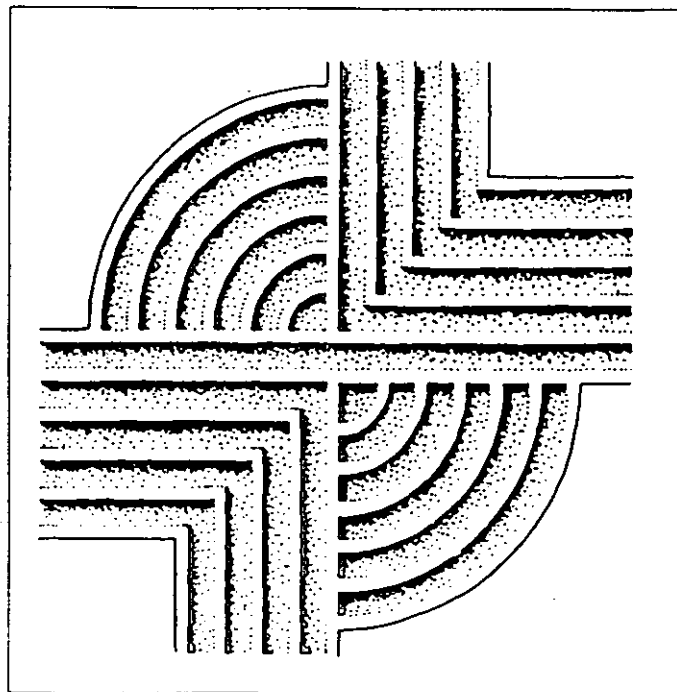


**ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
DOCUMENTATION OF A PORTION OF
MULBERRY PLANTATION, KERSHAW COUNTY,
SOUTH CAROLINA**



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**ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION
OF A PORTION OF MULBERRY PLANTATION,
KERSHAW COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA**

Prepared By:
Michael Trinkley, Ph.D.

Prepared For:
Mr. Nelson Lindsay
Kershaw County Development Office
PO Box 763
Camden, South Carolina 29020

Chicora Foundation Research Series 234

Chicora Foundation, Inc.
PO Box 8664 ■ 861 Arbutus Drive
Columbia, South Carolina 29202-8664
803/787-6910
Email: chicora1@aol.com

November 25, 1997

This report is printed on permanent paper ∞

ABSTRACT

This study reports on documentary research conducted for approximately 470 acres of the Mulberry Plantation tract in Kershaw County. Situated north of I-20 and east of U.S. 521, the tract is found at the extreme northeastern edge of Mulberry. The purpose of this work was to evaluate the potential for the recovery of archaeological and historical sites on the survey tract.

The investigation included contacting the South Carolina Department of Archives and History with a request for any National Register sites in the project area, as well as for information on any previous architectural surveys which may have been conducted in the general vicinity. Unfortunately, we have not yet received a response from that agency. We also reviewed the site files of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, which has two archaeological sites in the immediate area recorded.

Our work also included the collection of a chain of title for the project tract. This was completed to the early 1800s, with the remainder of the title completed through review of secondary sources. The title search was supplemented by a quick overview of primary documentation available for the tract, as well as examination of common secondary historical sources.

To further evaluate the potential for historical and archaeological sites, a number of maps and plats were examined for the area. Projected site locations were identified and are recorded for the tract. In addition, available aerial photographs were also examined to document the prevalent land use activities.

Based on these studies, it is anticipated that as many as seven historic sites may be found on the project tract. These sites include primarily late nineteenth century and early to mid-twentieth century owner and tenant occupations. Depending

on the integrity of these sites some may be eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. No early antebellum sites have been documented for the study and Mulberry's development largely took place slightly south of this area (although it is possible that I-20 destroyed some portions of the original plantation development).

Additional historical sources were also itemized and a recommendation was offered that additional research into historical records should be coupled with the collection of oral history for the project area.

No prehistoric sites are known for the site area, but may exist, based on the location of several mound complexes and at least one proto-historic/historic Indian village in the vicinity. In addition, evaluation of topography and soils supports the contention that there is a high potential for Native American sites in the project area.

Finally, this research included recommendations for additional work, primarily field survey, focusing efforts on high probability portions of the study tract.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I want to thank Mr. Nelson Lindsay for his interest in the heritage of the project area and concern that economic development go hand-in-hand with preservation of what has made Kershaw County such a fine place to live. The current owners of Mulberry Plantation have made the preservation of the plantation a very high priority and they, too, should be thanked for their interest and support.

Mr. Keith Derting, at the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology assisted us identifying previously recorded sites. We thank him for his speedy and thorough work. The staffs of the

Kershaw County Clerk of Court and Probate Court were very cordial and assisted us in our efforts to obtain title and will data from their offices. Likewise, the staff of the South Caroliniana Library helped us locate essential sources and provided map copies. As always, the staff at the Thomas Cooper Map Repository was not only very interested in our work, but went out of their way to be of assistance.

Finally, I want to thank Ms. Kerri Barile for her assistance acquiring plats and Ms. Debi Hacker for her graphic art skills.

INTRODUCTION

Background

In late September 1997, Mr. Nelson Lindsay of the Kershaw County Economic Development Office contact Chicora Foundation with questions concerning options for the review of historic documentation association with the proposed development of a 470 acre tract just south of Camden in Kershaw County. The discussions focused on compliance issues (federal or state involvement in funding, licensing, or permitting) which might require a certain level of investigation, public relations issues (since Camden is well known for its historic resources), and the different levels of research possible. In particular, we discussed the options of background review (limited to documentary research and no field investigation), a reconnaissance study (with limited field research), and intensive survey (combining detailed historic research with a careful field survey designed to record as many sites as possible).

Efforts to develop the tract were in a very early stage and it wasn't until November 12 that Mr. Lindsay again contacted Chicora Foundation with the request that we initiate a documentary review of the project area. Designed to require one or two days of research, coupled with a day to write-up the results, this level of research was intended to provide a generalized overview of the tract. It would evaluate the historical documents and estimate the potential for the presence of historic archaeological sites in the study area. It would also offer gauge the potential for the recovery of prehistoric archaeological sites on the tract, based on topography, soils, distance to water, and other pertinent factors, including the types of sites found in the immediate area. Finally, the study would culminate in recommendations concerning any additional work for the project area, including recommendations on the advisability of field survey.

These investigations were conducted

intermittently from November 12 through November 21, with the report prepared on November 24 and 25, 1997.

The Project Area

The project tract is situated in south central Kershaw County, in an area where the Piedmont is separated from the Coastal Plain by the Fall Line and the Sand Hills (Figure 1). The project tract consists of about 470 acres north of I-20 and east of U.S. 521, about 3 miles south of Camden (Figure 2).

Technically in the Coastal Plain, the topography is rolling, with elevations ranging from about 150 feet above mean sea level (AMSL) to 200 feet AMSL. On the western half of the tract the ground drops to the southeast toward the bottomlands of Town Creek, part of which are dammed to create House Pond. On the eastern half of the tract the topography slopes to the east, toward another tributary of Town Creek. The central portion of the tract consists of two sand ridges running northeast-southwest, with only the southern termini within the project area (Figure 2).

While no field investigation was conducted, the aerial photographs (specifically Mitchell 1989:Map 50 [flown in 1974] and the SCDNR false infrared NAPP 7465-43 [flown in 1994]) reveal the tract to be almost entirely cultivated. The only forested sections are found along the western edge where the Town Creek bottoms are covered primarily in hardwoods and west of Town Creek, where lowland soils are covered in planted pines. A last area of mixed pine and hardwoods are present on the eastern edge of the tract, apparently representing land once cultivated but allowed to go into second growth.

The study tract includes eight soil series, five of which are well drained and three of which are classified as poorly to very poorly drained. The

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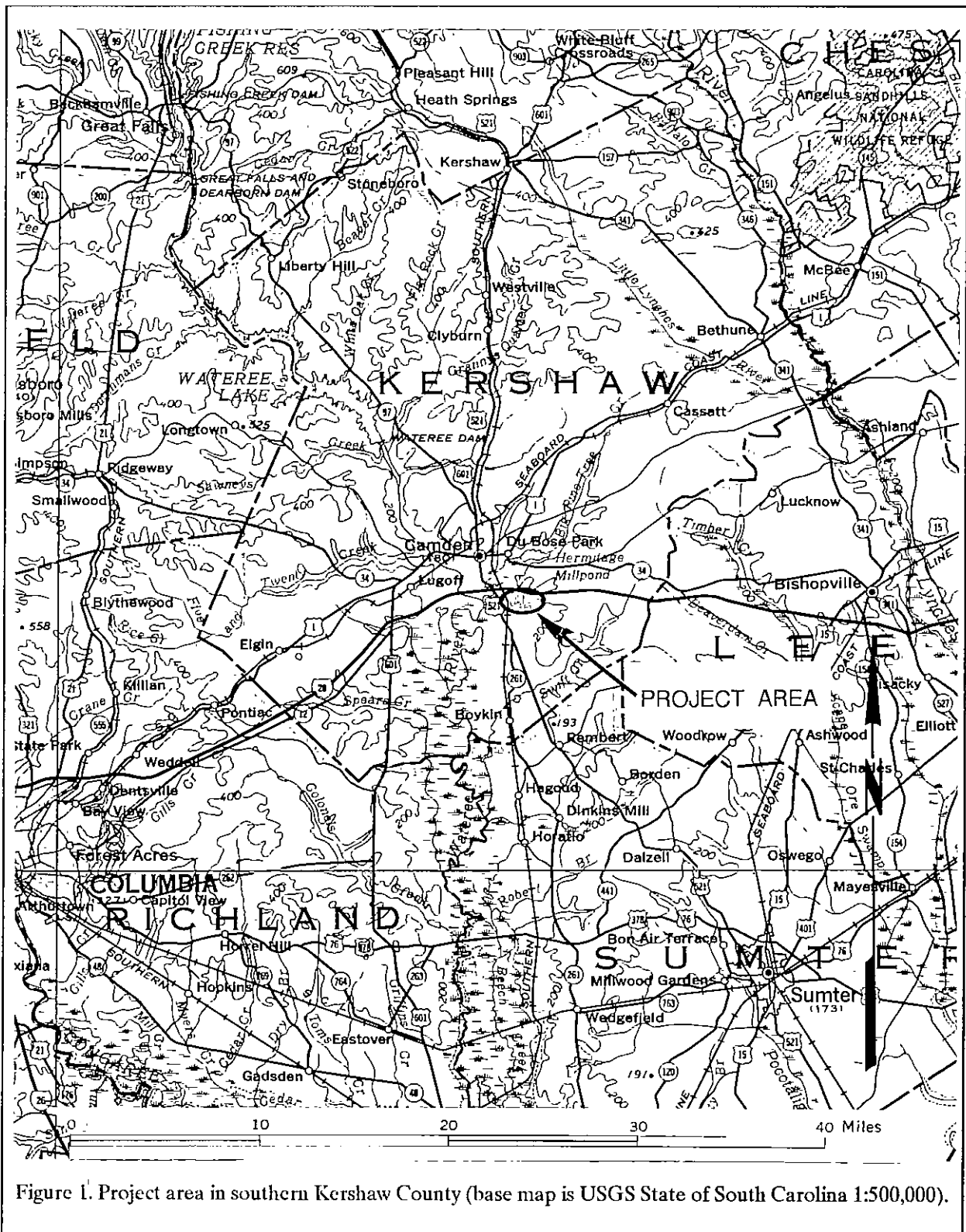


Figure 1. Project area in southern Kershaw County (base map is USGS State of South Carolina 1:500,000).

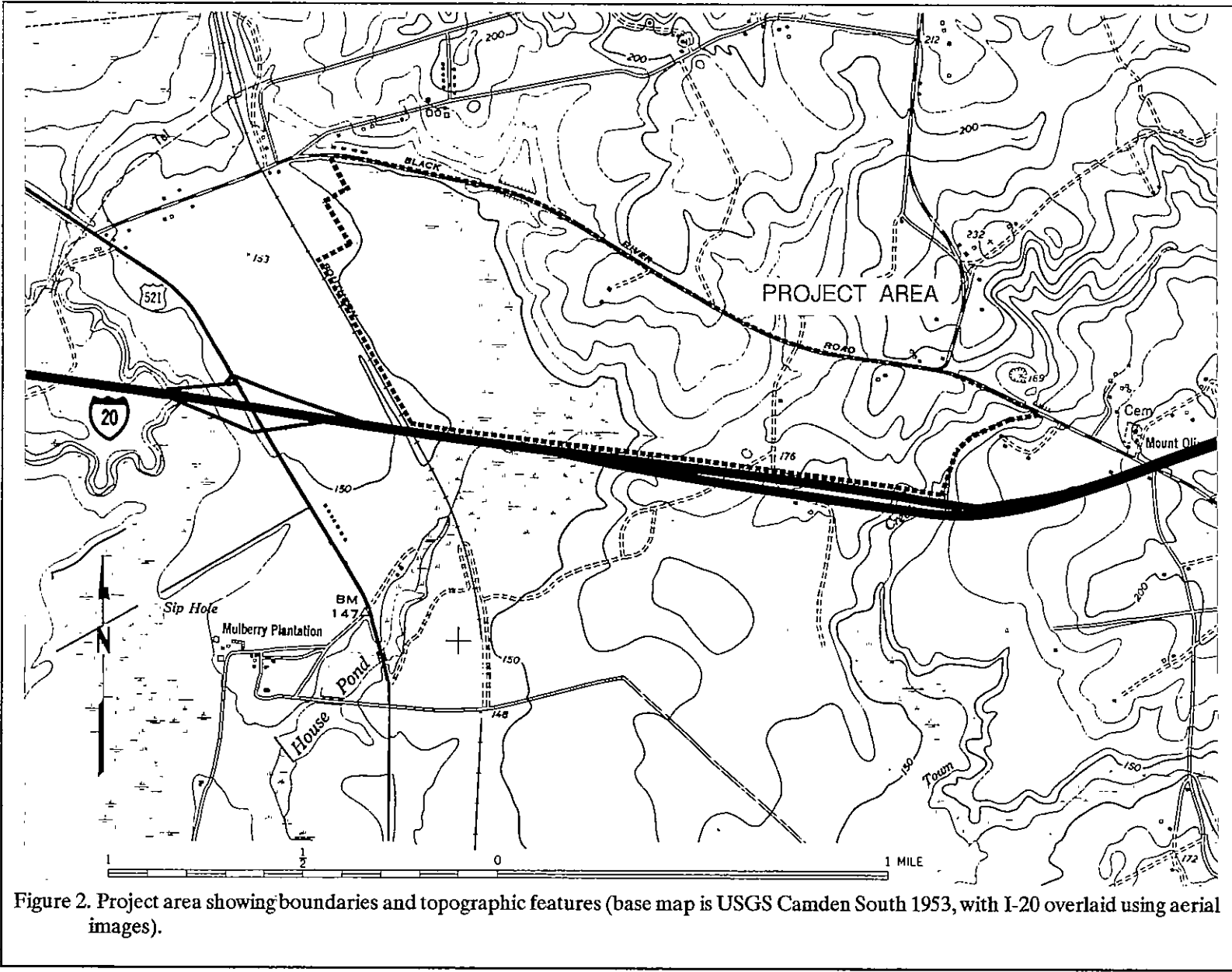


Figure 2. Project area showing boundaries and topographic features (base map is USGS Camden South 1953, with I-20 overlaid using aerial images).

