is relatively small. Stonewares from a tenant farmer's house, also on Hilton Head, however, comprised only 2.8% of the ceramic collection (Kennedy et al. 1991:60, 103).

This suggests that there may be a sliding scale of stoneware use. Owners, better able to afford supplies might need larger numbers of stoneware vessels to store food stuffs than more impoverished tenants. More likely to own livestock, owners would also need implements like stoneware churns and milk containers, while tenants would be unlikely to own livestock and have access to milk.

If this interpretation is correct, then Emma Hubbard's house may be ranked midway along this continuum — clearly not as affluent as that of a property owner, but neither as impoverished as a tenant. Thus, stonewares may be an important economic indicator for the period.

Vessel form also has been used to explore status and wealth, since nineteenth century slave assemblages most often contain relatively high percentages of bowls and utilitarian wares, while planters' sites tend to exhibit more plates and teawares. This interpretation, however, must be carefully applied since recent work has revealed that small plantation owners tended to use a number of bowls (Trinkley and Hacker 1996:64-65). In the case of both slaves and small land owners, at least during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, these similarities are the result of remarkably similar foodways. Both groups ate "one-pot" meals, stews, and pilafs.

Just as we have seen the assemblage of owners of modest wealth exhibit a large proportion of open forms, so too does the collection from 38BU1715. This suggests the obvious — that bowl form is an indication of diet, foodways, and wealth more so than ethnicity. It is likely that Emma Hubbard, on a limited income, perhaps even relying on the kindness of her brother, had limited rations.

The remainder of the assemblage is rather sparse. This may be the result of the short period of time the site was occupied. What is absent, however, may also be revealing of social status and lifestyle. Furniture, clothing, and personal artifacts are nearly absent. In many ways more typical of "luxury" goods, these do not seem to have been common in the Hubbard household. With the historic research this, again, makes sense. Widowed, with two young children to care for, taking in boarders for at least a while, it is likely that she was hard pressed to feed her family. Furniture would have been modest and the one porcelain caster may have been from a better time. It may even represent an item coming from one side of the family or other. Clothing items, with few options for replacement, may have been carefully tended and may have only infrequently entered the archaeological record. The only clothing item recovered is from shovel testing and consists of a metal suspender snap — indicative of work clothing, worn by both men and women. The only person item found on the site is the 1916 penny.

The Activity Group artifacts are also telling. There are no plantation work tools (like hoes), storage items (like strap metal), stable or barn items (like harness hardware), or miscellaneous hardware (like screws). Nor are there any toys, in spite of the fact that the family included two children.

Summary

In sum, the artifact assemblage is representative, we believe, of a relatively impoverished settlement, although we admit that there are relatively few comparative sites. Ceramics are plain. Stonewares are common, but not as common as might be expected. Other artifacts, suggestive of luxuries tempering the harshness of everyday life are nearly absent.

The architectural remains suggest a frame building. The presence of window glass indicates a relatively high social status since even into the 1930s window glass was rare at most southern tenant houses. We have not, however, found any architectural hardware. This may indicate salvage or it may reveal the simplicity of the structure.

Although not well dated, the bulk of the artifacts are consistent with a settlement from the first three or four decades of the twentieth century — a time period consistent with the historical research.

This research also revealed very low artifact densities across the site. In 540R165 the artifact density is 10.4 artifacts per cubic foot. In contrast, 480R165 exhibits a density of about 4.5 artifacts per cubic foot. In contrast, turning again to somewhat similar structures excavated on Hilton Head Island, we found an artifact density of nearly 28 artifacts per cubic foot at an owner's site, but only 8 artifacts per cubic foot at a tenant site.

While the aggressive removal of Emma Hubbard's house from the agrarian landscape may account for some of the differences and some may be explained by the brief occupation span, it is also tempting to suggest that the low to middling status of a widow given a modest home may also have played a role.

CONCLUSIONS

Cultural Resources Evaluation

The primary reason for conducting this research was to collect sufficient information concerning 38BU1715 to allow the State Historic Preservation Office to make a determination of the site's eligibility for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. This goal has been met by this project.

First, and foremost, this study provides detailed information on the data sets present at 38BU1715. We have identified that the site includes a small assemblage of primarily early twentieth artifacts, although there is a smear, or wash, of earlier artifacts associated with a late eighteenth or early nineteenth century occupation, although we have no information on the source of these materials. The earlier artifacts include primarily ceramics, although other items include black glass and a tobacco pipe stem.

We have been unsuccessful at demonstrating the presence of consistent faunal remains. Although small quantities, in fair to slightly eroded condition, were recovered from one units, the remains are not adequate for any serious faunal investigation. Charcoal was also noticeably absent in the different assemblages. This tends to confirm that the structure, while physically removed, was not burned.

We failed to identify any features, although one well defined post hole was recovered from one of the units. Significantly, this post hole is deep and contains materials temporally related to the Hubbard occupation. In addition, we were able to document that plowing is not particularly deep at any portion of the site, although some evidence was recovered that the house core has been more aggressively plowed than other parts of the field. The relatively consistent depth of plowing combined with the absence of trees makes this site an appropriate candidate for stripping in order to explore for stains over large areas.

There is some vague indication of discrete structures, based on the concentration of materials on the eastern edge of the site and the occurrence of low density remains to the west. The shovel testing data, combined with the excavations and oral history come together to document that the Hubbard house was situated at the edge of the field, close to the existing road. Other possible concentrations of artifacts to the west are more problematical since the oral history recounts only the presence of an outhouse.

