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Seeking Status: Low Socioeconomic Status Pattering at Mont Repose Plantation, Jasper County, South Carolina

Marsha Katherine Welch

SEEKING STATUS:

LOW SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS PATTERNING AT MONT REPOSE PLANTATION, JASPER COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

by

MARSHA KATHERINE WELCH

(Under the Direction of Sue Moore)

ABSTRACT

Throughout the last 12 years, research and excavations have been ongoing at Mont Repose Plantation in Coosawhatchie, South Carolina. Previous research has focused on two areas of the plantation, while other areas have been excavated, yet left unstudied. One of the areas needing more study is the N870 block, first opened during the 2000 field season, and hypothesized to include a slave cabin. In order to investigate this claim the present researcher directed an extension of the N870 block during the 2011 field season to assess the area and determine if it was, in fact, a slave cabin. By conducting a comparative analysis using data from Cannon's Point Plantation, seeking ethnic markers in the assemblage, and studying census data from Mont Repose, it was determined that it is very probable that this was once a slave cabin.

INDEX WORDS: Rice Plantation, Lowcountry, Task System, Socioeconomic Status, Artifact Patterning, Gillison, Slavery, Beaufort, Jasper County, South Carolina

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my mother, Nancy Jenkins Welch. Throughout my life, she was my biggest cheerleader. She always believed in me, rain or shine. Without her, none of this would have been possible. Mom, you are greatly missed. Not only by your family, but by a community of people in Bulloch County that loved you dearly. I would also like to dedicate this to my family; Charles Welch, Carter Welch, Christina Welch, Brody Welch and Harrison Welch. All of you have been supportive of me through thick and thin. Thank you.

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Thank You to all of the professors at Georgia Southern that have encouraged my inquisitive nature, especially my thesis committee for guiding me through the process of research and writing. Another thanks to the students I have had the pleasure of working with, you have all made a wonderful impression on me, and I will leave here having been taught important life lessons.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

An Introduction to Mont Repose Plantation

Mont Repose Plantation, assigned site number 38JA407 by South Carolina Institute of Anthropology and Archaeology (SCIAA), is located in Coosawhatchie, Jasper County, South Carolina. The property is comprised of roughly 500 acres situated on the banks of the Coosawhatchie River (See Figure 1). The wetland environment and geographic location is important for understanding Mont Repose's place in the once thriving rice economy of South Carolina's lowcountry.

Mont Repose, owned by Martha Black, is at present used as a hunting club, but at the zenith of its usage was a rice plantation. Black also owns Cotton Hall, 3,000 acres across the River from Mont Repose. She purchased the property from Julien Sox in 1999. According to Heather Amaral (2011), it appeared that Sox was trying to reconstruct the original boundaries of Mont Repose Plantation. Although the two plantations are considered separate entities in 19th century census records (Ancestry, US Census; Prince Williams and St. Luke's Parish, 1810-1860), they were inexplicably tied to one another. The Gillison family owned both properties, and they were both used for rice production. It is believed that the enslaved population owned by the Gillison family was working on both plantations throughout the antebellum period until the Civil War (Amaral, 2011).

Archaeological excavations have been ongoing at Mont Repose Plantation since January of 2000, and have contributed important information about the daily life on a

lowcountry plantation in the 18th and 19th centuries. The current study will focus on the N870 area excavations to further develop archaeological interpretations of Mont Repose Plantation. These excavations were conducted by undergraduates from Georgia Southern University under the direction of me and Dr. Sue Moore.

The locations of the Gillison Family graveyard, an extensively used and suddenly abandoned home site, an African American graveyard still in use today, and canals and rice fields surrounding the river bluff are things that we *do* know about Mont Repose Plantation (Amaral, 2011; Dunn, 2010; Harper, 2009; Milner, 2010; and Weitman, 2012). Where the planter's home, slave quarters and rice processing areas are located remain unknown.

During the 2000 field season, the first excavations were conducted, and a number of units were excavated across the bluff. The purpose was to observe the subsurface artifact distribution and to search for features that would indicate locations of domestic dwellings, rice processing areas, the planter's home, barns and other activity areas typically associated with a rice plantation and its operation. Over the course of the last 12 years, the focus has remained primarily on the kitchen block, and assemblages from other parts of the bluff have been left unstudied.

LiDAR Image of Mont Repose Plantation

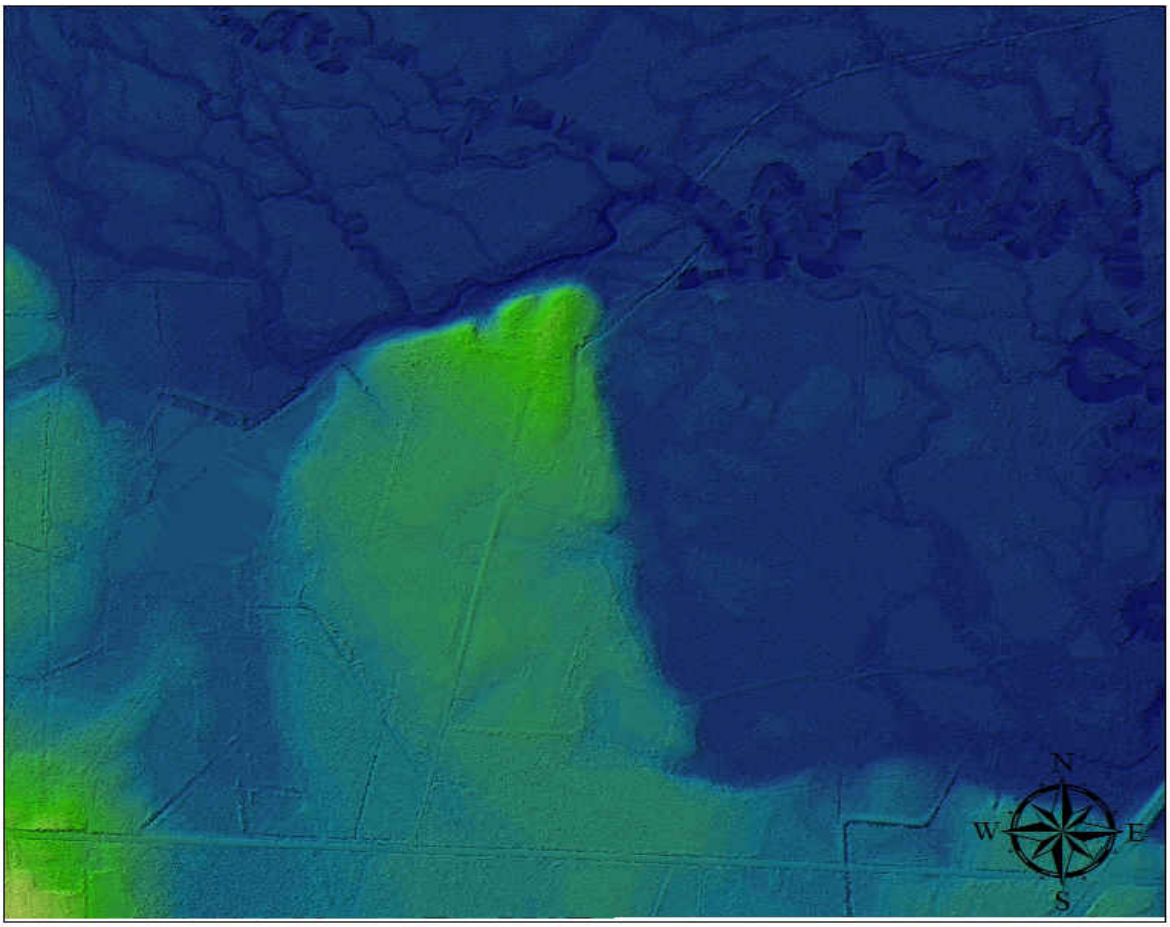

Figure 1. A LiDAR image of the river bluff at Mont Repose, the focal point of archaeological excavations on the site 38JA407 (DOC, NOAA, CSC; 2010).

The main purpose of the current study is to decipher the findings from the N870 excavation area. Two units were excavated in 2000; N870 E765 and N870 E767. During preparations for the 2011 field season, a number of the unstudied units were reviewed. There were two possible features in N870 E765 that led me to believe the excavations encompassed a probable structure. The east wall revealed what appeared to be a post-hole feature, and the west wall held the remnants of a possible hearth (See Figures 2 and 3).

With these two small clues in mind, N870 E767 was extended two meters east in order to further investigate the N870 block. In order to do so, artifacts from N870 E765, N870 E767 and N870 E769 were analyzed and compared to those described in several other studies conducted in the lowcountry (Drucker, 1981; Ferguson, 1993; Otto, 1975; Singleton, 1980; Wheaton, 2002). A fourth excavation unit was opened during the 2010 field season, but will not be included in this study because the excavations are incomplete.

Observing artifacts, such as ceramics, personal objects, clothing, labor and kitchen objects may facilitate an enhanced comprehension of the utilization of different areas of the bluff (Ferguson, 1993; South, 2002), and may also help to understand the socioeconomic status of those who were using the structure (Drucker, 1981; Moore, 1985; Otto, 1975). Because documentary evidence is scarce, using archaeology to define usage areas may help to fill in gaps in the historical record. By observing different artifact groups and seeking out social and ethnic status markers within an assemblage, we may be able to establish *who* was working and living *where* on the plantation.

A large enslaved population lived and worked at Mont Repose Plantation throughout the antebellum period. Knowing this, we can deduce that a majority of the archaeological record at Mont Repose was left behind by African and African American slaves[1]. This is confirmed by census records which indicate that during the forty years prior to the outbreak of the Civil War, slaves made up a majority of the people living and working on the plantation (Ancestry, US Census Records, St. Luke's Parish, 1820-1860). The nature of slave life will be discussed in greater detail later in this study.

The purpose of revisiting the N870 area is to determine whether the structure that was uncovered in the 2000 field season is a slave cabin. In order to define the function of the structure, the artifacts collected from this area must be carefully studied. Specific artifact types are suggestive of how an area was used. The appearance of farming equipment, tools, domestic and architectural materials are clues that archaeologists have used to conclude how areas have been utilized on plantations (South, 2002; Ferguson, 1992).

It is also important to consider social and economic status within the plantation environment. By considering these, it may be easier to conclude who was using the structure. Social and economic statuses within a plantation society are important factors when considering who was using the N870 area. By making comparisons between previous studies and Mont Repose, the people who were using this area may be brought to light.

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[1] From this point forward, all enslaved populations will be referred to as "African Americans".

By studying the artifacts from the N870 excavation area, archaeologists may be able to supplement what is already known about Mont Repose with further information, giving archaeologists a more holistic view of the plantation. Each archaeological site presents new problems to historical archaeologists. Research problems with Mont Repose include lack of documentary evidence concerning locations of housing, barns, processing areas and other outbuildings associated with a plantation. It is also unclear where the enslaved populations from Mont Repose were living. It is evident when observing topographical maps of the area surrounding the river bluff that they were working in the surrounding rice fields. Searching for clues that will indicate race, belief systems and status within the archaeological assemblage from the N870 area may help to conclude who was using this area.

Figure 2. Image of the West Wall profile photographed during the 2000 field season. The feature has a hearth-like appearance, leading the current researcher to believe that there was once a structure located here.

Figure 3. A profile of the East Wall, revealing a possible posthole feature. The excavation unit was extended to the east to search for more features indicative of a structure.

CHAPTER 2

Placing Mont Repose in Regional and Cultural Context

Mont Repose Plantation is located west of Beaufort, South Carolina, along the border of the upland swamps and tidally influenced streams and rivers of the lowcountry; a prime location for rice agriculture. Rice was a major commodity in early American history, and its production and sale made the lowcountry a force to be reckoned with on the world market (Coclanis, 1989). The success of rice agriculture was contingent upon the slave labor that worked the upland swamps and tidal rice fields of the lowcountry (Carney, 2001; Chaplin, 1992; Clifton, 1978; Coclanis, 1989; Singleton, 1980; Wood, 1974). The lowcountry consists of a 250 mile stretch of coast from the northern North Carolina state line, south to the Georgia/Florida state line. The upland swamps and tidally influenced rivers that were important to rice agriculture extend, on average, about 40 miles inland (Pollitzer, 1999).

In order to understand our small archaeological space at Mont Repose it is necessary to consider the larger socioeconomic context of rice production, as Mont Repose was a rice plantation. Rice was primarily planted, weeded, picked, threshed and pounded by hand. It was rice that created the need for such a large labor force, and brought great fortune to the planters of the area (Carney, 2001; Clifton, 1978; Rowland, Moore & Rogers, 1996; Singleton, 1980, Sullivan, 1996).

The lowcountry was unique in the form of labor management used to produce large amounts of its rice by hand. Most planters involved in crop production in the antebellum South used the gang system. Under the gang system, slaves worked from sun

up to sun down under the supervision of an overseer or slave driver, and were heavily reliant on their owners for provisions. In the lowcountry, however, slaves worked under the task system. Under the task system, a slave was given a set amount of work to complete each day. When a slave had completed his or her required tasks for the day, they were free to do as they chose (Bagwell, 2000; Carney, 2001; Chaplin, 1992; Edelson, 2006; Hargis & Horan, 1997; Joyner; 1984, Morgan, 1982; Moore, 1985; Phillips, 1968; Reitz, Gibbs & Rathbun, 2009; Singleton, 1980, 2009).

Because lowcountry slaves worked under the task system and had free time, they were able to develop a sense of autonomy and be involved in the local economy (Bagwell, 2000; Carney, 2001; Coclanis, 2000; Edelson, 2006; Morgan, 1982; Singleton, 1980). The task system "allowed the development of a significant internal plantation economy managed by the slaves for their own sustenance and profit and rarely interfered with by a wise master" (Rowland, et al., 1996; p. 353). This could be considered the manifestation of capitalism on a micro-level; or within a plantation community-like Mont Repose. Slaves were able to grow their own food in small plots to supplement provisions provided by the planter. If there was a surplus from their personal plot, they could sell it to their Master, or at market, involving them in the economy. Giving the enslaved community access to the local market could give them the opportunity to purchase their own material goods. This could include Euro-American ceramics, alcohol, tobacco, and even livestock (Bagwell, 2000; Carney, 2001; Coclanis, 2000; Edelson, 2006; Morgan, 1982; Singleton, 1980).

The combination of the demand for rice on the world market, the use of the task system to manage labor, and large African American populations on lowcountry

plantations set the stage for material culture among lowcountry slaves. Charles Orser defines material culture as the result of people's effort to mold their environment intentionally with "culturally dictated plans" (Orser, 1988; pp. 7). Developments in material culture depended on "the development and manifestation of capitalism" and the "worldwide expansion and search for wealth" (Orser, 1988; pp. 9). Understanding the relationship between the success of rice agriculture in the lowcountry and material culture is crucial.

The nature of one's material culture was highly dependent on the success of rice agriculture. The success of rice agriculture was in turn reliant on the ability of slaves to plant, grow and process rice by hand. Planters in the lowcountry relied on rice agriculture as a means of obtaining wealth and status, which would show in their material culture. This same idea can be applied to the material culture of slaves. Slaves that worked under the task system had free time, and were able be involved in the local economy. It is probable that the enslaved working under the task system had more access to material goods in the local market (Adams & Boling, 1989; Moore, 1985; Reitz, et al., 2009). This combination is what created the environment at Mont Repose Plantation.

Historians have peeled through many a dusty record seeking information about slaves, labor systems, and the plantation era South. These documents shed light on the inner workings of plantations but do not necessarily tell the history of the enslaved populations from an objective point of view. Contemporary accounts of slavery were often told by slave-owners. Slave narratives collected during the depression era were often told by slaves who were children during the antebellum period, and recollections were likely glossed over for the interviewers. By using archaeology to fill these gaps,

historical archaeologists can achieve a more meaningful awareness of the lives of the enslaved (Armstrong, 2009; Joseph, 1993; Moore, 1985; Reitz, et al., 2009).

An archaeological approach may help gain a greater understanding of slavery at Mont Repose. From ceramic assemblages to faunal remains, the archaeological record can help to engender this understanding (Otto, 1975). Plantations in the lowcountry were largely populated by slaves, who would have left behind the most evidence of their presence. Furthermore, through their trash, or material goods, we can infer what was occurring on a much smaller scale (Moore, 1985; Reitz, et al., 2009; Singleton, 1980).

The Archaeology of Plantation Life

The field of plantation archaeology has become widely studied during the last thirty years. In early plantation archaeology the focus was on the life of the planter, not the slave. The shift of focus to the enslaved is important; it helps bring about an understanding of the plantation as not only an agricultural unit, but also as a home to captive populations brought to American soil to produce commodities for the world market.

Research from John Solomon Otto (1975), Theresa Singleton (1980), Thomas Wheaton (2002), Sue Moore (1985), and Leland Ferguson (1992) and Lesley Drucker (1981) are important to understanding the primary activities at Mont Repose Plantation. These activities include agriculture, subsistence, entertainment, building and architecture, and personal pursuits (South, 2002). Each of these activities can help archaeologists understand how particular areas were utilized, particularly from historic sites with limited documentation. The different approaches introduced by these archaeologists are useful in understanding daily life on lowcountry plantations.