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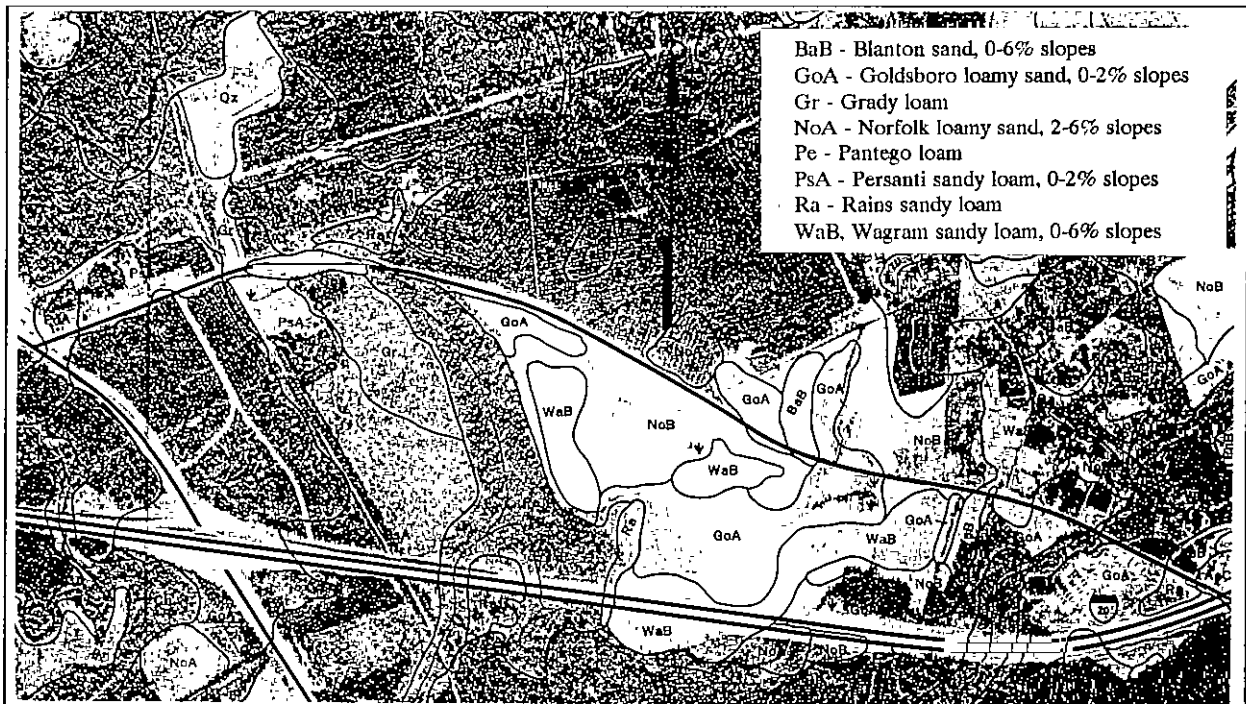


Figure 3. Soil survey of the study tract (base map is Mitchell 1989:Map 50).

well drained soils include the Blanton sands, Goldsboro sandy loams, Norfolk sandy loams, Persanti sandy loams, and Wagram sands. The poorly drained soils include the Grady loams, Pantego loams, and Rains sandy loams (Figure 4).

Of the well drained soils, most have a brown Ap horizon, although the Blanton soils have grayish surface soils. Most also have brownish subsoils, although the Blanton soils exhibit a brownish-yellow sands and the Persanti soils exhibit a yellow sandy clay loam subsoil. Erosion on most of these soils is limited, although there is concern with soil blowing on the Wagram sands and erosion is a hazard with the steeper Norfolk soils.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORIC DOCUMENTATION

Previous Investigations

On November 13 we faxed Dr. Tracy Power at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, requesting that he check the master topographic maps at his office to locate any National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) buildings, districts, structures, sites, or objects in the study area. In addition, we requested the results of any structures surveys which may have been completed in the area. In a telephone conversation of November 24 he informed us that the only National Register site in the vicinity is the Mulberry Plantation House, nominated in 1980 along with three outbuildings and 59.7 acres of surrounding land. The site was nominated both as an outstanding example of Federal architecture and also because of its close association with the Chesnut family (National Register criteria B and C).

Of course there are additional National Register sites in the general vicinity, including both the Mulberry Mounds (38KE12, also known as Chesnut, Taylor, and McDowell) and the Adamson (38KE11) Mounds, as well as several sites inside the City of Camden. These sites, however, are all relatively far removed from the project tract.

There is no county-wide architectural survey and Dr. Power reports that little is known concerning historic or architectural sites outside the City of Camden. This is particularly unfortunate since there continues to be considerable economic development in the general region and many sites are no doubt being lost.

The closest document to an inventory of historic sites is perhaps *A Guide to Selected Historical Sites* published by the Kershaw County Historical Society. This publication highlights Mulberry (Anonymous 1992:50), as well as Chesnut Ferry and Knights Hill (Anonymous 1992:36-37). The location of Mulberry is well

known, being documented not only by the National Register nomination, but also appearing on the Camden South topographic map (Figure 3). Although the location of Knights Hill and the Chesnut Ferry are not precisely known, the Rabon Crossroads USGS topographic map shows the location of the Chesnut family cemetery (UTM E529770 N3794190) and the mansion would likely have been nearby.

Also worthy of note is the Indian Town (Anonymous 1992:10) shown on a variety of early maps. Kirkland and Kennedy note that:

On Cook and Mouzon's map of 1771, an "Indian Town" is represented in the fork of Big and Little Pine Tree Creeks, adjacent to Camden on the east, just where the Camden Cotton Mill is situated. This spot also is indicated as "Indian Camp," upon the plat of a large tract of land conveyed in 1796 by John Kershaw to Duncan McRae and Zachery Cantey (Kirkland and Kennedy 1905:I:40).

The Camden Cotton Mill became the Heritage Cotton Mill, situated on the south side of the Old Bishopville Road. The Camden South USGS topographic map reveals that the Heritage Mills are still located in this area, although the City of Camden has almost covered the area.

Other historic Indian towns are suggested by John Stuart's *Map of South Carolina and A Part of Georgia*, published in 1780, which illustrates an "Indian Town belonging to the Catawba Nation now reduced to 80 Fighting Men," close to the head waters of Sanders Creek above Camden and the Blanding Map of the Camden area, which shows an Indian village at the junction of Town Creek and the Wateree River. There has not,

however, been any real effort to identify any of these historic villages. In fact, Blanding illustrates two additional villages north of Camden, both of which are today under the waters of Wateree Lake.

An examination of the archaeological site files at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (SCIAA) reveals that no sites are recorded within the survey tract. Nearby, however, are two recorded sites. Site 38KE13 was taken from George Stuart's (1975) work in the Camden area. Although the site location is listed as questionable in the SCIAA files, this same site was also recorded in the site files at the Research Laboratories of Archaeology (RLA) at the University of North Carolina, where Stuart did his graduate work. Listed as SoC'222 and called Dabney in the site files, the location is shown as 500 feet east-northeast of the intersection of Black River Road and U.S. 521. The RLA site form reveals that the site produced "mainly sherds — Pec Dee and earlier."

Another SCIAA site in the general vicinity is 38KE192, recorded in 1987 by Alex West, at the time a graduate student in the University of South Carolina anthropology program. Apparently four 50 cm. test units were excavated in a large field about 2000 feet northwest of the Mulberry Plantation house. Although the SCIAA files contain a number of photographs and a sketch map of the site area apparently no report was produced on the excavations. The site form, however, notes that both Late Woodland and Historic (eighteenth century through twentieth century) remains were encountered in the testing.

Of course, the most famous site in the area is 38KE12, or the Mulberry Mounds. This site was first documented on the 1820 John Boykin map which was, in 1825, incorporated into the Mills' *Atlas*. The mound was first described by William Blanding, a physician living in the Camden area during the first quarter of the

nineteenth century. While Blanding apparently kept detailed diaries of his explorations, including his excavations of the Mulberry Mounds, these records have never been identified (see, for a more detailed account, Stuart 1975:23-24). What is known (and has been published) are Blanding's letters to Samuel George Morton, a friend and fellow member of the Academy of Science in Philadelphia. In addition, Blanding's manuscript map of the Mulberry site was also published by Squier and Davis (1848; see Stuart 1975:169-171 and also Ferrell 1978). Most importantly, the manuscript map shows an embankment with an exterior ditch around the Mulberry site, while the published version shows only the embankment. In addition, the number and relative position of the mounds at Mulberry differs dramatically between the manuscript and published map. A portion of the manuscript map is reproduced as Figure 4 since it is assumed to be the more accurate of the two.

Blanding's work, however, helps us understand at least some of the activities on the Mulberry Plantation since, in 1806 when first

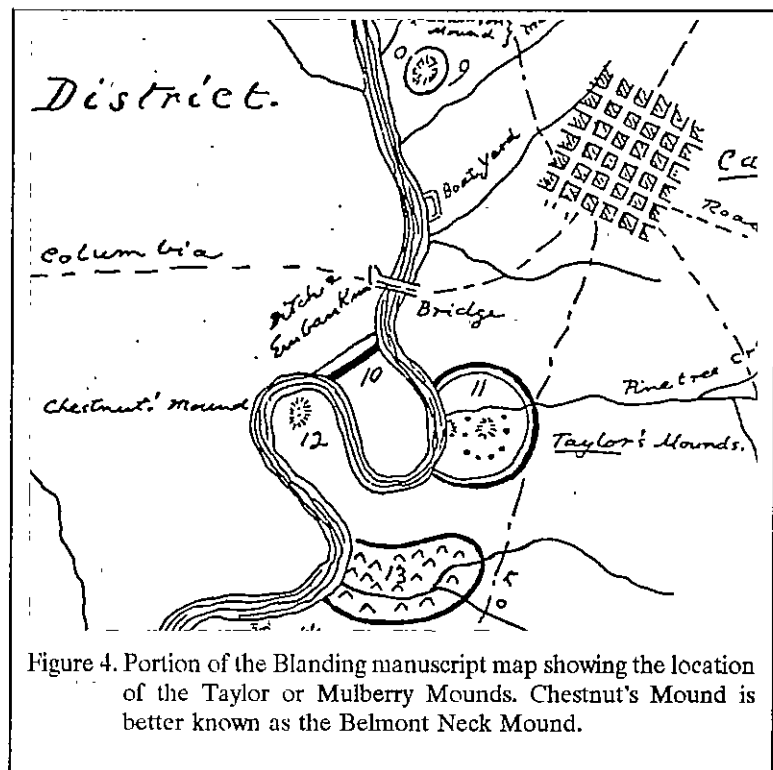


Figure 4. Portion of the Blanding manuscript map showing the location of the Taylor or Mulberry Mounds. Chestnut's Mound is better known as the Belmont Neck Mound.

visited, "on the large mound stood the overseer's house; around it; on the smaller piles [i.e., the surrounding mounds], were the negro quarters" (Squier and Davis 1848:108). The use of the main mound continued at least through 1849, since in that year Lucy Carpenter, Blanding's sister, wrote that she had been invited "to visit a mound on their plantation [Mulberry], the overseer's house stands on it" (quoted in Stuart 1975:100).

In June 1886 the *Camden Journal* reported that recent flooding had damaged the Chesnut Mound, revealing it not to be a mound, but a plateau on which was a very large Indian burial ground. This may be the Mulberry Mound, or it may be the Belmont Neck mound (38KE6). In fact, there is evidence that both mound complexes the location of overseer's houses (see Stuart 1975:129), adding further confusion. Concerning this mound, however, Kirkland and Kennedy report that:

excavations about four feet deep, made by the waters, exposed quantities of pottery, pipes, and stone axes, mixed with dog and deer skulls, as jawbones and teeth of some unknown animal, Specimens of human jaw- and thigh-bones indicated the owners to have been of tremendous proportions (Kirkland and Kennedy 1905:I:62).

In the spring of 1891 the Smithsonian conducted brief excavations at Mulberry under the direction of Henry Reynolds. This work, cut short by Reynolds' death, was reported by Thomas (1894). Not only did the excavations reveal abundant Indian materials, but also evidence of the historic occupation by the overseer and the Mulberry slaves (Stuart 1975:103).

A second excavation of the Mulberry Mounds was conducted in the summer of 1952. Arranged by David R. Williams, the owner of the property (and the grandson of Col. James Chesnut), the work was conducted by the Charleston Museum and the University of Georgia under the direction of Dr. A.R. Kelly (see Stuart 1975:105).

In the summer of 1972 yet another tentative excavation was carried out at Mulberry under the direction of Dr. Leland Ferguson, associated with SCIAA (Ferguson 1973, 1974). That work recommended additional investigations which we presume eventually lead to a series of field schools conducted at the site by the University of South Carolina (under the successive direction of Dr. Leland Ferguson, Dr. Chester DePratter, and Dr. Gail Wagner. DePratter (1979; see also DePratter et al. 1983) began to espouse Mulberry as the location of DeSoto's Cofitacheque, although to date no historic artifacts support such a contention. Regardless, archaeologists, eager to find a location for such an important historic site, have generally accepted the reasoning that since no other likely site seems to exist, Mulberry must be Cofitacheque (see Anderson 1990:197).

Since that time several theses have been produced on the Mulberry site by University of South Carolina students (see, for example, Grimes 1986; Judge 1987; Merry 1982; Sassaman 1984; Sutton 1984), although no synthesis of the field investigations has been produced nor unfortunately have the resulting collections been completely analyzed or cataloged. Available are a series of brief overviews of various field school activities conducted in 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, and 1985 (DePratter 1985; Ferguson and Green 1980).

Even more surprisingly, almost no attention has been paid to the exceptional historic resources present on the Mulberry tract. Besides 38KE192 (where the primary focus was on prehistoric material), not a single plantation-associated settlement has been recorded for Mulberry. Even an underwater archaeological investigation of Pine Tree Creek (DePratter and Amer 1988) notes only prehistoric material — no mention is made of any historic occupation. The only analysis of historic materials is that provided by Roesner and Southerlin (1981) and briefly mentioned by Sassaman (1981). As a result, this initial overview of at least one portion of the tract is of special interest and importance.

Shifting from the topic of previous investigations in the immediate project area to studies that are capable of helping project site

locations, relatively few intensive surveys have been conducted in Kershaw County. In fact Derting et. al (1991) reveal only 10 surveys (seven of which are associated with highway projects) that have identified 10 sites.

There are, however, several major studies in similar areas of the Upper Coastal Plain. One major study was the 1984 survey of the 2700 acre Santee Cooper Pee Dee Electrical Generating Station, which is located in a very similar environmental context in Florence County (Taylor 1984). The Santee Cooper study identified 103 cultural resources, including 38 prehistoric sites, 33 historic sites, and 32 standing structures. Chicora Foundation has also surveyed about 1400 acres for Roche Carolina, also in Florence County overlooking the swamps of the Pee Dee River (Trinkley and Adams 1992). This tract is also in a nearly identical environmental zone and 42 archaeological sites were identified. Most recently, an intensive survey of the 400 acre tract previously considered by Honda Motors at the intersection of I-95 at its Pee Dee River crossing identified 30 archaeological sites and seven architectural sites (Trinkley 1997).

In all of these studies the most intensively used environmental zones are consistently the bluff edge and along minor tributaries. Upland areas were only lightly used, primarily by Woodland Period groups. For historic settlement, the various studies have found that eighteenth century sites were located either on the bluff edge, or along major roads. In the nineteenth century the bluff edge was abandoned and settlements were almost exclusively "road-oriented," although they may be set back from the road as much as 300 feet. By the early twentieth century the settlement pattern is less defined, with tenant sites occurring in a variety of locations.

Historic Overview of the Camden Area

Although four counties, Berkeley, Craven, Colleton, and Granville, were created by the Carolina Proprietors between 1682 and 1685, the Anglican parishes, established in 1706, became the local unit of political administration. Still, the coastal area maintained the reins of power and the

Back County was largely unrepresented. In addition, with the settlement of the Yemassee War of 1715, many Native American groups were forced from the region, allowing a more aggressive settlement policy (Wallace 1951). From about 1715 to 1727 there was a period of tremendous lust for land, with the accompanying fraud so common to period politics. In 1730 Governor Robert Johnson began a policy of frontier settlement, hinged on the creation of 11 townships intended to increase the number of small, white farmers. This increased settlement would provide protection from South Carolina's enemies from within (as the African American slaves were viewed) and from without (including both the Spanish and the Native Americans).

With the creation of Georgia, only nine of the proposed 11 townships were actually established. One of these was to be "on the River Watery," and called Fredricksburgh Township (Kirkland and Kennedy 1905:9-10). Laid out with the Wateree River on one side, it was to be six miles square and contain 60,000 acres. An area 12 miles square was to surround the township, being reserved for those settling within the township. Each resident was to receive a town lot and 50 acres for each member of their family. The Royal Council employed James St. Julien for £500 to survey the township in 1733.

The Township focused on the area around Pine Tree Creek. Kirkland and Kennedy (1905:I:13) note that the original grand plat for Fredricksburgh no longer survives and only three town lots were apparently ever laid out, suggesting a less than successful beginning. Most of the land appears to have been sold as large tracts. This practice continued well into the 1750s when a number of Quakers came into the region, settling primarily along the river.