Second, the **Introduction** and **Background Research** provide an overview of a historic context for the site. Probably the most important aspect is that as archaeologists we seem to have synthesized historical research down to the level of "rich man" (plantation owner) and "poor man" (tenant or slave). There is relatively little data for yeoman farmers, small freedmen owners, or peripheral family members.

A whole range of questions are possible based on the site's context as the settlement of a owner's relative, especially given that the occupant was a widow with at least two children. How did such people live in the early twentieth century, what types of food did they eat, from where did they procure their ceramics, what types of artifacts did they possess, how well constructed was the house, what other structures might be in the yard area, and what was the landscape like during their tenure at the site? Many of these questions may be explored by comparing this settlement to excavated sites associated with tenants or small landowners in order to see how they contrast and what can be made of the differences.

These are all important, and worthwhile, questions which would help us better understand the diversity of live in the rural south at the turn of the twentieth century. They would help us better account for the differences we sometimes see in the historical record and that we often see in the archaeological record.

Yet, these questions must be evaluated in terms of the data sets' ability to address them. In other words, significant questions are, at times, easier to develop than it is to find data sets with the ability (or integrity) to answer those questions.

In the case of 38BU1715, there are lingering, concerns about integrity. If the site is to be eligible for inclusion on the National Register under Criterion D (i.e., a site that has yielded, or may be able to yield, information important in history), then we must be especially concerned with location, design, materials, and associative integrity.

Archaeological site 38BU1715 does, in fact, possess considerable locational integrity. The site is relatively intact — it has not been damaged by highway construction, or by being used for borrow fill. It has not been seriously eroded. We must, however, recognize that the locational integrity is somewhat diluted by plowing, which has dispersed many of the remains.

Elements of design include organization of space, proportion, scale, technology, ornamentation, and materials. At archaeological sites these are translated into intra-site artifact and feature patterning. The shovel testing indicates that, in spite of plowing, some intra-site patterning exists, with the definition of the site core and a possible peripheral area. That artifact density is low is not a "strike" against the site since we know that some sites naturally will exhibit a lower density of remains. One excavation did reveal the presence of a well defined, deep, and artifact producing post hole. Consequently, at least some types of features are still present, although we should probably not expect structural piers or chimney footings to be present given the nature of plowing in loose, sandy soils.

Materials include the physical items that were deposited during the period of the site's use which form particular patterns or configurations. Integrity of materials is typically discussed in the context of intrusive artifacts, the completeness of the artifact and feature assemblages, and the preservation of features themselves. At 38BU1715 we have documented an artifact pattern that is similar to previously identified tenant sites, yet also distinct, with parallels to sites of small owners. There are no intrusive artifacts (such as a modern trash dump). The feature assemblage, as previously mentioned, is probably not complete. We have likely lost much structural information, with the post holes remaining likely associated with pole buildings or yard features. In addition, there are no concentrations of brick rubble — these remains having been widely dispersed by either salvage or plowing.

Integrity of association is that direct link between the historic event and the property. It is often evaluated, for historic archaeological sites, in the context of the relationship between the site's data sets and the research questions. For example, it typically requires a well stratified site to address chronological questions of change and adaptation. At 38BU1715, it would require distinct structural areas, with associated artifact assemblages, in order to explore occupant lifeways. This seems to exist, although we admit that we continue to have some concerns. We are, however, heartened by the available oral history evidence that ties the site to a larger historical context and allows the archaeological questions to be carefully framed. It is not common that the occupant of this type of archaeological site is so well documented and the span of use is known.

Site research has already hinted at some of the significant information available at the site, including the development of an artifact pattern within a clear, well-defined, and defensible historic context and the development of an archaeological measure of socio-economic status for this settlement type.

Based on this review of site integrity, we conclude that the site is likely to be able to satisfactorily address at least some of the important research questions we have outlined. Therefore, we recommend the site as eligible for inclusion on the National Register.

Of course, this is only our recommendation which must be presented to the State Historic Preservation Office for their review and concurrence.

Recommended Data Recovery Efforts

While the site is recommended as eligible, it should also be clear that not all eligible sites require the same level of investigation. That is, the nature of data, the questions being asked, and the circumstances of the site should guide data recovery efforts, not preconceived concepts.

In the case of 38BU1715 we believe that some additional formal excavation would be beneficial. Focused on what we believe to be the main house area with the highest artifact density, this work would primarily serve to collect a larger assemblage for pattern study and socio-economic status definition work. It might expose additional features, but this should not be considered the primary goal.

We are recommending approximately 300 square feet of formal excavation, concentrated as a block in the densest site area.

Afterwards, we believe that there may be some advantage to stripping the site to see if features or post hole patterns may be present. In particular, this research may focus on yard features — can the privy be identified? can fences or yard boundaries be found? is there any evidence of trash disposal areas near the house? At this site, situated in a field, such stripping can be easily and cost effectively accomplished. In addition, the development plans call for a lake in this area, so there is no requirement for restoring the site area.

These efforts, we believe, would allow the additional data which makes the site significant to be gathered in an expedient, cost-effective fashion. While much larger hand-excavated areas could be removed, we don't believe the artifact density, or the nature of the assemblage, at this site requires such work.

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