From 1820 to 1860, there were more African-American slaves living at Mont Repose than there were white slave owners (Ancestry, US Census, St. Luke's Parish, 1820-1860). When studying census records from the antebellum period, the slave population consistently represents not only the largest group of people living at Mont Repose, but the largest ethnic group at Mont Repose. There are a number of useful studies that have been conducted throughout the lowcountry that can be helpful in understanding Mont Repose Plantation.

Leland Ferguson (1992) conducted excavations at Middleburg Plantation, about 25 miles north of Charleston, South Carolina. The purpose of his research was to study settlement patterns along the eastern branch of the Cooper River, and obtain more information about slave communities and daily life on plantations. In the course of his research, he also helped to further develop methods and techniques to be used in the archaeology of African Americans.

Ferguson and his crew spent the 1986 field season in search of the slave cabins at Middleburg. The main house was still standing, and was built in 1699. There was also a kitchen, and what Ferguson described as decaying servants quarters that flanked a formal garden (Ferguson, 1992; pp. xxiii). Ferguson combined interviews with locals and information found in South Carolina's historical archives, and referenced a map that described a group of 12 houses near the formal gardens. This led him to survey both sides of the formal gardens in search of the slave cabins (Ferguson, 1992; pp. xxvii-xxviii).

On the western side of the formal gardens, Ferguson uncovered glass, nails and brick. These artifact groups led him to believe that they had located a barn and other

outbuildings. When surveying the eastern side of the gardens, they found artifacts associated with a domestic dwelling, along with posthole features. The assemblage included objects such as kaolin pipestem and bowl fragments, buttons, glass, brick, nails, faunal materials, 18th century English ceramics and colonoware (Ferguson, 1992; p xxviii).

The combination of information found during research and excavations at Middleburg is pertinent to the research of Mont Repose Plantation. Ferguson's findings show how specific artifact types can be indicative of a structure's purpose. He shows this by noting the lack of artifacts associated with a domestic dwelling on one side of the garden, and their appearance on the opposite side. Also, Ferguson uses the method of process of elimination. By finding barns and outbuildings on the western side of the garden, he was able to deduce that the slave cabins were on the eastern side of the gardens.

At Mont Repose, the current researcher knows that the Gillison family graveyard was found to the west of the N870 block (Milner, 2011), and a multi-use structure pre-dating the Gillison occupation was uncovered to the east of the N870 block (Amaral, 2011; Dunn, 2010; Harper, 2009). This increases the likelihood of the structure at the N870 block being a slave cabin, overseer's cabin or possibly the Gillison family home. By looking to other researchers like John Solomon Otto, it may be possible to use the material culture to determine whether a slave, overseer or planter was living in this structure (Otto, 1975).

John Solomon Otto's 1975 PhD dissertation focused on status and how it may appear in the archaeological record. His study is pivotal in plantation archaeology, and is

a cornerstone in comparative analysis among archaeologists. Where historical records are lacking, his study is often used for comparison. This publication focuses on Cannon's Point Plantation, located on St. Simon's Island, Georgia. Cannon's Point was well represented with historical records. Locations of plantation structures, including the planter residence, the overseers house and slave cabins were well documented, and there were (and are) still standing remnants of structures on the site. Plantations were not just agricultural production units; they were also domestic dwelling sites. Therefore, status differences between occupants of the site would be obvious in the archaeological record (Otto, 1975).

Otto carefully studied the archaeological remains at Cannon's Point and made significant statements about material culture on a plantation. In his intra-site comparative analysis, he made several important observations. He found higher frequencies of blue and green edge-decorated wares, plain refined earthenwares, and banded annularwares from slave dwellings than in a higher status dwelling. These ceramics made up 70% of the ceramic assemblage from enslaved dwellings. This indicated that slaves were using cheap and more easily accessible wares than the elite. According to Otto, the material culture may help to determine the socioeconomic status of the people using a site. Also, primary documentation and remnants of structures were complimentary to the archaeological assemblage from Cannon's Point (Otto, 1975).

Otto's (1975) intra-site comparison from Cannon's Point is very important. Otto focuses on the three socioeconomic groups found on a plantation, the slaves, overseer and planter. His observation of the differences in material culture between these three groups is important. They can be compared to the material culture of the N870 block to

determine whether the structure was being used by the Gillison family, an overseer or the enslaved of Mont Repose.

Lesley Drucker's 1981 study of the plantation at Spiers Landing in South Carolina argues that although there was "no directly documented historical context" (Drucker, 1981; p. 58) and "it was judged to contain potentially significant information concerning plantation structures…and low economic status behavior patterning" (Drucker, 1981; p. 58). Drucker's research design was to use ethno-historical, archaeological and statistical techniques together to determine who was living at the undocumented residences she uncovered. There was obvious evidence of post molds, indicative of a structure, but there were few clues pointing Drucker in the direction of who the occupants were (Drucker, 1981). Her study is an example of how Otto's dissertation can be used to determine whether or not a structure is a slave cabin.

Drucker compared her assemblage to those from Otto's study, showing the assemblage from the structure at Spiers Landing was most likely a slave cabin (Drucker, 1981). A quantitative analysis of hollow versus flat wares, banded annularwares, plain refined earthenwares, and blue and green edge-decorated wares showed an economically challenged household. Spiers Landing contained an assemblage that was 77% of the formerly named wares, with only 14% reported to be transfer printed wares. The structure also contained a high ratio of colonowares to European-American ceramics (Drucker, 1981). This is notable because colonowares are believed to be a marker of African American households during the colonial and antebellum periods (Ferguson, 1992).

Drucker's study is an example of how Otto's dissertation can be used for comparative analysis when primary documentation is incomplete. The lack of primary documentation at Mont Repose creates limitations, and using Otto's data for comparison can help to fill the gaps in documentation (Drucker, 1981; Otto, 1975). Both studies are important to understanding material culture within the plantation environment, and can help to further the analysis of the artifact assemblage from the N870 block at Mont Repose Plantation.

Ethnic Markers

Thomas Wheaton (2002) conducted an archaeological study at Yaughn and Curriboo plantations in South Carolina. Both plantations were settled by French Huguenots in the 18th and 19th centuries. Three structures were located; two belonged to Yaughn, and the remaining site belonged to Curriboo. Wheaton also located a number of outbuildings associated with slave dwellings, along with several hundred features and over 35,000 artifacts.

Unlike the previously mentioned studies, Wheaton's is focused on the archaeology of the pre-revolution plantation South. Wheaton hypothesized that from the late 18th to the 19th century, African Americans working on plantations in the lowcountry rapidly acculturated, and their acculturation would show in the archaeological record. Wheaton theorized that earlier assemblages associated with slaves would appear more African, and as time wore on, ethnicity would appear to be less and less African, and more European-American. He also hypothesized that rural slaves would have less contact with the white population than urban slaves, and acculturation would be slower than that of urban blacks (Wheaton, 2002).

Wheaton compared the artifact assemblages at Yaughn and Curriboo to those from James City, North Carolina. James City was a community established for slaves that had escaped from plantations during the Civil War. He believed that over time, the assemblage would appear less and less African, and simply put, would be more representative of a low socioeconomic status dwelling. Wheaton found that this was not the case. James City's artifact assemblage was distinctly African, despite material acculturation (Wheaton, 2002). This study demonstrates that if the structure at the N870 block is a slave cabin, it is likely that there will be ethnic markers indicating such.

Material Culture and Plantation Size

Dr. Sue Moore (1985) conducted an important study in her inter-site pattern recognition in the Georgia lowcountry. She argued that the study of plantation sites revolved primarily around single plantations. There are a number of one to one comparisons in previously conducted research using Otto's 1975 study to conduct comparative analyses. Moore made several comparisons, looking for patterns within the plantation system (Moore, 1985; pp. 141). Her focus was on a number of cotton plantations located along the barrier islands of Georgia, and she explains differences in material culture as due to the economic system of the plantation. Her intent was to look beyond the patterns to understand the cultural processes that created the patterns. She argued that this was not a method that had previously been used (Moore, 1985).

Moore made quantitative comparisons between three plantations of different sizes. Essentially, she hypothesized that there is greater intra-site diversity in artifact groupings on a large plantation as compared to a small plantation. She proposed three hypotheses in her study. Her first proposition was that artifact patterns would vary with

the size of the plantation. She hypothesized that relative frequencies of activity, arms and clothing artifact groups would decrease as the size of the plantation increased because these things represent necessity items. Also, luxury items would increase as the size of the plantation increased. Her second hypothesis questioned what would happen if artifacts from large plantations are compared to those on small plantations. The final hypothesis from Moore was that artifact patterns of domestic and field slaves would differ. Domestic slaves were considered to have higher social status on a plantation, and therefore more access to material goods (Moore, 1985).

Moore included three plantation sites in her study that represented different plantation sizes. Hampton Plantation was the largest with over 300 slaves. Sinclair had 10 to 50 slaves, and Pike's Bluff was a small estate with no more than 20 slaves and no overseer. These three plantations were compared in order to determine whether or not her hypotheses were supported. Her first hypothesis was supported. She found that the larger the plantation, the more varied the material culture of the plantation. However, her second and third hypotheses could not be supported. To explain this, Moore argued that the plantations used in her study were too large, and smaller sites might yield different results. She felt that in particular, the third hypothesis should be tested again. This study is important in plantation archaeology because it makes a multitude of comparisons between three plantations, and shows how patterns can be used to understand the material culture of different sized plantations (Moore, 1985).

Moore's study is important to this thesis because of the different comparisons that were made between plantations of different sizes. Mont Repose's slave population changes over the course of the antebellum period, with the largest slave population at 217

in 1840, and the smallest slave population at 35 in 1860. Because of this, the material culture may vary from year to year at Mont Repose.

Comparing Apples to Oranges: Rice Plantations vs. Cotton Plantations

It is important to note that several of the plantation sites included in this review are cotton plantations, and Mont Repose is a rice plantation. These studies are valid to use for comparison according to Theresa Singleton. Her focus on regional archaeology has opened doors to understanding communities within plantations. Singleton took an "ecological approach in the interpretation of cultural phenomena" (Singleton, 1980; p. 2) in making a comparative analyses between cotton and rice plantations. She focused on the idea that regional analysis is well suited for areas that are alike geographically, and some plantation sites may exhibit similar culture systems.

Singleton's (1980) dissertation discussed the importance of patterns in regional archaeology, and was conducted at Butler Island Plantation, near Darien, Georgia. She argued that local variations in the culture of enslaved populations, particularly in the lowcountry, are important to understanding how geographic isolation can create specific patterns of behavior. Because of the isolation of the enslaved population in the lowcountry, a large part of the culture of the plantation past has survived into the modern day South. Singleton theorized that patterns of behavior among enslaved populations are evident in the archaeological record.

The data that Singleton gathered from Butler's Island was used to determine whether adaptations of slaves to rice cultivation were archaeologically visible within slave communities. Slaves in the tidal region of Georgia would exploit the natural resources around them, showing they were adapting to the local habitat. She found that

the differences between rice and long staple cotton plantations were very small. Slave subsistence; clothing and personal possessions were similar between the two types of plantations. The differences between the sites were small, and Singleton attributed this to the differences in operations of these types of plantations (Singleton, 1980).

Singleton discusses several factors that encouraged specific developments in slave life. The estuarine environment provided important natural resources to slave populations, particularly for subsistence. Cultivation and labor systems were also important adaptations to the environment. Singleton's research led her to believe that it was adaptation to the coastal habitat that brought about the use of the task system (Singleton, 1980; pp. 220). She also noted that coastal slaves could manipulate the system while planters were absent during large parts of the year. These adaptations to the region are important to understanding how lowcountry rice plantations worked. Singleton's study is also important because it makes comparisons between rice and cotton plantations, which to researchers unfamiliar with the lowcountry region may seem like I am comparing apples to oranges. In conclusion, comparisons between rice and cotton plantations can be made because of their location in the lowcountry environment.

The understanding and interpretation of plantation life is based on historical documentation and archaeological investigations of known slave sites. All plantation sites are considered slaves sites, principally in the lowcountry, where the slave populations outnumbered the white population well into the antebellum period (Wood, 1974). On large plantations slaves always outnumbered whites, and would have left behind the most evidence of their existence. These approaches are applied to the archaeological assemblage to be discussed later in this study.

CHAPTER 3

Mont Repose Plantation: History and Archaeology

The Mean Ceramic Date (MCD) for the N870 block was calculated to be 1843 using Stanley South's (2002) MCD formula. This will be discussed in the following chapter, but it is relevant to the history presented here. The MCD of 1843 justifies a discussion of the Gillison occupation of Mont Repose as the Gillison family was in possession of the plantation from ca. 1810 to 1876.

Historically, until the dawn of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s, the focus of plantation studies were on the planter, and the lives of slaves were considered to be insignificant (Stampp; 1956). Although slaves are not mentioned in much of the documentation associated with Mont Repose, the amount of slaves owned by the Gillison family from 1820 to 1860 is included in US census records from St. Luke's Parish (Ancestry, US Census, St. Luke's Parish, 1820-1860). By including a brief history of the Gillison family and the amount slaves they owned during each census, I may be able to come to more definitive conclusions about who was living at the N870 block.

Archaeologically, there has been extensive work done at Mont Repose since 2000. Reviewing these works has helped to define how different parts of the bluff were utilized while Mont Repose was an active plantation. They are reviewed in this chapter in order to inform the reader about the history and archaeology at Mont Repose.

Mont Repose and Coosawhatchie, South Carolina

Mont Repose Plantation is located in the swamplands to the west of the small town of Coosawhatchie, South Carolina. Coosawhatchie was the geographic center of the Beaufort District, and was established by the 1760s. It was opportunely located at the crossroads of the King's Highway and the Coosawhatchie River; and was also located at the head of tidal navigation for the Broad River. The town grew up around a small store owned by Henry and David Saussure. During this time the town consisted of a jail, courthouse and blacksmith shop; and the environment was considered dismal and stagnant (Rowland, et al., 1996). In 1779, British troops burned Coosawhatchie, but the community bounced back and flourished in the early antebellum period. Coosawhatchie even served as the Beaufort District's county seat from 1789 to 1836. However, in the early 19th century Coosawhatchie and the surrounding area were considered sickly, and the county seat was moved to Gillisonville, 9 miles north on higher ground. Nonetheless, Coosawhatchie's position as the county seat was important to the success of Mont Repose Plantation (Amaral, 2011; Rowland, et al., 1996).

There is very little documentation of Mont Repose before 1865. Students at Georgia Southern have pieced together a history of Mont Repose using the limited documentation for the site and information from surrounding plantations. Heather Amaral (2011) points out that Mont Repose changed hands a number of times, yet the acreage remained intact. Early ownership is unclear, but the names Drayton and Lambright are associated with the property. When Martha Black purchased the property from Julien Sox in 1999, he had reconstructed the antebellum boundaries of the property. Mont Repose and Cotton Hall, its sister plantation, were both used for rice production

over a span of 90 years. Statistical analysis of the kitchen block assemblage at Mont Repose shows possible activity from 1774 to 1864 (Amaral, 2011).

Another detail that warrants mentioning is that Mont Repose is located in St. Luke's Parish, and Cotton Halls is located in Prince Williams Parish. When surveying census records for information, the records from St. Luke's Parish will be included in this study. Although Mont Repose and Cotton Hall are connected through ownership by the Gillison Family, the focus of this study is on the Mont Repose river bluff, and whether slaves were living in the structure at the N870 block.

The Gillison Clan and Their Slaves

Derry Gillison is an important historical actor because he was the Gillison family patriarch. He married Elizabeth Bethson or Bettison in 1770, and moved to Coosawhatchie shortly thereafter. Historic documentation suggests that Derry moved to Coosawhatchie in order to start a tannery and shoe making business. He was a prominent member of the community, not only as an express rider during the American Revolution, but also in establishing local churches. The small town of Gillisonville, 9 miles from Coosawhatchie, was named for him (Amaral, 2011; Harper, 2009).

Derry Gillison died in 1816 and his wife followed 3 years later. He and his wife had 12 children; some of whom did not live past infancy. Even though the Gillison name has died out, there are a number of prominent families of the area that descend from Derry (Amaral, 2011; Harper, 2009).

It is unclear how the property came into the Gillison family. Amaral hypothesizes that it was likely once owned by Glen Drayton, who sold it to someone named Lambright, who in turn sold it to Thomas Charles Gillison, the son of Derry Gillison.

Harper (2009) and Milner (2011), however, hypothesize that Mont Repose and Cotton Hall once belonged to Derry Gillison. Currently, research is being conducted at Georgia Southern University by Dr. Moore and her students in hopes to better understand how the property changed hands through time (Amaral, 2011).

In 1810 Derry and his son Charles are both listed in census records in St. Luke's Parish; Derry with 136 slaves and Charles with just one slave (Ancestry, US Census, St. Luke's Parish, 1810). Derry's location is unclear, and it is possible he was living at Mont Repose (Harper, 2009; Milner, 2011). Thomas Charles[2] Gillison is in possession of property in Prince Williams Parish, and owned 94 slaves (US Census, Prince Williams Parish, 1810). In the 1810 census records just under Thomas Charles is his brother, David, with 30 slaves. The property in Prince Williams Parish is likely Cotton Hall, the aforementioned sister plantation of Mont Repose. It is possible that *if* Derry did own Mont Repose that it came into the possession of Thomas Charles when Derry died. These are only speculations; there are no documents proving this to be true (Harper, 2009; Milner, 2011).