St. Mark's Parish was established in the area from the Congaree River northward to the Lynches River in 1757. One of the earliest records of settlement in the area is the establishment of Joseph Kershaw's store at Pine Tree Creek, with a small village growing up around the store. There is no mention of Camden until 1768 when the Assembly established a Circuit Court at Camden in

the Camden District. The first court was held at "Mr. Kershaw's brew house" in Camden in 1773 (Wittkowsky and Moseley 1923:8).

Kirkland and Kennedy reveal that about 400 acres of the Mulberry area was acquired by George Senior in 1749 (Figure 5), although the interior acreage is more difficult to attribute to individual owners because of the imprecise plats (Kirkland and Kennedy 1905:I:69). Esther Davis (daughter of Mary Cox Chesnut and great-granddaughter of Col. James Chesnut II) contends that Jasper Sutton of Virginia and two sons from his wife's previous marriage, John and James Chesnut, settled at Granny's Quarter above Camden sometime between about 1756 and 1758 (Davis 1913:8; see also Kirkland and Kennedy 1905:I:366). John Chesnut entered into apprenticeship in Joseph Kershaw's store at least by 1763. By 1767 it appears that John had established himself, in the words of Kirkland and Kennedy (1905:I:367), as "an independent merchant and landholder."

Kirkland and Kennedy note that John Chesnut accumulated a great deal of land immediately north and south of Camden, living primarily at his Knights Hill Plantation at what is known as Chesnut Ferry and near the family cemetery (Kirkland and Kennedy 1905:I:367). This suggests that Knights Hill is the old house or mansion for the Chesnuts. John's brother James acquired the Mulberry tract, but died young, without heirs. The tract was passed to John Chesnut, who in turn willed it to his son, James Chesnut (II) who was born in 1773. Curiously, as late as 1773, neither the Mouzon or Cook maps show much activity on the outskirts of Camden (Figure 6).

During the American Revolution Camden was the scene of much turmoil. The City was occupied by British forces from June 1780 through May 1781. Two battles, both horrific defeats for the American forces, took place in the area. The Battle of Camden, in August 1780, took place about 8 miles north of town and Nathanael Gates was decisively defeated by Lord Cornwallis. At Hobkirk Hill in April 1781 the Americans, under Horatio Greene, were defeated by the British

forces under Lord Rawdon. Although a victory for the British, the situation afterwards was so untenable that they withdrew from Camden a short time later. Wallace notes that many of the loyalist families that left Camden with Lord Rawdon "perished miserably in the huts of 'Rawdowntown' outside of Charleston" (Wallace 1951:316).

After the American Revolution and into the early nineteenth century Camden and the surrounding plantations slipped into a relatively prosperous peace. Camden was visited by Washington during his 1791 Southern tour and the town had been incorporated only a few months before Washington's arrival. Although called "a very pretty Town" by North Carolinian James Iredell, Washington characterized it as only as:

a small place with appearances of some new buildings. It was much injured by the British whilst in their possession (Lipscomb 1993:71).

While in Camden, Washington dined at one of the finest houses in town — the home of John Chesnut on the corner of Fair and King Streets (now moved to 1413 Mill Street) and later toured the nearby battlefields and their still extant skirmish lines.

The architecture of Camden was further reviewed by Robert Gilmor during his trip through the county in the first decade of the nineteenth century. He noted that:

Camden is a small pretty village, made beautiful by the handsome houses of Col. Chesnut & his son, with one or two others, all which are built in the New York style, with piazzas & painted white with red roofs (Teal 1997:n.p.).

An astute observer, Gilmor also visited the Chesnut plantations along the Wateree, commenting:

Col. C. is one of the richest planters in Camden . . . he

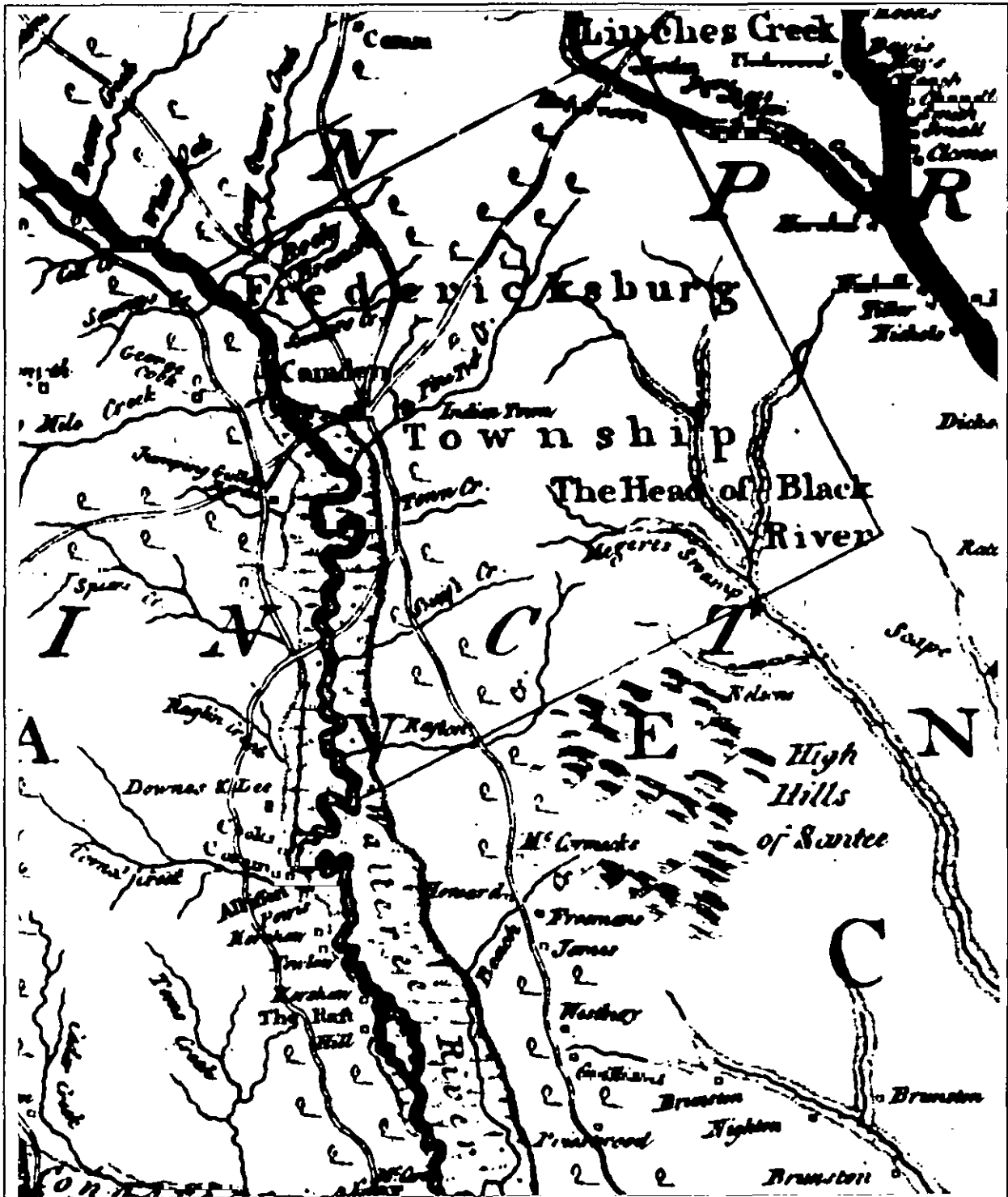


Figure 6. Portion of Cook's 1773 *A Map of the Province of South Carolina* showing features in the vicinity of Camden in Fredricksburg Township.

politely offered to carry me to his fine plantation on the banks of the Wateree . . . about three miles from town . . . I must confess I was most pleased with the noble plantation. The land belonged to him stretches along the river for 5 miles and is chiefly a rich flat, producing oak, beech, hickory & gum. He showed me the difference between this extensive & rich river land as it is called and the land just above it, which produces pine & scrubby oak, the former only producing the long stalk cotton [probably long staple is meant], while the latter will only bring the short (Teal 1997:n.p.).

By the 1820s the Kershaw District had been created and Mills notes that the Quakers had largely deserted the Camden area, primarily as a response to slavery (Mills 1972:586 [1826]). Cotton was the staple, although corn, wheat, and rye were being raised for home consumption. Camden was also a center for milling both before and after the American Revolution (Mills 1972:588 [1826]). The influence of cotton can be seen in the increase of slavery in the district. In 1800 there were 4,606 whites in the district with 2,530 African American slaves. By 1820 the white population had grown to only 5,628, while the number of slaves had increased to 6,692. This increase in slave population would not only increase, but the white population would begin to decline toward the Civil War. In 1850, for example, there were 9,578 slaves, but only 4,681 whites (DeBow 1854:302; Mills 1972:589 [1826]).

Camden had recovered from the Revolution and Mills reported that it was the center of the cotton trade for this region of South Carolina (Mills 1972:590[1826]). His atlas of the county reveals the location of the Mulberry Mounds (shown as *I Mound* on the map), as well as the Mulberry Plantation house (shown as *Chesnuts* along the river) (Figure 7).

John Chesnut died in 1818 and devised the

Belmont, Town Creek and Mulberry lands to his son, James Chesnut (II) (Bailey 1984:109; Kirkland and Kennedy 1905:369; WPA Wills, Kershaw County, Book A-1, pp. 257-266).

Kershaw's first railroad did not arrive until 1846, with the opening of a branch line connecting Camden with the main line that ran from Charleston to Columbia. Prior to this Camden's mercantile interests were promoted by hauling cotton on the river to either Charleston or Georgetown. A steamboat line between Camden and Charleston was begun in 1835. While not really successful because of the fluctuating water levels, it was continued intermittently into the early 1900s (Wittkowsky and Moseley 1923:12).

Camden was largely quiet during the Civil War and it wasn't until Sherman's march that the local inhabitants experienced war first-hand. A detachment entered Camden February 24, 1865 and burned a number of buildings. Union troops again came through on April 18, and the town was finally occupied by a Federal garrison of the 25th Ohio Volunteers on June 14 under Captain C. W. Ferguson (Kirkland and Kennedy 1905:I:34-35). Civil authorities took control of the city on November 1, 1865, although troops were not removed until March 1866.

After the Civil War plantation houses were destroyed, portions of Camden were burned, the agricultural base of slavery was destroyed, and the economic system was in chaos. Rebuilding after the war involved two primary tasks: forging a new relationship between white land owners and black freedmen, and creating a new economic order through credit merchants. General sources discussing the changes in South Carolina include Williamson (1975) and Zuczek (1996).

South Carolina's reconstruction was made harder than necessary by a ruling class that refused to accept the demise not only of the Confederacy, but also of slavery. Foner notes that the South Carolina and Mississippi legislatures further antagonized the Radicals in Congress with the enactment of the first, and most severe, of the so-called Black Codes toward the end of 1865. He observes that:

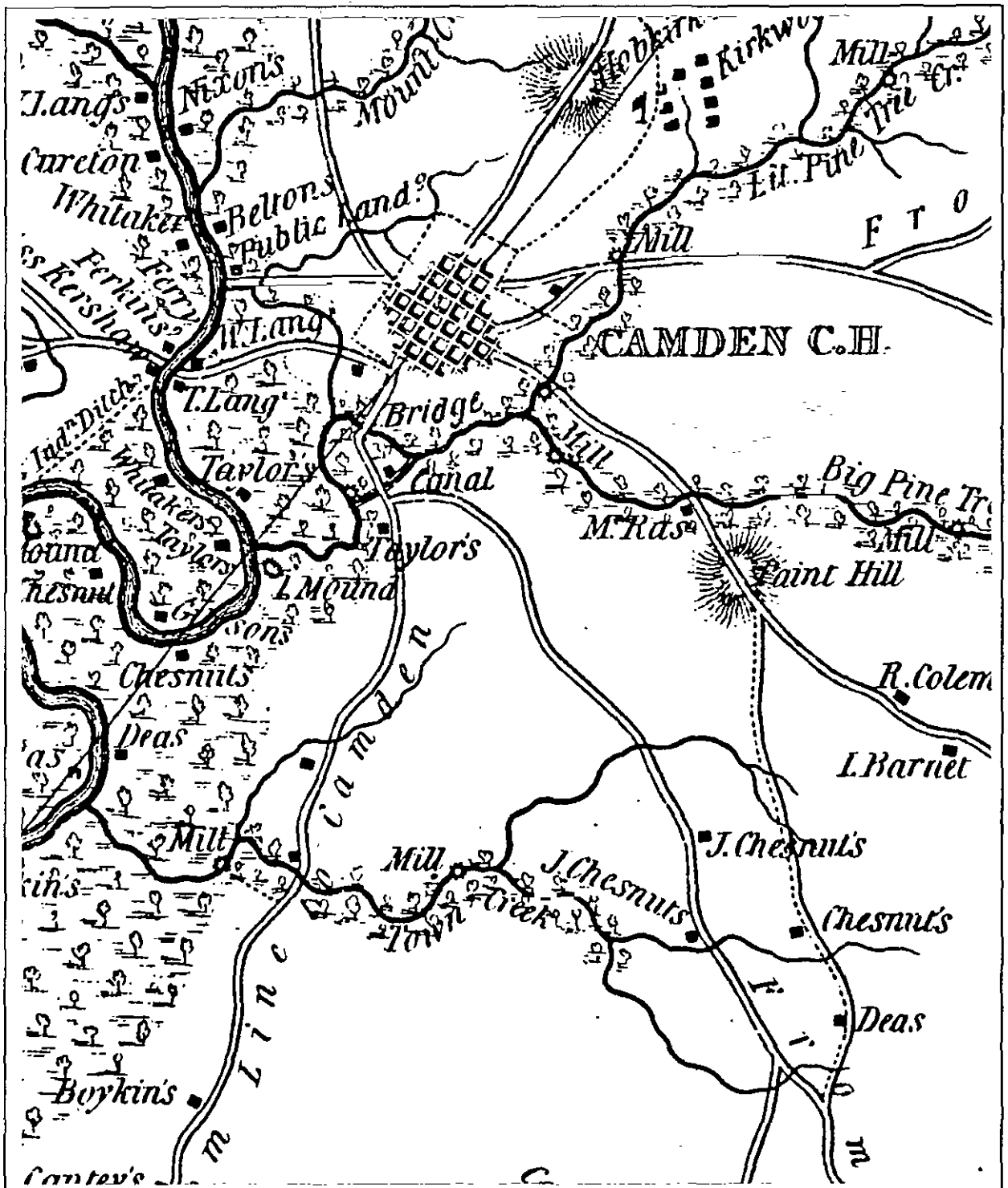


Figure 7. Portion of Mills' Atlas showing Kershaw District and features in the vicinity of Camden in 1825.

South Carolina's Code was in some respects even more discriminatory [than Mississippi's], although it contained provisions, such as prohibiting the expulsion of aged freedmen from plantations, designed to reinvigorate paternalism and clothe it with the force of law. It did not forbid blacks to rent land, but barred them from following any occupation other than farmer or servant except by paying an annual tax ranging from \$10 to \$100 (a severe blow to the free black community of Charleston and to former slave artisans). The law required blacks to sign annual contracts and included elaborate provisions regulating relations between "servants" and their "masters," including labor from sunup to sundown and a ban on leaving the plantation, or entertaining guests upon it, without permission of the employer. A vagrancy law applied to unemployed blacks, "persons who lead idle or disorderly lives," and even traveling circuses, fortune tellers, and thespians (Foner 1988:199-200).

Curiously these, and similar, laws were not developed by extreme secessionists. Rather, South Carolina's Black Code was articulated by conservative Whig Unionists, like Benjamin Perry. Although some in the state described the efforts as "madness" which would never be accepted by the Radical Congress, more were obsessed by the idea that blacks would never work unless forced to do so. They were also alarmed by the increasing militancy of their former "servants."

As Congress considered a variety of measures to ensure reconstruction, violence raged over many areas of South Carolina, including the Kershaw District (Zuczek 1996:53). Two "reconstruction" acts were passed in March 1867 over Johnson's veto. Congress carved the South

into five military districts. Many ex-Confederates were at least temporarily barred from voting or holding office, new governments were created, and blacks were given the right to vote. Finally, only after ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment would Southern states finally be readmitted to the Union. South Carolina began to realize the results of defeat in war.

The milling industry which had a long history in the Camden area at least partially revitalized after the Civil War. By 1884 there were 43 flour and grist mills reported in Kershaw County, along with 16 lumber mills and six turpentine refineries. Of the grist and flour mills about two-thirds were water powered and a third were steam powered (Anonymous 1884). By 1915 the number of mills had been reduced to three, although two cotton mills were situated in Camden — the Hermitage Cotton Mills with over 16,000 spindles and the Pine Creek Manufacturing Company with nearly 19,000. The Hermitage produced sheetings, while Pine Tree manufactured print cloths (Watson 1916:Table 1).

