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History, Historical Archaeology, and Cultural Resource Management: A Case Study from Jasper County, South Carolina

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**HISTORY, HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY, AND CULTURAL RESOURCE
MANAGEMENT: A CASE STUDY
FROM JASPER COUNTY SOUTH CAROLINA**

by

ANGUS C. SAWYER

(Under the Direction of Sue Mullins Moore)

ABSTRACT

Virgil Noble (1996) has noted a deficiency in historical archaeological research within the sphere of cultural resource management, attributable to inadequacies within regulatory agencies, resulting in trite methodological exercises. This thesis demonstrates that another problem can be found in the basic methodology of historical archaeology as translated into practice in compliance archaeology. A review of a data recovery project in Jasper County, South Carolina shows that the necessary relationship between the documentary and archaeological particulars, that are not well codified in the standards for archaeological investigations, led to the creation of a program of study that would likely lead to a flat minimalist study. As such, a more thorough understanding of a site's history and context is needed in order to structure a research design prior to field investigations, subsequent analyses, and interpretations to produce more relevant and meaningful studies.

INDEX WORDS: historical archaeology; cultural resource management; plantation studies; compliance archaeology; Jasper County, Delta Plantation

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FROM JASPER COUNTY SOUTH CAROLINA**

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ANGUS C. SAWYER

B.A., Wake Forest University, 1994

**A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of Georgia Southern University in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree**

Master of Arts

Statesboro, Georgia

2008

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HISTORY, HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY, AND CULTURAL RESOURCE

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by

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DEDICATION

This Thesis is dedicated to the memory of my father, Warren Allen Sawyer, a man of letters.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the field of cultural resource management archeology, time is money. As a result of the expense of archaeological excavations and subsequent analyses, cultural resource management archeologists rarely have the luxury of time to devote to thoroughly search for documents that are often readily available. This limitation is extremely problematic, as research objectives must be clearly defined and constructed to direct the relatively limited field investigations that are often required. Moreover, research on historic period archaeological sites, mandated by federal, state, or local legislation, is far too frequently conducted by archaeologists with little or no formal training in the method and theory of historical archaeology and often those with the appropriate training rely on a local knowledge and/or cursory historic research into the particulars of the sites that they investigate. As a result many compliance archaeologists charged with examining the research potential of historic sites tend to “propose research services using stock phrases cribbed literally from their shelves of technical reports” (Noble 1996:79).

Nothing professionally excites cultural resource management archaeologists more than beginning an inquiry of an historic site and finding a wealth of secondary material to pirate. With their primary historical research essentially done for them, they can begin to answer the basic questions of temporal association and identity without devoting too much time searching archives and courthouses. Searching for documentary evidence is treated as a zero sum game where time devoted to finding documentary evidence to inform and direct research is time not spent excavating and analyzing the material content

of the site. Additionally, all too often, historical archaeology research in cultural resource management is conceived and undertaken with the documentary research and archaeological investigation undertaken by separate individuals and forced together into a final summary report, yielding a forced and often disjointed interpretation.

Unfortunately, the system established to oversee and direct compliance archaeology is also, in part, responsible for the flat and minimalist results from mandated historic site archaeological research. According to Vergil Noble (1996), State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPO) are frequently understaffed and their archaeologists often lack appropriate academic training in historical methods. The lack of qualified staff contributes to questionable research goals and results in the excavation of numerous historic sites with vague results. As Noble (1996:79-80) noted:

Compliance officials, of course, have done their part by requesting grand, synthetic overviews in their statements of work. Those doing the research then dutifully overstep the bounds of reason to meet those expectations, taxing scientific credulity in an effort to please. Imagine someone figuring the artifact category percentages for only a few hundred specimens collected next to a standing structure only to conclude that the assemblage conforms to South's (1977) "Architecture" pattern! Or consider the flawed logic behind calculating a bore diameter date from a mere handful of pipestems! Unbelievable as it might seem those true cases and equally absurd misapplications of method are commonplace in today's gray literature. But the truly sad thing is that such sophistry should so often pass for science before uninformed agency and SHPO reviewers. Indeed, some reports of that class apparently are accepted with praise.

While the nature of the system is partially responsible for the frequent unrealized potential of historical archaeology in compliance driven archaeology, the training and attitudes of compliance archaeologists also bear some responsibility. Training in anthropological archaeology stresses the differences between historical and

anthropological inquiry, demonstrating through archaeological analysis that perceptions of culture derived through historical research alone, especially regarding the lives of enslaved Africans, for example, are not always congruent with what is suggested in the archaeological record. Indeed, it is this questioning of the bias inherent in the historical documentation generated during the 18th and 19th centuries in America that led the interests of many historical archaeologists into the realm of antebellum plantation and African-American archaeology, to explore the world that was unseen by the literate few.

However, the cautious use of the historical record by archaeologists has translated into its limited use as a complimentary data source in historical archaeology, especially in compliance archaeology. Research designs generally rely on the broadest of historical understandings and tend to utilize the documentary record to answer very basic questions of temporal association, identity and spatial relationships. The synthesis of historical data with the creation of the research design and subsequent research can allow for the creation of research questions and objectives that are more relative to the particulars of the research potential of the site under investigation. The outcome would be an archaeological project that provided the same level of documentation afforded in many of the uninformed studies commonly being produced today while speaking to a more informed and better directed research design, which potentially will reduce the redundant and unnecessary carrying out of all of the basic methodological tools of the historical archaeologist for the sake of the exercise and produce a more streamlined and directed study, specific to the site in question and more relevant to wider levels of analysis.

The scattered remains of historic Delta Plantation, located on the lower Savannah River in Jasper County, South Carolina, provide a good case study to examine the use of

the historical record in the processes of site identification through the planning for the excavation of a portion of the site, as mandated by Section 106 of the Historic Preservation Act of 1966, and subsequent amendments. A small portion of the total plantation site, 38JA175 (see Figure 1.1), was located during archaeological compliance survey efforts, and identified as a moderately dense artifact scatter with artifacts dating from the early-late 19th century (Poplin 1990). Limited archival research identified the site as being probably associated with a slave occupation at the historic Delta Plantation. Subsequent evaluative archaeological testing found evidence of intact structural remains, and reduced the size of the “significant” portion of the site based on the concentration of antebellum period artifacts (Agha 2005). Based upon the site’s association with an unknown slave occupation with the potential to yield significant information regarding the lives of African slaves along the lower Savannah River and the demonstration of enough site integrity (the presence of some intact subsurface architectural remains) the site was recommended as being potentially eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic of Historic Places (NRHP). These findings were accepted by the South Carolina SHPO and subsequently, a research design was created for the excavation of the site to mitigate for adverse effects from the pending development.



Figure 1.1: Satellite Location Map, Showing Historic Delta Plantation as it Relates to the Modern Landscape.
(base image courtesy of Google Earth™)

The research design for this cultural resource management archaeological mitigation project was based on questions derived from a cursory understanding of very broad themes of plantation archaeology and regional 19th century studies. The excavation plan devised consisted of a typical data grab, the results of which would inevitably produce a very generalist data set, likely to force the exercise of the array of methods of historical archaeology and produce what Noble (1996:79) might consider “a lot of naïve, ambitious nonsense offered up in the guise of science.”

It has been determined through more extensive historical research and initial stages of field investigations that the examination of this site had much more to offer as a research objective than previously stated in the initial research design. Summarily, it was found that the occupation of the site extended into the early 20th century and the household remains encountered contained a wealth of household and personal artifacts that spoke directly to economic realities of African-Americans in the post-bellum periods of tenancy and sharecropping, extending into the early 20th century. Additionally, a seemingly high concentration of what one might construe as luxury items were recovered that correspond to the post-bellum period. The initial historic research that informed the formation of the research design included little that would actually inform the types of questions that could ultimately be answered by the data that was actually recovered. Hindsight is 20/20, especially when evaluating the work of someone else. However, more thorough historical investigation of the site in the initial stages of its examination could have produced valuable research objectives which would in turn lead to more thorough incorporation of historical research into the method of historical archaeological inquiry, resulting in an overall more relevant study.

This thesis will examine the role of historic research in historical archaeology in three ways. First, a brief but necessary discussion of the development of the disciplines of historical archaeology and plantation archaeology will be presented, as well as a discussion of the development of the field of cultural resource management and its structure. Next, a detailed history of Delta Plantation will be examined, utilizing more extensive historic research, with the goal of demonstrating the value of the documentary record to provide multiple lines of evidence in not only the interpretation of archaeological data but also the creation of a better directed research design before beginning field investigations. Finally, the research design for the above mentioned archaeological project will be studied with emphasis on how limited engagement of the historic particulars of a site lead to probable limited outcomes, comparing the preliminary research design with results from the more intensive historical investigations and summary results from the archaeological work.

CHAPTER 2

THE CONTEXT OF HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

The Development of Anthropological Historical Archaeology

Nearly gone, but certainly not forgotten, are the statements made relatively early in the development of historical archaeology that the discipline was “an auxiliary science to American history” (Harrington 1978 [1955]) and that historical archaeology was the “handmaiden to history” (Noël Hume 1969). These statements were rooted in the period when historical archaeologists were searching for their identity between the academic disciplines of history and anthropology. The debates that sprung up from this discussion are best summarized by James Deetz (1988:362) in the following:

Anthropologists often feel that historians have an overly particularistic approach to their data whereas historians sometimes see a tendency toward overgeneralization and a disregard for the complexity of the past in the work of anthropological archaeologists. The fact remains, however, that historical archaeology has in large part been taught and carried out by anthropologists. Although there is nothing inherently wrong with this situation, historical archaeology needs both anthropological and historical perspectives to be fully effective. Anthropological archaeologists and historians often ask different questions. Neither are necessarily more “right” than the others; ideally they should be complimentary and not opposed.

While this perspective was a common one at the time Deetz made it in 1988, he himself was caught up in the “Hey, you got your chocolate in my peanut butter” debates that sprung up in the 1950’s and 1960’s, when the first generations of historical archaeologists were trying to decide what to call themselves, in what building they should put their desks, and what questions they could and should ask.

Prior to this somewhat protracted disciplinary adolescence, American historical archaeology's naissance was in the first half of the 20th century and was sparked from the historic preservation movement and in the exploration of historic sites for heritage tourism with an antiquarian approach, neither truly historical nor anthropological in an academic sense (Harrington 1978 [1955]). The excavations of Colonial Williamsburg in the 1930's to discover the locations and sizes of structures, and provide for the reconstruction of the town and its layout are an example of the types of projects that were being carried out. The archaeological data collected during such projects, "although extensive, served largely to supplement the documentary" record (Harrington 1978 [1955]:3). At the time, Harrington (1978 [1955]:5) also noted that classically trained archaeologists that took part in such projects did not have the familiarity with documentary research methods to offer anything but field methodology to such projects.

The discussions among scholars during the 1950's, 60's, and even into the 70's as to what the discipline should be called reveal more than the mere semantic arguments that they appear to be. Two distinct camps began to form around these discussions. One felt that historical archaeology, because of its ability to fill in gaps in the historical record, should be considered a branch of American history, and should maintain a particularist and humanist approach (see especially Harrington 1978 [1955]:6 and Noël Hume 1969). A second camp developed and made a case for historical archaeology to be an anthropological discipline or at this early stage of formal development at least a unique discipline deserving its own theory and methods (Schuyler 1978 [1970]; and Cleland and Fitting 1978 [1968]). To the first camp, the historical record accurately represented the past in post-Columbian North America. Archaeology could serve to supplement or verify

the historical record, but had little to offer the historian beyond that limited capability. The second camp began to see the potential for anthropological archaeology on historic period sites, or at the very least that historical archaeology was developing into a unique discipline, realizing that such research would reveal “a growing body of ‘generally’ accurate historical knowledge that will in actuality contain distortions in the particular, or detailed, areas of historical information” (Dollar 1978 [1968]:216).

In the inaugural meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology in 1967, the question of how to define historical archaeology occurred. A definition offered, most notably by Noël Hume, was that “Historical archaeology is the application of archaeological method to the study of History.” Cleland and Fitting (1978 [1968]:242) note that “After a narrow vote of 32 to 30, the matter was wisely dropped and the problem of definition was left to the individual members.” The argument most eloquently proffered by Cleland and Fitting (1978 [1968:244]) is that historical archaeology:

requires the cooperation of a number of sub-disciplines. We argue that the field and laboratory methodology employed by historic sites archaeologists should be objective and rigorous and finally that anthropological and historic phases of research are not only compatible but are complimentary and necessary in the understanding of any particular site.

This statement reveals a very progressive mode of thought for the time as well as a demonstration of the perceived depth of the division between history and anthropology in their respective goals.

Charles E. Orser, Jr. (1996:8-9) cites Walter Taylor’s (1948) dissertation work, looking at this same impending divergence of method and theory, whereby the methods

of both historical and anthropological inquiry are seen as being parallel through four essential stages. The first was the recognition of a particular area of interest or research question; then data is collected. Next the processes of analysis, synthesis and interpretation are undertaken. Finally, “historians and cultural anthropologists paint their pictures of human existence, building their pictures of everyday life from the information they choose to collect” (Orser 1996:8-9). Taylor, however, posited that anthropologists leave historians behind with a fifth step: the “study of the nature of culture, of cultural constants, or processes, or regularities, and of chronological development.” This desire to uncover these “cultural constants” and processes led to the development of a significant development in archaeological method and theory, then known as “New” archaeology.

The “New” archaeology, also known as processual archaeology, came directly from the above stated desire to be a more relevant discipline, distinctly passing the limitations of Taylor’s fourth methodological stage. By grounding itself firmly in the scientific method, stressing the deductive approach of testing expected outcomes against soundly empirical data and providing testable results, processual archaeologists felt that they could then use these findings to engage Taylor’s fifth methodological stage, the examination and identification of cross-cultural patterns. The ultimate goal became the defining of cultural laws, the regularities within a vast array of seemingly unique expressions.

One work, Stanley South’s *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*, published in 1977, encapsulates the transformation of historical archaeology and its positioning firmly within the realm of anthropology. Within this text, South firmly

describes the rigorous application of the scientific method in relevant historical archaeology, describing the “nomothetic atmosphere,” comprised of theory (lawlike generality), deduction (logical analysis) and prediction (hypothesis) above a sea of observable facts: history, artifacts, features, architecture and sites. These two distinct worlds are linked by induction (pattern recognition) and subsequent verification (hypothesis testing) (South 2002 [1977]:15). South also presents a new set of methodological tools to enable the collection and analysis of historic site archaeological data that would allow for inter and intra-site comparison, ultimately leading to pattern recognition that would lead to the realizing of the larger processes that would be common synchronically and diachronically. South (2002 [1977]) pays lip service to the equal footing of the documentary record with archaeological data. But his method, rather than addressing this potential complimentary use of the historical record beyond its most basic functions of revealing of some identity or locating a site temporally or spatially, remains focused, albeit in a rigorously scientific manner, on the extraction of the greater patterns rather than potential value of the unique expressions within the pattern.

The theoretical response to the “New” archaeology is known generally as post-processual archaeology, and is comprised of numerous paradigmatic approaches that seek to place the focus on the individual expressions that can be seen within the patterns that are evident in cultural process. As much as regression formulas will demonstrate the trends within a sample, post-processual archaeologists reiterated the need to understand not only the trend but the deviations surrounding them; the deviations and unique expressions are as important to understanding the processes being analyzed. Within this framework, historical archaeologists began to explore sites utilizing the historical record

as an artifact itself. That is, the documentary record is something that was created and maintained, and it can be analyzed as one would the remains of a structure or an assemblage of pottery sherds.

In very general terms, the focus of historical archaeology began with the analysis of sites from the colonial period, and in equally general terms on sites occupied by white Euro-Americans. Thus, questions of the biases of the white generated and controlled historical record were less relevant to their effect on these types of studies. Historians shared the same difficulties as archaeologists, especially in the American south, where not one, but two wars destroyed large quantities of state and local records, as well as the propensity for courthouses to all too often burn to the ground. As the trend in historical archaeology towards plantation studies and African-slave and African-American culture developed, the realizations that the culture of these people portrayed through the historical observations of whites, and what was being seen archaeologically did not coincide at all with record kept by the dominant culture. To historical archaeologists studying African-slave and African-American culture the documentary record is often viewed as an artifact, subject to interpretation as any artifact would be. Funari *et al.* (1999:9) state that:

documentary history plays a specific role in constructing the past for societies with written records. It is often argued that written accounts are created and used by the elite to organize their own understanding of social life and their own forms of remembrance...

As such, certain types of documentary evidence are given more credence in archaeological investigations of the disenfranchised.

Literacy and control over the documentary record led to a skewed picture of reality within historical accounts of the colonial and American south. The same can be said about other cultures and temporal periods, but these biases are particularly relevant in the study of African slaves and African Americans archaeologically. The white autocracy that created and maintained the institution of slavery as well as the altered plantation system following the Civil War recorded history as they saw and needed to see it. An interesting study of Seville Plantation in Jamaica analyzed the spatial arrangement of the plantation, as established by the white planter, and how the slave population created their own system within this structure to “develop a distinct African Jamaican Society” (Armstrong and Kelly 2000). The plantation had been established with the planter’s house at the highest topographic point on the landscape with slave housing established in ordered rows in full view of the grand residence. Archaeological analysis of the slave houses and interstitial spaces revealed that there were plumes of activity outside the slave cabins that were effectively shaded from view from the planter’s residence. Slave culture had evolved within the rigidity of the structured institution “to create a degree of autonomy and freedom from constant surveillance that was at odds with the motives of the planter class” (Armstrong and Kelly 2000:369).