In 1820, according to census records, work at Mont Repose is in full swing. There are 8 free white people living on the plantation, most likely the Gillisons or those associated with the Gillisons. There are 95 slaves owned by the Gillison family (Ancestry, US Census, St. Luke's Parish, 1820).

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2 Thomas Charles Gillison (1772-1825) was the first son of Derry and Elizabeth Gillison, Charles Gillison (1788-1816) was the second son and third child of Derry and Elizabeth Gillison. It is important to distinguish between these two sons of Derry Gillison, because they both share the given name of Charles (Amaral, 2010; p.62).

In 1825, Derry Gillison's youngest son, Samuel Gillison, Sr. was willed Mont Repose by his older brother, Thomas Charles Gillison. Samuel Sr. was married to Elizabeth Ann Smith in 1812, and they had six children. Their names were Thomas S., William D., Georgianna Adela, Samuel R. Jr., Martha and Sara Rebecca (Dunn, 2009; p. 30). In 1845, Samuel Sr. and Eliza's daughter Georgianna Adela was married to Col. Isadore Lartigue at Mont Repose, showing that the Gillisons were residing there during the mid-1800s (Dunn, 2009; pp. 31-32).

In 1830, Samuel Gillison Sr. appears to possess Mont Repose. According to Federal Census records, there are 11 free whites living on the property. There are 55 slaves, so in comparison to 1820, it appears that Samuel Sr. has either lost, sold or moved 40 slaves off of the Mont Repose property, possibly to work across the river at Cotton Hall Plantation. It is highly likely that Samuel Gillison Sr. and his family were living at Mont Repose during this time (Amaral, 2011; Ancestry, US Census, St. Luke's Parish, 1830).

At this point in time, Cotton Hall, the sister plantation to Mont Repose is also owned by Samuel Gillison Sr. The census records for Cotton Hall in 1830 show several things that call out one's attention. First, there are two free blacks listed as living at Cotton Hall. It is possible that these people are managing Cotton Hall for Samuel Sr. Another important point to note is that there are 134 slaves counted at Cotton Hall. This count is much higher than the slave population at Mont Repose. This leads the researcher to believe that Samuel Sr. was most likely moving the enslaved population across the two properties in order to meet agricultural work needs, despite the fact that the two

plantations were located in two different parishes (Amaral, 2011; Ancestry, US Census, St. Luke's Parish, 1820-1830).

By 1840, Samuel Sr.'s slave population increased significantly. As noted above, in 1830, Samuel Sr. had 55 slaves at Mont Repose. By 1840, Samuel Sr. has 217 slaves at Mont Repose (Ancestry, US Census, St. Luke's Parish, 1840). When considering Mont Repose within the larger lowcountry of South Carolina and Georgia, according to the agricultural census of 1840, 80 million pounds of rice was being produced in the US. 12 million pounds came from Georgia, and almost all of the remaining 68 million pounds was exported from South Carolina (Sullivan, 2003). The increase in slaves at Mont Repose occurs in concordance with the increase in the sale of rice from the lowcountry.

In 1847, Samuel Sr. died leaving Mont Repose to the care of his wife, noting that upon her death, it would become the property of their daughter Sara Rebecca Gillison. Among the things he bequeaths to his wife are 25 slaves of her choosing (Amaral, 2011; Milner, 2011). He also asks that a brick wall be built around the cemetery where it is believed that he is buried (Amaral, 2010; Dunn, 2009; Milner, 2010). Samuel mentions no other slaves in his will, despite the large population that is listed on the property in 1840.

In 1849, Sara Rebecca Gillison, daughter of Samuel R. Sr. and Eliza Gillison married James Joseph Butler. Shortly after, they had a daughter, Eliza Gillison Butler. Eliza Gillison Butler did not live past infancy, and is believed to be buried in the Gillison family cemetery located on the western side of the Mont Repose river bluff (Amaral, 2011). During the first field season of work at Mont Repose, students found a small grave marker with the initials "E. G. B" engraved on its surface. It is believed this

marker is from Eliza Gillison Butler's grave (See Figure 4). Although Eliza did not survive infancy, her parents Sara Rebecca and James Joseph Butler soon had another daughter, who they named Louisa Ford Butler (Amaral, 2011).

Figure 4. Grave marker found while surface collecting during the 2000 field season. It is possible that this is the marker for Eliza Gillison Butler, the infant daughter of Sara Rebecca Gillison and James Joseph Butler.

In 1850, Samuel Sr.'s wife, Eliza A. Gillison is documented as the head of household at Mont Repose. Her son Samuel Jr. was also living on the property. Comparison of the 1840 and 1850 censuses show that the number of slaves Eliza owned dropped dramatically from 217 in 1840 to 42 slaves in 1850. However, at this time Eliza's daughter, Sara Rebecca and her husband are likely to have been living on the property as well. They are listed underneath Eliza in the census record, in a different household but also in St. Luke's Parish, probably just next door to Eliza. Sara Rebecca's husband, James Joseph Butler is listed just under Eliza in the census records, and is in possession of 27 slaves. It is likely that these 69 slaves were living on the Mont Repose

portion of the property (Amaral, 2011; Ancestry, US Census, St. Luke's Parish, 1850). Four years after the 1850 census was taken, Sara Rebecca Gillison's first husband, James Joseph Butler died (Amaral, 2011; Ancestry, US Census, St. Luke's Parish, 1840-1850).

By 1860, Eliza A. Gillison is recorded as the head of household and as the planter. She owned 35 slaves. Her son Samuel Gillison, Jr. and a free black named Sheldon Cohen were also residing at Mont Repose. In 1862, Eliza's daughter Sara Rebecca remarried to Captain John W. Walker. She died shortly after her marriage to Captain Walker, in 1863. It is possible that her death was due to complications from childbirth. She died shortly after giving birth to her second daughter, Sarah Walker at her mother's house in Grahamville, South Carolina (Amaral, 2011; pp. 64-65). This is important because it shows that neither the 'planter' Eliza Gillison, nor her daughter, who the plantation belongs to are living on the plantation in the early 1860s. According to Harper it appears that the Gillison's had abandoned Mont Repose and were no longer living on the property by 1863 (Harper, 2009). It is possible that Eliza and her daughter Sara Rebecca fled the area at the beginning of the Civil War, leaving the plantation to fall into ruin.

At the dawn of the Civil War, there are no records showing anyone living at Mont Repose. It is possible that slaves still worked the property, but unlikely. There is documentation of Robert E. Lee and his troops being stationed at Coosawhatchie. It was a central location between Savannah and Charleston, making communication via railroad easy for the Confederacy.

Upon the death of Sara Rebecca Gillison Butler Walker, the property of Mont Repose is willed to her two daughters, Louisa Ford Butler and Sarah Walker. They sold

their halves of Mont Repose to Charles S. Dando in 1876. It was unclear how they came to own the property until Samuel Gillison Sr.'s will was found in 2007. Samuel Gillison Sr. left the plantation in the care of his wife Eliza Gillison. Upon her death, the plantation would then belong to his daughter Sara Rebecca. Sara Rebecca died in 1863, shortly after giving birth to her second daughter, Sarah Walker. The plantation then was passed into the hands of her two daughters, who sold it in 1876 (Amaral, 2011).

There appears to have been no activity at Mont Repose after the beginning of the Civil War. Considering the history of the property, its productive lifespan is short. It appears that the property was only in active use for about 90 years (Amaral, 2011). Although there are records of how many slaves were living at Mont Repose from 1820 to 1860, little is known about their existence. Knowing that such a large group of people populated such a small part of St. Luke's Parish leaves researchers curious as to what happened to them once the Gillison family abandoned Mont Repose. There are numerous possibilities, and in all likelihood, they probably wound up either on other plantations in the area, or were sold at the market in Charleston (Harper, 2009). Because there were so many slaves living at Mont Repose over the course of 90 years, as has been mentioned numerous times, they probably left behind the most evidence of their existence. Throughout the history of Mont Repose, it is the African American slaves that made the plantation successful.

Previous Archaeology at Mont Repose Plantation

There have been numerous studies of plantations in the lowcountry of Georgia and South Carolina. Several of these concern Mont Repose Plantation. The studies conducted thus far have covered the faunal and assemblage analysis of the 'kitchen block' (Amaral, 2011; Dunn, 2010), the discovery of the graveyard belonging to the Gillison family (Milner, 2011), a study of bone artifacts recovered from N800 E800 (Harper, 2009), and LiDAR scans have been conducted at the African American cemetery that is still in use on the property (Weitman, 2012). Each of these studies is important to understanding Mont Repose Plantation as a whole.

Explaining what is known through documentary research and archaeology can help to lead to better conclusions about the unknown. During the first visits to Mont Repose it was clear that the site would yield a wealth of information about rice plantations, slavery and daily life in the lowcountry. The success of Mont Repose relied profoundly on the slave population that worked the fields, cared for livestock and served the Gillisons. The problem, however, is the lack of documentation of the African Americans living on the property. This is a common occurrence in plantation archaeology. During the early history of the United States, African Americans were ranked as the lowest members of society. Their purpose was to work the plantations and serve their master. They had no legal freedom, although it has been argued that plantation slaves in the lowcountry had an unusual amount of personal freedom due to the task system.

At Mont Repose, the search for the enslaved quarters has continued throughout the last 11 years, although there has been little success. Because of the lack of

documentation, the study of artifacts from different parts of the property has helped to gain more holistic view of Mont Repose.

A bulk of the work that has been done at Mont Repose is centered on what has come to be known as the 'kitchen block'. The first unit from the kitchen block to be opened was N808 E800. This unit eventually turned into a 14 unit block, covering 28 meters of the river bluff, just north of a standing grape arbor. The purpose of expanding this unit into an excavation block was to determine the size of the structure that it encompassed. Initially, the structure was simply considered a multi-use structure. It was during this time that graduate student and archaeologist James Harper conducted excavations and research in order to determine the possible use and users of the structure (Harper, 2009).

During excavations at the kitchen block, Harper found a number of bone artifacts. He uncovered a number of carved bone artifacts that originated from the same depth in his excavations. They included a needle case/flywhisk fragment, 40 carved bone buttons (South Type 15, varying sizes), and one possible shell button (South Type 22), carved bone toothbrush fragments, bone utensil handles, carved bone hand fan sticks and carved bone lice comb fragments.

Twenty-two of the carved bone buttons that Harper examined averaged 12 to 13mm in diameter, eight averaged 18mm in diameter, six averaged 10mm in diameter, and four were rather large at 24mm in diameter. These are all carved bone buttons with a small hole at the center of the disc. Harper explains in detail the common manufacturing technique for these buttons, and argues that they represent typical carved bone buttons of the colonial and antebellum period. He also notes that these bone button blanks (South

Type 15) were often used as a center, and cloth or metal were attached over this center (Harper, 2009). These buttons represent a typical artifact found on any historical archaeological site, and are easy to identify and analyze.

In the case of the needle case/flywhisk, Harper was presented with a different problem. In the sense of its use as a needle case, it represents a "practical item", and could have been purchased anywhere in the region. It is useful when pertaining to the creation and repair of clothing items, and may have been used by either master or slave. What Harper found to be notable about this artifact was the possibility of it being a flywhisk. A flywhisk is an item used to ward of flies, gnats and other insects. A more decorative flywhisk would have an ornate carved handle, and attached to the handle would be animal hair long enough to keep flying insects at bay when the flywhisk is in use. This is not an object that would be found at market in the lowcountry. Harper argued that if it *was* a flywhisk, it would most likely have been used by a slave that had elevated status within the plantation hierarchy (Harper, 2009).

Another practical item found within the cache of carved bone artifacts included two carved bone toothbrush fragments. During the time period that Mont Repose was actively occupied and used, a typical toothbrush would have been constructed of carved bone, and bristles would have come from cow or pig hair. The bristles may have been attached using a liquid adhesive or glue, or they may have been attached using wire. According to Harper, there was a green patina around the area of the bone toothbrushes where the bristles would have been attached; leading him to believe that copper wire was used. He notes that these toothbrushes seemed out of place because they were found with

sewing implements. They may have been in need of repair; or it is highly possible that they were being used for something other than brushing teeth (Harper, 2009).

The final two objects found were carved bone lice combs and two hand fan stick fragments. Lice combs are typical among archaeological sites of early America and their use spans social classes. Lice were a common parasite in early America, and numerous people would have used these combs to rid themselves of the louse parasite. The carved bone hand fan stick fragments tell a different story. The first hand fans were made popular by elite Italians, and their use quickly spread across Europe. Wealthy French and English women used them not only as fashion accessories, but also as status symbols; showing access to wealth and high social ranking. According to Harper, they were often given as gifts to women to mark a special occasion (Harper, 2009).

The hand fan sticks indicate a white presence at the kitchen block, but without the appropriate documentation, this is unclear. The hand fan sticks may have once belonged to the slave owner that used the structure, and may very well have been discarded by them; then picked up for reuse by a slave (Harper, 2009). The possibilities are limitless.

When considering the bone artifacts that Harper discusses, it is evident that sewing was certainly one of the activities occurring at the kitchen block (Harper, 2009). Who was doing the sewing is still unclear. Sewing is considered not only women's work, but also work that could be done by a slave. Although there is clearly an African American presence at the kitchen block, there are also signs that white slave owners or their family were also actively using the structure located at the kitchen block (Harper, 2009).

Harper concluded that the structure that encompasses N808 E800 and N808 E802 was a multi-use building. He stated that bone artifacts in his study are possibly related to slave activity, and even raises the question of whether or not bone buttons were being produced at Mont Repose. He found no evidence of tools used to produce bone buttons in the archaeological record, leading him to conclude they were likely not being produced there. Harper concluded that the carved bone artifacts associated with the structure indicate it was possibly a frontier household associated with the early occupation of Mont Repose (Harper, 2009). Harper's conclusion that the structure excavated for his study was most likely a frontier household is a solid conclusion. The structure does appear to be a frontier household, but without the appropriate documentation, these are speculative at best. The connections to the slave population are obvious, although again, there is little documentation that helps to prove Harper's case.

Harper's 2009 study of Mont Repose was the first, but began a legacy of students curious about the *what's* and the *who's* of the kitchen block. Dunn's 2010 study of Mont Repose helps to round out Harper's by analyzing the faunal remains unearthed from the kitchen block. Dunn's focus on these remains can help conclude who was actively using the area. Her study uses comparative analysis between lowcountry plantations to make these determinations. Dunn compared percentages of domestic and non-domestic species found at Mont Repose to similar research and archaeology done at plantation sites in the lowcountry (Dunn, 2010).

Dunn summarizes four methods that are commonly used in faunal analysis. Bone count and weight are the most common, and can be used to determine how many bones and how much they weigh. Another common method is minimum number of individuals

(MNI). This is a very basic concept. MNI relies on the understanding that mammals are symmetrical, and if "six right femurs are observed…at least six individuals are present in the assemblage" (Dunn, 2010; p. 15). Biomass is another method, and it is used to calculate the amount of meat that would come from a particular species. There are different figures depending on the species. Dunn argues that biomass is reliable in determining species exploitation (Dunn, 2010).

In the case of Dunn's research, the importance of domestic versus non-domestic species was equally as important to this study. Variations in species consumption could be indicative of status within the plantation hierarchy, helping archaeologists to make solid conclusions about the occupants of the multi-use structure. She points out that both Moore and Otto postulated that planters had more time to hunt; or to have the enslaved hunt for them and that they enjoyed dining on non-domestic species, which were considered exotic. In the case of the enslaved population, they were given rations by the planter, and the bulk of their diet would come from domestic species, whereas non-domestic species would have been supplemental to a slave's rationed diet (Dunn, 2010).

Domestic species found at Mont Repose included cow, pig and chicken. Non-domestic species included deer, opossum, raccoon, fish, bird, turtle and alligator. Dunn compared the faunal assemblage from her excavations to other lowcountry plantations in order to make determinations about who was utilizing the structure located at the kitchen block.

She found that domestic species made up 60% of the assemblage and non-domestic species made up 14%. The remaining 26% was comprised of unidentifiable bone fragments. The faunal collection from the planter's kitchen at Cannon's Point was

made up of 90% non-domestic species. The Jones Creek settlement, an enslaved community, consisted of 63% domestic and 14% non-domestic. These comparisons are important because of the consistently noted lack of documentary evidence at Mont Repose. If there were similarities among the compared assemblages, this could quite possibly give clues as to "who was eating from these animal bones" (Dunn, 2010; p. 41).

In conclusion, Dunn found that the enslaved of Mont Repose had a large presence in the kitchen area, but could not make any substantial statements, simply because of the lack of documentary evidence to support that the kitchen block was as such. In her final statement, she concluded that the kitchen block area of the river bluff was most likely used by both the enslaved and by the planter (Dunn, 2010).