While some industry came to the Camden area after the Civil War, at least partially encouraged by the Seaboard Air Line which was completed in 1899, agriculture was still the primary occupation in the region. In 1915 there was one cotton seed oil mill in Camden and the cotton crop had steadily increased from 21,527 bales in 1910 to 30,652 bales in 1914 (Watson 1916:79).

By the early 1920s Wittkowsky and Moseley commented that farm tenancy in the county was "one of the worst, if not the worst, economic and social evils" (Wittkowsky and Moseley 1923:31). In Kershaw County 67.1% of the farms were worked by tenants (including both renters and sharecroppers), compared to a state average of only 64.5%. Farm mortgages were high and relatively little of the land (only 47.8%) was improved — described as "entirely too little for our county" (Wittkowsky and Moseley 1923:48).

Moreover, the reliance on cotton was strangling economic development, encouraging tenancy, and promoting the waste of the land.

They also warned that the cotton kingdom was focusing attention away from subsistence crops, so that only a small proportion of the food and feed necessary for the county was actually produced in surrounding farms (Wittkowsky and Moseley 1923:50). They also warned of the coming of the boll weevil and that cotton production had already fallen from 40,000 bales in 1920 to only 13,000 bales in 1921.

Camden is situated in what was called the "Black Belt," the area of oldest plantations. During the 1930s this area had very large proportions of both tenants and blacks. One of the best studies of tenancy in this region was that by T.J. Woolfer (1936). In 1930 73% of the farmers in the Black Belt were tenants (compared to 60% in the adjacent Atlantic Coastal Plain and 63% in the Piedmont). Nearly half of the plantation were almost exclusively operated by African American tenants or were operated by both whites and blacks. Only 2.7% of the plantations were operated only by whites. Mixed tenancy was also most common (representing 75.7% of the tenants), followed by croppers (representing 13.4%). While the net income of the plantation owner in the Black Belt was a meager \$1,462, the tenants' net incomes were only \$127 for croppers and \$106 for shares. Tenancy cast a very long shadow over all of South Carolina — including Kershaw County. Although the literature is filled with tenancy studies those by Goldenweiser and Truesdell (1924), Johnson et al. (1935), Poe (1934) provide an excellent overview.

Historic Documentation of the Study Tract

The study tract, consisting of about 470± acres is shown on the current tax map as 299-00-00-49 and is described as being located about 3 miles south of Camden in School District 2. The property was most recently sold in 1995 by William Daniels Partnership to Mulberry Plantation, Inc. for \$5 and other good and valuable consideration (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB 374, p. 77). The property is described as bounded to the north and northwest by Howle, McCoy, and the Black River Road (S-12), to the northeast by the Black River Road, to the east and southeast by Smith, Moseley, and Long Branch, to the south by I-20,

and to the southwest by the Southern Railroad, Howle, Beaufort, and McCoy. The deed specifies that the parcel is made up of four distinct tracts and each includes specific plat references (Figure 8).

This parcel was sold to the William Daniels Partnership in 1980 by Mulberry Resources, Inc. for \$1,175,000 (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB IO, p. 1409). Again, the deed makes reference to four distinct parcels and references several plats (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, PB 35, p. 1685 and PB 36, p. 1855, shown as Figure 8). One of these plats (Figure 9) very clearly reveals that the study tract consists of three of the four parcels comprising these recent transfers (including two parcels acquired in 1941 and one acquired in 1948). The fourth tract, known as the Brick Yard Property, consists of only 57.1 acres and is situated west of the railroad, outside the study area.

Figure 9 shows the three tracts of concern to this research and designates them as A, C, and D. Each of these, however, began as part of the Mulberry tract, which is comprised of land inherited by Col. James Chesnut, Sr. from his father, John Chesnut, as well as additional lands he assembled during his life. By 1840 Chesnut had acquired at least 11,853 acres on the east bank of the Wateree below Camden (Figure 10). Eventually Chesnut acquired nearly 5 square miles and owned the equivalent of an industrial complex, including sawmills, gristmills, tanyards, brickyards, a landing on the Wateree River. Chesnut spent his winters (when the weather was safe) at Mulberry, but retreated inland (or eastward) to Sandy Hill Plantation during the malaria-ridden summers. Chesnut's wealth was not limited to property. The 1860 slave schedule reveals that he owned 448 slaves in Kershaw District (Bailey 1984:109).

The Mulberry house was begun in 1820 but was not completed until at least 1822 (Lane 1984:169; in this respect Davis' account of the house is incorrect). Lane describes the building as:

a perfect square, with front and side walls of the same length, laid in Flemish bond, with a gable

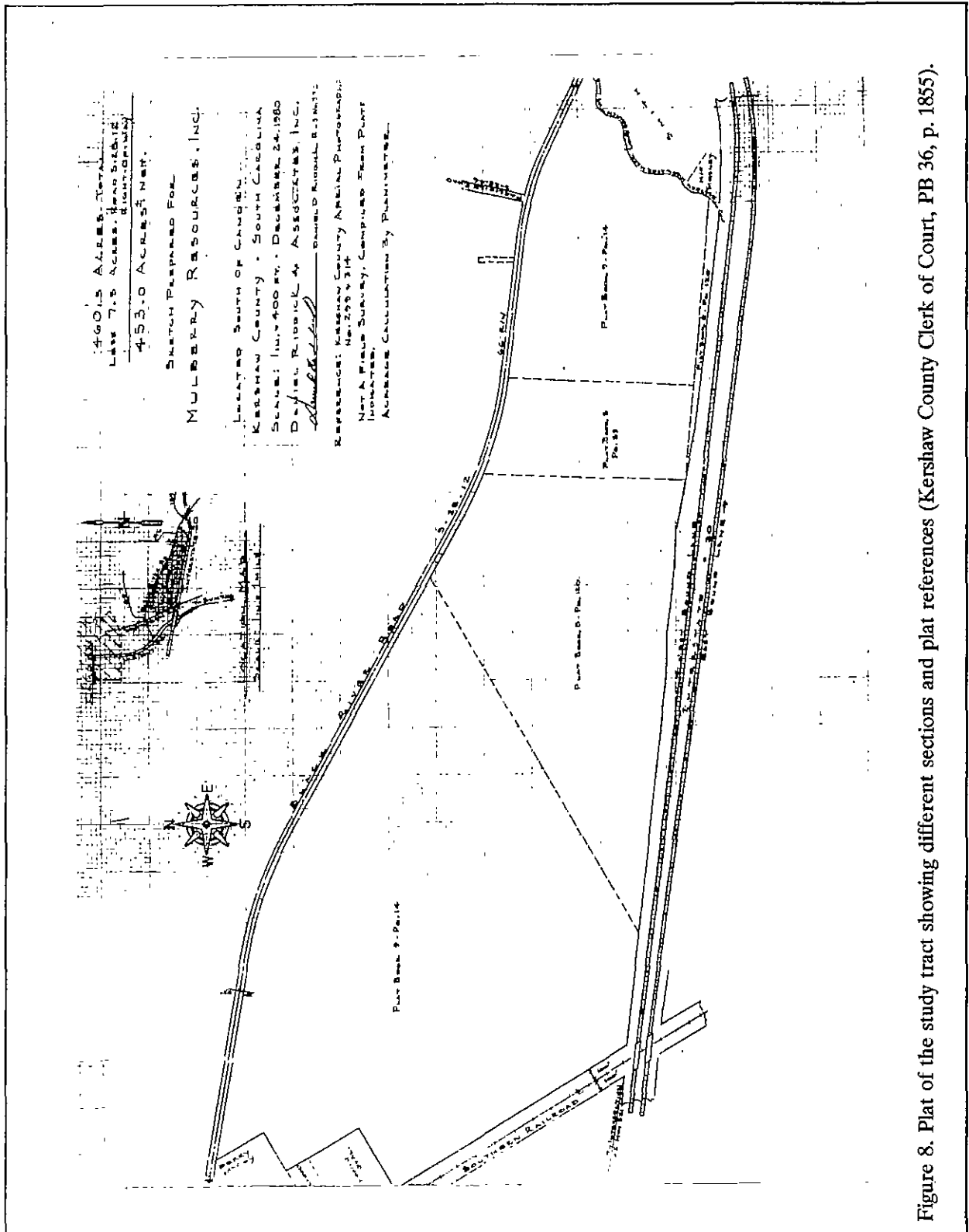


Figure 8. Plat of the study tract showing different sections and plat references (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, PB 36, p. 1855).

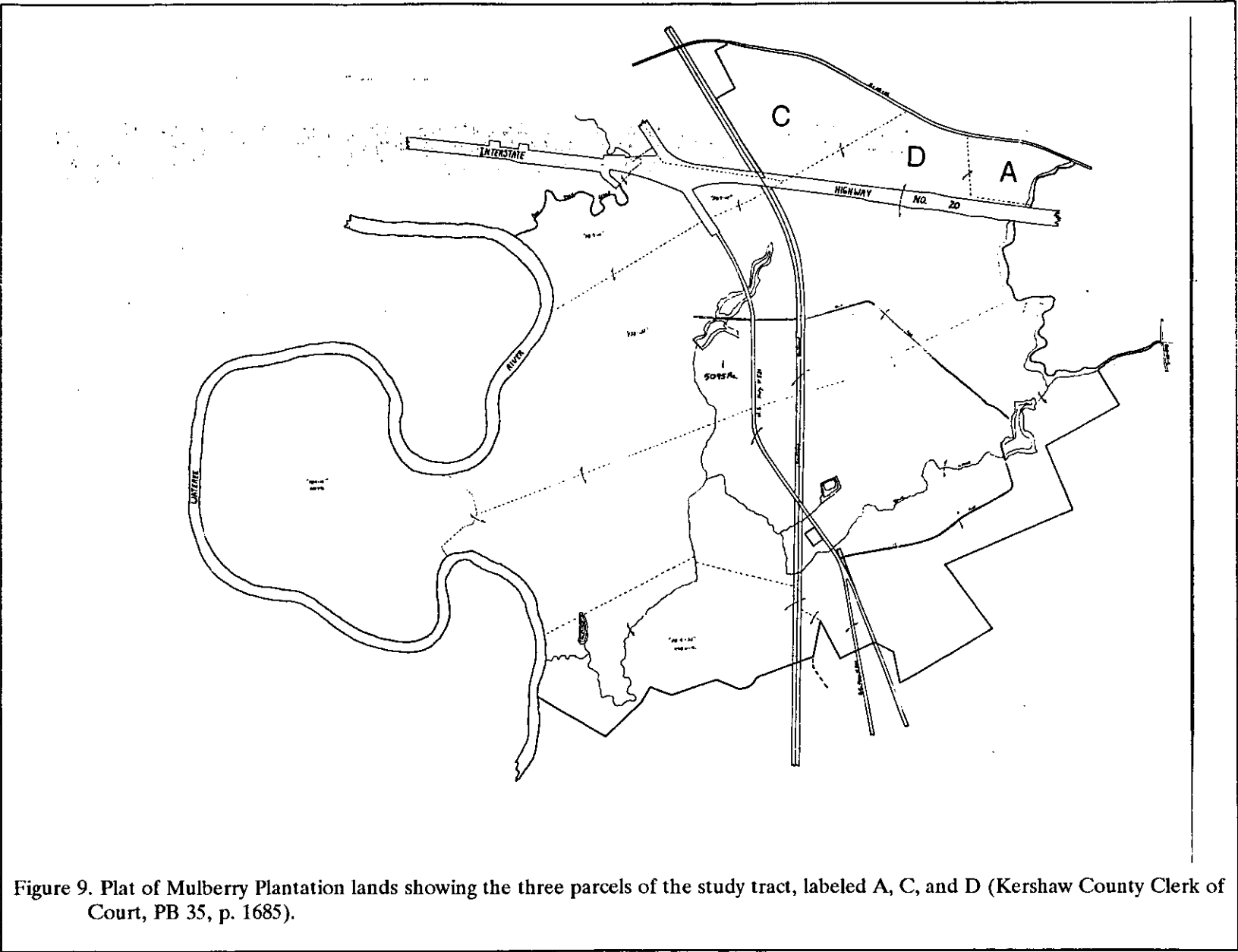
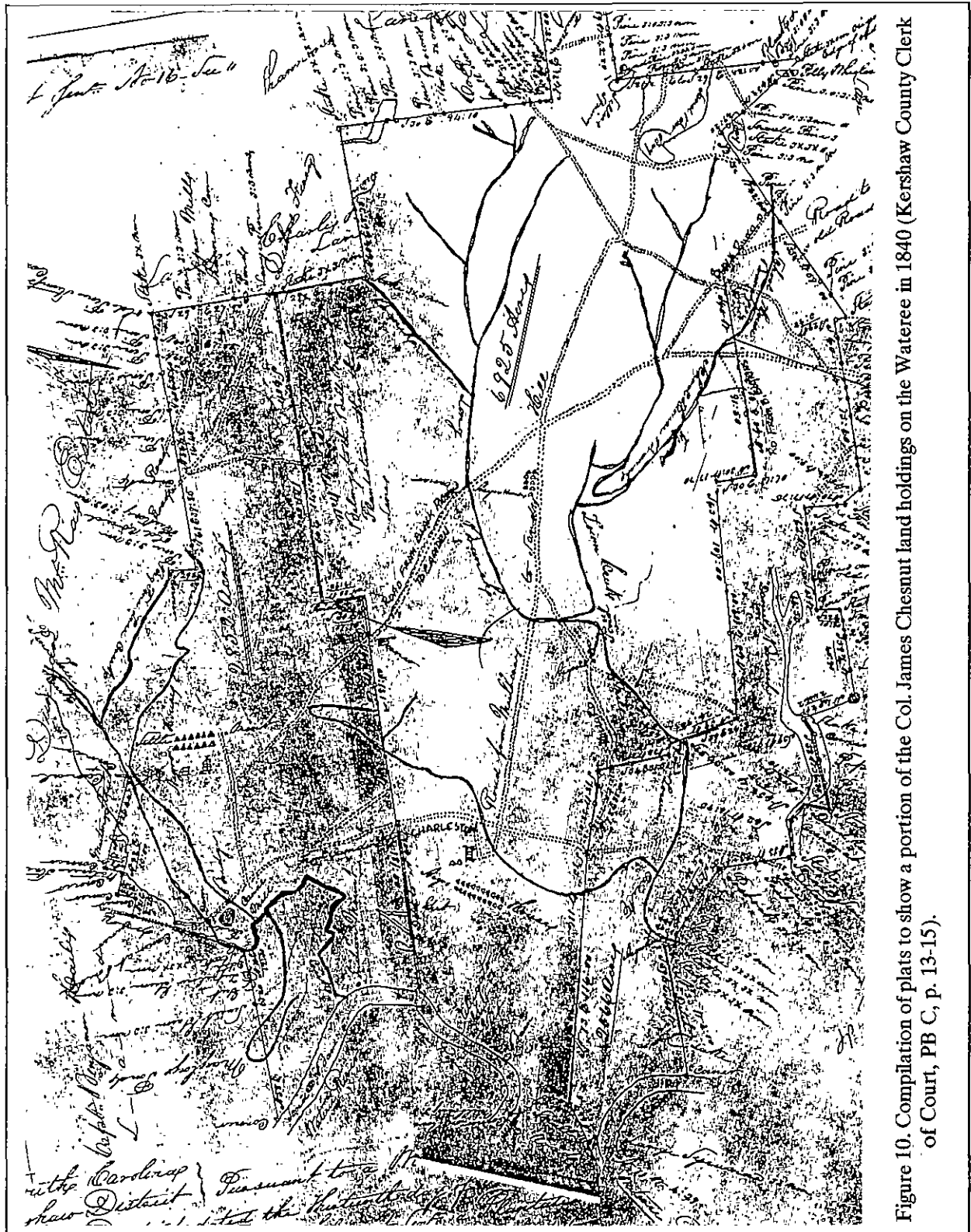


Figure 9. Plat of Mulberry Plantation lands showing the three parcels of the study tract, labeled A, C, and D (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, PB 35, p. 1685).



roof, originally slate. In the central hall, door architraves are flanked by fluted, engaged Roman Ionic columns. The arch which leads to the rear of the hall is supported by freestanding columns of similar design, which are elliptical, not circular, in plan. The step ends of the circular stair are decorated with scrolls and stylized flowers. The doors of the principal story [considered at the time to be "public areas" used for entertaining] are hung with silver-plated hinges. The chimneys of the main rooms have marble mantels, which were probably shipped from Philadelphia, like the cast-iron firebacks which are marked "Cumberland Furnace" (Lane 1984:169, 173).