This analysis of the differences found between the documentary record – there are countless accounts of planter’s and overseer’s perspectives on their perspectives of the institution of slavery and the enslaved – and the material reality that is capable of being explored archaeologically has led archaeology into the analysis of the antebellum plantation. And more recently, archaeologists have been examining the processes that occurred during Reconstruction and into the 20th century as the plantation landscape

shifted from a slave-based system to one of wages and product. As historical archaeology has begun examining those less represented in the historical record, the full range of historical documents available have become an integral component to historical archaeological inquiry.

Anthropological Plantation Archaeology and African-American Archaeology

The archaeology of the plantation South developed and flourished from the combined theoretical bases of the processual movement as well as the post-processual particularistic paradigms that developed in response to it. Additionally, historical archaeologists have benefited from some of the approaches taken by other Social Scientists examining material culture in other disciplines. Material culture historians, especially those examining the Victorian culture of conspicuous consumption have quite successfully demonstrated changes in preference and patterns among consumers in the 19th century utilizing material and documentary information (see especially Ames 1992 and Grier 1988). To folklorist Henry Glassie (1977) the examination of folklore to investigate the past is the same as the archaeologists' examination of material culture; both represent survivals that carry significant meanings that can illuminate the mental constructs inherent in their creation, use and discard. Comparing the goals of archaeology and folklore, Glassie (1977:27) saw a shared purpose in:

developing the ability to see, to experience form as the product of a mental argument over order. Still more directly, the object we select for study must be theorized as the result of the employment of mental rules for right form.

Borrowing from anthropological training, the development of archaeological thought, and from leads in other disciplines, historical archaeologists of the plantation South have begun to explore the richness of the lives and dynamics created by the

African Diaspora and the transformation of the culture of enslaved Africans into African American culture. Researchers have examined numerous aspects of plantation culture, formerly not evident in detail from the documentary record alone. Aspects of the relationships that slaves, overseers, and planters maintained with the material culture that they controlled and surrounded their lives with are being investigated and explored, revealing much of the social and cultural constructs occurring during the 18th, 19th and into the 20th centuries.

Researchers have explored the relationships of material culture to levels of social status on the plantation (see especially Otto 1984 [1977] and Moore 1985). Focusing mainly on ceramic types and forms, it was demonstrated that the different classes/castes on the plantation were associated with different economically scaled ceramic types as well as different vessel forms. The planter and overseer classes showed a higher incidence of plate vessel forms than bowl forms; the opposite was true among the slave caste. This analysis has led to inquiries into the economic realities of the plantation. That is, numerous questions were suggested by this research regarding such questions as what the access to material goods was and how the slave economy figured into supplementing the material culture of the enslaved. Questions regarding differences in diet between the groups existing on the plantation were also suggested. Types of food suitable for plates, such as large cuts of meat, are suggested to be preferred among the planter group and to a greater degree than the slaves by the overseer class. The high prevalence of bowl forms in slave contexts, however, suggests a subsistence on a starch and stew diet, not necessarily suited for plates.

The study of the economics of material culture is being realized as a separate paradigmatic thrust in historical archaeology, in urban, plantation and post-bellum contexts. A paradigmatic thrust focused on the archaeology of capitalism has developed. Mark Leone (quoted in Orser and Fagan 1995:196) asks “How did capitalism actually operate on the ground – that is, in peoples daily lives?” Leone would answer that by breaking down the relationships between technology and culture. Charles Orser (1988) has developed a methodological approach to this question in his study of post-bellum tenant farmers in the piedmont of South Carolina. Orser has recalibrated South’s (1977) artifact classification scheme to better indicate functional typologies to reflect the subject’s status as laborers. Orser’s (1988:230-245) artifact classifications have similar basic groupings as South’s (1977) model, including groupings for Foodways, Clothing, Household/Structural, Personal, and Labor. However, Orser further divides the Foodways classification, for example, into subgroups that indicate whether an artifact would be likely to have been used in food procurement, preparation, service, storage, or represents actual food remains, whether botanical or faunal. This model allows for more detailed statistical analysis of an artifact assemblage, as well as providing a methodological means for comparison of differing sites, individuals, or even regional comparisons.

Another significant direction of plantation archaeology in the last several decades involves the investigation of the creolization of African spirituality brought during the slave trade with the Christian religion foisted upon generations of slaves during the Diaspora. Leland Ferguson (1980, 1992, 1999) has devoted much of his career to looking at hand-built slave pottery and the transformation of what would be considered a

food associated item to one that carried spiritual significance. Ferguson found numerous vessels, and many intact forms in rivers adjacent to plantations, with a cross-like pattern etched into them. Ferguson has speculated that this cruciform represents a Bakongo West African cosmogram, representing a spiritual worldview. Kenneth Brown and Doreen Cooper (1990) working on a slave and tenant site in Texas identified caches of unique objects found below the floor of a house. These caches included discreet concentrations of nails, limestone fragments, medicine bottles, bird skulls, tablespoons, sea shells, and other unique items. Brown and Cooper state that the collection relates to the “toolkit” of a traditional West African/African American healer/magician. This assertion is further suggested by ethnohistorical accounts of a past resident.

The studies discussed above were produced within an academic setting. That is, they were projects that benefited from not having the strict time and budgetary constraints that are seen in cultural resource management research projects. There is a back and forth relationship between the material record and the historical record, as well as oral histories, material culture studies, etc., that exists in academic research that generally does not exist in cultural resource management archaeology. An archaeological site may be subjected to excavation over years of field seasons, with subsequent analyses and examinations of historical data occurring out of the field that continually inform the ongoing research. Cultural resource management archaeology, to reiterate, is different in that there is usually one opportunity for site excavation, the scale and scope of which are defined prior to proceeding with the creation of the research design.

Orser (1985:50) states that part of the rise in interest in post-bellum plantation studies is directly attributable to the passage of *The National Historic Preservation Act of*

1966, and subsequent amendments. With mandated archaeological examination of sites that were previously thought to be understood by the documentary record (e.g. late 19th and early 20th century sites) the potential for understanding these sites and the realities they represent beyond the documentary record is being realized. The development of cultural resource management has produced copious amounts of data, both from prehistoric and historic contexts. As such, an understanding of the origins of this growing storehouse of historical and archaeological data, and the processes that create them is necessary to understand the basic methodological flaw suggested by this research.

Cultural Resource Management and Historical Archaeology

Several pieces of federal legislation for the protection of historical and archaeological cultural resources existed prior to 1966, the date of passage of *The National Historic Preservation Act*, which is the central law that drives current cultural resource management archaeology. *The Antiquities Act of 1906* first afforded protection to “objects of antiquity” located on public lands. These “objects” were found, after passage, to be vaguely defined. However, the passage of the law was a first step in establishing historic preservation and oversight in the management of cultural resources, although only on public lands. Federal oversight increased with the passage of *The Historic Sites Act* of 1935, which established the National Park Service (NPS) as the primary federal entity charged with historic preservation. The law also gave the NPS the ability to “carry on a continuing program of recording, documenting, acquiring and managing places important in the interpretation and commemoration of the nation’s history” (King 1998:14). Under this law, the NPS created what became the National Historic Landmark program and the Historic American Building Survey, both charged

with distinguishing significant historic resources and documenting generally structural elements of our past that modern society continued to evolve around and sometimes replace (King 1998:270).

Interest in historic preservation and the impacts of modern society increased during the first half of the 20th century. Exploratory excavations at Williamsburg, VA in the 1920's, financed by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. were conducted to determine the locations and sizes of the 18th century colonial capital of Virginia; the goal was to accurately rebuild the town as an interpretive center for colonial history. During the Great Depression, federal projects took advantage of the huge unemployed workforce to carry out specific projects. The Tennessee Valley Authority, in advance of creating a network of hydroelectric facilities, conducted intensive archaeological investigations in areas to be flooded in the creation of new reservoirs. The Federal Writers Project employed thousands of out-of-work historians and intellectuals to write local and regional histories and collect oral histories, notably the ex-slave narratives. Notable participants in the Federal Writers Project included John Steinbeck, Conrad Aiken, Zora Neal Hurston, John Cheever, Ralph Ellison and Saul Bellow.

Local and national historical societies were forming and becoming more proactive in researching and attempting to preserve the tangible elements of the cultural environment that surround us and are often threatened by progress. The city of Charleston, South Carolina created the first historic district in the nation in 1931 and created the Board of Architectural Review to provide oversight to growth and change that might impact or change the character of the district. The National Trust for Historic Preservation, a private non-profit organization, was created in 1949 to encourage and

assist in historic preservation activities. The historic preservation movement, following the Second World War, “soon expanded beyond preoccupation with the greatest most pristine places, and became something that all people could claim as their own,” creating a new level of interest in “the human-affected environment” (King 1998:15). Federal highway initiatives and urban renewal projects during the 1950’s and 1960’s also increased awareness of the impacts of progress on the cultural environment. Interest in not only resources that were not necessarily of a national level of significance, but important to local contexts, “that gave them their particular identity,” were becoming highlighted as the cultural landscape was rapidly changing (King 1998:15).

This growing trend of awareness of the changes being wrought by growth and development spurred the passage of *The National Historic Preservation Act* (NHPA) in 1966. The NHPA created the State Historic Preservation Officers (SHPO) and Tribal Historic Preservation Officers (THPO), mandated the NPS to expand and maintain the *National Register of Historic Places* (NRHP) and directed federal agencies to consider the impacts of federally financed, supported or permitted projects to consider the impacts of their projects on the cultural landscape. Specifically, Section 106 of the law states that:

The head of any Federal agency having direct or indirect jurisdiction over a proposed Federal or federally assisted undertaking in any State and the head of any Federal department or independent agency having authority to license any undertaking shall, prior to the approval of the expenditure of any Federal funds on the undertaking or prior to the issuance of any license, as in the case may be, to take into account the effect of the undertaking on any district, site, building, structure or object that is included in or eligible for inclusion in the National Register (16 U.S.C. 470f).

The wording of this portion of the law is important to understand because it specifies that consideration and protection is afforded to not only those resources that are listed on NRHP, but also to those that are considered eligible for inclusion.

The law has evolved since its passage with a number of amendments and the development of the guidelines that spell out how this oversight process (commonly known as the Section 106 process) is to take place (see 36 CFR 800). As the law is intended to provide for the consideration of cultural resources for the public good, the Section 106 process is therefore a public one, and invites “interested parties,” that include the SHPO (and THPO when applicable), the relevant federal entity, local governments, Indian tribes (when applicable), the “applicants for federal assistance, permits licensing or approvals” (and/or their consultants), and the public (36 CFR 800.2). The Section 106 process involves the determination of eligibility for inclusion in the NRHP (which is to be discussed further below), the determination of the effect of the proposed project on the resource(s) under review, and the development of a plan of mitigation if an adverse effect is found to occur from the proposed project. Mitigation can include the alteration of the proposed project to negate the adverse effect, preservation in place with appropriate buffers, or in the case of archaeological sites, archaeological data recovery. This last option, according to Thomas F. King (1998:177), means that “we let the property go, but we make a record of it.”

Determination of eligibility for inclusion in the NRHP can be a very difficult process. The resource must be at least 50 years old or older, which is

now bringing numerous Cold War-era structures and sites under review. There are four criteria for eligibility for inclusion in the NRHP found within the regulations that guide the NPS in maintaining the NRHP (36 CFR 60.4), and are as follows:

The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

- (a) That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- (b) That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
- (c) That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- (d) That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory.

Criterion D is known informally as the “archaeological criterion,” as most recommendations of eligibility for archaeological sites, especially prehistoric sites, rely on their ability to provide significant data. Although, other criteria are frequently applied to archaeological sites, especially those of the historic period, when they are associated with notable events or people, as in the case of Site 38JA175, that is associated with Langdon Cheves and the Cheves family, significant on national, regional and local levels.

Many state, county and civic governments have enacted ordinances and policies to ensure similar oversight over impacts that might not fall under the purview of the NRHP. The state of South Carolina, notably, is very progressive

in this sense, owing to rapid development within the coastal counties. South Carolina passed the *Coastal Zone Management Act* (CZMA) in 1976. This law empowers the Office of Coastal Resource Management (OCRM), a division of the South Carolina Department of Health and Environmental Control, to require a cultural resource assessment of projects occurring in the eight coastal counties. The law states that “Important ecological, cultural, natural, geological and scenic characteristics, industrial, economic and historical values in the coastal zone are being irretrievably damaged or lost by ill-planned development that threatens to destroy these values” (S.C. Code §39-20[e]). Beaufort County, SC and the town of Beaufort have specific requirements for the protection of resources when reviewing proposals for development (see Beaufort County Code Article X Division 6; Beaufort, SC Unified Development Ordinance Article 3 Section 12). Although the SHPO is an advisory entity rather than a regulatory one, local and even OCRM level review relies heavily upon the review comments from the SHPO of the compliance work. While these additional requirements for oversight are generally modeled after Section 106 process, they allow for even more assurance that impact assessments are being done, and local interests are being represented prior to the issuance of building permits.

In the state of South Carolina, cultural resources assessments, specifically archaeological assessments, are conducted following the same procedures, regardless of the agency requiring the compliance work. *The South Carolina Standards and Guidelines for Archaeological Investigation* (2005), produced through consultation among the Council of South Carolina Professional

Archaeologists (COSCOPA), the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), and the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (SCIAA), outlines the procedures and requirements for compliance with federal, state and local legislation specific to the review of impacts to cultural resources of pending projects in South Carolina.

The specifics vary slightly from state to state as to what is required as far as sampling and field methodology. For example, Georgia standards recommend that areas determined to be of low archaeological probability be examined by shovel testing at no greater than 100-meter intervals, while South Carolina standards recommend that the same interval be no greater than 60-meters (GCPA 2001:9; COSCOPA *et al.* 2005:13) . Similarly, Georgia standards recommend that these exploratory shovel tests measure 30 by 30 centimeters, to a depth of 80 centimeters below surface at a minimum, while Florida standards recommend that similar tests be 50 centimeters in diameter, and excavated to a minimum of 100 centimeters below surface (GCPA 2001:11; FDHR n.d.:16). These differences reflect methodological differences that are derived from the different backgrounds and experiences of the archaeologists within field research within each state to devise these standards within each state. Although, sampling strategies and basic methodological tools differ from state to state, archaeological assessment is conducted in three levels in all states.

Phase I cultural resources investigations involve the first assessment of a project's impact on historic properties, which can include standing structures, archaeological sites and cultural landscapes. The assessment looks at not only the

impacts in the footprint of the proposed project, but also at impacts that might occur to historic properties near the proposed project. This total area is known as the “area of potential effect,” or APE, and its size is determined by the scope and scale of the proposed project (36 CFR 800.16[d]). The planning of a new interstate highway, for example, would involve assessing the impacts of not only what would be physically altered in the clearing and construction of the highway, but also of visual and audible effects that the new highway might have on the differing historic properties and/or landscapes that might be encountered within the project APE. A small residential development on a few hundred acres would have a reduced APE, but other factors might expand possible adverse effects to historic properties, by increasing traffic significantly through an area that is not necessarily within the view shed of the proposed project, for example.

The goal of the Phase I level cultural resources assessment is to locate all historic properties (including archaeological sites) on the subject tract and within the projects APE. Once located, these historic properties are then evaluated for significance and eligibility for inclusion in the NRHP. The first steps in performing a cultural resources assessment involve background research, which might include: consulting historic maps, consultation with the state archaeological site files, to see if there are previously recorded archaeological sites on or nearby the subject property; specific historical research to identify past associations; interviews with informants who might have knowledge of past associations; and/or assessment of environmental variables that might indicate the likelihood of encountering archaeological sites. Well-drained soils and close

proximity to fresh water sources or resource rich areas are favorable indicators for past occupations and uses. Some or all of these factors are then used to determine zones of probability for archaeological assessment.

Archaeological assessment involves systematic sampling over the subject tract, examining both surface features and subsurface data. A grid system for pedestrian survey, which involves walking the subject property and excavating small test units, called shovel tests, is established, based on the establishment of probability of encountering archaeological sites after some or all of the previously mentioned sources have been analyzed. Archaeologists traverse the landscape, examining the surface for artifacts or anomalies that might suggest previous occupations and excavate shovel tests at pre-specified intervals, based upon the determined probability within specific areas. Shovel tests are dug and the fill removed from these pits is screened through hardware cloth to separate any artifacts that might be present. Often soil anomalies occur that might indicate past occupations even if artifacts are not present. These might involve heat alteration of soils or disturbances that might indicate previous human activity.

Pedestrian transect and shovel test data is then mapped and areas where artifacts were found, either on or below the surface, surface features, or soil anomalies, are then revisited and supplemental shovel testing at reduced intervals and examination occurs. These efforts are designed to delineate a site's boundaries and to gather as much information as possible to assist in the determination of eligibility for inclusion in the NRHP. Often this level of investigation is all that is needed to assess a site's significance. Phase I level data

might indicate that the past occupation(s) at the site in question were ephemeral, suggested by scarcity of archaeological data, or that the site's integrity has been badly compromised by erosion or human activities, such as construction or intensive silviculture. If this is the case, then it is not likely that further archaeological investigation will yield any more significant data beyond what was found from the Phase I level investigation. In this instance, the site in question would be recommended as ineligible for inclusion in the NRHP and upon concurrence from the regulatory agencies (whichever federal, state or others involved in the cultural resources review) the site would be cleared for any impacts that might occur from the proposed project.