From the first studies of Mont Repose to the present, it has been consistently noted that historic documentation is sparse. However, research conducted by Heather Amaral (2011) helps fill in details. For example, Amaral provides a detailed family tree of the Gillison family, showing their relationship to the plantation. Another important element of her study was the analysis of the the structure and assemblage unearthed at the kitchen block. The Mean Ceramic Date (MCD) from the kitchen block was 1798. The Gillison family was not actively using the property until after 1810 (US Census Records, St. Luke's Parish, 1810), and was not considered the Gillison family home until after 1825. Therefore, the probability of the kitchen block being associated with the Gillisons is unlikely. Once this was discovered, Amaral shifted her focus to examining the assemblage for clues revealing how the structure was utilized (Amaral, 2011). Amaral hypothesized that it was most likely a kitchen, although other archaeologists that have

worked at Mont Repose believe that it was a multi-use structure (Dunn, 2010; Harper, 2009).

Amaral started by comparing the assemblage excavated from the kitchen block to the main house at Rose Hill Plantation, located in Prince Williams Parish, South Carolina. Rose Hill was a middle sized plantation; occupied from 1780 until 1865, when it was burned down by Union soldiers. The main house at Rose Hill was a small two story house, a basic structure to meet immediate needs. This is considered a frontier home. The comparison is important, but did not yield specific answers to the question of whether or not the structure at Mont Repose was a kitchen or residential dwelling (Amaral, 2011).

She also compared the structure to a detached kitchen from Riverside Plantation in Kentucky. The similarities between Mont Repose and Riverside are focused on the large amount of kitchen group artifacts, and the presence of sewing artifacts. Riverside Plantation's detached kitchen was a frame house on brick or stone pillars, making Riverside comparable, considering the architecture of the structure at Mont Repose. According to Amaral, the structure at the kitchen block was a wood frame house on brick pillars. Both structures were multi-use. The kitchen of a plantation is an important workplace, and is often used not only for food preparation, but other tasks as well.

Amaral notes that the structure's main function appears to be food preparation. However, it is possible that the structure had multiple purposes, from food preparation to sewing. The structure is probably not associated with the Gillison family, and may have been used by earlier owners of the property. The structure may be associated with the

Drayton or Lambright families, who are hypothesized to have owned the property before the Gillison Family (Amaral, 2011; Harper, 2009).

How the structure from the kitchen block met its demise is another important research question in Amaral's thesis. She argues that the structure was destroyed in a catastrophic event, most likely a hurricane. She lists three storms recorded in the early 19th century that may have affected Mont Repose. She argues that a hurricane that made landfall in 1813 looks to be the most likely culprit (Amaral, 2011).

The structure was most certainly suddenly abandoned given the high volume of artifacts found in association with it. This is also suggested by the fact that artifacts were unearthed from where they fell, *in situ*. There have also been large quantities of artifacts that have been mended, sometimes giving students complete objects to study. This is a rare occurrence on an archaeological site, and Amaral's study is crucial to future research about catastrophic events and their effects on archaeological sites (Amaral, 2011).

Another study conducted at Mont Repose was to "obtain a further understanding of the areas and structures associated" (Milner, 2011; p. 12) with the plantation. The intent of Milner's 2011 thesis was to make further determinations about the locations, size, use and number of unrecorded structures on the Mont Repose river bluff. His primary goal was to determine what structures remained, and their functions (Milner, 2009).

Before the 2008 field season began, maps and overlays from the 2000 field season were studied. Milner decided to explore the area to the west of the kitchen block. Thirteen units were excavated, and a mortar line that indicated a masonry wall was uncovered, along with what appeared to be grave shaft features. During the 2009 field

season, a mini-excavator was used to scrape away the plow zone and 13 grave shafts were uncovered (Milner, 2011).

Samuel Gillison Sr.'s will was an important document, particularly associated with Milner's study. In his will, Samuel Sr. asked that his executors build a family cemetery, and that it be enclosed by a brick wall. The mortar line and wall feature are evidence of Samuel's executors complying with his wishes. Also, the earlier mentioned footstone of Eliza Gillison Butler was found close to the area where the cemetery was located. Although there are 13 grave shafts, there are only four people that can be accounted for; Samuel Gillison Sr., Eliza Gillison, Eliza Gillison Butler, and possibly Sarah Rebecca Gillison (Milner, 2011; pp. 46-47). Who is buried in the remaining nine graves remains to be seen.

Research conducted at Mont Repose is important to future lowcountry archaeologists. Each study is important in gaining a more holistic view of Mont Repose, and for the larger archaeological community interested in material culture in plantation life. Rice plantations in the lowcountry housed communities consisting of African American slaves, overseers and planters. Previous archaeology conducted at Mont Repose is important to the current study for several reasons. First, these studies define how two different areas of the river bluff were utilized by past occupants of the site. Within the kitchen block, the studies give a comprehensive look at how the multi-use structure may have been used.

It has been hypothesized that this structure was a detached kitchen or former home of occupants preceding the Gillison family. Although we have no documentation indicating this is so, the MCD from the kitchen block is much earlier than the known

Gillison occupation. Amaral's MCD is 1798, much closer to Milner's MCD of 1796, leaving archaeologists with the question; who was here first? It is possible that the Drayton or Lambright families once used the property for rice agriculture, but without the appropriate documentation, this is unclear. Dunn's research helped to define what species were being consumed, but by whom still remains in question. Documentation to fill these gaps would be immensely helpful (Amaral, 2011; Dunn, 2010; Harper, 2009; Milner, 2011).

The importance of these studies lies in the information they share. Because of the detailed research that has been done, there are two things that we *do* know about Mont Repose. First, we know the location of a multi-use structure, a possible detached kitchen, on the property. We also know the location of the Gillison family graveyard. This may appear to be a small amount of information when considering the property is comprised of about 500 acres, but in reality it is a rather large amount of information. It tells us that the 'big house' is not located within the kitchen block or where the Gillison family cemetery was placed. This can lead future researchers in a more defined direction when seeking out the Gillison family home, outbuildings and enslaved dwellings on the property. It also helps with the current question, whether or not the structure at the N870 block is, in fact, a slave cabin.

CHAPTER 4

Methods

Field Methods

The first archaeological fieldwork done at Mont Repose Plantation started in May of 1999. At this time, Sue Moore began to assess the site to decide how to best approach survey and excavations. The first task completed was a pedestrian survey, and surface artifacts were flagged to help to define site boundaries. The surface material was not collected, but left on the surface. Some of the first artifacts noted at 38JA407 were prehistoric pottery, lithic debitage, historic ceramics, brick and different types of glass.

The first transect to be run was along the riverside of a standing grape arbor, and was designated as transect A, and dug at 50 meter intervals. There were eight shovel tests excavated. Among the artifacts collected were chert flakes, aboriginal ceramics, glass, brick, historic ceramics, nails, unidentified metal and mortar.

Transect B started at shovel test A6, running 90 degrees from transect A. The first shovel test was 30m from shovel test A6, and the test following was 20m south of the first shovel test. The line was then run at 50m intervals. These first shovel tests along transect B yielded prehistoric pottery, brick, glass and lithic materials. Once these baselines were put in, a grid placed at 5 to 10 meter intervals off of these two lines. The grid was laid in using a transit. Shovel tests were labeled using the system of Northing and Easting, and were placed at 5m intervals on the Mont Repose river bluff. By using tight testing intervals, Moore's teams were better able to determine the artifact distribution on the bluff. The results helped to determine the placements of test units on the bluff.

For Sue Moore, determining the distribution of architectural materials across the river bluff at Mont Repose was critical. This knowledge would help to define locations of former structures and utilization areas. By first locating high counts of brick and nails, she could make more solid determinations about the locations of structures and utilization areas on the bluff. This could help to locate subsurface features in relation to structures and daily activity. It could also help to define the use of structures on the bluff (Ferguson, 1992; South, 2002).

Once posthole testing was completed, each shovel test was hand plotted on a map by Moore. The distribution of materials across the bluff was observed, and areas to place two meter by two meter excavation units were decided upon. The first excavation units were placed at N850 E818, N860 E818, N878 E843, N900 E818 and N870 E765.

The excavation units that are the focus of this study include N870 E765, N870 E767 and N870 E769. Excavation units N870 E765 and N870 E767 were excavated by me during the 2000 field season, and N870 E769 was excavated under the my direction during the 2011 field season. Each unit at the N870 block was hand excavated using shovels and trowels. Levels represent natural changes in the soil's stratigraphy and zones represent arbitrarily assigned 10 centimeter levels. The soil from excavation units N870 E765 and N870 E767 were screened through one-fourth inch hardware cloth. Feature 49 and Level 3 Zone B from N870 E769 were screened through one-sixteenth inch hardware cloth; in order to catch small finds that may be missed by the one-fourth inch hardware cloth. Each level was measured at its opening and closing using a standard transit and stadia rod. All levels had standard munsell colors recorded in field notes. Artifacts

collected from each level were bagged separately and assigned a field specimen number. Brick and mortar were collected, counted weighed and discarded in the field.

Tables 1 through 3 explain each step in detail for each excavation unit. In the first column are the levels and zones assigned for each excavation layer in each unit. The next five columns are the measurements below datum for each corner starting with the southwest (SW) corner and working clockwise to the southeast corner (SE). The fifth column is the measurement of the depth of the center of each excavation level. The next three columns designate the munsell color number, color and texture of the soil (See Tables 1, 2 and 3 on pp. 55-56).

Lab Methods

Observing artifact types like ceramics, personal objects, clothing, labor and kitchen objects may help to determine not only the uses of different parts of the bluff, but it may also help us to understand the social and economic status of past occupants. By sorting artifacts by their function, it may be easier to determine the N870 areas utilization.

Stanley South and Artifact Patterns

Stanley South (1978) discusses the importance of historical archaeology and the ability to ascribe a site's function by combining historical documentation and architectural archaeology. By observing the internal structure of a site, archaeologists are able to "explore a site's function, chronology, structure, as well as status, trade routes, ethnicity, settlement patterns, frontier phenomena, and environmental variables" (South, 2002; pp. 95-96). He uses the "type-ware-class-group classification" (South, 2002; pp.

92), and focuses on the final two divisions, class and group. Each group is based on a functional analysis, and final results with analysis may vary depending on how general the analysis is. Another important point from South, making comparisons at the type and style levels may reveal information about ethnic origins, culture contact and a number of other important questions that may be related to an assemblage.

In South's classification system, artifacts are divided into nine artifact groups, and each group has a specified function. The groups are as follows; kitchen artifact group, bone group, architectural group, furniture group, arms group, clothing group, personal group, tobacco pipe group, and the activities group. Each group is divided into classes, and the classes are the identifiers, or what the artifact is. For example, artifacts that would be included in the architecture group are brick, nails, window glass, construction hardware and other such artifact types (See Table 4 on p. 63). Using South's classification system, or some variation of it, is a significant part of understanding an assemblage and its relationship to its provenience (See Tables 5 through 16 for artifact types and counts from the N870 excavation block). This system is widely used in historical archaeology today, and is an important function based classification system. This system can help to determine a number of essential points about an assemblage, and as noted above, can even help to determine the function of buildings, social and economic status of inhabitants, and gives a greater understanding of what was going on during the daily life on a plantation.

The formula concept is another important part of understanding South's approach to interpreting artifact deposition. His approach states that "ceramics, wine bottles and other types and classes of objects for which manufacture period is known" (South, 2002;

pp. 224) can be used with a formula concept. This model is based on the idea that fragments of artifacts can help to determine the relevance of surviving material culture. By creating the formula, he could determine the period of time a site was occupied by calculating the average date of manufacture of an assemblage.

South's formula used median dates of production for ceramics found on historic sites, and are most commonly used on 18th and 19th century sites. The Mean Ceramic Date (MCD) formula helps to estimate the median date of a site. The formula works by taking averages. The count for each ceramic type (or *f* for frequency) is multiplied by the mean production date (or *x*) for that ceramic type. These products are then added together and divided by the total ceramic count at the site. The resulting date is the median occupation date of the site (South, 2002; pp. 217-218).

South is prolific in the world of historical archaeology. He has not only given archaeologists theoretical foundations of quantitative analysis with the formula concept of MCD, but has also developed systems that are important in pattern recognition. His studies of British colonial settlements helped to find specific sets of patterns on colonial sites. He called these patterns the Brunswick pattern of refuse disposal, Carolina artifact pattern and the Frontier artifact pattern. Each of these divisions is based on understanding the discard patterns of the past occupants of a site (South, 2002).

The Brunswick Pattern of refuse disposal is defined by 18th century British Colonial settlements. Within the Brunswick Pattern, sites will have the largest refuse deposits at the entrance or exit of a building (South, 2002; pp. 48). The Carolina and Frontier Patterns are both delineations of the Brunswick Pattern. These three patterns of refuse disposal must have the following three things in common; they must be from the

British colonial period, specialized behavior patterns should reveal different patterns, and patterns will be recognized by the statistical analysis of the fragmented by-products that were left behind.

The Frontier Pattern revolves around the 18th century British colonial frontier. In this pattern's statistical analysis, the artifacts classified in South's kitchen group make up 22 to 35% of an assemblage and the architecture group makes up 43 to 57% of the assemblage. The Carolina Pattern's statistics will have 51 to 70% classified in the kitchen group and 19 to 30% would be classified in the architectural group. Stanley South's shrewd analysis of British colonial settlements can help to determine settlements patterns at various archaeological sites (South, 2002; p. 246).

Each excavation unit that has been attended to across the span of 11 years of research at Mont Repose may possess information that can be shared with the larger archaeological and historic community. Stanley South's methodology will be used during the analysis of the assemblage from the N870 excavation block. South's methods have proven to be useful in determining areas of utilization on archaeological sites throughout the region. By understanding what was occurring in the micro-region and economy of Mont Repose, that is heavily and historically connected to the larger history of the lowcountry, more pieces can be placed into the archaeological studies that are being conducted on plantations throughout the southeastern region.

In observing the assemblage from the aforementioned excavations, it may be possible, using studies from Otto (1975) and South (2002) to decide not only what a structure was being used for, but also who was using it. When comparing the assemblage statistics to those of Otto, it will be easier to determine the status of the people who were

using this area. Also, by observing artifacts, grouped within the parameters of South's classification system, it will be easier to determine what the area was used for. Mont Repose was a rice plantation that at its height was home to 217 slaves. The river bluff at Mont Repose is obviously a high traffic area to its occupants, and it is also highly likely, considering earlier finds, that the area was utilized for housing and activities associated with a domestic dwelling.

The following tables include the excavation and assemblage data collected by archaeology students and myself during the 2000 and 2011 field season. Tables one through three on pages 61 and 62 share the excavation data for each level and zone in the order they were excavated. Table four includes South's functional artifact categories used during the analysis of the artifact assemblage. Tables 5 through 16 include all artifacts analyzed from the N870 block in the order they were excavated and analyzed.

Level and Zone	SW Corner	NW Corner	NE Corner	SE Corner	Center	Munsell Color	Soil Texture
Level 1 Zone A	2.28	2.32	2.28	2.22	unknown	10YR 4/2 dark grayish brown	sandy loam
Level 2 Zone A	2.32	2.36	2.32	2.27	2.3	10YR 4/1 dark gray	sandy loam
Level 2 Zone B	2.4	2.47	2.43	2.38	2.42	10YR 5/3 brown	sandy loam
Level 3 Zone A	2.54	2.62	2.58	2.55	2.57	10YR 5/4 yellowish brown	sandy clay
Level 3 Zone B	2.64	2.69	2.65	2.61	2.67	10YR 5/4 yellowish brown	sandy clay
Unit Close	2.76	2.77	2.72	2.7	2.75	10YR 5/4 yellowish brown	sandy clay

Table 1. N870 E765 Stratigraphic layers; this includes the opening elevations at each corner of the excavation unit, the munsell color and texture. Elevations were taken from the four corners of each unit starting with the southwest (SW) corner and moving clockwise around the unit.

Level and Zone	SW Corner	NW Corner	NE Corner	SE Corner	Center	Munsell Color	Soil Texture
Level 1 Zone A	2.22	2.28	2.2	2.13	2.22	10YR 4/3 brown	sandy loam
Level 2 Zone A	2.23	2.3	2.22	2.17	2.25	10YR 5/2 grayish brown	sandy loam
Level 2 Zone B	2.29	2.35	2.23	2.24	2.3	unknown	unknown
Unit Close	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	Unknown	unknown

Table 2. N870 E767 stratigraphic layers; this includes the opening elevations at each corner of the excavation unit, the munsell color and texture.