Esther Davis, a great-granddaughter of Col. James Chesnut, lived at Mulberry from about 1847 until the Civil War. She describes the landscape around the main house, mentioning the avenue of live oaks, as well as gardens of holly, lilacs, roses, boxwood, and yellow jessamine. She mentions that northeast of the house was a:

lovely garden, with a wealth of old-fashioned flowers, violets, jonquils, hyacinths, blue-bells, almond trees and roses, while a greenhouse was filled with exotics and orange and lemon trees. Beyond the flower garden were great beds of strawberries and raspberries and still further fruit trees and vegetables" (Davis 1913:3).

She explains that from the rear of the Mulberry house brick paths led to the kitchen, a large brick building about 50 feet distant. It was a long, two-story building with the kitchen and laundry on the ground floor and servants' quarters above (Davis 1913:3-4). Near the kitchen was the smokehouse, dairy, and ice house. She recounts that:

Scattered through grove at the north were substantial brick cottages for the house servants. An avenue led from the front of the house to the northwest, where were the stables and barns Another drive led from the front door southward through the grove of water and willow oaks to the "Old Yard" where the overseer's house stood at the head of the street or quarters. Here the plantation negroes lived in comfortable cottages. The houses were built on either side of the street, each facing south, with a dooryard in front and a poultry yard and vegetable garden at the side of each (Davis 1913:4-5).

In this "Old Yard" were also the blacksmith, wheelwright, and carpenter shops, while at the end of the street was the cotton gin. Nearby, in a "shady grove" was the chapel (Davis 1913:5-6). This description is typical in most respects, although the houses facing south, away from the overseer and an a right angle to the street, is unusual.

This description compares well, at least in general terms, with that offered by Mary Boykin Chesnut, who commented that Mulberry was elegant, "with everything that a hundred years or more of unlimited wealth could accumulate," while the gardens included, "old oaks, green lawn, and all" (Woodward 1981:xxxiv). She comments that at Mulberry they had "sixty-year old Madeira . . . and the beautiful old china" (Woodward 1981:651). One point of difference is that Mary Boykin Chesnut places the chapel in a grove of trees "just opposite Mulberry," not at all near the "Old Yard" (Woodward 1981:734).

The Mulberry house, at which Chesnut spent his winters, was apparently far more beautiful than the summer home at Sandy Hill to the east (Figure 10 shows the road to Sandy Hill, but does not reveal the location). Kirkland and Kennedy (1905:I:370) note that Sandy Hill burned

about 20 years prior to the publication of their history, perhaps about 1885. Mary Boykin Chesnut describes Sandy Hill in 1861 only by commenting on its "godforsaken makeshift wretchedness" (Woodward 1981:256).

Figure 10 reveals a composite of three plats (from north to south, Kershaw County Clerk of Court, PB C, p. 15, p. 14, p. 13), with two showing the project area south of the "Road to Black River to Camden" in 1840. Each of the three is a distinct plantation tract, and combined the plats reveal two mills, a barn on the Wateree, two settlements (Mulberry and the settlement on the plantation to the north), and five slave settlements. The settlement south of Mulberry is undoubtedly Davis' "Old Yard," although the plat does not reveal the detail of her description. Also shown is the location of the Mulberry mound (although no slave settlement is shown in that area). Figure 11 illustrates the approximate location of these antebellum sites in the vicinity of the project tract.

This wealth, like that of many other Southern planters, was lost during the Civil War. Mulberry Plantation was partially burned and heavily pillaged. Freedmen were reluctant to work for their old masters and Chesnut's property was heavily in debt. In her diary of May 18, 1865 Mary Boykin Chesnut, his daughter-in-law, offers an exceptionally vivid account of Chesnut:

blind, deaf — apparently as strong as every, certainly as resolute of will Partly patriarch, partly grand seigneur, this old man is of a species that we will see no more. The last of the lordly planters who ruled this Southern world. He is a splendid wreck. His manners are unequaled still, and underneath this smooth exterior — the grip of a tyrant whose will has never been crossed His peculiarities, to me, have always been great shrewdness and wonderful quickness to perceive the minutest harm his earthly possessions (his god) could

receive from others, perfect blindness to their harm from his own neglect or want of power to take care of them [He has] great hospitality and beautiful courtly manners when he . . . [is] in a good humor; brusque, sneering, snarling, utterly unbearable when angry. Consistent in one thing — I have never heard him use a noble or high or fine sentiment; strictly practical and always with a view to save his property for his own benefit are all the ideas I have ever heard from him He came of a race that would brook no interference with their own sweet will by man, woman, or devil (Woodward 1981:815).

Mary Chesnut predeceased her husband sometime in March 1864. Chesnut's will, written prior to the Civil War, was never changed to reflect either his wife's death or the end of his slaveholding empire. His will (Kershaw County Probate Court, Apt. 15, Package 486) is exceptionally complex (perhaps reflecting Mary Boykin Chesnut's description of his short-sightedness) and provided his wife a life estate in a number of plantations and a stipend, as well the use of a number of slaves. The will provided for the care of a number of females in the family, and gave Mulberry and Sandy Hill to James Chesnut (III), also as a life estate, to be passed to his male children. James was made the executor of his father's estate and spent the rest of his life attempting to dig the plantations out of debt and close his father's will. He was unsuccessful at both.

The inventory and appraisement of Col. James Chesnut's property totals goods valued at \$11,512.50 split between Belmont, Mulberry, and Bloomsberry. Not only does this help to describe the extraordinary wealth of Chesnut, but it also helps us understand the different activities that were taking place at each of these different plantations.

As executor, James was required by the

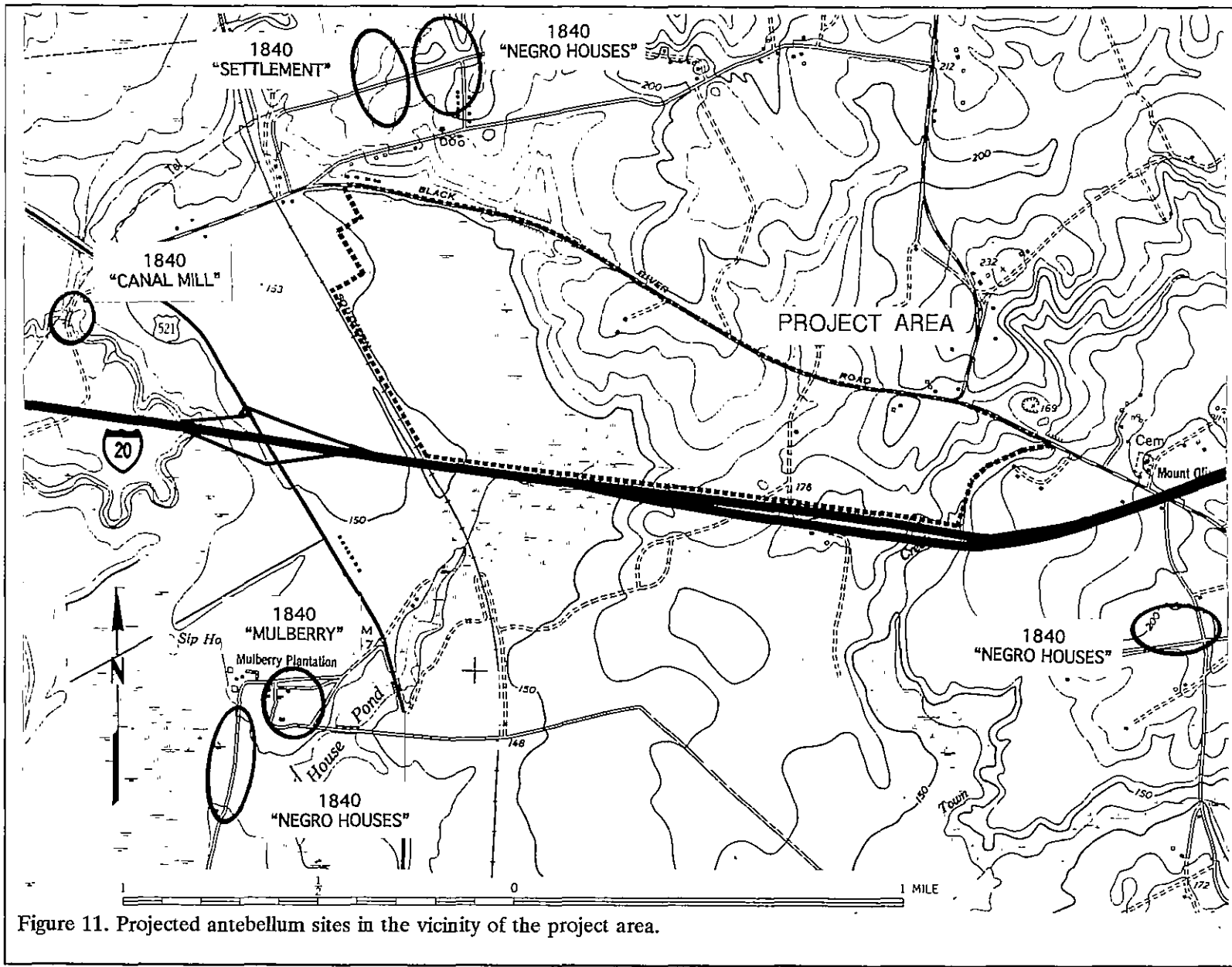


Figure 11. Projected antebellum sites in the vicinity of the project area.

will to discharge all debts *before* dividing the property. This proved to be impossible. On top of his inability to turn the plantation into a viable economic interest, he was also responsible for the care and upkeep of female relatives, supposedly out of money James owed the estate for a plantation he had given bond for before the Civil War. In addition, he seems to have made bad decisions, for example building a new residence in Camden which he could hardly have afforded (Woodward 1981:xliv).

James Chesnut (III) died on February 4, 1885, leaving everything he owned to Mary Boykin Chesnut, his wife. Yet, it seems that there was very little to which she was actually entitled. Col. Chesnut had tied the estate up in life interests, attempting to ensure that everything was passed to male heirs. Moreover, debts still far outnumbered receipts. Mary recounted bitterly that, "one by one the things my husband thought he left me have been taken away from me by these Camden lawyers" (Woodward 1981:xliv). She, in fact, managed to keep almost nothing of the Chesnut fortune.

With the primary executor dead, the Court eventually appointed S.C. Clyburn as a replacement so that the estate could "be looked after, cared for, and administered upon for the benefit of the creditors and the heirs at law" (Kershaw County Probate Court, Apt. 15, Package 486).

Before the death of James Chesnut, portions of Mulberry were disposed of as a result of court action brought by James against the other heirs in an effort to force settlement of the estate (James Chesnut v. Mary Reynolds et al). The 1872 court judgement order that what was known as Tract 3 of the Boykin plat of Mulberry dated March 5, 1872, be sold. This tract, consisting of 108½ acres was sold to Henry Hinson for \$1,085 on December 12, 1872 (Kershaw County Clerk of

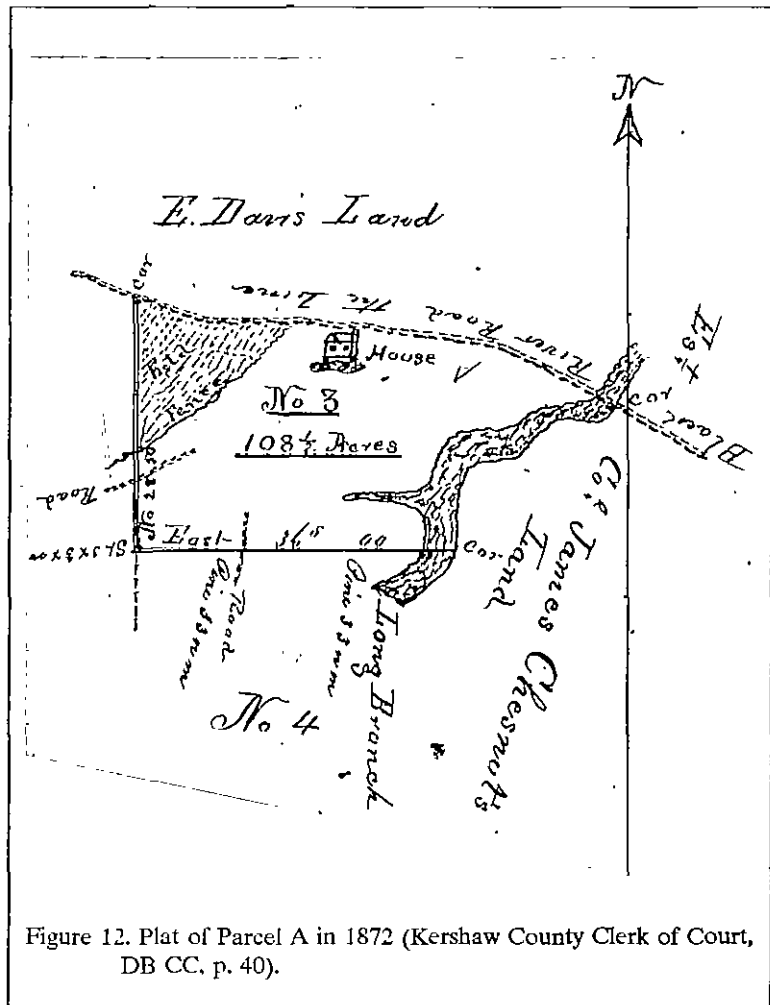


Figure 12. Plat of Parcel A in 1872 (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB CC, p. 40).

Court, DB CC, p. 39). The referenced plat was appended to this deed (as page 40; Figure 12) and reveals that the tract contains at least one house, suggesting a settlement of some sort, dating at least to the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The tract is the same as shown as "C" on Figure 9 and was bounded to the north by Black River Road, to the east by Long Branch and other Chesnut lands, to the south by Mulberry Tract 4, and to the west by Mulberry Tract 2.

Hinson kept the tract for less than three years, selling it on November 27, 1875 to John A. Sheorn for \$1,200 (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB DD, p. 150). The only reference found thus far to Sheorn is that he was a Corporal in the Kershaw Grays, a Confederate regiment (Kirkland

and Kennedy 1905:II:462). Sheorn apparently farmed the tract for almost four years, selling it in November 1879 to John A. Dabney for \$1,200. Although no profit was made on the sale, it is likely that the land was of some value and Sheorn obtained to recover all of his initial costs (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB FFF, p. 89). This deed also mentions that it conveys the rights to use a road that Sheorn was granted directly by James Chesnut in 1876 (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB 8, p. 332).

Dabney kept the tract again for just under four years, selling a 30 acre parcel of it on October 25, 1882 to Wilds P. DuBose for \$400 (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB HH, p. 292). This tract was described as "the western end of the Mulberry lands conveyed by James Chesnut, Exors. to Henry Hinson." To the north was the Black River Road, while to the east was the remaining portion of the tract. To the south was Tract 4 of the Mulberry estate and to the west was Gravel Hill Road.

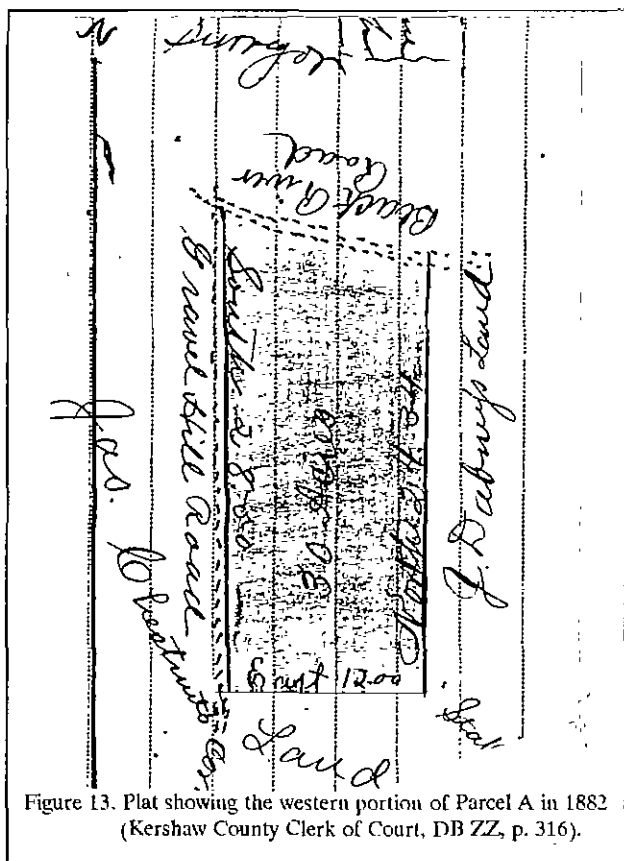


Figure 13. Plat showing the western portion of Parcel A in 1882 (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB ZZ, p. 316).