If, however, high artifact densities, surface features suggesting human activity and/or good site integrity are found, then further evaluation might be necessary to determine a site's eligibility status for inclusion in the NRHP. This next step is known as Phase II level evaluative testing and involves larger scale archaeological examination through the excavation of formal test units and more intensive archival and historical research in the case of historic period sites. These test units can measure 1 by 1 meter, 1 by 2 meters, or 2 by 2 meters on the surface and are excavated to provide pre-specified vertical control to separate elements recovered within the column sample. For example, an excavation level within a test unit might be set arbitrarily at 5 or 10 centimeters or levels might be dug that isolate natural soil levels or differing cultural zones, if they can be determined.

The goal of vertical control is not only to distinguish the material recovered in each separate level but to then indicate if there is good stratigraphic integrity of the deposits. For example, a hypothetical site discovered during a Phase I level archaeological survey, yielded an assemblage of artifacts that suggested heavy prehistoric human occupations during the Early Archaic period (approximately 10,000 B.P. to 8,000 B.P.), the Middle Woodland Period (approximately 2,300 B.P. to 1,500 B.P.) and a Late Missippian Period culture dating to approximately A.D. 1400 to 1450. Does controlled excavation indicate a separation of these cultural periods following the law of superposition (i.e. that the deposits from the younger time periods are found atop the deposits from the older time periods)? If so, stratigraphic integrity, in and of itself, found in such a site as described above, can indicate significance. Different temporal periods can be examined in contexts of site type, seasonality of use, population densities and fluctuations in the region, resource allocation, etc.

A second goal of Phase II archaeological testing is to determine the presence of archaeological features, widely described as non-portable artifacts. In the hypothetical site described above, examples of possible features might include a hearth, consisting of an area of heat altered sand, or a trash pit filled with shell and animal bones, refuse from daily life that contains valuable information. From historic sites we might expect to find brick remains from the foundation of a structure, similar trash pits, or a well. We might even find the remains of the trench that was excavated to level the ground for the base of that brick foundation mentioned above, even after the brick was later removed for reuse or to clear the

ground for plowing. Or we might find the drip line from a building that years of water falling from a roof line has dug and is subsequently filled with darker organic sediments.

In Phase II level investigations of historic period sites, a third aspect is considered, a more thorough examination of the historical record of the site under investigation. In the southeastern United States, these efforts can be met with varying results. During the Civil War, large quantities of records were lost. Additionally, before and after the War, county courthouses, where a number of important records were housed, seemed to burn down at problematically high rates. Beaufort County, South Carolina, where Site 38JA175 was located historically (Jasper County, where the site is now was not formed until 1912), had its county seat moved from the city of Beaufort in 1788 to Coosawhatchie, some 15 miles inland, to Gillisonville, approximately four miles west of Coosawhatchie, which burned in 1865, and back to the city of Beaufort in 1868 (<http://www.jaspercountysc.org/history.htm>). Fortunately, historical research of Delta Plantation was not primarily dependent on records from Beaufort County. The plantation was established and operated by three men of the Cheves family, all attorneys who left copious amounts of personal papers and documents.

If the recommendation, with concurrence from the regulatory agencies, following Phase II level investigations is that the site in question be considered eligible for inclusion for the NRHP, then it is treated as if it were listed in the NRHP. Eligible status affords the site under review the level of protection of those historic properties that have gone through the nomination process and are

listed in the NRHP. A determination of effect of the proposed project on the site under review is then made. If the proposed project is determined to have an adverse effect on the site, then the first option would be to alter the proposed project to negate any adverse effects (36CFR800.5; COSCOPA *et al.* 2005:9). For example, a site might be fenced off or merely “green spaced” to ensure that there would be no physical impact to the site. A layer of fill dirt might be placed over the site in the construction of a golf course to, likewise, ensure that there are no physical impacts to the site. If, however, it is demonstrated that avoidance of the site is not a viable option then a program of research must be designed to excavate the site and recover the data that would be lost by the adverse effect to the site under review by the proposed project (COSCOPA *et al.* 2005:9). Phase III level investigations would then be the next and final process in the Section 106 process.

This last phase of investigation involves the creation of a research design, the devising of a subsequent scope of archaeological work, suitable to effectively carry out this research design, and the production of a final report of investigations that explicates the research and findings of the investigations on the subject site. Because of the costs and time involved in archaeological research, archaeological field methodology is generally limited to sampling of the site rather than its complete excavation. That is, only a portion of the site is excavated, the results of which extrapolated over the entire site. When excavating the remains of a structure, it might be necessary to reveal portions of the foundation to determine the size of the footprint of the building, for example. The

sample size of the excavated portion of Site 38JA175, during Phase III level excavations, totaled 1.75% of the total site area within the NRHP boundary, and 3% of the total area of the area isolated as antebellum during Phase II level investigations (Sawyer *et al.* 2006:5). Possible exceptions to this might be seen in extremely large-scale projects, like the hypothetical construction of a new interstate highway system, where a portion of funds are allocated for dealing with impacts to cultural resources and the impact of the project is likely to obliterate sites completely.

As with Phase II level research, historic research is to be conducted at the Phases III level of investigation. Here is where the flaw in the process of the creation of relevant research designs can be found. The *South Carolina Standards and Guidelines for Archaeological Investigations* distinguishes between the levels of historical research to be conducted at each level (Phases I-III) of investigation. Phase II level historical inquiry is described as assuming “completion of survey [Phase I] level documentary research. For historic sites, additional documentary research at the testing [Phase II] level may consist of chain of title searches and examination of property plats, if available” (COSCOPA *et al.* 2005:12). Phase III level historical research “may also include census data, such as Agricultural, Population, and Industrial Censuses (SCDAH), slave schedules (SCDAH), family papers, wills, probate inventories, daybooks, etc. ... and informant interviews (particularly for early 20th century sites” (COSCOPA *et al.* 2005:12).

Ultimately, Phase III level investigations are intended to be the definitive record of the archaeological site under review. According to the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP 1999) archaeological data recovery projects are described as follows:

Once a decision has been made to recover archaeological information through the naturally destructive methods of excavation, a research design and data recovery plan based on firm background data, sound planning, and accepted archaeological methods should be formulated and implemented. ... Archaeological data recovery plans and their research designs should be grounded in and related to the priorities established in regional, state, and local historic preservation plans, the needs of land and resource managers, academic research interests, and other legitimate public interests.

The levels of historical research distinguished between Phase II and Phase III level investigations in the South Carolina methodology often produce research designs for historic period sites that are based upon incomplete historical understanding of the site under review. For the Phase III level archaeological project to produce meaningful results it must be informed by historical evidence that is found through the analysis of the documentary evidence that is suggested in the South Carolina Standards for Phase III level investigations (COSCOPA *et al.* 2005:12). However, this is not the case. The use of cursory historical understanding to derive research designs will produce a similarly shallow research product.

The Case Study: 38JA175 and Early Research Design

Site 38JA175 was located during Phase I level investigations as reported by Poplin (1990), as specified South Carolina Coastal Zone Management Act, administered

by the South Carolina Office of Ocean and Coastal Resource Management. The Phase I investigation did not provide enough data to make an assessment of eligibility for *National Register of Historic Places* (NRHP) inclusion. The proposed project that triggered this 1990 Phase I investigation never materialized and the site remained undisturbed until impacts to the site were proposed as a result of the current proposed residential development project that necessitated the 2005 Phase II level investigations of the site. Phase II level investigations found that the site contained intact subsurface features, indicating structural remains, and that the majority of artifacts recovered suggested an ante-bellum occupation, which in combination with Phase II level historical research suggested that the site was probably occupied by enslaved Africans prior to the Civil War. As a result, the site was recommended as eligible for inclusion in the NRHP under Criterion D of the four possible criteria of eligibility discussed above (although this is suggested and not directly stated), thereby ascribing significance to the site and ensuring that mitigation would be necessary if the proposed residential development were to unavoidably cause any adverse effect to the site (Agha 2005:40-41).

Preservation in-place of the site, which would be the preferred option, was determined to be impossible and Phase III level investigations became the means to mitigate the unavoidable adverse effect. The access road to the proposed development could not be rerouted away from the site. A treatment plan for Phase III level historical and archaeological investigations of Site 38JA175 were accepted by the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office in 2005. This plan included a scope of archaeological work that specified the proposed sampling methodology. Excavation included 20 square meters of excavation in the form of 80 test units measuring 50 by 50 centimeters to be

dug at 15-meter intervals over the site. Following the analysis of the results of the 80 test units, 40 square meters of larger test units (measuring two by two meters, one by two meters, and one by one meter) were to be dug at loci of artifact and feature concentrations, as determined by the 15-meter interval testing. Finally, mechanical stripping with a backhoe, the careful removal of the plow zone (plow disturbed upper soil strata), was to be undertaken, uncovering 200-400 square meters of the undisturbed cultural zone. All features discovered during mechanical stripping were to be mapped and excavated. Samples of feature matrices from all excavation sources were to be taken for flotation, a process of isolating carbonized (burned) plant remains, and subsequently subjected to ethnobotanical analyses (Brockington and Associates 2005:7-9).

The scope of archaeological work, described above, is described in a document dated 7 September 2005, by Brockington and Associates (no author specified), and submitted to the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office for review and acceptance of the research design. Nowhere in this document is historical research methodology discussed (Brockington and Associates 2005). There is discussion of more thorough historical research within the Phase II level report of investigations. Specifically, Agha (2005:37) states that “Additional archaeological and archival research will shed light on the form and function of enslaved African facilities at Delta Plantation.” However, shouldn’t Phase III level historic archaeological investigations be asking more than “form and function” questions when possible? Agha (2005:37-38) continues to state that Site 38JA175 possesses information potential that would be “important to the history of the region...,” capable of addressing “a variety of research questions regarding the lifeways of enslaved Africans.” A more detailed historical

understanding of Site 38JA175, however, shows that the site has the potential to yield much more specific information. The site is extremely unique and can add significant dimensions to our understandings of not only aspects of plantation slave life that are not often capable of being examined archaeologically, but also the lives of post-bellum African American tenant farmers, existing in what appears to be a unique economic reality for the region during Reconstruction and into the early 20th century.

The following chapter presents a detailed history of the site, followed by another chapter that examines the specific research objectives derived for Phase III level investigation of the site as well as another set of research questions that might have been derived with the benefit of the preceding history. To return to Vergil Noble's (1996) plea for more relevance in cultural resource management driven historical archaeology; could a reliance on inadequate historical understanding be a significant contributing factor to the production of large quantities of rote studies? The reality of the majority of cultural resource management archaeology projects is that they are funded by sources with little understanding of or concern for academic research potential and driven by cost efficiency. Preconceived research designs are, therefore, crucial to ensuring that the data recovered by Phase III level investigations at historical sites are not doomed to formulate generalist reports that reiterate current understandings. Rather, as in the case of Site 38JA175, we should strive to enter the research design phase with as great an understanding of the site's research potential that we can find to investigate what is unique and specific about a site rather than just looking for a standard set of results.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORY OF DELTA PLANTATION

Plantation Development and the Antebellum Era

Following the early 18th century boom of the South Carolina rice culture in South Carolina along the Santee and Cooper Rivers, the colony's southernmost county, Beaufort County (which was later split into Beaufort and Jasper Counties) was slow to develop its own system of rice plantations along its boundary with Georgia, the Savannah River. St Peter's Parish in South Carolina was one of the poorest regions between the 1730's and 1790's. Despite successes on the Georgia side of the Savannah River and along the Ogeechee River in Chatham County, limited investments and low agricultural output were seen along the South Carolina side of the Savannah River. Mismanagement by absentee planters in St. Peter's Parish characterized the early plantation efforts on the north side of the Savannah River, with 18th century Inverary and Smithfield plantations producing less than £500 yearly combined income in 1800. An inspection of the same properties in 1819 estimated that proper management of these tracts should have yielded yearly incomes of as much as £2,000 (Rowland1987:130).

The slow development of the rice plantation system along the South Carolina side of the Savannah River can likely be attributed to several factors. First, the tremendous successes of planters along the tidal river systems around Charleston led to thorough plantation development there and a gradual spread of plantations to the more southern river systems in South Carolina, the Edisto, Ashepoo, and Combahee rivers. The South Carolina side of the Savannah River was effectively separated from the commercial center of Savannah by the river and adjacent swamps, despite the construction of the

Union Road causeway and the operation of the ferry across to the city, which was considered time consuming and expensive. Second, slavery in the colony of Georgia, founded in 1733, was not made legal until 1751. The relatively slow development of inland and tidal rice plantations in Georgia along the Savannah and Ogeechee rivers likely suppressed efforts on the South Carolina side of the Savannah as well. Third, rice cultivation suffered following the American Revolution, the Jeffersonian embargo, and the War of 1812 (Rowland 1987:128-129).

South Carolina planters began to turn their attention to the tidal region of the Savannah River at the close of the 18th century, with rice lands along the more northern South Carolina river systems reaching the zenith of their development and becoming more and more valuable. Savannah's growth as a city in the first decades of the 19th century, both as a financial market and as a nascent cosmopolitan center, also likely led to interest in the rich clay flood plain, ideal for rice cultivation, across the river from the city of Savannah (Rowland *et al.* 1996:313-314). In the first decade of the 19th century, prominent South Carolina rice planters Daniel Blake, Daniel Heyward, James McPherson, and John Rutledge, Jr. developed rice plantations across from Savannah, establishing the area as a viable profit center, demonstrating the profitability of these lands (Rowland 1987:130).

By the early 1820's successful experimentation to maximize the efficiency of tidal rice cultivation combined with periods of exceptionally high prices for rice, the highest of the antebellum period being 6.1 cents per pound in 1817, drove an increasing interest in developing plantation lands along the South Carolina side of the Savannah River (Rowland 1987:131). During the 1820's and 1830's, the city of Savannah began a

series of improvements to increase its status as a financial and commercial center. Dredging efforts in Savannah harbor were undertaken to increase its capacity as a seaport. Plans were created for an elaborate canal system to link coastal Georgia's Atlantic river systems to those flowing into the Gulf of Mexico, to form the Mexico-Atlantic Canal Company. The first span of this proposed system, the Savannah and Ogeechee Canal, was begun in 1826 (Rowland 1987:129-133). All of these factors led to renewed interest and invigorated efforts to develop large-scale rice agriculture along the tidal zone of the Savannah River.

In 1829, Langdon Cheves (Figure 3.1) began consolidating lands on the north side of the Savannah River that would become Delta Plantation. Cheves was born on 17 September, 1776 in Bulltown Fort in the upstate of South Carolina, in what would be present day Abbeville County. He studied law in Charleston, S.C. and was admitted to the bar on 14 October 1797. Cheves' initial law practice was short-lived, running for and being elected to his first elected political position as a City of Charleston Alderman in 1802. From 1802 through 1810, Cheves served in local and state political offices, ascending to become the State Attorney General. In 1810, Cheves was elected as a Jeffersonian Republican to the U.S. House of Representatives to fill the seat vacated by Robert Marion. He served in the House through 3 March 1815, succeeding Henry Clay as Speaker of the House and serving as Chairman of the House Committee of Ways and Means and on the Committee on the Naval Establishment. He did not run for reelection in 1814 and declined to accept the position of Secretary of the Treasury offered by President James Madison. Cheves resumed the practice of law in 1815 and was elected as an Associate Justice of Law and Appeal in 1816, an office he held until 1819. During

this time, he turned down an appointment to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court. He served as the president of the Bank of the United States from 1819 to 1822, when he resigned. From 1822 until his return to South Carolina in 1829, Cheves resided in Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., and Lancaster, PA, where he continued to practice law, serving as Chief Commissioner of Claims for the Treaty of Ghent between the United States and Great Britain (Huff 1977).



Figure 3.1: Portrait of Langdon Cheves (1776-1857).
(By Hal Morrison, 1912, Collection of U.S. House of Representatives)

Cheves returned to South Carolina in 1829 a renowned politician and wealthy attorney. He established a permanent residence at Pendleton in upstate South Carolina, as well as one in Charleston. He then began negotiations to purchase lands to comprise what would become Delta Plantation, the first of thirteen plantations that he would develop in South Carolina and Georgia. His eventual plantation holdings would include: Cave Hall, Delta, Evelyn, Flatwoods, Good Hope, Goshen, Grove Point, Hampden Hall, Home Place, Lang Syne, Log Home, South Field and Zang plantations. Cheves' skills as

a negotiator and financier translated well into his future successes as a planter, creating a vast system of plantations that would become a tremendous agricultural legacy for his sons and later descendents (Huff 1977:150-152).