Level and Zone	SW Corner	NW Corner	NE Corner	SE Corner	Center	Munsell	Soil Texture
Level 1 Zone A	1.12	1.2	1.04	1.36	1.06	10YR 4/2 dark grayish brown	sandy loam
Level 2 Zone A	1.31	1.35	1.08	1.4	1.12	10YR 4/2 dark grayish brown	sandy loam
Level 3 Zone B	1.35	1.43	1.2	1.54	1.29	10YR 4/3 brown	sandy loam
Feature 48	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	
Feature 49	1.41	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	10YR 3/3 dark brown	sandy loam
Level 3 Zone C	1.42	1.47	1.26	1.61	1.31	unknown	unknown

Table 3. N870 E769 Stratigraphic layers; elevation, munsell soil colors and texture. Elevations were taken in meters below datum (mbd)

Function	Class
Kitchen Group	Ceramics, Wine Bottle, Case Bottle, Tumbler, Pharmaceutical Type Bottle, Glassware, Tableware, Kitchenware
Bone Group	Bone Fragments
Architectural Group	Window Glass, Nails, Spikes, Construction Hardware, Door Lock Parts, Furniture Hardware*
Arms Group	Musket Balls, Shot, Sprue, Gunflints, Gun spalls, Gun Parts, Bullet Molds
Clothing Group	Buckles, Thimbles, Buttons, Scissors, Straight Pins, Hook and Eye Fasteners, Bale Seals, Glass Beads
Personal Group	Coins, Keys, Personal Items, Jewelry
Tobacco Pipe Group	Tobacco Pipes
Activities Group	Construction Tools, Farm Tools, Toys, Fishing Gear, Stub Stemmed Pipes, Colonoware*, Storage Items, Ethnobotanical, Hardware, Stable and Barn, Miscellaneous Hardware, Other, Military Objects

Table 4. South's functional artifact groups and what artifacts are assigned to each group. *South groups Colonoware in the activities group; for the purpose of this study, Colonoware is placed in the kitchen artifact group. The Furniture group was also given its own category in this study; the researcher felt this was important to sort out due to the high counts of architectural artifacts.

Function	Type	Count	Weight
Architecture	Brick and Mortar	47	1025.9
	Nail	2	3.6
	Window Glass	1	0.1
	totals	50	1029.6
Kitchen	Creamware, Plain	1	3.7
	Pearlware, Plain	3	2.8
	Whiteware, Plain	2	8.2
	Yelloware, Plain	1	1.7
	Stoneware, Basalt	1	1
	Pearlware, Edge-Decorated Green	1	4.5
	Pearlware, Transfer Print Blue	4	3.2
	Pearlware, Transfer Print Brown	1	4.1
	Jackfield	1	1.6
	Whiteware, Transfer Print Purple	1	2.4
	Whiteware, Annular	1	1.4
	Whiteware, Dot Plume Edge	2	1
	Colonoware	1	0.07
	Refined Earthenware, UNID, Transfer Print Blue	2	2.5
	Olive Glass	6	17
	Leaded Glass	1	0.5
	totals	29	55.67
Bone	Shell	14	8.6
	totals	14	8.6
Prehistoric	Prehistoric Ceramics	4	14.8
	Lithic Debitage	10	2
	totals	14	16.8

Table 5. A list of all artifacts and their counts and weights from N870 E765 Level 1 Zone A

Function	Type	Count	Weight
Architecture	Brick and Mortar	54	742.9
	Nails	123	1092.7
	totals	177	1835.6
Kitchen	Colonoware	1	0.7
	Redware, Black Glaze	4	3.7
	Stoneware	7	61.2
	Jackfield	4	2.7
	Porcelain, Canton	2	0.5
	Creamware, Plain	6	9.9
	Pearlware, Plain	28	37.4
	Whiteware, Plain	24	46.7
	Whieldonware	2	14
	Pearlware, Annular	8	7.3
	Whiteware, Annular	4	3.6
	Pearlware, Transfer Print Blue	24	31.2
	Whiteware, Transfer Print Blue	23	42.8
	Pearlware, Green Shell-Edged	4	15.5
	Pearlware, Blue Shell-Edged	10	15.3
	Yelloware, Plain	1	22
	Pearlware, Hand-Painted Polychrome	2	3
	Whiteware, Hand-Painted Polychrome	2	0.7
	Refined Earthenware, UNID, Hand-Painted Blue	1	5.1
	Whiteware, Edge-Decorated Blue	2	10
	Pearlware, Molded Handle	1	3.6
	Refined Earthenware, UNID	1	0.7
	Whiteware, Hand-Painted, Blue	1	1.7
	Refined Earthenware, UNID, Transfer Printed Blue	7	6.8
	Lead Glass	22	18.4
	Olive Glass	4	12.8
	Colorless Glass	4	1.2
	Light Green Glass (Pharmaceutical Type Bottle)	4	16.6
	totals	203	395.1
Clothing	Button	1	0.8
	totals	1	0.8
Tobacco	Kaolin Pipestem 5/64	1	1.1
	Kaolin Pipe bowl	1	0.9
	totals	2	2
Furniture	Furniture Tack	1	0.7

Table 6. A list of all artifacts and their counts and weights from N870 E765 Level 2 Zone A.

Function	Type	Count	Weight
Architecture	Brick and Mortar	238	881.4
	Nails	52	162.4
	Window Glass	14	3.6
	totals	304	1047.4
Kitchen	Stoneware	5	30.8
	Pearlware, Plain	23	31.3
	Whiteware, Plain	18	17.4
	Pearlware, Annular	6	17.7
	Whiteware, Annular	1	2
	Pearlware, Transfer Print Blue	11	20.3
	Whiteware, Transfer Print Blue	8	14.9
	Pearlware, Green Shell-Edged	3	9.2
	Pearlware, Blue Shell-Edged	4	16.4
	Pearlware, Hand-Painted Polychrome	1	4.5
	Refined Earthenware, UNID, Annular	1	0.8
	Refined Earthenware, UNID	12	8.7
	Porcelain	2	2.7
	Pearlware, Transfer Print Brown	1	0.5
	Colonoware*	5	14.3
	Ironstone, Plain	1	14.5
	Lead Glass	10	16.6
	Olive Glass	22	32.1
	Light Green Glass	3	1.5
	Milk Glass	1	0.5
	Colorless Glass	7	10.2
	Pewter Handle	1	4.4
	Cast Iron Pot Fragments	6	11.9
	totals	152	283.2
Furniture	Furniture Tack	2	2.2
	totals	2	2.2
Tobacco	Kaolin Pipestem, 5/64	3	4.7
	Kaolin Pipe bowl	1	1
	totals	4	5.7
Arms	Lead Shot	1	2.7
	totals	1	2.7
Bone	Bone and Shell	365	59.2
	totals	365	59.2
Prehistoric	Lithic Debitage	83	59.2
	totals	83	59.2

Table 7. A list of all artifacts and their counts and weights from N870 E765 Level 2 Zone B

Function	Type	Count	Weight
Architectural	Window Glass	4	0.8
	Nails	33	57.6
	totals	37	58.4
Kitchen	Stoneware	1	4.3
	Colonoware	2	24.8
	Pearlware, Plain	6	10.8
	Whiteware, Plain	3	5.3
	Pearlware, Transfer Print Blue	2	4.1
	Whiteware, Transfer Print Blue	2	4.3
	Pearlware, Hand-Painted Polychrome	1	0.6
	Refined Earthenware, UNID, Plain	1	0.5
	Creamware, Plain	1	22.1
	Pearlware, Blue Shell-Edged	2	1.3
	Whiteware, Transfer Print Blue	2	1.4
	totals	23	79.5
Clothing	Button	1	1.6
	totals	1	1.6
Tobacco	Kaolin Pipestem, 5/64	1	1.9
	totals	1	1.9
Bone	Bone/Shell	41	41.5
	totals	41	41.5
Activities	Peach Pit, Burned	1	0.2
	totals	1	0.2
Prehistoric	Prehistoric Ceramic	112	353
	Lithic Debitage	27	29.2
	Daub	1	3.2
	totals	140	385.4

Table 8. A list of all artifacts and their counts and weights from N870 E765 Level 3 Zone A.

Function	Type	Count	Weight
Architecture	Brick and Mortar	1	34.1
	Nail	5	124
	totals	6	158.1
Kitchen	Jackfield	1	0.9
	Pearlware, Transfer Print Blue	5	6.9
	Whiteware/Green Glaze	1	0.5
	Pearlware, Plain	2	2.5
	Whiteware, Plain	1	0.8
	Whiteware, Blue Shell-Edged	1	0.1
	Olive Glass	1	26.1
	totals	12	37.8

Table 9. A list of all artifacts and their counts and weights from N870 E767 Level 1.

Function	Type	Count	Weight
Architecture	Nails	99	311.4
	Window Glass	29	7.5
	totals	128	318.9
Kitchen	Colonoware	3	9.8
	Porcelain, Soft-Paste	4	7.1
	Stoneware	8	41
	Redware, Black Lead Glaze	2	3.9
	Refined Earthenware, UNID, Plain	5	14.1
	Pearlware, Plain	21	43.1
	Whiteware, Plain	29	57.4
	Pearlware, Molded	2	5.4
	Porcelain, Chinese	2	14.4
	Refined Earthenware, Transfer Print Blue	2	1.1
	Pearlware, Transfer Print Blue	17	22.6
	Whiteware, Transfer Print Blue	6	5.8
	Whiteware, Hand-Painted Blue	1	0.2
	Pearlware, Hand-Painted Blue	2	0.8
	Whiteware, Transfer Print Brown	2	0.9
	Pearlware, Edge-Decorated Blue	1	1.6
	Pearlware, Dot Plume Edge	1	1.7
	Pearlware, Annular	10	16
	Whiteware, Annular	4	6.8
	Redware, Unglazed	1	0.7
	Pearlware, Green Shell-Edged	2	3.2
	Pearlware, Blue Shell-Edged	2	9.8
	Whiteware, Blue Shell-Edged	2	6.7
	Light Green Glass	4	2.4
	Aqua Glass	10	30.7
	Olive Glass	49	101.9
	Leaded Glass	15	17.9

	Colorless Glass	7	4.5
	totals	214	431.5
Clothing	Clothing, Hook and Eye	3	1
	totals	3	1
Activities	Jaw Harp	1	12.4
	Screw	1	3
	totals	2	15.4
Tobacco	Kaolin Pipestem, 4/64	1	2.4
	Kaolin Pipestem, 5/64	4	7.8
	Kaolin Pipe bowl	4	1.3
	totals	9	11.5
Bone	Bone/Shell	35	30.1
	totals	35	30.1
Unidentified	Metal Strapping	3	23.5
	Metal Sheeting	1	5.5
	Metal, UNID	8	5.7
	totals	12	34.7

Table 10. A list of all artifacts and their counts and weights from N870 E767 Level 2.

Function	Type	Count	Weight
Prehistoric	Prehistoric Ceramic	4	9.7
	Lithic Debitage	5	9.1
	Totals	9	18.8
Architecture	Brick	83	467.6
	Mortar	10	6.3
	Nails	10	22.8
	Totals	**103**	**496.7**
Kitchen	Pearlware, Plain	1	1.9
	Pearlware, Blue Transfer Print	1	3.9
	Creamware, Plain	2	1.1
	Delft, Plain	2	0.2
	Whiteware, Plain	1	0.2
	Ironstone, Plain	1	2.8
	Olive Glass	1	1.8
	Totals	**9**	**11.9**
Organic	Bone	**6**	**3**
Activities	Tarp Fragments (earlier excavations)	**13**	**0.4**

Table 11. Artifacts unearthed from N870 E769 Level 1 Root mat

Function	Type	Count	Weight
Architectural	Brick and Mortar	570	516.5
	Nails	63	148.5
	Window Glass	18	5.7
	totals	651	670.7
Kitchen	Whiteware, Plain	17	24.9
	Pearlware, Plain	17	25.6
	Creamware, Plain	4	10.6
	Colonoware	2	6.6
	Whiteware, Transfer Print Blue	8	10.1
	Pearlware, Transfer Print Blue	13	17.5
	Pearlware, Transfer Print Brown	1	9.5
	Whiteware, Transfer Print Brown	1	0.6
	Whiteware, Transfer Print Green	1	0.3
	Whiteware, Flow Blue	1	1.2
	Pearlware, Blue Shell-Edged	1	1.1
	Pearlware, Edge-Decorated Blue, Spearhead Band	1	5.9
	Pearlware, Green Shell-Edged	1	1.3
	Pearlware, Annular	8	3.7
	Pearlware, Feather-Edged	1	7.5
	Whiteware, Hand-Painted Polychrome	1	2.3
	Whieldonware	1	3.7
	Porcelain, Canton	2	4.9
	Porcelain, Transfer Print Blue with Gilding along Rim	1	0.2
	Jackfield	1	4.1
	Stoneware, Nottingham	1	3.4
	Stoneware, Brown Salt Glaze	2	4.3
	Stoneware, UNID, Fragment	1	0.8
	Refined Earthenware, UNID	12	7.3
	Colorless Glass	12	7.3
	Light Green Glass	11	3.3
	Amber Glass	1	1.5
	Lead Glass	1	6.3
	Olive Glass	39	62.8
	Light Green Bottle Glass, Prescription Lip Finish, Mouth Blown	1	1.1
	Glass, UNID Burned	6	4
	Cast Iron Pot Fragment	1	47.1
	Cast Iron Pot Handle Fragment	1	4.5

	totals	172	295.3
Clothing	Button Fragment	1	0.7
	totals	1	0.7
Tobacco	Pipestem Fragments (unmeasureable)	2	0.4
	totals	2	0.4
Arms	Lead Shot	1	0.3
	totals	1	0.3
Activities	Slag	3	2.2
	Lead Sheeting	1	1.9
	totals	4	4.1
Bone	Bone/Shell	598	281.7
	totals	598	281.7
Prehistoric	Prehistoric Ceramic	207	220.2
	Lithic Debitage	256	107.5
	totals	463	327.7
Unidentifiable Objects	Metal, UNID, Iron	21	9.1
	Metal Hardware, UNID	1	0.7
	Metal, UNID, Iron	3	4.5
	totals	25	14.3

Table 12. Artifacts uncovered from N870 E769 Level 2 Zone A

Function	Type	Count	Weight
Architectural	Brick and Mortar	568	428.6
	Spike	1	58.5
	Nails	66	188.7
	Window Glass	37	12.6
	totals	672	688.4
Kitchen	Pearlware, Plain	27	39.5
	Whiteware, Plain	12	20.1
	Creamware, Plain	6	23.6
	Pearlware, Annular	3	4.3
	Pearlware, Transfer Print Blue	14	19
	Pearlware, Green Shell-Edged	3	2.7
	Pearlware, Blue Shell-Edged	4	28.4
	Pearlware, Brown Shell-Edged	1	0.9
	Pearlware, Hand-Painted Polychrome	2	3.2
	Whiteware, Hand-Painted Polychrome	1	0.4
	Whiteware, Transfer Print Brown	3	0.4
	Whiteware, Transfer Print Blue	11	9.9
	Whiteware, Blue Shell-Edged	2	30.2

	Jackfield	1	0.5
	Creamware, Scalloped Rim	1	1.1
	Whieldonware	2	1.5
	Redware, Yellow Lead Glaze	1	0.4
	Stoneware, Nottingham	1	4.6
	Stoneware, Basalt	1	0.8
	Refined Earthenware, UNID	2	1.9
	Porcelain, Soft-Paste, Basket weave	1	2.2
	Milk Glass	1	0.6
	Olive Glass	44	171.1
	Lead Glass, Tumbler, Faceted	7	64.8
	Aqua Glass	10	7.2
	Light Green Glass	2	5.7
	Colorless Glass	6	1.9
	Cobalt Glass	1	11.5
	Amber Glass	1	0.5
	Iron, Utensil Tang	1	3.2
	totals	172	462.1
Tobacco	Kaolin Pipe bowl Fragments	8	10.4
	Kaolin Pipestem, 4/64	1	0.6
	totals	9	11
Arms	Lead Shot	4	8
	Gunflint	1	1.9
	totals	5	9.9
Personal	Key, Complete	1	6.6
	Ivory Handle Fragment	1	2
	Slate Fragment (possible writing slate)	1	1.9
	totals	3	10.5
Clothing	Hook and Eye	1	0.1
	Bone Button Fragment	1	0.1
	Straight Pin, Wound Head	1	0.1
	Bead, Glass, Spherical, Faceted, Black	1	0.3
	Bead, Glass, Tubular, Faceted, Blue	1	0.3
	totals	5	0.9
Bone	Bone/Shell	1090	725.3
	totals	1090	725.3
Prehistoric	Prehistoric Ceramic	235	547
	Lithic Debitage	590	232.2
	totals	825	779.2
Unidentified Objects	Metal, UNID	13	48.3
	totals	13	48.3

Table 13. Artifacts unearthed at N870 E769 Level 3 Zone B

Function	Type	Count	Weight
Kitchen	Refined Earthenware, Blue Slip	1	0.8
	totals	1	0.8
Prehistoric	Prehistoric Ceramic	3	11.4
	Lithic Debitage	3	0.2
	totals	6	11.6
Bone	Bone/Shell	1	0.2
	totals	1	0.2

Table 14. N870 E769, Feature 48 artifacts.