DuBose held the property until 1898 when he sold it and an additional 50 acre tract for \$1,000 to H. and M. Baum, doing business as the Baum Brothers (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB ZZ, p. 306). Kirkland and Kennedy (1905:II:449) comment that after the Civil War Mannes and Herman Baum established a large mercantile business. In addition, Herman also operated a number of plantations on the Wateree, likely including this small portion of Mulberry.

Baum Brothers maintained the 30 acre tract until December 12, 1898 when they sold it to C.R. Lewis for \$500 (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB ZZ, p. 316). At this time a plat was prepared of the 30 acre parcel coming from DuBose via Dabney (Figure 13). The 30 acre parcel is south of Black River Road, while the remaining 50 acres were apparently on the north side of the road (and had come from DuBose via Simmons).

In 1900 Lewis sold the property (the 30 acres in the study tract and the 50 acres on the north side of Black River Road) to Margaret E. Brown for \$1,500 (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB CCC, p. 338). In 1918 Margaret Brown sold the property to her husband, Eugene A. Brown for \$500 (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB AR, p. 577). The Browns died in an accident on May 17, 1923, with the decision that Margaret pre-deceased her husband (Kershaw County Probate Court, Apt. 102, Packages 4325 and 4326).

The inventory and appraisal conducted in 1923 reveals that E.A. Brown was a successful, if modest farmer. His household goods amounted to \$245 and farming tools to \$30. He did, however, own two cars, and there were 15 bales of cotton on hand. Also present were several wagons, several mules, shingles, drain tiles, 350 bushels of oats, a quantity of hams, two cows, poultry, five hogs, 25 pigs and shoats, and a small quantity of other farm items. There is also evidence that Brown was also cultivating tobacco. His inventory lists one set of tobacco flues and the receipts from his estate lists the balance on the sale of his 1922 tobacco crop, as well as 17 bales of cotton (which upon sale brought \$3,066.59 or about 36¢ a pound). The value of his 116 acres was listed as \$7,000, while the

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seven building on the property were valued at \$3,000.

On December 24, 1923 his heirs partitioned the estate, with A.H. Arthur; John, Mary, and Paul Brown; Lillie M. Dunn; and Dora V. Hill acquiring the E.A. Brown estate for \$7,000 (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB BF, p. 496). The 116 acres included three tracts, including what was at this time listed as a 81.7 acre parcel reflecting the 30 acres on the south side of Black River Road, within the project tract.

Within a year the Browns were petitioning the court for the division of the property (Paul Brown et al. v John Brown et al.). The Court ruled that the tract should be sold to Paul Brown for \$2,925 (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB BF, p. 702). The transaction to Paul Brown (the brother of Eugene Brown) and Dora V. Hill was completed on October 4, 1924.

Brown was apparently unable to hold the property during the Great Depressions since by 1933 it had been acquired by the Federal Land Bank of Columbia. On July 11, 1933 the Land Bank sold the 31.9 acre portion of the Paul Brown Place south of Black River Road to David R. Williams, the great grandson of Col. James Chesnut, who was apparently seeking to re-acquire the Chesnut lands lost after the Civil War (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB CG, p. 305; Kirkland and Kennedy 1905:II:121). The deed makes reference to a 1924 plat of the Brown Place "on file with" the Federal Land Bank. No effort has been made to acquire this plat and no copy has been identified in the Kershaw County files. A 1934 plat, however, has been identified (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, PB 9, p. 14). Figure 14 reveals that by the early 1930s at least three structures are on this parcel, probably representing

either the owner's settlement or a cluster of tenant related buildings.

Williams held the property until December 1938 when he sold it, for \$5, to Mulberry Plantation, reflecting an internal transfer of the lands to the holding company (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB CP, p. 322).

Moving to what has been termed Tract C at the eastern end of the study parcel (shown on Figure 9, the earliest record is the sale of the

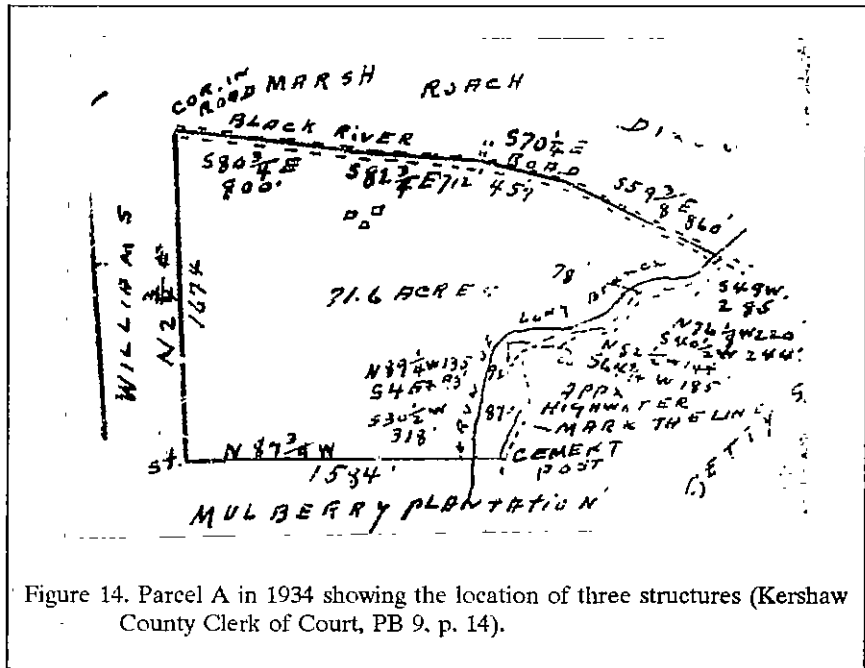


Figure 14. Parcel A in 1934 showing the location of three structures (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, PB 9, p. 14).

property on March 9, 1890 by S.C. Clyburn, the new executor of Col. Chesnut's estate to W.H. Lyles (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB PP, p. 279). Consisting of 267 acres, this parcel was described as Tract 10 of Mulberry, although this reference was to an 1867 plat by Boykin (not the 1872 plat referenced for parcel A previously discussed). This suggests that rather than one plat, showing Mulberry divided into different planned tracts, there may have been several plats showing the different numbered tracts. Regardless, the property is described as being bounded to the north by Mulberry Tract 9 (owned by Carrison with

the Black River Road being the line), to the east also by Tract 9 of Mulberry, as well as the portion of Mulberry owned by David R. Williams, and to the south that portion of Mulberry owned by David R. Williams, and to the west by Tract 11 of Mulberry (owned by Clyburn, with the SCRR being the line).

William Lyles was a Richland County attorney and he held the parcel for just under two years, selling it on November 26, 1891 to H.G. Carrison of Kershaw for \$1,600 (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB QQ, p. 131). Carrison was a very wealthy Camden entrepreneur, who served as president of the Hermitage Cotton Mill on the east side of Camden and who also served as the president of the of the Bank of Camden (Kirkland and Kennedy 1905:II:34, 43).

It seems likely that this property was simply an investment for Carrison, although not a very profitable one, since he sold the tract about three weeks later on December 11, 1891 to William E. Arledge for only \$1,200 — a loss of \$400 (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB QQ, p. 146).

Arledge held the tract until October 11, 1905 when he sold it to James Gettys for \$3,000 (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB MMM, p. 368). Kirkland and Kennedy (1905:II:356) note only that Gettys is an old family in the Camden area, although the length of time the property was held suggests that it was being farmed.

In 1932 Gettys sold the parcel to David R. Williams for \$2,085, who as has been mentioned was actively acquiring the original Mulberry lands (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB CE, p. 235). Williams sold the tract, again for \$5, to Mulberry Plantation in 1948 (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB DG, p. 566). A 1934 plat of the property (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, PB 9, p.14) reveals that there was a settlement with four structures on the tract by this period (Figure 15).

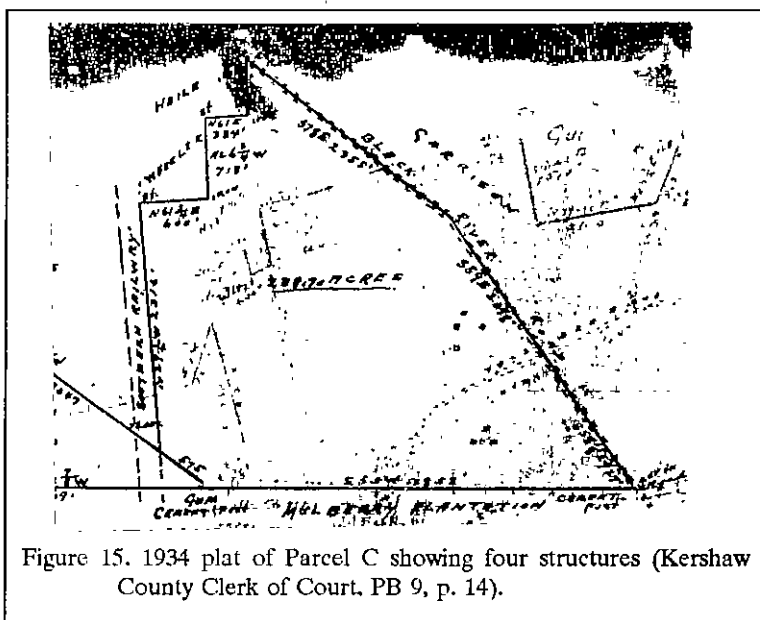


Figure 15. 1934 plat of Parcel C showing four structures (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, PB 9, p. 14).

The last portion of the study tract, designated parcel D on Figure 9, could not be traced back further than 1908, when Kate W. Kirkpatrick, E. Miller Williams, and Mary B. Ames sold their interested in the 1000 acre plantation to David R. Williams (the great-grandson of Col. James Chesnut (II) (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB RRR, pp. 368-372). The deeds specify that the property was acquired through the will of David R. Williams, Sr., yet his estate package indicates that he died without property (Kershaw County Probate Court, Apt. 82, Package 2900). Consequently, at this time it is not possible to determine how the property was eventually divided among the Chesnut heirs and we can only document that it was re-acquired by David R. Williams in 1908.

On August 7, 1914 Williams sold what was by then described as 1,200 acres, to Ellen M. Williams (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB AK, p. 395). At that time the tract was described as bounding W.L. DePass, James Gettys (holding what we have described as Parcel C), C.R. Lewis, and the Black River Road to the north. To the east was Eugene Brown and Long Branch (previously discussed as Parcel A). To the south was Mrs. E.A. Davis and Ziegler on a tract known as Deas Field. To the west was the Wateree River

and Belmont Plantation.

Ellen M. Williams sold the 1,200 acre Mulberry tract back to David R. Williams on June 14, 1928 for \$175,000 (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB BV, p. 589). At that time a plat of the property was prepared (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, PB 8, p. 120), although it shows very little. Even the Mulberry settlement is shown only as a single structure (Figure 16). Williams held the parcel for about four years before, on February 27, 1932, selling it, along with all of the associated farm produce, machinery, live stock, household furnishing and other items, to Mulberry Plantation for \$5 (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB CE, p.225).

Mulberry Plantation held the property until 1934 when it was sold to Mulberry Plantation Camden for \$1,000 (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB CG, p. 553). In 1941 the tract was sold back to David R. Williams by Mulberry Plantation Camden for \$1,000 (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB CS, p. 495). About three weeks later, Williams transferred the property, for \$1,000, to Mulberry Plantation (Kershaw County Clerk of Court, DB CU, p. 331). A 1941 plat of Mulberry provides exception detail concerning activities on the plantation during the late 1930s, but the small portion in the project area includes no structures (Figure 17).

Figure 18 shows a compilation of the postbellum plats for the Mulberry area. While the bulk of the activity is south of the swath cut by I-20, there are at least two historic settlement complexes in the project area. Both are associated with structures still shown on the 1953 Camden South topographic map, although the eastern settlement dates back to at least the 1870s.

In addition to the plats associated with the Mulberry land transfers there are also a small number of maps for the project area which are sufficiently accurate to provide locational data. The 1901 *Map of Kershaw County* by J.T. Burdell (Figure 19) reveals two settlements on Black River Road (called Spring Hill Road on the map) on either side of mile marker 3. This location corresponds to the two settlements previously

documented. Arledge is known to be the owner for Parcel C from 1891 through 1905, suggesting that at least for this period the site represents an owner's residence. No Monroe, however, is known to be associated with Parcel A, so this may be either an error or possibly a tenant on the property.

Figure 20 is the 1919 soils map for Kershaw County. This map shows that there are at least 12 structures in the project area, with the possibility of four more in the vicinity of the I-20 crossing. A number of these are almost certainly tenant houses, especially those shown as short rows (accounting for six of the 12 structures).

The 1938 Hagood 15' USGS topographic map shows a considerable decline in the number of structures (Figure 21). Only five are shown in the project area, with an additional four possibly under I-20 at the edge of the project. These same structures are also shown on the 1942 War Department Camden topographic map, prepared at a scale of 1:12,500 (Figure 22). The three clusters of structures continue to appear on the 1950 General Highway Map of Kershaw County (Figure 23) and, in fact, continue to be shown on the 1953 base map for the project (USGS 7.5' Camden South).

The information from these maps is correlated on Figure 24. Unlike previous compiled maps, however, this one illustrates only those historic sites anticipated to be on the study tract — additional sites elsewhere on Mulberry are not illustrated.

While not reproduced in this study, the 1937, 1941, and 1949 aerial photographs for the study tract were also examined (1937 — PE 2-95, 1941 — PE48-58, 1949 — PE-5F-52). All revealed very similar land use — the western edge was heavily wooded and the two wetland areas were clearly in wooded swamp. The remainder of the tract was in cultivation.

In addition, the 1937 and 1949 aerial photographs were examined for information concerning structures on the study tract. These

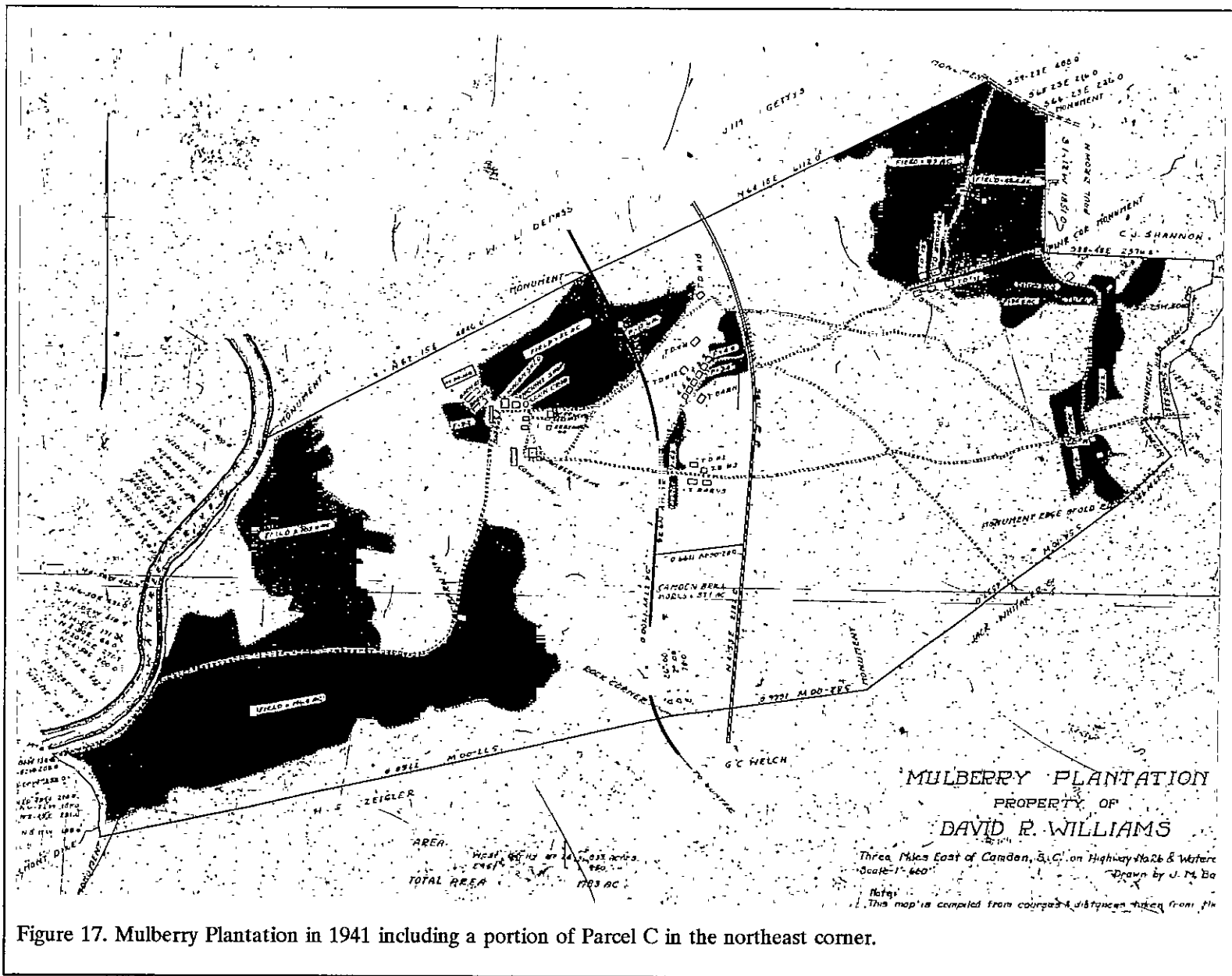


Figure 17. Mulberry Plantation in 1941 including a portion of Parcel C in the northeast corner.