The development of Delta Plantation began by Cheves' purchase of two tracts on the Savannah River flood plain, across from the city of Savannah (Figure 3.2). The first of these was Inverary Plantation, purchased from Savannah physician Charles Rogers, for \$52,420 (Rowland 1987:136). Rogers had acquired the fallow plantation in 1823 from the estate of Lord William Campbell and offered the land, totaling 473 acres of cultivatable fields, for sale in 1829, along with 103 slaves (Huff 1977:151; Rowland 1987:136). The second tract purchased by Cheves in 1830 was known as Smithfield Plantation, for an early owner, John Smith. The tract was conveyed to Edward Telfair in 1774, and it remained relatively undeveloped during Telfair's ownership. Cheves acquired the 632-acre Smithfield/Telfair tract, also in May 1830, from the heirs of Edward Telfair for \$10,000. The two tracts together, totaling 1132 acres, constituted one of the largest rice plantations on the Savannah River in 1830 (Rowland et al. 1996:315).

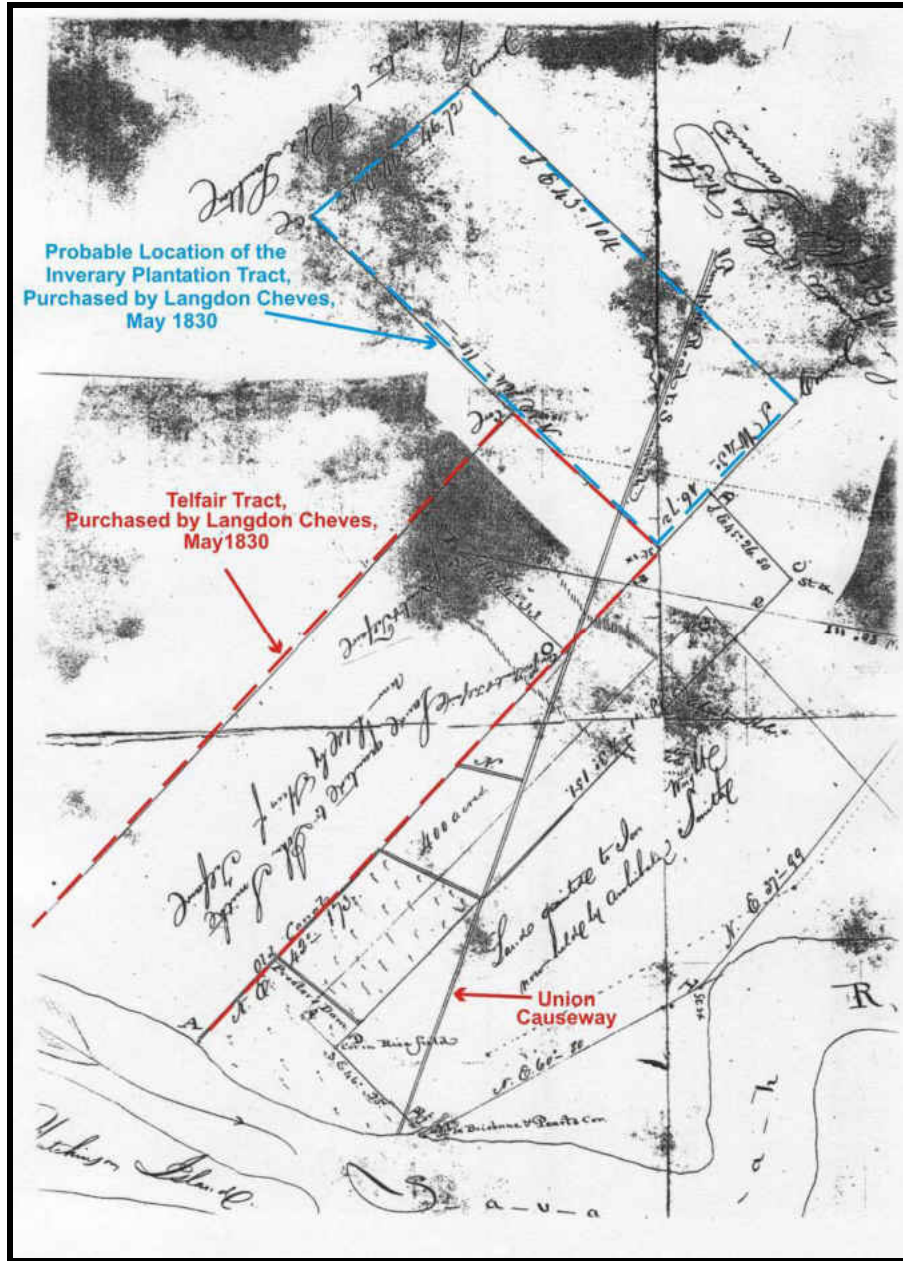


Figure 3.2: Samuel Ashton Survey, 1817.
 (Cheves-Wagner Papers, South Carolina Historical Society, 147)

Between 1830 and 1840, Cheves made additional purchases adjacent to the original Inverary and Telfair parcels that increased Delta Plantation to 2,752 acres (Rowland 1987:137). By this time, Delta Plantation’s boundaries extended north from the river to the east to the Union Causeway, a major thoroughfare that provided access between Charleston and Savannah. Two plantations flanked Delta along the Savannah

River: Dr. William Daniel's Oglethorpe Plantation to the east and Judge Daniel Huger's Trinity Plantation to the west (Rowland 1987:132- 135). Figure 3.3 shows Delta Plantation as it was surveyed in 1840. This survey plat dated 13 March 1840, by John Norton, shows Delta Plantation as containing 2,747 acres, and shows adjacent holdings of Dr. James Screven and Dr. Daniells to the east and lands of Hardee and Brisbane to the northwest. The rice fields are shown adjacent to the river with the upland portions of the tract containing an open sandy area, a "pine swamp," pine flats and a swamp to the east of the Union Causeway, the primary road between Savannah and Charleston, which ran through the northwestern portion of Delta. Estimating from extant known geographic features of Delta Plantation in conjunction with satellite imagery, the approximate location of Site 38JA175 is extrapolated on this plat, as no features of the built plantation infrastructure were included during the 1840 survey.

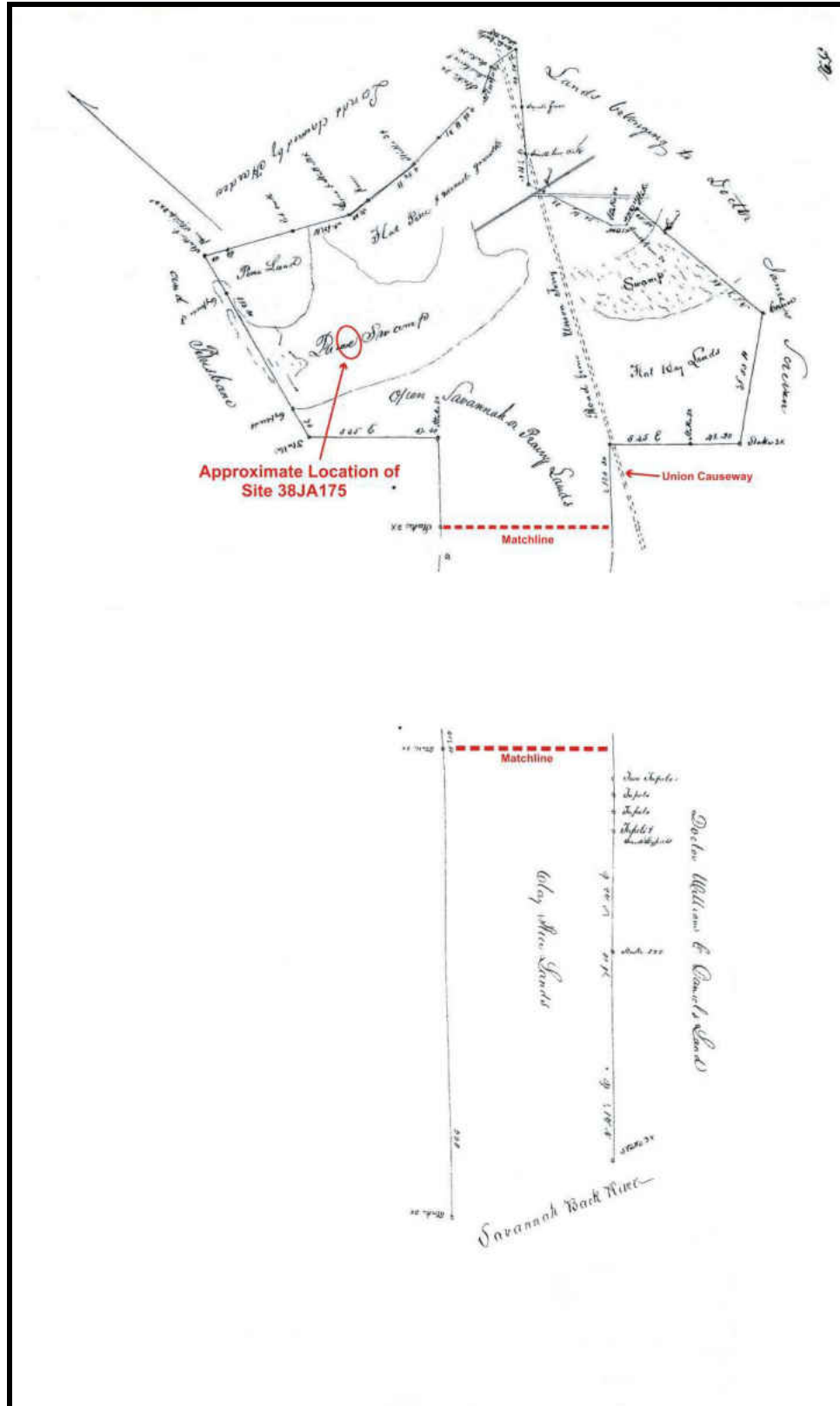


Figure 3.3: John Norton Survey of Delta Plantation, 1840.
 (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, S213190; v. 42, p. 52)

Cheves' original Inverary Plantation purchase included plantation equipment as well as 103 slaves. Census counts from the late 1830's indicate list only 79 slaves at the newly forming Delta Plantation, suggesting that Cheves either sold a portion of his purchased slaves or relocated some to his other holdings being developed in the interim. By the end of 1830, Cheves had purchased 54 additional slaves from Hugh Rose of Savannah for \$14,812 and 11 additional slaves in 1837 from the estate of Robert Habersham of Savannah. In 1840, 180 African slaves were listed at Delta Plantation and by 1850, the number of slaves laboring at Delta had grown to 283 (Rowland *et al.* 1996:320, 376).

The development of Delta Plantation between 1830 and 1850 is well documented from a legal perspective. As a lawyer, Cheves was prodigious in reconciling boundary disputes with neighboring planters, as seen in Figure 3.4, which records an 1833 resurveying of the property line adjacent to Dr. Daniell's rice fields. However, there seems to be sparse visual accounting of the constructed infrastructure located at Delta Plantation. There are numerous written accounts of built features in the voluminous collections of correspondences between Cheves and his sons, neighboring planters and other family members, that give indications of building episodes during these first few decades of the plantation's formation, as well as some small amount of mapping of the area that begins to form a picture of a functioning Delta Plantation with numerous groupings of plantation activity areas and structures..

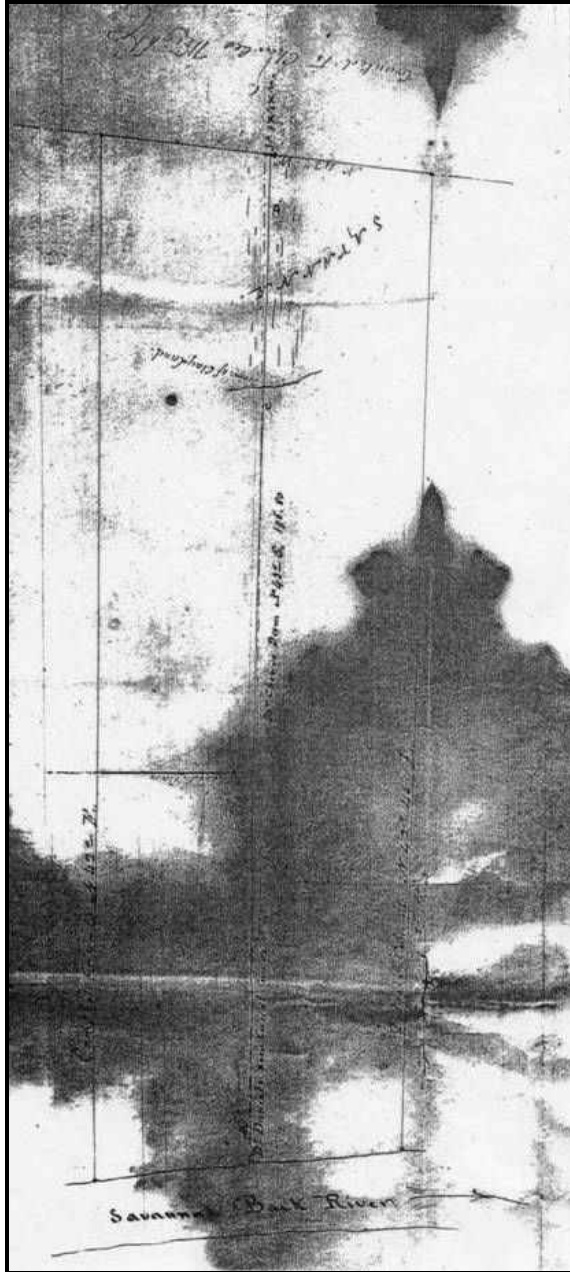


Figure 3.4: 1832 John Norton Boundary Reconciliation Plat for Delta Plantation.
(Langdon Cheves III Papers 1848-1940 SCHS)

An 1856 map shows the relative positions of Cheves' Delta Plantation to his neighbors, as well as features in the upland portion of the plantation, adjacent to the Union Road (Figure 3.5). The structures attributed to Cheves, located adjacent to the road in the north, are known to be the location of the planter's residence, although

Langdon Cheves did not reside at Delta, rather he spent most of his time at his holdings in Pendleton and in Charleston. The site became the location of a compound later built during the Hudson occupation, after the Cheves family sold Delta in the early 20th century, to be discussed below. Huff (1977:157) described a Spartan owner's residence and environs as being a single story with a high-pitched shingled roof with a series of attached shed rooms, with a nearby garden, kitchen house and overseer's residence.

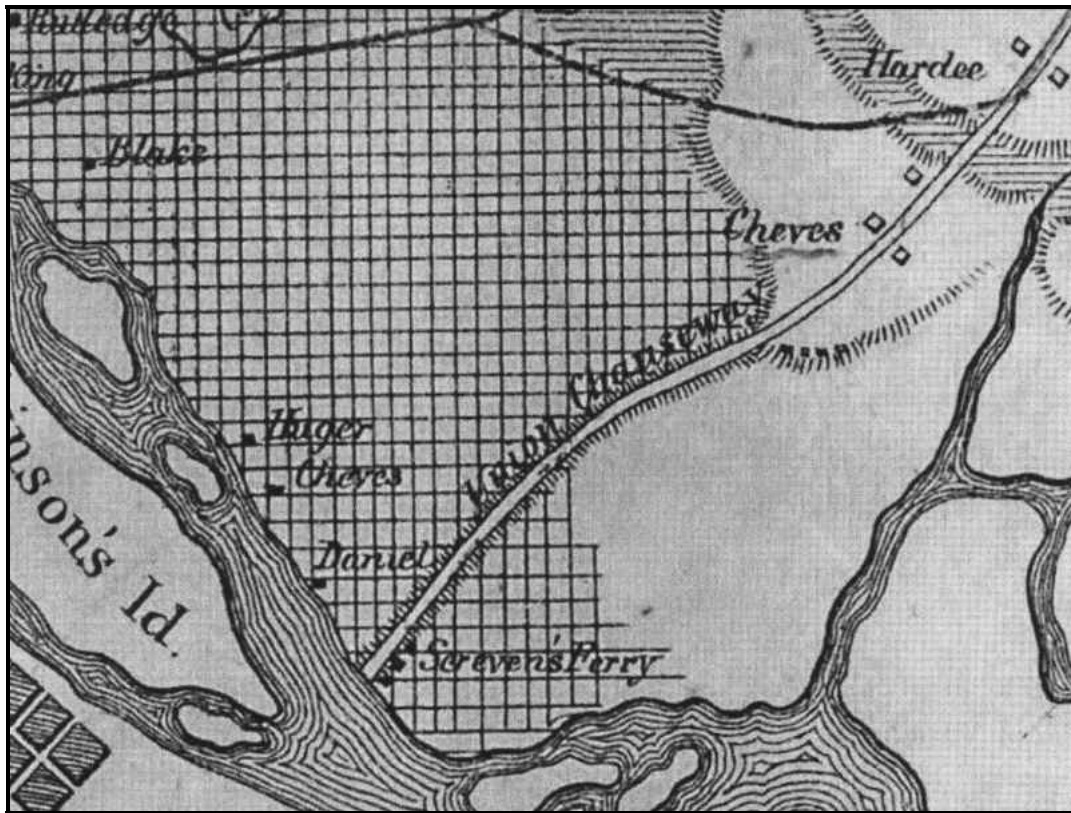


Figure 3.5: Detail of 1856 Charleston & Savannah Railroad Co. Alignment Map.