Function	Type	Count	Weight
Architectural	Nails	53	80.5
	Window Glass	21	3.7
	totals	74	84.2
Kitchen	Pearlware, Plain	20	19.9
	Colonoware	2	34.5
	Creamware, Plain	4	0.5
	Pearlware, Annular	1	1.3
	Pearlware, Transfer Print, Blue	14	10.9
	Pearlware, Brown Shell-Edged	2	2.3
	Pearlware, Green Shell-Edged	1	5.6
	Pearlware, Annular, Mocha/Dendritic	1	1.4
	Stoneware, Basalt	1	5.3
	Refined Earthenware, UNID, Burned	3	6.2
	Whiteware, Plain	2	0.9
	Whiteware, Hand-Painted Blue	1	0.2
	Whiteware, Hand-Painted, Polychrome	1	0.1
	Whiteware, Transfer Print Blue	6	2
	Colorless Glass	10	2.2
	Light Green Glass	4	1.1
	Olive Glass	20	49.8
	totals	93	144.2
Furniture	Escutcheon, Small	1	1.3
	totals	1	1.3
Arms	Lead Shot	2	5.3
	totals	2	5.3
Tobacco	Pipe bowl Fragment, Kaolin	2	2.9
	totals	2	2.9
Activities	Metal Hardware, Iron, UNID	1	3.6
	totals	1	3.6
Bone	Bone/Shell	364	204.2
	totals	364	204.2
Unidentifiable Objects	Metal UNID, Fragments, Iron	13	1.8
	Metal Sheeting, Iron	1	7.3
	totals	14	9.1
Prehistoric	Prehistoric Ceramics	266	420.1
	Lithic Debitage	230	41
	totals	496	461.1

Table 15. Artifacts unearthed from N870 E769 Feature 49.

Function	Type	Count	Weight
Architectural	Brick and Mortar	87	148.5
	Nails	25	30.5
	Window Glass	5	0.6
	totals	117	179.6
Kitchen	Colonoware	1	3
	Whiteware, Plain	8	2
	Pearlware, Plain	13	57.9
	Pearlware, Annular	5	7.1
	Pearlware, Transfer Print Blue	8	5.5
	Pearlware, Hand-Painted Blue	1	13.8
	Pearlware, Blue Shell-Edged	1	1
	Whiteware, Transfer Print Brown	1	0.4
	Creamware, Sprig Molded	1	0.9
	Stoneware, UNID	1	1.9
	Redware, Yellow Lead Glaze	1	0.6
	Redware, Black Lead Glaze	1	7.5
	Faience, Rouen	1	0.1
	Whieldonware	1	0.5
	Olive Glass	18	35.3
	Lead Glass	13	36.6
	Light Green Glass	3	2.8
	Glass, UNID, Burned	1	12.8
	totals	78	176.9
Arms	Percussion Cap	1	0.1
	totals	1	0.1
Furniture	Furniture Tack	2	0.9
	totals	2	0.9
Clothing	Straight Pin, Wound Head	1	0.1
	totals	1	0.2
Activities	Buckle, Horse Tack	1	17.8
	totals	1	17.8
Bone	Bone/Shell	299	209.45
	totals	299	209.45
Prehistoric	Prehistoric Ceramic	171	391.9
	Lithic Debitage	117	38.2
	totals	288	430.1

Table 16. Artifacts unearthed from N870 E769 Level 3 Zone C

CHAPTER 5
Analysis of Artifacts

The Mean Ceramic Date at the N870 Excavations

The Mean Ceramic Date (MCD) formula was developed by Stanley South (2002) to help interpret artifact deposition on historic sites. The MCD formula calculates the average manufacture date of ceramics from an assemblage, and is highly useful in calculating the median occupation of a site. In the case of the assemblage from the N870 excavations the ceramic frequency (*f*) was quantified to be 581. When the frequency of each ceramic type was multiplied by the mean production date and then totaled, the resulting number was 1071133. The total, 1071133 was then divided by the frequency (*f*=581); resulting in the date 1843.602 (See Table 17).

Ware Type	Count	Mean Production Date	Product
Creamware, Plain	25	1791	44775
Creamware, Scalloped Rim	1	1791	1791
Delft, Plain	2	1720	3440
Faience, Rouen	1	1788	1788
Ironstone, Plain	1	1857	1857
Jackfield	7	1760	12320
Pearlware, Annular	40	1805	72200
Pearlware, Annular, Cat's Eye	1	1843	1843
Pearlware, Blue Edge-Decorated	1	1805	1805
Pearlware, Blue Shell-Edged	24	1815	43560
Pearlware, Dot Plume Edge	1	1805	1805
Pearlware, Edge-Decorated Blue	1	1805	1805
Pearlware, Edge-Decorated Green	1	1805	1805
Pearlware, Feather-Edged	1	1810	1810
Pearlware, Green Shell-Edged	15	1805	27075
Pearlware, Hand-Painted Blue	3	1800	5400
Pearlware, Hand-Painted	6	1805	10830

Polychrome			
Pearlware, Mocha	1	1843	1843
Pearlware, Molded	2	1802.5	3605
Pearlware, Plain	86	1805	155230
Pearlware, Plain (molded handle)	1	1805	1805
Pearlware, Transfer Print Blue	108	1818	196344
Pearlware, Transfer Print Brown	1	1818	1818
Porcelain, Canton	6	1818	10908
Porcelain, Soft Paste	5	1770	8850
Redware, Black Glaze	6	1800	10800
Redware, Unglazed	1	1800	1800
Stoneware, Basalt	3	1785	5355
Stoneware, Brown Salt Glaze	2	1733	3466
Stoneware, Nottingham	2	1755	3510
Whieldonware	6	1757.5	10545
Whiteware, Annular	10	1830	18300
Whiteware, Blue Shell-Edged	2	1910	3820
Whiteware, Dot Plume Edge	2	1910	3820
Whiteware, Edge-Decorated Blue	2	1910	3820
Whiteware, Green Shell-Edged	2	1910	3820
Whiteware, Hand-Painted Blue	3	1910	5730
Whiteware, Hand-Painted Polychrome	5	1910	9550
Whiteware, Plain	116	1910	221560
Whiteware, Transfer Print Blue	66	1910	126060
Whiteware, Transfer Print Brown	7	1910	13370
Whiteware, Transfer Print Green	1	1910	1910
Whiteware, Transfer Print Purple	1	1914	1910
Whiteware, Transfer Printed Brown	1	1905	1905
Yelloware, Plain	2	1885	3770
Totals	**581**	**/**	**1071133**
MCD	1843.6024		

Table 17. Table showing ware types, count, Mean Production Date (MPD) and the product of each ware type when multiplied by the MPD. The total counts of ware types were multiplied by the MPD to get the products, which were then added together and multiplied by the total count for ware types to get the MCD, 1843.6024.

Using South's Artifact Groups

Artifacts from the N870 excavations were sorted into Stanley South's artifact groups and the frequency of each group was quantified. Percentages from each group in each level were then calculated in order to determine the probable use of the structure. Tables 19 through 30 show which groups were found in each level from each unit, and the percentage of the assemblage from the level is represented in each table. The total of historic artifacts included in this analysis was 3,613. The artifact groups represented in the assemblage included architecture (n=2319), kitchen (n=1160), clothing (n=12), tobacco (n=29), furniture (n=6), arms (n=10), personal (n=6) and activities (n=71). The two artifacts with the highest frequencies within the assemblage were architecture and kitchen, making up 64% and 32% respectively (See Table 18).

South Artifact Group	Count	Percentage
Architecture	2319.00	64.18%
Kitchen	1160.00	32.10%
Clothing	12.00	0.33%
Tobacco	29.00	0.80%
Furniture	6.00	0.16%
Arms	10.00	0.27%
Personal	6.00	0.16%
Activities	71.00	1.96%
Totals	3613.00	99.96%

Table 18. Total counts and percentages of all artifacts from the assemblage unearthed during the N870 excavations. South's bone group and all prehistoric artifacts are not included in these tables.

When observing each level and unit individually, it is more likely that any patterns within the assemblage will reveal themselves. As a whole, the unit's highest

counts come from the kitchen and architecture group. When observing each unit individually the pattern is consistent (See tables 19-30).

N870 E765

N870 E765 Level One Zone A contained 79 artifacts. The two artifact groups represented in this level were architecture and kitchen. The architecture group comprised the largest portion of the assemblage at 63%, and the kitchen artifacts comprised 37% (See table 19). The artifact frequencies from this level are low in comparison to the following level. Level Two Zone A contained both artifact groups found in level one, plus artifacts from the clothing, tobacco and furniture groups. In the second excavation level from N870 E765 there were 384 artifacts. The architecture group comprises 46% of the assemblage and the kitchen group made up 53% of the assemblage. The remaining groups; clothing, tobacco and furniture make up only 1% of the assemblage (See table 20).

South Artifact Groups	Count	Percentage of Assemblage
Architecture	50.00	63%
Kitchen	29.00	37%
Totals	79.00	100%

Table 19. N870 E765 Level One Zone A artifact groups, quantity and percentage of assemblage.

South Artifact Group	Count	Percentage of Assemblage
Architecture	177.00	46%
Kitchen	203.00	53%
Clothing	1.00	1%
Tobacco	2.00	0%
Household/Furniture	1.00	0%
Totals	384.00	100%

Table 20. N870 E765 Level Two Zone A artifact groups, quantity and percentage of assemblage.

South Artifact Group	Count	Percentage of Assemblage
Architecture	304	66%
Kitchen	152	33%
Tobacco	4	1%
Arms	1	0%
Household/Furniture	2	0%
Totals	463	100%

Table 21. N870 E765 Level 2 Zone B artifact groups, quantity and percentage of assemblage.

N870 E765 Level Two Zone B (See Table 21) contained 463 artifacts. Architecture, kitchen, tobacco, arms and furniture groups were found in this level. Architecture made up 66% and kitchen 33% of the assemblage. The remaining groups combined make up one percent of the assemblage. Level Three Zone A (See Table 22) was the final level excavated in this unit and contained 62 artifacts. The four groups found in this level were architecture, kitchen, personal and tobacco. The architecture and kitchen groups comprised 59% and 37% respectively. The personal and tobacco groups each made up two percent of the assemblage from the final level of N870 E765.

	Count	Percentage of Assemblage
Architecture	37.00	59%
Kitchen	23.00	37%
Clothing	1.00	2%
Tobacco	1.00	2%
Totals	62.00	100%

Table 22. N870 E765 Level 3 Zone A artifact groups, quantity and percentage of assemblage.

South Artifact Group	Count	Percentage of Assemblage
Architecture	128.00	35%
Kitchen	214.00	58%
Clothing	3.00	1%

Activities	14.00	1%
Tobacco	9.00	2%
Totals	368.00	97%

Table 23. N870 E767 Level One artifact group, quantity and percentage of assemblage

N870 E767

Two levels were excavated in unit N870 E767, and 386 artifacts were uncovered. Level 1 (See Table 23) contained only 18 artifacts. The artifact groups found in this level were architecture and kitchen. Architecture made up 33% of level one and kitchen made up 67%. In comparison to the excavation from Level One Zone A of N870 E765, the artifact count is much lower, and the percentages per group are opposite. The percentage of kitchen artifacts is higher than the architecture artifacts, whereas the architecture group is higher in the first level of N870 E765. Level Two of N870 E767 contained 368 artifacts (See Table 24). The groups included in this level included architecture, kitchen, clothing, activities and tobacco. Architecture made up 35% of the assemblage, kitchen made up 58% of the assemblage, clothing made up one percent, activities four percent, and tobacco made up two percent.

South Artifact Group		**Percentage of Assemblage**
Architecture	6.00	33%
Kitchen	12.00	67%
Totals	18.00	100%

Table 24. N870 E767 Level Two artifact groups, quantity and percentage of assemblage

N870 E769

The final excavation unit included in this study is N870 E769. There were three excavation levels and two features uncovered there. There were 2239 artifacts excavated from N870 E769. Level One (See Table 25), the root mat, contained 112 artifacts, and only the kitchen and architecture groups were represented. Architecture made up 92% and kitchen made up 8% of the artifacts. Level Two Zone A was the next excavation level in N870 E769, and it contained 856 artifacts (See Table 26). The artifact groups in this level include architecture, kitchen, clothing, tobacco, arms and activities. Architecture made up 76% of the assemblage from this level, kitchen made up 20%, and clothing, tobacco, arms and activities make up the remaining 3%.

South Artifact Groups	Count	Percentage of Assemblage
Architecture	103.00	92%
Kitchen	9.00	8%
Totals	112.00	100%

Table 25. N870 E769 Level One Root Mat artifact groups, quantity and percentage of assemblage

South Artifact Group	Count	Percentage of Assemblage
Architecture	651.00	76%
Kitchen	172.00	20%
Clothing	1.00	0%
Tobacco	2.00	0%
Arms	1.00	0%
Activities	29.00	3%
Totals	856.00	99%

Table 26. N870 E769 Level Two Zone A artifact groups, quantity and percentage of assemblage

Level Two Zone B was the next stratigraphic layer of this excavation unit, and it contained 881 artifacts (See Table 27). The groups found in this level include architecture, kitchen, tobacco, arms, personal, clothing and activities. Architecture and kitchen made up the largest part of the assemblage at 76% and 20% respectively. Tobacco, arms, personal, clothing and activities comprised the remaining four percent of the assemblage.

South Artifact Group	Count	Percentage of Assemblage
Architecture	672	76%
Kitchen	173	20%
Tobacco	9	1%
Arms	6	1%
Personal	3	0%
Clothing	5	1%
Activities	13	1%
Totals	881	100%

Table 27. N870 E769 Level Two Zone B artifact groups, quantity and percentage of assemblage

Upon the completion of Level Two Zone B, two features appeared at the level two to level three interfaces. The features were assigned the numbers 48 and 49. Feature 48 (See Figure 5 p. 88) was a small square shaped feature. It was sealed by Level 2 Zone B, and intruded into Level Three Zone A. The stain was a dark gray brown sandy loam and contained only one historic artifact, a small fragment of unidentifiable refined earthenware with a blue slip (See Table 28). There were also faunal remains and prehistoric artifacts in this feature. Feature 49 was a large feature appearing at the level two and level three interfaces, much like feature 48. Feature 49 (See Figure 6, p. 89) was sealed by Level Two Zone A and intruded into Level Three Zone A.

The feature took up over 60% of the excavation unit, and contained 187 artifacts (See Table 29). It appeared that the feature in question extended into the north, east and south walls of the unit and appears to have a square or rectangular shape. The artifact groups found in feature 49 included architecture, kitchen, furniture/household, arms, activities and tobacco. The architecture and kitchen groups made up the largest percentage of the assemblage at 40% and 50% respectively. The activities group made up eight percent of the assemblage, and furniture/household, arms and tobacco made up the remaining three percent of the artifacts from feature 49. A notable anomaly within the assemblage is the fact that there were no brick counted within the feature. There were nails and window glass present, but no brick.

South Artifact Group	Count	Percentage of Assemblage
Kitchen	1	100%
Totals	1	100%

Table 28. N870 E769 Feature 48 artifact group, count and percentage of assemblage

South Artifact Group	Count	Percentage of Assemblage
Architecture	74	40%
Kitchen	93	50%
Furniture/Household	1	1%
Arms	2	1%
Activities	15	7%
Tobacco	2	1%
Totals	187	100%

Table 29. N870 E769 Feature 49 artifact groups, quantity and percentage of assemblage

The final excavation level from N870 E769 was Level Three Zone A (See Table 30). There were 202 artifacts from this level, and they came from South's architecture, kitchen, clothing, furniture/household and personal artifact groups. The architecture and

kitchen groups make up a majority of the assemblage at 58% and 39% respectively. The remaining groups; clothing, furniture/household and personal make up the final three percent of this assemblage.

South Artifact Group	Count	Percentage of Assemblage
Architecture	117	58%
Kitchen	79	39%
Clothing	2	1%
Furniture/Household	2	1%
Personal	2	1%
Totals	202	100%

Table 30. N870 E769 Level Three Zone A artifact groups, quantity and percentage of assemblage

A Comparative Analysis using Otto

John Solomon Otto conducted an analysis comparing the distribution of ceramics between slave cabin, overseer's house and the planter's kitchen (See Table 17, Otto, 1975; p. 162). He argued by noting differences in ceramic types and shapes that we may be able to determine status and the availability of material goods (Otto, 1975; p. 159). A comparative analysis is conducted in this study in order to make determinations about status at the N870 block. Below is a table showing Otto's ware types and where they originated.

Ware Type	Slave Cabin	Overseer's Cabin	Planter's Kitchen
Banded	25.4%	30.2%	1.1%
Blue and Green Edge-Decorated	12.3%	5%	2.1%
Hand Painted Underglaze	5%	4.5%	4.1%
Transfer Printed	1.4%	14%	76.7%
Plain	28.9%	35.8%	8.7%
Other	7%	10.6%	7.3%

Table 31. A basic breakdown of ware types found at Cannon's Point at a slave cabin, overseer's house and the planter's kitchen (See Otto, 1975; p. 162, Table 17)

Ware Type	Count	Mont Repose N 870 Percentage	Otto's Slave Cabin	Otto's Overseer's House	Otto's Planter's Kitchen
Banded	57	8%	25.40%	30.20%	1.10%
Blue and Green Edge-Decorated	46	7%	12.30%	5%	2.10%
Hand Painted Underglaze	15	2%	5%	4.50%	4.10%
Transfer Print	168	25%	21.40%	14%	76.70%
Plain	263	39%	28.90%	35.80%	8.70%
Other	130	19%	7%	10.60%	7.30%
Total Ceramics	**679**	*100%*	*100.00%*	*100.10%*	*100.00%*

Table 32. A comparison of the ceramic assemblage of Mont Repose to the ceramic assemblage from Cannon's Point (See Otto, 1975; p. 162)

Within the detailed comparison (See Table 32) there are few notable similarities between the ceramic assemblage from the N870 block and Cannon's Point. The detailed comparison by Otto shows that the planter's kitchen has very few banded wares at 1.1%, blue and green edge-decorated wares comprise 2.1%, hand painted underglaze make up 4.1%, transfer prints comprise the largest part of the ceramic assemblage at 76.7%, and plain and other ceramics make up 8.7% and 7.3% respectively. The largest percentages of ceramics at the planter's kitchen were transfer printed wares, and the lowest were banded wares.