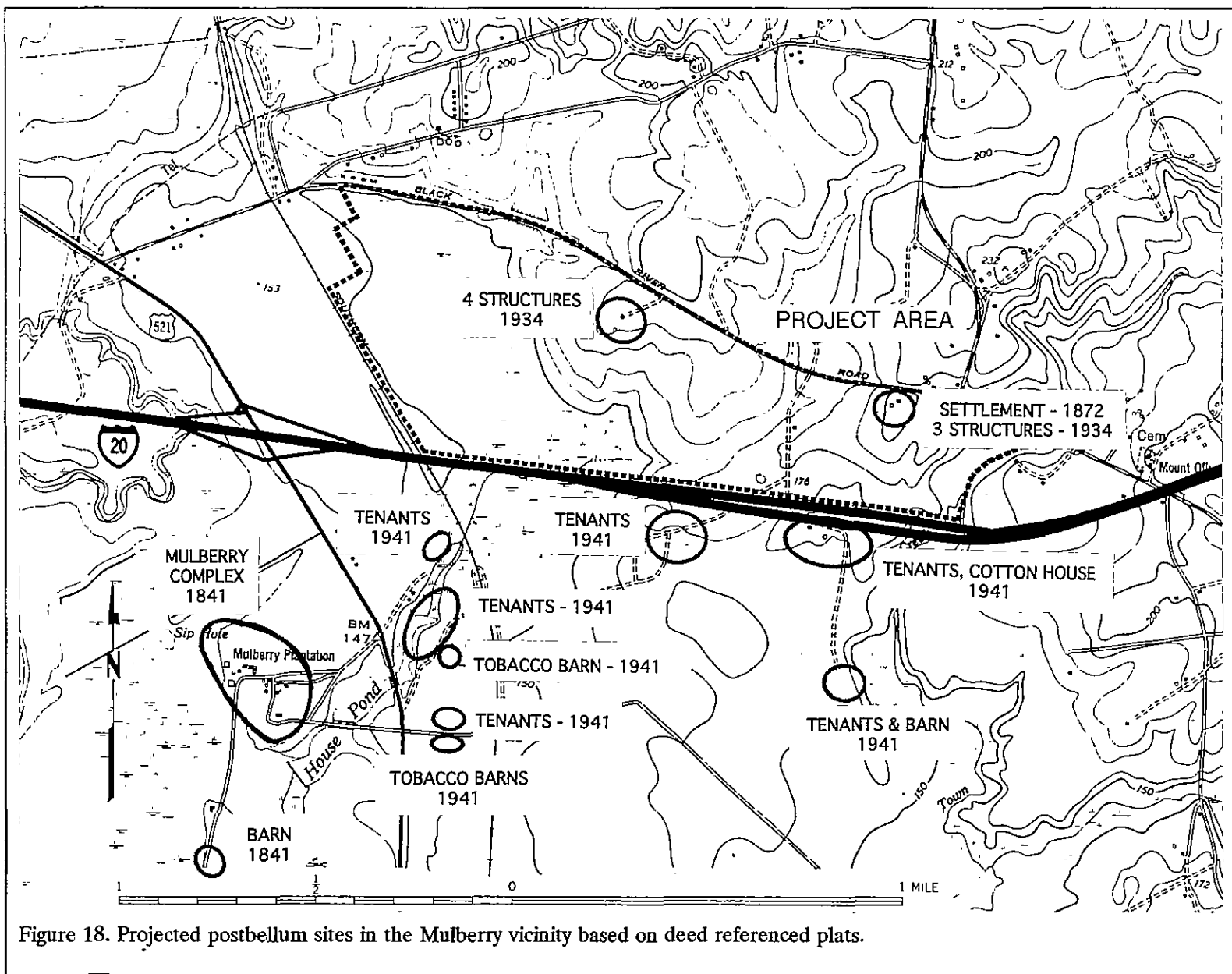


Figure 18. Projected postbellum sites in the Mulberry vicinity based on deed referenced plats.

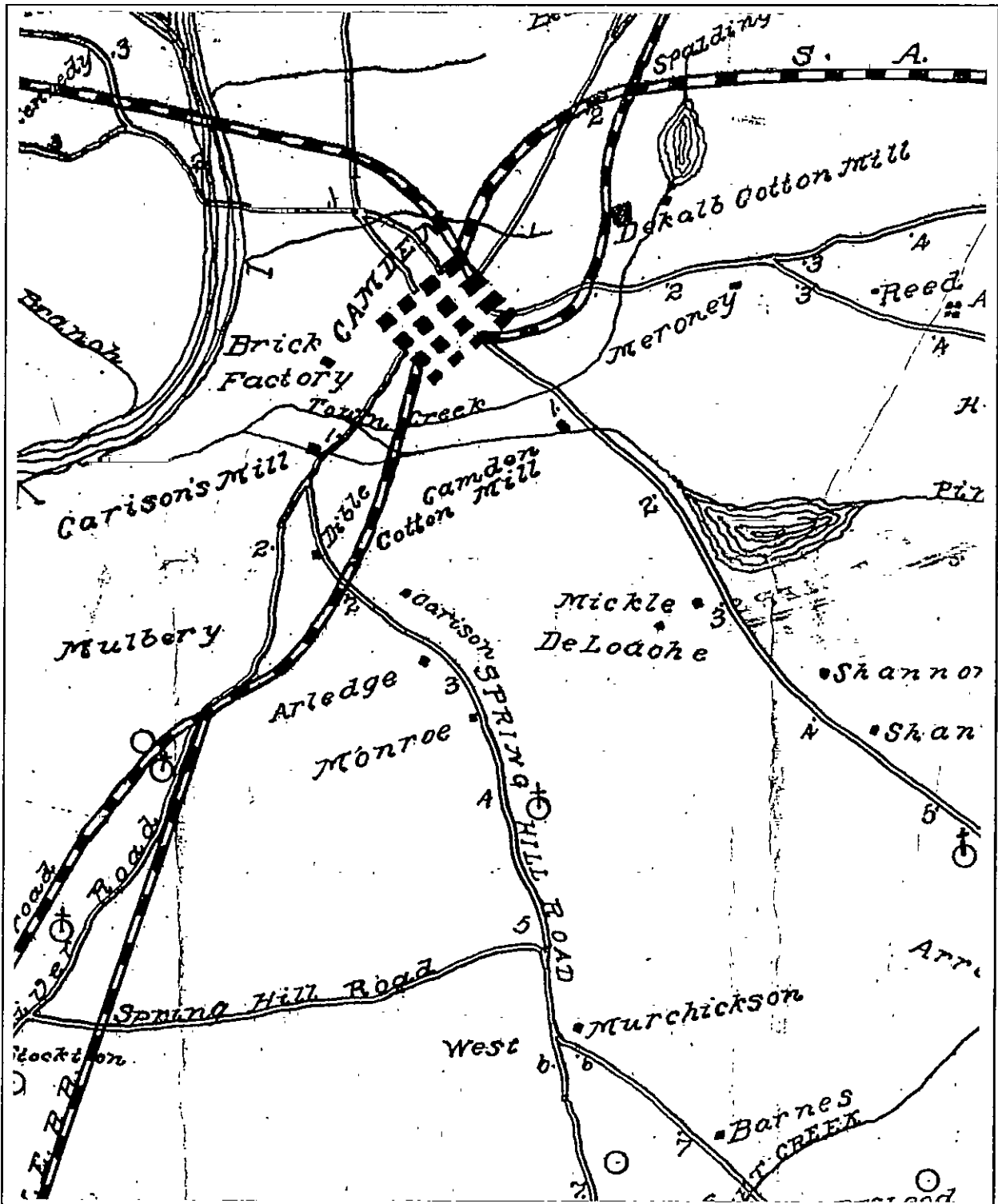


Figure 19. Portion of the 1901 Burdell Map of Kershaw County showing the project area.

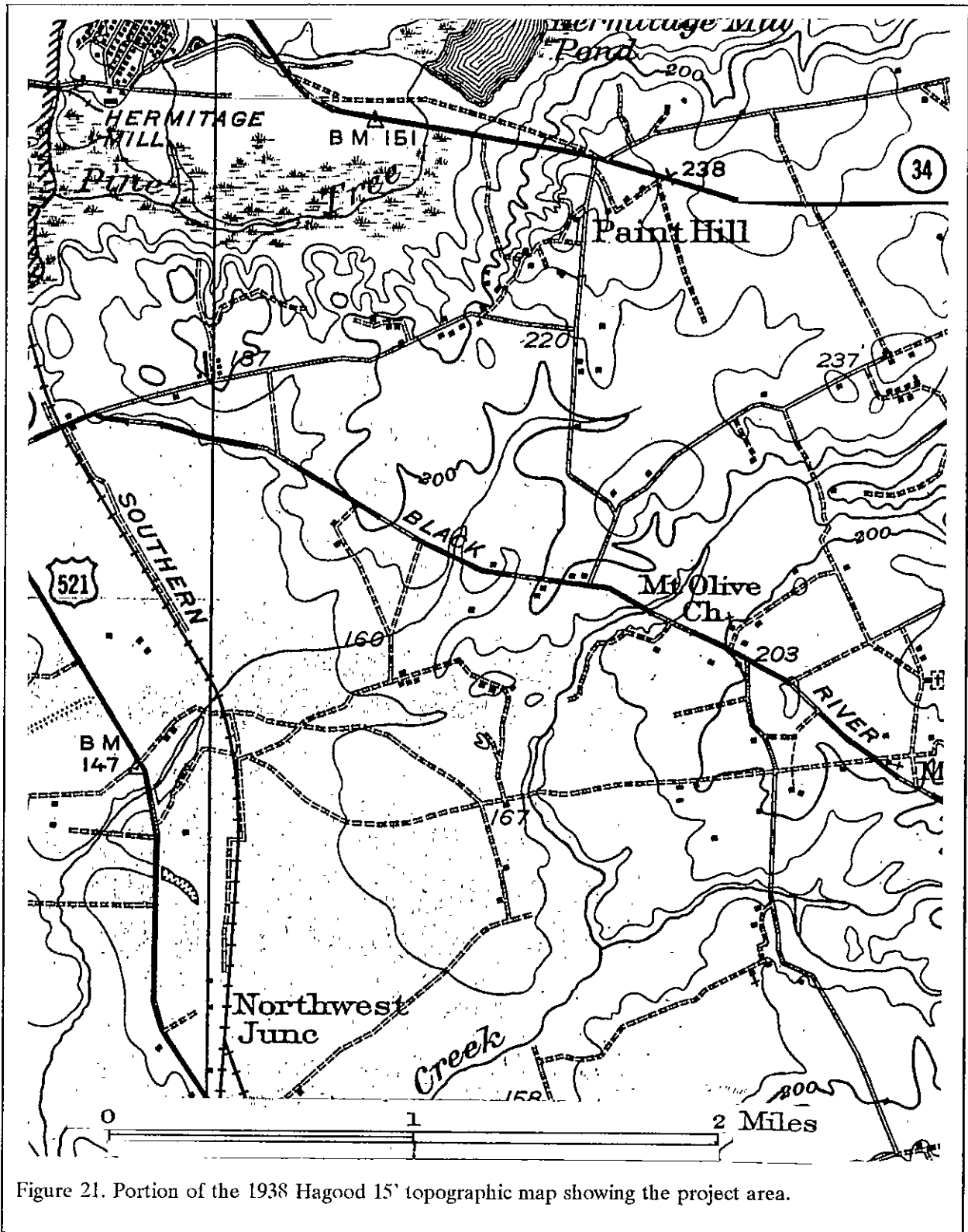


Figure 21. Portion of the 1938 Hagood 15' topographic map showing the project area.

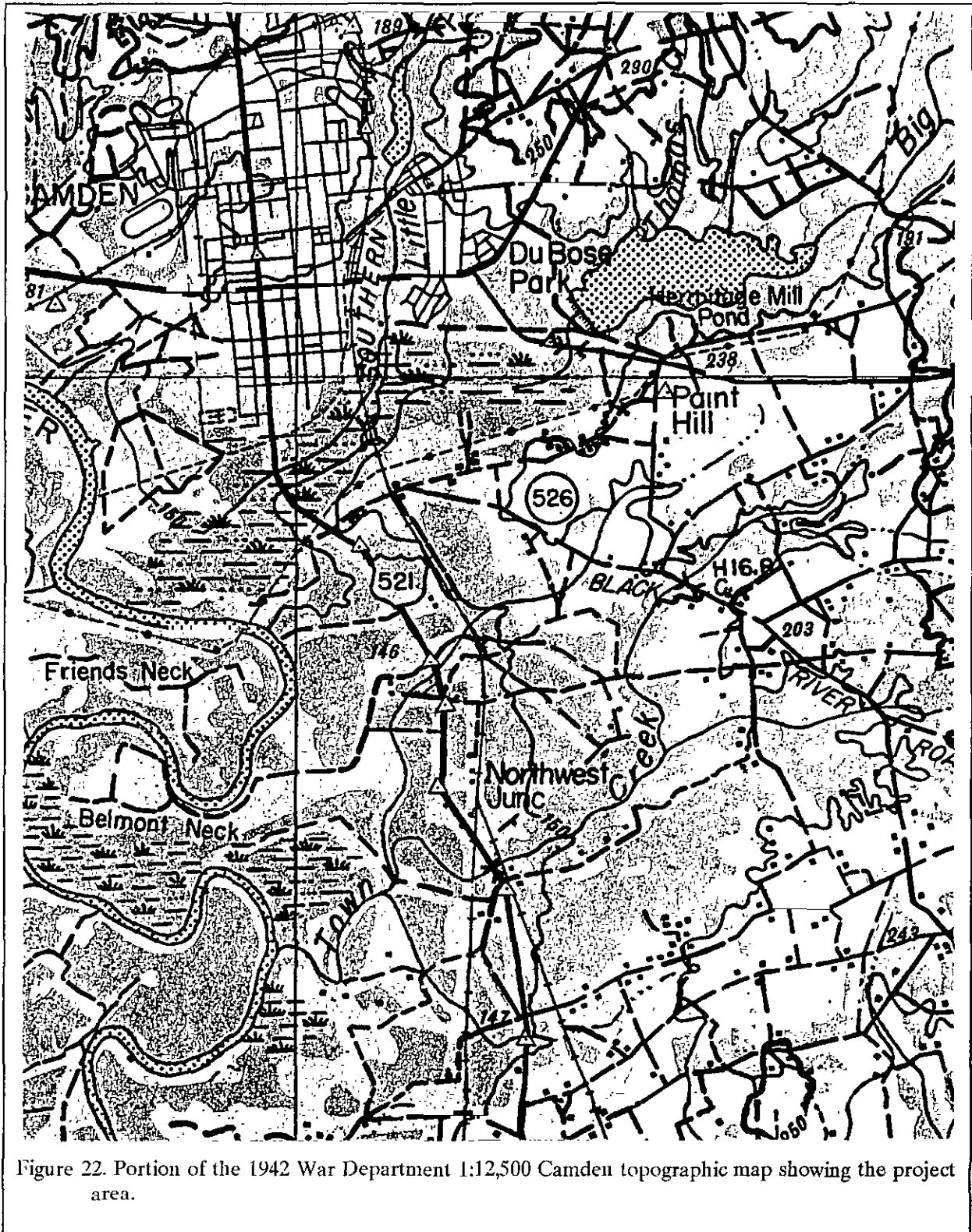


Figure 22. Portion of the 1942 War Department 1:12,500 Camden topographic map showing the project area.