While the figure above provides little actual detail of the size and number of structures located on the plantation, it does show the position of these compounds, including an indication of development along the Savannah River. More detail of Delta's agricultural infrastructure adjacent to the river is shown in the 1855 map of the U. S. Coast Survey (Figure 3.6). The map shows at least 20 structures, presumed to be rows of

slave dwellings, in the western part of the development, with agricultural structures, including two steam-powered threshing machines and a mill constructed in 1845 (Rowland et al. 1996:322). The remains of the lowland plantation complex, shown in Figure 3.6, are currently located beneath several feet of dredged material from the Savannah River channel and they have never been examined archaeologically. It is presumed, based upon the archaeological investigations of 38JA175 (discussed below), that the slave dwellings depicted were typical two-room structures with a central double-ended hearth internally, with each room housing four to five people on average (Scarborough 2003:177).

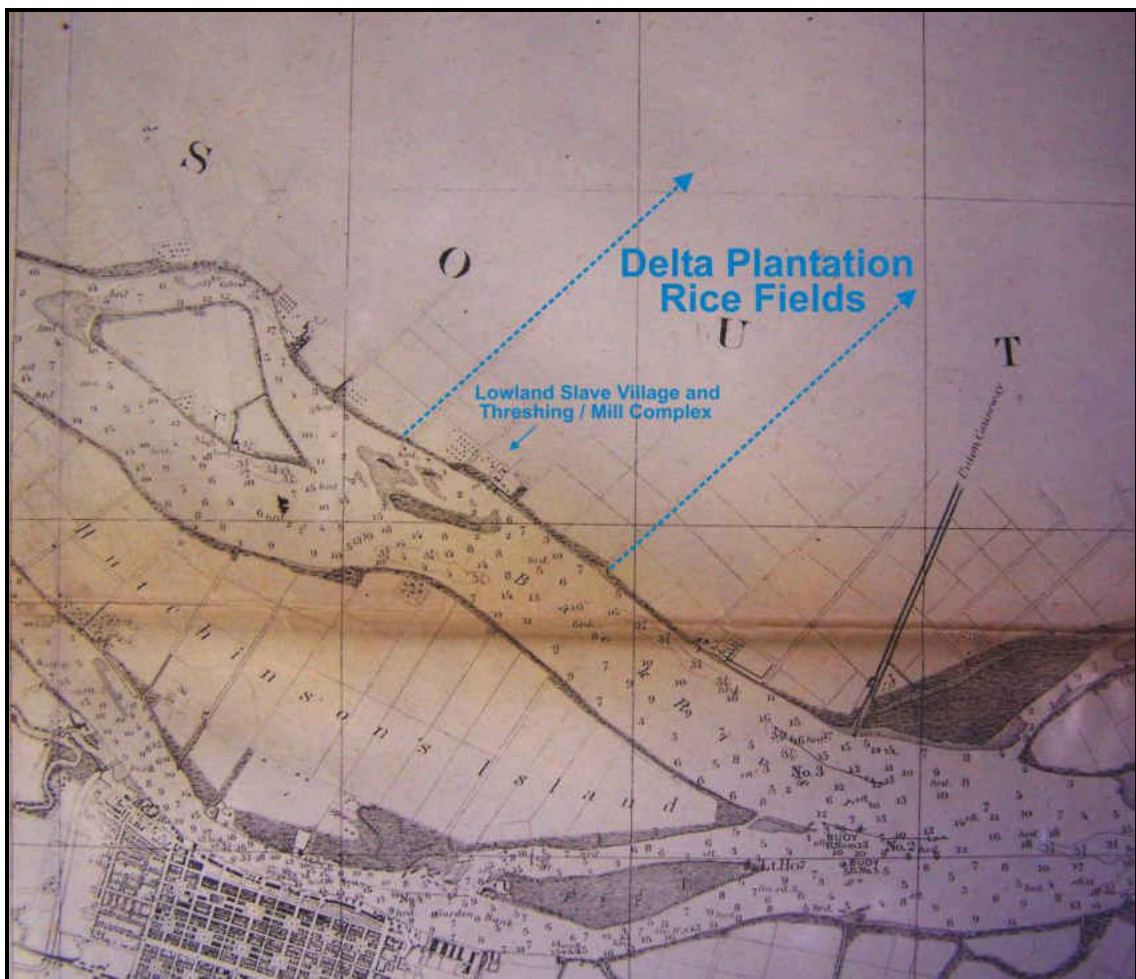


Figure 3.6: Detail of 1855 U.S. Coast Survey Map.

Plantation Management

Management of Delta Plantation during its development was handled by overseers, carefully supervised by Cheves. During the 1830's and early 1841, Cheves employed James Bagnall, Peter Evens, George Lyles, William Richardson, and Solomon Zant as overseers, extending yearly contracts. Cheves retained only one overseer per season, hiring or renewing contracts at the end of each summer. Salaries for overseers ranged between \$800 and \$1,000 (Huff 1977:161-163). In 1841 he turned over management of Delta to his son, Langdon Cheves II, but remained active in overseeing the plantation's operation. Later, in 1852, Cheves divided the plantation among his two sons, granting Lower Delta, centered around the original Telfair parcel and containing the prime rice fields to Langdon Cheves II. Upper Delta, containing mainly the original Inverary parcel was given to his younger son Charles. Charles Cheves was trained as a physician and maintained a medical workshop in the attic of the planter's residence. Against his family's wishes, Charles frequently resided on the plantation during the summer months, and in 1855 Charles died while at Delta. Langdon Cheves II, also trained in law, managed the plantation through many profitable seasons. In 1857, his father passed away, leaving management of Delta solely to Langdon Cheves II. He remained active in overseeing the operation of Delta until the Civil War, when he became active in the defenses of the city of Savannah. Plantation operations during the war were significantly disrupted, with 250 slaves from Delta being moved to relative safety to a family holding in the Abbeville district (Langdon Cheves II to Charlotte Cheves, 17 February 1862 GHS). In 1863, Langdon Cheves II died in the Confederate defense of Battery Wagner near Charleston.

In 1860, Louis Manigault prepared an inventory of Savannah River rice plantations in St. Peter's Parish. Manigault provided an agricultural plantation profile for one of South Carolina's richest Low Country regions on the eve of the Civil War, accounting for eighteen plantations using average figures for slave maintenance and per pound averages for rice sales. He assessed Delta Plantation at 1,100 planted acres, falling behind only Huger's Trinity and Allen Izard's plantations. Delta's 289 slaves remained the largest single slave holding along the Savannah River. Similarly, Delta's estimated yield of rice at 1,056,000 pounds and \$17,275 net income was near the top of the plantations in the region. (Rowland et al. 1996:327). Profits for the plantation during the antebellum were considerable as were the investments that generated those profits. Between 1830 and 1841, Langdon Cheves spent \$71,000 on the land that would comprise Delta and over \$115,000 on slaves to work that land (Huff 1969:195).

Slave mortality was highest among the rice plantations of the South Carolina and Georgia lowcountry. Pathogens flourished during the hot summers and opportunistic infections and epidemics were rampant during the winters within the swamps and lowlands of rice cultivation areas. Slave health became an important concern for planters to protect their investments and assure that the labor force remained at levels suitable to carry out the planting season and harvest. In St. Peter's Parish, planter-physicians Dr. William Daniell and Dr. James Screven often treated their own slave populations (Rowland et al. 1996:324).

At Cheves' Lang Syne Plantation, a Pendleton physician was employed and an infirmary was maintained. Similarly, two infirmaries were also known to be at Delta Plantation. The first is believed to have been located along the Savannah Back

River on the eastern extreme of the rice fields (see Figure 3.6 above). In 1843 a whooping cough epidemic struck Delta and neighboring Dr. Daniell requested that Cheves move his slave hospital away from Dr. Daniell's nearby slave village. In response to this request, Cheves had new slave settlement built, Palmyra, on the pine upland behind the rice fields (Rowland 1987:144; Langdon Cheves to Langdon Cheves II, 21 May 1843 SCHS). Although Palmyra is not referenced on any maps or plats located during this research, it is probable that Site 38JA175 represents the location of this second slave infirmary.

Reconstruction Through the Early Twentieth Century

Following the Civil War, General William T. Sherman issued Special Order Number 15, also known as the "Sea-Island Circular." The directive ordered that on the islands south of Charleston to Florida and abandoned rice fields along rivers to thirty miles inland, which become known as Sherman's Reservation, resettlement of freed slaves was to occur. This mandate applied to hundreds of plantations, including Delta, which soon housed numerous freed slaves. President Andrew Johnson, however, issued an amnesty proclamation in May of 1865, prior to the formal implementation of the land redistribution schedule, restoring the property rights of the white plantation owners.

Despite the reversal of Sherman's redistribution plan, some of the Freedmen refused to leave Delta Plantation. In 1866, Charlotte Cheves, wife of Langdon Cheves II, left Abbeville and moved to Savannah. She leased Delta to Captain Barnwell, a former Confederate officer. In January 1867, some of the Freedmen-farmers at Delta revolted against Barnwell, refusing to renew their sublease contracts or leave the plantation. Barnwell appealed to the Freedmen's Bureau and military officials in Savannah.

Organized in March 1865, the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, popularly known as the Freedmen's Bureau, was created by the federal government to deal with the challenges of emancipated slaves through, among other initiatives, education, land distribution, black codes, and labor contracts. In January 1867, three separate detachments of federal troops were sent to Delta to assist in resolving the conflict. An arbitrator negotiating with the Freedmen reported that many believed that they had been granted the right to occupy the plantation for two years, and many improvements had been made by their hands, further ensuring their rights of occupation. Three impartial appraisals were made of the improvements to the plantation made since 1865 and terms were negotiated for compensation. Many of the Freedmen who no longer wished to remain at Delta under Barnwell agreed to leave within a week, but a large portion agreed to remain on the plantation as contract laborers (New York Times, 27 and 28 January 1867; McPherson 1982:398-408, 561).

In the late 1860s and 1870s, Charlotte Cheves administered her husband's estate, which included dividing and leasing several plantations, including Delta. In the settlement of Langdon Cheves II's estate, Charlotte received one-third, Langdon Cheves III received two/ninths, Emma Cheves received two/ninths, and Mary Cheves received two/ninths. Initially, Charlotte Cheves leased Delta to her relatives, Charles Haskell and Louis W. Haskell. Eventually, Langdon Cheves III, the grandson of the prominent planter Henry A. Middleton and son of Charles and Isabella Cheves, would manage Delta Plantation from his law office in Charleston. However, Charlotte initially distributed various plantations or parts of plantations to family members.

In July 1868, Charlotte arranged a dowry agreement between her daughter, Emma Cheves and her fiancé Gilbert A. Wilkins, a Savannah merchant. The contract stipulated that "...two undivided nine parts of the whole of all that certain Plantation or tract of Land situate lying and being on the left bank of the Savannah River and in the State of South Carolina and commonly known as the 'Telfair' Tract of the Delta Plantation containing Twelve hundred acres..." were to be given to Wilkins. The agreement confirmed that 600 acres of the property was in rice fields and the remainder in pine land. The conveyance also gave Emma Cheves Wilkins part of Southfield Plantation on the Ogeechee River. In January 1875, the Wilkins acquired Mary West's two-ninths interest in Delta Plantation. Later in the 1870s, the Wilkins mortgaged their share of Delta Plantation to the Patapsco Guano Company of Baltimore, Maryland. Several years later, the Baltimore company foreclosed on the mortgage and seized the Wilkins's two-ninths share of the Telfair portion of Delta Plantation. Family members later re-secured the undivided interest (Deed Book 2 p. 618 Clerk of Court Jasper County Courthouse; Deed Book 9, p. 210, Register of Deeds, Beaufort County Courthouse; Langdon Cheves III Papers 12/178/1 SCHS).

In early 1879, Charlotte Cheves further complicated ownership when she directed in her will that all of her holdings be evenly divided between her daughters. After her death on 30 June 1879, the property was again divided, with a daughter, Charlotte Cheves, holding an $11/27$ interest, Emma Cheves Wilkins holding a $14/27$ interest, and Mary Cheves West holding a $2/27$ interest. The Inverary portion of Delta Plantation experienced a less complicated history of property transfers with Charlotte Cheves and

Langdon Cheves III holding most of that section of the plantation (*Savannah Morning News*, 4 July 1879).

The era of Langdon Cheves III's management of Delta saw the maintenance improvements and innovations that sustained a rare example of a frequently profitable plantation during the latter Reconstruction and late 19th century, when most plantations were failing. Various schemes were employed to maintain a labor force on the plantation, along with diversification of crops and livestock during times of volatility in the rice market. While there is a wealth of correspondences among the previous planters of Delta Plantation, the personal record of Langdon Cheves III provides a detail of management recordation that may be unprecedented. Cheves III recorded every penny spent and earned at Delta in his role administering the plantation for his family's interests. Intact ledgers for many of Delta's planting seasons exist in his papers held at the South Carolina Historical Society detailing all expenses and profits as well as the dispersal of profits to his family members and assessments to same in the event of losses, which were rare until the last decade of the 19th century.

A sample of these ledgers revealed a generally profitable trend for Delta's owners under Cheves III's management, aided by his cousins Paul and Louis Haskell (primarily Louis), who acted as resident and absentee overseers, frequently residing in Savannah. In 1876, Cheves III documented a profit of \$15,996.49, set against expenses totaling \$11,054.49, yielding a net profit of \$4,952. 1879 saw a net profit of \$5,777.31. By 1890, Delta produced a net profit of only \$1,361.83. In 1893 a net loss of \$3,815.61 was recorded. At the end of the 1896 growing season, Cheves III recorded profits of \$6,996.59 (Langdon Cheves III Papers 12/80, 12/111).

Contributing to the general success of the plantation, documented from the owner's perspective, were two primary factors. First, rice cultivation remained the primary agricultural endeavor, yet Cheves III continued to diversify the plantation's output, a trend begun to a lesser degree by his forebears. Cattle were first introduced at Delta in 1846 and hogs were introduced in 1847. These hogs were actually slave owned and sold to the plantation under contract (Rowland 1987: 142). Secondly, Cheves III maintained a labor force by hiring direct laborers, cash-renting upland and rice field portions of Delta, and share-renting parcels for rice, truck crop and livestock production.

By 1876, Louis Haskell had cleared and prepared larger upland portions for dry cultivation of cotton, oats and wheat (Louis Haskell to Langdon Cheves III, 23 August 1876 Langdon Cheves III Papers 12/67 SCHS). Early in the planting season of 1882, Haskell reported to Cheves III of plans to plant corn, peas, sweet potatoes, oats, cabbage, and turnips, as well as continued successes with sheep rearing and cattle (Louis Haskell to Langdon Cheves III 28 April, 15 June, and 23 August 1882, Langdon Cheves III Papers 12/67 SCHS). Documentation of the varied activities carried out at Delta during the latter 19th century demonstrate a vibrant community that offset the oscillation of the rice market and frequent volatility of environmental factors that often upset this primary harvest.

Rice planting remained a risky agricultural pursuit in the late nineteenth century. In July and August 1887, storms dropped heavy amounts of rain upriver of Savannah that flooded rice fields and plantations. At high tide, residents of Savannah reported laborers moving among the canals and dikes with lanterns, trying to prevent more water from coming into their already flooded fields. Of twenty-three plantations, only Screven's

Ferry Plantation of 350 acres survived the flooding. Detailed losses included 300 acres of rice at Upper Delta and 250 acres of rice at Lower Delta. Similar storms hit the region in 1893 (Rowland 1987:149).

Aside from the documentation of profits at Delta, Cheves III also accounted for expenses in labor and offsets to these by the taking of rents and crop and livestock shares. Correspondences between Haskell and Cheves III frequently discussed the maintenance of a labor force at Delta. Discussions between the two over the course of nearly 30 years point to the complex balance between plantation expenses and profits. The system of labor at Delta rarely seemed static. To keep the plantation whole, Cheves III and Haskell maintained a varied system of labor, often changing from season to season. In 1870, Paul Haskell reported to Cheves III that local planters were being:

bullied by the freedmen in a most shameful way, having not the smallest concert of action, and being actuated entirely by selfish motives, they allow the negroes to work upon their fears of not getting a sufficiency of labor, [and] are offering \$30 or \$40 more for a hand than was given last year, in spite of great [numbers] of them having failed to make money, during the previous year, owing to the inefficient work done by the freedmen [and] the dryness of the season.

Reading between the lines, Haskell's observations of the labor force on the rice plantations of the region indicated that the freedmen were a skilled labor force, and thus, necessary to generate profits. Experience in rice growing and harvest was apparently becoming a marketable skill, and wage negotiations among this labor force were meeting with some small successes. Haskell continues to say that he is "thus either compelled to give wages for higher than safety will admit of or run the chance of losing [his] employees" (Paul Haskell to Langdon Cheves III 1 January 1870, Langdon Cheves Papers SCHS 12/66).

As well as paid labor, Cheves III employed both a cash-rent and share-rent system at Delta. Ledgers examined from the 1870's through the 1890's showed various credits for rents, crops, and livestock. In 1879, Louis Haskell even requested that Cheves III:

...sell some of the pine land side[?] of the rice fields to negroes for [it] is a good quantity of low land and some pine land which can never be made use of again. Some of the land I refer to used to be planted in oats but I see no prospect of its being of any use in our time and all the pine land needed is enough to supply fire wood & fencing. The object is to settle labor around us and the more industrious of the negroes will buy land & settle on it and there is my work getting on famously both plowing & ditching so that I will probably keep well [?] all the season (Louis Haskell to Langdon Cheves III 14 May 1879 Langdon Cheves III Papers 12/178 SCHS).