The overseer and slave cabins both have similar percentages for each group of ceramics. The most notable differences between the slave and overseer assemblages were in the blue and green edge-decorated wares transfer printed wares and the plain wares. The slave cabin at Cannon's Point yielded 7.3% more of the blue and green edge-

decorated wares, and also yielded 7.4% more of transfer printed wares than the overseer's cabin. The overseer's cabin had 6.9% more plain wares than the slave cabin.

Otto considers transfer printed wares to be a status marker for a planter on a lowcountry plantation. Within the ceramic assemblages from Cannon's Point, transfer printed wares comprised 21.4% of the ceramics from the slave cabin, 14% from the overseer's cabin and 76.7% from the planter's kitchen. The N870 excavation block yielded 25% transfer printed wares. Otto also noted the high frequency of banded wares and undecorated wares at the slave and overseer's cabins. When all other ware types (banded, blue and green edge-decorated, hand-painted underglaze, plain and other) are combined the percentages for each dwelling are as follows: planter's residence comprised 24%, the overseer's residence made up 86% and the slave dwelling comprised 79% of each of the assemblages from Cannon's Point. At the N870 excavation block these wares comprised 75% of the assemblage.

Ware Type	Mont Repose N870 Percentage	Otto's Slave Cabins	Otto's Overseer	Otto's Planter
Banded, Blue and Green Edge-Decorated, Hand-Painted Underglaze, Plain and Other	75%	78.60%	86.10%	23.30%
Transfer Printed Wares	25%	21.40%	14%	76.70%

Table 33. This table shows the comparison between transfer printed wares and all other wares from Cannon's Point and Mont Repose N870 Excavation block.

By grouping the artifacts unearthed at the N70 excavation block into South's functional groups, and observing the percentages from each group in each level, it may be possible to determine how the area was utilized at the height of its exploitation. The artifact groups represented here can inform archaeologists whether the area was a work

area or domestic dwelling. Once this analysis has been conducted, using Otto's assemblage from Cannon's Point Plantation may help to determine who was utilizing the area. The results will be discussed in the following chapter.

Figure 5. Feature 48, which originated in Level Three Zone B in N870 E769. Feature 48 appears to be a square shaped post feature.

Figure 6. Feature 49 plan view, showing the feature takes up a majority of the level.

CHAPTER 6
Discussion and Conclusions

Over the course of the last 12 years, excavations have been ongoing at Mont Repose Plantation. Despite the lack of historic documentation, archaeology has provided a wealth of information about the Plantation. The primary focus has been centered on the excavation and analysis of materials from the kitchen block. By providing information from other parts of the river bluff, archaeologists can develop a more holistic view of Mont Repose. The purpose of this study has been to provide more information to archaeologists about the river bluff and how it was utilized.

The Mean Ceramic Date and What it Tells Us

By using Stanley South's MCD formula, the MCD was calculated for the N870 excavation block. The date was calculated at 1843. The first thing this tells the current researcher is that this structure was in the height of its utilization in 1843. By 1843, Mont Repose Plantation was considered not only to be the Gillison family home; its operation was in full swing (Amaral, 2011)

Although historical documentation is lacking, census records show that in 1840, there were 217 slaves living on the Mont Repose property (Ancestry, US Census, St. Luke's Parish, 1840). This is the largest enslaved population recorded at Mont Repose during the Gillison's occupation. There were six white people living at Mont Repose, and the ratio of the enslaved to the whites on the property is 36 to one.

The MCD lets archaeologists know that the structure is not a colonial-era structure. In order to use South's Brunswick or Carolina artifact patterns to conduct

analysis and understand discard patterns, the structure must be from this time period. The MCD of 1843 places the structure's occupation in the antebellum period, making South's Carolina and Brunswick artifact patterns irrelevant. South also requires that archaeologists know the location of entrance and exit of a building in order to understand discard patterns. The locations of the entrance and exit of the structure at the N870 block are unknown; therefore, these particular forms of analysis cannot be used.

The N870 Structure: What Was it Used For?

When considering the structure that was uncovered at the N870 block, the first question that came to mind was "What was this structure used for?" One of the most notable patterns of the assemblage is a high frequency of artifacts from Stanley South's kitchen and architecture groups. When the architectural group was quantified, it was found to be 64% of the total assemblage from the block. The kitchen group encompassed 32% of the total assemblage from these excavations.

Although South's artifact pattern analyses could not be used, quantifying the different artifact groups shows that a majority of the activity surrounded the architectural and kitchen groups. The high counts of architectural materials indicate two things. First, there was activity pertaining to building and construction occurring in this area. Because Mont Repose had been in full swing for a number of years by the 1840s, it is likely that this house was built in the 1820s, or that it was reused/recycled for further use during the Gillison occupation of the property.

The remaining artifact groups; activities, arms, clothing, furniture, personal and tobacco make up the remaining six percent of the assemblage. This is a small percentage in comparison to the 96% that make up the kitchen and artifact groups. The activities

group makes up two percent of the assemblage. Artifacts from this group would include such things as construction tools, farm tools, toys, fishing gear, storage items, stable and barn materials, various types of hardware and military objects. Within the artifacts unearthed that were assigned to this group, a majority was unidentifiable metal, metal strapping and sheeting. The most notable artifact in this group was a jaw harp, a small musical instrument played with the mouth (See Figure 8). It can be considered a toy, but was often used by adults as well. It is likely that the reed of the harp was broken, and the jaw harp was discarded. The presence of the jaw harp indicates that the occupants of the structure were playing music in their free time.

The arms group made up .3% of the total assemblage. South's arms group includes musket balls, shot, sprue, gunflints and spalls, gun parts and bullet molds. Within in the assemblage, there were several lead balls, a small percussion cap, a small .22 caliber lead bullet, and a gunflint (See Figures 9 and 10). There were no identifiable gun parts found, nor were there bullet molds or sprues. These lead bullets and the gunflint would indicate that someone of higher status may have been living at the N870 structure; it was not common for the enslaved to be in possession of a gun. It is known, however, that the enslaved often hunted and fished to supplement provisions provided by their Master, so the presence of these materials does not eliminate the possibility of the structure being a slave cabin.

There were 12 clothing items found, making up .33% of the assemblage. There were four buttons, four hook and eyes, two straight pins and two glass beads. Three buttons were basic bone buttons, most likely used for underclothes. The remaining button is a decorative two-piece button (See Figure 11). The front appears to be crimped

to the back plate, and there are remnants of gilding around the underside, where the front piece was crimped to the back piece. It is most likely a collar or cuff button for a clothing item.

The furniture group yielded six artifacts, comprising .16% of the assemblage. Included in this group is a small escutcheon plate and five furniture tacks. This indicates that there was very little furniture in this household. The personal group made up another .16% with six artifacts. They include a key, a small bone ivory handle fragment, and a piece of slate, possibly a writing slate fragment, although there are no markings on the slate fragment.

The tobacco group contained 29 pieces of kaolin pipe stems and pipe bowl fragments. Considering the assemblage, this is a rather large amount of tobacco related objects. Kaolin tobacco pipes are highly curated. The pipes were made to use for an extended amount of time, and then were often discarded.

When considering the full assemblage, the material culture is sparse. A majority of the assemblage consists of necessity items like ceramics, glass, and the remnants of the house that once contained these things. The artifacts are indicative of a domestic dwelling for someone with very little material culture and economic independence. It is likely, as noted before that the structure belonged either to members of the enslaved population or an overseer.

Using Otto's Cannon's Point for Comparative Analysis

A number of archaeologists have used the data from John Solomon Otto's 1975 study at Cannon's Point in comparative analysis (Moore, 1985). In the case of Lesley Drucker's (1981) dissertation, it proved to be a successful method in determining the

socioeconomic status of the occupants of a domestic dwelling with very little historical documentation. By comparing the data from the various contexts excavated at Cannon's Point to the structure encompassing the N870 excavation block; patterns may be found that can provide clues as to who was utilizing this area (See Figure 7).

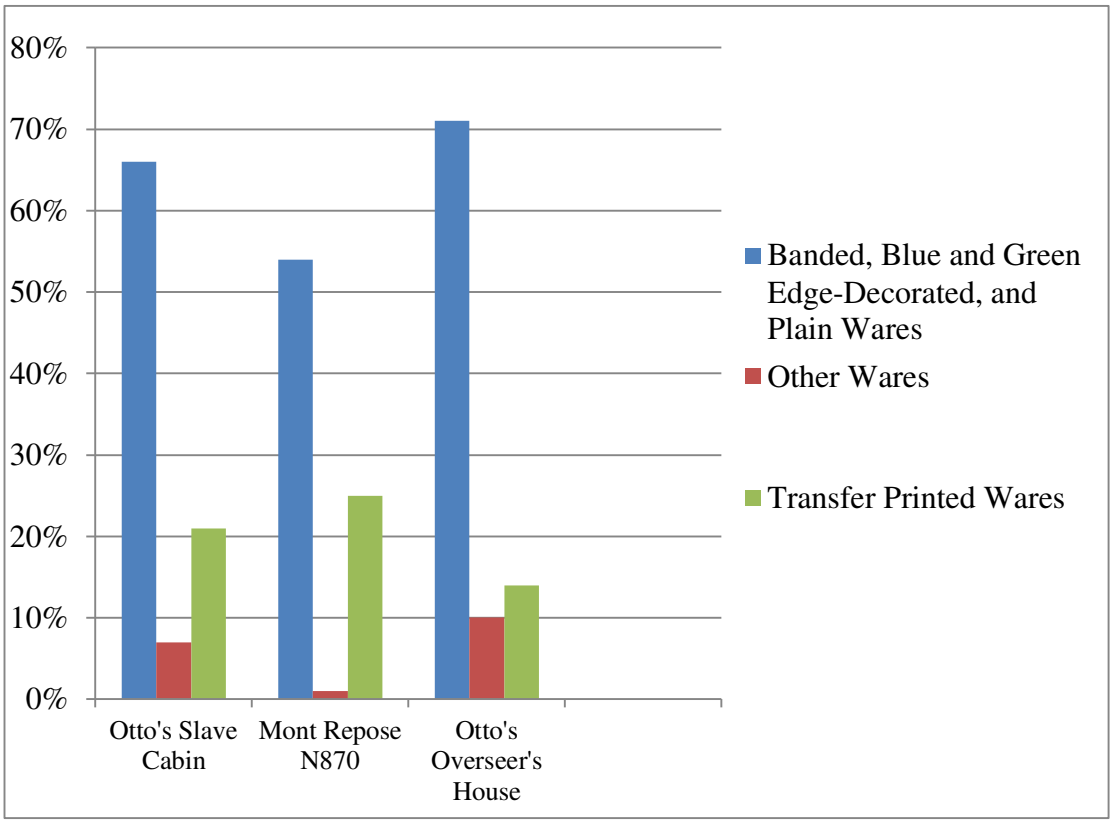

Figure 7. A comparison of ceramic wares between the salve cabins, overseer's house at Cannon's Point and the N870 excavation at Mont Repose.

The overseer's house from Cannon's Point yielded 76% banded wares, blue and green edge-decorated wares, hand-painted underglaze, and plain wares and 14% transfer printed wares. The slave cabin yielded 71% and 21% respectively. The N870 block of Mont Repose yielded 56% banded wares, blue and green edge-decorated wares, hand-painted underglaze wares, and plain wares and 25% transfer printed wares. In

comparison, the N870 block appears to be just between the enslaved cabin and the overseer's house at Cannon's Point.

When taking this into consideration, there was almost an immediate need to comb back through the census records from Mont Repose Plantation. Between 1820 and 1860, there never appears to be a white overseer at Mont Repose Plantation. In 1830, there is a free black couple living on Cotton Hall Plantation, which is closely tied to Mont Repose throughout the antebellum era, and it is likely that this couple is the overseer and his wife. If this was the case, it is possible that they were managing the enslaved population both at Mont Repose and Cotton Hall. However, this is speculation, and there is no historical documentation proving this to be true.

The N870 excavation block shows low socioeconomic artifact patterning; although the ethnic background of the inhabitants still remains unclear. When comparisons are made between Otto's data from Cannon's Point and that from Mont Repose, it appears that the house may have been occupied by either an overseer or an enslaved family. Seeking out ethnic markers within the assemblage may help researchers determine the ethnicity of the people utilizing the N870 area.

Ethnic Markers within the N870 Excavation Block

When observing the assemblage, it has already been noted that the artifact patterning is indicative of low socioeconomic status. The remaining question is whether the people using this area were white overseers, free blacks or members of the enslaved population working at Mont Repose. By seeking out ethnic markers within the assemblage, it may be easier to determine which of the aforementioned groups was using the area.

When excavating N870 E769 during the 2010 field season, one of the more notable finds was a fist sized brick fragment with an "X" marking the only remaining flat side (See Figure 12). This artifact originated in the southwest quadrant of Level 2 Zone A. According to archaeologists Leland Ferguson (1992), this symbol is commonly found associated with assemblages from lowcountry plantations. After several years cataloging colonoware vessels, Ferguson found a multitude of colonoware vessels with an "X" marking. The marks were a variation of X or a cruciform shape (Ferguson, 1992; pp. 113-114).

Most provocatively, it has been postulated that they symbol on the bottom of these bowls embody what has been called the Bakongo cosmogram. The cosmogram is believed to have originated in the Congo-Angolan region of Africa, and is a symbol used in the Bakongo belief system. The African Bakongo culture was quite widespread and influential, and many non-Bakongo people adopted Bakongo practices. Ferguson notes that some traders brought slaves to South Carolina from the Congo-Angolan region, where the Bakongo influence was the heaviest (Ferguson, 1992).

According to Gidwitz, discoveries of the Bakongo cosmogram in the lowcountry show that African cosmology is still representative of the African American ethos in the region. It represents the connections between life and death, this world and the next, and water, the boundary in between (See Figure 13). Each part of the Bakongo Cosmogram has an important symbolic meaning. The horizontal line is the boundary between the human world and spirit world. The vertical line represents the connection that humans have with spirits. The circle around the center is representative of water, and passage through the water represents movement between the two worlds. The four arrows

indicating counterclockwise movement is representative of the sun's movement across the sky (Gidwitz, 2005).

The marking on the brick appears to be intentional, and it is possible it represents the Bakongo Cosmogram. This is an important finding, because it increases the likelihood that the N870 area was being used by people of African descent. The Bakongo Cosmogram's African origin and regular appearance among artifact assemblages from the lowcountry increases the likelihood that the N870 area was being utilized by African American slaves.

The appearance of colonoware (see Figure 15) in the assemblage from the N870 excavation block is another clue that indicates the presence of African Americans. There were 17 colonoware sherds found throughout the three units excavated at the N870 block. Although this is a small amount, their presence alone is significant, particularly when considered in conjunction with the sparse material culture. In Figure 14 on page 108, there is an example of an almost complete colonoware bowl found at Mont Repose and housed in the Georgia Archaeological Research Project laboratory.

Both archaeologists Lesley Drucker (1981) and Thomas Wheaton (2002) unearthed colonoware vessels on the sites they studied. Drucker's assemblage included a large amount of colonoware. The MCD for Drucker's site was 1800, 43 years earlier than the MCD calculated from the N870 block at Mont Repose. According to Thomas Wheaton (2002), as the enslaved populations acculturated and became more involved in the local market in the lowcountry, colonowares would begin to disappear from the archaeological record.

There were two glass beads originating from N870 E769 Level 3 Zone B (See Figure 16). One was a black glass spherical shaped faceted bead and the second bead was a blue tubular shaped faceted bead. According to Cabak, Groover and Stine (1996) glass beads are commonly associated with African American archaeological sites from the colonial period to the post-bellum period. According to these researchers, blue glass beads in particular "are similar to trade beads highly valued in Africa" and is thought to be "ethnic markers for sites occupied by African Americans" (Cabak, Groover and Stine, 1996; p. 49).

Cabak, Groover and Stine conducted a meticulous study that included statistical analyses of African American sites containing blue beads. They found that blue beads were the most common of all of the colors found from African American sites, particularly domestic dwellings in South Carolina and Georgia (Cabak, et al., 1996; pp. 51-52). From the samples used in their study, blue beads were also most prevalent during the antebellum period. Although these beads were present, the current researcher adds the caveat that the two beads alone are not necessarily indicative of a slave cabin, but when combined with all other ethnic markers, statistical analyses of ceramics and census records, and knowing that the structure at the N870 block is a domestic dwelling are all clues that point the current researcher to the probability that this structure is a slave cabin.