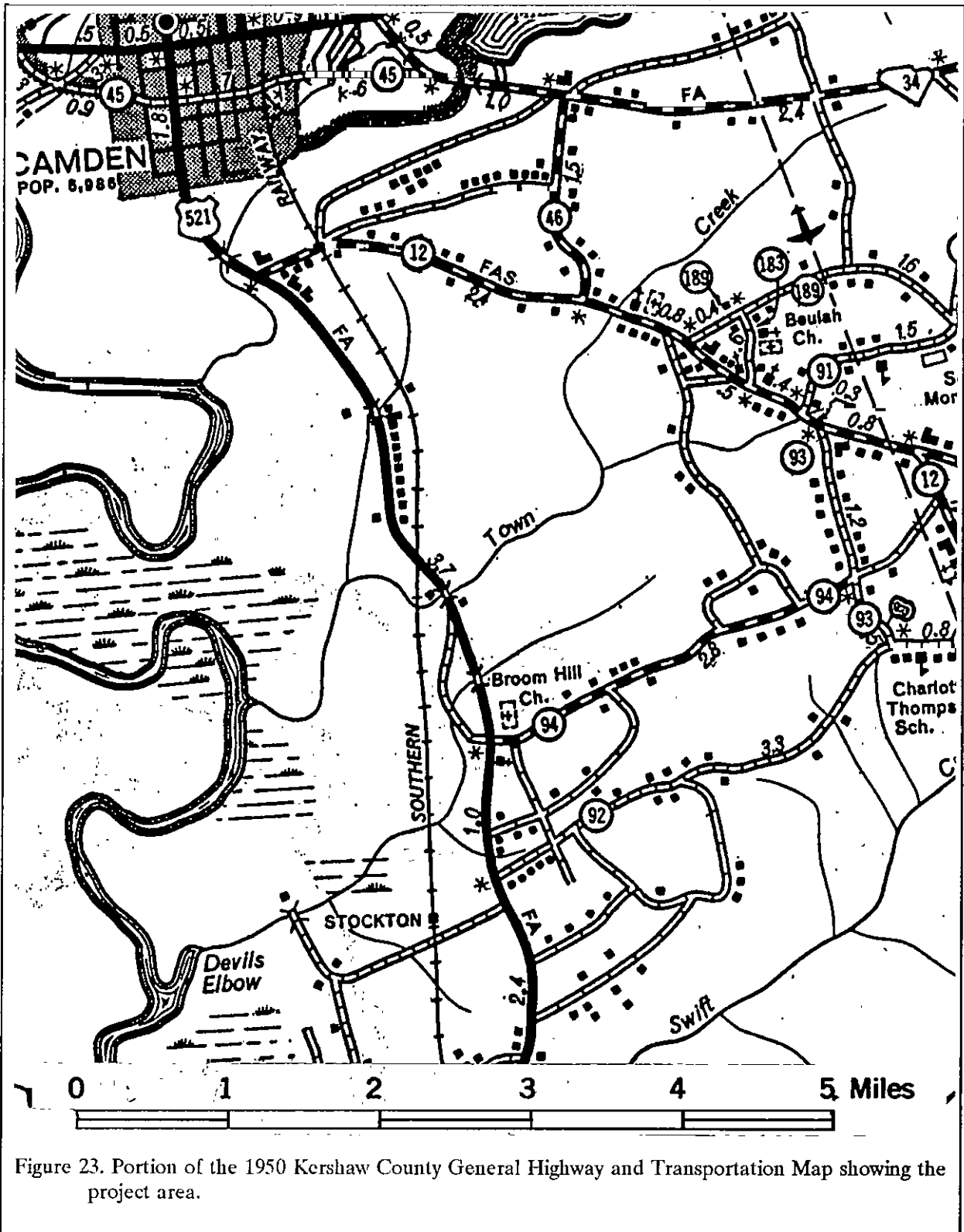


Figure 23. Portion of the 1950 Kershaw County General Highway and Transportation Map showing the project area.

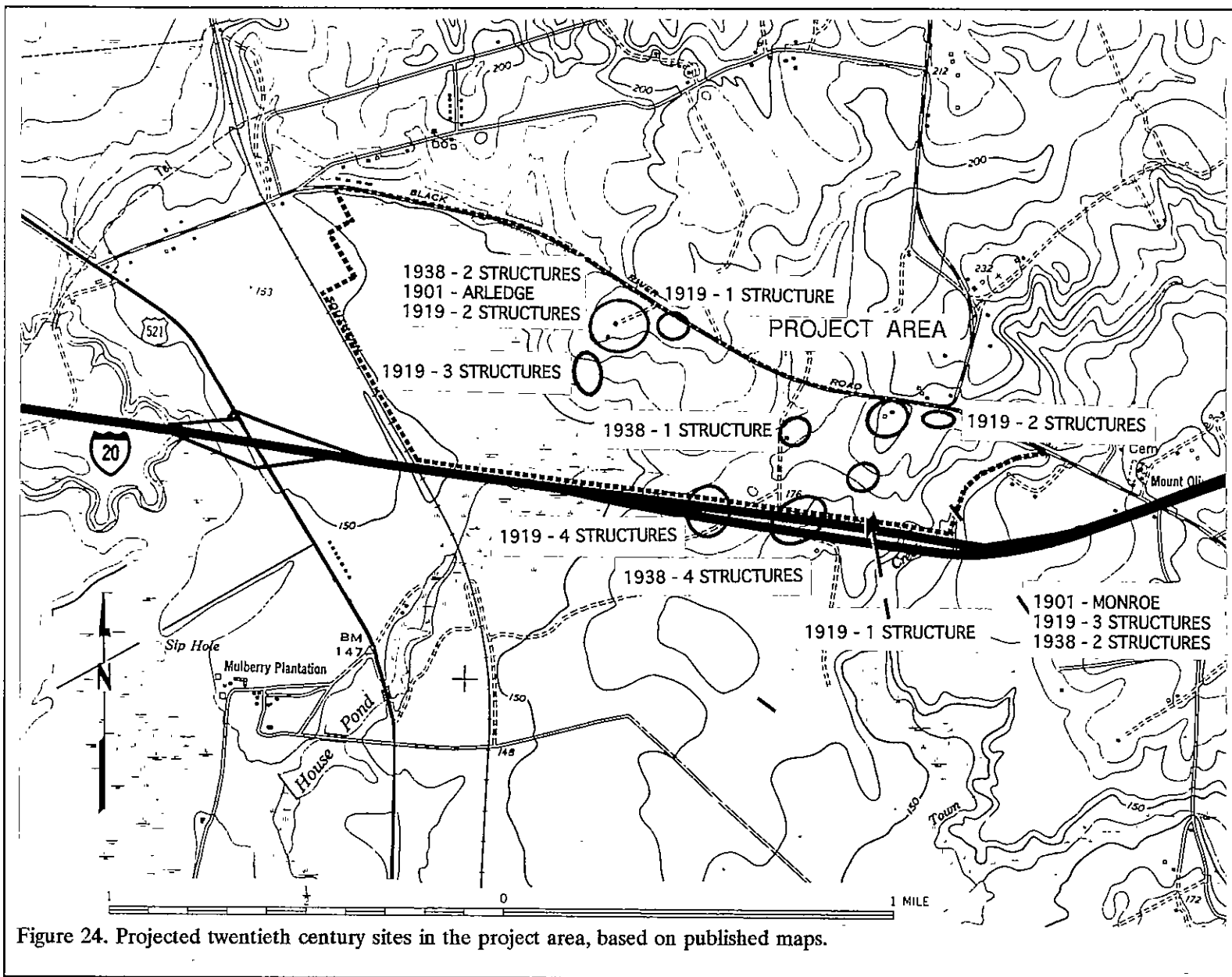


Figure 24. Projected twentieth century sites in the project area, based on published maps.

revealed considerable detail concerning the individual structures (the 1949 images were available as stereo-pairs, increasing the data available from the photographs), although all of the structure clusters had been previously identified based on either the plats of Mulberry or the various published maps. No additional sites were added, although these photographs offer exceptional potential to refine the information available.

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Prehistoric Sites

There are no maps that can be used to project the locations of prehistoric sites. Of course, there are a number of historic maps for the project area that illustrate sites recognized at the time the maps were being produced, including protohistoric and historic villages in the Camden area and along the Wateree, as well as mound sites primarily on the river bottoms.

In comparison to other areas, it seems that Camden has a higher than average number Native American sites. This most likely is due to the area's proximity to Cofitacheque, a well known and major chiefdom in the Carolinas. We know, for example, that surrounding the mound groups there were typically large numbers of hamlets. These hamlets supported the priests and ruling classes that typically lived at the mound sites, both with labor and also with agricultural produce. **This suggests that the potential for Native American sites in the project area may be high.**

When the topography of the project area is examined, we find relatively well defined bluffs overlooking the Town Creek swamps to the west. **This topography is typical of previous survey areas that have produced Native American remains.** To the east, however, the creeks are not well defined and there are no distinct bluff edges. **In such areas it is generally less likely (although not impossible) to recover Native American sites.** The central sandy ridges are commonly associated with Archaic period occupations and at least some of these occupations may be deeply buried (see, for example, the recent investigations at 38RD1082 [Trinkley 1997b]). **This suggests that much of the upland portion of the tract may exhibit a relatively high potential for the recovery of prehistoric sites.**

If the soils information is also integrated into this evaluation, it appears that significant portions of the study tract are associated with well

drained, sandy soils. **These sandy soils are much more likely to exhibit Native American remains than those lower, less well drained soils.** Consequently, we are more concerned with those portions of the tract that are cultivated than with those that are in woods.

Finally, when we also integrate the land use history that has been documented from the examination of aerial photographs and maps, it appears that the study tract has remained stable for at least the past 90 years. That is, those portions in cultivation have been consistently cultivated and those portions in swamp bottomland or other woods have been wooded. We do know that at some point the extreme western edge of the tract was probably cultivated and when taken out of cultivation was planted in pines. **This long-term cultivation may have affected site integrity, although this cannot be determined without field investigations.**

In sum, the study tract appears to exhibit a moderately high potential for Native American sites, based on the history of the area, the topography and the nature of the soils. While the land use history indicates heavy cultivation, the impact of this cannot be determined at this time. It would be a mistake to assume that cultivation has automatically damaged or destroyed Native American sites — the extraordinary remains found at the nearby Mulberry Mounds reveals that cultivation is not necessary destructive.

Consequently, there is more than adequate justification for recommending that the study tract be examined for Native American remains. This work should focus first on the cultivated tracts since those areas exhibit the highest probability. If conducted when the fields have been cultivated for planting, it is likely that the areas can be fairly rapidly examined since the potential for alluvium is nil. Such a pedestrian survey is cost effective and has the potential to identify a very high proportion

of the sites. The lowland acreage has the lowest potential and should receive secondary attention only if time and funding permits. In these areas shovel testing will be required and this work is much more labor intensive and thus costly.

Historic Sites

These investigations have failed to reveal any probable antebellum sites in the project area. As part of Mulberry or related plantations, the settlements were situated further to the west. A number of slave settlements have been identified in the records although none of these are found on the study tract. While slave settlements *may* be found elsewhere, we have found no indication that would suggest additional sites in the project area.

In contrast, we have identified at least seven, and possibly nine, postbellum sites in the project area. At least one of these sites is almost certainly an owner's residence. This settlement of a small or modest postbellum farmer is very likely significant and deserves careful study. In addition, the project area exhibits a wide range of tenant settlement spanning the period from the late nineteenth century through the first third of the twentieth century. These settlements have the potential to make significant contributions to our understanding of Black Belt tenancy, especially if they can be correlated with oral history or additional historical documentation.

Although historic sites are constantly changing, or being changed, to suit the needs and purposes of their occupants, it is unusual for such sites to be completely erased from the landscape. The land use history compiled for the property reveals at least portions of these sites to have been present into the 1940s. Agricultural activities do not tend to damage these sites any more dramatically than they damage prehistoric sites. The integrity of the projected historic sites can be identified only through field investigations.

The information collected thus far is such that we strongly recommend that the cultivated lands, which seem to correspond with the nucleus of historic settlement, be subjected to field survey. As in the case of the prehistoric sites, if this investigation is

correlated with plowing, it can be accomplished very cost effectively through a pedestrian survey. Otherwise, it is likely that more labor intensive shovel testing will be required.

In spite of the seeming detail of the current historical research there are yet additional sources which may offer important historical information. For example, a thesis has been written on James Chesnut, Jr. (Tollison 1954) which was not consulted during this study. In addition, the South Caroliniana Library has a number of manuscript collections that contain large quantities of information on both Col. James Chesnut (II) and his son, James Chesnut (III). There are also at least some records pertaining to the activities of David R. Williams, as well as the Cox and Chesnut families. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin also contains Chesnut family papers, although a calendar of these items was not examined during this research.

There remain at least two court cases for which the judgement rolls may include important testimony, depositions, or perhaps even additional plats. This research also failed to make use of the Camden Archives, which may contain yet additional information on the families and their activities on the Mulberry property, especially during the postbellum and early twentieth century. Records of the South Carolina Historical Society may also reveal additional materials. Early colonial material in the S.C. Department of Archives and History is also available and early plats may reveal additional information concerning historic settlement.

Consequently, depending on the intensity required, there are at least two to three weeks of additional historical research possible for the study tract. This is not to say that this much time is necessary, but is only meant to indicate that a broad range of additional documentation remains unexamined.

Furthermore, it is likely that there are individuals in the community can could contribute additional oral history concerning the study tract and its owners. These would include both members of the white and black community, since it is

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essential for both to be represented in any historical synthesis of the tract.

Any future research on the project tract should continue to explore and collect data for the immediately surrounding portions of Mulberry. Not only will this likely be of interest to the current owners, but it will help place the significance of the findings in better perspective. Often what appears to be unique may actually be common when the "bigger picture" is understood.

Recommended Level Of Effort

The level of effort always depends first on the regulatory requirements — what is required by law to be performed. If, for example, activities on the project tract will require either federal or state licensing, funding, or permitting, it is likely that the project will come under the review of the State Historic Preservation Office at the S.C. Department of Archives and History. Given the information currently available, it is almost certain that they would require an intensive survey of the project tract (involving both what we have identified as high and low probability areas).

If no such federal or state licensing, permitting, or funding is anticipated, then it may be that no investigation of cultural resources is required. This decision should be made carefully, however, since there is often federal involvement through various economic development grants, sewer or water projects, or even road construction.

Regardless, even if no regulatory involvement is anticipated, we hope that this preliminary overview helps reveal the exceptional cultural resources of the area. Further consideration of these resources may help ensure the success of the project by demonstrating good community relations and a serious concern with the heritage of the area.

Although such cultural resource studies do have real costs, as a non-profit organization contributions for specific projects to Chicora Foundation may be tax deductible by the owners of Mulberry. This may help offer an additional incentive to conduct further investigations.

At a minimal level, this study suggests that additional historic research should be undertaken and field investigations should be conducted to identify the actual sites on the property and assess their potential for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. If the sites are not appropriate for inclusion on the National Register then no additional investigations (regardless of regulatory involvement) would be appropriate. If National Register eligible sites are found on the project tract, it may be possible to simply green space them — leaving them undisturbed as parks or wooded areas. Otherwise it may be appropriate to conduct excavations of the remains, collecting the important information and allowing development to take place.

Although the owners have very graciously supported archaeological investigations at the Mulberry Mounds, they should be assured that most archaeological projects are conducted in weeks, not years, and are quickly and completely written up so that scheduled activities are not delayed. We would not want the owners to think that the identification of most National Register eligible archaeological site would result in the kinds of work they have seen at Mulberry.

Chicora Foundation representatives would be happy to discuss the implications of additional survey as well as the associated costs and time frames.

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