No evidence was found to suggest that any such sales took place, but the notion of the possible sale of portions of Delta adds another dimension to the complexity of the agricultural labor system in the latter 19th century plantation south.

Renting was common at Delta in the latter 19th century. Figure 3.7 shows a schedule for rice fields during the 1898 and 1899 seasons. The parcels range in size from 30 to 34 acres. The parcels seemed to be named, rather than listing the names of the actual renters, with titles such as "Good Luck" and "Bull Skin." Attempts to cross reference these parcel names with the extant ledger materials from these two seasons did not reveal the names of any of the actual renters. However it is apparent from correspondences that the renters and laborers that worked the rice fields, upland dry fields and livestock ranges resided in the structures remaining from the antebellum period and that even more structures were required during this period.

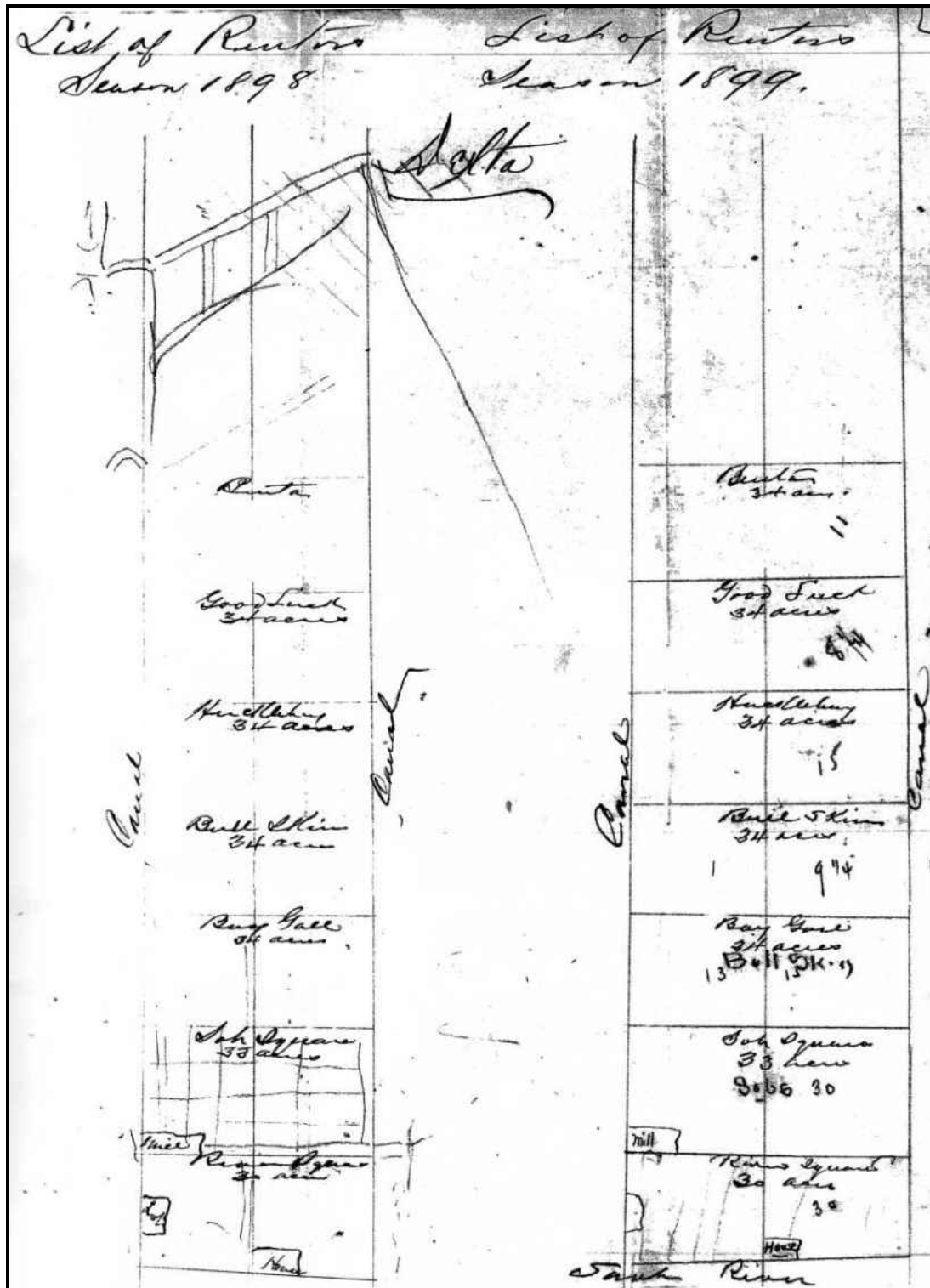


Figure 3.7: Map of Rental Parcels at Delta Plantation, Seasons of 1898 and 1899.

(Langdon Cheves III Papers SCHS 12/80)

In December 1878, Louis Haskell wrote to Cheves III about his expenses and labor challenges. He noted that the concentration of African-Americans living at Delta Plantation still resided on the upland, a condition he was trying to remedy by building new houses, presumably along the river to replace some of the original structures of the antebellum period. Haskell noted that:

Expenses this year have been about 9200—including about half the expense of three negro houses I am now putting up on the river—next year the expenses will be about the same or less as I propose doing a good deal of work on the river bank and either shall the expense of a flood gate in the line canal which will be equally expensive—raise the whole canal bank—as I have had a great deal of time with it this year—Negro houses I am building to try to improve my condition as to labor which is getting worse & [?] I have to have some labor near me and not all of it 4 miles off (Louis Haskell to Langdon Cheves III 23 December 1878, Langdon Cheves III Papers SCHS 12/66).

It is apparent from this correspondence that laborers at Delta were residing in the upland portions of the tract and maintaining housing for renters and laborers was becoming an expense for the ownership. What was not made clear from examination of the correspondences between Langdon Cheves III and Louis Haskell and the plantation records held at the South Carolina Historical Society and the Georgia Historical Society was any detail regarding the exact status, either as paid laborers or cash/share renters, of the inhabitants residing at Site 38JA175. However, it seems likely that more extensive research could reveal more on the individuals occupying the Site during the postbellum occupation. Given the varying system of labor that seemed to characterize operations at Delta, it is probable that the laborers residing at the site were cash renters and share renters at one time or another.

During the 1890's and first years of the 20th century, Delta recorded more seasonal losses and increased operating expenses than in previous decades. Between 1894 and 1900, Cheves III's labor costs at Delta increased from \$1,594.82 to \$4,045.90. During that time, Haskell reported that the cost of the overseer only increased from \$250 to \$300. Hardware and lumber costs steadily increased and in 1897 a new mill and boiler was installed at the cost of \$421. Seed rice remained expensive with the planter purchasing \$771 of the grain in 1894 and \$830 worth in 1900 (Langdon Cheves III Papers SCHS12/178). In 1900 and 1901, Haskell reported even higher expenses, caused, in part, by the purchase of new mules and wagons and neglecting the ditches during the previous season. Labor remained the highest expense and Haskell increasingly used fertilizers. Years with heavy rainfall seemed to consistently produce higher expenses and consequently smaller profits (Langdon Cheves III Papers 12/69 SCHS). Delta's decline in profitability during this period forced Cheves to readjust its structure to seek to keep the plantation within his family's holdings.

In 1906, Cheves III leased upper Delta to Joseph A. Huger of Savannah, a Beaufort District planter with interests in Trinity, Causton's Bluff and Deptford Plantations. Huger rented Upper Delta from Cheves III for \$600 annually, divided into monthly payments of \$50. In January 1906, Huger agreed to Cheves III's suggestion to lease the plantation for two years. Not unlike Haskell's experience, Huger expressed concern about locating sufficient labor to operate the rice plantation. He had discovered that timber companies scouring the rivers of Georgia and South Carolina were draining the labor pool from rice planters. He noted the "high-land settlement" at Delta, but acknowledged that he had not seen the settlement or adjoining timber land for several

years. Rains in December 1905 and January 1906 prevented him from inspecting the property, the settlement, and the labor pool. Later that year, he encouraged Cheves III to introduce a “fire & storm” clause in their contract. He advised that “If you could send me a copy of your plat just taking in high land I could now draw a line leaving nearly every acre of the valuable pine land in a lot to itself and securing the rice plantation and its labor from interruption. If you have not one I will try and send you a rough sketch.” In February 1909, Cheves III paid Huger 130.15 for repairs to “negro houses” at Delta Plantation that included lumber, nails, and shingles. Cheves III also paid \$72.20 for the service of a carpenter to make the repairs. Into early 1911, Huger paid Cheves III \$50 monthly rent for Delta, and annually submitted between \$400 and \$500, apparently his share in the profits from the plantation. Huger’s lease of Delta Plantation appears to end in 1911. (Langdon Cheves III Papers SCHS 12/72).

In 1911, the Cheves family took another direction in their attempts to make Delta Plantation a profitable farm. That year, Langdon Cheves III, Isabella Cheves, and various other family members leased Upper Delta for five years to the Hilton & Dodge Lumber Company. The contract permitted the lumber company “...to cut, remove and use all the pine timber trees measuring eight (8) inches in diameter twelve (12) inches above the ground harvest, Saving and excepting such trees that may be with three hundred (300) feet of any of the negro houses of the negro settlement on said plantation, such as may be within three hundred (300) feet of the site of the old dwelling house on said plantation and all marked trees on boundary lines...” The lumber company also agreed to use only the main road and creek landing at Delta Plantation for the transportation of cut trees. Both parties agreed not to turpentine any of the trees during the five year period.

Receiving \$100 at the time of signing, the grantors later netted \$4,000 for the timber harvested on Delta (Langdon Cheves III Papers SCHS 12/178).

Cheves III sold Upper Delta to Frederick M. Eslick of Jasper County for \$10,000 in 1921 and a year later Eslick purchased Lower Delta from the Cheves and Wilkins families for \$4,950 (Deed Book 6, p.13, 200. and 287 Clerk of Court, Jasper County Courthouse). The 1921 sale of Delta amounted to approximately \$7.00 per acre, which was in stark contrast to nearly \$40.00 per acre the land fetched at the height of its antebellum productivity (Rowland 1987:150). Eslick held Delta until 1924, selling it to J. Byron Glover of Savannah. Glover acquired Delta and some adjoining parcels, totaling about 3,000 acres, to be used as a waterfowl hunting preserve. Glover sold Delta and the adjacent parcels to H. Keirstede Hudson of New York in February 1929.

Along with Glover's 3,000 acres, which included Delta, Hudson also purchased additional adjacent tracts that brought his newly acquired holding up to 6,057 acres (Figure 3.8). Recorded on this plat were Upper and Lower Delta, with man made and natural features, including rice fields, canals, structures along the river and structures associated with the Cheves' upland settlement adjacent to the Union Road. No indication was given for any standing structures in the vicinity of Site 38JA175, suggesting that the buildings were no longer in use. Examination of aerial photographs made by the U. S. Department of Agriculture of the area in 1938 and 1959 show the area of Site 38JA175 under cultivation (Figures 3.9 and 3.10), which was confirmed during Phase III level excavations by the documentation of plow scarring in several areas that were examined. Hudson built a large, stately compound on the site of the original Cheves planter's and overseers' settlement area adjacent to the Union Road. It is likely that some land

continued to be leased for agriculture on such a large holding, although no such leases or agreements were located.

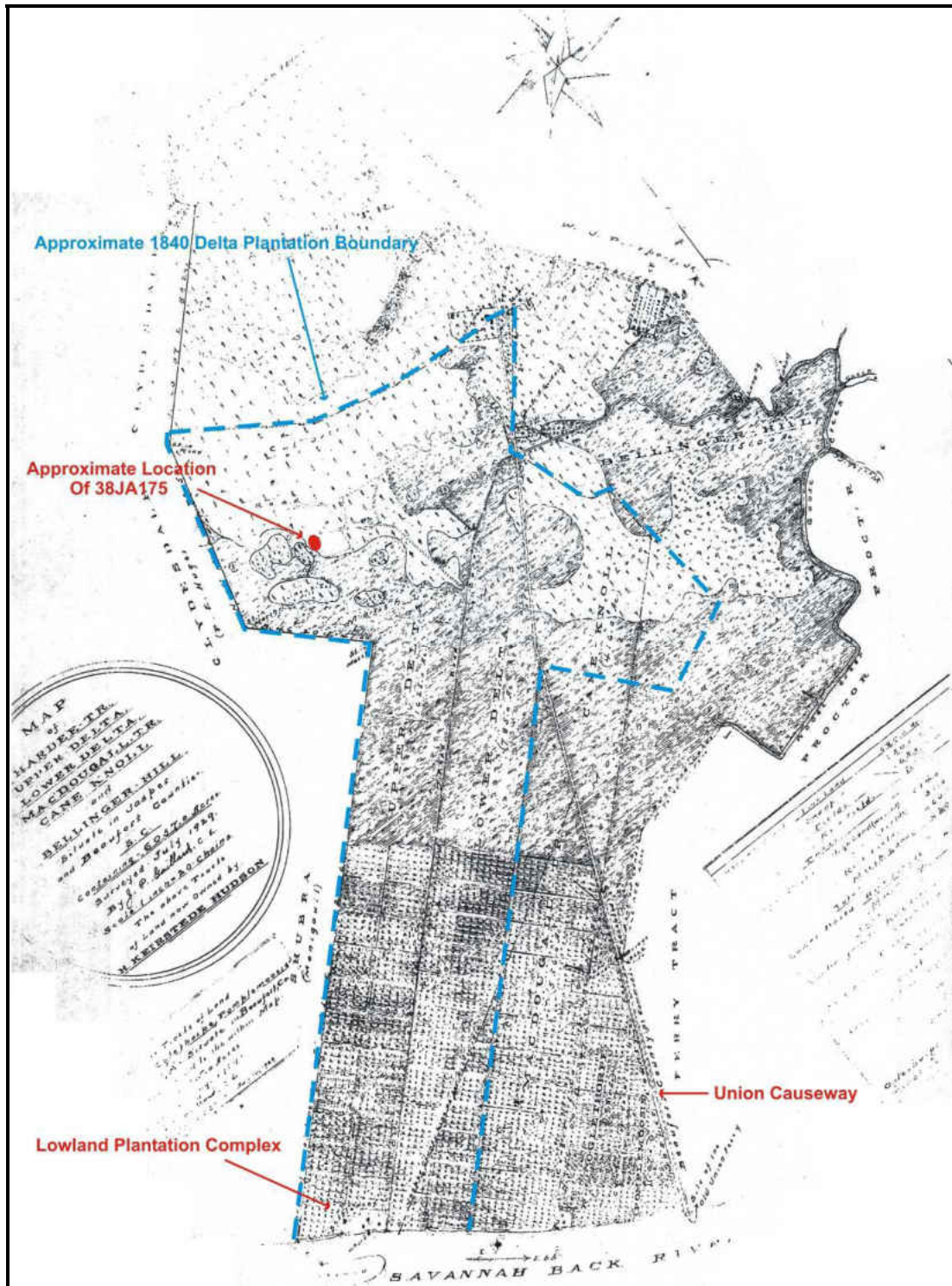


Figure 3.8: 1929 J. P. Gaillard Survey Plat of 6,057-Acre Parcel for H. K. Hudson. (Plat Book 3, p.43 Register of Mesne Conveyance, Beaufort County, SC)



Figure 3.9: Detail of USDA 1938 Aerial Photographic Survey, Jasper Co., SC.



Figure 3.10: Detail of USDA 1959 Aerial Photographic Survey, Jasper Co., SC.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The preceding history is not intended to be the definitive history of Delta Plantation; rather, it is intended to represent the type of history that should be researched to inform an archaeological inquiry at the Phase III-level of study in the current system of cultural resource management, as defined by the *National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA)*, and subsequent amendments and local and regional directives. The documentary record of Delta Plantation and subsequent secondary interpretations of its history are extensive, which is not necessarily typical of southern plantations, with so many records lost during conflicts and fires. However, the compilation of complementary historical background prior to devising a program of study in an historic archaeological research project is crucial to ensure that the project is meaningful and contributes to a better understanding of the site and its historical contexts rather than becoming merely a mandated exercise within the realm of compliance archaeology, with the research potential of the site being unrealized.

The discussion that follows will examine the previous history in the context of the archaeology conducted at the Phase II level (Agha 2005), the interpretations and recommendations of significance for the site as a result of those excavations, the Phase III-level research proposed from the 2005 work, as well as some of the results from the 2006 Phase III level archaeological investigations (Sawyer *et al.* n.d.). What became apparent during this research is that the translation of the methodology of historical archaeology into the practice of cultural resource management archaeology has resulted, in many instances, in the creation of two separate sets of data: the historical and the

archaeological. The structure of the process of site location (Phase I-level analysis), site significance testing (Phase II-level analysis), and large-scale site excavation and archaeological data recovery (Phase III-level analysis) that has developed over the last several decades in cultural resource management archaeology projects has not adjusted itself with the development of the discipline of historical archaeology.

Histories are being researched and compiled within cultural resource management firms by individuals trained academically in historical methods and the archaeology is being conducted by individuals trained in anthropological archaeology. Rather than the two sets of data (historical and archaeological) being used as converging lines of evidence that inform historical archaeological interpretation, the two sets of evidence become parallel data sets. In the case of the research design prepared for the Phase III level examination of Site 38JA175, the questions proposed focused on the reiteration of general themes in plantation archaeology, the answering of questions that were readily available in the historical record, and the ignoring of perhaps the most unique cultural aspect of Site 38JA175, the postbellum tenant occupation.