Conclusion

There are a number of factors to take into consideration when attempting to determine who was living in the domestic dwelling found at the N870 excavation block. Using South's functional artifact categories helped to determine that the structure was a

domestic dwelling. The artifact assemblage consisted of 96% kitchen and architectural materials, and the material culture within the assemblage was sparse.

The ethnic markers found within the assemblage are miniscule, but are still important to consider within the scope of this study. The X mark found on the brick is likely representative of the Bakongo Cosmogram, a cosmological and religious symbol that originated from the West Coast of Africa. It is a symbol found on many artifacts found within an African American context in the lowcountry, and is even the pattern that is stamped out during the Ring Shouts that are performed by the Gullah people that live in the Georgia and South Carolina lowcountry.

Finally, the MCD of 1843 is an important clue as to who was living in the structure uncovered at the N870 excavation block. In 1840, there were 217 slaves living and working at Mont Repose Plantation, six members of the Gillison family, and no overseer (Ancestry, US Census Records, St. Luke's Parish, 1840). When considering the high number of slaves at Mont Repose in 1840, the ethnic markers found within the assemblage, the sparse material culture, and the low socioeconomic patterning found using Otto's methods of analysis; it is highly probable that this was once the home to slaves working at Mont Repose Plantation.

Although the analysis of the assemblage from the N870 excavation block has provided more information about who may have been using the area, there is ample opportunity for further research. Suggestions for further research include the analysis of faunal remains from the N870 block. It is likely that this analysis could provide a more solid conclusion about the people who resided in the domestic dwelling found here.

Another suggestion is to conduct further excavations at the N870 block. When the excavations were conducted during the 2000 and 2010 field seasons, excavations were taken down into the prehistoric archaeological layer, but only four two meter by two meter units were excavated. In order to determine size, entrance and exit areas, chimney location and yard space associated with the structure, it is suggested that the excavations be taken outward in all directions. By taking off the humic layer and marking features like post holes, clay piers, ash stains, hearths and other archaeological features, it may be possible to gather further information about the N870 excavation block.

Figure 8. Jaw Harp found during the 2000 field season at the N870 excavation block.

Figure 9. Various lead bullets unearthed at the N870 excavation block.

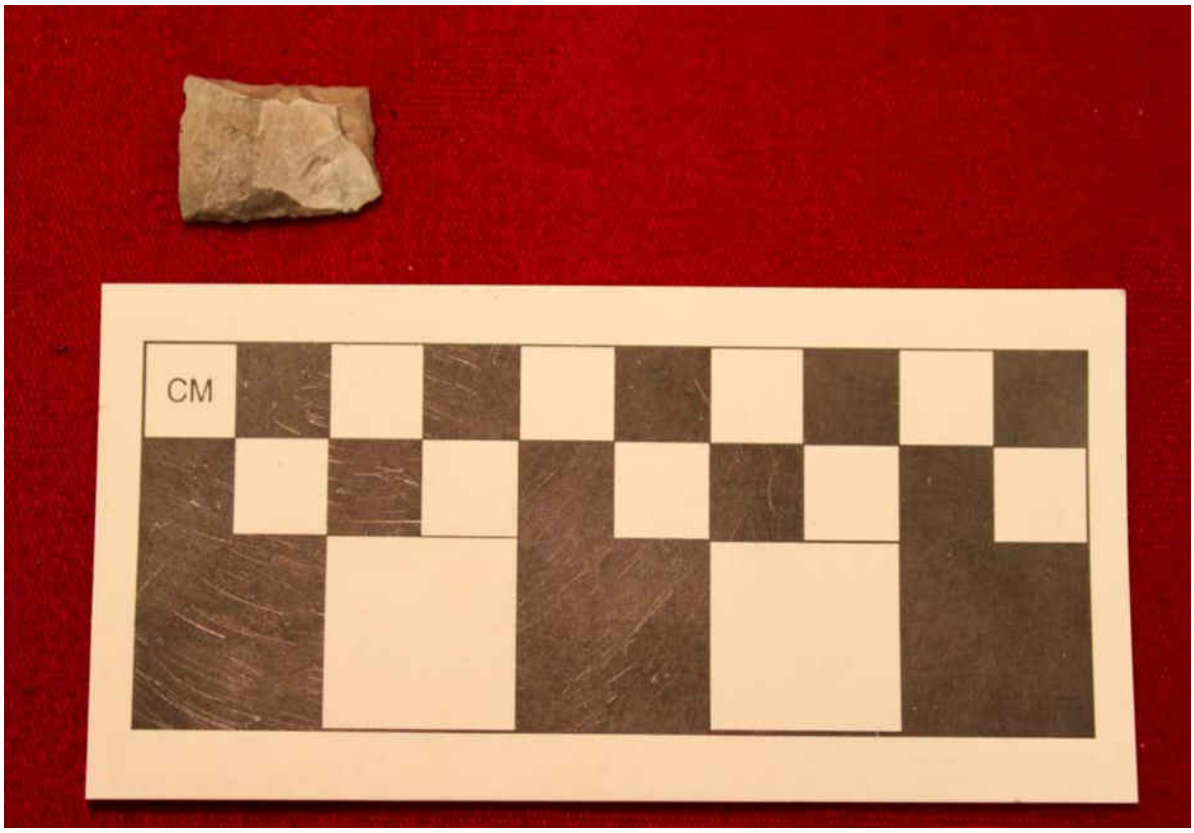

Figure 10. Gunflint found during excavations at the N870 excavation block.

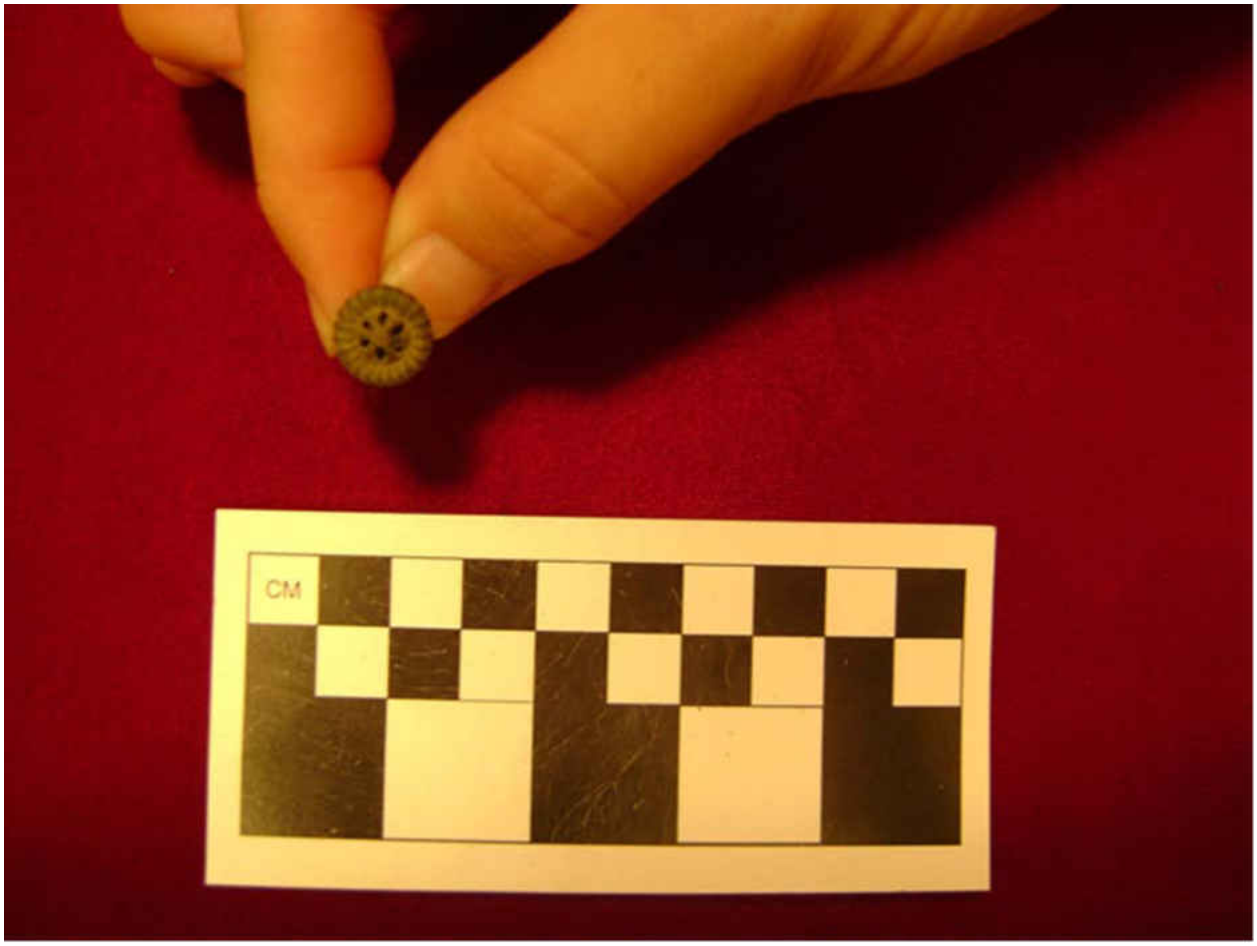

Figure 11. The decorative two-piece button found at the N870 excavation block.

Figure 12. A small brick fragment with an "X" intentionally etched into it.

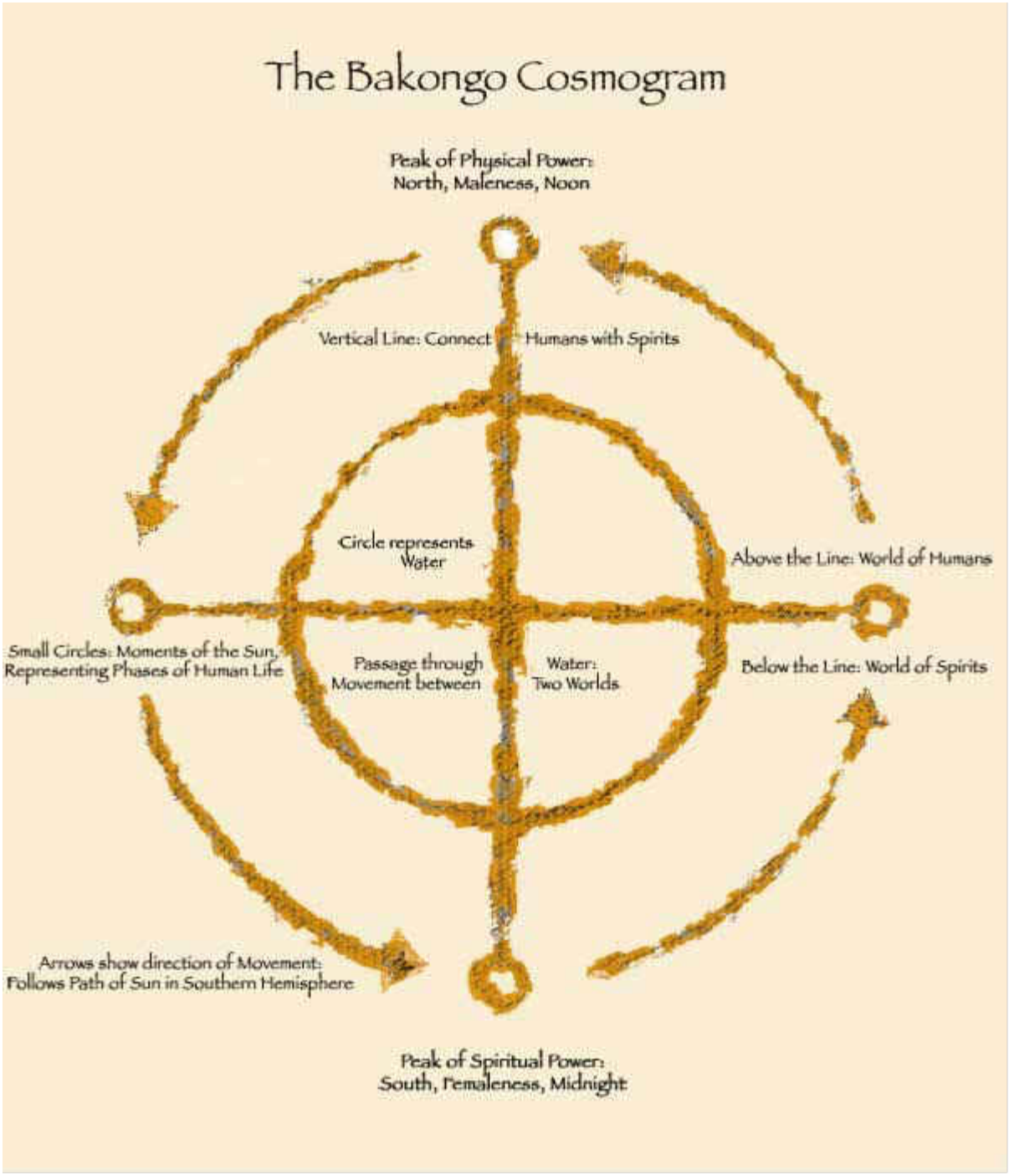

Figure 13. An explanation of the Bakongo Cosmogram (Gidwitz, 2005).

Figure 14. An example of an almost complete Red River Burnished Colonoware bowl found at Mont Repose Plantation. It is housed in the Georgia Southern Archaeological Research Project lab.

Figure 15. Several colonoware fragments found during the N870 excavations.

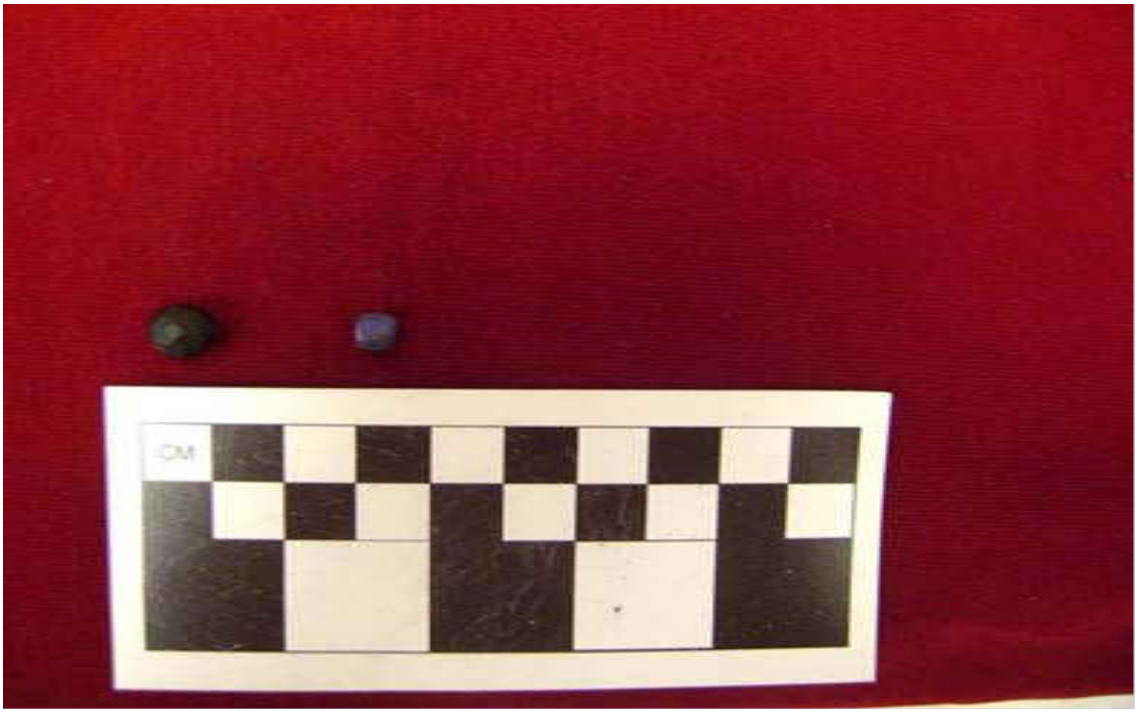

Figure 16. Black glass spherical shaped faceted bead, and blue tubular shaped faceted bead.

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Ancestry, 1840 US Census: St. Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina; NARA Roll 274; Pg. 508; Image: 554; Family History Library Film 0022508

Ancestry, 1850 US Census: St. Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina; NARA Roll: M432_849; Pg. 49B, Image 405

Ancestry, 1860 US Census: St. Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina; NARA Roll: M653_1214; Pg. 29; Image 61; Family History Library Film: 805214

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Ancestry, 1820 US Census: Prince Williams Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina; NARA Roll: M33_120; Image 51

Ancestry, 1830 US Census: Prince Williams Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina; Pg. 329; NARA Roll: M19_170; Family History Film: 0022504

Ancestry, 1850 US Census: Prince Williams Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina; NARA Roll: M32_849; Pg. 34A; Image 374

Ancestry, 1860 US Census: Prince Williams Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina; NARA Roll: M653_1214; Pg. 97; Image 200; Family History Library Film 805214

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