Phase II Research and the Phase III Research Design at Site 38JA175

Phase II testing at Site 38JA175 was conducted in 2005 by Brockington and Associates, Inc. (Agha 2005). During these investigations, 184 shovel tests, measuring 30 centimeters in diameter, were dug at 15-meter intervals in and around the Site, previously estimated to measure 60 by 40 meters. This shovel testing expanded to the boundary to approximately 180 by 180 meters. A total of 374 artifacts were recovered during this round of shovel testing, including household items and architectural debris. From this information, twenty 50 by 50 centimeter test units were placed in areas of the

highest concentrations of architectural materials, nails, mortar and brick fragments. A total of 1,178 artifacts were found during the excavation of these 50 by 50 units. Additionally, ten cultural features, defined as “non-portable” artifacts (e.g. trash pits, structure drip lines, structural elements, etc.) were documented within nine of these test units. Based upon the high incidence of structural materials and features probably associated with structures, four 1 by 1 meter test units were dug within the site. Located within these four larger test units was further evidence of intact sub-surface structural remains and dense cultural deposits associated with habitation of the Site (Agha 2005:24-35).

The Phase II-level history supplied in conjunction with the results of the archaeological field study (Agha 2005:16-23) provides some of the information given in the above history of Delta Plantation, citing Rowland’s (1987) manuscript, with occasional reference to the collections of family papers relating to Delta Plantation held at the South Carolina Historical Society. However, only a brief discussion is made of the possibility that Site 38JA175 likely represents the slave community “Palmyra,” built by Langdon Cheves in 1843 in response to the need to better manage the health of his slaves (Agha 2005:19). Additionally, the history seems to jump from the Civil War to the Cheves family’s sale of Delta in 1921, the extensive Langdon Cheves III papers never being visited in this analysis (Agha 2005:20-21).

From Agha’s (2005) Phase II inquiries of Site 38JA175, a recommendation for the Site’s eligibility for *National Register of Historic Places (NRHP)* inclusion was made, citing the potential of the Site to yield information “important to the history of the region...[and possessing] artifacts that can be employed to determine the past use of the

locale and to address a variety of research questions regarding the lifeways of enslaved Africans” (Agha 2005:40-41). These subsequently derived research questions (Brockington and Associates 2005) provide more insight into lack of thorough historical research being conducted to inform not only critical archaeological interpretation at the site assessment (Phase II) level, but also at the data recovery (Phase III) level, adding another significant factor to Noble’s (1996) critique of historical archaeological practice in cultural resource management.

The Data Recovery Plan for Site 38JA175, proposed by Brockington and Associates, Inc. (2005) provided a scope of work and six research objectives/themes that it was anticipated could be addressed by historical archaeological investigations. The research questions proposed can be divided into three broad categories. First, several of the questions center on comparative analysis between general differences noted between plantation form and structure between South Carolina and Georgia plantations. Second, there are questions proposed that address general understandings of plantation archaeology concerning activities of slaves in the yards surrounding slave structures. Last, there are questions proposed that deal with specifics of the antebellum contexts that would partially or wholly be addressed with more thorough historical analyses prior to addressing what makes the Site significant, in the sense of its ability to contribute data meaningful to the understanding of local, regional, and/or broader cultural understanding.

The discussion related to questions of difference between South Carolina and Georgia plantations fails to address historical reasons for these possible differences, rather only “Singleton 1985, etc.” are cited to illustrate these researchers observations of different artifact distributions when comparisons are made. Rice cultivation began in the

South Carolina lowcountry in the latter 17th century, beginning with the clearing of swampy areas and developing into a tidally controlled system in the mid-18th century. The colony of Georgia was not founded until 1733, with slavery prohibited, and thus, large scale plantation development, until the mid 18th century. The differences observed in artifact distributions between these two regions are, therefore, generally attributed to the time-lag between the two colonies, along with the introduction of Sea Island cotton into the matrix of southern plantation economy. Additionally, a second comparative thrust is suggested in the research questions regarding the layout of the slave village, whether or not the structures existed in a single or double row, and how the results will compare with slave villages in other parts of Georgia and South Carolina.

Questions of regional comparisons are certainly of importance in building an understanding of the southern plantations archaeologically. However, the Site, upon closer examination of the historical record, presents some very specific opportunities to look at uniquely isolated circumstances and these comparative questions should not have been a main thrust in directing research at this site, rather they should have been a secondary goal.

The second theme of the research objectives proposed focused on the yards associated with the slave dwellings and the types of activities that are likely to be detected during archaeological analysis. The research design notes that the historical record indicates that some of the slaves at Delta maintained their own hogs and likely grew their own provisions (Brockington and Associates 2005:6). The assumption with this research question stems from an understanding that much of the activities of the lives of slaves, when not at labor in the fields or another trade, took place in common spaces

near their residences. What this research question does not anticipate is that the historical record suggests that Site 38JA175 represents an area constructed by the plantation ownership to be used as an infirmary to isolate and hopefully heal ill slaves. Thus, the activities, reflected archaeologically, that one would expect around a slave structure that was a primary habitation are likely not to be found in such a specialized area. This idea is discussed further below.

The third set of questions of the research design dealt with were questions specific to Delta Plantation, as informed by the historical record. The first inquiry set asks:

The historic record mentions that there were two slave villages at Cheves' Delta Plantation – one in the fields and one on a pine upland. Which village do we have? If 38JA175 is the upland village, how would it be different from the village located deeper in the fields? How would the material culture differ? Would the layout of the village differ? What support buildings were present? If there were support buildings for this slave village, what were their functions?

Again, this set of questions hinges on historical uncertainty. An expansion of the Phase II level historical level research demonstrates that, indeed, Site 38JA175 represents the upland slave settlement. The next portion of this inquiry also depends not only on further historical knowledge of the slave village, which does exist (see Figure 3.6 above), and may exist in greater detail in the voluminous historic record related to Delta, but also on the ability to archaeologically examine the remains of the lowland settlement adjacent to the back river, the archaeological integrity of which is unknown and currently resides beneath several feet of dredge material from the Savannah River channel.

The second set of questions specific to Delta is focused on the possibility that the upland village may be associated with slaves with specific skills other than field laborers. Also included in this set of questions is an inquiry related to the possibility that Site

38JA175 represents the slave “hospital” alluded to in Rowland’s (1987) research, and suggested by further research into the primary historic record pertaining to Delta. These questions do have merit as they pertain to the planning of a program of historical archaeological study at Delta. The settlement represented at Site 38JA175 is located on the upland land formation, away from the immediate area of the rice fields, and likely does represent an area of specialized use. The historical record suggests that this site was the location of “Palmyra,” a slave settlement constructed by Cheves in 1842 as an infirmary, but it may have also represented an area where specialized labor, such as carpentry, blacksmithing or coopering may have taken place at one time or another in the antebellum period.

The final inquiry set specific to Delta indicates that some of the archaeological materials recovered during Phase I and Phase II level archaeological investigations dated to the postbellum period, and it then questions whether or not the Site was occupied after the Civil War. While no plats or maps were located that showed this upland village, in either the antebellum or postbellum period, there was certainly much evidence in the historical record that indicated that these structures survived in use into the 20th century, and housed postbellum tenants, renters, and possibly paid laborers. It is also apparent, both historically and archaeologically, that these structures were occupied for a much lengthier period following the Civil War than preceding it, with habitation spanning possibly into the 1920’s. A more thorough examination of the postbellum historic indicates that the archaeology at the site pertaining to those tenants and renters has tremendous significance. The record has shown that Delta continued as a functioning plantation under changing postbellum labor schemes, that laborers were somewhat

successfully negotiating higher wages, and that close proximity to the major markets of Savannah may have readily afforded the opportunity for residents laboring at Delta to also supplement their incomes. The failure to establish the importance of the potential of Site 38JA175 to explore the economic conditions of the postbellum plantation laborer at Delta Plantation is the most significant shortcoming of the research proposed based upon the 2005 Phase II-level investigations.

Summary of Results from the 2006 Phase III Field Investigations at 38JA175

Between 17 January and 30 June 2006, Phase III-level archaeological investigations were conducted at Site 38JA175 by Environmental Services, Inc. (ESI) as directed by the program of research devised by Brockington and Associates, Inc. (2005) and approved by the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) to mitigate proposed adverse effects as a result of residential development. Utilizing the Phase II archaeological results (Agha 2005), a site datum was established and a 15-meter grid placed over the Site. Eighty 50 by 50 centimeter test units were placed over the Site at 15-meter intervals (Figure 4.1). Based upon the results of these investigations, and by subsurface soil probing, four areas of study were further isolated within the Site where concentrations of artifacts (primarily architectural debris) were highest. Subsequently, 32 square meters of hand excavated units were dug in these four areas, in the form of 1 by 2 and 2 by 2 meter units. Following the excavation of these units and directed by their results, approximately 400 square meters were then excavated with a smooth-bladed backhoe bucket, carefully removing the uppermost organic strata (plowzone) down to the first soil change to document cultural features evident at this level.

The intact cultural features associated with the Site were found relatively shallow, with articulated brick structural features appearing at approximately 10 to 50 centimeters below ground surface and other features (e.g. trash pits, post molds, etc.) at

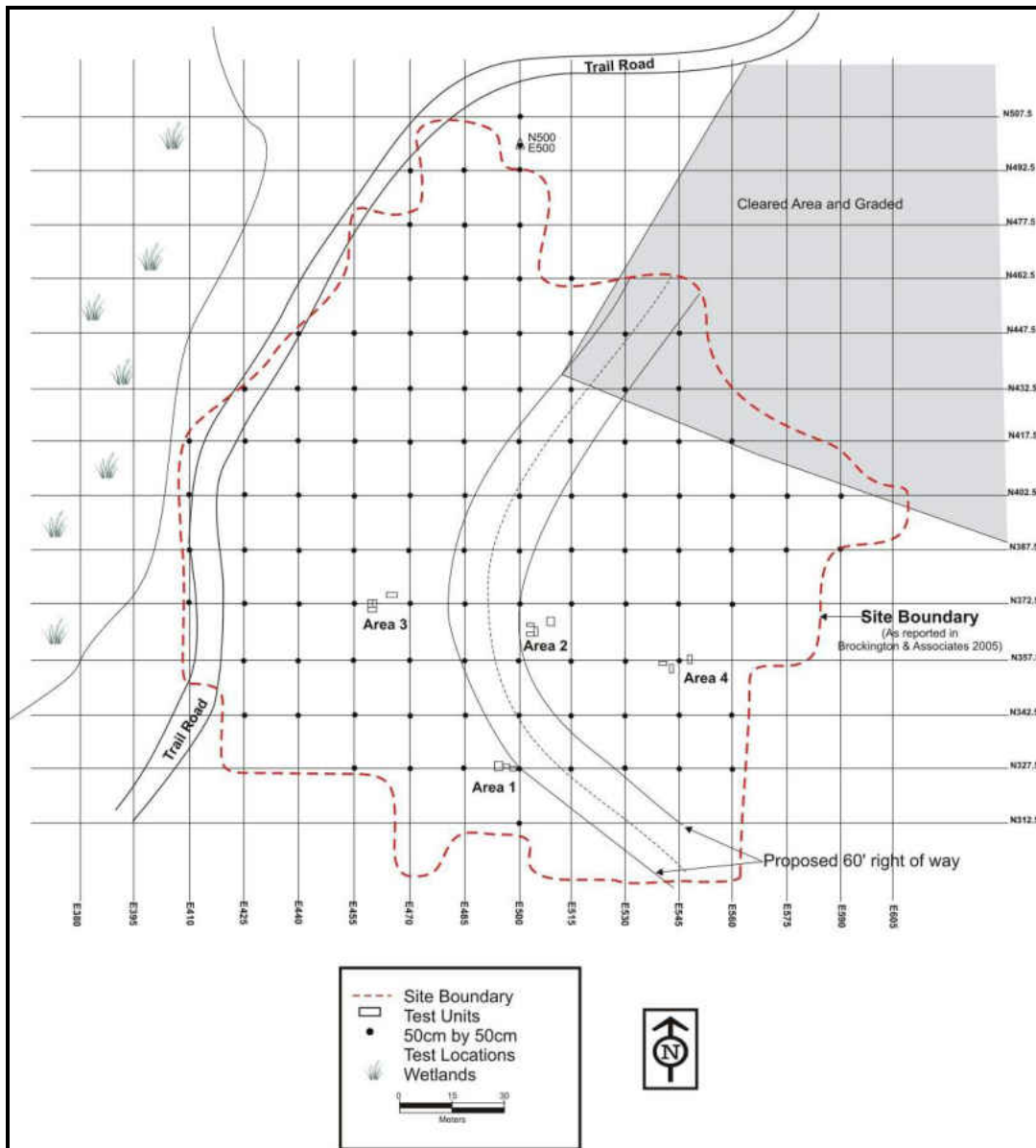


Figure 4.1: Site Map, 38JA175, During the 2006 Archaeological Investigations.
(Graphic by Gail Howalt)

approximately 25-60 centimeters below ground surface. The plow zone varied across the Site to depths ranging from 25 to 50 centimeters below ground surface. Artifacts from both the antebellum and postbellum periods were distributed throughout the plowzone as well as extremely fragmented brick and mortar fragments and nails, indicating that the Site was heavily affected by cultivation following its abandonment, which was further corroborated during archaeological investigations by the documentation of plow scarring in various areas of the site beneath the plowzone (Figure 4.2).



Figure 4.2: Photograph of Unit 1, Plow Scars in Plan View, 38JA175.

During the course of the 2006 archaeological investigations 21,189 non-brick artifacts were cataloged. The majority of these artifacts were nails and nail fragments, but a large portion (approximately 40%) were ceramic and glass fragments, white clay pipe fragments, clothing items (such as buttons and buckles), personal items (such as porcelain doll parts, jewelry and clock parts), with some small amounts of items that may be associated with labor (such as axe heads and hoes). The vast majority of artifacts

recovered were found within the plowzone, further indicating the disturbance of site contexts by subsequent plowing, but approximately 20% of the artifacts recovered were taken from intact cultural strata and within specific cultural features.

Within three of the four areas that were subjected to focused archaeological investigations, intact structural remains were found (Figures 4.3-4.5). Articulated brick features were located and building sizes were extrapolated from the partial remains present. Numerous other features (Figures 4.3-4.5) were encountered within and in the vicinity of these structures following mechanical plowzone removal. The majority of these features were amorphous basin-shaped trash deposits, with smaller amounts of possible post molds and builders trenches associated with the construction of the structural elements. Additionally, Area 3 contained an unusual feature to the south of the structure, which has been interpreted as some type of trench system that may be associated with drainage or some other unknown activity (Figure 4.5).

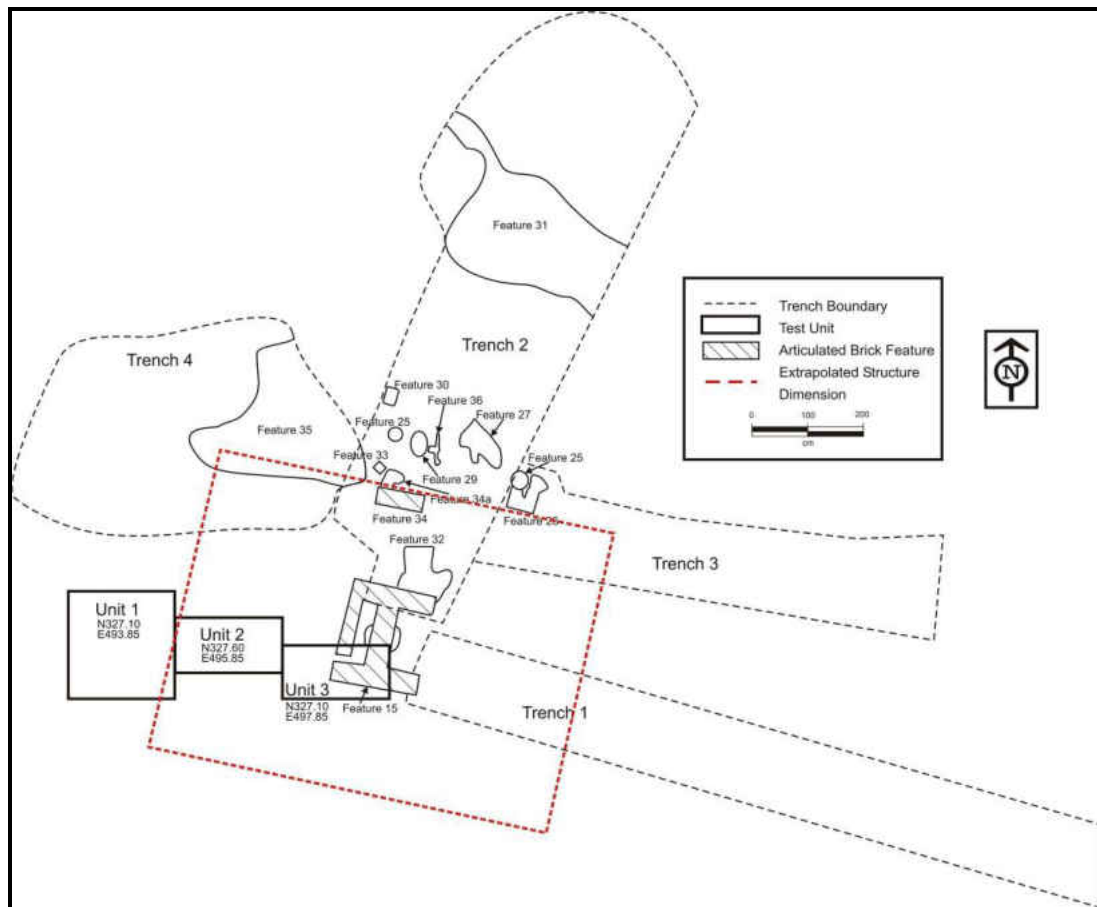


Figure 4.3: Plan View of Area 1, During the 2006 Archaeological Investigations, 38JA175.
 (Graphic by Gail Howalt)

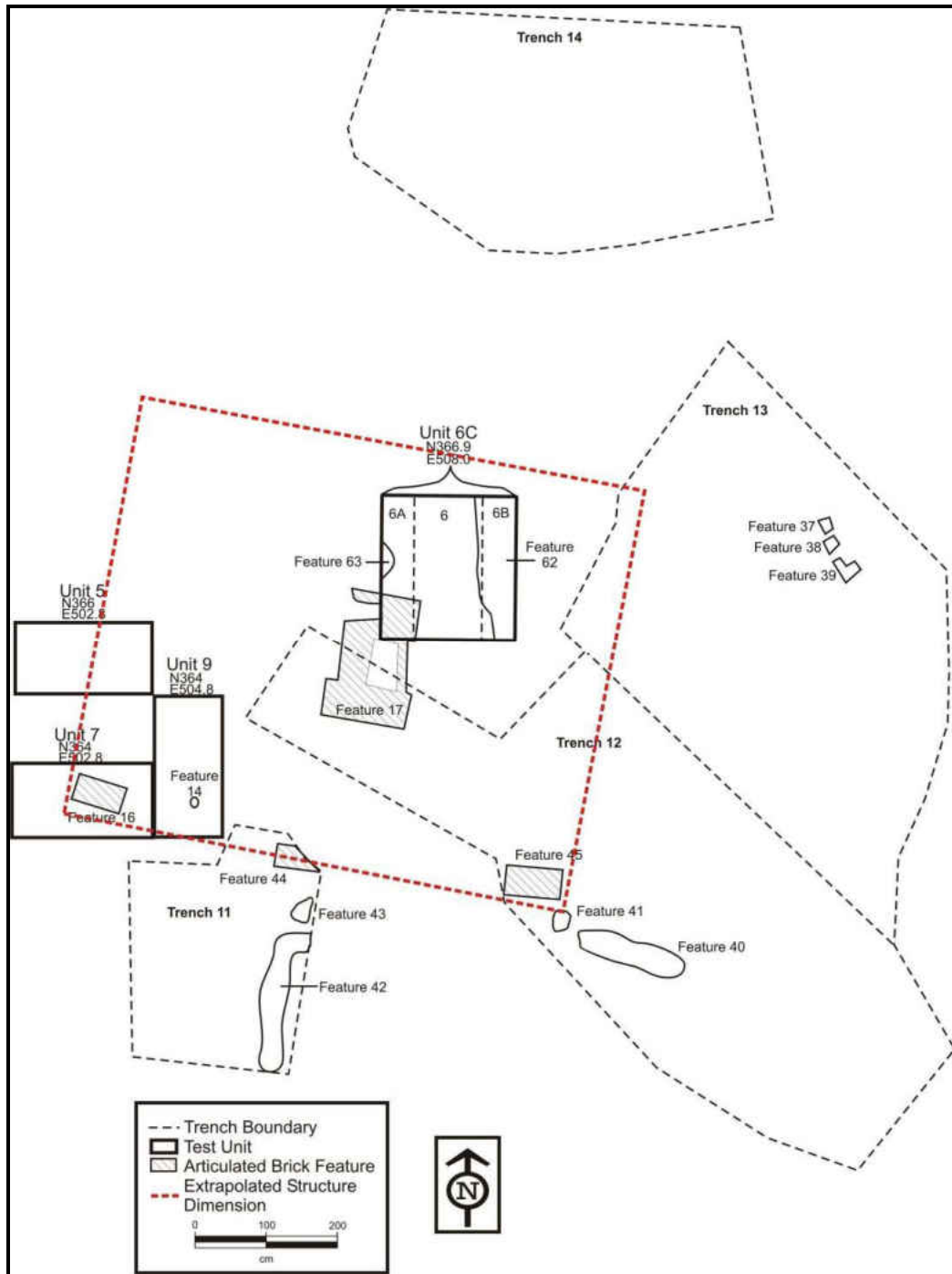


Figure 4.4: Plan View of Area 2, During the 2006 Archaeological Investigations, 38JA175.

(Graphic by Gail Howalt)

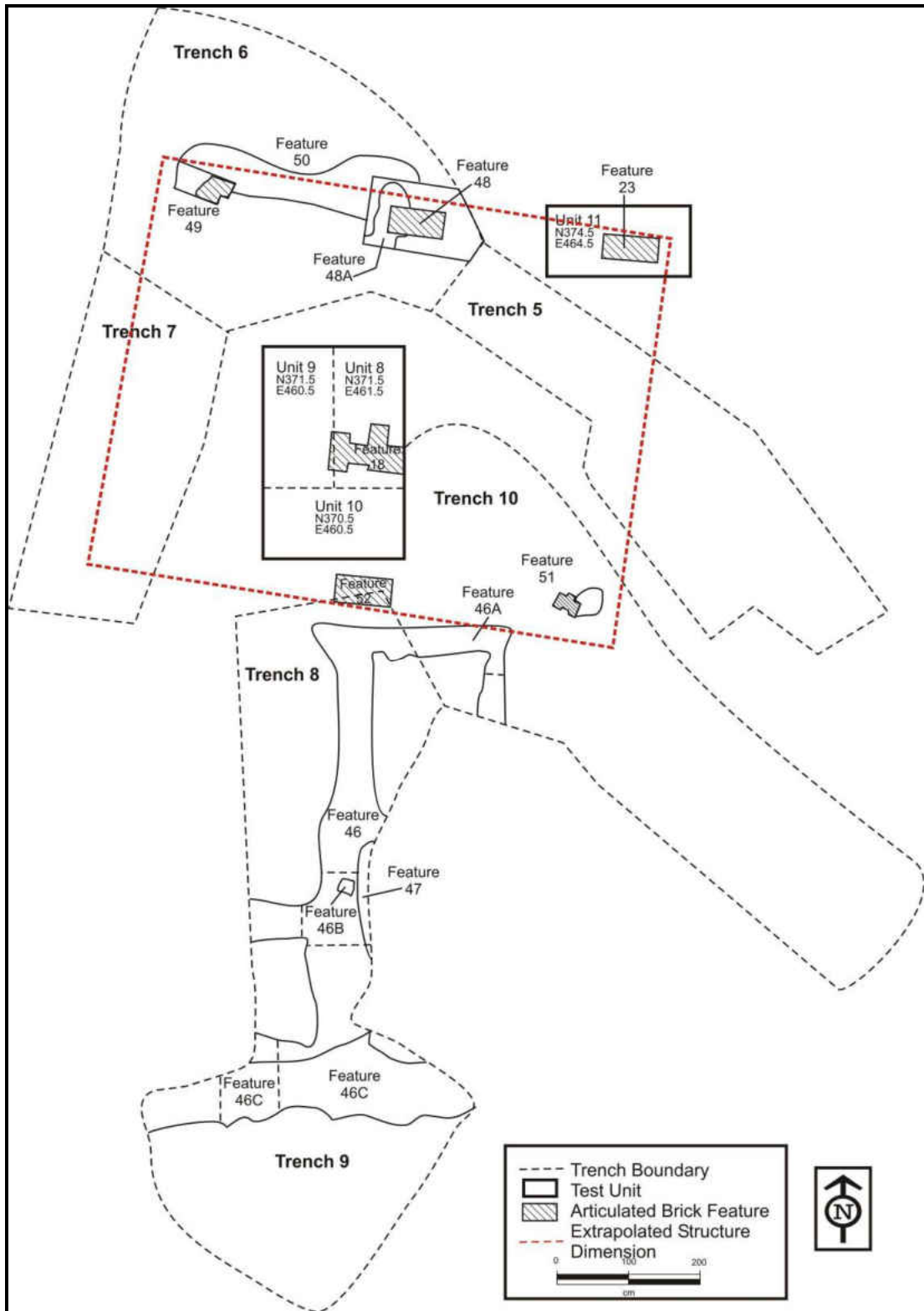


Figure 4.5: Plan View of Area 3, During the 2006 Archaeological Investigations, 38JA175.

(Graphic by Gail Howalt)

The structural remains indicate the presence of at least three two-room structures, with a fourth probably being located in Area 4, although no intact remains were located despite a concentration of architectural debris recovered in this area. The two-room quarters contained a central brick chimney, with hearths that opened at each end into the two rooms of the structure (Figures 4.6-4.7). There may have also been a half-story loft above, depending on the pitch of the roof. Construction was wood-frame built atop brick piers (Figures 4.8-4.9), raising the floor level to approximately 12 to 18 inches above ground surface. The dimensions of these structures are estimated at 24 by 18 feet, providing two-rooms on either side of the structure of approximately 215 square feet. Figure 4.10 shows an example of a similar slave quarters at Redcliffe Plantation in Aiken County, South Carolina.



Figure 4.6: Photograph of Plan View of Feature 15, Trenches 1 and 2, Area 1, 38JA175.



Figure 4.7: Photograph of Plan View of Feature 18, Units 8 and 9, Area 3, 38JA175.



Figure 4.8: Photograph of Plan View of Feature 16, Unit 7, Area 2, 38JA175.



Figure 4.9: Photograph of Plan View of Feature 23, Unit 11, Area 3, 38JA175.



Figure 4.10: Photograph of Two-room Slave Quarters at Redcliffe Plantation, Aiken County, South Carolina.

During the analysis phase of the household artifacts (most commonly used in dating cultural deposits) the difficulties in using historic ceramics to date archaeological deposits from the 19th century became readily apparent. During the 19th century, there was a technological explosion in the manufacture of refined white earthenwares. In the first few decades of the 19th century, pearlwares, evident by a semi-hard paste body and a bluish tint to the clear glaze, as a result of cobalt which often pools in crevices in the molding, were the most common ceramic type in use. Pearlware, with various decorative schemes, including molded and underglaze painted edged forms, underglaze hand-painted forms, sponge decorated, annular wares and flow-blue designs, occurred simultaneously, by about 1820, with an innovation generally known as whiteware, which demonstrates a slightly harder paste body and a more refined clear glaze that does not appear bluish. Whitewares were also commonly decorated in monochrome transfer prints. Ironstone also became common towards the mid-19th century, which demonstrates a very hard, semi-vitreous paste body and a clear glaze. In most historical archaeological artifact analyses, a mean ceramic date (MCD) is calculated, for whole artifact assemblages or to specifically compare two or more cultural features within a site, or even separate strata within features. The issue with the MCD, which provides a mean based on the range of manufacture for a particular ceramic type, weighted by its prevalence in an artifact assemblage, is that many of the ceramic types present had a period of manufacture that spanned from the early-mid 19th century well into the 20th century (South 2002 [1977]).

During the Phase II level of investigations, a mean ceramic date of 1865 was calculated from a sample of 456 dateable ceramic fragments (Agha 2005). Within this

assemblage, numerous statistical outliers, in the form of 18th century ceramics, were typed (only a small number of similar ceramics were typed during the 2006 investigations). Rather than interpreting the mean ceramic date to indicate a predominantly postbellum occupation at the Site, the analysis of the data was skewed to the 18th century outliers, and therefore the 2005 focus on the Site was on the antebellum occupation. While it is possible that there may be remnants of an 18th century occupation associated with the earlier Telfair or Inverary Plantations at Site 38JA175, it is apparent from the historical record that the structures present date to no-earlier than 1830, and more likely date to the 1842 construction of Palmyra by Langdon Cheves.

To better understand the different occupations suggested by the cultural features at Site 38JA175, bottle glass, in conjunction with historic ceramics, became a primary means of relatively dating the deposits. Bottle glasses of amber, amethyst, straw yellow and blue, in conjunction with the later forms of refined white earthenwares (e.g. whitewares and ironstones) indicated deposits that were associated with postbellum contexts; as opposed to higher concentrations of pearlwares and olive green bottle glass, that suggested antebellum associations. Analysis of the features at Site 38JA175 demonstrated that most features unrelated to the structures themselves (i.e. intact structural elements and builders trenches) dated fairly conclusively to the postbellum period.

Additionally, the postbellum artifact assemblage found at Site 38JA175 demonstrated a richness unexpected for plantation laborers after the Civil War (see Orser 1988). Within the refuse deposits were numerous examples of materials purchased by the resident laborers at Delta during the postbellum period. A variety of ceramic forms and

types, various prepared goods evidenced by bottle fragments, and other items that might be considered luxuries were numerous in deposits dating to the postbellum period. The observations of the archaeological data in conjunction with suggestions from the historical record indicate that laborers at Delta were active in the local and regional economy in the postbellum era, and into the early 20th century.

When the summary archaeological data is compared with the history provided in Chapter 3, two striking discrepancies are evident with the image portrayed by the 2005 Phase II-level interpretations, and the subsequently derived program of study for the site (Agha 2005 and Brockington and Associates 2005).

First, aside from the remains of the structures themselves, and features associated with their construction, the majority of the features investigated dated to the postbellum period. It is possible that this later habitation obliterated much of the earlier features or that the sample of the site investigated was skewed towards those features of the postbellum period. However, it is also possible that the lower incidence of features dating to the antebellum period indicates that the Site did not see a typical slave habitation during the antebellum period. Rather, the Site does likely represent the upland slave settlement, Palmyra, constructed by Langdon Cheves in 1842, to intermittently house slaves during epidemics or somewhat constantly maintain a smaller number of slaves undergoing medical treatment.

Second, the prevalence of materials dating to the postbellum period demonstrates that this site was occupied heavily following the War and into the 20th century. The presence of material indications of an active participation in the economy further suggest that this site offers unique opportunities to investigate the lives of the postbellum

plantation laborer in a context that seems to be somewhat unique. There are indications in the historical record and archaeological record that the relative economic success of Delta Plantation and its close proximity to the markets of Savannah may have translated into higher than typical economic successes for the laborers of Delta.

As such, a program of historic archaeological study of Site 38JA175 at the Phase III-level of investigation within the realm of cultural resource management archaeology should focus on these two unique aspects of the Site. By devising a research approach with a greater understanding of the historical record pertaining to the site, a different relationship with the site's history is created. By taking this approach, the two aspects of the project no longer proceed as somewhat parallel endeavors, subsequently forced together in the conclusion of the project with an interpretive synthesis, but, rather, the two sets of evidence work together, one informing the other, as historic archaeological methodology has evolved in academic research settings.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This study was devised to demonstrate a flaw in the way historic archaeological projects are carried out in the current realm of compliance archaeology within the system of federal, state, and local cultural resource management. The realization that cultural resource management mandates are producing flat, dimensionless, generalized data-grabs at historic archaeological sites is well illustrated by Vergil Noble (1996). Noble examines a number of problems surrounding training of archaeologists and compliance officials, but he fails to examine the process under which these studies are being conducted.

The standards and guidelines for historical archaeological inquiry in cultural resource management need to be revised to direct research that provides that the documentary record and the archaeological findings are used as converging lines of evidence throughout the whole process, from the identification of sites at the Phase I level through mitigative excavation at the Phase III level. More emphasis needs to be placed on thorough historical inquiry, as is the case in academically based research projects, even at the Phase II level during assessment of a site's significance, especially since this level of significance dictates the scale and scope of work that is reasonable to require to mitigate adverse effects to the site in question. Once a site is determined to require mitigative data recovery, it is necessary to insure that there is thorough understanding of the historical particulars, not only for the archaeologist conducting the research, but also for the regulatory official assessing the research potential of the site to determine an appropriate research strategy.

Since Noble's (1996) assessment, there has been a new, larger generation of historical archaeologists trained that are now working as consulting archaeologists in compliance archaeology. There are also, undoubtedly, more trained historical archaeologists working in local, state, and federal regulatory agencies. However, the problems of poorly conceived research, and thus, irrelevant and hackneyed studies still are common in the system. According to current standards and guidelines for historical archaeological research within the states examined, a higher level of historical research is mandated at the Phase III level of investigation. Why do we not stipulate that this research, or at the very least, some increased level be done prior to large scale excavation?

In the case of Site 38JA175, it is apparent that the scale and scope of work proposed for Phase III-level mitigative research needed to be defined by accurate assessment of the research potential of the Site to create an appropriate research design. Therefore, if we can recognize that a crucial factor in the problem is the frequent separation of the historical from the archaeological in such projects, then we can begin to change the system to provide more relevant and directed studies conducted as result of cultural resource management directives. The examination of the study of Site 38JA175 clearly demonstrates that more historical research needs to be conducted either during the Phase II process itself, or preceding the development of a research design at the Phase III level. In that way, the archaeologist and compliance official can enter the process of truly understanding what a site has to offer as research potential.

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